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Introduction
1 About this volume

This volume of spoken and written texts in the Kiowa language traces the Kiowas’ transition from traditional pre-reservation life through the reservation era to a synthesis of Kiowa and White cultures. Each text offers a Kiowa perspective on this transition, emphasizing details that differ from Western viewpoints. Voices are balanced for gender and generation, have different personal styles, and employ a range of genres, including oral history, personal recollection, conversation, and trickster myth. Some speakers were living in pre-reservation ways, while others grew up navigating the new colonized world, and for all, Kiowa was their first language.

The volume consists of three sections of texts in rough chronological order. The first part concerns the pre-reservation life on the Plains. The second focuses on the transition into new ways as the frontier closed in. The third offers glimpses of Kiowas adapting to life in the 20th century. Each text is preceded by a critical introduction that provides cultural and historical background. It also provides summaries and unspoken information that a Kiowa listener might have been expected to know. Occasionally, footnotes add some further detail. When White historical accounts of events exist, we refer readers to them to invite comparison with these Kiowa perspectives.

The texts are significant in a number of ways for both academic and non-academic audiences. They give a firsthand Kiowa account of the tumultuous transition into modern Western life, a transition that was never complete. The ways in which Kiowas lived, and still live, with one foot in each world are vividly brought to life.

As the first corpus available to everyone, it is linguistically rich, exhibiting vocabulary that Kiowas devised for new technology and concepts as well as more traditional grammatical structures and forms of discourse. Although numerous Kiowa texts are in print, they are strewn about independent pieces of linguistic and anthropological literature, written in diverse orthographies, disparately analyzed, and altogether inconvenient for community members and researchers alike (Harrington 1928, 1946; Watkins 1984, 1990; Palmer 2003; Harbour et al. 2012; Neely 2012; Palmer 2018). There remains a treasure trove of Kiowa language material awaiting the work required to make it accessible to a wide audience. This volume is a first step and an example, we hope, of the value of such efforts.

2 About the Kiowa people

The Kiowas (endonym: Cáuígú /kɔ́ygú/) are a Native American tribe organized today as the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, which numbers 15,650 members, most living in that U.S. state. Historically, the Kiowa people (pronounced [ˈkʰaɪowə] in English) lived a Plains lifestyle, migrating on horseback after massive buffalo herds and living in portable tipis.

2.1 History and homeland

Most people associate the Kiowas with a traditional homeland in the high plains region of the Southern Great Plains, but history shows that the Kiowas arrived there in the early 1800s CE after periods of migration. Both Kiowa oral history and documented Western history agree on this much. Linguistic evidence indicates that the Kiowas were at one time with the Tanoan-speaking pueblos of present-day New Mexico, presumably in the Rio Grande Valley or just to its northwest. At some still undetermined time the Kiowas moved northward toward what is now called the Yellowstone region. Around 1700, they began to migrate eastward, adopting Plains cultural practices from the Crows and settling in the Black Hills. Wars with other tribes pushed them southward until they formed a lasting alliance with the Comanches around 1800.

The Kiowas first encountered official U.S. parties in 1834 and were eventually forced onto a reservation in southwestern Indian Territory in 1867. This reservation was dissolved in 1931, with some land being allotted to individual Kiowa households but the majority being given over to White settlement. Nevertheless, the Kiowas came to see this area as their home. It hosts several sacred sites, including Rainy Mountain and Saddle Mountain, and despite the pressures of urbanization, over half of Kiowas still live in this area (Schnell 2000).

Like other U.S. and Canadian tribes, the Kiowas were required to adapt to an entirely new way of life—different religion, economy, clothing, language, and more. Some steadfastly refused, but for the most part Kiowas were interested in taking what they thought was helpful and blending it into their own traditional ways. As a result, Kiowas never fully lost those old ways.

Over the years, Kiowas made instrumental contributions to several aspects of modern Indian life: on the powwow circuit, in music and clothing styles, art, the Native American Church, and more (Kracht 1954; Lassiter et al. 2002; Meadows 2003; Kracht 2017; Tone-Pah-Hote 2019). At the same time, many Kiowas leapt at the chance to educate their children in Western schools. Several of the first generation of reservation children even went to college at a time when few people of any social class did. Kiowa men proudly served in the U.S. Army, even before being granted U.S. citizenship, and there was no contradiction in the warriors’ hearts, for that is what men were raised to do (Mooney 1896; Mishkin 1992; Meadows 2013).

There is free variation in the use of Kiowa or Kiowas as the plural, at least when talking about the tribe as a whole, but Kiowas is more common, and we will exclusively employ it in this text.
When they fought against the U.S. and its allotment act, Kiowa leaders donned suits rather than warpaint and took their battle to court.

Kiowas have also been very proud to share their culture with the outside world. They were keen from the start to reveal their history, lifeways, and language to artists like George Catlin or to ethnologists and anthropologists like Albert Gatschet and James Mooney. They have worked with and alongside other researchers into the present day as well. Kiowas have also made their own recordings, whether on tapes, paper, video, or now smartphones, usually with the explicit purpose of saving the knowledge and preserving their heritage for future generations. One fortuitous result of all this sharing is that Kiowas who missed out on the era of oral transmission can learn from past efforts. Another is that even people who learned from their grandparents can fill in whatever gaps they find later. This has aided in the struggle to preserve an island of ancestral knowledge from erosion by powerful modern influences.

Storytelling is a major feature of the oral transmission of knowledge and for Kiowas it forms a crucial component of culture. Whereas some stories are purely entertaining or relate historic events, many stories also reinforce life lessons. Only rarely does the narrator mention the lesson explicitly. The listener is expected to know the moral of the story already (Palmer 2003). Different versions of stories exist and the differences are a topic of debate. Storytellers may agree on the broad outlines of a story but choose to focus on different aspects, depending on the lesson they want to convey.

2.2 The status of the Kiowa language

The Kiowa language (ISO code: kio; endonym: Câuɪjɪgà /kɪˈwɑˈkiwɒa/ ‘Kiowa’ + /ˈvɒɡə/ ‘speaking, words, language’) is the linguistic heritage of the Kiowa people. Belonging to the Kiowa-Tanoan linguistic family, it is a critically endangered language in that only a few elderly people can be considered fluent native speakers and no children are fully acquiring the language. In between, a few hundred people of various ages might qualify as heritage speakers but few to no people use the language in regular conversation (Neely 2015). Recently, the tribal community has shown a great interest in preserving and revitalizing the language and by the late 2010s, the tribal government committed to the effort with the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program. However, those programs are still nascent and have yet to bear lasting fruit. They also face geographic hurdles resulting from the community’s displacement across Oklahoma and the United States.
The documentation of Kiowa can be described as fair on the UNESCO scale (UNESCO 2003). The language is relatively well documented linguistically, with a dictionary of sorts (Harrington 1928) and a reference grammar (Watkins 1984) easily available. It is well represented in theoretical analysis as well (Harbour 2011). However, there is little to no "everyday media", and there is little to no audio or video that has been properly annotated. This volume begins to fill that gap.

3 The contributors to this volume

As with any linguistically analyzed collection of texts by speakers of another language, the issue of authorship is not clearcut. While the people listed beneath the title put the volume together and contributed the content in and around each text, we did not create these texts ourselves. In this section, we list each storyteller as well as every other person who contributed their ears, minds, hearts, and voices to this project, helping immensely with translations and transcriptions. Throughout the volume, we also indicate their help on the respective texts themselves.

3.1 The storytellers

The texts come from a wide variety of sources. Some were recorded by tribal members directly; for example, the text about Satanta (Text 6) was recorded by Kiowas in the 1970s, as part of a larger program of cultural and linguistic preservation. Other texts were recorded by various linguists and researchers. In the 1950s, the Summer Institute of Linguistics recorded several of the present texts during their annual summer language school in Oklahoma.

The main content creators of this volume are the storytellers, listed here in alphabetical order by their English last name, with their Kiowa name when known.

Alma Ahote (Ténètjè /tʰénɛtɛtɛ/ 'big hearted', 1884–1961)  
Rev. Hazel Botone (Yí̥èdô /yí̥ɛdôː/ 'holds two', 1898–1986)  
Wind Goomda (Gómdā́u /gómdɔ́ː/'wind spirit', 1897–1999)  
Dr. Parker McKenzie (Yí̥sàum /yí̥sɔ́ː/ 'twice looked at', 1897–1999)  
Charles Redbird (Thḕnégúl/t'èːnégúl/'red bird', 1896–1978)  
Rev. George Saumty (Ā́tâlhâ/ātâlhâː/'curled-up feather', 1936–1993)  
Lucy Saumty (née Goins) (Fṓthṓ ˍgàmà́/póːtʰóːgʰàmàː/'beaver fur woman' 1897–1982)  
Yale Spottedbird (Thêñéánfǒ́ /tʰɛnɛánpǒː́/ 'eagle sounding along', 1906–1985)  
Helen Spotted Horse (Çuíjó /kùːjó/ 'bird, eagle', 1898–1974)  
Guy Tainpeah (Emhâdéè ̣/ɛmhâdéèː/ 'been shouting', 1898–1984)  
Lewis Toyebo (Qódèbò ̣hôn/k'óːdèbò ̣hôn/ 'swift fox headdress', 1892–1987)  
George Tsoodle (Kī́sā́u /kʰíːsɔ́ː/ 'noon time', 1900–1992)  
William Wolfe (Fī́ ̣êl /píːɛl/ 'Thanksgiving day', 1898–1974)  
Stephen Zotigh (Fṓtâléyî /póːtʰâːlî́/ 'beaver boy', 1934–1986)

3.2 Kiowa speakers who helped explain and analyze texts

As volume creators, we could not have completed this work without the help of friends, relatives, and adoptive grandmothers, whose tireless commitment to preserving this knowledge for future generations sets an inspiring example to us all: Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune, Velma Eisenberger, Dorothy Gray, Delores Harragarra, Dorothy Kodaseet, and Florene Whitehorse Taylor. These people have generously shared their knowledge to piece out difficult passages or to offer crucial background that clarified the unspoken parts of the text. In some cases, these people transcribed recordings themselves, glossed them, or made full translations of texts. We credit each of those people in the respective texts, where we also mention our deviations from their contributions. Àhô!

Besides these people, two Kiowa speakers warrant particular mention. Parker McKenzie's contribution to this volume matches his contribution to Kiowa documentation in general. A self-trained Kiowa linguist, who created the most accurate Kiowa orthography in use (and which appears as the first Kiowa-language line in the texts), he recorded oral histories from his elders in the 1930s and 40s. He later transcribed them with painstaking accuracy from wire recordings (since lost), and in some cases read out his transcriptions for tape recordings. Consequently, we not only have the original words of speakers from the pre-reservation era but examples of the cadence of Kiowa speech read aloud as well. Besides providing several texts, transcriptions, and translations, he also discussed some texts with Laurel Watkins and wrote notes of his own. Dr. Gus Palmer, Jr. is formerly a professor of anthropology at the University of Oklahoma, and has written several books on Kiowa storytelling and indigenous American literature. He established the Kiowa courses offered at that university. He provided us with transcriptions of two texts and has offered advice about a number of other questions.
Further acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, Amie (Tahbone) Stockton and Joe (Fish) Dupoint at the Kiowa Tribal Museum, the Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program, and Beatrice Myers at the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who discovered Kiowa recordings in the SIL archives and shared them with Laurel Watkins. Thanks also to the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History at the University of Oklahoma for digitizing the Life of Satanta recording. Thanks go to Darin Zotigh for permitting the use of the Kiowa Elders’ Center (the AOA) for meetings with some of our elders.

4 Editorial choices for English text

The practices we employ for writing Kiowa language material are described in detail in the linguistic overview in section 5. Here we summarize our editorial practices for English content.

Our translations aim at delivering the clear literal meaning of the Kiowa text while maintaining a natural American English style. We deliberately avoid exotic or overly poetic translation. Several of the texts were translated by Kiowas, notably by Parker McKenzie or Gus Palmer, Jr. We use these translations, minimally altering them for further clarity.

Concerning names, we employ the Anglicized versions of Kiowa names in English texts when a version is generally agreed on. For instance, we write Satanta in English rather than Sétthjii‘. If the person has a widely used English name, we write it—for example, Big Tree for Ā́dàuiét. This choice stems from two observations. First, both modern Kiowas and academic audiences generally use the Anglicized names or translations when speaking English. Second, the Kiowa use of a Kiowa-language name instead of its Anglicization is usually an active statement of cultural identity, rather than simply a reflection of perspective.

Controversy has emerged as to whether the term white should be capitalized as the name of a distinct ethnic identity. Some academics employ alternate terms like Anglo or even settler, but in this volume we chose to capitalize White, in line with the Kiowa practice. From the Kiowa perspective, White has always denoted a distinct ethnicity and most of the time Kiowas have written it that way.

5 Linguistic overview of the texts

To maximize the information to be gained from our texts, we present each sentence or sentence part in the following four-line format:

(1) Bā́thā́u.  < Kiowa in Parker McKenzie’s writing system
∅=báː–t’ɔ́ː 3sgS=go:pfv–mod:vi
3sgS=go:pfv–mod:vi  < Kiowa in IPA with morphemic breakdown
ˈ(S)he will go.’  < morpheme-by-morpheme glossing
< translation

In the sections below, we introduce the reader to the conventions deployed in each: the Kiowa orthography of line 1 (section 5.1), the broadly phonemic transcription of line 2 and the occasional use of an additional line above this for phonological contractions (section 5.2), the glossing conventions of line 3 (sections 5.3–5.5), and the translations of line 4 (section 5.6). For fuller grammatical description of the language, the reader is referred to Watkins (1984) and to the other references cited below.

5.1 Kiowa in McKenzie’s writing system

Kiowa has no official writing system and many, each with variants, coexist among tribal members (Neely and Palmer 2009). Of these, the most widespread and complete is Parker McKenzie’s. McKenzie was a prolific documenter of Kiowa language and culture and the vehicle for his written work was a repurposing of the Latin alphabet. The linguistic ingenuity and acumen of the system is analyzed in Watkins and Harbour 2010. As detailed there, he had hoped to see his orthography in print in McKenzie and Harrington 1948 following his correspondence with John P. Harrington through the 1940s, but was disappointed to find that Harrington had used his own system. We take pleasure in using McKenzie’s orthography in the current volume, in tribute to his enormous contributions to the documentation and understanding of the Kiowa language.

Alphabet

Many sounds of English are close enough to their Kiowa counterparts to be represented identically in McKenzie’s alphabet:
Nonetheless, some of these letters differ saliently from the sounds they stand for in English, as the recordings accompanying this volume show. For instance, /l/ is obstruentized in Kioway syllable-finally [dl] and only occasionally approaches /l/ as found in English.

Voiceless consonants in Kiowa are phonemically unaspirated, aspirated, and ejective (Table 1). McKenzie employed p t k to denote aspirated stops /pʰ tʰ kʰ/. Striving to rely on as few digraphs and diacritics as possible, he innovated uses of other letters of the alphabet for unaspirated voiceless stops and ejectives, appropriating letters that broadly match Kiowa sounds for place of articulation—for example, /f/ for unaspirated /p/ and /v/ for ejective /p'/ . There is no contrast for aspiration (or voicing) at the end of a syllable, so McKenzie used p t k for the weakly pre-glottalized, unaspirated stops that occur there.

### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
<th>velar</th>
<th>glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>/p/ f</td>
<td>/t/ j</td>
<td>/k/ c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>/pʰ/ p</td>
<td>/tʰ/ t</td>
<td>/kʰ/ k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ejective</td>
<td>/p'/ v</td>
<td>/t'/ th</td>
<td>/k'/ q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>/b/ b</td>
<td>/d/ d</td>
<td>/g/ g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fricatives voiceless</td>
<td>/s/ s</td>
<td>/ʃ/ sy</td>
<td>/h/ h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>voiced</td>
<td>/z/ z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affricates unaspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ts/ ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ejective</td>
<td>/ts'/ x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonorants nasal</td>
<td>/m/ m</td>
<td>/n/ n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lateral</td>
<td>/l/ l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glide</td>
<td></td>
<td>/w/ w</td>
<td></td>
<td>/y/ y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Vowels

- front: /i/ i /u/ u
- back: /e/ e /o/ o
- /a/ a /ɔ/ au

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Diphthongs</th>
<th>Diacritics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>front</td>
<td>back</td>
<td>tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/ i</td>
<td>/uy/ ui</td>
<td>high ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e/ e</td>
<td>/oy/ oi</td>
<td>fall ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a/ a</td>
<td>/ay/ ai</td>
<td>low ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔ/ au</td>
<td>/ɔy/ aui</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Falling tone predicts length, so combined ’ is not used.

**Table 1: McKenzie Kiowa alphabet**

Kiowa has six phonemic vowels and four diphthongs, which are close to IPA phonetic values. They contrast for tone (high/falling/low), length (long/short), and nasality (nasal/oral). McKenzie indicated tone by standard linguistic means (acute for high, circumflex for falling, grave for low). Long vowels are marked by a macron and nasal vowels by an underscore. Length is noncontrastive for falling tone and so is unmarked beyond the use of the circumflex. Some combinations are given below, including for the digraph au.

(3) áu /ɔː/: long, high, nasal /ɔ/  
ê /ɛː/: short, high, nasal /e/  
ě /ɛː/: long, falling, oral /e/ (in an open syllable)  
ěl /ɛl/: short, falling, oral /e/ (in a closed syllable)  
ô /oː/: short, low, oral /ɔ/  

Orthography

The orthography, that is rules of use, for McKenzie’s alphabet were those of a native speaker, not a descriptive linguist. Allophony was ignored in many cases but was written explicitly for processes that differentiated McKenzie’s generation of speakers from younger ones. For instance, McKenzie chose not to indicate that velar consonants palatalize before /a/, because it was automatic (outside of a few loanwords and interjections), as in cá [kɔ:], gáː [ɡʰɔː], káː [kʰɔː], qáː [kʰɔːː]. McKenzie’s orthography allows for exceptions to velar palatalization via apostrophes, as in Cáːlán [káːlɔn] ’Catlin’ and cábólêt [kábółː]: ‘sheep’. McKenzie did, however, indicate palatalization on /n/ and /l/ before /i/ as in bóniy [bɔːn̥iː]
Because McKenzie was well attuned to phonetic detail, he wrote some cases of syllable-final p and t where there is no corresponding morphological form. These stops represent the insertion of a glottal stop after a short vowel that precedes the voiceless unaspirated stops /p t/. Finding no possible English counterpart for glottal stop, McKenzie reanalyzed it as a consonant that assimilated to the following stop. Because syllable-final velars are prohibited, t was the default choice, as in (4) where t appears in the McKenzie orthography with the basic (bas) suffix -dá before the locative suffix. As these inserted segments are not part of the underlying morphology, we omit them from the IPA transcription.

Several of our texts were originally written or transcribed by McKenzie himself and we have preserved his orthography, including, in most cases, his punctuation. For texts that he himself did not work on, we have applied McKenzie's conventions.

5.2 Transcription

The transcription line broadly uses the International Phonetic Alphabet. However, for convenience, y stands for the palatal glide (IPA /j/), as per English and Parker McKenzie's Kiowa writing system. Nasal vowels are marked with an underhook /ą/. We also omit the tie mark for the affricates, writing /ts/ and /ts'/, rather than /t͡s/ and /t͡s'/.

Our transcription abstracts away from much phonetic detail and aims to show something closer to the underlying form. For instance, vowels tautosyllabic with a nasal stop are nasal, categorically. Moreover, nasalization can spread forwards or backwards over /h/ and /y/ but the effect is variable between and within speakers. We do not transcribe tautosyllabic nasal vowels but, following McKenzie, we do transcribe spread nasality. In /máyí/ 'woman', nasality spreads rightward to /i/ giving [máyʲ], so we transcribe as máyŷ. In ‘tomorrow’, it spreads leftward from /i/ to /a/, so we write [kʰʸá ʰíːgɔ́ː]. We do, however, consistently represent speaker variation in the deictic roots between /ę/ and /į/ or between /o/ and /u/.

The transcription indicates underlying tones, which can diverge significantly from surface tones, owing to an array of rightward and leftward processes. Of these, rightward spreading of low tone is the most prominent. Within any prosodic word, we indicate the morpheme responsible for tone lowering with subscripted star (⋆). For instance, the words qáudáltài /k'ɔ́dáltʰày/ 'on wagons' and yī́qàudàltài /yíːk'ɔ̀dàltʰày/ 'on a pair of wagons' are transcribed (and glossed) as:

(a) k'ɔ́dál ⋆ +tʰáy wagon+on

(b) yíː ⋆ +k'ɔ́dál+tʰáy two+wagon+on

The high tones in (5) indicate that, when not perturbed by other words, yí, qáudál, and tāi all have high tone. The surface lows in qáudáltài and yíqáudáltài arise from the starred word, which lowers all subsequent tones. A tone lowerer is only marked as such when it, and not a preceding morpheme, bears responsibility for subsequently low tones—hence, /k'ɔ́dál/ in qáudáltài but /k'ɔ́dá/ in yíqáudáltài.

Many of the speakers employ conversational contractions or elisions, which can lead to difficulty in following recordings. To transcribe these without losing semantic or morphological clarity, we double bookkeep, providing a transcription of the underlying forms that decomposes the conversational forms into their component parts. The contracted and elided forms are written in IPA below the orthography line between delimiters, aligned with the particular segments they replace.

(6) Náu hâündé fâlhêl.  < Kiowa in Parker McKenzie's writing system
[ nɔ̀  hɔ́ndó  Q=pá:lːèː,–hêl ]  < spoken forms of contractions
and:DS why?  3SGS:be:weak–EVID
‘But why is he weak?’  < morpheme-by-morpheme glossing
< translation

(7) Náu háun háündé háyá yá hâigáu qáćómdâtca őő háyá qáćômâ, gâu hégáu háyá qâhĩ dàudâ háun yá hâigáu.
[ nɔ̀  hɔ́ndó  Q=k’ákôme,+= ; k’ákôm,–dá–k’a ǒː : háyá  Q=+k’ákôm,+=; háyá  Q=+k’ákôm,+=; ]
and:DF not anything in.any.way 1SGD:3PLO=know:NEG life–bas–in long.ago.in.which.wayQ 3SGS=life+come:PFV

15
I know nothing at all about this man's life so long ago, and so I don't know anything at all about who this man was.' (p. 98, ex. 2)

The sole exceptions to this practice lie with the conjunctive forms *gígáu* / *gígɔ́* 'and.then:* and *nègáu* / *nègɔ́* 'and.then:* respectively. However, because they are so common as to be lexicalized, we do not decompose them.

(8) Nègáu á chándā *gígáu* hégáu gàcṑdócàun.

Then they [people] had come and there was such a big crowd.' (p. 140, ex. 10)

5.3 Glossing

The full list of glossing abbreviations, which are written in SMALL CAPS, is given in an appendix (p. 173). This section lays out some of the common grammatical categories that Kiowa offers that required us to abbreviate in ways that readers might find unfamiliar.

Morphologically complex words

We distinguish three kinds of boundaries when decomposing morphologically complex forms. En-dash (–) signals an affix boundary. The plus sign (+) signals incorporation or compounding, as in (5), 'two+wagon' meaning 'a pair of wagons.' The equal sign (=) signals a clitic boundary, as between agreement clitics and roots (14). These marks occur in one-to-one correspondence between the transcription and glossing lines.

Compounding is easy to identify as incorporated nouns and verbs often have distinctive forms and/or affect following tones, as indicated by the star marking a tone-lowering morpheme. For instance, *jóː* / *tóː* 'house' becomes *jòː* / *tòː/+ when compounded and *hóː* / *hóː* 'kill' becomes *dā́u* / *dɔ́ː/+.

Distinguishing clitics from affixes among the bound forms is not always so simple. Some clause-final clitics are discernible because they attach to the end of any category of word, like the relativemarkers *dé* = / *dé*/'bas' and *gáu* = / *gɔ́*/'inv', or the adverbial conjunctions *dò* = / *dò*/'because', *chè ̂ː* = / *tsè ̂ː*/'when.*

and *è ̂ː* = / *è ̂ː*/'when.*

(9) a. Châu Béchépé á ̂ː והמḗ Tháukâuidè ̂ː kýá hāigádáu

Thus Big.Tree 3SGA:3INVVO=DO:IPFV White:INV=3SGD:3PL.O=know

'That which Big Tree did to the White people is known to me,' (p. 121, ex. 55)

b. Mày Côjè àn ̂ː nò=józnàmdè ̂ː dáu.

Woman strong–ADV HAB 3SGD:3PL.O=talk:IPFV=3SGS=be

'She was a woman who always spoke strongly.' (p. 127, ex. 55)

Other clitics are discernible because they attach to nouns that bear inverse number marking (INV), like *ål* = / *ål*/ 'also'. Affixes like *fā* = / *fā*/ 'against' only attach to nouns without it.


'tree–INV tree–INV=also tree=against tree–INV=against

a/the tree' 'a/the tree too’ ‘against a/the tree’ ‘against a/the tree’

Many adverbial clauses are nominalized with a form after the verb that includes a high tone basic marker *dè* / *dè*/ bearing an inflectional affix (11). The high tone on *dè* / *dè*/ remains even if the verb contains a tone-lowering form. This suggests it is phonologically independent from the verb.

(11) qā́h jù aúgpàuy áupcàu máun àn á dàumzémá déchò dàumbbhêl

A man was going out on a foray the way they [the Kiowas] used to do' (p. 44, ex. 2)

However things are more complicated, as sometimes this form is clearly bound to the verb, as it undergoes tone lowering.
This variation raises an interesting question how independent the high-tone versions are. In fact, the question is even murkier because Parker McKenzie wrote these forms attached to the verb in his orthography, even if they do not undergo tone lowering.

A solution to this issue is beyond the scope of this collection. In this volume, we adopt a two-way method of transcribing these. In Parker’s written texts we transcribe them as he did. In other texts, we adopt a phonological criterion, glossing the high tone as beginning a new word when it is high following a tone-lowering morpheme (11) and cliticized otherwise (12).

Multiword glosses

When the gloss of a single form requires more than one word, we use two different means to indicate them on the glossing line. We use a period (.) between words that would be separated by a space in ordinary text, as in (23), where glossing mí'n /mí'n/ as ‘about to’ means that mí'n means ‘about to’. A colon (:) indicates multiple lexical and functional items in a single form that is not or cannot be decomposed, such as góp /góp/ ‘hit:PFV’ the perfective of ‘hit’, or the portmanteau agreement clitics.

5.4 Distinctive aspects of Kiowa grammar

Most of the morphological glosses match closely enough to well-known categories, for example PFV for perfective aspect or HSY for hearsay evidential. These bear no further discussion. However, Kiowa presents several grammatical distinctions, the glossing conventions for which require special comment.

Agreement

The Kiowa verb must be preceded by an agreement proclitic. This clitic is null for only a few combinations of third persons. Otherwise, it is a syllable or disyllable encoding up to three arguments: agent (A), dative (D), and object (O) or intransitive subject (S). The full array of argument clitics is given in tables 2 and 3. While the bulk of the clitics’ meanings and functions are explicitly described in previous research, we specifically identify two types whose functions have not been described in detail: two clitics that occur with a closed class of speech acts verbs, and some intransitive and reflexive forms that encode 3EMP arguments.

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There are four classes of agreement clitic according to the arguments that they encode. The simplest are single arguments, which occur with intransitives. These are glossed purely according to the person and number of the single argument:

(14) a. à=dšt: c. g’à=k’ul
   1SG=be               3PLS=be.lying:PL
   ‘I am.’               ‘They [the things] are lying.’

   b. mà=tsán
   2DU=arrive:PFV
   ‘You arrived.’

   All clitics involving argument combinations are glossed with a colon between arguments. They are listed in the order A:D:O. For transitives, the agent (A) is leftmost, the object (O) to the right.

(15) a. nèn=bó: b. ʃtː=bó: c. mê=góp
     1SGA:3DUO=see:PFV 3DUA:1SGO=see:PFV 2DUA:REFL0=hit:PFV
     ‘I saw them.’         ‘They saw me.’         ‘You hit yourselves.’

In ditransitives, the dative category is semantically broad in Kiowa, including recipients, sources, possessors, benefactors, and others.
### Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>2DU</th>
<th>3SG‡</th>
<th>3PL‡</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>èm</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>gà</td>
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<td>2DU</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG‡</td>
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### Transitive with third person objects

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<th>3INV</th>
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<td>dè</td>
<td>gát</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
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<td>bè</td>
<td>bét</td>
<td>bát</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mén</td>
<td>mén</td>
<td>mén</td>
<td>mán</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG‡</td>
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### Transitive with 1/2 objects

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<th>2PL/A:1SGO</th>
<th>3INV/A:1SGO</th>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG‡</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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### Ditransitive and possessive with third person objects

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<th>3DU</th>
<th>3INV</th>
<th>3PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>dé</td>
<td>dè</td>
<td>gát</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3SG‡</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Notation

— represents a null clitic.

* These clitics are used only for a small class of speech act verbs.

Notes

1. *These clitics are used for (dual and plural) 1INCLS/A; e.g., bà is 2PLS and 1INCLS, bèt is 2PLA:3DUO and 1INCLA:3DUO, bá’ is 2PLA:3SGD:3SGO and 1INCLA:3SGD:3SGO.

2. **These clitics are used for (dual and plural) 1EXCLS/A; e.g., è is 3INVS and 1EXCLS, èt is 3INVA:3DUO and 1EXCLA:3DUO, è’ is 3INVA:3SGD:3SGO and 1EXCLA:3SGD:3SGO.

3. **These clitics also encode a 3EMP D; e.g., gá is 3PLS and 3EMP D:3PLO, è is 3SGA:3INV O and 3SGA:3EMP D:3INV O.

4. **These clitics are also used for REFLO clitics; e.g., dé is 1SG:3EMP O and 1SG:REFLO.

5. This clitic is also used for 3SGD:3EMP O.

6. **Reflexive objects are encoded either as 3DUO or 3INV O; e.g., for the meaning 1SGA:3SGD:REFLO, nèn 1SGA:3SGD:3DUO or náu 1SGA:3SGD:3INV O are used.

Table 2: Kiowa argument clitics grouped by similarity of meaning and form (Parker McKenzie orthography)
### Intransitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1SG</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>èm</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DU</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12PL</td>
<td>bà</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>✧</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DU</td>
<td>✧</td>
<td>(bá*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3INV</td>
<td>✧</td>
<td>(bá*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3EMP</td>
<td>à</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
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<td>gᵃ</td>
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</table>

### Transitive with third person objects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>3INVO</th>
<th>3EMP</th>
<th>3PLO</th>
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<tr>
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<td>gᵃ</td>
<td>nèn</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>dé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SGA:</td>
<td>à</td>
<td>mèn</td>
<td>bé</td>
<td>bé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2DUA:</td>
<td>mà</td>
<td>mèn</td>
<td>mèn</td>
<td>mé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12PLA:</td>
<td>bà</td>
<td>bèt</td>
<td>bèt</td>
<td>bèt</td>
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<tr>
<td>3SGA:</td>
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<td>èm</td>
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<td>é</td>
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<td>3EMPA:</td>
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<td>ét</td>
<td>ém</td>
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### Transitive with 1/2 objects

<table>
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<td>3DUA:1SGO</td>
<td>él:</td>
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<td>3EMPA:1SGO</td>
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</tr>
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<td>1SGA:2SGO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1NSG/3A:2SGO</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3A:2DUO</td>
<td>mô</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/3A:2PLD</td>
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### Ditransitive and possessive with third person objects

<table>
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<tr>
<th>A:D: 3SGO</th>
<th>3DUO</th>
<th>3INVO</th>
<th>3PLO</th>
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<td>mèn:</td>
<td>mà:</td>
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<td>12PLA:3SGD:</td>
<td>bà:</td>
<td>bà:</td>
<td>bà:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3DUA:3SGD:</td>
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<td>él:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>él:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3EMPA:3SGD:</td>
<td>à:</td>
<td>bèt:</td>
<td>bèt:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/3A:1NSGD:</td>
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<td>dô:</td>
<td>dô:</td>
</tr>
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<td>nèn</td>
<td>gô</td>
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<td>dét</td>
<td>dô</td>
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<td>nèn</td>
<td>gô</td>
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<tr>
<td>1/2/3A:3INVD:</td>
<td>mô</td>
<td>bèt</td>
<td>bèt</td>
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</table>

### Notes

*These clitics are used only for a small class of speech act verbs.

†2PLS/A clitics are used for (dual and plural) 1INCLS/A; e.g., bà is 2PLS and 1INCLS, bèt is 2PLA:3DUO and 1INCLA:3DUO, bà: is 2PLA:3SGD:3SGO and 1INCLA:3SGD:3SGO.

‡3INVS/A clitics are used for (dual and plural) 1EXCLS/A; e.g., ê is 3INVS and 1EXCLS, êt is 3INVA:3DUO and 1EXCLA:3DUO, èt, is 3INVA:3SGD:3SGO and 1EXCLA:3SGD:3SGO.

§These clitics also encode a 3EMP; e.g., gô is 3PLS and 3EMP:3PLO, é is 3SGA:3INV0 and 3SGA:3EMP:3INV0.

¶This clitic is also used for 3SGD:3EMP0.

‖These clitics also encode a 3EMPO clitics; e.g., dé is 1SG:3EMP0 and 1SG:REFLO.

This clitic is also used for 3SGD:3EMP0.

¶Reflexive objects are encoded as either 3DUO or 3INV0; e.g., for the meaning 1SGA:3SGD:REFLO, nèn 1SGA:3SGD:3DUO or nô 1SGA:3SGD:3INV0 are used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A:D</th>
<th>3SGO</th>
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<td>bà:</td>
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</table>

Table 3: Kiowa argument clitics grouped by similarity of meaning and form (IPA transcription).
Finally, dative and object may cooccur without an agent (D:O). This occurs when an intransitive takes a possessor or experiencer, and for many experiencer predicates, including actors who are out of control of the verbal event, or merely manage to effect it.

(17)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a.} & \quad \text{yá} = \text{dɔ́ː} \quad 1\text{sgD:3plO} = \text{be} \\
\text{b.} & \quad \text{yán} = \text{yɔ́tkʸà} \quad 2\text{sgD:3plO} = \text{blunder:pfv} \\
\text{c.} & \quad \text{án} = \text{mɔ́ːgɔ́ː} \quad 3\text{sgD:3plO} = \text{be.expert} \\
\text{d.} & \quad \text{mé} = \text{té ̣gʸáy} \quad 2\text{duD:3sgO} = \text{grab:detr:pfv}
\end{align*}
\]

They are mine.
You blundered.
(S)he is expert.
You managed to grab one.

Many agreement clitics are ambiguous. For instance, mé occurs in the previous examples as 2duA:reflO, 2duD:3sgO, and 1sgA:2duD:3sgO. Whether such homophony is principled or coincidental, we always gloss each occurrence of a prefix according to the arguments in play on each use.

Personal pronouns only indicate first person (nā́u/nɔ́ː/) or second person (ám/ám/) irrespective of number. We gloss them in each instance according to their particular use in that context (‘I’, ‘us’, etc.), to simplify matters for readers. Pronouns rarely disambiguate agreement clitics and are generally used for emphasis. In (18)–(20), from Text 6, the quoted speaker employs first person pronouns to emphasize his confession.

(18)  
\[
\text{ègā́ èm hāhèl gā́ jôné, “Nā́u à dàu,” jôné.}
\]

‘He got up and said, “It was me,” he said.’ (p. 84, ex. 175)

(19)  
\[
\text{“Nā́u ógàu à tóyà,” jôné.}
\]

‘I was (the one) going around out there,” he said.’ (p. 85, ex. 176)

(20)  
\[
\text{Gàu “Nā́udè àutāumàu, nā́u à dàu,” jôné.}
\]

‘and “I annihilated them, it was me,” he said.’ (p. 85, ex. 177)

Third person is a complex category in Kiowa. There are no third person personal pronouns, though demonstratives can be used instead. Agreement clitics reflect morphosemantic features beyond simple number. In addition to singular (sg), dual (du), and (inanimate) plural (pl), illustrated above, third persons can be empathetic (emp) or inverse (inv). Empathetic third person occurs only in reference to plural individuals. It is generally used to refer to adult Kiowas, though it can also extend to members of other tribes, to nonadults, and on rare occasion to nonhumans. Empathetic plural is never indicated on nouns, occurring only in agreement clitics. Empathetic agreement does not need an overt antecedent and frequently opens a text talking about some indefinite group of Kiowas:

(21)  
\[
\text{Á dàumbá nā́u dè tāhyā́fàu.}
\]

‘They [Kiowas] were going marauding and I accompanied them (on the raid):’ (p. 51, ex. 2)

Inverse number

Inverse is a more complex category. It occurs both on nouns and in agreement clitics and is glossed as INV. Inverse marking and its agreement carry the meaning of singular for some nouns and plural for others. All animate plural nouns are inverse-marked but can occur with inverse or empathetic agreement. In the same text, we find Thâukâui ‘Whites’ indexed by both agreement types, first inverse, as the object of ‘saw’, and then empathetic, as the subject of ‘coming along’:

(22)  
\[
\text{Kấhîgấu gîgấ ém kîfàu gâú ét bô Thâukâui émgấu sângấdôbê. Qâudâltái á hóá.}
\]

The exact conditions and nature of this empathy are not fully understood.
Thenextday,they[theKiowas]gotupearlyandsawWhitesdownatthebottomoftheescarpment.Theywere
comingalongonwagons.'(p.52,ex.4).

Inverse-markedinanimatesaregenerallysingular,butnotuniversallyso,asthefollowingexamplesillustrate:

(23) a. zébɔ̀t arrow:inv é=â ̨ː+dóː–dêː 3sgA:3invO =haul+hold–hsy
b. táːgɔ̀ eye:inv mîn about.to bét=kʰúːlyà 3invD:3invO =pop.out:detr:ipfv

Basicnouns,thatistosay,non-inversenouns,areglossedasbasic(bas)onlyiftheyContainonovertsuffixthatisnot
employedinnonbasicenvironments.Thisisafeatureofsomenouns(e.g.,'day'butnot'town'),demonstratives,relative
clauses,complementclauses,andnominalizations.

(24) a. kʰíː–dá day–bas ∅=dɔ́ː⋆=dé 3sgS =be=bas ‘thedayitis’
b. à=kíl ⋆=dé+tʰáːɔ̀n 1sgS =live=bas +town ‘thetownIlivein’
c. é ̨ːhɔ̀ ⋆–dé this:def –bas tʰáːɔ̀n town ‘thistown’

Therearemanyfurtherintricacystothekiowanumbersystemsanditsexpressiononnounsandviaagreement
andsuppletion.Althoughwedonotdetailthemhere,wedonotethatagoodnumberofsystematicmismatches
betweenthethree.thereadershouldthereforenotbealarmedtoseesingularagreementonapluralpredicateorthe

Contrariness to expectation

Anotherparticularityconcernsthеconjunctions qàut/k'ɔ̀t/and àut/ɔ̀t/.Thesetwoformsindicateconjunction('and')
alongwithswitchreference.Inthatsensetheyarelikethecorrespondingpairgàu/nàu/gɔ̀/nɔ̀/.Theydifferbyalsoidicating
thespeaker’schoicetohighlightthatwhatthappensintheconjoinedclauserunscountertosomeexpectationthespeaker

Forinstance,inin(25),theuseof qàut reflectsthatthesubject’sactionsviolatesthekiowanormthatachief
takecakeofhisband.

(25) Qájáidā̀ˍumḕqàutâungàuháunànthā́gàiháungàuèmfā́udṓgäu.
∅=k'ʸátáy⋆+dɔ́̃mêː3sgS=chief+be:hsy k'ɔ̀t and:unexp:sa ð’hɔ́n neg àn hab t’áːgʸà–y good–adv hɔ́n
someone:inv èm=pɔ̀ːdóːgɔ̀ 3sgA:3empO =take.care:neg ‘Hewasachiefbuthedidn’ttakegoodcareofhispeople.’(p.72,ex.46)

In(26),itexpressesthespeaker’ssurprisetothowwelltheyweretreatedbytheWhitepeoplewhohadinvitedthem
toanevent.

(26) Cáukį̀ˍkī̀áuihyā̀udáumā́gòpqàutháundégátcâunmàu.
 kɔ́ːkʰì ̨ː⋆+kʰì ten+day ɔ́y–hɔ̀ːthat–def 3sgS=live=bas+town ñ=ɫ=máːgòp 3empA:1nsgO =feed:ipfv and
unexp:sa ñ=ɫ=ngɔ̀ 3mpA:1mpO=take.care:NEG ‘Theyallottedusthefoodfortenedaysandkeptbringingusthings.’(p.72,ex.46)

We do not gloss these as ‘but’ or ‘yet’ because the sense of expectation of those usually centers on cause and effect (‘He
trippedbutdidnotfall’),twopropertiescoinciding(‘Sheisyoungbutalreadyaprofessional’),oraconcession(‘Callmeold-
fashioned,butIwritebyhand’).Noneofthesesensesofunexpectednesswouldemployqàut/àut,butratherné/né/’but’or
âungàu(ñ=ɫ)/’instead’,amongothers.As(25)shows,thesescantsometimesbepairedwithqàut/àuttoshowtwodifferent
kindsofbrokenexpectation.

Clitic conjunctions

Theconjunctionsgàu/nàuand qàut/àutcanoccurasfreeformsbetweentwoequalclauses(27)orasencliticsthatindicate
thesubordinatenatureoftheclausetheyattachto(28).Inthe lattercase,theirmeaningindicatesthattheevent
inthe mainclausetheresultoftheembeddedeventoristakeplacebecauseofit.

(27) Qáudál ेpâu nâu Tháukáiąiq̓ágyóp ेm vēt gàu àuigàu dāu hət̓utətcāu

21
The wagons stopped and the White men got down and shot at us right away’ (p. 52, ex. 9).

Although segmentally identical, the enclitic and free conjunctions in some instances seem prosodically distinct, though further investigation is needed to establish this robustly. For our purposes, it is difficult to identify enclitic usage, except clause-finally or when a native speaker has indicated it that way. Parker McKenzie, for instance, took care to tell which was which, especially when typing out his own versions of texts, and we follow his lead. Where we are uncertain, we write the free form.

Indeterminate quantifiers

Kiowa has a series of indeterminate quantifiers that, with a change in tone, become wh-words (in Kiowa, h-words). The question forms are glossed with an additional ‘q’:

(29) a. hâːtêl b. hâːtêl c. hɔ̂ndé d. hɔ́ndé
whoQ someone whatQ something
‘who?’ ‘someone’ ‘what?’ ‘something’

Aspect marking

All nonstative verbs in Kiowa contrast for aspect, except under negation, where aspectual distinctions are neutralized. Given the thoroughgoingness of the perfective/imperfective contrast and its tendency to fuse closely with the verb root, we indicate PFV and IPFV on all verbs showing the semantic distinction, even where there is no overt morphology. To exemplify this practice, the verb ‘drink’ in (30) exhibits aspect morphology glossed as fused with the verb stem. The basic stem is tʰǫ́ː/tʰǫ́ː/, seen in (30e).

(30) a. tʰǫ́ːmɔ̀ b. tʰǫ́ːnêː c. tʰóm d. tʰǫ́ː–hêl e. tʰǫ́ː–imp

A pair of auxiliaries carries additional aspectual function. We gloss these as special distributives, as they indicate that an event is not merely ongoing but carried out along a spatial or temporal trajectory, towards or away from a deictic center. Such events moving toward that center are allative distributives marked by ā́ː/ā, glossed ALL:DISTR, while those moving away are ablative distributives marked by hấu/hɔ́ː, glossed ABL:DISTR. (When inflected, hấu/hɔ́ː becomes hī/hi/.)

(31) a. ē=tô+tâtté+hóː–qː–hêl b. ā₃=hóː–hī–tː;
‘they were traveling from place to place’ (p. 126, ex. 12) ‘They will get it en route (as they go).’ (p. 131, ex. 9)

5.5 Glossing shortcuts and simplifications

The current volume aims in part to provide a gateway to further study and appreciation of the Kiowa language and by extension Kiowa culture. We have, therefore, opted for a slightly more coarse-grained morphemic analysis than might have suited other projects. Too detailed a morphological decomposition risks highlighting the trees at the expense of the forest. The reader interested in further grammatical detail will find the necessary resources in the bibliography.

In consequence, we treat agreement clitics, locatives, and numerous verbal forms as portmanteaux, even where viable decompositions exist. For instance, the inflected verb bônę̂ː/ｂǫ́ːnêː/’was looking at’ can be broken down into /bǫ́ː–n–êː/ ’see–IPFV–HSY’ but we gloss it simply as see:IPFV:HSY. Likewise, locative forms like ā́ːʔuːyáː ’at an unspecified discourse-definite distal location’, is not decomposed into /ą̄ː–y–hɔ́ː/ ’there–VAGUE–DEF’. Instead, /y/ is presented as a single morpheme, glossed ‘there’ or, if somewhat more vague, ‘there.around’. These shortcuts, besides making for a more readable text, allow us to sidestep complications of allomorphy and allosy that would interest only the subspecialist.
In a similar vein, we have glossed some (parts of) words variably, according to what we believe will give the typical reader the easiest handle on how the sentence in question is put together. Locatives like the one just given are a case in point, as these have both spatial and temporal readings. The root áum /ɔ́m/ provides a lexical example where multiple translations are appropriate. In transitive contexts, it is glossed as ‘cause’, ‘do’, or ‘make’, but its detransitive uses range over ‘get made’ (make:DETR), ‘become’, ‘happen’, ‘reach’, or ‘manage to’. A functional item showing similar behavior is bétkè:, which we have consistently glossed as MIR (mirative), even though the surprising element and the experiencer of it are not always elucidated.

5.6 Translations

We have given McKenzie’s own translations for his texts, modifying them only slightly for clarity. Elsewhere, we have relied on the Kiowaspeakers who helped us to understand and translate the many different speakers whose stories we include here. In the translations, material in square brackets [ ] provides information a Kiowa speaker would readily understand from context, for example, from verb agreement or switch reference marking, but which might be opaque to readers unfamiliar with Kiowa. Material in parentheses provides more general information that clarifies matters for readers. Examples of the two are given in (21) and in (32–33).

(32) Máun á zélbé, máun á zélbé ó àunqì.

mɔ́n á=zélbé mɔ́n á=zélbé ó: ŋnk:\n infer 3EMP=be.fearsome infer 3EMP=be.fearsome long.past

‘They [Kiowas] were undoubtedly fearsome back in the day.’ (p. 71, ex. 33)

(33) Ḗgàu àn ém thàumáuncàumàwù.

é ̃ː–gɔ̀ː now–prs èm=t\mò, +kɔ̂mò
now–PRS HAB 3EMP=REFL=measure+indicate:IPFV

‘Nowadays, people hold him up to each other as the standard (of that fearsomeness).’ (p. 71, ex. 34)

Where a Kiowa text was written or transcribed into paragraphs by a native speaker, we have indicated paragraph breaks by an asterism (⁂).

We have not taken any measures to disambiguate translations where English makes fewer distinctions than Kiowa. For instance, first-person clusivity, or number in second person, and the dual-plural distinction in third person are absent from English translations, as are many of the rich contrasts in the locative system. The interested reader will always find the information in the glossing line.
Part I

Life on the Plains
The Kiowa Migration to the North
by Parker McKenzie

Most people familiar with Kiowa history know about the Kiowas' presence in the Yellowstone area and migration from there down the western edge of the Great Plains from 1700 or so onward. Many are also aware that the evidence of the Kiowa-Tanoan linguistic family strongly suggests that the Kiowas once lived in or near where the Tanoan-speaking peoples have lived for centuries in what is today New Mexico (Harrington 1910; Hale 1967; Sutton 2014). Less is known about the time in between, which this account, published here for the first time, covers.

In the text, the Kiowas leave where they had been living for reasons that are not clarified and pass by some uninhabited cliff dwellings as they head into the mountains. In those mountains they encounter Utes for the first time and have friendly relations with them, long before they became warring enemies. After that, they continue further north past a westward-flowing river. The direction is notable for Kiowas living on the Great Plains, where all the rivers flow east. In fact, that association is strong enough that the word vī́dè /p'íːdè/ 'downstream' came to mean 'east.' After some time, the Kiowas form an alliance with the dominant tribe of the region, the Apsáalooke, or Crows. The Kiowas learn about buffalo and other aspects of Plains life and religion from the Crows, before moving southward along the front range of the Rockies. Crow oral histories mention a fourth band that no longer exists, but which may have left with the Kiowa on their journey southward. This text does not cover that part of the journey, but is discontinued just as the Kiowas discover Devil's Tower and change the Star Girls story to include it.

Parker McKenzie (1897–1999) wrote this text, basing it on the story he heard directly from his grandmother Fī́ˍmā́ /píːmáː/ 'Eater' (1844–1922). She herself had heard it from her great-grandmother Qáunmā́jè/k'ɔ́nmáːtè/ 'Chapped Skin' (ca. 1758–1851/2), who had in turn learned of the events from her own grandmother, who is said to have experienced them firsthand. This would place the events in the late 17th or early 18th century (which is easily consistent with the abandonment of cliff dwellings in the Colorado Plateau around 1300). However, if the migration narrative began where the Tanoan-speaking pueblos are located, then this timeline would place the Kiowas in New Mexico in the period of Spanish rule. The Kiowas, however, have no recollection of Spaniards nor, as the text makes apparent, their horses prior to migrating north; nor do Spanish records or Pueblo recollections indicate a Kiowa presence at that time. It may be that Kiowa migration began earlier than the chain of retellings suggests.

An interesting marker of the cultural change and contact associated with migration is the variety of words for 'dog' used in the text. In (35), we find sâlé /sâːlé/, which is a Numic loan (cf, Southern Paiute sariː, Sapir 1930; Comanche sari, Charney 1993; Ute sari, Givón 2011). By contrast, (32) and (34) use a Kiowa word for 'dog': chê /tsê//. In the modern language, this means 'horse', reflecting how horses displaced dogs as the main—and, as per (33), sometimes inapt—beast of burden. Dogs then became known as chêhî́ ([tsê+ *hî] beast.of.burden+original), referring to their former ('original') role in pulling travois (Watkins 1984, 21, 67). Finally, (36) reports a folk etymology for chégùn /tségùn/, the modern word for 'dog' (which, for example, that it derives from /gún/ 'discard, throw away' (plus /tsê/, a clipped form of /tsê/). Though this origin story accurately reflects the animal's diminished status and exemplifies Kiowa metalinguistic awareness, the etymology itself is faulty. Gün is one of several verbs that have distinct forms when not the head of the lexical item. In compounds, gün appears as cún /kún/, as in (37) pólā́ˍhìˍcùngà 'Rabbit Dance'. The expected form of 'dog', if it involved the word 'discarded', would be chécùn /tsékùn/. A more likely etymology (Watkins 1984, 21, 67) involves gün 'tipi pole'.

(1) Vī́jè ্ān ē hējētjáu hējāu ā syāunē.
p'īːtē    ān  ě=hējetēttō    hētō    ā=syōn=ē:
Great.Grandma NM HAB 3SGA:1SGD:3SGO=story.tell:1PFV still 1SG=S=be.small:NPL=when:DF
'Great-Grandma used to tell me this story when I was still little.'

1 In Kiowa relationship terms, terms for siblings are used for great-grandparents and great-grandchildren. Vī́jè /p'īːtē/ is used to refer to a female's...
(2) Mauñ pānsējē áuíhyāu ě sádaú.

‘I must have been no more than seven years old about then.’

(3) Hábė gā dáucá nāu Cáiūgū á hōdēdē.

‘It was some unknown time (in the past), and the Kiowas were migrating.’

(4) Chēguđāu ē kūpādē bōt hējā áuíhyāu chēhē á dāumē.

‘Dogs were tied to pull (the travois) back then because they still didn’t have horses.’

(5) Gūfē háun gā áuíjuhēl.

‘They didn’t have a lot of belongings.’

(6) Hōldā gāu kāu áuíhyāu jē thākāuíjō gā áumdāumē.

‘Shirts and pants were all made out of buckskin then.’

(7) Kāuigū ē xēdō yātājē gā dāumē jōdē háun háyā gā dōblēáumdāumē.

‘Since those hides are thick, they had simple shoes and their moccasins were not adorned at all.’

(8) Fālhī Thāukāuifōgō gā háiihyāu jōdē fāqōp.

‘Only when they learned about beads did they put beads on shoes.’

(9) Chāu ã hōdēdē gāu hábē gā dāumējē ã áumdēhēl,

‘They were traveling along like that and after some time they arrived at a place,’

(10) nāu hāumgūu á dáucāgūu xōqāufē á cīdē qāut á fāudādāumē.

‘and some unknown people had been living in the cliff face, but had already come out (and gone away).’

(11) Ākō, cáp hábē á áumdēhēl nāu qōpsāubūn sāudē.

*Plains Life in Kiowa*
'So, after continuing on for a while they reached a place where there were some large mountains.'

'Māucyōjōdē āuféhāw qōptē ā thāudē bōt thāp gā căuānhēl nāu kāuānhēl ōdē gā āfūlē.

Māucyōjōdē āuféhāw qōptē ā thāudē bōt thāp somewhat long mountain along bōt thāp somewhere along mountain along because deer gā=kōn, hēl nā kōk=ān, hēl ōdē gā=πōlē:

3mpl=numerous HS and DF pitiable without pleasant ADV 3empA:3plO eat:PPFV=HSY

'They stayed around that area in the mountains for quite some time, because deer were plentiful, and so they ate well and lacked for nothing.'

'Around that time, a couple of men from another tribe encountered them'

'Around that time, the Utes were living there, Kiowas call the mountains around there the “Ute Mountains”.'

'They didn't become friends until just recently.'
So, the Kiowas left the Ute Mountains behind and migrated northward.

But not in any rush.

They stayed for quite some time in a bountiful place.

Therewasn't any buffalo out there where they were traveling; they came to know about them later.  

They must have eaten rabbits back then because they would kill them with clubs they had made.

They called the sticks /tɔː/.  

It must be around that time when they made the Rabbit Dance.
né hājél ēhān hēgāu án hāigādāu.
né hātēl ʕː-hā: hēgā ʔː-hāyɡǎː+d:š
but whom now—DEF then 3SG:3PL:O=know+be
‘but who knows (when) anymore.’

Pōlāhyōp ét kīkēhēl ʔaut kūpāchēgāu ʔét ālhēl
pōlāhyōp ét-kʰjëpː–hēl ʔ'ét kʰūyː+phjː+tsː=–gː
rabbit:INV 3INVA:REFL=jump.up:PPFV–HSY and:UNEXP:DS drag+be.tied+dog–INV
‘Some rabbits jumped out and the travois dogs chased after them’

āut ān gā ʔālāuādē, sāncāūgāu, bōt fā ān ołcōpjē.
āt ān gː=ől+hāːdēː sāːn=kːgː bōt pǎː ān
and:UNEXP:DS HAB 3PSL=load+strip.off:DETR:PPFV:HSY child=along.with because some HAB
ʔː=ől-kōptēː 3SGS=load+be.lying:PL:HSY
‘and the belongings would slide off the sled, along with a child, because sometimes one would ride it.’

Áuhaus gā dāumēē chēgādāu ēt kāumē chēgāu bōt ān ē kūpādē.
3ː–hāː gː=ðjːmː=ɛː tsegjːdː ēt kʰjːmː ēt tsːː=–gː bōt ān
then—DEF 3PSL=be:HSY=when:def dog:INV HAB 3INVA:3INVO=call:PPFV:HSY horse–INV because HAB
ʔː=kʰūyː+phːː–dː 3INYS=drag+be.tied–HSY
‘At that time, dogs were called chēgāu because they were yoked (to the travois):’

Āugāu ē kūpāgāu ān sālēgāu ēt kāumē.
3ɡː ē=kʰūyː+phːː=ɡː ān sāːlēː–gː ēt=kʰjːmː sbrd 3INYS=drag+be.tied–HSY
‘They called the ones that pulled the travois sālēgāu.’

Fāl chēgāu ē hāigāgāu āuhyāudō chēgūdāu bā jōɡā bōt ēt kūpāmāuɡūːhēl;
pāl tsːː=–ɡː ē=hāyɡǎː=ɡː 3yː–hāː=dː tsegjːdː bā=tːgː=ː; bōt
this.side horse–INV 3EMP:3INVO=learn:PPFV=and:SS that—DEF=due.to dog:INV 1INCLS=say:PPFV because
ē=kʰūyː+phːː+mxːɡːː–hēl 3INVA:3INVO=drag+be.tied+release:PPFV–HSY
‘Since then, after they learned about horses, we call them chēgūdāu /tségjːːdː/ because they let them go from travois duty:’

ēt gùnhēl.
ēt=gùn,–hēl 3INVA:3INVO=discard:PPFV–HSY
‘they got rid of them.’

Qópbînhā fālōdētâufēchō ā hōdēdēchē,
kop bǐn,–hāː pāl,–pēː–dː+tːxː–pēː–tsːː ā=hoːdːēː–dː=tsːː
‘When they were migrating beyond the front face of some really big mountains,’

hējāu hāun gā ʔāuɡāufāhāigāuhēl bōt āuфēhāu bēthāu ēg ɡā dāumē.
‘they still didn’t know about buffalo, because there weren’t any in the area.’

Hāoì ē kōhāʰâidɛtɛːdɛː hēgāu hāuːn hājɛl ān hāigāuhēl.
Nobody knows exactly when they learned about them.

'They must have learned about them from the Indians in that region.'

'The way they make sweat lodges nowadays is how wigwams were made.'

'They didn't forget right away what they had been doing for a long time.'

'That was the old style house.'

'So, Kiowa life underwent a change, but not right away.'

because they didn't forget right away what they had been doing for a long time.'

because NEG HAB right.away 3EMP3:3PLO=forget DET R:NEG thing long.time 3EMP3:3PLO=act:PFV=BAS

because they didn't forget right away what they had been doing for a long time.'

'Thr way they make sweat lodges nowadays is how wigwams were made.'
‘Nobody knows when they met the Crows for the first time.’

‘These are the ones who gave us horses’

‘And also, they showed us how tipsis are made.’

‘And we were doing other things like they did.’

‘It wasn’t long before we were living as the Crows were’

‘And they showed us their prayers and even today we pray this way’

‘It isn’t known anymore how Kiowas used to pray before that.’

‘We also learned the Sun Dance then’

‘because that, the Grandmother bundles, and the Taime bundle are all together.’
Jé áuihyáudè gát áuhèlgâu gát cáumhèl gà dáucháidáumèdè.

té: ỳỳhà₃,–dé  gàt=kò:₃,–hèl=gò
gàt=kòm–hèl
all that=DEF–BAS 3INVA:1NSG:D:3PLO=give:PFV–HSY=INV 3INVA:1NSG:D:3PLO=show:PFV–HSY
gà=kò:x₂tsáy,₃,dỳmèː=dé
gà=kò:x₂m=umá
3PLO=pray+be:HSY=BASE
‘The ones who gave us all this showed us what their prayers were.’

Háun gà còdòcyògàuhèlhèl hégàu foi bét tòdèhèl áuihyàugàu gò vídè bét hògàuzònhèl.
hòn ỳỳhà₃=kòːdòx₂,₃,kyògòː=–hèl=é:
hègò pò=tséː–hèl
NEG 3PLO=very=be.long then again 1INCLS=3INV=leave.behind:PFV–HSY
ùò=tséː–hèl
3plS=be:HSY
that=DEF–INV and:SA downstream–along 1INCLS=REFLO=migrate+depart:PFV–HSY
‘Not long after that, we left them behind the same way and travelled off to the east.’

Fâl gà dàumèdè bà chánhèl xoél chédèdè.
pâl ỳỳhà₃=dỳmèː=–dé
3plS=be:HSY
bà=tsàn,₃–hèl
yard this.side
3sgS=be:HSY
when:
df
ò=t’sòː=–hèl
rock+big
1inclA:3invO
=tséː–dêː=è ₃sgS
3plS=be.set
at
‘Sometime later, we arrived at a big rock.’

Sàumìhèl áuihyàudè xò.
∅=sɔ́ːmèː=–hèl
3SGS=be.marvelous–HSY
dé=ts’òː
3plS=be:HSY
‘That rock was a sight to see.’

Sàumìhèl áuihyàudè xò á bò gigàu áuihyàudè hégàgà áunìyà gà âumè.
∅=sɔ́ːmèː–hèl
3SGS=be.marvelous–HSY
á =bò: ỳỳhà₃,–dé
gigò hè=mèː=–hèl
3empA=3sg=up.top
‘The Star Girls story must have changed at that time.’

Jâ màn+hò=hètè=gà ₃–hè:màn ỳỳhà₃=gà=màn₃
star+girl+story.tell–BASE then=DEF INFER different 3empS=become:PFV
‘The Star Girls story must have changed at that time.’

Sâumíhèldè xò á bò gigàu áuihyàudè hégàgà áunìyà gà âumè.
∅=sɔ́ːmèː–hèl
3SGS=be.marvelous–HSY
á =bò: ỳỳhà₃,–dé
ga=màn₃=hètè=gà ỳỳhà₃
3SGS=be.marvelous–HSY=BASE rock 3empA=3SGS=see:PFV and.then=SA that=DEF–BASE story.tell+BASE different
gà=kò:x₂mèː
gà=kò:x₂mèː=–hèl
3empA:3PLO=migrate:PFV
3empA:3SGS=see:PFV
3empA:3SGS=see:PFV
and.then=SA that=DEF–BASE story.tell+BASE different
‘They saw the interesting rock and then they changed that story.’

Câp tâup gà dàumèdè âugàu ài ...
k’sáp t’hòp
3PLO=gà=x₂mèː=–è:
3empS=self.up.top
‘Once they had continued onward past there up onto ...’

*At this point the manuscript ends abruptly.
Massacre at Cutthroat Gap
by Parker McKenzie

This text is an account of one of the major events of Kiowa history, an attack in which much of an entire band of the tribe was massacred (Catlin 1876; Mooney 1896; Gorenfeld and Gorenfeld 2016; and Burns 2004 for an account from the Osage side). The following winter, the historic Leonid meteor shower rained hundreds of thousands of meteors into the moonless night sky, stunning observers all over North America. Across the Plains, the event was regarded as portentous. For Kiowas keeping a calendar count, that year, 1833–34, became Ém qóltàdēfài /ém k’olt’hàdøy/ 'the summer they cut their heads off' and Jā́ˍvétcádèsái /tá ̨ːp’étk’yádèsày/ 'the winter when the stars fell' (Mooney 1896, 257, 260).

In the summer, prior to the attack, the Kiowa bands had gathered to prepare for the Sun Dance. When evidence emerged of Osage warriors nearby, fear swept through the Kiowa camps, as their own warriors were out on a raid and the camps were largely defenseless. Two bands fled for safety, but the third, led by Āujáujé /ɔ̂ːtɔ́tè/ 'Island', stayed behind to wait for an easier river crossing. By the time they started out, it was too late to make it far. A marauding pack of Osage warriors descended on the camp in the morning, slaughtering everyone they could, some 150 in all. They then decapitated the corpses, as was their custom, and set their heads in kettles before leaving with loot and two sibling captives. They also rode off with the sacred Táˍimé /tʰá ̨ymé/ bundle that was necessary for the Sun Dance. Apparently, the war party had hunted this band down to punish it for having hunted and traded in Osage territory.

In the aftermath of the attack, Āujáujé was replaced as band chief with Jòhâusàn /tòhɔ̂ːsàn/, generally called “Dohausen” or “Little Bluff” in English. Dohausen would rise to become chief of the entire tribe, a position he held until his death in 1866. The summer after the massacre, the United States sent its new regiment of dragoons on an expedition through the region led by Gen. Henry Leavenworth and Col. Henry Dodge. Accompanied by painter George Catlin (whom the Kiowas called C’alàn/kálàn/), the expedition marked the first official contact between the U.S. and the Kiowa. The expedition brought the surviving Kiowa captive back. This return assuaged the Kiowa’s thirst for revenge and led to negotiations that eventually saw the return of the Táimé. In 1995 a group of Kiowas raised money to fund a state historical marker near the site (on Highway 54, 2.6 miles south of Cooperton).

This incident was a major turning point in Kiowa history, as it marked the entry of the U.S. into the Kiowa way of life. The Osage themselves had been pushed westward by American settlers and by Eastern tribes forcibly located to areas over which the Osages had previously reigned. With this incident, the frontier finally reached the Kiowas and would come to shape the tribe’s history thereafter. To this day, the massacre forms a major part of Kiowa oral tradition and Kiowas still sometimes joke about beheading Osages in revenge when that tribe comes up in conversation.

The story told here is a Kiowa account of events, which gives no discussion of possible Osage intentions—raids were a part of Plains life, though they were rarely this brutal. Instead it focuses on the tragic decisions that led to the disaster. Parker McKenzie was told the story by his mother Ākāughà /ākʰuːdòŋà/, often shortened to Ākàu, whose grandfather was leader of another band. Before the attack, the Kiowas had been camping at a bend in the Washita River, near its confluence with Rainy Mountain Creek. The campsite is now in Mountain View, Oklahoma, where Ākàu would later choose her government land allotment. McKenzie came to live on that allotment in his retirement and most people who remember him today entertain fond memories of visiting his home and office there. The attack itself took place about 20 miles southwest of there, near the modern town of Cooperton, Oklahoma, at what is now called Cutthroat Gap, named in commemoration of the massacre (see map, p. 11).

This text was first written by McKenzie, then recorded reading from his own typescript.
‘The story of when the Osage beheaded some Kiowas’ [Title in the manuscript]

(2) Cáuigúám Gùsâugàu étqóltā̀hèldèhḕ ˍjègdà́u.
‘This is the story that Mother told me.’

(3) Cā̀ucâuié ˍtā̀ˍujét,é ˍhê ˍjètđègàdà́u.
‘This is the story of when the Osage beheaded some Kiowas.’

(4) Ė́gū́ghà́n à cîl nàu hàugà́w è pihôtdàudèjè́ á cîdè.
‘The Kiowas were camped near the river bend spot where I live today.’

(5) Pā́ˍòjṑdàuádā́ ˍumê.
‘There were three bands.’

(6) NàuGùsâuzèbàutéâ ˍdṑdḕ.
‘It was carrying an Osage arrow.’

(7) NàuGùsâuzèbàutéâ ˍdṑdḕ.
‘So they took off for home as fast as they could and didn’t even butcher the buffalo.’

(8) Nàuhègáuḗ ˍgā̀u ⌊nègí̊ːgɔ̀ː⌋ jṑfḗgùjémè ˍbā́udèhelhàgà.
‘They took off for home as fast as they could and didn’t even butcher the buffalo.’

(9) NàuGùsâuzèbàutéâ ˍdṑdḕ.
‘It was carrying an Osage arrow.’

(10) Nàuhègáuḗ ˍgā̀u ⌊nègí̊ːgɔ̀ː⌋ jṑfḗgùjémè ˍbā́udèhelhàgà.
‘So they took off for home as fast as they could and didn’t even butcher the buffalo.’

(11) Nàuhègáuḗ ˍgā̀u ⌊nègí̊ːgɔ̀ː⌋ jṑfḗgùjémè ˍbā́udèhelhàgà.
‘So they took off for home as fast as they could and didn’t even butcher the buffalo.’
They got to camp and told them they'd found an arrow and the band got frightened.” [114]

“Náu ákúgáu pájįbďâu á dáįgu, pájįyáuáu á dáįgu Câçuáuikôjįbďâu á dâjume. nô ągô ąpôgô+tôdô ą=d=s=ągô ąpôgô+hôkôy+ı=ągô ąd=tô=yôkôy+ı=tôdô and DF 3 Ravens three+band 3EMP=be=INV third+INV 3EMP=be=INV mother:NM+grandfather+band ą=d=tô=yôkôy+ı=tôdô 3EMP=be:HSY ‘And of the three bands, the third band was Mother’s grandfather's band.’ [125]

“They need to decamp right away and move to the mountains'” [114]

“Because she is soon to give birth, we should decamp now and move to the mountains.”’ [137]

“Their path was flooding stage, overflowing its banks, and so they followed it westward instead.” [213]

“They passed by Rainy Mountain.” [227]

37
And then they must have travelled south.

Then they reached the mountains and set up camp there.

Then they hadn't been living there long when suddenly (two) young men rode into camp.

And they told people that Osages had brutally killed a lot of people somewhere.

They told them about this and said that their heads had been left in cooking kettles as a message.

Apparentley they had cut their heads off.

There were few men where they were camped.

because they had probably left to hunt someplace and were gone.

Né hégay gá tōnáihyê áugu á qáhyōp hâôjécâu á dâumégâu.
nè bégò gá=–tʰôn–áy–hêt
3gò kʰéχyóŋ háótè–ká: à–dʒ=mèː–=gá
but then 3PLA:3PLO=attack+depart;PFV–HSY SBRD mán:INV several–only 3EMPS=be;HSY=INV
‘But the few men who were still there raced off in pursuit.’ [352]

(31) Àui á chánhèl nègá háchó gö jáuájumè.
3y á=tsán,–hêt nègò hátsó gá=tʃː,–ŋëːmèː
there.around 3EMPS=arrive;PFV–HSY and.then:DF how 3PLS=act+be;HSY
‘They got there and (saw) what they had done.’ [358]

(32) Nègáu àuháucho màu n yááaumgá gígáu háun Gúsáugáu háun ét àunááfáuhêt.
á=3gù
nègò ʒp–hôː–tsó mán gá=yáː,–3mŋá ɡígò hòn gúsk;–gá
and.then:DF from.then.on–DEF–instead INFER 3EMPĐ:3PLO=busy+become;PFV and.then:SA NEG Osage–INV
hòn ét=3n+hápc;–hêt
NEG 3INV[A]3INV=trace+pick.up;NEG–HSY
‘They got distracted instead and did not pick up the Osages' trail.’ [403]

(33) Áaugáu Càucàuíkôgjiđóu á màu Áûgàntâuygà.
3gò kɔ̀ːkɔ̂y, kʰɔ́tɕ|=tʃːdò a=3mː ágùntʰap;–ʒuː–gá
there:PRS mother:NM+grandfather+band 3PLA:3SGO=move Washita.River–at
‘Mother's grandfather's camp had moved from the Washita River there.’ [414]

(34) Áaugáu màu n à cîłdè y à màu nìgà yì yi á jòp màu
3gò mān á–kîl=dé–ʒː a=3mː 3n kʰɪg;=yì: á=top mán
SBRD INFER 3EMPS=dwell=bas–at 3EMPA:3SGO=move and:DF later two 3EMPS=stay.behind;PFV INFER
‘They moved from where they must have been camped and two bands must have stayed behind’ [429]

(35) gáu hágáu á thàumumáu gáu Ájúváuygú ém hóñużóñhêt gáu áuhìuyáucho màu ná hàgá ém qùhêl
gó hágá a=3mː á=3mː–mː 3gó ʒkúp;–ʒ=gu
and:SA some:other:INV 3EMPA:3SGO=first+move and:SA Pecan.Creek–to
ém=hôː,–ʒɛ̃ː–hêt gó ʒy–hôː–tsó mán ná hàgá
3EMPA:REFL=move+depart;PFV–HSY and:SA there–DEF–instead INFER somewhere.at
ém=k’úː,–hêt
3EMPA:REFL=move;PFV–HSY
‘and some others had decamped first and headed toward Pecan Creek (now Elk Creek) and set up camp
somewhere there instead.’ [436]

(36) Náu áugáu qájáigáujógdóu á thàudë bôt áugáu Áuáujé dájumèdè màu náìldáu.
nɔ 3gò ʔ=3k’étay,–tʃː=deː,–tʃːdò a=tʃːdè: bôt 3gò ʒt=téː ʔ=3dʒ=mèː–=de mán
and:DF SBRD 3SGS=chief+be=BASE:POSS+band 3EMPS=stay;HSY because SBRD Island 3SGS=be;HSY=BASE:INFER
ʔ=3alp;–tʃː
3SGS=disagree+be
‘The one chief’s band stayed behind because this Island didn't agree (that there was a problem).’ [448]

(37) Áuádè, “Hâàndéģúsáugáu ém ét’óiyîtháu,” jûné
3ʔ=dyːdè hóndèː,–guš=ʒ–gá ém ʔ=3ɛː,–tʰọyː=ʒː tʃː;
3SGS=think;IPFV;HSY some+Osage–INV here.along 3SGS=hunt+go.around:NPL;IPFV–MOD:VI
ʔ=3tʰɛːmː;
3SGS=say;IPFV;HSY
‘He thought, “It will be just some Osages out hunting nearby,’’ he said.’ [509]

(38) Hégáu hâun åuigáu á màumáuhêt
hégò hòn ʒyɡò: a=3mːmː=ʒ=ʒ=ʒ=ʒ=ʒ=ʒ héł
then NEG right.away 3EMPA:3SGO=move;NEG–HSY
‘They didn’t move right away’ [529]

(39) gáu hâòi qìgà màu á màu gigáu qàufé qóptégù ém hóñużóñ.

And sometime later and traveled along the riverbank.

But the Osages must have gotten there.

They [the Osages] would go on raiding parties on foot.

And they chased after them and found the ones camped at the mountain.

They are the ones whose heads they cut off.

And at that time, Dohausen became chief.
Captive Woman
by Alma Ahote

One of the notable features of life on the Plains in Native North America was the captive. Whereas Kiowas would kill enemy warriors on the spot (in contrast to Eastern tribes, who would bring them back for ritual torture or sacrifice), it was common practice, among Kiowas and other tribes alike, to take noncombatants captive. Some captives were taken as household help. Young women were sometimes carried off for marriage. Children might be taken for adoption, as replacement for others lost to the cruelties of life before modern medicine, or simply because the captor saw a spark of promise in them.

Kiowas captured people from other tribes and from Mexican and White families. Occasionally, captured Kiowas would be traded back from neighboring tribes. Among the Kiowas, adopted captives, despite names that often referenced their different appearance (e.g., Bóiêl [bói] ‘light-completed’ + [él] ‘big’), generally became full members of their respective families. Belonging to a family, they could, after some time, enter ordinary tribal life and they and their descendants could rise in society like anyone else, especially if they were adopted into a prominent family. Captives played a role in a number of events of Kiowa history (see, for instance, the introduction to text 2). They often served as translators, though those taken young only ever remembered living as Kiowas.

On occasion, White captives would be found and ransomed or otherwise returned. They did not always return willingly and many simply escaped again to live with the Kiowas. One famous White captive was Millie Durgan, whose Kiowa family hid her from authorities while sending back the family members and slaves captured with her. Returns of captives feature in a number of popular histories, novels, television westerns, and even Hollywood productions, like John Ford’s *The Searchers* (1956) and *Two Rode Together* (1961). The 2020 film *News of the World* specifically involves a Texas German girl being returned from captivity among the Kiowas and features her and other characters speaking in the Kiowa language.

The narrator of our text, Alma Ahote, identified this story as true prior to the recording. It relates how a woman was taken captive by unknown parties. Curiously these parties are referred to with empathetic agreement (3EMP), which tends to be reserved for Kiowas. However, it was not customary for Kiowas to take captives from other bands. A Kiowa man passing by on a solo foray sneaks up for an opportunity but hears her and her baby in a precarious position. So, he sneaks into the tipi and liberates her. On the way back, they ride all night and rest at a spring. The woman offers herself to the man as he wishes, but rather than take her as a wife, he takes her as a sister.

This outcome offers an interesting glimpse of Kiowa family and social structure. The word jā́u [tɔ́] symmetrically describes opposite-sex siblings. The Kiowa brother-sister relationship is distinct from relationships between same-sex siblings. Brother-sisters were highly respectful toward each other, could criticize and tease each other without causing shame, never refused each other’s requests, and helped ensure that their counterpart married suitably. Often, if a boy was disowned, his sister would stay with him. The woman in this story was already married but resented her husband for having failed her. Now, her new brother would protect her from further raids and from her husband. For that, she made sure to heed his advice from then on.

This story was recorded by the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
They [the Kiowas] were living somewhere and [some people] attacked them and captured a woman. [0:00]

Some time later, a man was going out on a foray the way they [the Kiowas] used to do, and far from home he came across some people at their camp. [0:11]

‘He went and lay down here beneath a bluff with a tepee on top.’ [0:26]

‘I'll steal something, some kind of horse, maybe he was thinking,’ [0:42]

‘Suckle! Why are you crying?’ [0:59]

‘I'm uncomfortable from being tied up,’ she said.’ [1:02]
Gigáu émgáu án jóauđeujé ngáu gi thiámuñónhél gigáu hébéhél gáu héguá kúan jéhél.

gigáu émgáu án=té:+jéděp négá g=á=t’é+m+zón,–hél and.then:SA here.along:PRS 3SGD=3PLO=speak+sound:IPFV and.then:DF 3SGA:3PLO=stake+pull:PFV=HSY

gigáu =hébé,–hél gó héguá k’horn g=ó=t’é,–hél and.then:SA 3SGS=enter:IPFV=HSYS and SA then so 3SGA:3SGO=grab:PFV=HSY

‘He pulled up the tepee stakes near to where she could be heard to speak and then he entered the tepee and seized her.’ [1:13]

(11) Nègáujê ˍhèlgàuàm∞, nègɔ́ and.then: df bèm=ɔ́l+ɔ́m–hêl 3sgA:reflO =head+do:PFV=HSY

‘But he grasped her and he brought his head close to her ear and said,’ [1:28]

(13) "Náu à dâu. Ém, quáudójá à báu gájótháu gáu auhyáudó à hébá.

[ bám ]

nó: á=dó: ém k’h=+dójá à=k’h: gó g=a=t’é+t’é: gó I 1sgS=be here.against bluff+down.against 1sgS=be.saying:NPL and SA 1sgA:2sgD:3sgO=speak+hear and SA

‘It’s me. I was lying there, beneath the bluff, and I heard you speak and that’s why I came in.’ [1:31]

(14) "Náu hàuđnú hàcò ém qau?" jóné.

[ nán ]

nó hándó hátsó ém=k’h: ò=t’é:né: and:DF why=Q somehow 2SGS=be.saying:NPL 3SGS=say:IPFV=HSY

‘Why are you lying (here) like this?’ he said.’ [1:37]

(15) Náu, ‘Á góbáu, gáu nú ko[héepjó p’à, jóné.


‘They captured me and I’ve been uncomfortably tied up,’ she said.’ [1:40]

(16) Náu, ‘Em yáljóu, jóné.


‘I’ll untie you,’ he said.’ [1:46]

(17) Náu jóné, ‘Oigáu vyo ém günmnú.


Then she said, ‘They’re dancing over there to the east.’ [1:48]

(18) Gà cúnfogá émché j é á bá, jóné, ‘gáu auhiyáudó à pài.
“They’ve all gone over to where you can hear the dance,” she said, “and that’s why they tied me up.” [1:50]

There are [two] horses tied up there,” she said.’ [2:02]

‘And he said, ‘Go out this way, under the edge of the tepee, and grasp [your child] against your chest.’ [2:19]

‘Don’t let him cry out,’ he said.” [2:25]

‘The woman stretched up her arm and took down a war bonnet that was lying in its bag and gave it to him.’ [2:27]
‘And she said, “Take this,” she said, and, ‘Now I’m ready,’ she said.’ [2:37]

‘Then the woman went quickly out under the edge of the tepee, then he led her away and the two of them moved off and they arrived where the horses were standing’ [2:42]

‘And then dawn broke on them without them having slept.’ [2:58]

‘Then the next day they went on and looked over the land by daylight, and [the man] said,’ [3:24]

‘We’ll go over there where (those) mountains lie.’ [3:27]

‘There, where there’s a spring, we’ll be getting close to home,’ he said.’ [3:33]
“Nàu àufhàu mé àusàu,” jònè.

"Nàu cául hàndé xàlí gà hòltjàu nàu bà fàu," jònè.


“You two sit there a while,” he said. [3:37]

(nàu cául hàndé xàlí gà hòltjàu nàu bà fàu," jònè)

“Nàu cául hàndé xàlí gà hòltjàu nàu bà fàu," jònè, nò kò 3SGS=eat:PPFV

“and I’ll kill a calf and we’ll eat it,” he said.” [3:42]

(È tā́ufā́lêhèlgàu,” Hā̀u,” jònè, màːyí gìgàuè bā́hêlnègàuà́ufáhàuénàusàuihyèl.

È tā́ufā́lêhèlgàu,” Hā̀u,” jònè, màːyí gìgàuè bā́hêlnègàuà́ufáhàuénàusàuihyèl.

“and I’ll kill a calf and we’ll eat it,” he said.” [3:42]

(Tṓ èltṓ tépdà́ umê.

Tṓ èltṓ tépdà́ umê.

‘There was even water in the spring.’ [3:53]

(Nègáuhègáuháyácòbèhèlgìgàuhóldé ᐃgàuhègàuqà́ hî jònè.

(Nègáuhègáuháyácòbèhèlgìgàuhóldé ᐃgàuhègàuqà́ hî jònè.

‘Then they roasted the meat and then they ate and then the man said,’ [4:13]

(Nàu,” Ámqì́ gàbèdḕ mā́uègáunà́uhī̀ àjā́ jòā̀ gàthà́u,” jònè.

(Nàu,” Ámqì́ gàbèdḕ mā́uègáunà́uhī̀ àjā́ jòā̀ gàthà́u,” jònè.

‘and [she said], ‘After that you sleep and I will keep watch,’ she said.’ [4:13]
“We’re all right now. Everything’s fine,” he said.” [4:21]


Mā̀yíˍcṑdóṑ ˍtā̀ˍhèl.”Áqī́àlhéjáuthā ́u,”jṓ ˍnê.

Néhègáuménháidéhèlgìgáu,kâun,énâuisàuihyèltái


Máyí códòùtáhlèh. “Áqílá hégá háù cháu,” jóné.


Máyí códòùtáhlèh. “Áqílá hégá háù cháu,” jóné.

Máyí códòùtáhlèh. “Áqílá hégá háù cháu,” jóné.

Máyí códòùtáhlèh. “Áqílá hégá háù cháu,” jóné.

Máyí códòùtáhlèh. “Áqílá hégá háù cháu,” jóné.
and they set off and after a long way, the next day, he brought her home.' [5:06]

'And they set off and after a long way, the next day, he brought her home.' [5:06]

'The woman very much respected the man as a brother.' [5:27]

'Whatever the man said, she never cast aside what he said.' [5:32]

'For that reason, she went through life in a good way.' [5:35]
Wagon Attack
by Charles Redbird

This text recounts a Kiowa raid on a wagon train at an unknown place and time. Kiowa warfare generally consisted of raids for goods and for revenge. This raid is an example of the former, where there was no set target and the warriors roamed until a promising opportunity arose. In this text, a two-wagon train traveling alone on the prairie provided the desired target.

Charlie Redbird (Thēnégúł /tʰēːnégúł/), the speaker in this recording, uses a shifted first-person narrative, taking the perspective of the narrator, a technique also adopted by the speakers in texts 13, 16, and 18. Because this shift already occurs in the opening sentence, we mark only this introductory statement with quotation marks.

Redbird’s unnamed internal narrator tags along with a war party, as men were free to do even if they were not invited. He then joins in the attack. The war party leader (tò ˍyóp /tʰò ̩yóp/) holds the warriors in check until the wagons are too far from possible cover. As the Kiowas approach, they dismount around the wagon and pick off the people in it—it was generally considered braver to fight on foot. At one point, the narrator tries to take a scalp as a trophy during the fight. As he does, he finds himself nearly hacked to death from behind by a young White woman, whom he then dispatches.

Such a war deed story would be told by a warrior in social gatherings around the campfire and might have even inspired a child’s name. As a warrior’s tale, it contains blunt depictions of violence and an action-packed sequence of events. However, it lacks two components often featured in war stories. First, there is no mention of anyone taking coup, a sort of award earned by the first four men to rush in and hit an enemy without shooting them, usually at the start of a battle. Second, the story does not include the result of the raid. Clearly the Kiowas had the upper hand, but recollections of raids typically include the entire trip, including auspicious happenings or medicines en route. They usually mention if any Kiowas were lost in battle and if the mission was a success, with scalps taken or not. Tales of such raids usually also describe the booty (La Barre 1935; Palmer 2003). The warriors would certainly have ridden home with any horses and guns they could find but also a number of trade goods and perhaps captives as well. The story ends in mid-fight; whether more of the story was lost is unknown.

The text contains one mysterious passage (14), where the narrator sees a White man in a wagon pointing to the sun while touching his heart and talking. He does not seem to understand what the man is doing, and our Kiowa consultants were unable to enlighten us, but they confirm that there is nothing idiomatic in the sentence. It is possible that he was praying or signaling which way to flee. Whatever he was doing, it was unexpected enough for the storyteller to employ qāut /k’ɔ́t/ as a conjunction.

Of linguistic interest is the use in (3) of the non-plural verb tōyā /tʰōyā/ ‘go around. NPL.’ with a plural subject. This may be an indication of collective action, but may instead be the leveling of a distinction between nonplural tōyā /tʰōyā/ and plural zêmà /zêːmà/. Parker McKenzie pointed out (p.c.) that some speakers no longer used the plural form.

This text was recorded by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1957.

(1) Qā̀hì ácômdê jótai gáu jóné: “Chá, bè tháuhál. Cául èm tâujéljáu.”


‘A man was talking to his friend and said, “Friend, listen. I’m going to tell you a story.”’ [0330]

(2) À dàumbá nau dè táiyâľâu.
They [Kiowas] were going marauding and I accompanied them (on the raid). [0:16]

'They roamed several days until one evening they arrived at an escarpment and there it got dark and they lay down to sleep.' [0:21]

'The next day, they got up early and saw Whites down at the bottom of the escarpment. They were coming along on wagons.' [0:39]

'Then the Wagons stopped and the White men got down and shot at us right away,' [1:32]

'but we blocked them in and they [others] got down and I did too,' [1:43]

'gáu qáhí gá bọ nau Tháukäuīqí gá achnáï.'
(12) ‘I saw a man and he, a White man, took off for the woods.’ [1:51]

(13) ‘A man (on horseback) speared him there.’ [1:59]

(14) ‘Hepointed to the sun while touching his heart.’ [2:19]

(15) ‘And then we grabbed each other and I knocked his head (to the ground), and though I pulled out a knife I did not kill him.’ [2:38]

(16) ‘I thought, I'm going to just scalp him alive, and I cut him across the forehead.’ [2:49]

(17) ‘But a young woman was watching. She was moving about in the wagon and she must have seen me scalp the White man.’ [3:49]

(18) ‘He went kind of pale.’ [2:59]

(19) ‘But a young woman was watching. She was moving about in the wagon and she must have seen me scalp the White man.’ [3:53]

(20) ‘She must have picked up an axe and charged at me, but I didn't see her.’ [3:8]
(21) Gómáuchò mán dâuā.
góm=tsó mòn =dtj+ː
back.at–instead
'She must have come at me from behind.' [3:27]

(22) Nàu háundé hágà án jóaun gâu jéjé,
ˈHáu aútcău’
and:DF someone somewhere.at
3SGD:3PLO=speak+sound:PFV and:SA
3SGS=say:PFV.INTJ watch.out:INTJ
But someone somewhere spoke up and said, "Hey, watch out!" [3:32]

(23) Góm dê gǔn gâu gä bò yáucauí nàu tháutcăut ˈgop
and:PFV
3SGA:reflO
and:PFV
3SGS
‘Shemusthavecomeatmefrombehind.’[3:27]

(24) nàu múː ŏm dê dêlāu gâu yá ójoigá nàu gă máugú Thàukáuíqí ˈgup
and:DF like:INV
1SGA:3INV=3SGO:3PLO=pour.out+PFV and:SA
1SGA:3PLO=blood+go.blind:PFV and:DF
‘and Ihadd blood pouring out and I was blood-blinded and I let go of the White man and jumped up.’ [3:34]

(25) nàu yáucauí ˈgup
and:PFV
1SGA:reflO
and:PFV
1SGD:3SGO=let:PFV White+male and:SA
1SGA:REFL=jump.up:PFV
‘but I managed to grab her and I dug a knife between her ribs and ripped out her guts.’ [4:17]
This narrative concerns one of the most momentous events in Kiowa history: the arrest and trial of Kiowa warriors in 1871. In May of that year, a Kiowa war party guided by spiritual leader Mamanty (Mâmấjë/mâmấjtè/) attacked a wagon train carrying army supplies owned by Henry Warren along Salt Creek near the town of Haskell in Northern Texas. They easily overcame the train drivers and killed most of them. They then looted the wagons and rode off with the mules. The raid itself did not particularly stand out in the annals of U.S.-Indian relations, as life and death on the Plains dealt harshness in equal measure. Rather, it was the aftermath that was notable. Instead of treating the attack as an act of war, the U.S. government treated it as a crime, unilaterally placing Indian attacks under the jurisdiction of state law. General William T. Sherman, who himself was almost attacked and killed by the same war party earlier that day, rode to Fort Sill on the Kiowa reservation and arrested three Kiowa leaders, Satank (Sétấgài/sétấg̊ây/), Satanta (Sétt'h̄ídé/sétt'á̄yd̄é/), and Big Tree (Ā́đàúá́jë̂/ədíyéttè/), to stand trial in Texas for murder. He wrote in instructions to General Ranald Mackenzie:

> They must not be mobbed or Lynched but tried regularly for murder and as many other crimes as the Attorney can approve; but the military authorities should see that these prisoners never escape alive, for they are the very impersonation of Murder, robbery, arson, and all the capital crimes of the Statute Book. (Letter of May 28, 1871)

These trials offered the first regular criminal prosecutions of Indian attacks in American history. They signaled a shift in U.S. relations away from treating Indian nations as independent entities to be pushed ever westward. Instead, the United States would envelop and incorporate tribes as limited sovereign entities under its jurisdiction, as a first step to eradicating Indianness altogether.

The Kiowa perspective in this narrative centers on the dishonorable way the Army tricked the Kiowa leaders into an arrest, rather than on the raid or on the trial that are the focus of White histories. At one point, Lone Wolf (Cáúfágâú̂/káúfá̄ȳȳ/) tried valiantly to prevent the arrest, but standing alone against an army, he failed. In this account, the Army told the Kiowas they were only being held for 10 days until the 41 stolen mules could be returned, but Sherman’s correspondence makes no mention of such a deal. He had resolved to see the chiefs tried in court and simply demanded the mules be returned. We do not know the reason for this discrepancy, whether the interpreting was inadequate, leading to the Kiowas’ misapprehension of the Army’s intent, or whether the Army intentionally misled the Kiowas into believing that the return of the mules would satisfy their demands.

The Kiowa perspective also focuses on the heroics of one leader, Satank. An old man (of about 75 years) devoted to the old ways, he refused to stand trial and was killed in a doomed escape attempt while being transported to Texas for trial. Satank was an esteemed member of the Qóichế̱gà̂u (k’ýt’ékɔ́ȳ̄́ȳ́/Koitsenko) military society, open only to the ten bravest Kiowa men. As a member of that society, he refused to retreat from any battle, remaining until victory or death, and was happy to join his son who had previously died in battle. While working his bonds loose, he sang a society song followed by a death song. The latter can be heard in Hunting Horse’s (1942) radio recording and is still sung today. Satank broke free, seized a rifle, made a break for it, and was shot by one of the guards. The site of his death is marked by a monument on the Fort Sill reservation. It happened where the turnpike passes the polo field. The U.S. Army’s perspective of this incident is recounted in Nye (1983) and more recently in Robinson (2015). Even though Robinson points out that White accounts were inconsistent, we invite you to compare the versions.

The trial itself is not discussed in detail in this Kiowa narrative, presumably because the text cuts off after 11 pages with a note on the manuscript reading “Page 12 – Lost.” However, further details on it can be found in Text 6. The outcome of the trial was in little doubt because Satanta had proudly admitted to his war deeds every time he was asked about the event. Besides, the local jury was baying for blood. However, the death sentences for Satanta and Big Tree were quickly

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commuted to life imprisonment to avoid an outbreak of revenge attacks, and the two chiefs were paroled in 1873. Perhaps the final line of this text is the beginning of a Kiowa explanation for the commuted death sentences of Satanta and Big Tree, for Big Tree was only 19 at the time.

Linguistically, this text is notable for a number of frequently occurring phenomena. One interesting case is the use of singular agreement with inverse-marked plurals in the case of collective action, in (9), (11), (20), and (67). Also of note is the use of stylistic lengthening of the vowel in closed syllables to extend the distance of a deictic stem, a feature of many texts in this collection (glossed expr). At several instances, the storyteller uses the adverbial chó /tsó/ 'like this, like so', but there is no clear linguistic antecedent, which suggests that those sentences are accompanied by a gesture.

This text comes to us from Wind Goomda, who told the story to Parker McKenzie in 1949. McKenzie transcribed it verbatim from a wire recording, now lost, and mailed it to J.P. Harrington. Harrington never published it or cited it and we rely on McKenzie's copy from his collected papers at the Oklahoma Historical Society. Our gloss and translation are aided enormously by his word-by-word translations, painstaking transcription (including of contractions), and notes on curious and contracted forms.

(1) Qájâi ét Tópâideégéjâ
k'útây ét=tö começa+y, dé+hé:tâ–gú
chief:INV 3INVA:3EMP0=detain:PFV=bas+story.tell–bas
'The story of when they imprisoned our chiefs' [Title in the manuscript]

(2) Jèhândámûgâ ga dâmû, èmgâu faifèbè à dáumbâhél
têhé:nê,+dôm–gú gú=dâ:ême: ém=gú páy,–pècbè à=dôm+bâ:+hèl
Texan+land–at 3PLS=be:HSY here.along–PFV south–along 3EMP3S=land+go:PFV–HSY
'Down in Texas, some Kiowas had gone on a war party nearby to the south'

(3) gàu quádlîhôp à bôhèl gîgà à hafèhél
gô k'âdâl,–hôp â,=bêː–hèl gîgô à=hápèː–hèl
and SA wagon–travelers 3EMPA:3SGO=sec:PFV–HSY and then:SA 3EMPA:3SGO=charge:PFV–HSY
'and they saw a wagon train and then they attacked it'

(4) gàu ét hôhèl Thâukâi gàu éjáu tái bêt dêdè
ĝô k'âdâl,–hôp â,=bêː–hèl t'îkâ:y gô ét=t'yâ bêt=dêdè:
and SA wagon–travelers 3EMPA:3SGO=see:PFV–HSY and then:SA 3EMPA:3SGO=charge:PFV–HSY
'and they saw a wagon train and then they attacked it'

(5) gàu hégà jê hämdè, thâukâigû é hâhél àuîyâń.
gô hégô têː hândè t'îkâ:y–gú ét=hô:,–hèl 5y=hô:
and SA then all thing mule–INV 3INVA:3PLD:3INVO=take:PFV–HSY then–DEF
'and they took all their belongings and mules,'

(6) È qîgà hégàu égàu sólècâ gà dâu dê hégàu ét qâlhèl
[gâː ] [kâːt]
èː k'êgà:hégô ēː=gô sólèː,–k'â gú=dôː déː–ǧèː hégô ét=k'âl–hèl
now:intj later then this–INV soldier–at 3PLS=be BAS–at then 3INVA:3EMP0=invite:PFV–HSY
'You see, later on they [the Army] invited these men [chiefs] to the army base'

(7) gàu hégàu bêthâu ét xânhôhèl.
gô hégô bêthôː ét=t'sâ:nhôl,–hèl
and SA then then 3INVA:3EMP0=trick:PFV–HSY
'and they had set the chiefs up for an ambush.'

(8) “Bâ jômî,” è jònē sólègàu
bà=tômkːq:jë ét=t'yôːnē: sólèleː,–gô
INCLS=speak.in.council:IMP 3INVS=say:PFV:HSY soldier–INV
"Let's meet and talk," the soldiers said"
(9) nàu hégâu á jómːkʰéːl qaːjáí náu bêtháu sólːgáu hégáu bêtháu hábá ɛːdːdɛ́

nɔ́ hégɔ́ á–tómːkʰɛː–hél  kʰátáy  nɔ́ bêthɔ́–gɔ́ hégɔ́ bêthɔ́:
and:DF then  3EMP=Speak.in.council:PFV–HSY chief:INV and:DF MIR soldier–INV then MIR
hábá  ʔ=ɛː–dɛːdíː
somewhere.against  3SG=hunt+be.standing:HSY
‘the chiefs came to council but unbeknownst to them, a group of soldiers was lying in wait behind the buildings’

(10) Gìgáuóigā̀uCò ˍnétjéːcàˍujàujṑthā́udēĀ́dàuiét

Gìgɔ́ and.then:
óygɔ̀ː yon: prs  kò  ʔnét–té  ⧼ Cornett–poss+commerce+house  3SG=be.present:HSY Big.Tree
‘and, far away from there, Big Tree was at Cornett’s trading post (on the base)”

(11) nègáuáuphā̀uā́dòmgàdā ́udéèm.

nègɔ́ and.then:
ɔ́p–hɔ̀ː there.away–def  3SG=be.present:HSY
‘and they chased him on into the woods.’

(12) Thṓgáétêgùnhèlgìgáuéjḕ ˍhèl

Thṓgáétêgùnhèl  gìgɔ́ and.then:
sa é  ⧼ tê  ʔgỳàn–hêl  3invA:3sg=chase:PFV–HSY
‘They jumped out in front of him and caught him’

(13) Óiéfā ̀ucàunhèlnàukòdêdèī ́ˍgā̀uhè

Óiéfā ̀ucàunhèl  gìgɔ́ and.then:
óy around  3SG=led+bring:PFV–HSY on.foot  3SG=be:HSY
‘He was on foot.’

(14) Thógha éte gùnhèl gigáu é jèhèl

Thógha éte, gunːhél  gigɔ́ é–tèː–hél
‘They jumped out in front of him and caught him’

(15) Õi é faːcúnhèl nàu kòdèdè  igo hégāu sólːgáu màːu chó báːdːhèːl—dáːmːauːsólːgáu—hégāu gá háːdːhèːl qaːjáí.

õy é–pɔː–kʰmː–hél  nɔ́ kʰɒːdɛːdɛ́  ìː–gɔ́ hégɔ́ sólːɛː–gɔ́ mɔ́ː  tsɔ́
yon.around  3INV:3SG=led+bring:PFV–HSY and:DF suddenly now–PRS then soldier–INV somewhat this.way
  ʔ=bɔːdɛː–hél  dɔ́ːmːâː–sólːɛː–gìː  gìː  gʰaː–t’àːdɛː–hél  kʰátáy
3SG=emerge:PFV–HSY on.foot+soldier–inv and:thenSA  3SGA:3EMP:3PL=block:PFV–MOD:VT–at 3PL=be:HSY
‘They brought him there and suddenly now a group of soldiers—foot soldiers—comes out a bit like so and hemmed the chiefs in.’

(16) Nàu hégāu ájúːgãl ˈãːgãlˈ崇高ːqíː dámːé āːˈɡuː náu ˈɪːm ˈjôːjúːiyidé

nðá  hégɔ́ ògãl  ˈɡáːlˈ崇高ːqíː kʰátáy–kʰiː  ʔ=ðːmːâː  3SG=emː=úːtːyːkʰiː=ðːdɛː
and:DF then in.turn in.reply chief+male  3SG=be:HSY SBRD  3SGA:3EMP=Speak.with:IPFV:HSY=bas
‘And then there was the officer [General Sherman] who had been talking with the chiefs’

\*The phrase does not have a locative marker.
plains life in k i o w a

(18) gáu áugáultàup gá thádèhél.

\[ gá \]

gà=kᵏʰúlˌp gàːˌ=tʰéŋhèl
and SA in reply 3EMP A:3SG D:3PL O = block:PFV–HSY
‘and in reply the chiefs blocked him.’

(19) Óp gá kūlāhyèl náu á jēhèl

\[ óp \]
yon away 3SG A:3PL O = withdraw + start off:PFV–HSY and:DF 3EMP A:3SG O = grab, hold:PFV–HSY
‘He started to escape but the chiefs held him’

(20) nègáuém sólègàuvèdèhèlgàumā ̅u gàdṓdêgàù daha ēm gàulàupgâthā̀dèhèl,ájḕ ̅u hēl.

\[ nègɔ́ ]

’and then a group of soldiers appeared and they were holding guns and then they raised them to take aim’

(21) nàu àngɔ̀ wángàqàjáiqī ̀á ̅u gàulàupgâthā̀dèhèl,ájḕ ̅u hēl.

\[ nɔ̀ ]

and:then:DF instead chief–male in reply 3EMP A:3SG D:3pl O = block:PFV–HSY 3EMP A:3SG O = grab, hold:PFV–HSY
‘but then the chiefs in turn blocked him [the officer], they seized him.’

(22) Hègáuchóyí ́gàpqà́ ̅u hî ̅u é ḟvèdè.

\[ hègɔ́ ]

then this way yíːgỳàp on both sides k’ỳá+hî+hèl man 3DU A:3SG O = hold:HSY
‘Twomen were holding the officer, one on each side.’

(23) Émdémàun Èmqíːā́ ̅jè (Stumbling Bear)dṓdênàuá ̅u gàèmgúnhèl.

\[ ém \]

this along hand Stumbling. Bear 3SG A:3SG O = hold:HSY
‘On the nearside Stumbling Bear was holding him and on the opposite side, whoever else was holding him.’

(24) Nàu ódè: sót vèdèhèl Cûifā ́gàui (Lone.Wolf).

\[ nɔ̀ ]

‘And just at that moment, Lone Wolf (the Elder) came into sight from a distance.’

‘The soldiers were standing across his path and “Go away! Go away!” they said’

(26) nè hēgáu hēgáu dāǔhèl gāútàòî chà ̅u gùhél sölèqí gīgāu dūgà ̅u gùm hènl.

\[ nè \]

but already just as 3SG S = move, toward:PFV–HSY and:SA arm:INV this way 3SG A:3SG D:3INV O = hit:PFV–HSY
‘but just as they said that he advanced and hit a soldier on his arm like so and leapt into their midst.’
(27) Ákó, hégáu óígáu qájaíqí ā dōdédè qáu hégáu kūlhel — Cúifáguí.

Ā̀ˍkô,hègáuóigàuqájáiqī̀ ̀ádṑdḕdèqâuhègáukûlhèl—Cûifā́gàui.

à ̨ːkʰôː

now:

hègɔ́

then

óy

⋆–gɔ́

that–

inv

k'ʸátáy

⋆+k'íː

chief+male

á

⋆=dóːdêː

⋆=dé

3empA:3sgO=hold:ipfv:hsy=bas

knife

then

∅=kʰûl

⋆–hêl

3sgA:3sgO=pull.out:pfv–mod:vt

kûypáːgɔ̀y

Lone.Wolf

‘Now, (seeing) that officer whom they were holding, Lone Wolf pulled out a knife.’

(28) “Gà kóhòljā̀u!” jór ˍnênàuâungàuá ˍugáultàupájḕ ˍhèl.

gʸà=kʰó

⋆+hól–tɔ́ː

1sgA:3sgO=right.now+kill:pfv–mod:vt

∅=tó ̨ːnêː

3sgS=say:ipfv:hsy

nɔ̀

and:

df

ɔ́gɔ́ltʰɔ̀p

in.reply

á

⋆=tê ̨ː–hêl

3empA:3sgO=grab:pfv–hsy

’t: I’m gonna kill him now!’ he [Lone Wolf] said but instead they [soldiers] reacted by holding him.’

(29) Nàuḗ ˍdèhègáuqájájqī̀hègáuópchòánjó ˍzā́ˍnê.

nɔ̀

and:

df

é

⋆–dé

this–bas

hègɔ́

then

k'ʸátáy

⋆+k'íː

chief+male

hègɔ́

then

óp–tsò

far.away–instead

án=tó ̨ːzà ̨ːnêː

3sgD:3plO=speak:ipfv:hsy

‘And this officer was talking in the other direction.’

(30) Béthā̀ubétîlḕTháukâui—sólḕgàu.

béthɔ̀ː

mir

bét=îːlèː

3sgA:3invD:3plO=warn:ipfv:hsy

t'ɔ́kʰɔ̂y

White:

inv

sólèː

⋆–gɔ́

soldier–inv

‘He [the officer] was apparently warning off the White men—the soldiers.’


hègɔ́

then

bé=kʰó

⋆+hé ̨ːdè

2plA:reflO=right.now+remove:pfv:imp

mɔ́n

infer

∅=tó ̨ːgʸàː

3sgS=say:ipfv

‘“Just leave now,” he was probably saying.’


hétɔ́gúːhyɔ̀ ̨ː

wait:

intj

t'áːgʸà–y

good–adv

bà=ɔ̂y

⋆+tómkį̂ː

1inclS=again+speak.in.council:pfv:imp

bá=tó ̨ːnêː

3nsgS=say:ipfv:hsy

‘“Just a moment! Let’s have another friendly meeting,” it was said.’

(33) Tháukáuiqī́ánCáuijò ˍzā̀ˍnḕdèhègáujṓ ˍqā́ˍhîˍdā́ˍumênàugàîlḕáuihyàudèjṓ ˍnê,

t'ɔ́kʰɔ́y+k'íː

White+male

án=kɔ́y

⋆+tó ̨ːzà ̨ːnêː= dé

3empD:3sgO=Kiowa+speak:ipfv:hsy=bas

nɔ̀

and:

df

gʸà=îːlèː

3sgA:3empD:3plO=dissuade:ipfv:hsy

ɔ́yhɔ̀

⋆–dé

that:

def–bas

∅=tó ̨ːnêː

3sgS=say:ipfv

‘A Whiteman who could speak Kiowa was the interpreter and he was dissuading [the Kiowas], saying,’


bè=ɔ́ː

⋆+tóbè

2pla:reflO=calm.down:pfv:mp

bè=ɔ̂y

⋆+tómkj̨ː–t'ɔ́ː–dêː

2plS=again+speak.in.council:pfv–mod:vi–hsy

hègɔ́

then

hɔ́n

not

bɔ́=tʰó ̨ːpʰá ̨

⋆+té ̨ːmɔ̂ː–tɔ́ː–dêː

1exclA:2plO=jail+seize:neg–mod:vt–hsy

∅=tó ̨ːnêː

3sgS=say:ipfv

‘“Calm down for a while. You are to meet and talk matters over. You are not to be arrested,” he said.’

(35) Hégáu máun ém jóbáu náu sólégáu hégáu tédáðáufhéhél qájaíqí.

The use of inverse óígáu (signaling plural) is incongruous with the basic form qájaíqí immediately following it (signaling singular/dual). We believe without certitude that Goomda made a false start here. In McKenzie’s manuscript, he glosses óígáu qájaíqí first as ‘those officers’ then writes ‘that officer’ over it. The verb and the context also indicate that there is only one officer under discussion, so óígáu seems to be a production error for basic Ídí.
Then they must have calmed down and then the officer ordered the soldiers to leave.


(40) Nàu áuhyə̀uə̀də̀ Sə̀thə́gə́də̀ (Satanta) gáu Sə̀thə́gə́qə́ptə́u gáu Ádə́u̯ə́t—ódehə́u pə́qò hégə́u ét sə́uhə̀l. [nə́] [gë́t] nə̀ ə̣̥kə́hə̀,–dè sə́tə́yə́də̀ ə̣̥gə́ sə́tə́tgə́,ə̣̥+k′ástə́pə́:ə̣̥ gə́ ə́də́yə́t óde–hə̀: pə́kə́:o: hégə́ and:df that–bas Satanta and:SA Satank+old.man and:SA Big.Tree as:many–DEF three then ét=sə́–hə̀l 3INVA:3EMP$=put.imp:PFV–HSY ‘And they put only three men away, that Satanta and Old Man Satank and Big Tree.’


"Of course," he said. "If you are telling the truth and bring the mules, these [men] will get out," he said.'

(43) Hégáu gá āihél.

hégó gá, áy–hél
then 3SGA=lead+bring

'Then they started on their way.'

(44) Ákó, hégáu óp gigáu háun á chánnáuhél, hégáu ém pólátcáu.

[ góm ]

ákʰó: hégó óp: gigó hín á=t’sájnɔ̂ː–hél hégó ém=pʰólátkó well.INTJ then.yon.away and.then SA NEG 3EMPS=arrive:NEG–HSY then 3EMPA:REFLO=lie:PFV

'So, they ran far away and they didn't show up, they had lied.'

(45) É hábé gá dáuméê hégáu qájáiqi, sólélqájáiqi, gáu Cājíqáhá, áugáu Tháukúqáiqi án Cājíqánédé fáuçáuñhél ęː häbé gá=dyméː=ęː hégó k’átay+ k’iː sóléː+ k’átay+k’iː gá now:INTJ sometime.along 3PLS=be:HSY=when:DF then chief+male soldier+chief+male and:SA k’áy+ t’kʰáy+k’iː án=k’áy+ t’qájnéː+ dé Comanche+Speak:man 3SGD:3PLO=Comanche+Speak:PPFV:HSY=BAS ∅=pʰ=kn∞–hél 3SGA/3SGO=lead+bring:PFV–HSY

'After some time, the officer brought over a Comanche interpreter, a White man who could speak Comanche.'


[ góm ]

gígó ém=tél–hél bót ám+ k’hóyóp hégó ém=pʰólátkó hín and.then SA 3SGA/3EMPO=tell:PFV–HSY because your+man= INV then 3EMPA:REFLO=lie:PFV and:SA NEG á=t’sájnɔ̂ː hégó bó=t’ópáymɔ̃ ∅=tóméː 3EMPS=arrive:NEG then 1EXCLA:2PLO=detain:PPFV 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY 'and he told the chiefs, 'The reason (is) a lie was told by your people and they didn't come back. So we are keeping you prisoner,' he said.'

(47) "Hégáu óópháu kóójátcú hégáu báu āhitjáu éháu hégáu.

[ góc:p ]

hégó ópː hóː k’óójátcúː–kú hégó bó=ɔːː+itt’hóː ḗːː hóː hégó then yon.away:EXPR–DEF penitentiary–to then 1EXCLA:2PLO=haul+carry.off:IPFV now–DEF then "Now we are going to haul you off far, far away to prison.'

(48) "Éháu qáudál chánnáu négáu báu ósàùjájáu gigáu óópháu báu āhitjáu.

[ góc:p ]


"When the wagon arrives shortly, we'll load you in it and haul you off far away."'

(49) É hégáu qáudál chánnhél gáu sólélgáu.

’héːː hégó k’idál ∅=tsájn∞–hél gó sóléː–gó now:INTJ then wagon 3SGS=arrive:PFV–HSY and:SA soldier=INV

'Then a wagon arrived with some soldiers.'
At that moment, they [the chiefs] sat down (in the wagons). They started on their trip."

The Old Man [Satank] was sitting in the lead wagon.

'At that moment, they [the chiefs] sat down (in the wagons). They started on their trip.'

The Old Man [Satank] was sitting in the lead wagon.

'And there, a bit beyond the place where—at Fort Sill—a long road runs on from there.'

Then Satank began to sing, he could be heard singing a Koitsenko song.

'Hewas calling out to his son who'd be killed (by soldiers): "Sitting Bear," he said, "today I'm going to meet you," he said.'

'Get the tobacco ready in the pipe and let's smoke it together today,' he said.

"For I shall not continue on past that tree standing up ahead," he said.'
Fâlhègáuôihyā̀u à=hêmâl jôǹe.

“I am going to die before that point!” he said.

Fòiánâuidā ̀uàunhèlgàuṓṓádā ́uáutáunhèlgàuánchátā ́udê 3psg=again 3sgD=again+sing+be.heard:pfv–hsy

Once again he sang out and when he finished he was war-whooping

nàu Tháukáuiqī́álqíā̀dḕdèànánjó ˍā́udê, “Goood, goood!” jôǹe—“Gàthā́gà”

and the White teamster was saying “Goood, goood!” (which in Kiowa is) “Gà thágà!”

“Hā̀u,” jôǹe, “ḗ ˍhàudèkī̀hègáubàkàulḕhḕ à=tô ̨ːnêː 3sgS=say:ipfv

Yes,” he [Satank] said, “Today we are dying together!” he said.

Mā́ufálcàhègáuááumdéhèláugàuā́dàuèchéldé ˍhègáuè ˍdégɔ̂y 3psg=make:det−hsy 3plS=be.set:np

They got fairly close to where the tree stood and the two [wagons] came up toward the spot

nàuôihyā̀u hỳè gáubéthā̀uqâudôté.

And [Satank] had a knife that no one else knew about.

Tháukáuiqī́hègáuán gán. 

He had been shredding tobacco and they didn't take the knife away from him.

Tháukáuiqī́hègáuán ćàutàunhèl; hègáumáunqâusā

Then the White man screamed; he [Satank] must have stabbed him.
However, then these soldiers were coming along on either side of the wagon (exclaiming), "Hey!"

Then came the popping of guns, his body was like a hide being shaken.

And then these two jumped out, Satanta and Big Tree, off towards some trees nearby,

but then the soldiers blocked them and the officer said,

‘You two haven’t done anything wrong. Don’t run away. Stop!’ he said.

‘And so they stopped.’

Meanwhile, that one [Satank] up in there (back in the wagon) had grown still.

‘They looked at him and he was wounded several times but still breathing’

And so they turned back and carted him away, to the hospital.

**

In the U.S. historical records, Satank soon dies on the spot and the caravan travels on, leaving his body on the side of the road.
(76) Náu ñ Séthájíde hégáu óópçaú Jéhánècù ét áhíhél.
Nó et sétt'yéde hégó ó-p-kí: tèháñé-, kú ét=ë:, hí:-hél
and DF this Satanta then yon, away: expr-PRS Texan- to 3INVA:3DUO=haul+carry:PFV-HSY
‘And then they carried these men, Satanta (and Big Tree) far away to Texas.’

(77) È hégáu ooí hágá kóográfáhóldjéjocà ét áciânhélè hégáu chájíciá mé áumdélè.
[ gò: ]
È: hégó öy: hágá à:kóográfá, hól–dé–tô:–kí:
now:INTJ then yon:EXPR somewhere-at prison-midst-ADV+building-at
ët=ë:, kí:n–hél–è: hégó tó:–kí:–dá mè=3mdé–hél
3INVA:3DUO=haul+bring:PFV-HSY=when:DF then ask+day–BAS 3DUD:3SGO=happen:PFV–HSY
‘Some time well afterward, once they had brought the two to a prison building, the day of their trial arrived.’

(78) Èdë Tháukáuiqí àugáu án Cájiójázmádë è tájódè.
[ gân ]
È:–dé t'kó:y+k'í: ñó: á:n=k’áy, tó:zámàmà=dé è=t’áy, tó:ddé:
this–BAS White+male sbrd=án=k’áy=when:INTJ then ask+day
3SGD:3PLO=Comanche+say:PFV=BAS 3SGA:3DUO=accompany+hold:IPFV
‘There was this White man with them who could speak Comanche.’

(79) È hégáu chájíciá mèn áumdélè.
È: hégó tó:–gà mèn=3mdé–hél
now:INTJ then ask–BAS 3DUD:3PLO= happen:PFV–HSY
‘Now their trial took place.’

(80) Àuihyáudë ét chájíë áígáu ét hólhlél Tháukáui
Jimà,–dé ét=tó:–hél 3SG=ó:y=when:INTJ 3SGS=ó:y
3INVA:3DUO=ask:PFV-HSY that=DEF BAS 3INVA:3INVO=kill:PFV–HSY White:INV
‘They asked the two chiefs if they [the Kiowas] had killed those Whites’

(81) ‘They asked the two chiefs if they [the Kiowas] had killed those Whites’

(82) Gìgàun náu Sétthá ǹdëj ‘Háu,’ náu à óbáuidáu.”
[ gân ]
Gìgó nò sétt’áydé ò=tó:–hél 3INVA:3DUO=ask:
hó: ò=tó:–hél 3SG=ó:y=when:INTJ t’kó:y
3INVA:3DUO=ask:PFV–HSY 3INVA:3INVO=kill:PFV–HSY White:INV
‘They asked the two chiefs if they [the Kiowas] had killed those Whites’

(83) ‘They asked the two chiefs if they [the Kiowas] had killed those Whites’

(84) ‘They asked the two chiefs if they [the Kiowas] had killed those Whites’

— pages 12 and later lost —
The Life of Satanta
by the Kiowa Culture Program

Séthâ'idé /sêːtʰ/'idé/, 'White Bear' (c. 1820–1878), was a famous Kiowa leader, warrior, and orator. Known in English as Satanta /saˈtʰæntə/, he remains one of the most revered figures from Kiowa history. However, nearly everything published about him derives from conflicting recollections by Whites or is filtered through anthropologists or historians (Rister 1932; Wharton 1935; Robinson 1998). These accounts reflect how his American contemporaries viewed him: admiring his proud defiance, as illustrated in Text 5, fearing his size and prowess, and mistrusting his political maneuvering.

This text is perhaps the first to present Satanta's complexities from Kiowa perspectives alone, unfiltered by the anthropologist's theory or the historian's lens. The recording was made by the Kiowa Culture Program, a group of elders who began to meet regularly in the late 1970s to record themselves talking about various aspects of Kiowa culture and history, in order for later generations to listen and learn from them. In over two hundred recordings, they spoke almost exclusively in Kiowa, in a roundtable format. The tape recordings were recently digitized by the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History at the University of Oklahoma. This text is the first published transcription from one of these sessions. Each began with a host introducing the topic and the people present. After that, one participant would deliver an invocation. To begin, the “chief translator” Lewis Toyebow would give an introduction to the subject in Kiowa. Then each person who wished to say something would speak in turn, sharing what they knew.

As the discussion about Satanta goes around the table, two distinct traits clearly emerge. On the one hand, Satanta exemplified the masculine virtues of pre-reservation Kiowa life, many of which have continued to this day. He was extremely courageous, a great speaker in council, and generous, excelling at everything he did. Even after he was arrested, he never wavered or lost faith in the Kiowa way of life and proudly faced the consequences of his war deeds. He is held up as an example to follow, as shown by the use of the Kiowa term thàumàuncàum /t'ɔ̀mɔ́nkɔ̀m/, indicating a standard to emulate. On the other hand, he went down a bad road of alcoholism and braggadocio. He was an irresponsible leader who did not respect the new road the Kiowas found themselves on, and this led to his arrest and suicide. One commentator even implies that he got what he had coming.

Both traits were essentially true about him, so the roundtable serves as an arena for the future of Kiowas' collective memory: what will Satanta's legacy be? This tug-of-war is a common feature of how collective memory is made—it is not as homogeneous as the term "collective" suggests (Beiner 2017). In this text, we can observe this conflict in real time. Different speakers emphasize different qualities and their priorities often reflect their own perspectives. For instance, Hazel Botone details Satanta's descent into alcoholism, which, as a pastor, she certainly disapproved of. Yale Spottedbird ruefully mentions alcohol ruining modern generations. Over time, the more positive traits have won out as Kiowas now generally hold Satanta in high esteem, especially after the efforts of his descendant organizations to honor him (Jordan 2011). His army bugle, which he played in battle to signal contrary cavalry calls, is still played during dances at annual Gourd Clan meetings.

Linguistically, this text is rich in conversational styles, for example, contraction of adverbials and the use of fillers like ḣ ː /'um/ (which we omit) and ḣgù /'hɔː/ 'yes'. This Kiowa practice serves both as a sign of agreement and a signal to continue. Otherwise, there are no significant interruptions; each person who speaks is given their turn. There is some code-switching, including at least one instance of starting a sentence in English and finishing it in Kiowa (68). Notably, every participant uses Satanta's Kiowa name, even when speaking English, as a sign of Kiowa identity.

Throughout, a particular word is repeated: jëpfátâ /tiːppátʰ/, referring to the Kiowa cultural practice of recounting a person's deeds, usually their glorious ones. As Palmer (2003, 57) points out, with these tellings: "Kiowas are able to remember people and relive events important in tribal history and culture. Indeed, the miracle of those heroic and noble times is evoked and comes alive in the imagination and memories of Kiowas every time the old stories are told."
Some of the passages were not fully intelligible at first listen, due to the rapid-fire speech and grainy recording. We thank Delores Harragarra and Dorothy Whitehorse Deaune for helping us understand the discussion. However, some passages remained obscure to the ears of our speakers, even after some attempts to clean the scratchy sound file. We have indicated these passages with parenthetic ellipses (...).

1 Lewis Toyebo

(1) Jasper Sankadota: At this time, our chief translator, Lewis Toyebo, will tell what he knows about the life of Sétháidé. [0:00]

(2) Cítáidáugáu àúcáu gá thágádè Cáuigú ém jéélè
   [ kót ]
   kír’RYI[X–gò, 3plK, g¼=tág²*–, dé kíy–gù, ém=téélè;
   White–INV from.then.on:PRS 3PLS–be.good=BSg Kiowa–INV 3EMPÁ:3EMPÒ=tell:IPFV:HSY
   The Whites were telling the Kiowas about doing things the right way, (no longer raiding)’ [0:11]

(3) nàu fá háun têndâumâuhèl
   nò pà: hòn O=thênh, ð=dêmh–hél
   and:DF some NEG 3EMPÐ:3SG0=want+be:NEG–HSY
   ‘but there were some Kiowas who didn’t want that’ [0:23]

(4) gàu Jéñádéumângú gá dàumâyl.
   gò têhá:nhè, ð=dêm–gù g¼=a=dêm+áyí;
   and:SA Texan+land–to 3EMPÁ:3PLO=land+start.of:IPFV:HSY
   ‘and so, they were going out on the warpath in Texas.’ [0:31]

(5) Nàu Jéñángâu háun gá ðfódâumâhél,
   nò têhá:nhè,–gò hòn g¼=a–pêl, ð=dêmg–hél
   and:DF Texan–INV NEG 3EMPÐ:3PLO=pleasant+thought+hold:NEG–HSY
   ‘And the Texans didn’t care for that.’ [0:39]

(6) gàu sólégáu ét ðtôgøjélhél.
   gò sòléː,–gò é=tôgò+tél–hél
   and:SA soldier–INV 3INVA:3EMPØ=support+tell:IPFV–HSY
   ‘and they [the Texans] told the soldiers [about the situation] to get their support.’ [0:46]

(7) Nàu Séttháidé, Sétáá:gàu, Ádàuíét hàupâjèlhél.
   nò sét’áydé Sétáá:y gádàumâhél
   and:DF Satanta Satank Big.Tree this:DEF–INV 3INVA:3EMPØ=jail+seize:IPFV–HSY
   ‘And these soldiers arrested Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree.’ [0:53]

(8) Ádáuíétdéci án jé hâigádâumé bót ãuícháñhél.
   ád’èyét=dèki án té: O=hyg², ð=dêmh:
   bót O=3y, ð=sán–hél
   Big.Tree=only HAB all 3EMPÐ:3SG0=know+be:HSY because 3SGS=again+arrive:IPFV–HSY
   ‘Only about Big Tree do people know everything (that happened), because he came back.’ [1:01]

(9) Nàu câudé háun gá háiguë, bót háun é ãuícháñnâuhanél.
   nò kzdé hòn g’at=hyg²: bót hòn ð=3y, ð=sán–hél
   and:DF other:BAS NEG 1NSGÐ:3PLO=know:NEG because NEG 3DUS=again+arrive:NEG–HSY
   ‘And the other two we don’t know about, because they didn’t come back.’ [1:13]

2 George Tsoodle

(10) J. Sankadota: Now at this time, we’re gonna have my brother, George Tsoodle, tell what he knows about the life of Séttháidé. [1:27]

(11) Ákó, égâu kídá dáudé à jógá.
‘So, on this day I am speaking.’ [1:45]

‘Here was a real man.’ [1:51]

‘Today people are speaking about Satanta.’ [1:55]

‘Well I really don’t know all the old stories about him, this Satanta.’ [2:01]

‘I know nothing at all about this man’s life so long ago,’ [2:23]

‘and so I don’t know anything at all about who this man was,’ [2:26]

‘and anything I try to say a little nice about him, people are saying “no” to that, so I don’t know.’ [2:33]
Meanwhile some people who have been making me talk about him, they're are saying he's an alcoholic. [2:42]

(21) Dé cyoidé gà thàuyà ègàu à jògàdéchò
[dé kyóó-dé g'á=t'áyà èg=-g'á: á=tóg'á:=-dé,-tsó]
bas long-ADV 3PLS=hear:IPFV now-PRS 3EMP=say:IPFV=bas-as
‘For a long time people have heard it how they’re saying now’ [2:43]

(22) gáu hâun hàundé ègâu Sètt'hàidé dàudèqàcômdâ hâun yá hàigáu (...)
g'á hón hândé èg=g'á: sôt't'îydé [dé=dí:=-dé+k'àkôm--dá hón yá=báy'g'á:
andsa NEG anything now-PRS Satanta 3SGS=be=bas-life=bas NEG 1SGD:3PLO=know:NEG
‘and so I don’t know much of anything about this Satanta’s life (...)’ [2:47]

(23) Àuiyàudéfôdô óbàhàucâu yá hàigádáu.
[3yòh's,-dè+pèdô óbà--hö:=-ki: yá=hày'g'á+dí:
that:DEF-bas+due.to as.much.as-DEF=only 1SGD:3PLO=know+be
‘Because of this, that’s all I know.’ [2:54]

(24) Hâyà hàundé hàyà gà bô dè dé màudàudé, hàyà hàundé gà thàgàdáu dèchò.
[ hâyà hàundé hâyà g'á=byc: dè-è: g'á=m'ì:dx,-dé hâyà
in.some.way something in.some.way 1SGA:3SGO=see:PFV bas-at 1SGA:3SGO=be.better=bas in.some.way
hàundé g'á=t'a'g'á=dí: dè,-tsó something 3PLS=proper--be bas-as
‘The way I saw him, things were better, as things were proper.’ [3:02]

(25) Yá hàigàdéfôdô ègàu à jògàdéchò, óbàhàu yá hàigádáu.
[yàn ]
yá=hày'g'á=,dè+pèdô èg=-g'á: á=tóg'á:=-dé,-tsó óbà--hö: yá=hày'g'á, +dí:
1SGD:3PLO=learn:IPFV=bas+due.to now-PRS 1SGS=say:IPFV=bas-as as.much.as-DEF 1SGD:3PLO=know+be
‘Since I learned this, I’m telling you now as much as I know.’ [3:09]

(26) Unknown other speaker: Hâu
[hö:]
yes
‘That’s right.’ [3:11]

(27) G. Tsoodle: That’s all. [3:12]

3 Steve Zotigh

(28) J. Sankadota: Ah, Steve Zotigh... [3:13]

(29) S. Zotigh: Ègàu gà jòzànmàdô hègàu dàu.
[èg=-g'á: g'á=tózànmà=dó hèg'á =dó:
now-PRS 3EMP:3PLO=spak:IPFV=bas-at because then 3SGS=be
‘It’s because people are speaking today.’ [3:18]

(30) Fôtâlyí à dàu.
[pót'ályí: à=dó:
Beaver.Boy 1SGS=be
‘I am Beaver Boy.’ [3:21]

(31) Ègàu yá jòzànmà.
Now I am speaking. [3:23]

People are telling the deeds of a man. [3:25]

They [Kiowas] were undoubtedly fearsome back in the day. [3:27]

Nowadays, people hold him up to each other as the standard (of that fearsomeness). [3:35]

They [the Kiowas] were really fearsome back then, when it came to warfare (…) [3:43]

After arresting them (for violating parole), (…) the Whites were going to accuse the Kiowas (of something).’ [3:53]

He jumped out of the third story window, I guess, and killed himself. [4:00]

He was an alcoholic and they had put him in prison. He jumped. [4:05]
4 Lucy Saumty

J. Sankadota: And now my Grandma, Lucy. [4:14]

L. Saumty: And now people are talking about a man named Satanta. [4:22]

J. Sankadota: And now, Yale Spottedbird will tell us what he knows, what he has heard about Sétthádé. [4:54]

Y. Spottedbird: Well, I now we are starting to talk. [5:05]
(53) Qâhi mâutâ.
\[
\text{k’îchî: } \emptyset=\text{môt } \hat{b}j: \\
\text{man } 3\sg S = \text{be outstanding}
\]
‘The man was renowned.’ [5:13]

(54) Câuiqâcôbâu á dáu déé, àugâu dáu álcûun déé āuíhyâugâu,
\[
\text{kì, } \emptyset=\text{môt } \hat{b}j: \\
\text{Kiowa + person:INV 3EMP S = be at SBRD 3INV A:INSG O = drive + bring:PFV BAS = at that:DEF-INV}
\]
‘The Kiowa people there were at the time, when they drove us here (from Palo Duro Canyon to the reservation), them.’ [5:15]

(55) gâu tâu gá dáu déé, qàcômdáágâu án tênxôdáu déé,
\[
\text{gò } t\hat{b}j: \\
\text{and-SA beyond:SPC F 3PL S = be at life - BAS self 3SG D:3PL O = allow + be BAS = at ‘and before that when there was freedom.’} [5:19]

(56) Kôjê é dáu déém ét jépfâtâgû.
\[
\text{k’îchî: } \hat{e}=d\hat{b}j: \\
\text{grandfather:NM 1SG D:3SG O = be about 1EXCL A:3PL O = tell about:IPFV ‘about (who) my Grandpa was, (that is what) we are talking about.’} [5:24]

(57) Náu áuíhyâudêfêdê yá háigâdâu.
\[
\text{nò } \emptyset=y\hat{b}j=âd\hat{b}x: \\
\text{and:DF that:DEF - BAS + due to yá = háygûdâx:}
\]
‘And because of that I know.’ [5:27]

(58) Hêgâu à tháudâu náu áuíhyâu à tháu.
\[
\text{hègâ } t\hat{e}=d\hat{b}x: \\
\text{then 1SG D:3SG O = hear and I heard this.’} [5:30]

(59) Thênéanfôó à káu.
\[
\text{t’enêanpîçâ: } \hat{a}=k’î: \\
\text{Eagle.Sounding.Along 1SG S = be named ‘My name is Eagle Sounding Along.’} [5:32]

(60) Ègâu qâhi Sêthâidé káudâ qàjâidûmê.
\[
\text{èt-gò: } k’îchî: sêtë’îdêyè \emptyset=\text{k’îchî: } \hat{a}=d\hat{b}j: \\
\text{now-PRS man Satanta 3SG S = be named = BAS 3SG S = chief + be:HSY ‘This man named Satanta was a leading warrior.’} [5:35]

(61) Ògàu Medicine Lodge Treaty–gá áuíhyâu châtu áuíhyâu tháudê.
\[
\text{ò-gò: } \text{Medicine Lodge Treaty- } \emptyset=\text{gà } 3\ys-h\hat{b}j: \\
\text{tsâ: } 3\ys-h\hat{b}j: \emptyset=t’î: -dê:}
\]
‘Then, he was present at the signing of the Medicine Lodge Treaty.’ [5:41]

(62) Jógúl dàumê, jógúlsân dàumê.
\[
\text{tôgûl } \emptyset=d\hat{b}j: me: \\
\text{young.man 3SG S = be:HSY young.man + small 3SG S = be:HSY ‘He was a young man, he was barely a teenager.’} [5:51]

\[\text{The deictic form } áuíhyâu/\emptyset=y\hat{b}j=x/ \text{ is ambiguous between a spatial reading and temporal one. It is usually obvious from context which is which, but in this case either form could have either reading. It is also possible that both forms have the same reading, with the form being repeated.}\]

\[\text{This must be a mix-up, as Satanta was nearly 50 years old at Medicine Lodge. He would have been a jógûlsân at the 1834 visit from Col. Leavenworth’s}\]
(63) Áuihyàú thàúdè gàú án jómáugáuhèl.
3y–hò: tős–dè: gò: án=tôː+mà:–gò:,–hèl
there–DEF 3SGS=be.present–HSY andSA 3SGD=3PL=be.skilled–HSY
‘He was present there and he was a great speaker.’ [5:54]

(64) Êgàú Thàùkàuí è jógà, jógà bét dúú.
êː–gò: tôːkʰɔ̂y ëː–gɔ̀ː têtː–gòː: tôtː–gà: bét=dès:
this–INV White:INV 3INVS=say+IPFV say–BASE 3INVD=3PL=be
‘These White folk say, in their words.’ [6:01]

(65) He was a great orator. Orator is a man who is an exceptionally good speaker. Good talker. [6:12]

(66) Déchò́ egàú Sésthà́idé dáumè.
štː–tsó: ëː–gɔ̀: sètt'ádydès: BASE–like now–PRs Satanta 3SGS=be:HSY
‘That is how Satanta was.’ [6:12]

(67) Jómkhèlè ān ēm thàùhàlù.
∅=tôːm+hàːliː: 3SGS=speak.in.council–HSY
‘Whenever he gave a speech, people would listen.’ [6:15]

(68) They listened. People listened because he ān jómáugáuhèl.
they listened people listened because he 3SGD:3PL=be.skilled–HSY
‘They listened. People listened because he was a good speaker.’ [6:18]

(69) Áuihyàuđéđëdò hégàú Ėghàáu cóhlàu hàigàádàu.
3y–hò: dë+pédò hégò: ëː–gò: kíːt'ádydès:–gò hégò tóː–hàːlù: 3SGS=be.outstanding
‘Because of that, that’s how White people have known him.’ [6:23]

(70) Gáu hànn ān číתìmàuhèl.
gò: hón àn ∅=tős–:mà:jòː–hèl
‘And he never got scared.’ [6:29]

(71) Áuihyàuđéđëdò hégàú máútà.
3y–hò: dë+pédò hégò ∅=mà:tʰːgː: that=DEF–BASE+due.to then 3SGS=be.outstanding
‘Because of this, he is renowned.’ [6:34]

(72) Gáu ēm dáumfàuzèmè.
gò: ēm=dèmes: ∅=tʰːjòː+zêmː: andSA 3SGA=3EMP=land+lead+go.about:PL=IPFV=HSY
‘And he led people around on war parties.’ [6:39]

(73) Tôyòp dáumè éjtèdò.
tôːyòp ∅=dèmes: étêtː–dò war.party.leader 3SGS=be:HSY many–times
‘He was war party leader many times.’ [6:43]

(74) Áuihyàuđéđëdò hégàú Câuìqâòbàâu hégàú, they look up to him.
[ dè ] [ bè ]
(75) Né fágú’háoan dódē اغ לוئاد. 
né pá:gò’hón 0=dó:–dè; 5gò 0=k’ý:dè but same road 3SGA:3SGO=hold–HSY SRBD 3SGS=be.bad ‘But the same man had a bad road.’ [6:52]

(76) Éhàudèkidàtca héjáugúyàu áuhiyáudè dàu tǎidàu gáu hó:an qáudad à hyá ] héjáugúyàu áuhiyáudè dàu tǎidàu gáu hó:an qáudad 0=k’ý:dè, –q: 3SGS=be.bad–ALL:DSTR ‘It is still with us today and it’s been a bad road all along.’ [6:54]

(77) Čáuíjógu’dáu gáu Càuíjóu’cuigu’dáu sàuho’tjàu. 
kóy++,tógu’dó 3SGA:1nsgD:3invO Kowa+young.man:inv and kóy++,wòkóy–gú 3SGA:1nsgD:3invO=ruin:ipfv ‘It’s ruining our young Kiowa men and women.’ [6:59]

(78) Áuhiyáu héjáugúyàu ā tóaúkáuidáu. [ hyá ] áuhiyáu héjáugúyàu ā tóaúkáuidáu 3y–hó: héjáugúyàu: á=tógu:3lkgóy+d:3 that–DEF still 3EMP=alcohol+be ‘They are still getting drunk on that.’ [7:02]

(79) Áuhiyáudè ānuqí máun áuhiyáudè qááj máun chóháu máun háyáal á fáuyícà. áuhiyáudè ānuqí máun áuhiyáudè qááj máun chóháu máun háyáal á fáuyícà 3y–hó: háyáal: món háyá= ál that–past infer that–bas man infer this.way–DEF INFERN in.some.way=also á=póy– 3SGD:3SGO=get:DEF=IPVF–SURN ‘I suppose that back then, that man [Satanta] would get it any way he could.’ [7:05]

(80) Qáut héjáu tóaúkúáičhè, ánáánánánaánánána! Án jéko’gú gá cāuétyá. Qáut héjáu tóaúkúáičhè, ánáánánánaánánáná na! Án jéko’gú gá cāuétyá k’ôt héjáu 0=tógu:3lkgóy=tsé: ánáánánánaánánáná an tógu:3lkgóy=gu and:UNEXP=SA then 3SGS=be.drunk=when:DF INTJ HAB all.sides–to g’á,–kóet+â:í: 3EMP:3PLO=in.fear+take.off:ipfv ‘And then, when he was drunk, watch out! People would take off scared in all directions.’ [7:11]

(81) Áfḕlḕ. 5 Interjection of disbelieving amazement. It has a number of variants, as in p. 64 ex. 67. [7:22]
They were scared of him.’ [7:25]

‘When he was sober, he was a good man.’ [7:27]

‘He was a brilliant thinker. And he was generous.’ [7:30]

‘Such is the one called Satanta.’ [7:36]

‘That’s all he (my Grandpa) told me about it.’ [7:41]

‘Well, on this day, people are speaking here.’ [7:45]

‘I am now speaking about this time.’ [8:11]

None of our speakers knew this name or could figure out what it meant, but Dorothy Whitehorse Delaune suggests it was the short form of some longer name.
plainslifeinkiowa

Hégáu à hējēthāudāu.  
just 1SGS=story.tell+hear+be  
'I have just heard the stories.' [8:14]

Kójè dāudē chāu án jōjāmnà.  
Grandpa:NAME 3SGS=be=BAS thus 3SGD:3PLO=speak:IPFV  
'It was Grandpa who used to tell me.' [8:26]

É thōpfēhējetāu. À thā́udā̀u.  
à=t’ɔ́ː=t’ɔ́ː+dɔ́ː 1sgS=hear+be  
'I have just heard the stories.' [8:14]

Kṑjèdā́ˍudèchâuánjó ˍzánmà.  
Grandpa: name 3SGS=be=be=bas  
'It was Grandpawhousedtotellme.' [8:16]

É ˍ thòpfèhê ˍjètjàu. À thā́udā̀u.  
à=t’ɔ́ː 1sgS=hear+be  
'I used to tell me these stories for the future. I heard them.' [8:21]

Ànyá ˍthā́ˍucṑbàdā̀udèhègáuihyā ̀uhègáuyá ˍjṓ ˍgácút.  
àn 3empD:3plO=ear+fall.into+be=bas  
'I havewrittendownwhatthingsIremember.' [8:21]

Fā́ànáuihyā̀uchògátjó ˍzánmà,néḗ ˍgā̀uyá ˍháigádā̀u.(…)  
1nsgD:3plO=speak:ipfv  
'Someofushavebeentalkingaboutthosedays,though,butInownow.(…)' [8:25]

Qā́ˍhîˍájèpfàtā̀gùSétthá ˍidékā́ˍudè.  
3empA:3sgO=tell.about:ipfv  
'PeoplearetalkingaboutthemannamedSatanta.' [8:31]

Jáidàumâungàudèfèdo. Défḗèmgā ̀uḗ ˍ  
3sgS=be.courageous instead=due.to  
'Becausehewasactuallyaverybraveman.That'swhatpeoplearetalkingaboutheretoday.' [8:35]

Nàuáu  
1nsgD:3plO=speak:ipfv  
'What I know is that theyseizedthem[thechiefs]atthearmybase(FortSill).' [8:42]

Éttṓ ˍpā́ˍàlcàunhèldéḕ ˍhègáuháunjṓ ˍáumgâumáun.  
1nsgD=word+be.marked  
'Attheplacewheretheybroughtthedetainees,theyprobablycouldn'tmakehimtalk.' [8:52]

Gàjṓ ˍáumdéhèlhègáuét  
3plS=be:HSY  
'Whenthetrialtookplace,theyasked,"Whoareyou?"' [8:55]

"Zébāutèdā ́ˍumêgàuéttā ́ˍuhèl.  
3plS=be:HSY  
'When the trial took place, they asked, "Who are you?"' [8:55]
zébót ē=dʒmɛː=gɔ̀ ét=tʰjɛː=hɛl arrow;INV 3INVS=be;HSY=INV 1EXCLA;3INVO=find;PPV–HSY
“We found an arrow that was there (at the scene).” [8:59]

(105) “A hōlhɛl,” Thāukáuiqī́jáu.
á⋆=hól–hɛl 3empA:3sgO
“‘They killed him,’ the White man said.’ [9:31]

(106) Bét chālɛ́ gau á ōmthāudɛ́ bót gā fēdāu.
bét=tsáːlêː 3sgA:3invD:reflO
‘He asked them about it [the arrow] but they kept quiet, because they were afraid.’ [9:05]

(107) Jónɛ́, “Fòi ḥā̀uháyábàjṓ thā́u.”
∅=tó ̨ːnɛː 3sgS
‘He(Satanta)said,”Let’s not say anything.”’ [9:10]

tʒː+hɛ́=bá=tó ̨ːnɛː 3nsgS
‘“Not a word,” they replied!’ [9:30]

(109) Hēbēhɛł, àuihyàudɛ́ qāhí Sētthājîdê.
∅=héːbé–hɛł 3sgS
‘Then he went in, that man Satanta.’ [9:13]

(110) Gigàu ādēhɛ́ bót án dāu.
gigɔ́ 3SGS=fear:without because 3sgD:3plO=fearless
‘Because he was completely fearless.’ [9:45]

(111) Gigàu jónɛ́, “Hâundó bát feṭjàu?”
gigɔ́ 3SGS=say;IPFV;HSY why 1INCLA:3PLO=fear;IPFV
‘He said, “Why are we afraid?”’ [9:17]

bèt=tɛl nɔː=á=dʒː nɔː=bá=dʒː 3empnɛː and.then:SA 3sgS=be us 1inclS=be 3SGS=say;IPFV;HSY
‘Tell them, “It was me. It was us,” he said.’ [9:20]

(113) Hēgāu ājūgāu àuihyàudɛ́ dēlōbā hēgāu á tōpāhjîyɛł
hɛgɔ́ 3SGS=fear:without because 3sgD:3plO=fearless
‘On account of that, he got himself arrested.’ [9:24]

(114) Gāu yì qāhí hēgāu àuihyàudɛ́l—Cāuiqī́ ē dáudɛ́l—hēgāu ét kaulēfāuhihɛl (…)
“Two man then that;DEF–BAS consequently then 3EMPAAF:3SGO=arrest;PPV–HSY
‘Two man then then that;DEF–BAS also Kiowa;male 3SGS=be;BAS=also then
Dé hégáu cháu yá hêjêthâudâu.
dé hégó tsó: yá=hêêtê, +t’si: +dê;
bas then thus 1SGD:3PLO=story.tell+hear+be
‘This is how I’ve heard this story.’ [9:34]

Hégáu hâun ê chânâu.
[ gô ]
hégás hôn ê=tâq:nô:
then NEG 3DU=arrive:NEG
‘The two didn’t make it.’ [9:36]

Né qâjí áuhyâudê cútqâucâ, gà têpâjêhêl.
né k’yâhjí: 3yâh, –dê 0=ktú+, k’ô: –k’ô:
gâ=3yô:pô:, +tê: –hêl
but man that–RAS 3SGS=picture+be.lying:NPL–SUBR 3SGA:3PLO=jail+seize:PFV–HSY
‘But some man in that picture did the arrests.’ [9:37]

Máun gáu Ádáuijêtê chêl dêém âgà,
mân gô àd’éyettê 0=tsêl dé–êm 0=âqî:ô
infer and Big.Tree 3SGS=be.in:NPL 3SGS=be.sitting:NPL
‘And probably where Big Tree was in jail, he was sitting.’ [9:43]

Gàu Ádáuijêtê dêmcâmá unémâ tóyàmá
andSA 3SGA:3SGO=release:PFV–HSY afterwards 3PLS=be:HSY=as:DF this–RAS 3SGS=be.sitting:NPL
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
8This story is told in more detail in Text 5.
9It is not clear what picture the speaker is referring to. Perhaps one was being passed around.
hêgɔ́ =táydɔ́m môn kʰɔ́n 3sgS=brave infer so 3sgS=land+go.about:npl infer
‘He was brave, so he probably went around on the warpath.’ [10:06]

(125) Gàu âdéhè án dâu hêgàu chàu jôné, zêbâut màun ét táun.

gô âdéhè: ân=dô: hêgɔ́ tsô: 3SG=to=né: zêbâut môn ét+tô: and,SA without:fear
3sgS=be then thus 3sgS=say:PPFV:HSY arrow:INV infer 3INV:3INV=finite:PPFV
‘And he was fearless so that’s why when he said that, they must have found an arrow.’ [10:08]

(126) Né gàu “Nâu à dâu, nâu bât căun,” jônê.

nêgô nô: â=dô: nô: bât=kôn 3SG=to=né:
and,then:DF me 1SG:be I 1SGA:2PL:3PLO=bring:PPFV 3SGS=say:PPFV:HSY
‘And then, “It was me, I brought them to you,” he said.’ [10:33]


händé nô: h:jê h:jê bâ=tô:né:
someone me no no 3NPS=say:PPFV:HSY
‘Some were saying, “Not me! No!”’ [10:16]

(128) Nê hêgàu chàu bôt gâ âumgâ délôbâ (…) á têpâ.

nê hêgâ tsô: bôt gʰ=5mgʔá délôbâ á,=tʰpá:
but then thus because 3PL=Happen:PPFV on.that.account 3EMP:3SG=arrest:PPFV
‘But once it happened that way (…) they put him in prison for it.’ [10:18]

(129) Òbâhâu yâ hâigâdâ égàu jâgâ yà kûtca.

[de:]
obâ–hô: yâ=hapsːá=dé éːgːô: têpːá yâ=kʰútːá
as.much.as=DEF 1SG:3PLO=learn:PPFV=bas here:PRS talk 1SGD:3PLO=yank.out:DETR:PPFV
‘I’ve managed to get out as much talk (about it) as I know.’ [10:21]

(130) Unknown other person: Hâu.

hô:
yes
‘That’s right.’ [10:24]

7 Lewis Toyobo

(131) L. Toyobo: Qâhi Séthâhidé kàudè.

kʰ’ijdè: sètt’yjèdé 3SG=k’ijdè=de;
man Satanta 3SGS=be.named–HSY
‘The man’s name was Satanta.’ [10:32]

(132) Câuigü á dàumé.

kôy–gu á=dô:né:
Kiowa–INV 3EMP=be:HSY
‘They were Kiowas.’ [10:42]

(133) Hàundôjtô á càiáuhâphèl gâu á dàumhâphèl.

hândô–tô á=kʰây,=tô+hâp–hèl gô á=dàum+hâp.–hèl
some.reason—with 3EMP=war+act.on=be.fond.of–HSY and,SA 3EMP=warpath+be.fond.of–HSY
‘For whatever reasons, they liked warfare and going out on the warpath.’ [10:54]

(134) Gâu jé hâundé âútcâu qâhîthâugâ gà dâu, gà màuûilè.

[ dêt ]
‘All these various manly activities were challenging.’ [11:34]

Some people were cautious and yet were killed (in battle)’ [11:38]

‘while some [other] people weren’t afraid to sacrifice their own lives.’ [11:49]

‘He lived how he wanted to, and that will allow me to do the same.’ [11:49]

‘Because of that, he didn't get afraid. He didn't submit.’ [12:06]

‘Even as the soldiers were talking words of death with them, somehow he remembered [his Kiowa ways].’ [12:19]

*“Words of death” might be either death threats or a reference to death sentences.*
Gàu háyá āuğau ħ gā jétcái.  

(145) Gàu háyá āuğau ħ gā jétcái.  

[ gā ] [ ħ ]  
gā háyá āuğau ħ gā = tētkāy  
and SA in some way self now 3EMP D:3PL O= tell DETR:PFV  
And that's how it was told. [12:27]

Háun ān jóädāu.  

(146) Háun ān jóädāu.  

hān ān  O=tōy+ā:dô:  
NEG HAB 3SGS= speak+be afraid: NEG  
He wasn't afraid to speak his mind. [12:31]

Unknown male: Háu.  

(147) Unknown male: Háu.  

hā:  
yes  
'That's right.' [12:34]

Áuihyāudēfēdō āuihyāudē á cāumhēl, ēhāu gā ɗāu.  

(148) Áuihyāudēfēdō āuihyāudē á cāumhēl, ēhāu gā ɗāu.  

[hyā ] [dē] [ hyā ] [dē]  
that + BAS + due to  
that + BAS 3EMP A: 3SG O= indicate: PFV - HSY  
now + DEF 3PLS= be  
That’s why they've talked about him that way, now. [12:37]

8 Hazel Botone  

Note: The beginning of this segment, including the narrator's introduction, is cut off.

(149) H. Botone (mid-sentence): dēfēdō tōhēl.  

dē+ pēdō  O=tōy+hēl  
BAS + due to 3SGA:3SG = drink: PFV - HSY  
'that's why he drank it.' [12:44]

(150) Chōlhāu nāu ā ēhōthēl.  

(150) Chōlhāu nāu ā ēhōthēl.  

tsōl–hō:  nā: ā= hēttē, + tōy:  
this way + DEF I 1SGS = story, tell + hear  
'This is how I heard the story.' [12:47]

(151) Ājē dāumēdē jōhē dāumē.  

(151) Ājē dāumēdē jōhē dāumē.  

[ hō ] [dē] [ hō ] [dē]  
3 POSS - son + BAS 3SGS = be: HSY = BAS speak + without 3SGS = be: HSY  
'There was his son who wasn't speaking.' [12:53]

(152) Gàu háundē dāućādē tōaulkāi ā cāumhēl gāu ā tōhēl.  

(152) Gàu háundē dāućādē tōaulkāi ā cāumhēl gāu ā tōhēl.  

[he]  
gā háundē  O=dō: - kān, = dé  tōy+ēlklōy ā=kān, - hēl  
and SA someone 3SGS = be: SURM = BAS drink + be: wicked 3SGA:3SGD:3SGO = bring: PFV - HSY and SA  
ā=tōy+hēl  
3SGA:3SGD:3SGO = drink: PFV - HSY  
'And someone brought him some alcohol and drank it from him.' [12:55]

(153) Čōdōtjāułkāiāumgā máun gāu kōdēdē ān jōgākūtjēhēl,  

(153) Čōdōtjāułkāiāumgā máun gāu kōdēdē ān jōgākūtjēhēl,  

[he]  
O=kōdō, + tōy+ēlklōy+ēmgyā  mān gō  kōdēdē: ān = tōy+gā+ēlklōtē, - hēl  
3SGS = very + drink + wicked + become: PFV INFER and SA suddenly 3SGD:3PL O= word + yank out: DETR: PFV - HSY  
'He must have gotten very drunk and suddenly managed to get a few words out.' [13:31]

(154) hēgāu āuihyāudē hēgāu tōnēchō.  

(154) hēgāu āuihyāudē hēgāu tōnēchō.  

[ gāy ] [ dē ]
hégɔ́ ñyɔ̀,-dé hégɔ́ Ô=tʰỳnąé,-tsó
then that—bas then 3SGA:3SGO=drink:IPFV:HSY—as
‘while he was drinking that stuff.’ [13:38]

(155) Hā̀bégàdā́ ümêngàdấ, “Èhàudè, àjáuldè hégàu cháihyèl, “Hàundéfèdò?”

hā̀bḗ gɔ̀=dʒmèː nègò ɛ̀hàu,-dé à,-tɔ́l=dé hégɔ́ Ô=tsǻy,-🗸=hùl
sometime along 3PL=be:HSY and then:DEF—bas 3POSS—father—bas then 3SGA:3SGO=ask:PFV—HSY
hónđè,+pédò what:Q for
‘After some time, his father asked him, “What’s this for?”’ [13:31]

(156) “Èdè hàundétdài dàuhâjàu?”

ɛ̀,-dé hónđè,+dʒy Ô=dùɔ́+hà,-tɔ́
this—bas what:Q medicine 3SGA:3SGO=spiritual power+rais:PFV—MOD:VT
‘What kind of effect will this medicine have?’ [13:39]

(157) Tōaúlkuái bèthåu dàumè.
tɔ̀ːl= bèthò: Ô=dʒmèː
alcohol MIR 3SGS=be:HSY
‘Little did he know, it was alcohol.’ [13:21]

(158) Unknown male: Hàu.
hɔ̀ː yes
‘That’s right.’ [13:23]

(159) H. Botone: “Èhàudè gà tǎumjònèdèfèdò, yà jógàkùtcà.”

ɛ̀hàu,-dé gɔ̀=tʰà,-ʒm+tènɛː=dé+pédò yà=tʃɔ́gɔ̀+kʰùtʃyà
this—bas 3PLS=helping+do+say:IPFV:HSY=bas+due to 1SGD:3PLS=speech+yank out:DETR:PFV
[The son said,] “Because this stuff is said to help, I was able to get words out.” [13:23]

(160) “Hàu, bèthò: dʒy+t’àːgɔ́ Ô=dʒmèː
hèx: yes medicine+good 3SGS=be:HSY
‘Yes, I guess that’s some good medicine,” [13:27]

(161) àut hègàu, “Càulál gà háujàu,” jônè.

[ tè ]
ɔ́ t hégɔ́ k̍ł=ål gɔ̀=h̃x,-tɔ́ Ő=tεnɛː
and:UNEXP:PFV then some:|=also 1SGA:3SGO=take:PFV—MOD:VI 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘and then he [Satanta said], “I’ll have some, too.”’ [13:29]

(162) Càunhèl quàt à tɛŋhèl.

Ô=k̍n,-hùl kɔ́t ʒ= tʰγ̃–hùl
3SGA:3SGO=bring:PFV—HSY and:UNEXP:SA 3SGA:3SGD:3SGO=drink:PFV—HSY
‘He brought some over and he drank it from him.’ [13:32]

(163) Quàt hègàu àjúːbùl àn tɛnɛː.

[ tè ] [ g̍ l ]
kɔ́t hégɔ́ j̍ɔ́=ål ìn Ô=tʰỳnɛː
and:UNEXP:SA then self=also HAB 3SGA:3SGO=drink:IPFV:HSY
‘And then he became a drinker himself.’ [13:33]

(164) Hègàu àtùaʊp màù (…)

hégɔ́ ʒɔ́bʊp mòn
then further and further INFER
‘He must have gone further and further (…)’ [13:35]
(165) Gàu ᐃéétdó hégáu tónnmáu máun
[ dé ]

gà ᐃéétdó hégáu ᐃ= ámbó mmā
and SA this – BAS + due to then 3SGA:3SGO = drink:IPVF infer
‘And he must have been drinking it because of that.’ [13:37]

(166) Unknown female: Alcohol.
alcohol
alcohol
‘Alcohol.’ [13:39]

(167) Unknown male: Hāu.
hɔː
yes

(168) Gàu égáu á jépfátagudéchö, qáhj, he’s a great warrior dáu máun.
[ gáː ]
gà ᐃéétdó hégáu ᐃ= ámbó mmā
and SA now – PRS 3MPA:3SGO = tell about:IPVF – BAS – like man he’s a great warrior 3SGS = be infer
‘And the way people are talking about him now, he’s a great warrior, seems like.’ [13:41]

(169) Gàu hégáu náu, máun máu hégáu, hégáu zélbé jéháundé.
gà ᐃéétdó hégáu ᐃ= ámbó mmā
and SA then I infer somewhat then then 3SGS = be impressive all thing
‘And, I, he wasn’t bad, he was amazing at everything.’ [13:48]

(170) Gàu égáu hégáu chóhláuál gáu jéháundé án máugáu.
[ gáː ]
gà ᐃéétdó hégáu ᐃ= ámbó mmā
and SA now – PRS then thus – DEF = also and SA all thing 3SGD:3PLO = be skilled at
‘And in that way he was excellent at everything.’ [13:57]

(171) Máu táui, “Náu táui á dáu.”
màː tʰɔ́y nàː tʰɔ́y à=dàː
somewhat beyond I beyond 1SGS = be
‘He was up to the task, “I am up to the task.”’ [14:00]

(172) Hégáu chóhláuál fédéáaphèl.
hégáu tsöl-hɔː=atégà=hàph= të,+hándé \àn=mà:\gà
and SA now – PRS then thus – DEF = also and SA all thing 3SGS = be:ONS \DEF \hàph \end
‘And that’s why he followed a straight path.’ [14:01]

(173) Unknown male: Hāu.
hɔː
yes
‘That’s right.’ [14:03]

(174) Áuùyáu án jézánmà déchö áugáu gá dáümë, máun kàun chó máun ét chàtjáu dé, 
[ tsːː ]
jyáh \àn=tjézánmà \dé,–tsó \sg: \gà=dàːmmα \màː \kʰòː nàː \màː \é,–tsàtt\ò
that 3SGD:3PLO = speak:IPVF \BAS – as then:PRS 3PLS = be:HSY \DEF \SO \this \way \DEF \3INVA:3EMP0 = ask:IPVF \\BAS \at
‘Then, as he was speaking (back at the trial), so they were questioning them like this,’ [14:04]

(175) égáu ém hàhél gáu jóné, “Náu à dáu,” jóné.
“He got up and said, ‘It was me,’ he said.’ [14:10]

‘I was (the one) going around out there,’ he said.’ [14:13]

‘And I annihilated them, it was me,’ he said.’ [14:15]

‘That’s the reason why he brought it on himself. And that’s why he was caught.’ [14:19]

‘That’s right.’ [14:18]

‘There were two men with him in the cell and they were able to leave.’ [14:26]

‘So they released them, Big Tree and another, however afterward they kept on behaving that way (badly).’ [14:37]
(185) "And they did not stop now." [14:37]

(186) "They're never ready (for an attack)." [14:53]

(187) 'Then he stopped at a river.' [14:55]

(188) 'All used to head out that way.' [14:56]

(189) 'That's why (it was) the same in Texas, they kept behaving badly.' [14:58]

(190) 'And they [the authorities] were asking them about it.' [15:08]

(191) 'However, that's when they arrested him.' [15:12]
‘That’s right.’ [1533]

Dé ěgàu qìgà àugàu èt màugühèldè hêjáugû chôlhàu én jàuyì.

‘...’

Dé eː–gòː k’èg’tà ágò èt=màgùː–hèl=dé hêtògùː tsóːl–hòː én=tòːyì:
‘and after that, the two they released kept behaving that way.’ [1545]

Nègàu jòi tòdàíhèl
nègò tòy 0=t³ːdáy,–hèl
and.then:DEF cell.at 3SGS=leave.behind:DETR:PFV–HSY
‘But he [Satanta] was left behind in the cell.’ [1539]

Unknown male: Hàu.

hòː
yes
‘That’s right.’ [1529]

H. Botone: Òbàhàu yá hái.
obà–hòː yá=háy
as.much.as–DEF 3EMP:A:1SG:D:3PL:O=inform.about:PFV
‘That’s all they told me.’ [15:21]
Part II

Interacting with a Closing Frontier
Poolant's Killing
by Wind Goomda

In the early days of reservation life, Kiowas led a more restricted existence, encouraged to adopt the settled, more domesticated life envisioned by the U.S. government. Although this assimilation coincided with an end to outright war, there was still room for violent conflict on a smaller scale. This text, originally told by Gómdáu /gómdɔ́ː/ (Wind Goomda), recounts a memorable incident of that sort. In the summer of 1891, a Kiowa man named Fólā́ˍjè/pólá ̨ːtè/, anglicized as Poolant, was killed in a dispute over one of his horses that had strayed. The White man who killed him claimed self-defense but was also the only surviving witness, so his account is not fully trusted among the Kiowas.

The event took place west of what is now called Elk Creek, which the Kiowas called Ā̀ˍucùvā́u/ɔ̀‬̨ːkù+p'ɔ́ː/‘pecan+creek’. The area was then known as Greer County, not to be confused with the modern-day county of the same name. Greer County before 1896 was the sizeable territory between the two forks of the Red River, on the boundary of Texas and what would become the state of Oklahoma. The area was claimed by Texas but controlled by the U.S. in Indian Territory. The Supreme Court ruled it part of the latter and it became part of Oklahoma in 1907. Our storyteller, living in the Mountain View area to the east of Elk Creek, describes Greer County as ‘the place on the far side of the river that Elk Creek flows into’ (14), which is the North Fork of the Red River.

The telling of Poolant’s killing itself occupies only half the recording. In the second half, the narrator evokes a controversy among Kiowa calendar keepers. Àunkôvàṳgàdḗdè/ɔ̀nkʰóp'ɔ́ːdèːdè:, whose name was usually shortened to Àunkô /ɔ̀nkʰôː/, kept a seasonal calendar from 1864 to 1892, marking for each summer and winter some notable event to help count the years. Many Kiowas made such calendars, many of which are treasured by their descendants to this day. These calendars have also served as an object of anthropological and artistic interest (Mooney 1896; Greene 2009). According to Gómdáu, Àunkô’s calendar places this event as taking place in the winter after it actually did. Gómdáu emphasizes that Poolant’s killing happened after another memorable incident rather than before it and in doing so highlights a clear sense of temporal ordering. James Mooney had Àunkô reproduce his calendar for him; that copy is in the National Anthropological Archives. It is also available online (under ‘Anko’) with many other calendars at a site kept in conjunction with the Kiowa Tribal Museum (Graber and the Kiowa Tribal Museum 2020).

That second incident involved three boys who ran away from a brutal boarding school into the teeth of a blizzard that killed them. As Mooney (1896) recounts, the Kiowas nearly rose up in anger as a result of the deaths. The incident’s notoriety has yet to diminish in the annals of Kiowa oral history to this day and in the 1940s was well within Gómdáu’s living memory. Thus, he describes the incident, starting at (19), with the presupposition that the listener knows about the boys in question. He places the boys’ deaths as being ‘beyond’ Poolant’s. The term ‘beyond’ might seem to suggest ‘after’, but here it means ‘at a further remove from the present’, hence ‘before’.

The language of this narrative reflects the fact that much of both stories had to be inferred. Throughout the narrative, the teller deftly contrasts reports on what happened with suppositions on the teller’s part that fill in gaps where no trustworthy report is available. Reported matter utilizes hearsay marking on the verb while speaker inferences are indicated via the particle máun /mɔ́n/, glossed as infer. This particle is often translated by ‘must have’ or ‘it’s likely’. In this narrative, it is the sign of a hedge by the speaker, expressing what the speaker supposes to fill in gaps from oral accounts.

This story was originally told in 1949 by Wind Goomda, working with Parker McKenzie, who recorded it and then transcribed it his own orthography. He also added the specific date that the boys froze to death. In the 1980s, he recorded a reading of that transcript. Our gloss is greatly aided by his transcript, translation, and commentary.

(1) Fólā́ˍjè é hólędę́hę́hę́jéga
"The story of how Poolant was killed"

(2) Qàujó hé gà dàumè àuîhyàudè fài.

k’ító hè: gà=dỳmè: ỳhè, dé pày Sun.Dance absent 3PL=be;HSY that=DEF–BAS summer 'There was no Sun Dance that summer.' [0:03]

(3) Fàgàufài gà dàumèè Fòlàjè é hòlèhèl.
pàgɔ̀+pày same+summer gỳà=dɔ́=mèː 3plS=be: hsy ɔ́yɔ̀–dé that:def –bas pày summer 'That same summer, Poolant was killed.' [0:06]

(4) Ágàudáúmàn Greer Countyét caumàù àdè, Thàukàûjìgòl dàumèè déàujèhèl.
3gò dàm àn Greer County ët=kỳmà 3sg thòt+bèsà+dù –hèl sbrd land HAB Greer County 3INAV:3NVO=designate:1PFV BAS–at White+young.man 3SG=be;HSY 3invA:3sgO=kill:PFV–HSY 'Somewhere in what they call Greer County, a young White man shot him.' [0:33]

(5) "È tònuxàngàûđèfèdò gà tautcàu," jònè.
è=tòn, ë+ts’àngɔ́=dé+péːdò 3sgA:1sgO=attack+race:pfv =bas +due.to gỳà=t’òkʰɔ́y+tógúl White+young.man ∅=dɔ́=mèː 3sgS=be: hsy ∅=tʰɔ́ttè 3sgA:3sgO=shoot:pfv–HSY ‘He was charging at me, is why I shot him,’ he said.' [0:25]

(6) Fòlàjè chè á vàuîhyàldè máu àngà Òlàkàûjìqì hòldè máù à fàdò
pòlàtè tsè: á-p’ỳ, –hèl=ðè mòn 3gò t’òkʰɔ́y+k’ìì 3sg=dỳmèː= –hèl mòn Poolant horse 3sgD:3sgO=lose–HSY=BAS INFER sbrd White+man 3SA:3SGO=kill:PFV=BAS INFER à=pòdò: 3SGA:3SGD=take.care.of 'Poolant had lost one of his horses and the White man who killed him was probably keeping it' [0:30]

(7) nàu háundétàlì fàuàjìjòlhèl,
nh dìndè, ë+t’ài: 3sg=to+pòó+k’hà+tól–hèl and:DF some+boy 3SGA:3SGO=lead+get+send:PFV–HSY ‘and he [Poolant] sent a boy to go get it,’ [0:39]

(8) nàu máù àngàjài nàu hêgàu Òlàguà gà àîhyèl
nà mòn 3SG=to=gà+tu: nh bëgɔ̀ 3gù-a=áy–hèl and:DF INFER 3SG=refuse.to.relinquish+act:PFV and:DF then self 3SA:3SGO=start.off:PFV–HSY ‘but he [the White man] refused to give it up, so he [Poolant] went to get it himself’ [0:43]

(9) gàu máùn háyà Thàukàûjìqì màù ètfádìduàfè, gò mòn háyà t’òkʰɔ́y+k’ìì: mò 3sg=to+etpàṭʰè+dù=pè: and:SA INFER in.some.way White+male somewhat 3SGA:3SGO=coerce+ask:PFV ‘and he probably demanded the horse from the White man,’ [0:54]

(10) nàu hêgàu máùn sàuàjìdè gìgàu tautjìhèl gàu hòlèhèl.
À 3sg=to=gà+tu: gìgò 3sg=to+t’òkʰɔ́tè, –hèl gò and:DF then INFER 3SG=get.angry:PFV and:then:SA 3SGA:3SGO=shoot:PFV–HSY and:SA 3SGA:3SGO=kill:PFV–HSY ‘so then he [the White man] must have gotten angry, then he shot him and killed him.’ [0:58]

(11) "Hàuàjà òédà pà àu gà à tònyàjìjadèfèdò gà tautcàu," jònè.

*This title appears on McKenzie’s manuscript.
Háun háundécàuiqī̀áuihyā̀uthā́ugâuhèldòháunhā ́jêlánkòháihàigã̀uháyágàkòháidā ̀ucàdè, hɔ́n h̨:gɔ̀+kɔ́y+k’íː some+Kiowa+man ɔ́y–hɔ̀ː there–def 3sgS=be.present–neg 3plS=heart+bad–hsy ‘However, the man [Poolant] was mean, and it was well known that he had a foul temper.’ [1:26]

‘It was mid-winter before Poolant was killed (January 9, 1891) when the schoolboys ran away from school.’ [2:14]

3McKenzie says the word parenthenses here, as he is reading from the text.
Qā́ˍhîˍMerritt káʊdédé máùn tàlí áугáuí éthá́dè máùn thënítèmgágù.
k'táːːh: Merritt ə=kwóː–dèː=dé món tʰâːːyìː 5gó ə=ét–háː=dé mión man Merritt 3SG=S=be.named–HSY=BASENFER boy SBRD 3SGS=be.big:SG–CHAR=BASENFER ə=tʰâːːyì, tʰèmgâ 3SGA:3SGO=switch+race:PFV
‘A man named Merritt had apparently whipped the oldest of the boys.’[2:29]

Nègáu á thömáidètènàumâù.
Negó k'ነːhî  man Merritt Merritt ∅=kʰɔ́–dêː=dé 3sgS =be.named–hsy = =
mɔ́n infer mɔ́ː somewhat è ə=sàn=dé hégô ᐅ=àiː+ɔ́ːmèː and.then:SA INFER somewhat 3DU=D=be.small:NPL=BASENFER then 3SGA:3DUO=agree+make:PFV
‘and so he [the boy] got the idea of running away.’[2:38]

Gìgáumáumā ˈtʰàlyíː ógɔ̀ sbrd ∅=ét–háː=dé 3sgS =be.big:+char =bas mɔ́n infer tʰàlyíː boy ógɔ̀ sbrd
‘and then he must have convinced two slightly younger ones to join him,’[2:42]

Gàuhègáumáunè ˈtʰémgɔ̀ 3sgA:3sgO =switch+race:PFV
‘and so he brought them along on his escape.’[2:47]

Yàugútté, hègáumáunè ètʰàlyópèqâ ˈtʰà əmg'yá
‘Even though they knew better, the other two must have agreed and started along with him.’[2:51]

Áutcàumáunhègáuè thómdā̀uhā̀ü ɔ́tkɔ̀ whenever mòn infer hègô then mòn è=tʰóː 3invS =furtive+move:ABL:distr ∅=tʰàlyóp=k’ôhâːp’ô 3plS =be.cold+become:PFV
‘At some point during their flight, it suddenly grew cold.’[2:59]

Nàujḗhàuièqâ k’ìhī̀  nɔ̀ and:DF all.of.them è=k’ɔ́ː 3invS =freeze+die:PFV – hsy ‘And they all froze to death.’[3:06]

Pà́ ˈpʰá  three è=dɔ́ːmèː 3invS =be:HSY
‘There were three of them.’[3:10]

Éthêl ˈéːtʰêl décā́ukī̀ ə=kwóː–dêː=dé kʰôdédé k’dâ=k’hì+yátk’ì+yátk’hìː 3sgS=be.big:SG–HSY=BASENFER ten+four+teen 3SGD:3SGO=winter+be:HSY
‘The oldest one was 14 years old.’[3:14]

Fólā́ ˈpólá 3INV=be:HSY jèéhòldètā̀ usā́kóvà ˈpʰó 3plS =be:HSY uigàdā́ ˈpʰà 3plS =be:HSY,áugàútàlyópèqâ ˈtʰà əmg’yá
‘It was midwinter, before Poolant was killed, that the boys froze to death.’[3:21]

3The verb thënítèmgâ (tʰâːːyì, tʰèmgâ), translated here as ‘whipped,’ indicates hitting like one would a racehorse to get it to race.
4This numeral is striking because typically, yátcátâ suffices to mean ‘fourteen’ without cáːk’hì ‘ten.’
(30) Háun qī́gā gā dáumāuhèl.
ñín k'íg’hā  gâ=dýmôː,−hèl
NEG afterward 3PLS=be:NEG−HSY
'It wasn't afterward.' [332]
Running Away from School
by William Wolfe

The boarding school experience was one of the most consequential for the cultures of Native America during the 20th century (Adams 1995; Milloy 1999). Children were housed away from home and taught with rigorous military discipline, which in many places was harsh even by the standards of the day. The school system was devised by army captain Henry Pratt as a way to end the "Indian problem" through pacification and civilization, rather than simple extermination as some were advocating. As the saying went, the goal was to "kill the Indian and save the man." The curriculum was at once forced assimilation and proper trade school, delivered in the spirit of supremacist benevolence. Stern teachers taught students to be good little Americans: to speak English, become Christians, wear Western clothes, eat Western foods, own and exchange private property, work in technological agriculture, and so on. The experience was often traumatically brutal and abusive.

There were two sorts of boarding school, those built near Indian communities, and intertribal schools built as far away from Kiowa country as Lawrence, Kansas (380 miles), Phoenix, Arizona (1,200 miles), and Carlisle, Pennsylvania (1,333 miles). The community schools were far less severe, in part because unhappy students could run away to home and in part because staff who were too rough would have to face angry parents. Schools set up near Kiowa communities included those at Rainy Mountain and Anadarko. The latter has been modernized into Riverside High School.

The Kiowa experience with boarding schools was rarely as traumatic as it was for many Native American groups. In part, this was because a good number of Kiowas saw education as a benefit worth sending one's child to obtain. Many Kiowas even went on to college, even if the assimilation did not completely stick. For instance, Carlisle graduate Delos Lonewolf's file laments his ambition to be an "old-time chief" despite years of instruction (National Archives and Records Administration n.d.). Most young Kiowas in the early days went to the community schools and overall made the best they could of their experiences (Trafzer and Keller 2006; Strathman 2015). The schools prohibited the use of Kiowa and punished students caught speaking it, but after dark, the children would tell each other stories in Kiowa, comparing versions they had heard (Parker McKenzie, p.c.). In subsequent generations, though, the desire by parents to prepare their children for success in the White world led them to discourage the use of Kiowa in favor of English. Despite its goals, the boarding school did not end all trace of Kiowa ways. Instead, Kiowas adapted their old ways into the new ones as much as they could and managed to preserve much of their heritage, language, and culture (Ellis 1996).

That does not mean these local schools were idyllic. Many students still ran away, like the three boys mentioned in the story of Poolant's Killing (Text 7). The current text records another instance of flight in which William Hovakah Wolfe (1898–1973) recounts running away from school with another boy for no reason other than not liking it. His age places the story around 1904–5. As a six-year-old boy, he shows some cleverness in throwing pursuers off their trail but is eventually caught anyway. No word is given on what happened to the other boy. Curiously, the punishment that awaits him back at the superintendent's office turns out to be quite lenient.

This text is linguistically interesting for some of the variation it exhibits. Wolfe's use of /s̥u̯ɡɪ/ for 'sit down:PFV' rather than /s̥u̯ɡd̥/ exemplifies the diachronic derivation of /ŋ/ from historical /i/. Another element of variation is voicing. Wolfe voices some voiceless stops intervocally, as when /ɔ̄nθēp/ is pronounced /ɔ̄ntˈɛb/ when the next word is vowel-initial (7)–(8).

This recording was made by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1957. The narrative begins as it does because it is the second of two texts by Wolfe recorded together.

(1)  Náu ēdè, ēdè güjè gá dàudè ŋuā ñáu ěgāu dè ñāhmúc̥ts̥u̯g̥idd̥ àu̯hýchàu̯d̥ gà dàu.  

Distances from Anadarko, Oklahoma by modern roads according to Google Maps, accessed June 5, 2021.
And this one, this other story is from the time I myself first went to school."

‘I was maybe six years old when I went to school at Rainy Mountain.’

‘I ran away because I didn’t like it.’

‘And so I ran away.’

‘Now, Mom and Dad lived nearby.’

‘After a few days, a policeman came and took me back.’

‘I ran really far away in a different direction with another boy.’

‘We finally got to the school and the superintendent was asking me, “What did you run away for?” he said.’

‘I just took off,’ I said.”

“1 just took off,” I said.”

‘Then we finally got to the school and the superintendent was asking me, “What did you run away for?” he said.’
But then he didn't do anything to me. [136]

And he was talking with me (saying,) “Don't do that again.” [136]

It's bad,” he said.” [133]

And this was something I never did again,' [134]

'that is the story.' [137]
Sende Meets a White Man
by Alma Ahote

Sende /séndé/, sometimes written Saynday, is the trickster character of Kiowa mythology. He regularly gets into funny situations where he takes the opportunity to pull a trick on an unsuspecting victim. As often as not, he fails in comedic fashion or the tables turn and he finds himself the mark of someone else's deception. His antics are also the source of a number of etiological and cosmological explanations about how the world came to be.

Sende stories are transmitted to children from a young age. According to Kiowa elder Florene Whitehorse-Taylor, Sende "is the primary purveyor of cultural values for the Kiowa Nation" (Whitehorse-Taylor 1994, 232). Traditions govern the use of Sende stories (for instance, they are only to be told in wintertime after dark) and the storyteller risks supernatural punishment for not observing the rules. The best-known collection of Sende stories translated into English is Alice Mariott 1963, as told by George Hunt.

Though the Kiowas have passed these stories to children and grandchildren since time immemorial, the genre was not a fixed one. As they encountered Europeans and other colonists, Kiowas adapted and created new Sende stories to humorously counter the changing stereotypes of Indians held by Whites. The best example is this text, which, as per tradition, begins with Sende "coming along" (Séndé … áhêl) and encountering a novel opportunity, a fancily-dressed White man on a horse. The White man has heard the legends and demands that Sende pull a trick on him, a sort of one-man Wild West show. Sende feigns inability, alluding to his medicine, craftily spinning a web that takes advantage of the European myths of Indians as mystics. The White man is unaware that Sende's gifts are all too earthly. The trickster sets in motion a process that bamboozles the White man without him even realizing it.

Seen with this background, the story reveals itself as a defiant statement of resistance and independence in the face of a closing frontier oppressing one's culture. The Indian will act the Indian but on his own terms and to his own ends. Small wonder this tale has amused generations of Kiowas.

Linguistically, the frequent use of the word jônê/tônê:/ in this text is striking. It is used 29 times in all. Glossed as [say:IRFYHSY], it features in Kiowa narratives where English might use 'said', 'asked', or 'responded'. The form is in the imperfective but is universally understood and translated as a completed event rather than an ongoing one. It is often doubled, both opening and closing quoted speech. The majority of this story consists of dialogue punctuated with jônê.

Another point of interest is the role of switch reference in this text. Kiowa has a number of ways to connect sentences that indicate whether the subjects of the two sentences are the same entities or different ones. The most common are the conjunctions gâu /gɔː/ (same) and nàu /nɔː/ (different). The use of these in a back-and-forth situation allows the Kiowa to leave out any words referring to the participants (Watkins 1999). However, English translations would be difficult to follow without regularly identifying the participants.

This text is also excellent for comparing the lexical pair 'mule'/White', both of whose basic forms are tháukáui /t'ɔ́kʰɔ́y/. Their inverse forms differ, however: tháukáuigú /t'ɔ́kʰɔ́ygú/ for the animal, tháukâui /t'ɔ̂kʰɔ̂y/ for the people.

One other lexical curiosity stands out in this version of the story. The storyteller puts the White man on a mule, rather than a horse. The text even includes the White man talking about his chê 'horse', which can sometimes have a broader meaning as 'animal'.

This particular version of the story was told by Alma Ahote in 1957, as part of the series of recordings collected by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The transcription and gloss were greatly aided by an earlier gloss made by Gus Palmer, Jr., which he graciously provided us.

(1) Sêndé Tháukáuiqí qâujêhêldêhêjeğâ
(2) Sénédé hàbé ãhêl nâu Tháukáuiqí ʒaquíhêl.
Sende somewhere.along =t'ɔ́kʰɔ́y+k'íː 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY and:DF White+male 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
'And he [the White man] asked, “How are you coming along?” he said.' [0:07]

(3) Nègáu jóné, “Háchò ʔem ʒ?” jóné.
And.then:DF White+male 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY how 2SGS=be.named 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘The White man asked ‘Are you the one who plays tricks?’ he said.’ [0:24]

(4) Nàu “Séndé à=kʰɔ́ 1sgS =be.named ∅=tó ̨ːnêː 3sgS =say:ipfv:hsy
‘My name is Sende,” he said.’ [0:21]

(5) Tháukáuiqí jóné, “Háuámèmdā́u,ànbèxā ̀nhṓlê?” jóné.
The White man asked ‘Are you the one who plays tricks?’ he said.’ [0:24]

(6) Tháukáuiqí jóné, “Háuámèmdā́u,ànbèxā ̀nhṓlê?” jóné.
The White man asked ‘Are you the one who plays tricks?’ he said.’ [0:24]

(7) NàuhègáuSéndéjṓ ˍnê,”Hàu,áuihyàudèàdā ́u,”jṓ ˍnê.
And.Sende 1SGS=be.named 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘And he [Sende] replied, “Yes, that’s me.”’ [0:32]
“I left my medicine far from here,” he said. “So how? I’m on foot, so shall I manage to get there?” [3:47]

(12) Nègáu Tháukáuíqí jònë, “Háunë, ê kóxanhòh,” jònë. [tón]

negó t'okʰɔ́y+k’i:  nò hàn:  ě=kʰòh, +ts’àn:nhôh
and.then:DF White+male 3SGA:3SGO=reach:PFV-HSY no 2SGA:1SGO=right.now+trick:PFV:IMP
nó=tóc:në:
3SGS=say:PFV:HSY
‘And the White man said, “No, trick me now,” he said.’ [9:57]


hàn an dày-hé:  dë-ts’àn:nhògû:  nò=tóc:në:
NEG HAB medicine+without 1SGA:3EMP=trick:NEG 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘He [Sende] said, “I don’t play tricks without my medicine,” he said.’ [1:00]


nàu hàn:  nò=tóc:në:
NEG HAB medicine+without 1SGA:3emp=trick:NEG 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘He [the White man] said, “Well, let me just go ahead and lend you my horse.”’ [1:05]

(15) Nàu “Háunë,” jònë.

nàu hàn:  nò=tóc:në:
NEG HAB medicine+without 1SGA:3emp=trick:NEG 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘No,” he [Sende] said.’ [1:09]

(16) Tháukáuí á ådë.

t'okʰɔ́y å:ådë:
mule 3SGD:3SGO=be.sitting:NPL:HSY
‘The White man was mounted on a mule.’ [1:13]

(17) Dölbèhè Tháukáuíqí nàu hégà háun ánuuhèl.

[ gõn ]

nègā t'okʰɔ́y hàn:  nò hégà hàn:
and:DF no 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘The Whiteman was elegantly dressed and so he [Sende] refused.’ [1:13]


[ bé ]

negó hábè hégà  nò ě=k’nò, +3:–hél
and.then:DF sometime then 3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY and:DF 2SGA:1SGD:3SGO=right.now+awhile+give:PFV:IMP
nó=tóc:në:
3SGS=say:IPFV:HSY
‘At length, he [Sende] said, “All right, lend it to me.”’ [1:29]

(19) Gàu á áuuhèl.

[ gā ]

gà  á=k’nò, +3:–hél
and:SA 3SGA:3SGD:3SGO=awhile+give:PFV--HSY
‘Then he lent it to him.’ [1:24]

(20) Nègáu ém sàuhèl gà ãáhyèl.

[ gām ]

negó ém=sòc, +3:–hél
gà ĝā=ây, +3:–hél
and.then:DF 3SGA:REFL=sit.down:PFV--HSY and:SA 3SGA:3PLO=start.Off:PFV--HSY
‘So he [Sende] got in the saddle and started away.’ [1:25]
(21) Gàu hégàu xángch*bél gàu hégàu kóígáumbél.  

Gàu hégàu xángch*bél gàu hégàu kóígáumbél.  

(22) Gàu jóné, "Èm àugákàunmàu, háun é hágàu."  

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(23) "Hét qâunbóhëdáu náu àuhú.  

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(24) Nègáu kàun hégàu qâunbóhëdáu áu àuhúhél.  

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(27) "Hàun màun ám à ñáùmáu náu gàu jáuhú. Àumyà à dàu, jóné.  

"Hàun màun ám à ñáùmáu náu gàu jáuhú. Àumyà à dàu, jóné.  

(28) Nègáu hôldâàl án àuhúhél.  

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(29) Gàu fâch*cúu àuìköëdëhél gigàu káudé gàu jóc*ñyiàl hégàu én háuhél.  

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(30) Èn àuháuhél.
‘He borrowed them from him.’ [212]

‘Then he turned it around yet again and said,’ [214]

‘Give me your spurs. That’s why he won’t get going,’ he said.’ [219]

‘And so, the spurs too. He [Sende] had taken everything from him.’ [228]

‘Then he began to ride off.’ [234]

‘And he said, “That’s the way I am,” he said. “I fool people.’ [234]

‘He [the White man] cried out, but he [Sende] had already disappeared over the hill.’ [242]
Sende Tricks a White Man
by Helen Spottedhorse

This Sende text involves the same adaptation to encounters with Whites as Text 9 told by Alma Ahote. We offer it here to illustrate differences in narrative style. Reduced to the bare minimum, it has little of the description or amusing back-and-forth that Ahote’s version employed.

Despite its concise approach to narration, the text still holds linguistic interest. In this and the previous text, Sende describes his dāui /dɔ́y/ ‘medicine’. As with other Native Americans, Kiowa medicine tends to be a more spiritual concept than the Western notion, which is tied to physical health (Kracht 2017). The word is clearly related to dúu /dɔ́ː/, which refers to the spiritual power that imbues all things. Certain people were better able to harness their dúu and were said to be dúudú ‘endowed with spiritual power’ ([dɔ́ː+dɔ́ː] ‘spiritual.power+be’). As Kiowas adopted Christianity, the concept was maintained in the word for ‘pray’ dúuchái ([tsaʃ] ‘ask, beseech’) and, with tone shift, in the names for God Đàuqí and Jesus Đàuqàí (ʃ/k’íː~k’ỳá/’male’, íː/’child’).

The recording is part of the collection made by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Our translation depends largely on discussion with Dorothy Kodaseet, gathered during field sessions in 2004.

(1) Tháukáuíqí Séndéqā́ujéhèl.
  t'ɔ́kʰɔ́y+k’íː =k’ɔ́ːté –hêl
  White+male Sende 3sgA:3sgO=meet:PFV–HSY
  ‘A White man met Sende.’ [0:00]

(2) Tháuikáuíqíjòně, “Ànbèxā̀nhṓlê. Hété ˍxā̀nhṓ.”
  t'ɔ́kʰɔ́y+k’íː =tó ̨ːnêː=say:ipfv:hsy
  àn hab bè=ts’àːnhóː 2sgA:3empO=
  ‘The White man said, “I hear you are always tricking people. Go ahead and trick me.”’ [0:05]

(3) Séndéjòně, “Dáui gàt tódáu jócà.
  sénɛ=tóːnɛː=  dɔ́y  gʰat=tʰóːdɔ́
  Sende 3sgS=say:PFV:HSY medicince 1sgA:3plO=leave.behind:PFV home–at
  ‘Sende said, “I left my medicine at home.”’ [0:21]

(4) “Chê ˍé ˍā́uā̀ˍunàugàtkäuàijā ̀u.”
  tsê ̨ː  ɔ́ː +ɔ̂ ̨ː  nɔ̀
  ’horse 2sgGA:3SGD:3SGO=awhile+give:PFV:IMP and:DF 1sgA:3PLO=get+start.off:PFV–MOD:VT
  ‘Loan me your horse and I’ll go get it.’ [0:28]

(5) Chê á āuāuhél.
  tsɛː  a=ɔ́ː–hêl
  ’horse 3sgGA:3SGD:3SGO=awhile+give:PFV–HSY
  ‘He loaned him his horse.’ [0:35]

(6) “Hóldà yá āuāu gāu qa’ünbóhôdàu gāu táidéhôldà gāu jócînì.”
“Loan me your shirt and hat and coat and boots.” [3:41]

(7) Jé hólādā án hâuél gàn tāi èm sāuhēl gāù jéné, “Chōlū̀ ānu dē xānhótjāu.”
té: hólādā án=hôː=-hêl gô tʰây èm=sôː,-hêl gô ∅=tôːnē:
tsôl–hôː: ān dē=ts’ānhōttô
thus–DEF HAB 1SGA:3EMP.O=TRICK:IPFV
‘He got all his clothes and mounted up and said, “That’s how I trick people.”’ [3:54]
New Clothes for Church
by Parker McKenzie

One of the major ways that Kiowa life changed during the reservation period of 1867–1901 was through conversion to Christianity. The “Jesus road,” as it came to be known, involved baptism and leaving behind old religious beliefs tied to the spirituality immanent in the world and collected in medicine bundles. Although U.S. policy pushed Indians in this direction—the last Kiowa Sun Dance (1892) was stopped by order of the local Army general—many Kiowas were independently interested by the new ways and freely chose the Jesus road, incorporating into it aspects of Kiowa customs and practices.

This text recounts an event that took place in the late 1890s at the Rainy Mountain Baptist Church (RMBC) in the earliest days of Kiowas’ conversion. The RMBC has stood as one of the cornerstones of Kiowa Christianity since its foundation in 1894. The church’s congregation included many of the first Kiowas to take the Jesus road, like Qódèbò ˍhòn (or Gotebo), who wrote the first Kiowa hymn. While Kiowas eventually worshipped Christ under many distinct denominations, the RMBC has continued as a sign of the conversion of Kiowa religion on a cultural level. This conversion process is detailed in Lassiter et al. (2002) and Kracht (2017), and one can read firsthand accounts by the missionaries themselves in Burdette (1895).

The church was organized by the missionaries Maryetta Reeside (whose Kiowan name was Émdèkò /émdèkʰoː/ ‘(Come) to this side’) and Lauretta Ballew. Its first pastor was Reverend Howard Clouse (whom the Kiowa named Pánjé /pʰánté/ ‘Cloud’). Early work was aided enormously by Julia Given (Áulthá ˍijè/ɔ́lt’á  ̨ytè/ ‘White hair’), a daughter of Satanta (Text 6). Given had studied at the Carlisle school and returned home to help with the “civilization” process.

The church’s location is no coincidence. Rainy Mountain had been a sacred site for Kiowas since their earliest arrival in the area. Its Kiowa name is Sépyáldà /sépyáldà/, which means ‘rain knoll,’ as it is, in reality, a fairly small hill. Its grass stayed green year round rather than yellowing in dormancy as Plains grass normally does, making the hill a marvelous site. It has kept its spiritual power (or dā́u) and was naturally suited for the new church and its cemetery. It was also practically located near many Kiowa allotments.

Parker McKenzie’s story, told to him by his mother, humorously reflects one particular aspect of this conversion process, clothing. Across the Eastern US, charitable Christians moved by hopeful accounts and letters from missionaries donated clothing that was then shipped to the poor Indians. Reverend Clouse distributed one such shipment and instructed the Kiowas to wear the clothes the next Sunday, as dressing nicely for church was as a sign of respect. However, he neglected to instruct them as to how the clothes should be worn, with comic effects that undermined the gravitas that the clothes were meant to create.

Sentences (31) and (34) provide nice examples of a common Kiowa rhetorical technique of describing impossibility via a question. For instance, instead of saying that a woman’s dress hitched up in the back, “but she couldn’t possibly know,” the speaker literally asks, “but how could she possibly know?”

This story was recorded by Laurel Watkins in 1986.

1 The speaker starts to say he is about to tell a hējègà, a story, but then switches to call it a tḥuyéjà, a recounting. We have left this self-correction in to demonstrate a case where the speaker had to decide what kind of retelling this text is. The way we glossed these items is meant to give a sense that they are distinct, but the exact criteria that distinguish them are hard for Kiowa speakers to put into words.
Tā̀ᵊujégà́ ɗègà mà̀n Sépyàldàdàukjìjìcá mà̀n gá thàum'bìyyàgmà̀njìgà̀.

T'ɔ̀tè, g'á ɗèm g'à=dó: gò sépyàldà,+dàk‘ì+tóc k‘á mà̀n recount—bas this—bas 3plS=be and:sa Rainy:Mountain+Sunday+building—at infer g’à=t’Ìnhìyyàgò, +3mg’á=e: 3plS=first+happen:pfv=when:df

‘This is a story that must have taken place when they first started meeting at Rainy Mountain Church.’ [2025]

Émgàu Thàukàí vìfè è cilgà mà̀n háyà ét kàùàùfnèlò Càuìgù gíjà mà̀n höldásè mà̀n gà jòjòp.

‘These Whites who lived in the East probably thought Kiowas were poor and they gathered up secondhand clothes.’ [0:28]

Gìgàu háòjèàdàù mà̀n ét tòjìu nà ègàu Mànbiòjìcá gà chà mà̀n

‘And they sent several barrels’ worth that arrived at Mountain View’ [0:28]

Hègàuhábé á dàukuঃchá’níl nègà mà̀n gà ʒójìjìcá.

‘Then over some time the Kiowas arrived at church and then people must have been opening the barrels and were taking things out, so he [the reverend] distributed them.’ [0:42]

Mà̀yópmà̀ndàbétà àlà mángà dàl, mà̀n sà ɔ́–dà=àl mà̀n gà=dà=àl, mà̀n g’à=dà=àl, mà̀n sà, hòldà=àl mà̀n g’à=dà=àl: woman=inv Infer clothing 3sgA:3invD=pl:give—dist:pfv

‘He must have distributed clothing to the women.’ [0:52]

Gàu sàdàuál, mà̀n sàhòldààl mà̀n gà dàù

‘The children too, there probably were children’s clothes too,’ [0:52]

Káudè’ál mà̀n gà dàù.
There were probably trousers, too.' [1:03]

And then Rev. Clouse said, 'Next Sunday you'll come to church.' [1:06]

'And since they have sent them to you, you must put them on and come to church.' [1:22]

'However, as he always did with his lower body, there were leggings on.' [1:46]
(20) Gàu áungáu hégáu tómtháupòl gá dòdè!

[ gɔ̀ngi ]

gò 3ngò hégò t’oint’ap’òl  gà=dòː–dè:
and SA however then tailcoat 3SGA:3PL0=wear–HSY
‘But on the other hand he was wearing a tailcoat!’ [1:53]

(21) Nàu Qódébhòhôn ámnàn qàunbòhôn sàjúmí ...

nò k’òdábhòhôn ám=àn k’ònbòhôn ɔ=sò:nì:
and DF: Gotebo ANAPH=HAB hat 3SGS=be.strange
‘And Gotebo had one of those strange hats…’ [1:57]

(22) hayá á kàmùjáu, Tháukáu àn stovepipe è jógàaidéqàunbòhòdáu áu chòdè gáu hándétáidéhòldá.

‘what would they call them, what White people call a stovepipe hat is what he had on, and some kind of
overcoat.’ [2:03]

(23) Jólùméráu àn pòsòdèdùmè gáu màu mín òsètháiyhèmà.

tól,+màm gàm=àn=àn anaph é=òsè’ìv,+hèmà
unexpectedly+up.to.the.top 3SGD:3PL0=button+be:
‘He had it buttoned all the way up and it looked he was about to choke to death.’ [2:16]

(24) Nàu Sègàuál gáu báudèhél.

[ gòl ]
nò sègò=ál ɛː=gò ɔ=bòːdè,–hèl
and DF: Saingko=also now–PRS 3SGS=emerge:PFV–HSY
‘And now Saingko showed up.’ [2:24]

(25) Gàu ámàn gáu Sàjáctiùjáudèhél áu bòchél qàunbòhòdáu,

gò àm=án ɛː=gò sò:tèkùyà=qòː–dè=àl ɔ=k’ònbòhòdá
and SA: ANAPH=HAB now–PRS Lone.Wolf.the.Younger–NM=also 3SGD:3INV=always+be.on:NPL hat:INV
‘And you know how Lone Wolf (the Younger) always has a hat on,’ [2:27]

(26) báu háígádáu derby àn á kàmùáu déchò,

bò=hàyg’à,+-dòː derby àn ɔ=kò:mò dé,–tsò
2PLD:3SGO=know+be derby HAB 3EMP=3SGO=call:IPFV BAS–like
‘the one you know as a derby, how they call them,’ [2:34]

(27) gàu áu chèdè.

[ tseː ]
gò ɔ=tseː–dè:
and SA 3SGD:3INV=be.on:NPL–HSY
He [Saingko] had one on.’ [2:37]

(28) Àtàdè Fitáguáu, máyi ét máuán jón, nàu báu háígádáu.

à,j=tò=sò:–dòː pict’hòg yà máyi ɔ=őt mòn ɔ=tò:n nò bò=hàyg’à,+-dòː
3POSS–wife–BAS Pe-at-taw woman 3SGS=be.bigsG INFER 3SGS=be.fat and DF
2PLD:3SGO=know+be
‘His wife Pe-at-taw, the woman must have been big, fat as you all know.’ [2:40]

(29) Máuùn màu háldà gà sàyùndè gà dò.

mòn mò: háldà  gà=syùń,+-dè  gà=dò:
INFER somewhat clothing 3PLS=be.smallSG=bas 3SGA:3PL0=wear
‘She was wearing a dress that was somewhat small.’ [2:49]

(30) Gàu cáp èm cáùlhèl
And she turned around" [2:52]

(32) Náu Tā̀ˍjèdā́ˍumêdè hàúndéthàukàùmàḥòldà gà cèdè,  [/dat ]

nò tʰàtè  0=ðʒːmèː,=dè hónðèː,+= kʰbːʃyː+ màː+ hòldà gʰà=tɕːː−dè:
and:DF GrandmàːnxM 38S=G=be:HSY=bas some+White+female+clothing 3PŁS=be.on:NPL−HSY
‘And Grandmother had on some kind of White woman’s dress,’ [3:03]

(33) ámàn fóʃájem hàgà an bát kàuµàduè gà dòdè.  [màn ]  [gàm ]

ám−án pɔːpátmè hàgà=án bát₃= kʰɔːmìː=ðè gʰà=dòː−dè:
ANAPH=HAB muumuu maybe HAB 1INCLA₃PŁO=call:IPFV=bas 3SgA₃PŁO=wear−HSY
‘she was wearing what we might call a fọʃájem.' [3:08]

(34) Á sáuµúmí̇thél gáu à dúákícháhñ él hâyá èm à vétáːthàu?  [gà ]  [yément ]

á=sɔːːmíː  ⋄−hél gɔː á=dʒkʰiː+tʃán,−hél në́ hàyá èm
3EMP₃S=be.STRANGE−HSY and:SA 3EMP₃S=church+arrive:IPFV−HSY but in.what.way:Q about
á=ptʃ,+=kʰɔːmìː−tʃː:
3EMP₃S=laugh+come.to.feel:PFV−MOD:VI
‘They were a sight and they arrived at church but how could they laugh about it?’ [3:14]

(35) Måu gá ilbè bót dúákíɡá gá dú áùgà gá vèmàuáudép.  
mɔː: gʰà=ilbè bót dʒkʰiː,−gá= dʒ=  nègá gʰà=pʃː,+,mɔːdèp
somewhat 3PŁS=be.risky because church−at 3PŁS=be and.then:DF 3EMP₃D:₃PŁO=laugh+be.difficult
‘It was risky because they were at church and you shouldn’t laugh.’ [3:20]

(36) Qígà máuñ jòfè á chàn gáu sáut ãuíiyàu gà hápvéàumgà.  
k’íːg⊂à mɔ́n tɔː,−pè á=tsaŋ gɔː sít ʃy−hɔːː gʰà=háppʃː,+,mɔːgá later INFER house−along 3EMP₃S=arrive:IPFV and:SA just about.then:DEF 3EMP₃D:₃PŁO=fun+make:DET+PFV
‘It was only later on when they got home that they were able to have fun.’ [3:27]

(37) Gáu yíżáːtuí ém hàtjàu máuñ gáu à vèhêmà.  
gɔː yíɡatʃy  èm=báŋ,−tʃː mɔːn gɔː á=pʃː,+,hèmà
and:SA each.other 3EMP₃A:REFL+TEASE+ACT:IPFV INFER and:SA 3EMP₃S=laugh+die:IPFV
‘And they were teasing each other and laughing.’ [3:32]

*A muumuu or Mother Hubbard dress.
Incident at a Kiowa Beef-Butchering
by Parker McKenzie

As the frontier closed around them, the Kiowas faced regular interactions with White settlers. Railroads stretched across the prairie, towns sprang up alongside them, and farmers settled in among the Kiowas living on allotments. As the two cultures met, each was naturally curious about the other. Indeed, a consistent sort of entertainment in 19th and early 20th century America was to watch Indians doing things in real life that one had grown up only reading about. Indian and Wild West shows toured the country, playing to big crowds everywhere (Moses 1999; Ellis 2004; McNenly 2012).

While White curiosity about Indians was often innocent, it was also tinged with stereotypes drawn from lurid or romanticized depictions of “the savage” in novels, serials, and plays. Kiowas were fully aware of these and, just as they did with their own failings, were ready to turn them into a punchline.

The storyteller, Parker McKenzie, recounts an event of precisely this sort, which he witnessed as a child. In the hope that the Kiowas would spend some money, the Whites in Mountain View had invited them to a town fair and had given them a cow to butcher. Three men were on the butchering squad, including the venerable Béchép (Big Tree). As the men worked, the crowd of mostly White onlookers drew so close as to make the butchering difficult. So, the butchers hatched a plan to scare the onlookers off—by bellowing warwhoops and eating raw viscera. Emphasizing Kiowas’ awareness of Whites’ stereotypes and fears, the action is preceded by discussion of how the onlookers are likely to react. The event must have taken place around 1904, when McKenzie was about five years old. Soon afterwards, the town of Mountain View moved from the north side of the Washita River to the south, as referenced in (5).

Linguistically, this is a wonderful example of a written document. McKenzie’s Kiowa is fluid and elegant with rich vocabulary and syntax. He invites the reader into the drama by discussing the butchers’ complaints and the formulation of their plan, as well as its execution and aftermath. McKenzie would sometimes write narratives in his orthography and translate them into English himself. We have preserved his translation here except where its relationship to the Kiowa is hard to see.

The text lacks hearsay evidential marking as it is an account of an event that the author witnessed. It also contains an interesting instance of intraspeaker variation. McKenzie twice writes of “butchers”, that is, people butchering, in (23) as fêngàu /pɛn–gɔ̀/’butcher-inv’ with the default inverse suffix, and in (57) as fêdàu /pɛːdɔ̀/ ‘butcher:inv’ with the phonologically conditioned inverse. There is no difference in meaning between these two forms and, evidently, a speaker of McKenzie’s sophistication was not troubled by the alternation between them in a text that he worked on with care. Other alternations of inverse forms occur in Text 2, where ‘men’ occurs as qâhyô [k’əhɔyø ] (28) and as qâhyôp [k’əhɔyɔp ] (32), and in Text 7, where ‘boys’ occurs as tályôi [tʰâlyôy ] (19) and as tályôp [tʰâlyôp ] (29).
'It is an actual story.'

'It was before when this town was across the Washita River.'

'It was during a former time when Kiowas and Comanches and Apaches permitted the White people to settle here.'

'It was before when they had just settled here.'

'It was after when this was a cross the Washita River.'

'It was during a former time when Kiowas and Comanches and Apaches permitted the White people to settle here.'

'It is before when they had just settled here.'

'And that is why they moved from across the river and settled on the land hereabouts.'

'Now, these White people who were carrying out the doings'
(12) Yideq'agàu á sòjè, bòt ágàu hàubè á cîlgàu háun ém qùgù. 

(13) À áulhàusèmòdè Thàukàuí bét hàigàdàudò ét qàlè, 

(14) háun á audègàudèdèdò!

(15) Chènbôàléà 畀uàukàuiétsàummàukòndó. 

(16) PààúCáuigúádà́ugàugàufènmàu:Béchépdà́ugàuQòdèbò phemàuSègàui. 

(17) Cí jàhè an gà fàuítjàu màn cùl è àiùndò è sàumchàn. 

(18) Gà fànuànwàu Thàukàuí ét àulqàldó. 

(19) Gà fànuànwàu á dàu gà fànuà ìgà dàu Qòdèbhòhòn gàu Sègàuí. 

(20) Gà fànuànwàu àqàbè Thàukàuí è sàumdè 

(21) gà jàgàu mín bét kùlyà gàu hégàu ét sàuàulqàldò. 

(22) Yì gàtàu àt óttàufòp; hàgàiècè hàußgù àumèdèhàu.
They were shoving one another; just which one would get the closest!

(23) Fā́hégáuféngàumîntáiétmâumàuàutgàfénmàuā̀udèp.
páː-

Some just as butcher—inv about to on top 3INVAR=REFL0=lie.down:IPFV=and:UNEXP:DF
g̀á=pén, mɔ̀ɔ́ːdèp
3EMPD=3PL=be.difficult

(24) Hègáu Béchép jáu,
hégɔ́ bétspé 0=tò then Big.Tree 3SGS=say:PFV
'Then Big Tree said,'

(25) “Háundé gá kṓhēnàu ē sāumihthāgū gómāuál éđe màumàugàu yà fémmàuāudép!”
hándé-
g̀á=kʰóːbé=nɔ̀ 3plS=be.iritating=as:DF 3INV=curious=Die:IPFV=MOD:VI=as:SA back.on.also
edèː,-mɔ̂ːmɔ̀=ɔ̀t 3invA:reflO=lie.down:

(26) Nàu áisèdàuđe Qódèbò ̀hòn,
nɔ̀ and:df á-

Then his brother-in-law Gotebo 3sgs=say:PFV
'Then his brother-in-law Gotebo said,'

(27) “Nàucháupjéèmcā́ unhā̀,Ísèdàu;”
tsɔ́pté thus:
èm=kɔ́ːnhàː 2sgS=formerly.tough

(28) “bè čháthádè āmàn Váuèfè bá háfré bè čháthádòpdéchwè
bè=tsát+háːdè ām an p’ɔ́ːl, -pé bá=háːpá=è 1inclS=charge:PFV=when:DF
bè=tsát+háːdòp=dé 0=tò 2sgA:reflO=war.cry+yell:IPFV=as:AS

(29) “nàu ēt cāuncáuétái.”
ét, kàːn+kɔ̀ét+āy

(30) “Cāicháthádè ān ēt cōdòfjéjû.”
k’ày, +tsát+háːdè ān ēt, k’ɔ́dó+dèfò
enemy+war.cry+yell:AS 3NV=very+fear:PFV

hètö bá=ɔ̀mdé, tò:
waity INTJ 1INCLS:3SG=3PL=charge:OUT:PFV=and:DF then 1SGA:3NV=3PL=teach:PFV=MOD:VT
3SGS=say:PFV Big.Tree

(32) Táupjéjèhè hégàu gá fémmàu àgàu pàò à dàgàu.
Without further comment, the three of them just went along butchering.'

-Gotebo was butchering a foreleg and Saingko, a hind one.'

'Because Big Tree was just too large, he was butchering as he sat on the ground.'

'He was butchering with a very large knife that he had.'

'Then Big Tree, in due time, said "Once we disembowel the beef,'

- and then put on a big show for them—particularly those around who are the most curious,"

- and disemboweled the beef while talking, and let out all its entrails'
gigáu ösaueljó èm cháthádau
and then VOICE + BIG + SG = WITH 3SG.A:REFL = WAR.CRY + YELL:PFV
and then a war whoop with a loud voice

náu sáuháu máu è kángá
and then a watcher: plural like 3SG:S = SCATTER:DET + PRR
and the onlookers summarily scattered.

Fá è quàgá gáu è mátúngalófáu.
and then a watcher: INV like 3SG:3SG = SCATTER:DET + PRR
he was stumbling and scrambled up by the hands.

Béchéphéngáuétmáuntâfàkàá ̀fàu.
and just as Big Tree ceased bellowing,

tháulèláugàuthátdésáuàulcàálhêbòp
he was stuffing the liver that he cut into his mouth.

láusā́ubàúèkángà.
and then a watcher: INV like 3SG:3SG = SEE:DET + PRR
he saw him and doubtless became even more scared.

Béchéphèmtâbàá ̀udèpnàu
although Big Tree was not able to spring up quickly,

máuñ cãlu è áuñ, dáu jëjiúgáu dáu dáu áutiájáu.
and then some: INV like 3SG:A = WANT + BE
some probably thought, he’ll seize us and scalp us.

Ôfêhá è cáuétápáu gigáu háun háuigáu è áüiáumgáu.
and then a curious liver died: as

Èsâumhī̀thâáugàuènâgåtu!
they were so over curious, and they might just as well lie on top!
négó  k’ôdèbëhôn gò sègoy pé,=kxgò én,=pénmà
and.then:DF Gotebo and Saingko smile=while 3DUA:3PL.O=butcher:IPFV
‘And so Gotebo and Saingko continued butchering with amused smiles.’

(55)  Chàû Béchép é åumé Thàukàuidë yá háigádàu
tsò: bëtsëp é=ɔ:me: t’ôk’ôy,=dë yë=háyg’âdë:
thus Big.Tree 3SGA:3INV=do:PFV White:INV=bas 1SGD:3PL.O=know
‘That which Big Tree did to the White people is known to me,’

(56)  bòt náual àuíhyàu à sàumhòtgöm
bòt nò:=âl ëy–hë: à=söm,+hòtgöm
because I=also there=DEF 1SGS=watch+move.around:PFV
‘because I, too, was running about watching’

(57)  gàu à thàudàu áugau fédàu gà józànmadë.
gò à=t’s+:dë: s’gò péyë: g’à=tózànmà,=dë
and:SA 1SGS=hear+be sbrd butcher:INV 3EMPD:3PL.O=say:PFV=bas
‘and heard what the butchers were saying.’

(58)  Òbàuitàujëgà gà dáu.
ôbôy,=t’hyté–g’à g’a=dë:
real+account–BAOS 3PLS=be
‘It is an actual story.’
Part III

Kiowa Adaptations to the 20th Century
In this recorded text, Parker McKenzie relates a humorous event that took place during a Christmas encampment at the Cedar Creek Church, south of Carnegie, Oklahoma. Carnegie lies in the center of the Kiowa homeland and is the site of the tribal government, event center, and elders' building. Each year around Christmas, families would camp near the church for days at a time, rather than arrive just for the Christmas service. This custom continued well after automobiles made daytrips easy, continuing the tradition of camping before the event as a social gathering. On this occasion, in order to entertain the campers and put them in the Christmas spirit, the reverend presented a slideshow with images of Christ’s birth. However, before his show could even begin, the introductory story went awry due to a mocking interruption.

The narrative has three parts: the introduction setting the backdrop for the slide show (2–9); a second part the recounting of the Biblical Christmas story in Kiowa (10–17); and a humorous third part (18–23) where an outspoken woman critiques Mary’s mothering skills from a Kiowa perspective. The internal narrative is bookended by longer than normal pauses, of about 4 seconds at its beginning and 3 seconds at the end.

In retelling the story, originally told to him by Reverend Linn Pauahty (Pā́ʊə́), McKenzie employs the shifted first-person tactic common in Kiowa narratives, which we also see in Texts 17 and 18. As Rev. Pauahty was a witness, telling it from his perspective avoids the frequent use of hearsay evidential marking. However, when he presents the Christmas story, the narrator shifts to the hearsay evidential as the reverend would have done.

Linguistically, this text is interesting for its lexical adaptations, like ‘picture thing’ for slide projector (2, 8), or ‘horse house’ for stable (15). Also of interest is the translation of ‘Christ’s birth’ into a nominalized clause (2, 5).

The audio recording was made by Laurel Watkins in 1983. McKenzie later made a translation for this text, which we adopt with only minor changes for clarity. The opening and closing lines in English bracket the Kiowa telling of the story.

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(1) Now here’s the story as he told it to me in Kiowa. [0:00]

(2) Cútsàumhàundhùgà gâu áuguâ Dàuqą́́q ́váugááchandécút gât dò
kút₃₄₅+hàn+c₄₅ de₃₄₅=hrq₃₅ gò ₃₄₅ dèk₃₅=à: O=ip₃₄₅+t₃₅₄₅+c₃₅=de+kút
picture+watch+thing–INV 1SGA:3INVO=get:PFV and:SA SBDR Christ 3SGS=infant+arrive:PFV=BASE+picture
gàt=dò:
1SGA:3PLO=hold
‘I got a projector and I had some pictures of Christ’s birth’ [0:08]

(3) gígàu gât fìʃàmàu

gíg₃ gàt=pò₃+ʃ₃m₃
and.then:SA 1SGA:3PLO=see+give:PFV
‘and I was going to show them’ [0:16]

(4) gâu áuguâ á cîlgàu hègàu dè jét, ‘Bà sàumà
[ g̥̊̃g̥̊̃ ] [ gi ]
gò ₃₄₅ =akù₃₄₅=gò hègò dè=tét bà=s₃m₄₊₄:
and:SA SBDR 3EMPS=live=INV then 1SGA:3EMPO=tell:PFV 2PLS=watch+come:PFV:IMP
‘so I told to those who were camped, ‘Come and see’ [0:18]

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¹For young and future readers: This was a literal slide show, involving transparent photographs that a backlight projected onto a screen.
“and I will show you pictures that are about the birth of Christ.” [0:22]

“You children come too.” [0:30]

‘And then they all came in and they sat down’ [0:32]

‘and I set up the projector that I had’ [0:36]

‘and I got it fixed right and just as I got it ready I said,’ [0:43]

‘Before I show you some pictures, I will tell you a little of the story.’ [0:48]

‘Here was Christ’s father and his mother.’ [0:57]

‘The two of them traveled from place to place on a mule.’ [1:03]

‘They were very poor.’ [1:08]

‘They were very poor.’ [1:08]
They arrived somewhere and because they were poor, people would chase them away, and so they would go.' [139]

"Hégau őói hágá ę chánhél nau čeji ćhédé.

Then you:EXPR somewhere.at 3DU3=arrive:PFV=HSY and:DF horse+house 3SGS=be.set:NPL:HSY
"Then they arrived way off somewhere and there was a stable.' [138]

"Négau ähâu ě hěběhél, ě āhâu hégau íváugáčahnél Dâuqáí.

Àn=tó 3plO ő:ché: ě húl 3SGS=be.set:HSY Christ
"So they went in there, and then and there Christ was born.' [122]

"Hégau ę códěkáuńhél, ěngáu háundé pákau ěau apñháudé ě ě dūmëh.

and.then:DF 3DU3=very+be.poor–HSY here.about–PRS some.kind diapers and there.away:DEF–RAS=also absent ě=dúmëh: 3DU3=be:HSY
"Since they were very poor, they didn't have about them any diapers or other things.” [1:31]

Negau èlchįį, Joanna käđé, saúmąga őófá gömbąhįį.

and.then:DF old.woman Joanna 3SGS=be.named=RAS 3SGS=watch+be.set:NPL 3SGS=be
'Then an old woman, who was named Joanna was sitting and watching way at the back.' [1:40]

Màyį cọtįę àn áń jözánmađe dáu.

woman strong–ADV HAB 3SGD:3PLO=talk:IPFV=RAS 3SGS=be
'She was a woman who always spoke strongly.' [1:49]

Hégau àuthągųčo, án jōangåw, jōgą, "Ánnanánanánànanàné!

just very+different–instead 3SGD:3PLO=speak+sound:PFV=and 3SGS=say:IPFV INTJ
"Unexpectedly, she spoke up and said, “Anananamananan!” [1:54]

"Àchàudu betháu hégau án dòihįkákàuhlé!

3POSS–mother–RAS MIR just 3SGD:3PLO=too+INTENS+be.incompetent–HSY
"I had no idea his mother was so totally incompetent!”” [2:01]

Châu jáu nau égau hégau yá háyąįjįfįfàau ñiįgà.

thus 3SGS=say:PFV and:DF now–PRS just 3SGD:3PLO=somehow+speech–VBLZ+become.unable:PFV later
'That’s what she said and I just couldn't say anything after that.' [2:06]

That’s the story that Linn told me. [2:10]

*Interjection of disbeliefing amazement. It has a number of variants, as in p. 64 ex. 67.*
Letter of May 5, 1963 to Charlie Redbird by Parker McKenzie

Parker McKenzie and his close friend Charlie Redbird maintained a written correspondence in Kiowa over the course of ten years, 1962–1972. Both were very interested in the language. Redbird had participated in SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) field sessions and Parker, who had been working with linguists as far back as J.P. Harrington in the 1920s, had developed his own writing system for Kiowa (Watkins and Harbour 2010). Interestingly, the correspondence demonstrated a functional polygraphia, as McKenzie wrote in his own system to Redbird, while Redbird wrote back using the SIL system that he had learned and perhaps helped to develop.

The letters covered a range of subjects, including metalinguistic discussions about the Kiowa language and how it could be written. McKenzie even suggested that Redbird show their correspondence as an example to inspire others.

(i) Câul dá bát câum âhûyâ ëgâu bát câuugîtjâudê nâu â cânuqûmbââtcâ guâ gâ câuncâúcûthâigâ.
kûl dá bât=kûm ɔ̃y–hû ɛ̃–gû bât=kûy+gût3=dé nò some=1RR must 2SGA:3PLO=show:PFV=IMP that=DEF now–PRS 1INCL:3PLO=Kiowa+write:IPFV=bas and:DF á=kûn+komîbàātʰâ gû gû=kûn+kûy+kût+hûgû ŋà 3EMPŠ=let+imitate:PFV and:SA 3EMP:3PLO=let+Kiowa+write+learn:PFV
‘You could then show this to some people, how we are writing Kiowa, so they might be motivated to do likewise and learn Kiowa writing.’ (Letter to Charlie Redbird February 16, 1963, cited in Watkins and Harbour 2010)

McKenzie gave Laurel Watkins copies of 21 letters he wrote to Redbird, but none of the replies, which are believed to have been lost. Many of Parker’s letters can be found in his papers, which are archived at the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City. The text below is the verbatim reproduction of one of those letters, with only minor tweaks (for instance, for consistency of punctuation) to the Kiowa text and McKenzie’s own translation, which was produced for Watkins at a later date.

Most of the letter discusses a political issue. A tiny group of the tribal government had passed some unwelcome resolutions in complicity with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Philleo Nash, who was pretending not to be involved. The larger body of Kiowas and Comanches were sending a three-man committee to Washington, DC to plead their case directly to the Secretary of the Interior, Morris Udall. McKenzie had been charged with making sure they had the money to do so. He writes to Redbird to keep him up to date on these matters and to share with conviction that machinations were afoot to wrest away some of what little remained of Kiowa lands.

Due to its subject matter, the letter employs a number of expressions for the offices and actions of modern politics. McKenzie may have created some of these on the fly, because his English translation includes a number of parentheticals. For instance, the resolutions were translated simply as cûtgâ /kûgâ/, which could describe just about any written material. ‘Commissioner’ had been borrowed as kûmeðê /kʰûmêsê/, ‘Washington’ as Gûsêtàn /gûsêtàn/. McKenzie describes the ‘majority’ required for democracy as õuigâ /ɔ̃y–gû/ ‘be:many–INV’.

It is not clear what the outcome of the mission was. Although Secretary Udall was certainly a pioneering environmentalist from the White perspective, Vine Deloria Jr. (1969:97) presents a sardonically different view of his aptitudes and achievements: “In many people’s minds the best way to eradicate a species is to authorize Udall to conserve it. In his own inimitable style he will accomplish the task posthaste.” Indeed, in this letter McKenzie compares the Kiowas to the prairie dogs that Sende hits over the head to kill for his meal, in a story published in Harrington (1946).

The final verb likely involves an uncaught error and should use either transitive háy ‘teach:PFV’ (not háy ‘learn:DET:PFV’ with transitive agreement giving gû câuncûthâigâ) or the nontransitive agreement prefix gû 3EMP:3PLO giving gû câuncûthâigâ. 
The structure of the letter follows standard business practice, reflecting McKenzie's business training as a young man. The salutation addresses the recipient as fā̀bí /pàːbí/ '[male's] brother’. This Kiowa term has broad uses and is not confined to biological brothers; the quotation marks in (2) and (63) are McKenzie's. The closing asserts the writer's relationship to the addressee in the full sentence Áfā̀bíà dā̀ /à–pàːbí à=ðɔ́ː/'I am your brother'.

As a letter from one friend to another, the text contains a number of idiomatic phrases, such as 'giving him a/the bone' (33) to describe keeping someone occupied by delegating a task to them, 'blowing at' (47) for coveting, and 'it's in a dream' (47) for senseless behavior. In (44), the word mā́ugū́ /mɔ́ːgúː/'release, let go' is used to describe being cut off from a relationship altogether. LaBarre (1935) discusses in detail the use of this term for 'disowning', when a parent expelled a child from the family for severe misdeeds.

The letter also exemplifies typical Kiowa sarcasm. Some of the sarcasm is self-directed. For instance, in (31), McKenzie jokes about the relative powerlessness of his side: he translates this short sentence as 'We are vulnerable!' though its literal meaning is 'we are respected/honored.' In (62), he self-deprecatingly portrays himself as a tough guy for his successful gardening. The sarcasm is also aimed outwards. It is common in Kiowa to mock presumptuous people by citing a famous person's name, implying that the target must think they are that person. In (28), he jokes that people should call one of their opponents 'Satanta' for his airs of political success. However, such mockery was not always cruel, as teasing is a bonding mechanism in Kiowa relationships. In (66), McKenzie ribs Lewis (Louie) Toyebob by calling him a 'Miss Delay', referring to a teacher at the old Rainy Mountain School that they had attended together.

(1) Mánbíócà, Áidèvā̀u 5, 1963
mánbìōː ⋆ –kʸá
Mountain.View–at May 5 1963
‘Mountain View [Oklahoma], May 5, 1963’

(2) Nā́uqògùifā̀bì, Thḕnégúl:
me+elk.band+t’s:ne:gūl
‘My Qógûi “brother”, Redbird:’

(3) Máunnā́ucùtfṑ ˍdòhègáuèmkáundā̀ugàuhègáumáunyánmā ̀ucā́uhā̀u,hâ ˍu?
infer 2sgD:3plO =be.disheartened–abl:distr hɔ̂ ḥuh
‘You probably are wearied of expecting a letter from me and you now must be about to give up, hey?’

(4) Hábêkī̀fā́yángútjàugàuàā ́upā̀ˍu
some+day one 1sgA:2sgD:3plO =write:ipfv gɔ̀ and:
‘OnedayI was writing you and I stopped awhile’

(5) nàuhègáuā́uhā̀uchâugàóbáuidḕdèchòhègáugàcyó ˍiáumgádògûijèḗ ˍhā̀uyángútjàu.
another=bas now=def 1sgA:2sgD:3plO =write:ipfv gûy ⋆ =té now–def another=bas
‘and it just stood there till much time went by, so I am now writing you another.’

(6) Éhauđėkā́hí viďè ét ai—Évàunštāùu âm ēnëdākë̀ gà kàudéém.
3plS=be.named BAS–to
‘This morning we went east—to the Wichita town named Anadarko.’
The men of a committee are going to Washington tomorrow because we went east; therefore, they will get gas for the car en route.

'The committee had designated Mr. Charley to look after money; and Mr. Charley took it there.'
(17) cáulā á jëjējā āuhâugōdō. 
kāl=ā ál á=tōtē=tē: āgâ=dō
some:IRR=also 3EMPA=3SGO=gather:PFV-MOD:VT money-BAS=because
‘and additional money might be collected.’

(18) Háyātjō màucōl bē fâuthū. 
hâyâttō mēl, +kōlē– 3empA:3sgO gather:pfv –mod:vt
perhaps somewhat+ample–ADV 3SGS=get:DET+PFV-MOD:VI
‘It is possible more than enough may be collected.’

(19) Máun hēgāw ém thâudâj augāw á bānmâgâw: 
mān hēgō ém=tē:+dē: 3gō ā=bānmâ. =gō
infer then 2SGS=hear+be SBRD 3EMPS=go:IPFV=INV
‘Perhaps you have already learned who is going’

(20) Adolphus dāu gâu Philemon gâu cājōgūl ám hîjēhâ, Horace Noyobad ám kâudē. 
Adolphus 3SGS=be and:SA Philemon and:SA Comanche+young.man ANAPH 3SGS=handsome–CHAR
Horace Noyobad ám 3SGS=gō=IPFV=INV
‘It is Adolphus (Goombi), Philemon (Berry) and the “handsome” young Comanche man named, Horace Noyobad.’

(21) Áuhyâugâw gâ āigū kâhîgâw (Saturday) á bānmâ. 
āyâh, −gō gâ, −āyū gigī kōgāhîgū: ā=bānmâ
that:DEF–INV 3EMPA=3PLO=start.out:IPFV and.then 3EMPS=go:IPFV
‘These are ones going early tomorrow (Saturday).’

(22) Cūtâ gā Kāunâugîcâ (at Carnegie) gâ tōgââumēdfèdèdè á bānmâ. 
̄kūt. −gō ám kōnāngū: 3gū. =tōgâ=3SGS:above tō: 3empS=go:IPFV =bānmâ
write–BAS ANAPH Carnegie–at 3EMPA=3PLO=pass+make:PFV=BASE because 3EMPS=gō:IPFV
The papers (resolutions) that were passed at Carnegie are the reason the men are going.

(23) Hēgâu âutcâ hâbâa á cōpēhāu n Gûsêjâna (in Washington) á chântâhăcē. 
hēgō ɔ̂kā hâbâa 3sg–kâp, −tē: 3SGS=heardy=when:SA=tsān. −tē=tē: 3SGS=see:IPFV
then however how:far 3EMPS=be.lying:PL-MOD:VI yon Washington at 3EMPS=arrive:PFV-MOD:VI=when:SA
‘It remains to be seen how they will fare when they arrive there in Washington.’

(24) Áugâu Kâũmâsējêmâ qâjâidâu, ám Udall kâudē, á bōnmâu. 
̄gō kōmēsē–tē, +mā: 3SGS=chief=when:SA+dē: ám Udall 3SGS=be.named=BASE
á, 3SGS=see:IPFV
‘They are to see the chief who is higher in authority than the Commissioner, one who is called, Udall.’

(25) Gā obâjû háyâtjō gâ hējējâu áugâw ám Kâũmâsē gâ qîcâumêmē. 
gâ, =ōbâtō: háyâttō gâ=heardy=when:SA 3gō ám kōmēsē: 3EMPA=3PLO=hope perhaps 3SGA=3PLO=remove:PFV–MOD:VT SBRD ANAPH commissioner
kâ=kōkâmēcē, −tē: 3SGS=select:IPFV=BASE
‘They have some hopes that he (Udall) might rescind the decision the Commissioner made.’

The quotes around “handsome” were provided in McKenzie’s translation.
Plains Life in Kiowa

(26) Êm thâudâú âm Apache-câ à jócâi póxójégââu gâu Kâumésê gâ ténxôàumènâu,
êm=t'ò+dô: âm Apache–kâ=âtôkây pʰôtšô, ôtô–gô gô kʰ mêsê:
2SG=hear+be ANAPH Apache–at 3EMP=gather:DEF:PFV nit+as.much.as–INV and:SA commissioner
gâ=a=tôentsô, +ôtâmê=nô
3SGA=3PLO=allow+make:PFV=and:DF
‘You heard of a nit-size group who held a meeting at Apache that the Commissioner sanctioned,’

(27) hêjâú maúñ ôîhyâ lâhêmâà àlmâyànmàu,
hêtô môn ôy=â=âl êm=tôâ=âhâlyà,+gûnô
still INFER right.now:DEF=also 3EMP=joyful=up.down+jump:ipfv
‘and they even now must be jumping up and down in joy.’

(28) Pâûzélbêmâú nân kàuqisêmâumô, Sêtháidé bâ càumnàu!
pʰôzélbê: môn ân=k'hâ+k'î,+sêmâmgô=àl
Oliver.Woodard INFER 3SGD:3PLO=robe+throw+go.wild:pfv
sêtt'á=kyô=Satanta bâ
‘Fearsome Bison Bull (Oliver Woodard) is probably still celebrating as warriors formerly did in victory, as though he would be regarded as Satanta!’

(29) Êzên gömbà dêj qaut gâ sêmdômâutáàumâudô hégâúbâuhàngâuâ à dáu.
êzên gôm,–bâ 0=dê,–q: kôt
agent back–against 3SG=stand–ALL:DISTR and:UNEXP:SA
gâ=sêmôcô+tô,â'+ôtô=dô hégbêyô+hôngô=a=dô
3SGA=3PLO=secret.gift:give+help+make:ipfv=because just.really+somebody:INV 3EMP=be
‘They really are arrogant, all because the Agent backs them and aids them on the sly.’

(30) Côtê âm Séndéchâú é exhôllhêl gâu é âulthâudâumâhéldêchô Èzên châu dáu âmê hâbê thôféyâu.
kôtê âm séndé tsâ=–gô ë=tâ=ânhôl=âhôl gô
liable.to ANAPH Sende prairie.dog–INV 3SGA=3INV=trick:PFV–HSY and:SA
e=êl+c'dêmô=âhêl=âtô=tsô ëzên tsô=ðô=ñômê=hâbê t'ôpê=yô:
3SGA=3INV=head+knock:PFV–HSY=bas–as agent thus 3SGA=3NSG=do:PFV sometime.along future–in
‘It could be that the agency will do us in sometime in the future, like Sende when he tricked the prairie dogs and then beat them over the head.’

(31) Bô cêt!
bô=k'yô
INCL=be.respected
‘We are respected!’

(32) Mâsâú âiûgô ëhâándê ân gâ qìcùmê nâu sàjûmô tâhí Èzên hâchô dâu állbô.
mô=+sôt èy=gû ëhô=–dê ân gâ=,k'ík'kêmê: nô sèmô=–tê although+just.recently be.many–INV this:DEF=HAS HAB 3EMP=3PLO=decide:PFV:HSY and:DF strange–ADV
ña'h: ëzên hâttsô d=âl+bô:
clear agent somehow 3SGA=3NSG=herd+bring:PFV
‘The majority is supposed to make these decisions and it is oddly strange the way the Agent is steering us.’

(33) Mâun hàñdê fôî Thâukâuí bêt thômdâú gau tâûp têm ètâú ţû.
môn händé pûy t'ôk'ôy bêt=tôm, +dô: gô tʰp tʰém
INFER something again White:INV 3INVD:3PLO=furtive+be and:SA beyond bone:INV
é tô=,=y:
3INVA=3SGD:3INV=give:PFV
‘Then perhaps the White people have some secret design and they have “given him the bone” (i.e. engaged him to effect their objective).’

(34) “Hâchô bêt jáú?” è jàu

*Our translation is literal, but the comment is ironic. McKenzie translated this as ‘We are vulnerable!’*
We said, "Why do you do like this?"

Hégaábáuífȟi ém póáltȟóp.
just.really+clear 3sgA:reflO =lie: ipfv 'He is clearly lying.' (Translation missing from McKenzie's manuscript.)

'ASiouxfellowcametotheCarnegiegathering'

'andhepretendstonotdeny,"Idonottakesideswitheither,"hewouldsay.'

'andtheyhavenotgottenthemstraightenedyet.'

'They somehow succeeded in getting rid of him'

'Maybe some of us will be "turned loose" before we realize'
(45) ną́u sàut h̀á chàńhàbògtàhàu.
 nò sòt bà=tsày̤g̤à̤,+hòtg̤û;−t’ù:sòt=tsày̤g̤à̤,+hòtg̤û;−t’ù:and:DF just.then 1NCLS=alarm:DETR+run.around:PFV−MOD:VI
 ‘and will be running around in consternation.’

(46) Nà̀u à chéhpà́du àugà́ Láutùcá dà́um dà́u qùldèfèdò.
 nà: à=kìhèp+dɔ́ː 1sgS=worry+be ɔ́gɔ̀ sbrd Lɔ́t ⋆−k’yá Lawton–at land 1NSGD:3SGO=be.lying:PL=bas+because 1inclS=alarm:
detr+run.around:pfv −mod:vi ‘I myself am worried because of (valuable) land we own adjacent to Lawton.’

(47) Héchè bà́t jà́hì thòfègù.
 hètsèː bà=táː 2sgA:3plO =eye+carry:pfv:imp t’ò+péːgù future+toward ‘Just remember, keep your eyes watching to the future.’

(49) Qà́hyô àugà́ Gúsejànbànmàgàù
 k’ỳchòhyô 3gò a=gúsètàn,+bànmà=gò man:INV SBRD 3EMPȘ=Washington+go:PFV=INV ‘The men who are going to Washington’

(50) Hègà́ hỳá dà́u tòujèljà́u à chàńhàhàcù.
 hègà́ hỳá dʒó=ts’èchtèl,−t’ìjó=ts’è 3envA:1nsgO=be.recount:pfv −mod:vt á=tsán,−t’ìjó=ts’è 3empS=arrive:pfv −mod:vi ‘It is plain that land is coveted (“blown at”) and that is the reason matters are like they are for us. But it is senseless.’

(52) Jé è fùyòmòldàwéché hỳál ámà mà thàgàláu.
 té: è=pùyòhm,−t’ù: = dé,−tsò yàl ám=ál mà=t’ajg’à,−t’ù: all 1EXCLS=free.from.worry+be bas−as hopefully you=also 2DUȘ=well+be ‘I hope you are well just as we all are.’

(53) Hàu ámà áwà sèpdàu àufeńhà?
 hɔ́ ám=ál bɔ́=sép,−t’ù: ñépè−hà: Q you=also 2PLD:3SGO=rain+be there.along−DEF ‘Is it raining for you about there?’

(54) Jámbò dà́u sèpdàu émhàu nè ám thàgàhàdèchéjù dà́u.
 tɔm,−òbà dɔ́=sép,−t’ù: ém−hà: nè ám ð=b=t’ajg’à,−hà: = right.amount−as.much.as 1PLD:3SGO=rain+be here.along−DEF but ANAPH 3SGS=pleasant−CHAR dè-tsò−tè ð=b=ð: bas−like−ADV 3SGS=be ‘It is raining lightly here, but is the good kind.’
It is falling slowly; that way the ground will get well soaked.'

I have garden products planted again,' and I am pleased because of the rain.'

I have some potatoes that are already showing through, and onions, too, are profusely showing for me.'

Come over and knock your heads against me!'”

Come and knock your heads against me!'"

Very-shorty Yísàum’

In his translation, McKenzie adds a parenthetical note: "(Both are jocular expressions)."

4
PLAINS LIFE IN KIOWA

(65) PS. À thàúndànuw Qódèbôhôn hágà gà Cáuijòcûtìmàuhème.
à=t'ɔ́ː+dɔ́ː=nɔ̀ k'óːdèbôhôn hágà gà=k'ɔ́y, +t'ɔ́ː+kút+màuhème:
1sgS=hear+be=and:DF Louie.Toyebo somewhere.at 3sgA:3plO=Kiowa+language+writing+teach:IPFV:HSY
‘PS. I heard that Louie Toyebo is teaching Kiowa-writing somewhere.’

(66) Miss Delay dāugàu.
Miss Delay ð=dɔ́ː=gɔ̀ 3sgS=be=as:
sa ‘He must think he’s Miss Delay (former senior teacher at Rainy Mountain School).’

(67) Ámháundél, Cáucaùjogà Qáutjé ‘Póðàthài’ ál kàudè.
ámháundél k'óːkɔ́y ð=t'ɔ́ː=gɔ̀ k'ɔ́tté pʰóːdat'ɔ́ːy=ál ð=kʰɔ́ydè:
by.the.way mother:NM 3sgS=say:PFV Charlie.Toyebo Podathai=also 3sgS=be.called:IMPF:HSY
‘Oh yes, Mother says that Qáutjé (ancestor of the Toyebos) was also named Póðàthài.’

(68) Éhàu dàál chàu à kàuì nàu hàyà háiùòhòp, à bójäuchè.
é=–hɔ̀ː dàál t's̐= á=kʰɔ́m nɔ̀ hàyà ð=hàyà, +t'ɔ́ː=–hòp
now–DEF 2sgA:3sgO=must.thus 2sgA:3sgO=call:PFV:IMP and:DF somehow 3sgS=wondering+say:PFV–HORT
à=bójä=–t'ɔ́ː=t's̐:2sgA:3sgO=see:PFV–MOD:VT=when:SA
‘Now you must call Chas. Toyebato that and see what he says, when you see him. (He carries the Qáutjé name, you know.)’
The Indian show was one of the entertainment staples of American life in the first half of the twentieth century, until supplanted by TV and movie Westerns. In these shows, Indians of various tribes would perform for crowds, reenacting tribal traditions like hunting or fighting, singing or dancing, cooking or crafting (Moses 1999). It was common for Kiowas to participate in Indian shows across the nation for a variety of reasons. For some, it was a chance to get out and see the world or simply to make some money. For others, it was an opportunity to be an Indian again, after years or decades of being forbidden or strongly disincentivized from practicing the old ways (Ellis 2004; McNenly 2012).

Sometimes, being part of the show happened by accident. In this story, Alma Ahote describes such an adventure. She went to the Tri-State Fair in Amarillo, Texas as part of a group of women who followed along to watch some Kiowa men and wound up being one of the acts themselves. They arrived at a spot where a makeshift camp awaited them and as they started to cook, they heard a carnival Barker shouting to come see Indians at work. Ahote saw an opportunity and sold out of all the frybread she had made, earning a dime apiece: t'énsin /tënsén/ in Kiowa, borrowed from ‘ten cent(s)’.

The story then switches to a buffalo hunt conducted by the men. Confronting White stereotypes of Indian practices, the men were expected to kill the buffalo with arrows even though Kiowas had been hunting with guns for half a century. To please the crowd, they took some of the arrows and donned war bonnets, recreating a popular image of Indians, despite war bonnets never having been used while hunting. The rest of the narrative explains that the overall experience was positive, and that the fair organizers took good care of them their entire stay.

Ahote begins the story by mentioning her ‘brother’ (2). The term she uses, jā́_u /tɔ́ː/, is reserved for opposite sex siblings and we gloss it here as ‘female’s brother’. It can also describe the first and second cousins of the opposite sex of the referent. She then evokes the Kiowa taboo of using the name of a dead person (3). Mooney (1896: 231) describes it as a total taboo, involving the complete avoidance of the name and related words for a period of years, but for Kiowas, it is not so strong a restriction. It is a norm not to refer to the recently deceased by name, as a sign of respect, but certain interpersonal relationships have similar restrictions on using names, so this should not be seen as a death-specific taboo. For example, a mother and son in-law would not address or refer to each other by name; that would be disrespectful. Instead they use the relational terms. In any case, some people do not bother with avoiding the name of the deceased and even for those that do, any restriction is temporary.

Linguistically, this text has a number of interesting details, like the use of empathetic agreement with U.S. states in (6), even using the English noun. This text nicely exemplifies the Kiowa speech custom of flanking overt quotes with speech act verbs, sometimes the same ones (i6), (i9), sometimes with distinct ones (i7), also prominent in Alma Ahote’s Sendé story (Text 9). This text also contains numerous instances of the pair of conjunctive forms qaut/äut /kɔ́t/ ‘and’/and:UNEXP/SA/DF. Watkins (1984:240) describes this form as expressing an unexpected turn of events, sometimes with a disapproving connotation. The uses in this text describe pleasant surprises.

This recording was made by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in July 1956. Our translation is based on one by Gus Palmer, Jr.

(1) Hágá gå dáu dé̯ ́א dâu fahuáu.
    hág’á    g’á=d̥ː;  dé̯ ́א=d̥ː=d̥ː+h̥ː;
    somewhere.at 3PLS=be  BAS–at 3INV/A:INGO=lead+convey:PF
    ‘We were taken somewhere.’ [0000]

(2) Jáu dáu dâu.
tỳ: dʒ̪=dʒ̪
female's.brother INSGD:3SGO=be
‘Our brother was there.’ [ɔː35]

(3) Hégáu tóːgáu hāyá áumgà né háun án náu káugá gát fégù.
hégɔ́ tʃʊːɡ̱: hāyá ə=ʃʊm̩ˈɑ̃̄ nê hɔn ən nə kʰ̃ʊɡ̱ˈɑ̃̄ g̱ːt=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ: 
than long.ago somehow 3SGS=happen:PFV but NEG HAB 1 name 1SGA:3PLO=fear:NEG
‘A long time ago, something happened, but me, I’m not afraid of (speaking deceased people’s) names.’ [ɔː36]

(4) Óópcàuyîyàdéèmdáufā ̀uhā́uAmarillocù.
hègɔ́ tʃʊːg̱: hāyá somehow dʒ̪=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ:
than long.ago somehow 3SGS=happen:PFV BAS→toward 3INVA:1NSGΩ=lead+convey:PFV Amarillo→toward
‘They took us west towards Amarillo.’ [ɔː34]

(5) Fair gà dàumé.
Fair g̱=dʒ̪:m̩ˈe:
Fair 3PLO=be:HSY
‘There was a fair.’ [ɔː39]

(6) Pùː state á dáugáu gà àumhél négáu dáu sàumfàūháu.
pːɔːɡ̱: state á=ʃʊm̩ˈɡ̱: g̱=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ: négɔ́ dʒ̪=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ:pɔː: ẖː:
three state 3EMP=be=INV 3EMPÀ:3PLO=do:PFV~HSY and.then:DF 3INVA:1NSGΩ=watch+lead:convey:PFV
‘There were three states who did it (a tri-state fair) and they took us along to watch.’ [ɔː22]

(7) Hégáu è còdóáuò. 
[ˈɡ̱ȳ]
hégɔ́ tʃʊːg̱: è=ḵoːḏoː, +ʃə
just.then 1EXCLS=very+be.many
‘We were very many.’ [ɔː28]

(8) Gáu ˈʊ̄iː े cḥàŋgáu négáu dáu q̱óp náu kǎu gà q̱ūł. 
[ḵˈu]
ḡ̱ े tʃʊːm̩ˈɑ̃̄ े=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ: négɔ́ dʒ̪̃=ʃʊm̩ˈɡ̱: nə kʰ̃:
and:SA yɔːn:EXPR 1EXCLS=arrive=assA and.then:DF 3INVA:1NSGΩ=place:PL:PFV and:DF bedding
ḡ̱=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ:
3PLO=be:lying:PL:PFV
‘Once we arrived there, they settled us and there was bedding.’ [ɔː31]

(9) Gígáu gát káuîhádáuò gígáu bëtháu hégáu dáu sàumbɔːnŋàúdàuè náu háun gát hâygáu. 
[ɲ̃ ʃə]
gigɔ́ ɡ̱ːt=ʃʊm̩ˈɡ̱: ə+t:dʒ̪̃
gigɔ́ bëthá: hégɔ́ and.then:SA 3INVA:1NSGΩ:3PLO=cloth+block.off:PFV and.then:SA MIR then
dʒ̪̃=ʃʊm̩ˈɛ:m̩ˈɛ:–tː–dː: nə ẖn g̱ːt=ʃʊm̩ˈɡ̱: 3INVA:1NSGΩ=watch+look:3PPF~MOD~VT~HSY and:DF NEG 1NSGΩ:3PLO=know:NEG
‘They put up a canvas partition and unbeknowst to us they were going to be watching us and we didn’t know it.’ [ɔː36]

(10) Négáu á chàndáu gígáu hégáu gà còdóáuò. 
négɔ́ ə=ʃʊm̩ˈɑ̃̄+dʒ̪̃:
gigɔ́ hégɔ́ ɡ̱=ʃʊm̩ˈɡ̱: ən ḵn
and.then:DF 3EMP=arrive=be and.then:SA just 3PLO=very+be.thronging
‘Then people had come and there was such a big crowd.’ [ɔː45]

(11) Hégáu jèhí gà àumgà ut hégáu hégáu gà pàccàë. 
hégɔ́ tʃʊːɡ̱: ɡ̱=ʃʊm̩ˈɡ̱: ət hégɔ́ hégɔ́ ɡ̱=pʰ̃ʊt=ḵ:ə=ːt:
then evening 3PLO=become:PFV and:UNEXP:DF then just.then 3PLO=finish:PFV when:DF
‘It had become evening but when everything was finished.’ [ɔː52]

Hàyá àumgà ‘it happened somehow’ is the preferred oblique reference to someone’s passing.
To describe the ‘west’, the literal expression is ‘where it (the sun) disappears.’
(12) hégāu chátcá qábí pánsàumàumdàuchē,
hégō tás-t+kʰá kʰí́ːhî̈: 0=pʰj,j, +m+n+m+d遭到=tsę:
then entrance—at at 3SG=S>stop+stop+make=be=when:SA
then, when a man had a place to stand arranged at the entrance: [0:57]

(13) hégāu èm hádlōp, „Bà ā̂, ē Cígěldàugāu á cígāu bé sàumbō,“ jáu àút hégāu á têbádàuaut
hègɔ́ then tsát–kʰá entrance–at ḱáu kʰá ̨ːhî̈:
∅=pʰɔ́ ̨ː ⋆+ɔ̀n+ɔ́m+dɔ́ː=tsè ̨ː 3sgS =stop+step+make=be=when:
He would shout, “Come here, Indians are encamped here and look at them!” he said, and once they were in’ [1:21]

(14) hégāu jéjáumótt và dàuèmhā ́dòp, “Bàā́ ̂ , ṛ Cígúldā́ugàuácílgàubésáumbṑ ̂ ,” jáuàu hègáu
hègɔ́ then èm=háːdòp 3sgA:reflO =shout: imp
èm=háːdòp 3sgA:reflO =shout: here
bà=á ̨ː 2plS =come: imp
é ̨ː here kíːgúldɔ́ːgɔ̀ Indian: inv
á=kíl ⋆=gɔ́ 3empS =be.camped=: inv
bé=sɔ́m ⋆+bó ̨ː 2plA:3empO =watch+look: pfv:imp
∅=tɔ́ 3sgS =say: pfv
ɔ̀t and:
hègɔ́ then á=tʰéːbà ⋆+dɔ́ː=ɔ̀t 3empS =enter+be=and: unexp:df
‘it was just about suppertime and we threw ourselves into cooking and they had come in to watch and crowded around us.’ [1:09]

(15) Hègáu hágápyájáumgìgáudáusáumjā́ užqàuthègáuyá ̂ jā́nègáuèchán.
hègɔ́ then hágʰáy somewhere:at pʰyátɔ́m fire.pit
gìgɔ́ and.then: sa dɔ́=sɔ́m ⋆+tɔ́ː 3empA:1nsgO =watch+act: ipfv
gɔ̀ and:
ɡʸàt=k’ɔ́ ̨ːèː ⋆+tɔ́nmɔ̀=gɔ̀ 1sgA:3plO =frybread+cook: ipfv =as:
hégɔ́ just.then yá ̨=táː 1sgD:3plO =be.cooked
nègɔ́ and.then: df è=tsán 3invS =arrive: pfv
‘[There was] a fire pit and they were watching us and I was cooking frybread and as soon as I got them cooked
they arrived.’ [1:18]

(16) Gìgáufā́mā̀yí ̂ jáu, “Háundégàfṓ ̂ ṭ ō, hègáucṑdóthòlā́ udé ̲ ḱ à j u, j à u.
gìgɔ́ and.then: sa páː some màːyí ̨ woman ∅=tɔ́ 3sgS =say: pfv
hɔ́ndé how:
ɡʸà=pó ̨ː+ó ̨ː 3plS =look+be.good
hègɔ́ then ∅=kòːdó ⋆+t’ólɔ̀ ̨ː 3sgS =very+be.tasty
∅=tɔ́ 3sgS =say: pfv
‘A woman said, “How good it (the frybread) looks, and how delicious,” she said.’ [1:41]

(17) Gìgáujṓ ̂ gā̀, “Câulsyáunéhòtnáuthâl,” jáu
gìgɔ́ and.then: sa ∅=tó ̨ːgʸàː 3sgS =say: ipfv
kɔ̂l some:
syɔ́n–dé small: sg – adv hét hort nɔ́=t’âl 2sgA:1sgD:3invO =cut: npl:pfv:imp
∅=tɔ́ 3sgS =say: pfv
‘and she said, “Would you cut me a little?” she said’ [1:47]

(18) nàugáuā́ugàuhè
nɔ̀ and:
gɔ́=ɔ́ ̨ː 1sgA:3sgD:3invO =give: pfv
nɔ̀ and:
ɛ=pɔ́ːgʸàː 3sgA:3invO =eat: pfv
tʰénsén ten.cents ɡʰà=ɔ́ ̨ː 1sgA:2sgD:3sgO =give:pfv and:DF 3SGA:3INVO=eat:pfv frybread:INV
’so I gave her [some] and she ate the piece of frybread’ [1:53]

(19) hégāu hýchicái gáu jógāu, “Jé náu àu, jógāu.” Ténsén gáu ájuujāu,” jáu
hègɔ́ ∅=hýcȟaŋy gɔ́ ∅=tɔ́gʰàː 3e: nɔ́=ʒ: 0=tɔ́gʰàː: tʰénsén
then 3SG=S>want.more:pfv and:SA 3SG=S>say:pfv all 2SGA:1SGD:3INVO=give:pfv:IMP 3SGS=S>say:pfv ten.cents
gʰà=ʒ:–tɔ́: 0=tɔ́ 1SGA:2SGD:3SGO=give:pfv–MOD:VT 3SGS=S>say:pfv
‘and she wanted more and said, “Give me all [the rest of the piece],” she said. “I’ll give you ten cents,” she said’
[1:55]

(20) négāu áugáu hégāu jé hégāu ě qòmbáátcā
négór 3gór hégô tě: hégô ě=qòmbáátkâ 3e: and:then:DF then:PRs then all then 3INVS=imitate:pfv
‘and all of them did the same’ [2:00]
(21) gigáu ténséndó égí cânáuháutjáu
    gigó t’énséndó égí, = k’átt= hótó
    and.then: SA ten.cents–with 3INVA:1SGD:3PL0=trade+give:PFV
    ‘and then they all bought some from me for ten cents’ [20:05]

(22) négáu qáñéjául yá aután gün güciáu fö dé áuíámë
négó k’átt= =al yá= t’één gò gyúk póy dé=3y+, j’mé:
    and.then: DF frybread=also 1SGD:3PL0=run.out.of:PFV and SA other:INV again
    1SGA:3INV=again+make:PFV
    ‘until I had no more frybread left and so I made some of it’ [20:08]

(23) gáuhègáuchólhá ̀uèzḗ ˍmàqàuthègáuètépàuthègáunègáuáup
    ⌊ gɔ́ː ⌋ hátó békí= ñú bò= ñú hétè= =aº
    ⌊ gɔ́ ⌋ tá= ñú hétè= =aº
    ‘and so they came around and went out and then one day after that they [the Kiowa men] chased a buffalo.’ [2:13]

(24) “Cáulbáàtjàu, Cígúldàaugàu,” Tháukâuièjótá ˍgā̀.
    kòl buffalo bá ñú hétè= =aº
    2plA:3sgO = chase:ipfv
    kíːgúldɔ́ːgɔ̀ Indian:inv t’ɔ́kʰɔ̂y White:inv è=tó ɔ́y à=3plS
    = say:ipfv
    ‘Indians, you’re going to chase a buffalo,” the Whites said.’ [2:25]

    zêːba–tò arrow–with hɔ́n neg àn é=tó ɔ́y à=1exclS
    = kill:neg è=tó ɔ́y À= say:ipfv
    ‘We don’t kill them [buffalos] with arrows,” we said.” [2:30]

(26) ‘Négáu jé gigá grandstand–ai è qúl négáu hégáu á álè páu gáu á hól.
négó té: gá– gá grandstand, +áy è=k’úl négó hégó á==aº:
    and.then: DF all night–at grandstand+up.in 1EXCLS=be.sitting+PL and.then: DF then 3EMP:3SGO=chase:PFV
    pʰɔ́: gò á+hól
    ‘And that evening we were all perched in the grandstand and they chased the buffalo and they killed it.’ [2:32]

(27) ‘Gá  átháuháusíul déchó á chójhótgóm gágáu hégáu á hól
    gá=á:tʰɔ́y, +súl dé, –tsó á=tsó+hótgóm gò hégó á= hól
    3EMP:3PL0=war.bonnet=be.set:PL BAS as 3EMP=creep+go.around:PFV and SA then 3EMP:3SGO=kill:PFV
    ‘They [the Indians] crept about wearing war bonnets and they killed it’ [2:40]

(28) ‘négáu á fēnmáu gigáu háyá ci gá áumáča.
négó á= pémò gigó háyá kí: gá= á=3m–k’uá
    and.then:SA 3EMP:3SGO=butcher:PFV and.then:SA somewhere:to meat
    3EMP:3PL0=do:PFV–SURMISE
    ‘they were butchering it and must have made off somewhere with the meat.’ [2:47]

(29) Máun áugáu gá hágáu.
món ʒgá gá= á=hágá
    infer self 3EMPA:3EMPĐ:3PL0=take:PFV
    ‘They probably took it for themselves’ [2:52]

(30) Thágàidé dái áudáu.
t’ásgá, +y–dé dí= pʰédó:
    proper–ADV 3EMPA:1NSG0=take.care.of
    ‘They took good care of us.’ [2:54]

(31) Càukéjë áuhíyáu dái mágòp quót háunde gát cânámáu.
They allotted us food for ten days and kept bringing us things. [256]

They even brought us firewood. [302]

They did things very properly. [303]

Theypaidus, theypaiduseveryday. [306]

Oneday, they had a parade in town. [310]

TheseTexansareverygenerous. [314]
Goodnight Show in Amarillo, TX by Rev. George Saumty

This is the second text concerning Kiowas at an Indian show, showing the men’s perspective. In pre-reservation days, work was largely divided along gender lines and the shows exhibiting Kiowa traditions reflected that division.

In this text, Rev. George Saumty (1906–1993) describes a time when some Kiowas went to Amarillo to a buffalo hunt exhibition hosted by Charles Goodnight. Goodnight (1836–1929) was a major figure in the West Texas cattle business, who helped develop a Western cattle trail to bring herds up through booming areas of New Mexico and Colorado along a route now known as the Goodnight-Loving trail. He ran a massive ranch in the Texas panhandle, invented the chuckwagon, developed the venerable Texas Longhorn breed of cattle, and helped his wife preserve the American bison from extinction (Hagan 2007).

Goodnight had a long history with Indians. As a young man, he had eagerly helped track down the captive girl Cynthia Ann Parker among the Comanches and had lost his business partner Oliver Loving to an Indian attack. As he aged, though, his attitudes softened and he would send gifts of buffalo meat to nearby Indian tribes. Among the dignitaries who would visit his Texas ranch house was Comanche chief Quanah Parker. In his later years, Goodnight turned to showmanship, losing most of his fortune bankrolling Hollywood failures, including a film of Kiowas hunting a buffalo (Goodnight Films 1916). Later, he established a Wild West show at the Amarillo Tri-State Fair, which allowed patrons to reminisce or fantasize about the way things had been in that area just a generation or two past (Text 15).

The text below offers the Kiowa perspective on one of Goodnight’s invitations. Only two aging men conducted the hunt. Few would have known the old ways firsthand, decades after the buffalo had been exterminated from the Plains. George Poolaw (a.k.a. ‘Kiowa George’; 1863–1939) was one of them. Poolaw, whose Kiowan name was Cûipólā ̀u/kûypʰòlɔ̀ː/, or Pòlâu/pʰòlɔ̂ː/ for short, had served in the U.S. Cavalry in the 1890s, where his name was listed as Pohd-Lohk. His son, photographer Horace Poolaw, is known today for his memorable shots that visually document the Kiowa transition to a life blending tradition and modernity (Smith 2011, 2016). His grandson Pascal Poolaw became a modern Kiowa hero, fighting with distinction in three U.S. wars, earning forty-two medals before being killed in battle in 1967. Another descendant, Dane Poolaw, now teaches Kiowa language courses at the University of Oklahoma.

The other man was named Old Man Skinny; we were unable to ascertain exactly who this was. In front of a massive crowd, the two successfully took down the buffalo in impressive fashion, with just one shot. Then the butchering began. Kiowas were slicing the animal apart and enjoying some of the delicacies while they were still warm, a practice also seen in Text 12. Of course, one culture’s delicacies are another’s horror, and so it was for the White spectators. Saumty closes by explaining how important it is to understand that Kiowas see these deeds and lifeways as good for them.

Linguistically interesting is the use at the end of the text of several nominalized clauses that are the subject of gàt ɬ /gʰát=óː/ ‘it is good for us’, which is stated only once. Also of interest is Saumty’s use of the hearsay evidential throughout. This signals that he was not present for these events (he was probably a teenager at the time). Sentence (19) features an interesting ambiguity. It is glossed and translated as a first-person inclusive, ‘Let’s kill a buffalo and eat it’, but these forms could just as well refer to a second-person plural, ‘Y’all kill a buffalo and eat it’. A similar ambiguity arises in (23). We chose first person in keeping with the theme of the storyteller portraying Goodnight as generous and hospitable.

The recording was made by Laurel Watkins in 1978. Reverend Saumty was accompanied by his wife Florence (1910–1981), who kept reminding him of a few things. Her voice can be heard faintly in the background a few times, although we have opted not to transcribe her words. His sister-in-law Belle Kayitah was also present. He addresses her at the start by a nickname and teases her about saying things in a simple way for her. Teasing was a sign of a close respectful relationship and it was proper for a man to be that close with his wife’s sister. The story proper begins with (4).

1 At over 730,000 acres, the JA ranch was larger than Luxembourg and nearly the size of the state of Rhode Island.
(1) Ákô, Bófàn, háiðđö bê thãúháł.  
äkʰôː bôpàn háyâːdê bê=tʰːhâl 
now:INTJ Belle nickname carefully 2SGA:REFL=listen:PFV:IMP 
'So, Belle, listen closely.' [0:01]  
(2) Ė́gâú gà dáudë càul hàuándë háyâ à jétpâú.  
¢ː–gɔ̀ gʰ=tʰː–hâl 3PLS=be=BAS some:IRR thing 3SGS=be:small:SG=be somehow 1SGS=say:PFV–MOD:VI 
The way things are, I'm going to say something short' [0:04]  
(3) nàu hágâ hégâú màu háyâjtô bê qâpháujâ.  
[ gʰag₃ ] 
nɔ̀ and: df hâgɔ́ then gʸá=mɔ́ːhóː gʸáy ⌊ ⌋ 3empA:3plO=prepare:ipfv:hsy  
'And maybe you might catch some of it.' [0:08]  
(4) Hégâú gà màuhâlè gígâu háyâ à bâñé.  
hégâ gʰ=á=bâñë: gigɔ́ háyâ 3empS 3empA:reflO=catch.on:pfv–mod:vt 
'and maybe you might catch some of it.' [0:08]  
(5) Jëhầnèdàuṃgâ à bâñé.  
têḫnąː, +dɔ́m–gû à=bâñë: 
Texan+land–to and:DF maybe then somewhat might 2SGA:REFL=catch.on:PFV–MOD:VT 
'They [some Kiowas] were getting ready to go somewhere.' [0:11]  
(6) Gígâu jê gà màuhôgâíhêl gígâu ēm hôužûñhêl.  
gígɔ́ 3empD:3plO=prepare:DETR:PFV–HSY and.then:SA 3EMP3=go:IPFV:HSY 
'And when they got everything ready then they started off.' [0:20]  
(7) Gígâu à bâñhêl gígâu sândâðbë à tôgâlỳhêl  
gígɔ́ 3empS=go:IPFV:HSY and.then:SA escarpment+down.in–along 3empS=pass:through:PFV–HSY 
'And they were going along and passed on through the escarpment (onto the Llano Estacado)' [0:26]  
(8) Gígâu cáp à bâñhêl.  
gígɔ́ 3empS=go:IPFV:HSY and.then:SA further.on 
'and were continuing on from there.' [0:31]  
(9) Ò̀ōi háôi gà dáùmë dëë, hégâù háoëjëkë cáp,  
öːːy háo̱y gʰ=á=bâñë: déː–êː hégâ háoëtê, +kʰːiː kʰ=áp 
yon:EXPR sometime:at 3PLS=be:HSY BAS–at then several+day further.on 
'A while later, after a few days had passed,' [0:33]  
(10) Gígâu jëiàùigâ à châñhêl.  
gígɔ́ 3empS=arrive:PFV–HSY and.then:SA town–at 
'then they came to a town.' [0:38]  
(11) À châñhêl Jëhầnèdàuṃgâ,  
a=tsâñ, –hêl têhɔ̱nëː, +dɔ́m–gû 3EMP3=arrive:PFV–HSY Texan+land–at 
'They arrived in Texas.' [0:42]  
(12) Amarillo, Texas gà kâudë.
Amarillo Texas, – g'á ∅ = kʰɔ̀ː – dé
Amarillo Texas – at 3SGS = be.named = BAS
‘In Amarillo Texas, it’s called.’ [3:46]

(13) Jé áuíhyáú ém qáuijéhél.
té: ñy–hó: ém=k'ɔ́ːté, – hél
all there–DEF 3EMP REFLO = meet:PFV–HSY
‘They all met there.’ [2:49]

(14) Gigáu áuíhyáú à cidé.
gigó ñy–hó: á=k'ɔ́ːdé:
and.then:SA there–DEF 3EMP = dwell:HSY
‘And they camped there.’ [2:51]

(15) Négáu Tháukáuiqi dǽumé, Cígúldáugáu ém òféldódé,
négó t'ɔ́kʰɔ́y+k'íː White+male ∅ = dɔ́ː–mêː 3SGS = be:pleasant+thought+hold = BAS
‘And then there was a White man who liked Indians;’ [3:54]

(16) gigáu Goodnight, Colonel Goodnight, Texas kú, Colonel Goodnight.
gigó Goodnight Colonel Goodnight Texas ∅ = kʰɔ́ː: Colonel Goodnight.
and.then:SA Goodnight Colonel Goodnight Texas 3SGS = be.named Colonel Goodnight
‘Goodnight, Colonel Goodnight Texas he’s called, Goodnight.’ [1:03]

(17) “Ákɔ, jóné, “Cígúldáugáu, häúndé ðdé bá chánt!”
[ gɔ́n ]
ākʰɔ́: ∅ = t'óːnéː kígúldɔ́ːgɔ̀ hɔ́ndé ðó: – dé bá = tsán
well:INTJ 3SGS = say:PFV:HSY Indian:INV 3SGA:3EMP = be:pleasant+thought+hold = BAS
“Well,” he said, “Indians, how good it is that you came!” [1:07]

(18) Jéhí cául báu áháujáu
téhí: kíl bá=ɔ́ː+ɔ́ː–tó:
evening some:IRR 1SGA:2PLO = convey+bring:PFV–MOD:VT
‘In the evening I’m going to bring some of you over’ [1:23]

(19) négáu bá hô gáu ájáugáu bát fâu.
négó bá= hô: gò jógó bát, = pɔ́:
and.then:DF 1INCL:3SGO = kill:IMP and:SA self 1INCL:3PLO = eat:IMP
‘and let’s kill [something] and eat by ourselves.’ [1:15]

(20) Hegáu gá fáulé gáu gá fípájtjéhél.
[ gɔ́t ]
hegó g'á = pɔ́ːdéː gò g'á = pɔ́ːj+ pʰátté, – hél
then 3EMP A: 3PLO = eat:PFV:HSY and:SA 3EMP D: 3PLO = eat+stop:PFV–HSY
‘Then they were eating and they finished the meal.’ [1:29]

(21) Kápáudéhél négáu Cítháidaláugáu häúndé gá ájumé.
∅ = kʰɔ́ːpʰáyjóde, – hél négó kít'áyjyɔ́ːdɔ̀ gʰó遇 hɔ́ndé g'á=ɔ̂ːmêː
‘The next day broke and then the White people were having some kind of event.’ [1:23]

(22) Gigáu ém qáuijéhél.
gigó ém=k'ɔ́ːté, – hél
and.then:SA 3EMP REFLO = meet:PFV–HSY
‘And they met.’ [1:30]

'Then they said, “Today, do some interesting Indian things,” they said.' [1:33]

'And then they made some decisions.' [1:41]

'They said, “It [the event] will be here in the afternoon,”' [1:47]

'They will gather here in the town.' [1:49]

'There were thousands of spectators.' [1:54]

'And there were two men.' [1:57]

'One of them was Poolaw, George Poolaw,' [2:01]

'the other was Old Man Skinny.' [2:05]

'Then the two of them came out into the show area.' [2:09]

'Then they mounted up.' [2:14]
(34) Gàuhégáu ámàn aunqí déchò mén dàumé.
gò hégò ám=àn ṣín’í: dé, tsó mén=djî:mè:
and SA just.then ANAPH=HAB in.past BAS-like 3DU:3PL:O=be:HSY
‘And then it was just like the old days for those two.’ [2:17]

(35) Hégáu mén mëpâdè.
[ gò ]
hégó mén=mëpâhî:đè:
just.then 3DU:3IN=be.reined.up:HSY
‘At that moment they were reined up [and waiting].’ [2:21]

(36) Ā̀ mükô, hègáu !gàhègáu àn bā̀udèhèl. Tháukâui àn dàumé ēgâu dàumé.
àkʰô, hègâudô!gàhègáuàn bā̀udèhèl. Tháukâui àn dàumé ēgâu dàumé.
‘So, then they brought it out in a cart. The White people there.’ [2:24]

(37) Ámàn àugáufí àn dàumèdèhèl.
[ dègò ]
ám=àn ògɔ́pí bufalo ∅=dɔ́hè: 3sgS=be:
‘They brought that buffalo that was there down into the show area.’ [2:33]

(38) Gàujônë, “Ā̀ mükô,” hègáu ém jèlë.
[ gò ]
ām=tër:në: ògèhò jèlë ∅=têlë:
‘and SA this=def be:HSY well:INTJ then about.it 3SGS=tell:PFV:HSY
‘and he said, ‘All right,’ then he was telling them about it.” [2:44]

(39) “Gàu édè qâhë hègáu é atjà ugâu é hòtjàu.
gò e=, dé k’ghëj: hègò ē=âtë: gigë ē=hotëtô
and SA this=bas man then 3DU:3SG=chase:PFV and.then:SA 3DU:3SG=kill:PFV
‘So, these two men are going to chase it and kill it.’ [2:47]

(40) “Zêbà auihàudëtjë é hòtjàu,”
zêːbà arrow th=DEF=bas with 3DU:3SG=kill:PFV
‘They are going to kill it with those arrows,’ [2:53]

(41) “Nàu bët sàumbô
nò bêt=sànî, bôjô:
and:DF 2PLA:3IN=watch:look.at:PFV:IMP
‘so watch them’” [2:57]

(42) “Nàu háyá hègáu é hòljàu.
åu háyá hëgë ē=hòl–tô:
and:DF in.some.way then 3DU:3SG=kill:PFV–MOD:VT
‘And they will kill it somehow.’ [2:58]

(43) “Giğáu càp é kùhíafejëu giğáu é fënjëu.”
gigë k’ôp ē=k’hàp+hàp–tô:
and.then:SA beyond 3DU:3SG=drag+pick.up:PFV–MOD:VT and.then:SA 3DU:3SG=butcher:PFV–MOD:VT
‘And then they will drag it on from there and butcher it.’ [3:31]

*Due to ambiguity among the pronominal forms, bët can also be glossed INCL:3IN=O, giving a translation of ‘So let’s watch them.’
(44) Hegáu chołhau ḋ háfélēhēl.

hëgò tsöl–hē: ḋ=hápê,–hél
then thus–DEF 3DU=S=start.up:PPV–HSY
'So this is how they attacked.' [3:06]

(45) Nāuyī́gàpé ṇ hā́tēl,

nɔ̀ yìgə́ıp ŋ ố,–hél
and:DEF both.sides 3DUA:3SGD:3PLO=start.of:PPV–HSY
'They started out on both sides [of it],' [3:08]


ɔ́gɔ̀ kɔ̂ːdè other:bas à ̨ːkʰÔː well:
then 2SGA=right.now+shoot.at:pfv:imp
∅=tʰɔ́yté 3SGS=land:NP=PPV–HSY
'It was the other one called Skinny who took a shot.' [3:21]

(47) Áugàu cáudè àn á càumáu Skinny dąumédè hëgáu táutjèhēl.

ɔ́gɔ̀ sbrd kɔ̂ːdè other:bas àn=àn anaph bá=tó ̨ːgʸà 3nsgS=say:ipfv--like
hègɔ́ then tʰɔ́y beyond ∅=kʰāy+3PLA:3SGO=enemy+turn.back:PFV–HSY
'And then, just as they say in war, he circled around the "enemy,"' [3:29]

(50) Á́ugáufī́́ cápgàukòdêdèchēgáihyèl

ɔ́gɔ́pí́ buffalo kʰɔ́y beyond gʸà=ây 3SGA:3PLO=start.of:PPV–HSY
and.thenSA suddenly 3SGS=stop.abruptly:PFV–HSY
'The buffalo went off the other way and suddenly stopped abruptly,' [3:38]
négáú á kúihyáfêhél.
and.then:DF 3EMP:3SGO=drag+pick.up:PFV–HSY
‘And they [the Kiowas] dragged it off.’ [3:51]

Gígáu úfágá hégáu á fênè.
and.then:
gíg3 úy pág’â: hég3 á,=pê:áê
and.then:SA yon prairie,in then 3EMP:3SGO=butcher:IPFV–HSY
‘Out there in the open they butchered it.’ [3:54]

Gígáu áuíhyâú ém fíːyuhél.
gíg3 á,=hê: 3empD:3sgO
‘and they [the Kiowas] dragged it off.’ [3:51]

Gígáuúifâ ́gấhègâuáfḣ̀ ˍnḣ̀.
gíg3 sáy=yn prairie.in
hèg3 then
á ⋆ =pê ̨ːnèː 3empA:3sgO
‘Out there in the open they butchered it.’ [3:54]

Gígáuáuihyầuémfī ́ˍsấuhèl.
gíg3 there–def 3empA:reflO
‘And they sat down there to eat.’ [3:57]

Gáutháutjàuétfâ ́ulêgàutháulèl
and:
t’ɔ́ttɔ̀ kidney:
ét=pɔ́ːlêː 3invA:3invO
‘They were eating kidneys and the liver’ [4:01]

Gàubótétfâ ̀ulḕḗ ˍgàuthā́ˍu
and:
boî entrails
ét=piː 3invA:3plO
‘and they [Kiowas] were eating the guts and bile’ [4:10]

Tháukâuièsáumchànhèl
White:INV 3INV=watch+arrive:PFV–HSY
‘The Whites came to watch’ [4:08]

Àuthègáuétmā ̀usânhèl
and:
unexp:df
hègɔ́ then
ét=mɔ̀ːsân 3invA:reflO
‘Still, they [Whites] wrinkled up their noses’ [4:14]

qàutgácàuétàihyèl.
and:
unexp:sa
gʸá ⋆ =kɔ́ét+ây–hêl 3empA:3plO
‘and they were running away from us scared.’ [4:16]

As you see now, bót is our own kind of food.’ [4:19]

Our translation uses bót for the delicacy of intestines and internal organs, as the term is generally used by Kiowas speaking English.
(65)   Gìgáu áugàu gáit ọ
   gìgọ́ ọ́gìt-ọ́:
   and.then:SA self 1PLD:3PLO=be.good
   ‘And it’s good for us’ [4:23]

(66)   áuphàudè hàundé sóncàugàu bát fautjàudè;
   ọ́phò́ dè
   on.from.that:DEF=BASEN something grass—along.with
   1INCLA:3PLO=eat:IPFV=BASEN
   ‘to eat it with the grass (in the intestines) and that other stuff;’ [4:26]

(67)   áuihyàudè qáćômdà dáudè;
   ọ́yhò́ dè
   that:DEF=BASEN
   ‘(it’s good that) that is life(-giving);’ [4:30]

(68)   qáhū áugàu ẹ̀ hòldè èn ét thàumáncâumáudè ẹ̀ dáudè.
   k'ùghā ọ́ghọ́=hól=dè
   man 3BRA:3SGO=kill:IPFV=BASEN 3EMP=3DUO=measure+designate:IPFV=BASEN
   ‘that the two men who killed it were the ones who were heralded for their deed.’ [4:32]
Grandmother and the Oranges
by Parker McKenzie

While Kiowas found themselves forced to confront new ways of living, from religion to economic systems, it was often the most ordinary novelties that led to the most confusion. The resulting errors became common fodder for Kiowa humor. This story is about an old grandmother encountering oranges for the first time. These had just barely been introduced into Kiowa life when her family brought some back from a shopping trip. The family members assumed that she would figure out how to eat them, but instead she was tossing the fruit and trying the peels. The humor is further compounded by the fact that the grandmother thought she had been duped.

Parker McKenzie recounted this story from his brother-in-law Bert Geikaumah (1881–1971), who told it about his wife Millie's maternal grandmother Fíntàp/píntʰàp/. McKenzie employs the strategy of telling the story in the first person, as he explained, to avoid repeating the hearsay evidential. He also uses this strategy in Texts 13 and 18.

Like most Kiowa stories, this one begins by situating the events more exactly in space than in time. When the family returned from a shopping expedition to the city of Chickasha (20 miles, or 32 kilometers, east of Anadarko) to their home near Mount Scott, they gave some oranges to Fíntàp and sat her away from the brush arbor. A central component of Kiowa life in the warmer months, the brush arbor or thöpôt /töpʰôt/ was a sort of pavilion made of tree branches, often willow, which created a cool spot for family activities in the shade but open to the wind. When the family was doing chores, it was common to seat grandparents away from the activity, releasing them from the burdens of active life but also keeping them out of the way. As things progressed normally, suddenly the family could hear Grandma complaining about how oranges weren’t sweet like their name says they should be. Oranges are described in Kiowa as tṓ ˍthólā̀ˍu, a compound meaning ‘sweet juice’ ([tʰó ̨ː+t'ólɔ̀ ̨ː]juice+sweet). Eating the peels, she could not believe they had that name.

Linguistically, the text involves a couple of rare sentence-level adverbials that express the speaker’s attitude towards the rest of the sentence. Bêlháundé /bêlhɔ́ndé/ indicates that the attached sentence is generally supposed to be true, but implies that the speaker finds it actually is false. Used as part of a quote, this instance of bêlháundé indicates the grandmother’s attitude. The other one, béthā́gá /bét.háːgʸá/, is glossed here as ‘of all things’ based on the commentary of Parker McKenzie. It expresses a degree of surprise at something unexpected. It may be partially decomposable, as its first part, bét– /bét/, is found in another sentence-level attitude adverbial béthā̀u /bét.hɔ̀ː/ MIR.

This story was recorded by Laurel Watkins during field sessions in 1987.
It was at the north end of it that they lived long ago when they were all still alive. [0:18]

'Some went perchance to trade at the big town to the east, Chickasha.' [0:27]

'And they brought back oranges.' [0:35]

'The word óigáu was spoken as óːgáu in the recording, but corrected by Parker McKenzie during consultation afterwards.'
plainslifeinkiowa

Someonewent(toher)andlookaroundforwhy(shehadsaidit)andshewaseatingthepeelings' [1:21]

'anditwastheediblepartinsteadthatshewasthrowingawayandshewaseatingthepeelings.' [1:26]
A Curious Car Accident
by Parker McKenzie

This text is a retelling by Parker McKenzie of a story told to him by his "brother" Cecil Horse (Tsatoke, 1891–1978), son of his Kiowa namesake Chê ˍjṑ ˍqī̀/tsê ̨ːtò ̨ːk'ìː/Hunting Horse. The text relates what would now be termed a screwball comedy, where Cecil has gone to get a Kiowa delicacy, bót /bót/, the stomach and intestines of a cow, often stuffed to make a sausage and boiled. Because the word bót is routinely used in English by Kiowas, we use it in the English translation of this text, rather than its gloss 'entrails'.

As the story begins, Cecil goes to a spot he knows where he can get bót. On his way back, he finds himself trapped in a gas station bathroom by an unnamed Kiowa youth who forces him to drink a significant amount of alcohol. Far too drunk to drive carefully, he misses his turn and then rides his Model T off the road and up onto a telephone pole guy wire. The wreck throws him from the car and knocks him out. The bowl of bót flies out of the car and the bloody entrails land all over him. At some point, a pair of well-to-do White ladies from town come across him lying motionless on the ground and looking as if his guts had been torn out. One lady faints on the spot and the other watches as their dog runs forward to eat the intestines. The dog cannot get them off, though, as they are now wrapped around Cecil's neck, and the dog's pulling nearly strangles him. Cecil awakens in a white room with figures in white flitting around. He wonders if he is in heaven with angels floating by, but discovers he is just in the army hospital.

The story might sound far-fetched to non-Kiowas, but for Kiowas it is not. As Kiowa humor often relies on human foibles and errors, an audience would anticipate that getting someone drunk could lead to an amusing incident. The added irony is that Cecil was an upstanding Methodist minister and teetotal. Decades later, the drunk-driving aspect of the prank might not be as funny as it once was, but the juxtaposition still makes Kiowas laugh.

Beyond the hijinks, the text has a number of linguistically interesting features. At (16), McKenzie shifts from a third-person to a first-person perspective, to recreate the excitement of the accident and the vivid effect of spoken dialogue. The screwball nature of the story was emphasized by the participants' use of the question word 'why' (hâundó?) as a question expressing disbelief, akin to English 'what the ...'. Despite being of an older generation, McKenzie uses the English loan-word kâu/kʰɔ̂ː/'car', rather than the older term qáudál/k'ɔ́dál/'vehicle', which originally meant 'circle, ring' and came to apply to wheeled vehicles like wagons and cars.

When he told the story, McKenzie was in Mountain View, to the north of Lawton and Fort Sill. So, the deictic center of the narration is Mountain View. This is reflected in expressions like Lawtontàui (tʰɔ́y)/'on the other side of Lawton' (1) or áudé 'from there coming this way' (8).

A curious verbal slip was made at (53). McKenzie uses the word for 'devil' xóláuthá ˍui/ts'ólɔ́t'ɔ́/literally 'smooth wing', mixing it up with the similar word for male/female angel xólsáu(qí/má)/ts'ólsɔ́(k'íː/máː)/literally 'winged man/woman'. The context, as well as his English retelling, make the intended meaning clear. We have retained the error, for consistency with the recording.

This story was recorded by Laurel Watkins in 1987, along with McKenzie's background explanations and English retelling, which helped our translation.
’Brother Cecil had gone out somewhere past Lawton to get some bót at a slaughterhouse.’ [0:01]

‘He got there and they killed two and there was plenty.’ [0:01]

‘There were two sets of bót.’ [0:02]

‘And it was getting close to night so he was in a hurry—there was no moon.’ [0:03]

‘And must have gotten on the road back home.’ [0:04]

‘He lives out there near where Mount Scott sits.’ [0:05]

‘He was driving along (toward home) and then he stopped for gas at a gas station.’ [0:08]

‘He must have bought some gas.’ [0:05]
(12) Gàuháundéjò restroom-yàu hédëhèl.
gò händè:,+tò: restroom,−yà: ⇑=hédë,hèl
and the thing:EUPH+room restroom−inside 3SG=enter:PFV−HSY
‘And then he went to “that” room, the restroom.’ [130]

(13) Décàuágàuháundécàuijògùlgúihédëhèlgìgàuán
thàdéhèl.
déc–kòːgò händè:,+kòːy+tòːgùl gò yà=hédë,hèl gígò
BAS−along with some+Kiowa+young man behind 3SG=enter:PFV−HSY and.then:SA
and.then:SA ò=ändè:,−hèl
3SGA:3SGD:3PLO=block:PFV−HSY
‘While he did that, some Kiowa youth went in behind him and blocked his way out.’ [137]

(14) Jònê, “Tó ːnêːdècâulàtôː, tʰót′àːdè
hèl.
Jònê, “Tó ːnêːdècâulàtôː, tʰót′àːdè
hèl.
“Then he went to “that” room, the restroom.” [1:10]

(15) “Nëgâu hégàu èm tépdâufèjā̀u,” jònê.
“Nëgâu hégàu èm tépdâufèjā̀u,” jònê.
‘And then I’ll let you out.” [1:28]

(16) Nàu à kît’hàudè é àündâu.
Nàu à kît’hàudè é àündâu.
‘I wanted to get out.’ [1:32]

(17) “Bôṭ,” gìgàu syàndè dàul à tò, tʰoːl kòːr
bôt gìgàu syàndè dàul à tò, tʰoːl kòːr
‘Yes and then: A small: I said and then: I drank a little.’ [1:34]

(18) Gàthàumjét,bàjáu,” Háun tɔ́n èm=tʰó Medium
Gàthàumjét,bàjáu,” Háun tɔ́n èm=tʰó Medium
‘Say: There was a young man beside him who said, “I don’t drink.”’ [1:36]

Né “Hàúné, hàun èm kígû. Hégàu càul à tójë.
‘No, I won’t let you leave. Just take it and drink.” [1:38]

(20) “Qìgà hégàu èm kìthàu.”
“Qìgà hégàu èm kìthàu.”
‘After that you can leave. Just take it and drink.’ [1:42]

(21) Nëgâu à kît’hàu dè òbàjáudè hégàu syàndè dè òbàkáí.
Nëgâu à kît’hàu dè òbàjáudè hégàu syàndè dè òbàkáí.
‘I wanted to get out.’ [1:47]

Starting with this sentence, the narrator switches to a first-person perspective, becoming the addressee of the quoted speech in (14)–(15).
As I was hoping I would get out, I swallowed a little bit.' [1:47]

"Drink some more!" he said.' [1:55]

'I was already very drunk.' [2:07]

'I got to the car and I was pretty tipsy." [2:12]

'And I got on board and was driving a really long way this way.' [2:16]
sólɛː+tôy+hôttô hɔ̀n ɪə̆–hɔː ː ðə–ɛː ː ɛ̆–dɔ́ː á–dɔ́ː;
soldier+house.in amidst road there—DEF HAB 3SGS=be.lyingSG RAS—at this—RAS 1SGS=move:ALL:DISTR
‘I was coming along this road that runs through the soldier’s housing’ [2:28]

(32) gigāu hɔ̀n=áːl yì ə̆ áumedə̆.
gìgɔ́ hɔ̀n=áːl yì: ɛ̆=5mdé,=–q:
and then:SA road=also two 1SGD:3SGG=become—ALL:DISTR
‘and then I was coming up to a fork in the road.’ [2:34]

(33) Gāu fàl hábé gà dàuul,
gɔ̀ pâl hábé gâ=–dɔ́ː=–á:
and:SA on this side:DEF somewhere along 3PLS=be=even
‘Before I even reached it,’ [2:38]

(34) gà kóigá déː à kóidéthàu mǎu máu gigāu máu áuíhyàu yà fégàvàuigà.
‘I was going to turn at the curve, but then I must have blacked out.’ [2:41]

(35) Ámān hâucuáusábín sâu gâu, chêlgâu,
ám=–án hɔ̂ːkǔ,s+ás+bín ɔ̃=s3l ɡo è=tsél,=gə
ANAPH=HAB telephone+pole+big=be.big:
‘You know how the telephone poles are set up.’ [2:48]

(36) hâuqâlysànbnjìnɺ gâ páqûl.
hɔ́ ː+kʰâlysàn+bín–tò ɡâ=–pʰə́,=k’ûl
metal+slender+big—with
‘they’re tied down with big guy wires.’ [2:55]

(37) Ágâu hâugáut à dáúdmâa mâu ná ɛ̆ hâfâ gigâu è máudáucâi.
jìː hɔ̂ːgɔ̄ː ɛ̆=dɔ́ː=dé+máy ɦɔ̀n k̪ɔ̂ː ɡîgɔ̀ ɛ̆=módì:k’ây 3SGS=be.tied—be.sitting:PL
‘My car must have run up on that wire and then flipped over.’ [3:00]

(38) Hêgâu áuíhyàu máu ná fêgâvâu nà bó ḥêngâi.
[ g ɔ́y ]
hŏq ɣy–hɔː ː mān yà=péːgɔ̄ː,=p’ɔ́y nə bó ḥâ=–dëg’ây
then then—DEF INFER 1SGD:3PL0=thought—lose:PFV and:DF entrails 3PLS=spill.out:DET:PFV
‘Then I must have passed out and the bolt spilled out.’ [3:10]

(39) Gā bótâudâdedâlçâguâ Lâutmâjì, áuíhàuáumor, è dáu máundè è hôdâuù,
gâ=–bé,t=UYh=–dé=dè=k̪ɔ̂ːgò jìː,màyjì jìːl’hjɔ̀,=jì=màː jìː ɛ̆=dɔ́ː 3PLS=entrails+scatter:DET:PFV—RAS+along with Lawton+woman money+be.plentiful+female 3DUS=be
mà̆n,=dè jìː hɔ̀n,=–dɔ́ː 3DU0=drive+move:ALL:DISTR
‘While there was bolt all over the place, there must have been a couple of ladies from Lawton, well-to-do ladies, driving by.’ [3:18]

(40) gâu “Hâundó?” è jînê,
gɔ̀ hóndò ɛ̆=tɔ̆ːnê:
and:SA why 3DUS=say:1PFV:HSY
“What in the world?” they said.’ [3:25]

(41) gâu kàu máudáucâdâu gâu qâhí fêgâu gâu gâ bóthâudâp.
(42) Hégáu máun hágái áun qáhí bótháusádáu.

hégá mon hágái O=3n k’áq’hí: O=bót,+t’á:sá+dí: 
then INFER one.of 3SGS=think:PFV man 3SGS=entails+shatter:PL+be 
‘One of them must have thought the man’s stomach had been ripped open.’ [3:36]

(43) Máun áun gigáu góm fécóbéhél.
món O=3n gigó góm O=pé,⋆+k’ó:bè–hêl 
INFER 3SGS=think:PFV and.then:SA backwards 3SGS=dead+disappear.into:PFV–HSY 
‘She must have thought that and then she fell backwards in a faint.’ [3:39]

(44) Chégún mé ôlädêxàl èm ôlhél.
tsegún mé=ôl+âdè:+t’sàl èm=ôl,–hêl 
dog 3DUD:3SG=load+be.sitting:NPL:HSY=also 3SGA=REFLO=get.down:NPL:PFV–HSY 
‘Even their dog sitting in the car climbed down.’ [3:44]

(45) Gigáu jé bót gá bó gigáu àudé máun gá ái.

[ gá ]
gigó té: bót gá=â:q; gigó 5:dé: mon gá=â:y and.then:SA all entails 3SGSA:3PL=see:PFV and.then:SA there.to.here:PRS INFER 3SGA:3PL=start.off:PFV 
‘And then it saw all the bót and started coming my way.’ [3:47]

(46) Gáu áqáu máun hágá sékóí è dágáu áu jégáiyhél.

[ gá ]
‘And there must have been some intestines that it managed to grab’ [3:50]

(47) Náu qóláu máun náu múqúngádáu náu mí è ò̀sèt’háiyhöl.
‘and they must have been wrapped around my neck, and it [the dog] nearly strangled me to death.’ [3:52]

(48) Hábé yá háigá.

hábé yá=háigá sometime.along 1SGD:3PL=become.aware:PFV 
‘At some point, I came to.’ [4:03]

(49) Máun hájél è táun gáu Qòpétjáu áqáu sòléhöljóíi máun è áháu gáu máun è xép.
‘Someone must have found me and taken me to Mount Scott, to the army hospital, and put me in there.’ [4:06]

(50) Hábé yá háigá gáu “Háun dó?” bà jáu

hábé yá=háigá gáu hóndó bá-tó sometime.along 1SGD:3PL=become.aware:PFV and:SA why 3SGS=say:PFV 
‘After a while I came to and “What the ...?” I said’ [4:04]

(51) Náu qé é háunédé jóí gá tháidáu.
nó té:: té: hóndé tôy gá=t’á:y+dí: and:DF every:expr every thing house:in 3PLS=white+be 
‘and every single thing in the room was white.’ [4:17]
(52) negau maga at hem gau pammah chahn.
    nega mag’ah =hem go paxn+mah =tsan
    and.then:DF FALSE.BELIEF ISG=DIE:PPFV and:SA cloud+above ISG=ARRIVE:PPV
    ‘I thought I had died and gone to heaven.’ [4:21]

(53) Nau xalauthajuimaal el zemah ba aun
    na tsol’ty+m3=al e=zemah ba=3n
    and:DF devil+INV=even 3INV=GO.AROUND:PL ISG=THINK:PPV
    ‘I thought there were even angels moving around’ [4:25]

(54) gau ‘hundor?’ ba jau nau holjajomaimau bethau ed 3umah.
    go hondo ba=t3 no hol+tato+mymah betho: e=dymah:
    and:SA why ISG=Say:PPFV and:DF ill+watch.over+female:INV MIR 3INV=BE:HSY
    ‘and “What the ...?” I said but it turns out they were nurses!’ [4:28]
Appendix A

Index of names used in the volume

In this appendix we list all the proper names that are used in this volume, indexed to the texts they appear in. These names are listed with their reference, gloss, and literal translation, and clarifying notes where appropriate.

1 Names of ethnic or cultural groups

In Kiowa, the names of ethnic or cultural groups (ethnonyms) are bound forms. They can occur free when inverse marked. Otherwise, they must be compounded or incorporated. To describe a single person or a pair of persons of a group, one generally uses qíː ‘male’ for men, máː ‘female’ for women. Other nouns such as ‘boy’, ‘child’, ‘elder’, ‘girl’, ‘young man’, or ‘young woman’ can be used, when one wants to be more precise. A fuller list of Kiowa ethnonyms can be found in Meadows (2013).

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<td>White</td>
<td>5, 16</td>
<td>kĩː+tʰấy+dɔ̞ː: flesh+white+be ‘being white-fleshed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėvàun /éːpˈɔ́n/</td>
<td>Wichita</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>éː+pˈɔ́n corn+braid ‘corn braid[er], i.e., basketmaker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háuqà /hɔ̞ːkʰâ/</td>
<td>foreign</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Only applies to members of other Indian tribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Íjà /ɪt̪à/</td>
<td>Ute</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mooney (1896) suggests this derives from yuta, the root of the Utes’ name for themselves. Meadows (2013) offers an implausible etymology of ‘looking for game’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jêhâne /tɛhâmɛ̃e/</td>
<td>Texan</td>
<td>5, 6, 15, 16</td>
<td>Likely from Spanish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qôichê /kɔ̞ytsɛ̃/</td>
<td>Koistenko</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>A Kiowa military society, sometimes called ‘Dog Soldiers’, although the actual etymology is unclear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qôlpâ /kɔ̞lpʰâ/</td>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>kɔ́l̪+pʰ̪ːɡ̪ː neck+tied ‘necklace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qôpthâukâui /kɔ̞ptʰɔ̞kʰɔ̞j̪y/</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>kɔ́p+thɔ̞kʰɔ̞j̪y mountain+White ‘mountain White’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 Kiowa cultural or religious names

These names reflect items or entities from Kiowa culture, rather than being the names of people or places.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiowa name /IPA/</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tàugûi /tʰɔːgûy/</td>
<td>(Plains) Apache</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>tʰɔː+gûy sit+outside 'seated outside' – in reference to their living alongside the Kiowa but not as a full part of the tribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thàukáui /t'ɔ́ːkʰɔ́y/</td>
<td>White</td>
<td>1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16</td>
<td>t'ɔ́ː+kʰɔ́y ear+skin 'floppy ears' – etymology unclear but generally thought to refer to mules.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Place Names

Kiowa place names are often compounded descriptive terms. Usually, the Kiowa names of watercourses do not calque with later English names. Rivers, streams, and creeks all bear the word vā́u /p'ɔ́ː/, which we gloss here as 'watercourse'. In the texts the gloss reflects the particular type of watercourse discussed at that point. The names of cities established by American settlers were borrowed into Kiowa. Meadows (2016) discusses these place name conventions in more detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiowa name /IPA/</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ā́gùntàvā́u /áːgùntʰàp'ɔ́ː/</td>
<td>Washita River</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>áː+gùn+tʰáː+p'ɔ́ː tree+tipi.pole+cut:pl+watercourse 'tipi pole cutting river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ā́jàun /áːtɔ́n/</td>
<td>Timber Gap</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>áː+tɔ́ tree+mountain.pass 'timber pass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āucùváu /ɔ̀ k'ùp'ɔ́ː/</td>
<td>Elk River</td>
<td>2, 7</td>
<td>ɔ̀ k'ù+p'ɔ́ː pecan+watercourse 'pecan river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āucùváupfàhâlvā́u /ɔ̀ k'ùppáhâlp'ɔ́ː/</td>
<td>North Fork of the Red River</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>ɔ̀ k'ù+p'ɔ́ppáhâl+p'ɔ́ː pecan+confluence+watercourse 'river that pecan river pours into'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kiowa personal names consisted of one word, with no family name. The names were generally meaningful unless borrowed from another language and generally commemorated notable natural events or glorious war deeds of male relatives or ancestors. Captives more often were given names with physical descriptions. It is a great honor to bear the name of an ancestor, especially as a reward for a conspicuous action. Usually, a Kiowa name consists of a compound, but sometimes it is a complete phrase. Often, a suffix or a falling tone marks the end of the name, glossed here as nm.

Sometimes people acquired different names over the years, for instance if an elder gave their own name. Other times, people got nicknames that stuck.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kiowa name /IPA/</th>
<th>English name (dates)</th>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Name derivation and notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āďäuïet(jé) /áːdɔ̀yét(tè)/</td>
<td>Big Tree (ca. 1852–1929)</td>
<td>5, 6</td>
<td>áː, -dɔ̀ = ét=tè tree:INV=3INV=be.big=SG=NM 'a tree was big' – see Béchép.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ākáudonà /ákʰɔ̀ ̨ːdɔ́nà/</td>
<td>Ahkaundonah (1878–1967)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>áː-kɔ́ ̨ː+l=ðóː; áː-kɔ́ ̨ː+ðóː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ātálhà /áːtʰálhà:/</td>
<td>Rev. George Saumty (1906–1993)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>áː-tʰàlhàː feather+shortened:NM 'shortened feather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āulthédài /ɔ́lt’éːdày/</td>
<td>Julia Given Hunt (1871–1928)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>šl+t’èdà–y hair+attach.end.to.end–NM 'hair attached end-to-end' – daughter of Sétàgài (Satank)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa name /IPA/</td>
<td>English name (dates)</td>
<td>Texts</td>
<td>Name derivation and notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àunkóvà /ʊnkʰóˈʊyːdèːdè/</td>
<td>Aunkó (1853–1917)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3n+kʰóˈʊyː–gá ʔ=ðèː=ðè path+middle=at 3S=be.standing=NM ‘he’s standing in the middle of the path’ – nearly always shortened to Àunkó /ʊnkʰóː/.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ànjújújé /ʃːtʃːtə/</td>
<td>Island (fl. 1830s)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ʃːtʃː–tē island–NM ‘island’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Béchép /bêtsép/</td>
<td>Big Tree (ca. 1850–1929)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Derived from English name – see Áduúéjé(ʃː).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bófân /bópən/</td>
<td>Belle Kayitah (1912–1994)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Unknown etymology; likely to be a shortened form of a longer name or nickname.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bójéč /bójɛːtʃː/</td>
<td>Boyiddle (1841–1927)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>bóy+éɬ be.light.complexioned+be.big:sg  ‘big pale (guy)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Càlàn /kàlàn/</td>
<td>George Catlin (1796–1872)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Derived from English name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chéjojix /ʃːtʃɛjɔːkʰːʃː/</td>
<td>Hunting Horse (1846–1953)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>tsɛː–tʃː+kʰːiː horse+seek+male ‘horse seeker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cónét /kɔnɛt/</td>
<td>Cornett (fl. 1870s)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Derived from English name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cúypólàu /kʊy̞ːpʰʊɬː/</td>
<td>George Poolaw (1863–1939)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>kʊy̞ː+プʰʊɬː; wolf+in.its.prime ‘wolf in its prime’ – usually shortened to Półäu. See Półäu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cújó /kʊjo/</td>
<td>Helen Spotted Horse (1898–1974)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>‘bird, eagle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émhádè /ɛmháːdɛː/</td>
<td>Guy Tainpeah (1894–1984)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>èm=háːdè,–ʔː 3SG.A:REFL.O=shout.PFV–ALL.DISTR ‘he was shouting along’; shortened to Émhádè.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émdéko /ɛmdɛkʰɔː/</td>
<td>Maryetta Reeside (1866–1933)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>èm,–ðɛː=kʰɔː here.along–ADV+side ‘(come) this way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émq/lateste /ɛmʃːɛjɔːtʃːetʃː/</td>
<td>Stumbling Bear (1832–1903)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>See Sétɛmŋiʃːjé(ʃː). ‘(come) this way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fíjí /fɪjːɪː/</td>
<td>Peah-mah (1844–1922)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>Pʃː+imonial:female ‘eater’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fíntap /fɪntʰap/</td>
<td>Pin-tapt (1818–1898)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Pʃː+ɬɛp golpher+dry ‘dried golpher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitáu(ɡau) /fitʰɒ(ɡɔː)/</td>
<td>Pe-at-taw (1859–1935)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pʃː+海口–(ɡɔː) lance–INV ‘lance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fólajé /póɬɛjɛː/</td>
<td>Poolant (unknown–1891)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Pɔɬ ʔ=ɬɛː=tɛ snake3SG=come.PFV=NM ‘a snake was coming along’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fótałyí /póɬtʰɑɬiː/</td>
<td>Stephen Zotigh (1904–1986)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pɔɬ+ɬɛːˈtʃː beaver+boy ‘beaver boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa name /IPA/</td>
<td>English name (dates)</td>
<td>Texts</td>
<td>Name derivation and notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fṓthṓgámá / póː+tʰábːíː/</td>
<td>Lucy Saumty (1897–1980)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>póː+tʰ̩ːg̩aː, +máː beaver+shirt+female 'beaver shirt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gómdáu / gómdɔ́ː/</td>
<td>Wind Goomda (1867–1959)</td>
<td>Intro, 6, 7</td>
<td>góm+dɔ́ː wind+be 'windy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jóháusán / tôhɔ̂ːsàn/</td>
<td>Little Bluff, Dohausen (ca. 1790–1866)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>tôhɔ̂ː, +sàn bluff, concavity + small 'small bluff concavity'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kísáu / kʰísɔ́ː/</td>
<td>George Tsoodle (1900–1992)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>noon, noontime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mâmá́ˍjè / mâ–m∅=á ̅ː–tè</td>
<td>Mamanty (fl. 1870s)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>above–along 3SGS=come:PFV–NM 'passing overhead'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pántháidé / pʰánt’áydé/</td>
<td>Gus Palmer, Jr. (1943–)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>pʰán+t’áy–dé cloud+white–NM 'white cloud'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páújé / pʰáuá ̅ːtè/</td>
<td>Rev. Linn Pauahty (1903–1989)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>pʰɔ́ː bison.bull +tè 3SGS=come:PFV–NM 'abisonbullwascomingalong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Páúzélbê / pʰɔ́ːzélbɛ/</td>
<td>Marquis Oliver Woodard, Sr. (1930–1966)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>pʰɔ́ː-zélbɛ: bison.bull+fearsome:NM 'fearsome bison bull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pṓdàthà / pʰóːdàt’à ̅ːy</td>
<td>Charles Toyebo (1901–1982)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Speakers give ‘whitebull,stag’ as a translation, but do not know of the use of Pṓdà outside this name; see Qáutjé.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pṓláu / pʰɔ́ːlɔ́ː/</td>
<td>George Poolaw (1863–1939)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>See Cûipòlā̀u.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qáunmá́ˍjè / k’ɔ́nmáːtè</td>
<td>no English name (ca. 1758–1851/2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>k’ɔ́n+máː–té chapped+female–NM 'chapped woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qáutjé / k’ɔ́tté/</td>
<td>Charles Toyebo (1901–1982)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Unknown etymology; see Pṓdàthài.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qódèbò ˍhòn / k’ódèbò ̅ːhɔ̀ː</td>
<td>Gotebo, Kau-tau-bone (1847–1927)</td>
<td>11, 12, 14</td>
<td>k’ódè+bòhòn swift fox+headgear 'swift fox cap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qódèbòhòn / k’ódèbòhòn/</td>
<td>Lewis Toyebo (1892–1987)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>k’ódè+bòhòn swift fox+headgear 'swift fox cap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáutjècùifā̀gàu / sɔ́t–té+kûy+páːgɔ́ː</td>
<td>Lone Wolf the Younger (ca. 1843–1923)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>sát–té+kûy+páːgɔ́ː recent–ADV+wolf+one 'new lone wolf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ségauí / sɛ́ːɡɔ́ːy/</td>
<td>Saingko (1854–1936)</td>
<td>11, 12</td>
<td>sɛ́ːɡɔ́–y peyote button–NM 'peyote button'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sétā́ˍgàqàptā̀u / sét.á ̅ːɡʸàk’ %=áptʰɔ́ː</td>
<td>Old Man Satank (ca. 1800–1871)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>sét %=áptʰɔ́ː bear3SGS=be.sitting:NPL+old.man 'old man Satank'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiowa name /IPA/</td>
<td>English name (dates)</td>
<td>Texts</td>
<td>Name derivation and notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sičṭeqiì (jē) /sétèmk'́ːʔː (tē)/</td>
<td>Stumbling Bear (1832–1903)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>sét ḗm=k'́ːj–q:jē bear3SG:REFL=throw–ALL.DISTR=NOM 'a bear was stumbling along' – often shortened to (see) Émqiːjē.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tēnētjē /tʰēnētː/</td>
<td>Alma Ahote (1884–1961)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>tʰēn+éī=tē heart+big:SG–NOM 'big hearted'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thēnéńfōː /tʰēně́npóːʔː/</td>
<td>Yale Spottedbird (1906–1985)</td>
<td>Intro</td>
<td>tʰēně́n=póː–qː bird 3SG:3PL:O=sound–ALL.DISTR 'a bird was sounding along'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thēnéńgūl /tʰēně́ngūl/</td>
<td>Charles Redbird (1896–1978)</td>
<td>Intro, 14</td>
<td>tʰēně́+gūl bird+red 'red bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yīsəum /yíːsəm/</td>
<td>Parker McKenzie (1897–1999)</td>
<td>Intro, 6, 7, 14</td>
<td>yíː+əsəm two+watch 'twice watched (with interest)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix B

### Grammatical Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>third person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject of intransitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>agent</td>
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<td>dative</td>
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<td>FALSE.BELIEF</td>
<td>speaker's false belief</td>
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<td>FOSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRS</td>
<td>presentative (drawing attention)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>referential kin term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBRD</td>
<td>subordinate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURM</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEXP</td>
<td>unexpected outcome</td>
</tr>
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<td>verbalizer</td>
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<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VT</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
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