Plains Life in Kiowa: Voices from a Tribe in Transition

Anonymized for review

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Part I

Introduction
Chapter 1

About this volume

This volume is a collection of spoken and written texts in the Kiowa language, with a unifying theme that traces the Kiowas’ transition from the traditional pre-reservation life through the reservation era into a synthesis of White and Kiowa cultures. Each text offers a Kiowa perspective on this voyage, emphasizing details that differ from Western viewpoints.

1.1 Editorial choices

Overall, our volume aims for diversity within a unified theme. Speakers are balanced for gender and generation, and employ a range of genres. Some speakers were around for the pre-reservation ways, while others grew up navigating the brave new colonized world. Men and women had markedly different experiences, and this shows in the corpus. The texts illustrate into four main genres: oral history, personal recollection, conversation, and trickster myth.

Each text is preceded by a critical introduction that provides cultural and historical background that helps situate the reader. It also provides summaries and unspoken information that a Kiowa listener might have been expected to know. Occasionally, footnotes in the text add some further detail. The volume presents Kiowa perspectives, so when White historical accounts of events exist, we simply refer readers to them to invite comparison.

We have not altered, cut, or adapted the language of the texts for content. We have added sentence boundaries and paragraphs into oral texts, and preserved those of written texts. We made the translations with help from a number Kiowa speakers and storytellers, whom we thank profusely, except for two texts that the teller translated himself; we simply used his translations with minimal alteration for clarity. Our translations aim at delivering the clear literal meaning of the Kiowa text while maintaining a natural American English style, and we deliberately shy away from exotic or overly poetic translation.

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 perspective. White has always denoted a distinct ethnicity. In this volume about Kiowa perspectives, we find it fitting to follow the Kiowas’ lead.

Concerning names, we employ the Anglicized versions of Kiowa names in English texts, when a version is generally agreed on. For instance, we will write Satanta in English rather than Séttháidé. This choice stems from two observations. First, modern Kiowas generally use the Anglicized names or translations when speaking English. Second, the Kiowa use of Kiowa-language names instead of the Anglicization is usually an active statement of cultural identity, rather than simply a reflection of perspective, and it is not our place to make that sort of statement.

1.2 Contents of this volume

The volume consists of three sections in rough chronological order, and the text can fluidly be read from beginning to end. Section one describes the history of pre-reservation life. Some of the stories reflect major elements of Kiowa history from a solely Kiowa perspective, like the migration to the north, the Osage Massacre of 1833, and the capture and trial of three Kiowa war leaders as the US closed in. This section also includes smaller-scale stories reflecting the old way of life, like a stirring retelling of war-deeds, and the daring rescue of a captive Kiowa woman.

Section two focuses on the transition into the new ways, often rife with conflict and one-upsmanship with White settlers. This includes darker stories like a fatal fight over a horse, or a flight from the boarding school. But it also includes a lighter encounter where Kiowas pranked a crowd of gullible Whites. In the same vein are the only mythological texts we chose: Two versions of a trickster myth featuring Séné (sometimes written Saynday). Kiowas adapted this classic genre for the modern world, depicting his encounter with a White Man as he was coming along. The story is still beloved and
widely told today, and it highlights the Kiowa sense that White curiosity toward Native customs is not quite as innocuous as it seems.

Section three is about Kiowa life well after the reservation period, once allotment and attempted assimilation had become policy. Many Kiowas took swimmingly to new ways, often sending their children to be educated. At the same time, Kiowas also played prominent roles in preserving and maintaining traditional customs, including events like the Indian Exposition. Kiowa dances are very widely emulated on powwow circuits. This life in two worlds is vividly retold in the texts, which mix humor and complete seriousness—one is a letter detailing a trip by Kiowas to Washington to head off political misdeeds by their Agent, which also offers a rare glimpse of Kiowas neologizing to express novel political concepts. Another is the screwball misadventure of a Kiowa preacher who found himself forced to drive drunk.

1.3 The sources of the texts

The texts were collected from a wide variety of sources. Some were recorded by tribal members directly. For instance, Parker McKenzie, a self-trained Kiowa linguist who created the most accurate Kiowa orthography in use (and which we use in our first lines), recorded oral histories from his elders back in the 1930s and 40’s. He later transcribed them with painstaking accuracy from wire recordings (since lost), and in some cases read out his transcriptions for tape recordings. So we not only have the original words of speakers from the pre-reservation era, but examples of the cadence of read Kiowa speech as well. The text about Satanta was recorded by Kiowas in the 1970s, as part of a larger program of cultural preservation.

The 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. We excluded Biblical re-tellings and Christian testimony they recorded—these would constitute their own interesting volume—in favor of stories focused on Kiowa lifeways and perspectives. The author(s) of this volume also recorded some of these texts during their fieldwork. Texts that we have recordings for will be made available in an online supplement.

Facets of significance

This volume offers multiple facets of significance to academic and non-academic audiences. First, it offers a firsthand Kiowa perspective of the tumultuous transition into modern Western life. The text along with its content provide evidence that the transition was never a complete one. The ways that Kiowas had to live with one foot in each world are vividly brought to life. For too many people, Indian history is summed up as “we took their land, the end.” However this displacement was only the opening of the story. This volume leads readers to the next chapter of the Kiowa story through the eyes of those who lived it.

Second, the corpus is linguistically rich and features a large number of distinct speakers using the language. It includes vocabulary that Kiowas devised for the new technology and concepts they were confronted with. This kind of resource is especially important now that the Kiowa Tribe is officially endeavoring to revitalize the language, to complement the sporadic personal efforts people have valiantly made over the years. Only a few native speakers remain, and heritage speakers often calque from English, and learners indicate a strong need and desire for resources with a version of Kiowa more reflective of that heritage. Also, Kiowa has offered a wide array of interest for linguistic research, but this interest has focused more on elicitation than corpora, largely due to the lack of an available corpus of extemporaneous or naturalistic speech. This volume offers the first corpus available to everyone.

Relatively, the third facet of significance is that this volume offers the first-ever collection of Kiowa texts anywhere. Even though the grammar and lexicon of the language are rather thoroughly documented, no one has compiled a collection of texts suitable for documentary purposes, or one that allows teachers and learners to see how the language’s structures are put together. Numerous Kiowa texts are in print, but 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. Kiowa stories can be found in Harrington (1928, 1946); Watkins (1984, 1990); Harbour et al. (2012); Palmer (2003); Neely (2012); Palmer (2018). However, none of the texts in this collection have been published before.

A final facet of significance is inspiration. It turns out that a lot of people have recorded various spoken and written texts in Kiowa. Linguists, anthropologists, and motivated community members have all contributed to this treasure trove of Kiowa language material, which includes several hundred hours of audio recordings, along with hundreds of pages of written material. Yet almost none of it has been made available to the public, either within the tribe or without. Not because of cultural attitudes—the Kiowa have generally always been happy to share their culture and language with the wider world. But rather, much of the material had simply been archived, or stashed away in a community member’s home for safekeeping. Some of the material in this collection was literally saved in extremis from permanent destruction. We hope that this volume will inspire more people to take up this work and make as much of it available as possible, as soon
as possible, for the Kiowa community and the wider world. We aim to inspire either by setting a solid example for people to emulate, or by triggering a proud challenge to do even better.
Chapter 2

About the Kiowas

2.1 The Kiowa people and history

The Kiowa (endonym: Cáuigú [ˈkɔ́ygú]) are a Native American tribe organized today as the Kiowa Tribe of Oklahoma, which numbers some 14,000 members, most living in that particular US state. Historically, the Kiowa (pronounced ['kʰuəwa] in English) lived a Plains lifestyle, migrating on horseback after massive buffalo herds and living in portable tipis.

2.2 The Kiowa 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 only arrived there in the early 1830s, after a long-term trend in migration. Both oral Kiowa history and documented Western history agree on this much. We know from linguistic evidence that the Kiowas were at some point with the Tanoan tribes of present-day New Mexico, presumably in the Rio Grande Valley or just to its northwest. At some point, between the abandonment of the Mesa Verde cliff dwellings and the arrival of the Spanish, the Kiowas moved northward toward what we now call the Yellowstone region. Around 1700, they began to migrate eastward, adopting a Plains lifestyle from the Crow, and settling in the Black Hills. Wars with other tribes pushed them southward, until they formed a lasting alliance with the Comanche around 1806.

The Kiowas first encountered official US parties in 1834, and eventually were forced onto a reservation in SW Indian Territory in 1867. This reservation was dissolved in 1901 as the land was allotted to individual Kiowa households (conveniently, the majority of the land was “left over” for White settlement). However, 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).

2.3 Kiowa transition into modern life

Like other American and Canadian tribes, the Kiowas were required to adapt to a whole new way of life—different religion, economic approach, 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 their old road. Like bricks under a pavement, if you dig a little you will find it there.

Over the years, Kiowas made instrumental contributions to several facets of modern Indian life, on the pow-wow circuit, in music and clothing styles, art, the Native American Church, and so on. At the same time, many Kiowas leapt at the chance to get their kids educated at Western schools. A number of the first generation of reservation kids even went to college at a time when few people of any social class did. Kiowa men proudly served in the US army, even before being allowed to be citizens of the US, and there was no contradiction in the warriors’ hearts, for that is what men were raised to do (Mooney 1896; Mishkin 1991; Meadows 1999, 2010). Meanwhile, when they fought against the US 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 traditions and culture with the outside world. They were keen from the start to show off 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 as well unto the present day. Kiowas have also cut out the interpreter and made their own recordings as well, be it on tapes, on paper, on video, or nowadays on smartphones, usually with the explicit purpose of saving the knowledge and heritage for future generations. One pleasant result of all this sharing is that Kiowas who today find themselves cut off from the oral transmission cycle
can ‘catch up’, and another is that even people who did learn from their grandparents can fill in gaps. This result has aided
the struggle to preserve this island of ancestral knowledge from erosion by a tempestuous sea of modern influences.

2.4 Kiowas and storytelling

The sharing process includes telling their stories. Storytelling is a major feature of oral transmission of knowledge, and
for Kiowas it forms a crucial component of culture. The stories often reinforce life lessons, so only rarely does the narrator
mention the lesson explicitly; the listener is expected to know them already (Palmer 2003). Sometimes, stories have no
real point but entertainment, or to relate historic events. Of course, most storytelling involves a mix of the three.

Sometimes, two versions of a story do not quite say the same thing. Or, two storytellers will focus on different aspects
of the story and paint very different pictures as a result. These differences feed into the cultural aspect of stories, by revealing
the heart of the storyteller to the audience.

2.5 The Kiowa language

The Kiowa language (ISO code: kio; endonym: Cáuíjgà [kɔ́y+ ‘Kiowa’ [tɔ́gɔ́] ‘speaking, words, language’) is the heritage
of the Kiowa people. It is a critically endangered language, in that only a few elderly people could 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 the tribal
government has committed to the efforts with a Kiowa Language and Culture Revitalization Program. However those
programs are still nascent and have yet to bear 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 (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 aims to start to fill the latter gap.
Chapter 3

Linguistic overview of the texts

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

Bátháu. < Kiowa in Parker McKenzie's writing system
0= báː– t'ɔ́ː < Kiowa in IPA with morphemic breakdown
3=go:PFV–MOD:VI < morpheme-by-morpheme glossing
'(S)he will go.' < translation

In the following sections, we introduce the reader to the conventions deployed in each: the Kiowa orthography of line 1 (section 3.1), the broadly phonemic transcription of line 2 (section 3.2), the glossing conventions of line 3 (section 3.4), and the translations of line 4 (section 3.3). For fuller grammatical description of the language, the reader is referred to Watkins 1984 and to the other references cited below.

3.1 Kiowa orthography

Kiowa has no official writing system and many, each with variants, coexist amongst 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 analysed in Watkins and Harbour 2010. As detailed in there, he had hoped to see it in print as early as McKenzie and Harrington 1948, but was disappointed. We take pleasure in using his system in the current volume, in tribute to his enormous contributions to the documentation and understanding of the Kiowa language.

3.1.1 Alphabet

In McKenzie’s alphabet, sounds common to, or close to another in, English and Kiowa are represented identically:

(1) a b d e g h i k m n o p s t u w y z

The sounds are of course not identical, as the recordings accompanying this volume show. For instance, /l/ is obstruentized in Kiowa /d̥l/ and only occasionally approaches the /l/ sound found in English. Additionally, McKenzie made the following innovations to write other Kiowa phonemes, especially for unaspirated voiceless stops and ejectives:

(2) c [k] f [p] j [t] ch [ts] ai [ay]

Note that k p t denote aspirated stops /kʰ pʰ tʰ/ and c f j, the corresponding voiceless nonaspirates /k p t/. There is no contrast for aspiration (or voicing) at the end of syllable and McKenzie used k p t for the weakly glottalised, unaspirated stops that occurs there.

Kiowa vowels contrast for tone (high/falling/low), length (long/short), and nasality (nasal/oral). McKenzie always indicated tone by standard linguistic means (acute for high, circumflex for falling, grave for low). Length is marked by a macron and nasality by an underscore; the absence of these marks means that the vowel is short or oral, respectively. Length is noncontrastive for falling tone and so is unmarked. Some combinations are given below, including for the digraph au.

1/y/ stands for IPA /j/ (section 3.2)
3.1.2 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 did not indicate that velar consonants palatalize before /a/:

(4) cá |kʸá| gái |gʸáy| kà |kʰʸàː| qâ ˍ |k'ʸâ  ̨ː|

He did, however, indicate palatalization on /l/ before /i/ (e.g., táhy) and the spread of /y/ over /h/ (e.g., âdyél), as these features were less pronounced in younger speakers.

Several of our texts were originally written or transcribed by McKenzie himself and we have preserved his orthography, including, in most cases, his punctuation. We have kept to his conventions for texts that McKenzie himself did not work on. For instance, McKenzie was sparing in writing the contractions and elisions of spoken Kiowa and wrote argument indexing morphology as a separate word before the verb (though he experimented with writing them joined to the verb at earlier stages of his orthography). We use the second line of the texts to indicate contractions and show argument morphology as verbal proclitics.

3.2 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. We also omit the tie mark for the affricates, writing /ts/ and /ts'/, rather than /t̜s/ and /t̜s'/.

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/, but the effect is variable between and within speakers. We do not transcribe either kind of nasal: ‘woman’ is /mâːyí/, not /mâ  ̨ːyí ̨/, and ‘tomorrow’ /kʰʸáhí ̨ːgɔ́ː/, not /kʰʸá  ̨hí ̨ːgɔ́ː/. We do, however, consistently represent speaker variation between /ę/ and /į/, and /o/ and /u/, which occurs particularly in deictics.

Where this practice would lead to difficulty in following the recording, owing to contraction or elision, we double bookkeep, providing both a transcription and restitutions of the lexical parts. For simple elision, we place missing material in parentheses. For instance, nàndó, from nɔ̀hɔ̂ndó, and pàːlêːl, from pàːlêː –hêl, are represented as:

(5) n(ɔ̀ and: h)ɔ̂ndó pàːlêː– (hè)l

Where more substantive changes occur, creating new segments, the surface form is transcribed and the underlying form is supplied between braces. To highlight that it is a derived form, an arrow under the surface form points to gloss of the underlying form.

(6) gɔ̀t! {gɔ̀ and: ss gʸà} = bó  ̨ː {é  ̨ːgɔ̀ː now: pfv hègɔ́} then

These signal that the forms heard as gɔ̀t bó and é  ̨ːgɔ̀ː on their recordings derive from gɔ̀gʸà and é  ̨ːgɔ̀ːhègɔ́, respectively.

To aid listeners to the recordings, we have retained false starts on this line. These are followed by a slash and are unglossed:

(7) â= z/â= zélbé

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

(8) k’ɔ́dál+ tʰày yìː, +k’ɔ́dál+ tʰày

wagon+ on two+wagon+ on
The high tones in (8) indicate that, when not perturbed by other words, yí, qáudáli, and tái all have high tone. The surface lows in qáudáltái and yíqáudáltái 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′sédáli/ in qáudáltái but /k′sédál/ in yíqáudáltái.

3.3 Glossing

The current volume aims in part to provide a gateway to further study and appreciation of the Kiowa language and 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 references section. (A full list of grammatical abbreviations used is presented in appendix A.)

In consequence, we treat agreement prefixes, locatives, and numerous verbal forms as portmanteaus, even though viable decompositions exist. For instance, éné₃, indexing a third person dual agent, and first or third singular indirect object, and a dual object, is not decomposed into é–d–é₃ for agent, direct, and indirect object respectively. Likewise, éphé₃: (there–SPRD–DEF) ‘spread out along a discourse-definite distal location’, is not decomposed into é–pé–hé₃: (there–SPRD–DEF). Besides making for a more readable text, this allows as to sidestep complications of allomorphy and alosemi 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 vary between spatial and temporal readings in a systematic fashion. The root dum /3m/ provides a lexical example where multiple translations are appropriate. In transitive contexts, it is glossed as ‘cause’, ‘do’, ‘make’, but its detransitive uses range over ‘get made’ (make:DEF), ‘become’, ‘happen’, ‘manage:to’. A functional item showing similar behavior is bëthë₃, which we have consistently glossed as MIR (mirative), even though the surprising element and the experience of it are not always elucidated.

We distinguish between three kinds of boundaries when decomposing morphologically complex forms all illustrated above. En-dash (–) signals an inflectional boundary, as between a root and evidential marking (5) (hyphens are used only where they would be in English). Equals (=) signals a clitic boundary, as between agreement prefixes (see below) and roots (6)–(7). And plus (+) signals lexical compounding, as in (8), ‘two+wagon’ meaning ‘a pair of wagons’. The preceding marks occur in one-on-one correspondence between the transcription and glossing lines. Additionally, on the glossing line alone, we use a period (.) between words that would be separated by a space in ordinary text, as in (15), where glossing mën as ‘about:to’ means that mën means ‘about to’. A functional item showing similar behavior is bëthë₃, which we have consistently glossed as MIR (mirative), even though the surprising element and the experience of it are not always elucidated.

Kiowa presents several grammatical rarities, the glossing conventions for which require special comment. The Kiowa verb must be preceded by what we call an agreement prefix, though, prosodically speaking, it is a proclitic (we use the term ‘agreement’ descriptively). It is null only for a few combinations of third persons. Otherwise, it is a syllable or disyllable encoding up to three arguments: agent, indirect object, and direct object. There are four classes of agreement prefix 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 argument:

(9) à–= dʒː mą=tsán gya=kʒː
1s=be 2d= arrive:PFV 3p= be:lying
‘I am’ ‘You arrived.’ ‘They are lying.’

All prefixes involving argument combinations are glossed with a › between arguments. For transitives, the agent occurs to the left, the object to the right:

(10) nën= bʃː è= bʃː mé= gɔ̀ːp
1s/3d=see:PFV 3d=1s=see:PFV 2d= hit:PFV
‘I saw them.’ ‘They saw me.’ ‘You hit yourselves.’

For ditransitives, the indirect object occurs between the agent and direct object, with › on either side. The indirect object category is semantically broad in Kiowa, including recipients, sources, possessors, benefactors, and others.

(11) nën= bʃː è= hɔ́ːɡə= mé= ʒː
1s/2s/3d=see:PFV 3d=1s:3d= give:PFV 1s/2d/3s= give:PFV
‘I saw yours.’ ‘They got them for me.’ ‘I gave you it.’
Finally, indirect and direct object may cooccur without an agent. 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. For these prefixes, the indirect object is still sandwiched between two ›, distinguishing it from the notation for agents in (10).

Many prefixes are ambiguous. For instance, mé occurs in the previous examples as 2D›R, 1S›2D›3S, and 2D›3S. Whether such homophony is principled or coincidental, we always gloss each occurrence of a prefix according to the arguments in play on each use.

Third person is a complex category in Kiowa. In addition to singular (s), dual (d), and plural (p), illustrated above, third persons can be empathetic (ε) or inverse (ι). Empathetic third person occurs only in the plurals (so 3ε is to be understood as 3ε̂). It is generally used to refer to adult Kiowas, though it can also extend to members of other tribes, to nonadulthood, and on occasion to nonhumans. Empathetic plural is never indicated on nouns. It occurs only in agreement prefixes. Empathetic agreement does not need an overt antecedent and frequently opens a text talking about some indefinite group of Kiowas:

Inverse is a more complex category. It occurs both on nouns (where it is glossed as INV) and in agreement prefixes (where it is glossed as ε̂). It is generally used to refer to adult Kiowas, though it can also extend to members of other tribes, to nonadulthood, and on occasion to nonhumans. Empathetic plural is never indicated on nouns. It occurs only in agreement prefixes. Empathetic agreement does not need an overt antecedent and frequently opens a text talking about some indefinite group of Kiowas:.

There are many further intricacies to the Kiowa number system and its expression on nouns and via agreement and suppletion. Although we do not detail them here, we do note that there are a good number of systematic mismatches between the three. The reader should therefore not be alarmed to see singular agreement on a plural predicate, or conversely. Discussion can be found in Watkins 1984, Harbour 2007, and Harbour and McKenzie 2020.

Finally, all nonstative verbs in Kiowa contrast for aspect (exception 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 not overt morphology. The perfective and imperfective evidential and nonevidential of ‘drink’ (all from the same text) illustrate, with overt morphology partially fused with the root in all except the nonevidential perfective, which lacks marking (compare to the compounded form in tʰɔ́kʰɔ́y ‘alcohol’):

Three auxiliaries carry special aspectual function. Glossed as COMING and GOING respectively, ɡ̚ and ĥ̚ indicate that an event is not merely ongoing but carried out along a trajectory, towards or away from a deictic center.
By contrast, \(\ddot{d}o\): (holding) indicates that the verbal event is constant over the relevant period:

(19) \(\ddot{e}t = \ddot{s}'\ddot{m}n + k'\ddot{y}l + \ddot{d}o:\) \(\ddot{e}t\ddot{=} = \ddot{s}'\ddot{m}n + m'k'h'n\) \(\ddot{d}o:\)  
\(3\ddot{R}=\text{mouth+agape+HOLDING} \quad 3\ddot{R}=\text{watch+crowd.around+HOLDING}\)  
‘They had their mouths open wide.’ ‘They crowded around watching.’

None of these three occurs with other imperfective morphemes. In (19), for instance, \(\ddot{g}\): takes the evidential \(\ddot{h}el\) used with perfectives (17).

### 3.4 Translations

We have given McKenzie’s own translations for his texts, modifying them only slightly for clarity. Otherwise we have relied on the Kiowa speakers 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 the preceding text, e.g., from verb agreement or switch reference marking, but which might be opaque to readers unfamiliar with Kiowa. Material in parentheses provides more general information. Examples of the two are given in (20).

(20) ‘Today we are telling the history of the Kiowa people, when they drove us [to the reservation] (out of Palo Duro Canyon).’

Where a Kiowa text was written or transcribed into paragraphs by a native speaker, we have indicated paragraph breaks by a blank line.

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 line three.
Part II

Life on the Plains
Chapter 6

The Cutthroat Massacre
told by Parker McKenzie

This text is an account of one of the major events of Kiowa history, in which much of an entire band of Kiowas was massacred in an attack. The year was 1833, a year that would prove portentous across the Plains because of the historic Leonid meteor shower that November. This particular shower rained hundreds of thousands of meteors into the moonless night sky, stunning observers all over North America. For Kiowas keeping a calendar count, it was the winter the stars fell, and the summer they cut their heads off.

That summer, the Kiowa bands had all gathered to prepare for the Sun Dance, when evidence of nearby Osage warriors frightened everyone, for the Kiowa warriors were out on a raid. Two bands fled for safety, but the third, led by Ā́ujáujé ‘Island’, stayed behind to wait for an easier river crossing. By the time they got going it was too late to make it far. A marauding pack of Osage warriors descended upon the camp one morning, slaughtering everyone they could, some 150 in all. They then decapitated them (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 Tá mê bundle that was necessary for the Sun Dance. Apparently the war party hunted this band down to punish it for having hunted and traded in Osage territory.

In the aftermath of the attack, Ā́ujáujé was replaced as band chief with Jòhâusàn, generally called ‘Dohausen’ or ‘Little Bluff’ in English. Jòháusàn would rise to become chief of the entire tribe until his 1866 death. 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’álàn), the expedition marked the first official contact between the US and the Kiowa. The expedition brought the surviving Kiowa captive back. This return assuaged the Kiowas’ thirst for revenge and led to negotiations that eventually saw the Tá mê’s return. Details of this episode can be found in a number of sources, including Mooney (1896); Catlin (1876); Gorenfeld and Gorenfeld (2016), and even Burns’s 2004 account from the Osageside.

The story told here is a Kiowa account of events, which gives no discussion to possible Osage intentions, for raids were a part of Plains life, though they were rarely this brutal. Instead it focuses on the tragic decision-making that led to the disaster. It is told by Yísāum (Parker McKenzie), who heard the story from his mother Ákā́ʰu’dṑ’nā. Her 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, OK, where ‘Ákā’u’ would later choose her land allotment. Parker came to live on that allotment upon 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 (32 km) southwest of there, near the modern town of Cooperton, at what is now called Cutthroat Gap — named after the massacre. Some Kiowas recently raised money to fund a state historical marker near the site.

This incident marks a major turning point in Kiowa history, as it marks the entry of the US 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 then, 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.

Cáuígu ám Gúsâugàù ét qóltâhêldêhêjègà

‘The story of when the Osage beheaded some Kiowas.’
This is the story of when the Osage beheaded some Kiowas.

The Kiowas were camped near the river bend where I live today.

Mother:

This is the story that Mom told me.

There were three bands.

The Kiowas were camped near the river bend where I live today.

A man named Island was one of the chiefs.

A couple young men had gone down along the Washita River to hunt, and had killed a buffalo.

Tell story: Is there a story that you would like to hear?
'Their spent a few nights there once everyone had arrived.'

'And so they took the camp down and got everything packed.'

'And they started on their way.'

'They followed it westward instead.'

'They were driven off by Rainy Mountain.'
They hadn’t been living there long when suddenly a pair of young men rode into camp.

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.

And they had gone to hunt somewhere and were gone.

They got busy in pursuit but did not manage to pick up the Osages’ trail.

The few men still there raced off in pursuit.

They got to the site and (saw) how they had ransacked the camp.

They got busy in pursuit but did not manage to pick up the Osages’ trail.

Mom’s Grandfather’s camp had moved from the Washita River there.

They moved from where they must have been camped and two bands must have stayed behind.

Some others had decamped first and headed toward Elk Creek where they set up camp somewhere.
The one chief's band stayed behind because this Island didn't agree [that there was a problem].

Hefigured it would just be some Osages out hunting nearby.

They didn't move right away'
Part III

Interacting with a closing frontier
Chapter 13

Sende Meets a White Man
told by Alma Ahote

Séndé (or Saynday) is the trickster character of Kiowa mythology. He is always getting into funny situations where he takes the occasion to pull a fast one 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 trick. His antics are also the source of a number of etiological and cosmological explanations about how the world came to be.

Séndé stories are transmitted to children from a young age, but certain cultural traditions dictate their use. For instance, they are only to be told after dark in the wintertime, or he might come and punish you. The stories all start with Séndé “coming along” and encountering a novel opportunity. If you wish to be careful, be sure to read this story on a winter’s evening once all the chores are done. Alice Marriott published a collection (Marriott 1963) of Séndé tales in translation, as told by George Hunt.

The Kiowas have passed these stories to children and grandchildren since time immemorial, but the genre was not a fixed one. As Kiowas encountered Europeans and other colonists, the Kiowa adapted and created new Séndé stories to reflect the Kiowa attitudes towards those who would turn Kiowa culture into their entertainment. The best example is this text, in which Séndé comes across a fancily-dressed White man on a horse. The White man has heard the legends and demands that Séndé pull a trick on him, a sort of one-man Wild West show. Séndé feigns inability, alluding to his medicine, craftily spinning a web using the European mythos of Indians as mystics. The White man is unaware that Séndé’s gifts are all too earthly. The trickster sets in motion a process that bamboozles the White man without him even realizing.

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.

This particular version 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.

Linguistically, you will notice the frequent use of the word jônê; 29 times in all. This verb, glossed [say:IPFV:EVID], is frequently employed in Kiowa narratives where English might use ‘said.’ Curiously, the form is in the imperfective but is universally understood and translated as a complete event rather than an ongoing one. The term is often doubled up, as it also used to round out quotes. This story has a lot of dialogue which is constantly punctuated with jônê.

Also, this text is excellent for comparing the lexical pair ‘mule’/‘White’, both of whose basic forms are tháukái [t’ɔ́kʰɔ́y]. Their inverse forms differ ([t’ɔ́kʰɔ́y-gú] and [t’ɔ́kʰɔ́y]), but interestingly, their basic forms are not pronounced the same. Typically, ‘mule’ has the standard downstep pattern, where the first high tone in the word is the highest. Meanwhile, ‘White’ has an exceptional tone pattern, where the second tone is slightly higher than the first.

Two curiosities stands out in Alma’s version. One is in the story: She puts the White man on a mule, rather than a horse. The text even includes the White man talking about his chê ‘horse’, but this word can sometimes have a broader meaning as ‘animal’. The other is in the procedure. After 1:04, the recording stops and starts again, and we have no indication why—was there an interruption?

Séndé Tháukáiqí qâujéhéldèhejëgà
séndé t’ɔ́kʰɔ́y+k’iː 0= k’ɔ́ːtê- hêl= dê+ hɛtɛ- g’â
Sende White+ male 3s:3s=meet- EVID=BASE+storytell-BASE
‘The story of Sende meeting a White man.’

Séndé hâbë āhêl nàu Tháukáiqí qâujèhel.
séndé hábè 0= ʔ= hél gə/ nə tə ImageButton{k{kʰ=ʔ= k= kʰ=ʔ=hél Send along somewhere 3s=come-EVID and DS White+ male 3s=3s=meet-EVID 'Sende was coming along and met a White man.'

007 Négáu jônê “Háchò ēm â?” jônê.

nə̞ 0= tənːè hətsô (ʔ)m=ʔ= 0= tənːè and then: DS 3s=say:IPFV:EVID how 2s= come:PFV 3s=say:IPFV:EVID 'And the White man asked “How are you coming along?”'

008 Nágáu Tháukáuiqí jônê “Háchò ēm kâʔ?” jônê.

nə̞ émhə/= ʔ= 0= tənːè and then: DS White+ male 3s=say:IPFV:EVID how 2s= be:named 3s=say:IPFV:EVID 'The White man said “What is your name?”'


nə̞ sêndé a= kʰ= 0= tən(nəː) and then: DS Sende 1s=be:named 3s=say:IPFV:EVID “My name is Sende.”

010 Tháukáuiqí jônê “Hâu ēm ēm, ān bē xânhôlêʔ?” jônê.

təkʰ=ʔ= kʰ= 0= tənːè hə= ēm=ʔ=dâː ān bē= tsən+hôː 0= tənːè: White+ male 3s=say:IPFV:EVID Q 2 2s= be: HAB 2s=3i=trick+kill:IPFV:EVID 3s=say:IPFV:EVID 'The White man asked “Are you the one who plays tricks?”'


nə̞ həː ŋəːdōː=dē a= dâː 0= tənːè and then: DS yes that= BAS 1s=be 3s=say:IPFV:EVID ‘And Sende replied, “Yes, that’s me.”


nə̞ tənːè nə̞ hət ʔ= kʰ=ɜ= tsən+hôː 0= tənːè: and then: DS 3s=say:IPFV:EVID and: DS HORT 2s=1s=right:now+trick+kill:IMP 3s=say:IPFV:EVID ‘The White man replied, “So how about you, trick me?” he said.’


nə̞ hêgáu sêndé 0= tənːè: hənêː 0= tənːè: and then: Sende 3s=say:IPFV:EVID no 3s=say:IPFV:EVID ‘And Sende said, “No.”’

014 “Dâu tâuiqá yā qūl,” jônê, “gâu háchôʔ? Dâumâu ē dâː, gâu háchôʔ ē chândēthââʔ?”

dəy təʔyə= gə= k= uː 0= tənːè: hənː= ʔ= kʰ=ɜ= tsən+hôː 0= təm(əc) and then: DS White+ male 3s=3s=say:IPFV:EVID and: DS HORT 2s=1s=right:now+trick+kill:IMP 3s=say:IPFV:EVID ‘And the White man said, “No, trick me now,” he said.’

015 “Hâun ân dâuíqâ òh xânhôʔ,” jônê.

nə̞ hən ən dəy= həː dē= tsən+hôː 0= tənːè: NEG HAB medicine+without 1s=3i=trick+kill:NEG 3s=say:IPFV:EVID ‘He said “I don’t play tricks without my medicine.”’


"And the Whiteman said, "No, trick me now," he said."
III

0= t'Cñe: n3 hér tsõ: gA= 3+ t'x: 0= t'Cñe:
3s=say1:PPV:EVID and:DS HORT horse 1s=2s=3s=awhile+give-MOD:VT 3s=say1:PPV:EVID
He said, "Let me just go ahead and lend you my horse."

1329 Náu, "HáiÚnê, jónê.

n3 hCñe: 0= t'Cñe:
and:DS no 3s=say1:PPV:EVID

"No," he [Sende] said.

133 Tháukúdí a ã-dé.
t'k3y å= ã-dé:
mule >3s:3s=be.sitting:NP:EVID

The White man was mounted on a mule.

133 Ém dóbâhél Tháukúdíqí náu hégâ huân únâuhél.

0= dóbâ- hél t'k3y+k'í: n3 hég(3) (h)3n 0= 3n3x: hél
>3s= sit.elegantly-EVID White+ male and:DS then not 3s=want:NEG:EVID

Thé White man was elegantly dressed and so Sende refused.'

139 Négâu hábê hégâjónê, "Náu ë kóâuâú, jónê.

g3 hábê (h)3g3 0= t'Cñe: n3 ë= k30+ 3+ 3: 0= t'Cñe:
and:DS sometime then 3s=say1:PPV:EVID and:DS 2s=1s=3s=right.now+awhile+give:IMP 3s=say1:PPV:EVID
'At length, Sende said "All right, lend it to me."

134 Gáu à ã-uuhél.
g= { g= å= } 3+: 3= hél

‘Then he lent it to him.'

135 Négâu ëm sáuhél gáu ãï-hél.
g3 (ë)m=3= hél g3 gi: { g'= å= } 3y: hél
and:DS 3s= sit.down:EVID and:DS 3s= start.off:EVID

'So he [Sende] got in the saddle and started away.'

136 Gáu hégâu xânchõ-hél gáu hégâu kografíaumhél.
g3 hégâ 0= ts'â+n+k'í: hél g3 gi: k3yg3 å: 3m= hél
and:DS 3s= sit.trick+pull:EVID and:DS 3s= turn.round:DETR+make:EVID

'Then he deceptively tugged [on the reins] to make the horse turn around on its own.'

138 Gáu jónê, "Ém áugâkáummuá, hún ë hâigâu.
g= 0= t'Cñe: 3m= 3gå: + k30nm3 hân ë= háyg3
and:DS 3s=say1:PPV:EVID 3s= r= refuse.request+balk1:PPV NEG 1s=3s=be.known:NEG

'And he said, "It's balky. It doesn't know me."

138 "Hét quanbôhôduá náu ãuáú," jónê.
hét k3nbôhôd3 n3= 3+: 3= 0= t'Cñe:
HORT hat:INV 2s=1s=3s=awhile+give:IMP 3s=say1:PPV:EVID

"So why don't you let me borrow your hat?" he said.

142 Négâu kään hégâu quanbôhôduá ãu ãuáuâú.
g3 k30m hég3 k3nbôhôd3: { k3nbôhôd3 3= } 3+: 3= hél
and:DS so then 3s= hat:INV 3s=3s=3s=awhile+give:EVID

'And so he lent him his hat.'

146 Négâu ëm ãuáuãuânmuë gâu fói ãuikôdêhél tháukúuí.
g3 (ë)m=3y: ãzón- hél gig3 póy 0= 3y: + k30y:dê- hél t'k3y
and:DS 3s= again+start.trip:EVID and:DS likewise 3s= again+turn.round:DETR:EVID mule

'So he got started again and once more the mule turned around.'

153 Négâu jónê, "Em áugâkáummuá. Hólida yá ãuáú.
g3 0= t'Cñe: 3m= 3gå: + k30nm3 hólì dá yâ= 3+: 3:
and:DS 3s=say1:PPV:EVID 3s= r= refuse.request+balk1:PPV shirt 2s=1s=3s=awhile+give:IMP

'Then he said, "He's balky. Let me borrow your shirt."'

91
"I'm not you, I guess. He's watching you, and I'm different," he said.

And then he gave him his shirt too.

Then he turned it around yet again and said,

"Give me your spurs. That's why he won't get going," he said.

Then he began to ride off.

"Come around here some more like that," then he took off.

The White man cried out, but Sende had already disappeared over the hill.
Part IV

Kiowa adaptations to the 20th century
Chapter 20

Goodnight Show in Amarillo, TX
by Rev. George Saumty

This is the second text concerning Kiowas at an Indian show, showing the men's side of things. In pre-reservation days, the work was largely divided along gender lines, and the shows exhibiting Kiowa traditions reflected that division.

In this case, Rev. George Saumty (1906-1993) describes a time when he and a few others went out to Amarillo to a buffalo hunt exhibition hosted by Charles Goodnight. Goodnight (1836–1929) was a major player 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 also had a long history with Indians as well. As a young man he eagerly helped track down the captive girl Cynthia Ann Parker among the Comanches, and lost his business partner Oliver Loving to an Indian attack. As he aged, though, his attitudes softened. He sent gifts of buffalo meat to nearby Indian tribes, for instance. Among the dignitaries who would visit his Texas ranch house was Comanche chief Quanah Parker.

In his later years, he 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-County Fair, which allowed patrons to reminisce or fantasize about the way things had been in that area just a generation or two past (see 3-3).

This text 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 off the Plains. 'Kiowa' George Poolaw (1863–1939) was one of them. Cúifòlā́u (póːlɔ́ː)hadserved in the US Cavalry in the 1890s, his name written 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). His grandson Pascal Poolaw became a modern Kiowa hero, fighting in three US wars with distinction, 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 was named Old Man Skinny; we are 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 (see 1-6). Of course, one culture's delicacies are another's horror, and so it went 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.

The recording was conducted by Laurel Watkins in 1978. Reverend Saumty was accompanied by his wife, who kept reminding him of a few things. Her voice can be heard in the background a few times, although we opted not to transcribe her words. His sister-in-law Belle Kayitah was also present: He addresses her at the start by her Kiowa name, and teases her about saying things simply 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 at 0:13.

Linguistically interesting is the use at the end of several nominalized clauses that are the 'subject' of gátō [gʰát=óː] 'be good for us'. Also of interest is his use of the hearsay evidential throughout; this signals that he was not actually present for these events, as he would have probably been a teenager. The sentence at 1:16 features an interesting ambiguity. It is glossed and translated as a 1st-person inclusive, 'let's you and me kill a buffalo and (we) eat it', but these forms could just as well refer to a 2nd-person plural: 'Y'all kill a buffalo and (you) eat it.' We chose 1st person in keeping with the theme of the storyteller portraying Goodnight as generous and hospitable.

1The JA ranch reached over 700,000 acres in size—over 1500 sq mi (2830 ha/2830 km²), nearly the size of the US state of Rhode Island.
So, Belle, listen closely.'

'So, Belle, listenclosely.'

'The way things are, I'm going to say something short'

'And maybe you might catch some of it.'

'They [some Kiowas] were getting ready to go somewhere.'

'They were going to go to Texas.'

'And they were going along and passed through the escarpment (onto the Llano Estacado)'

'And were continuing on from there.'

'A while later, after a few days had passed,'

'They arrived in Texas.'

'In Amarillo Texas, it's called.'

'In Amarillo Texas, it's called.'
“They all met there.”

“And they met.”

“And then there was a White man who liked Indians.”

“Goodnight, Colonel Goodnight, Texas he’s called, Goodnight.”

“Then there was a White man who liked Indians.”

“Then the White people were having some kind of event.”

“Then they said, “Today, do some interesting Indian things.”
They said, "It [the event] will be here in the afternoon;"

when it's after noon,

'They will gather here in the town.'
‘They brought that buffalo that was there down into the show area.’

‘So, these two men are going to chase it and kill it.’

‘And then they will drag it on from there and butcher it.’

‘This is how they attacked.’

‘They started out on both sides [of it].’

‘And one of those who were there’

‘All right, shoot it now.’

‘It was the other one called Skinny who took a shot.’

‘And they will kill it somehow.’

‘They are going to kill it with those arrows’

‘And they will kill it somehow.’

‘Well, they will kill it somehow.’

‘So watch them’

‘And then they will drag it on from there and butcher it.’

‘And they were telling them about it.’

‘And they will kill it somehow.’

‘And one of those who were there’

‘All right, shoot it now.’

‘It was the other one called Skinny who took a shot.’

‘Could also be UN, ‘let’s watch them’
Fágaudó tautjéhél.

‘He only took one shot.’

Gigáu táui hégáu ám an bá jógá déchó, hégáu táui cáikóidéhél,

gígó tʰɔ́y/ hégó ám əm bá-tógá dē- ts(ə) (h)égó tʰɔ́y 0= kʰáyə + kʰóydé- hél

And.then:SS just ANAPH HAB NS=say:PFV BAS-like then beyond 3s=enemy+turn.back:PFV–EVID

‘And then, just as they say in war, he circled around the ‘enemy’.

Gigáu em cháthádéhél.

gígó (e)ml₃=tsát+ hádéə₃- hél
and.then:SS 3s=R= war.cry+shout:PFV–EVID
‘and let out a war whoop.’

Áugáuʃ cáp gà áihýél gáu kódédé chégáihýél

ɔ́yɔ́pí: kʰáp ɡa₃= ay₃- hél ɡó kʰódédé 0= tšéngə́yá₁₃- hél

buffalo beyond 3s:3p=start.of:PFV–EVID and.then:SS suddenly 3s=stop.abruptly:PFV–EVID

‘The buffalo went off the other way and suddenly stopped abruptly’

gáu sáumó áu dēñáihýél gigáu áuhyáu xóidéhél.

ɡó sɔ́ː+ õm ɔ́= dęg'ayá₁₃- hél gigó ɔ́yhɔ́ː 0= tsóydé₃- hél


‘and blood was flowing from its mouth and it fell there.’

Áuhyáu xóidéhél

ɔ́yhɔ́ː 0= tsóydé₃- hél

there:DEF 3s=land:NPFV–EVID

‘It fell there.’

Négáu á kúihýáfélél.

négó ə₁₃= kʰúy+hàpə₃- hél
and.then:DS >3e:3s=drag+pick.up:PFV–EVID

‘And they [the Kiowas] dragged it off.’

Gigáu úi fágá hégáu á fēnē.

ɡíɡó ʊy píáŋɡá: hégó ə₁₃= pẽnə: and.then:SS yon prairie:in then 3e:3s=butcher:IPFV:EVID

‘Out there in the open they butchered it.’

Gigáu áuhyáu em fíståuhél

ɡíɡó ɔ́yhɔ́ː ə́m = pj₃+ sɔ́ː₁₃- hél

and.then:SS there:DEF 3e:3e=eat+sit.down:PFV–EVID

‘and they sat down there to eat’

Gáu tháutjáu ét fáulè

ɡó tʰɔ́ttə é= pɔ́ːlêː and.then:DS kidney:INV 3t₃=eat:IPFV:EVID

‘they were eating kidneys,’

Gáu tháutlél gáu tháudél dàumé dée em jámè.

ɡó tʰɔ́lé ɡó tʃɔ́dè 0= dʒémè: dē– ɛ́= ɛ́m= tʃɛ́mè: and.then:SS liver and bile 3s=be:EVID BAS–where 3e:3e=dab.inv:IPFV:EVID

‘and the liver and dipping it in the bile.’

Tháukáui e sáumchánhél

tʰɔ́kʰɔ́y é= sɔ́ːm₃+ tsán- hél
White:INV 3t=watch+arrive:PFV–EVID

‘The Whites came to watch’

Négáu bót ét fáulè égáu tháu

négó bót é= pɔ́ːlêː and.then:DS entrails 3t₃=eat:IPFV:EVID now:PRS bile
and they [Kiowas] were eating the guts and bile,

4:13 gìgáujḗáômdā ̀ˍumḕ
gìg(ɔ́) and.then:DS all 3R=blood+be:EVID
‘and they had blood all over’

4:15 àuthègáuétmā ̀usânhèl
ds hègɔ́ then 3i=turn.up.nose/at:PFV=EVID
‘Still, they [Whites] wrinkled up their noses;’

4:17 k'ɔ̀t g'yá yet: ss gʸá in.fear+start.off:pfv-
hêl evid
‘they were running away from us scared.’

4:24 Gìgáuā́ˍugàugátও
gìgɔ́ and.then: SS own 1p›3p=be:good
‘And it’s good for us’

4:30 ñàuḗ ˍgàuā́ˍugàubótchólhā ́u
nɔ̀ and: DS this self entrails:tsólhɔ̀ː– thus: def–
pí ̨ːgʸá food gʸát=›1p›3p= dɔ́ː be
‘As you see now, bót is our own kind of food.’

4:19 qàutgácàuétā ̀ihyèl.
k'ɔ̀t yet: ss gʸá in.fear+in:pfv-
hêl evid
‘they were running away from us scared.’

4:27 áuphàudèháundésóncā ̀ugàubátfàutjàudè;
ɔ́phɔ̀ on.from.that: def–hɔ́ndé something són– grass– kɔ̂ːgɔ̀ accompanying bát=1in›3p= eat:ipfv=dè bas
‘to eat it with the grass (in the intestines) and that other stuff;’

4:34 qáhi áughą ě hólè ān ét thāumāunciḩumaudę ě dáudę.
k'ʈʰːhː jyː ḡ = hól= деле  ámb ě=t= tɔːmɔ̀n+ kʃːmɔ̀= d(è) ě=d= dè=dè man 3R=kill:PFV=BAS HAR 3E⁄3D=measure+designate:PFV=BAS 3D=be=BAS
‘that the two men who killed it were the ones who were heralded for their deed.’
Backmatter
# Appendix A

## Grammatical Abbreviations

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>first person</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANAPH</td>
<td>anaphoric</td>
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<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverb</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAS</td>
<td>basic number</td>
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<td>CHAR</td>
<td>characteristic</td>
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<td>CNTRFCT</td>
<td>counterfactual</td>
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<td>COMING</td>
<td>progressive (motion) towards</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>dual</td>
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<td>DEF</td>
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<td>DETR</td>
<td>detransitive</td>
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<td>DISTR</td>
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<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>different subject</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>empathetic (argument indexing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>exclusive 1st-person nonsingular</td>
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<tr>
<td>EVID</td>
<td>hearsay evidential</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXPR</td>
<td>expressive</td>
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<tr>
<td>FALSE.BELIEF</td>
<td>speaker's false belief</td>
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<td>GOING</td>
<td>progressive (motion) away</td>
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<td>NAME</td>
<td>kin term used as name</td>
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<td>SPRD</td>
<td>spread across location</td>
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<td>same subject</td>
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<td>intransitive verb</td>
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<td>VT</td>
<td>transitive verb</td>
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