



A Note on Kiowa Linguistic Affiliations

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mainly at White River and San Carlos) so that my own material will, I hope, fill a gap in the historical data as well as give a picture of near recent developments.

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NOTES

¹ Concerning contemporary conditions, Goodwin (1937:403-04) wrote: "When a person is expected to die, he is attended by members of his clan and even of related clans, especially women. This is both an expression of sympathy and the fulfilment of a duty. A bereaved family invites all who will to join in a wake of one night's duration. Though guests include mere friends, relatives on the father's side, and the like, yet clan representation is notable, including not only those closely related by blood but others as well. In a few other death customs the clan is involved, but in these blood kinship is of equal importance."

² "Among the White Mountain Apache the small number of clans and the fact that they are definitely divided into four sets within which there is no variation in relations to other clans make the use of 'phratries' quite possible. But the clan systems in the other four groups are not so simple, for here clans may be related to other clans which in turn are not interrelated. Thus it is impossible to form all clans bearing relationships to one another into nonconflicting sets, as among the White Mountain Apache . . ." (Goodwin 1942:100).

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A NOTE ON KIOWA LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS

In 1910 J. P. Harrington postulated the relationship between Kiowa and Tanoan. Since that time the matter has rested, although some linguists and anthropologists, notably Sapir (1929), Whorf and Trager (1937) and Trager (1946), have accepted the relationship. Others are more cautious and regard the question as being still open (Newman 1954:630; Hoijer 1946:23). The list of possible cognates given by Harrington is suggestive, but not entirely convincing. The material available to him in 1910 was poorly recorded, and many of his sets are untenable. Unfortunately Harrington did not attempt to set up sound correspondences.

It is strange that for almost 50 years there has been little further work on this problem. Harrington (1928) has listed possible Tanoan cognates, mostly

Tewa, in his Kiowa vocabulary, but this has received little attention. One reason little work has been done on this problem is that we still lack material. There is little modern descriptive material for either Kiowa or the Tanoan languages. There is no modern dictionary or word list for Kiowa, and no dictionary or word list at all for any of the Tanoan languages. No detailed comparative work can be done without grammars and dictionaries. However, there is enough material available to make a preliminary statement, and the purpose of this note is to make such a statement.

We have compared the 102 forms of Aztec-Tanoan from Whorf and Trager (1937) with Harrington's Kiowa vocabulary (1928). The number of forms compared is in reality less than 102, since several forms given by Whorf and Trager are dubious at best (e.g. number 6, 16, 25, 40, 46, 55 and a few others). The AT (Aztec-Tanoan) form is listed with the number assigned by Whorf and Trager. Where possible, we also list the T (Taos) form. The K (Kiowa) forms have been changed along the lines indicated by Crowell (1949) and Sivertsen (1956). The resulting orthography cannot be considered phonemic, but only an approximation of a phonemic transcription. Unfortunately, tone and stress are not indicated in either the Kiowa or Taos material.

beat AT *x^wüva *to whip, beat* (60); T x^wōnā *beat*, x^wōn-tu *a whip*; K go-p, guo- *to hit, whip*.

blow AT *p'u (45); T p'uci; K p'o-.

boil (verb) AT *ləʔa (77); K sō-n-, -sō-.

breathe AT *hūla, *hūl (15); T hōla; K hō- *breath*.

brother AT *pa *older brother* (38); T popo-; K pa·bia.

buffalo AT *koʔu (16); T kon-; K ka-l.

deer AT *tūna *antelope* (94); *ta-p- *deer, antelope*.

dog AT *çiyu (71); K cey-.

drag AT *k^weja, *k^weļ *dragging, tail* (26); T x^wē- *tail*; K k'ue- *drag*.

finger nail AT *cə (1); T -ce-; K -čō.

fire AT *p'a (86); K p'ia.

grass AT *li *flower, grass* (30); T li-; K sō-.

hair AT *p'o, *p'oho (44); T p'o-; K p'ɔ- *body hair*.

hand AT *ma (33); T mān-; K mō-.

hit AT *tə *strike* (93); K tɔ-, tɔ- *by hitting* (verbal prefix).

I AT *neʔa, *neʔ (37); T nā; K nō-.

ice AT *toŋwi *winter* (90); K tē-, tēn-.

man (1) AT *θəho *man, person* (53); T səo-nena; K t'a'l- *boy*.

man (2) AT *taŋwa *father, man* (89); K ta-l *father*.

mountain AT *piya (85); K p'ia- *hill*.

neck AT *kəwo, *kəwora (19); T kəo-; K kol-.

speak AT *tūŋwa, *tūŋw (48); T tū; K tō-.

three AT *paḥi, *paḥi-wa (39); T poyuo; K p'ā·ʔo.

tie AT *p'əla *wrap, tie* (87), K p'ā *to be tied*.

water (1) AT *θuŋw (54); T sū *drink*; K t'ō-m *drink*.

water (2) AT *p̥a (41); T p̥o-; K p̥ɔ *river*, p̥ɔʔɔ-e *to wash*.

wolf AT *kʷa *wild canine* (23); T kol-; K kue.

you AT *ʔeme, *eŋʷe, *eŋʷ (66); T ē; K ʔām.

The above evidence for this relationship is certainly not overwhelming. However, the case is much stronger than a mere list of 28 possible sets might indicate. First of all, fewer than 100 Aztec-Tanoan forms were examined. Second, sound correspondences can be found for the initial consonants, and vowel nasalization matches fairly well between Kiowa and Tanoan. There are eight examples in which a labial stop of Aztec-Tanoan is matched by a labial stop of Kiowa: *blow*, *brother*, *fire*, *hair*, *mountain*, *three*, *tie* and *water* (2). Dental stop equals dental stop in five sets: *deer*, *hit*, *ice*, *man* (2) and *speak*. Velar stops correspond in only two examples: *buffalo* and *neck*. We find two examples of Aztec-Tanoan labiovelar stops and Kiowa velar stops plus u: *drag* and *wolf*. Affricates correspond in *dog* and *finger nail*. There are two sets with Aztec-Tanoan *θ (Uto-Aztec *t, *c, Proto-Tanoan and Taos s), Kiowa t', namely *man* (1) and *water* (1); and two sets with Aztec-Tanoan *ɬ (Uto-Aztec *s, Proto-Tanoan and Taos l), Kiowa s, *boil* and *grass*.

Glottalization, aspiration, and nonaspiration match in almost all these sets. Hence the three sets where these features do not match (*finger nail*, *mountain* and *three*) are possibly not cognate. However, only the Tanoan languages and Kiowa have the three-way contrast between glottalized, aspirated, and plain voiceless stops; Uto-Aztec has only one series of stops. The three series of stops are reconstructed for Aztec-Tanoan on the evidence found only in the Tanoan languages. This may suggest that Kiowa and Tanoan are more closely related to each other than either is to Uto-Aztec, but it would be unwise to jump to this conclusion until more detailed comparisons are made.

It is interesting that only one Kiowa form, *beat*, has a voiced stop. Tanoan, and also Aztec-Tanoan as reconstructed by Whorf and Trager, have voiced stops. The evidence for Aztec-Tanoan is again based solely on Tanoan, since Uto-Aztec languages have no voiced stops, except as a secondary development in a few languages.

Enough evidence has been presented to show that Kiowa is very likely related to Tanoan and Aztec-Tanoan. However, more evidence is needed for final verification.

It will aid the ethnologist in reconstructing the prehistory of western America if it can be shown that Kiowa has wider affiliations. A more important question to the ethnologist (assuming for the present the relationship is valid) is the matter of internal relationships. Is Tanoan more closely related to Uto-Aztec or to Kiowa, or are the three equally distant from each other? Harrington (1910; 1928:1) and Sapir (1929) assumed that Tanoan and Kiowa formed a unit, whereas Whorf and Trager (1937:609-610) imply that Kiowa is more distantly related to Uto-Aztec and Tanoan. Questions of internal relationship can not be answered until comparative work, both phonological and grammatical, has been done. As a corollary to such work, it will also be

possible to spot and trace loanwords between the Indian languages of the area. Information of this sort will be of immense value to the ethnologist, because it will show which groups were in contact in pre-Columbian times, and will often show the direction of linguistic and, in turn, cultural borrowing.

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TABOO EXPRESSIONS IN ETHIOPIA

Taboo expressions are used in all languages, and usually lie in the realm of religion, parts of the body, sexual activities, diseases, the animal world, and in other domains according to the culture of the linguistic community. Sociologists, psychologists, and linguists have dealt with the underlying principles of taboo expressions.¹ The present note discusses various taboo expressions used by the Ethiopians, and particularly by the Gurage. I collected some of these in Ethiopia, while others were given to me in Los Angeles by my student Habte Mariam-Marcos, a Gurage of the Ennemor group.²

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Among the pagan Gurages the girls, beginning at the age of seven, are organized into the society of the *m^wəyät*.³ Special ceremonies are performed in connection with this initiation. All the *m^wəyät*, together with the chief of the *m^wəyät*, go to the girl's house on initiation day, throw her onto the roof of the house three times, and then bring her back into the house. Several times during