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SPEAKING KIOWA TODAY:
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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To my dearest Kiowa friends, who have welcomed me

into their folds and believed in me all these years:

Prof. Gus Palmer, Jr., Grandma Dorothy Whitehorse DeLaune,

Mrs. Delores Harragarra and the Harragarra family,

as well as all those who are dedicated

to the revitalization of the Kiowa language.

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better scholar, researcher, writer, and language advocate. I also appreciate all Prof. Linn has done for the Kiowa people and many of the Native Americans in Oklahoma working to revitalize their language through the creation of the Oklahoma Native American Youth Language Fair. Thanks are also due to Daniel Harbour and Laurel Watkins, who have been most kind and encouraging of my interest in the Kiowa language.

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ABSTRACT

Speaking Kiowa Today constitutes a systematic, in-depth look at language change over four generations, focusing on one language, Kiowa, during a period of intense language change, often called obsolescence. The integration of ethnolinguistic and structural linguistic research provides a more comprehensive model for examining language obsolescence, or as argued here, language change, as Kiowa cannot yet be considered obsolete due to the important roles it plays in Kiowa society. This joint research methodology reveals how language use is related to linguistic change, as well as which Kiowa forms are changing due to contact with English, and which are undergoing attrition, the eroding of the linguistic system due to disuse. In describing Kiowa as it is spoken today, this work proves that Modern Kiowa is not only a system worthy of being described, but that newer forms are not 'compromised' or 'corrupt.' Instead, it provides support to the theory that languages can evolve from polysynthetic towards more analytic in structure. Speaking Kiowa Today illustrates how Modern Kiowa speakers are creatively fulfilling necessary functions within the community today, and the language is still viable and useful. It is the end goal of this research that validating the modern form of the language will contribute to language revitalization within any community by restoring pride to speakers of all types, encouraging curriculum development, and supporting language use for more functions.

1. Introduction

"Kiowa is not a dying language."   - Jay Terrell Doyebi

"Nobody speaks Old Kiowa anymore. It's gone."   - Mrs. Delores Harragarra

While completing my Master's research on language ideologies surrounding Dutch dialects, I heard of the struggle that the Dutch citizens in the province of Friesland were waging to maintain their language and reverse the path of language shift. There were classes in schools teaching Friesian, television and radio programs geared toward Friesian culture and featuring Friesian speakers. Even amidst the general Dutch population there was awarenessthat the Friesian language was something important and worthy of revival. As I neared completion of my thesis, I thought, now there is something useful I could do with my linguistic education and background, an applicable linkage between theory and practice. I had already considered moving back to the United States for my Ph.D. degree, and having grown up in an area where cowboys were prevalent and Westerns were still in vogue, I hoped that perhaps there was something I could do to assist the Native Americans who – in dubious fashion – were displaced so that farmers like my family could make their living.

Yet it was not until my arrival at the University of Oklahoma (OU) ten years ago that I truly began to understand and appreciate the sheer number of Native American communities that were fighting to maintain or regain their languages. At OU alone, five different Native American languages were taught at the time,[1] all of which were connected with communities right here in Oklahoma. And that was but the tip of the iceberg relative to the numerous Native American communities and languages here.[2] I decided to start with one of the languages taught at the university, and the Kiowa professors were so welcoming and warm, and evinced such pride in their language, that

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[1] I believe the current number is four.
[2] From its original designation by the U.S. government as land set aside to create a specific "Indian Territory" (1834-1907), the state of Oklahoma is presently home to 38 Federally recognized tribal entities.

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I knew exactly where I wanted to begin. I immediately began sitting in on courses, and once I heard this captivating language and started learning about the structures, I was hooked. I met with one of the few linguists who currently worked on Kiowa, Dr. Laurel Watkins, and discovered that there was something unique I could offer based on my background in sociolinguistics and language varieties. There was talk of various Kiowa dialects, which were not well-documented nor the differences fully understood. Coincidentally, one of my peers, Michael P. Jordan, was well-aquainted with Kiowa culture and Kiowa people, as he was pursuing sociocultural research in the community, and I was introduced to some close Kiowa friends of his. In line with my previous experiences, his friends, the Harragarra family, were the kindest and most graceful people I had ever met. We listened to Kiowa hymns together. I was fascinated by the cadence of the language, comparing it with the spoken word I was hearing in classes. Yet even from these initial experiences, I kept hearing how Kiowa was dying out, how there were so few speakers left, and how it may not even survive past the lifespan of the elders who currently spoke it (and even then, not often). Some community members even went so far as to claim that what was spoken today was not even "real Kiowa," and that "Old Kiowa" was no longer spoken today.

Straightaway I became interested in seeing what I could do to help the community in their efforts to sustain their heritage language. An opportunity arose when Mrs. Carole Willis, the elderly but energetic teacher whom I was assisting in the Beginning Kiowa classes, made a proposal to me. She was planning to go out to a Kiowa language class that met in Carnegie, where the tribal headquarters are located, to talk to them about the writing system we use here at OU. This system was designed by Parker McKenzie (1897-1999), a linguist in his own right, who had worked with many of the linguists who had studied the Kiowa language, all the way back to John Harrington (1994-1961), whose work comprised the first comprehensive studies of the language.

Little did I know how complicated this situation with orthography truly was. Our reception at the class was at first very friendly (in fact, my friend Mrs. Harragarra attended this class regularly), but the further the conversation went, the more I learned that things were not as straightforward as they had seemed. While I, along with the

teachers at OU, felt that the writing system we use here is a very efficient and elegant system, it appeared that not all – perhaps not even the majority – of Kiowa speakers felt this way. Many people in the community felt that the writing system was counterintuitive, because of the way that Parker McKenzie used English letters for which there was no Kiowa equivalent, to represent Kiowa sounds that are not present in English.

While at first glance McKenzie's "replacement letter" system seems to be a very neat and tidy solution, Kiowa speakers who became literate first in English preferred writing using English approximations for these sounds, in many cases using as many as four letters to represent a single sound. Unfortunately, since the English spelling system is so unsystematic itself, this led to there being a myriad of ways that a given sound could be represented. I was beginning to see part of the reason that despite a long-standing concern with the increasing evidence of language loss, little progress had been made in language revitalization. In fact, it was clear that despite community awareness and a series of community classes offered over the past few decades, Kiowa was actually being spoken less and less, even by speakers. But I knew that orthography, or even the potential presence of multiple dialects, did not explain the situation in its entirety. I wanted to more fully explore the ethnographic situation surrounding Kiowa language use and potential maintenance and revitalization, as well as discover what had been happening to the language structurally over the past two decades since Dr. Watkins' grammar had been published. In order to be able to do work that would benefit Kiowa people, as well as contribute to the corpus of linguistic knowledge of Kiowa, I needed to learn how the language was spoken today, in order to understand what its potential could be for revival.

1.1. Language Endangerment with a View towards Revitalization

My initial experiences with the Kiowa community, as well as what I learned in my earliest classes at OU, made it clear to me that language endangerment and language revitalization are complex matters. I feel that the ethical scholar cannot consider endangerment without addressing prospects for revitalization. An 'endangered language' is, of course, a language that is losing ground to another language (usually of

higher status) introduced to a speech community from outside, particularly when a rapid shift is taking place due to dire economic and/or social circumstances such as oppression and persecution (Hale, Kenneth; Krauss, Michael; Watahomigie, Lucille J.; Yamamoto, Akira Y.; Craig, Colette; Jeanne, LaVerne M. et al. 1992). Fishman provides a scale of endangerment called the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which typologizes languages ranging from Stage 1, merely 'threatened,' through State 8, which are so seldom used that they may require reconstruction (Fishman 1991). Such langauges are often moribund – no longer being learned by children in the home – and have been greatly decreased in the domains in which they are spoken. As Hymes explains, linguistic competence may existed amongst fluent speakers, but has is no longer a source of "continuous invention" in a community (Hymes 1984, in Tsisipis 1998). Language obsolescence is the process of language decline in such circumstances, as the original language of a community gives way to the encroaching language of a dominant population.

The majority of languages in the world are endangered. This classification is supported by an oft-cited statistic: approximately 60-80% of the languages in the world are endangered, and 50% of languages expected to become extinct within the next century (Krauss 2000, 2007; Maffi, Krauss and Yamamoto 2001). What does this mean? The loss or extinction of heritage languages means a loss of knowledge about the world, both cultural and scientific. It matters because the disappearance of languages also means the demise of specific, unique worldviews, philosophies, and perspectives, not only for the people who are shifting away from their heritage languages and adopting new lifeways, but also for the world at large, since the extinction of any language creates a deficit in humanity's knowledgebase. (Harrison 2007). Fortunately, popular opinion about the value of these languages and the potential loss of knowledge they contain has been shifting as concerned citizens get the word out through various media, and more resources are now allocated to help prevent this tragedy. There are those who make preventing this loss their life's work, and this dissertation is an effort to both document and better understand the situation of one of these languages and the processes it is undergoing.

There are many people concerned about and involved with language endangerment. There are linguistic and academic community members, other concerned citizens who are not tribal members, as well as those indigenous to the Kiowa community in question, of course. This diversity of people from each group could be called"stakeholders" (c.f. Heller and Duchêne 2008). There are facts and opinions on all sides, competing ideologies – both pro-language-speaking and anti-language-speaking – wishful thinking and nostalgia, in addition to sincere efforts for change and revitalization. The speakers and descendants of speakers – potential (or actual) language learners – are the people that matter most in this undertaking, and their opinions and understandings carry the most weight in evaluating the true status of a language, and determining where the language is going to go in the future. A significant portion of the research for this dissertation has been dedicated to determining how Kiowa people feel about their language, both how and why its used today and what they want to do with it in the years to come. Yet other stakeholders include language advocates, who are directly involved with language revitalization. They deal with language ideologies – albeit sometimes unknowingly – working to encourage language learners, change opinions of naysayers, and facilitate language revitalization. Finally come the linguists and linguistic anthropologists, who dedicate their lives to the cause of documenting languages, theorizing about the processes involved, and encouraging and collaborating with members of indigenous speech communities, Native people who have chosen to improve revitalization efforts. This dissertation provides a unique opportunity for me to both work with Kiowa people as their language morphology and usage evolves and provide some insight into the process of language change itself. I assert that: 1) in the Kiowa situation at least, the process of "obsolescence" is not deterministic and could better be referred to as language change, 2) when thoroughly analyzing language change one must take both structural and ethnographic data into account, and 3) the changes in Modern Kiowa indicate it is evolving with a less polysynthetic and more isolating structure. In this dissertation I hope to accomplish some steps towards all three of these goals, at least for one language and one community that I have gotten to know and care about deeply.

1.2. Describing Language Obsolescence… or Language Change

This research constitutes a systematic, in-depth look at what is sometimes called "language obsolescence," although I prefer the term structural language change, for reasons I will explain below. Language obsolescence is the common term in the literature for a specific type of change that takes place in an endangered language that is being spoken less and less even by fluent speakers (Dorian 1994). There are but a handful of studies that have focused on the description of language obsolescence in its totality, describing not only the linguistic changes taking place in a language, but also a thorough examination of the ethnographic situation in which such changes take place. Language obsolescence often entails such processes as simplification, collapsing of categories, and loss of structures (Campbell and Muntzel 1989:188). Yet this term has negative connotations, indicating a one-way path of "decline" towards… what? Death? That, certainly. Or is it contact-induced shift towards another language until it slowly becomes the imposed language? Perhaps, though unlikely. It's more likely that a different type of mixed language would result, such as Hill's Mexicano (Hill and Hill 1986). Simplification and contact-induced change to the extent that the language becomes a pidgin? Theoretically possible. But all of these cases seem to be undergirded by an assumption that the changes that a language undergoes are somehow detrimental to the "sanctity" of the language. My research challenges this assumption, and as I illustrate in the following chapters, speakers are developing their own practices that ensure that the Kiowa language is still functional, viable, and relevant today.

When originally theorized, it was stated by Dorian that language obsolescence, the process of language loss, was no more than an expedited version of language change, "probably that language death does not differ in kind from other types of linguistic change, but in the speed with which such structural changes occur and in the number of phenomena covered by the process" (Dorian 1981, as stated in Tsitsipis 1989). Yet in the same source, a similarity to the processes forming pidgins and creoles is noted, though they "differ crucially," and this difference is not clearly explained (ibid). Perhaps the most telling sign that a language is undergoing obsolescence and not regular language change is a moment of "linguistic tip," defined by Dorian as the moment when after a stable bilingual situation has existed, perhaps even for centuries,

"the demographic tide flows strongly in favor of some other language," (Dorian 1981:51, in Mertz 1989), a sort of "point of no return." The very term "obsolescence" seems to indicate an inevitable path towards the "obsolete," a path of decline towards the unavoidable death of a language. This is one of the crucial differences between language obsolescence and regular language change. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) describe four major types of language death: sudden death, radical death, gradual death, and bottom-to-top death, only two of which are defined by intense rapid change, which would seem to be problematic for Dorian's original definition. Modern Kiowa is the result of processes of language obsolescence; yet in other ways, it displays properties of resurgence and adaptation such as those seen in Hill's Mexicano and "young people's Dyirbal" (Hill and Hill 1986, Schmidt 1985). For this reason, in the chapters that follow I may refer to language obsolescence when it comes to explaining certain aspects of Kiowa language use, such as the ever increasing reduction of domains or the structural changes that the language has undergone that have resulted in intense loss of vocabulary or structures. However, in general I prefer and will use the term language change, as I have found that the Kiowa situation has become increasingly dynamic over the past decade, as speakers have found ways to make use of their language in creative ways to fulfill specific needs in their speech community.

In order to investigate language change over time in a severely endangered language, I focus on one situation, in the Kiowa community, and draw upon data from four generations. Adhering to a holistic view of language change, I follow the examples set forth by Dorian (1981), Hill and Hill (1986), Schmidt (1985), Goodfellow (2005) and Meek (2007). These authors examined the situations surrounding such diverse languages as Gaelic, Nahuatl, Djirbal, K^{w}ak^{w}ala, and Kaska by looking at both the languacultural aspects as well as the structural aspects surrounding change. In the following chapters, I describe "Modern Kiowa" in two ways. The first is by addressing the ethnographic situation surrounding Kiowa language endangerment and how the language is used today. The second is by examining morphosyntactic changes that have taken place or are taking place in the language during a period of forty years, as the language came to be spoken less and less.

1.2.1 Ethnography of Language Obsolescence / Language Change

The ethnolinguistic context must be established in order to ground the changes taking place, and is based on the methodology of Gumperz and Hymes' Ethnography of Speaking or Ethnography of Communication as a part of my ethnographic research, taking into consideration particular macro- and micro-variables of the social context. Language ideologies form an important part of this context as well, and their role in language change must also be thoroughly examined. The final elements of this picture are brought together in considerations of linguistic tip (Dorian 1981, Mertz 1989) and a look into the relationship between domains of use and structures of change as envisioned by Schmid (2002, 2007).

In describing the ethnographic situation of a changing Kiowa language, I make use of the time-honored Ethnography of Speaking approach – also called Ethnography of Communication – as designed by Gumperz and Hymes (Hymes 1962, 1964, 1974; Gumperz and Hymes 1964, 1972; Bonvillain 2003; Haviland 1995). The other aspects that fit into the overarching framework of language change in severely endangered languages are Schmid's connections between reduction in frequency of use and domains of usage and Mertz's description of linguistic tip. I also investigate to what degree usage in conjunction with language ideologies affect language obsolescence and renewal in the Kiowa situation, in order to present as complete a picture as possible of the context of language change in situations of extreme endangerment.

Linguistic Tip   The literature on "linguistic tip" regards the crucial moment when it appears that a language embarks on a rapid decline towards death (Dorian 1989:51, Mertz 1989). Locating the moment of tip requires not only an analysis of the demographics of speakers, but also an examination of the changes in social circumstance that effect a severe disruption in intergenerational language transmission and a significant decline in the domains in which the language is spoken. I examine a very brief time period during which relatively drastic changes in the structure of this polysynthetic language have taken place. With a multi-generational approach, I aim with this research to locate Kiowa's moment of tip. Whether or not linguistic tip is definitively unidirectional is an important consideration in language revitalization

research, that can turn a situation of language obsolescence into an atmosphere of language renewal.

Language Ideologies. When speakers hold an ideology of language purism rejecting changes to the system, speakers avoid using structures they are not confident about. This results in the language itself being spoken less, in fewer contexts, until it disappears. Some Kiowa people feel this is inevitable, as Kiowa has already faded from usage in many contexts. Using changed forms that are simplified or more similar to English seems to be a more common path. This can have significant effects on the system as a whole. Many Kiowa elders deplore this type of usage, considering it to be 'slang' that erodes the language. On the other hand, they have come to appreciate attempts by young people to learn the language to emphasize an identity as a member of the Kiowa community. Reviving forms from older sources to rebuild original language structures can be beneficial in its completeness, but there are challenges. This form of the language is not currently widely used in the community, and ideological struggles may arise. As in many Native American communities, elders are viewed as the ultimate authorities. What happens when the target language comes from a book and is taught and spoken by younger people? Discourses on authenticity and power within the community could be disrupted, and community cohesion, including full integration of younger speakers, could be threatened. This part of my ethnographic investigation will be more fully outlined in Chapter 3.

1.2.2. Describing Structural Language Change in Endangered Languages

Investigating the structural consequences of language obsolescence requires incorporating contact linguistics and language attrition methodology and theory. Language contact studies and language attrition studies approach the topic of linguistic change from different angles, looking at changes all relating to contact but also to disuse of a language. In order to follow the path of obsolescence, I analyze whether they are internally or externally motivated, or both. Although this dichotomy is not straightforward (Gerritsen and Stein 1992), investigating the role that attrition and imperfect learning play along with the mechanisms of language contact is key to redefining the process of structural obsolescence. This structural analysis of language

change is based on contact literature, which focuses on externally motived change, as presented by Aikhenvald (2006), Thomason (2001), Anderson (1982), and Campbell and Muntzen (1989) and for internally motivated change, by attrition research Köpke and Schmid (2002), Aikhenvald (2007), and Pavlenko (2002). Through these means, I will outline historical development of some changes that will contribute to our understandings of the functioning the attrition process in the process of language obsolescence, but also that of language contact, with a view towards the renewing types of language taking place in the Kiowa context.

Within contact literature, hypotheses have been made as to which structures seem most susceptible to change (see reviews in Thomason 2001 and Aikhenvald 2006), but empirical studies in this arena are still scarce. I also put to the test the simplification model for attrition, the explanatory power of which has been called into question by Köpke and Schmid (2002). My conclusions serve to justify some of the assertions that have been made, or at leat provide valuable counterexamples and move us forward towards an improved model of language change.

1.3. The Kiowa and Their Language

Kiowa is the only member of its branch of the Kiowa-Tanoan family, and the only one spoken in Oklahoma. Figure 1.1. shows the locations of the Oklahoma counties with the densest Kiowa population. Although there are more than 11,000 members of the Kiowa tribe, fewer than 1% actually speak the language, as fewer than 200 people currently speak Kiowa (by most estimates – see the discussion of "speakerhood" in Chapter 2). As a severely endangered language of Native North America, Kiowa falls into the most endangered Stage 8 following Fishman's scale and hangs perilously between Krauss' categories of 'seriously endangered' and 'moribund' (Fishman 1991, Krauss 2007). This decline has happened quite rapidly. Within three generations, the numbers have declined from a nearly 100% fluency rate to less than 1% of the population. This fact, along with the relatively sizeable amount of documentation available for Kiowa, makes it a perfect candidate for giving us a picture of intense language change. The final factor that completes this picture of language change is the fact that Kiowa is making a

Figure 1.1. Location of Concentrations of Kiowa People in Oklahoma

Oklahoma Counties with densest Kiowa population

- Lone Wolf
- Hobart*
- Mountain View
- Carnegie*
- Fort Cobb
- Anadarko*
- Apache
- Elgin*
- Lawton
- Meers

* Locations where Kiowa Language Classes are Taught

Map created by Mike Taylor and donated to OKGenWeb Project Jan.1999 - Modified by Marti Graham March 1999 - Modified by Amber Neely May 2005
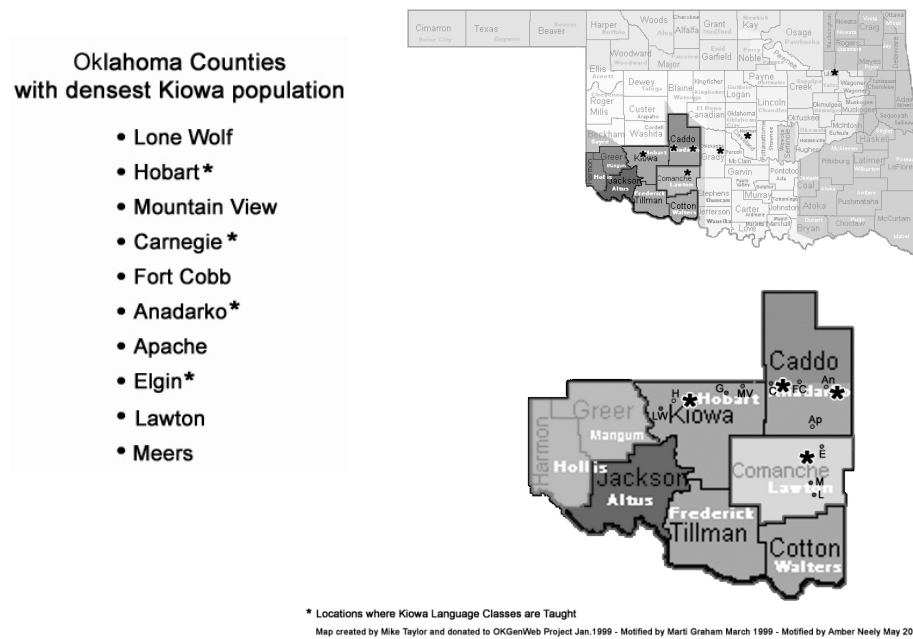
comeback amongst the younger generations. But which models are they following – the Old Kiowa forms that they learn in some classes, or the Modern Kiowa forms that they learn in other classes or that they hear around them? This is a key question that my research addresses, by utilizing a generational, thus both synchronic and diachronic, approach that examines language use by second language speakers as well as first language speakers.

What makes Kiowa so special? Kiowa exhibits noun incorporation and exhibits a fascinating "typologically unusual" inverse-marking noun class system (Corbett 2000, Harbour 2007, Sutton 2010) as well as a remarkably extensive pronominal system (Cysouw 2005, Harley and Ritter 2002, Sutton 2010, Watkins 1984, among others). It is also unusual in that it employs switch-reference markers in both coordinate and subordinate clauses (McKenzie 2007). Kiowa represents a category of its own in Harley and Ritter's typology of the interactions between person and number features (Harley and Ritter 2002). As such the Kiowa language presents theoretically valuable information as to how humans encode number and the idea of typicality and intentions of participants' collective actions, as well as interactions between verbal arguments and

stylistic and thematic structure, and finally, into universals of number theory (Corbett 2000, Gold and Harbour 2008, Watkins 1990, Harbour 2003).

There is some linguistic documentation on the Kiowa language, both written and oral, dating as far back as the early 1900's. The documentation is primarily about Old Kiowa, of course, because my recordings amongst the living generations of speakers and recorders are the most recent. The exception is Harbour's work, done in the 1990's, which does not discuss the circumstances of language change. Harbour tends to treat his recent recordings still as belonging to "Kiowa" as a whole. It is in drawing upon the documentation of Old Kiowa, along with my fieldwork, that I can make the comparisons requisite for my analysis. I also draw to some extent upon teaching materials for my analysis of Modern Kiowa, as some of these come from the elder (or very recently passed) speakers of today. These materials are have also been used to teach today's young adults and even middle-aged and older speakers or language learners attend classes where these materials are used.

1.3.1. Old Kiowa Language Documentation

Most of the Old Kiowa language documentation comes from written sources. These include vocabulary lists and early descriptions of some aspects of phonology and morphosyntax, as well as a grammar. To date, no dictionary has been published, although there is such a resource on the internet that was compiled by students from the University of Oklahoma as part of a course on dictionary making taught by Dr. Mary Linn in 2011. The newer recordings from the 1970's and 1980's have been transcribed by me along with Gus Palmer, Jr. and groups of elders.

Written Sources My chief source of data for Old Kiowa morphosyntactic structures (G1) is Watkins' (1984) "A Grammar of Kiowa." This represents the oldest recorded form of Kiowa, since Watkins worked mainly with Parker McKenzie, a native speaker turned linguist who also worked with John Harrington in the 1920's, the first attempt to document Kiowa. I also draw upon early written accounts such as Harrington's (1928) vocabulary, Harrington (1946), McKenzie and Harrington (1948), Harrington's notes, unpublished when available, later written accounts such as McKenzie's notes (available from the Oklahoma Historical Society), and more recent

accounts such as Harbour (2003a, 2003b, 2004). More recent written accounts, for Generations 2-4 are drawn from teaching materials developed by Gonzales (2000, G2), Palmer (G3), Willis (G2), and Poolah (G4). Preliminary examination of these documents indicates a division between the last three, based on Watkins' and McKenzie's work, and that of Gonzales, based on her own knowledge of Kiowa. I find some elements of change in Gonzales' work that could exemplify a move towards Modern Kiowa. Since many of the young Kiowa speakers, or more to the point, semi-speakers and language learners, have learned at least partially from her teachings, Gonzales' work is quite important as an indication of the nature of Modern Kiowa today.

Oral Recordings The earliest recordings of Kiowa elicitations were collected by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the 1960's. These represent G1-G2. I will also use data from the monologues and conversations recorded for the Kiowa Cultural Program (KCP) in the late 1970's to early 1980's. I digitized these materials as part of collaboration between the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History at the University of Oklahoma and the Kiowa Cultural Preservation Committee. I logged and categorized more than 230 tapes. I have already tagged for use several tapes with tracks of dialogues on topics such as "Kiowa language of the past" and "Kiowa language today." I have transcribed these tracks with the assistance of my co-advisor Gus Palmer, Professor of Anthropology and teacher of Kiowa at the University of Oklahoma and with Kiowa elders.

1.3.2 More Recent Kiowa Linguistic Description & Theorization

Most of the recent work on Kiowa has been done by Harbour and MacKenzie, both syntacticians although Harbour is also a semanticist. MacKenzie's work focuses on the structure known as switch-reference, which has also been investigated by Watkins (1976). Harbour's research interests are somewhat broader, and particularly his descriptive work on noun classes and pronominals have been helpful in undertaking this research (Harbour 2004), as will be seen in Chapter 4. There has also been Sutton's work on noun class in Kiowa-Tanoan, which is only nominally useful comparatively in this context (Sutton 2010). The limited availability of work on the Tanoan languages

due to restraints on sharing the language outside the community as noted by Sutton means that paradigms are necessarily incomplete (ibid: 57). The long-term separate evolution of Kiowa from the Tanoan languages also entails that changes due to contact are of more influence in the current situation of language change.

1.3.3 Ethnography of Kiowa Speech Communities

I draw upon various sources in order to develop the Kiowa ethnohistorical context with which I can compare the current ethnolinguistic circumstances. Mooney's "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians" is a primary source for Kiowa tribal culture dating back to the late 1800's, giving a picture of Kiowa life through the events they mark as important in their lives (Mooney 1898). Other useful accounts can be found in the work of missionaries such as Isobel Crawford, and the Kiowa tales recorded by ethnologists Elsie Clews Parsons and William Sturtevant Nye also give useful insights into Kiowa culture (Crawford and Ellis 1998; Parsons 1929; Nye 1962, 1969). More recent accounts of Kiowa culture can be found in Ellis' work on give more insight into the role of Kiowa language in the speech community of today, as Gus Palmer, Jr. deals with storytelling and Lassiter treats the importance of song in Kiowa culture (Palmer Jr., 2003, Lassiter 1998). Finally, insights into the changing nature of the linguistic situation for Kiowa during the crucial time period for language change can be found in some of the recordings made by the Kiowa Cultural Program during the 1970's and 1980's. One of these is titled "Kiowa Language Yesterday and Today," dated 6/11/79; another is "What Kiowa Language Means to Us," dated 1/22/80, and a third is "Preserving Our Kiowa Language," dated 2/20/80. There is also a follow-up discussion entitled "Economic Discussion, Language & Culture" but this was not transcribed as it was not found to contribute original information to the discussion.

1.4. Modern Kiowa vis-à-vis Old Kiowa

Even the most fluent speakers today, for the most part born in the 1920's, are English-dominant and reminisce about the "Old Kiowa" spoken by their elders, many of whom passed in the 1980's and 1990's. Although every older generation laments the seemingly corrupted language of the youth, in the case of language obsolescence the

differences between the language of previous generations and younger ones are more extensive and definite. What seem to be small grammatical shifts can culminate in a domino effect affecting even basic functions of the language. In this dissertation research I track this process of such extreme language change in Kiowa throughout four generations, from the generation born at the turn of the century through the young adults of today.

The primary goal of this dissertation is, as the title suggests, a description of how Modern Kiowa is spoken today, both ethnographically and structurally. This gives us sufficient data to undertake the second major goal, which is to elucidate the process of change in a severely endangered language. By comparing morphosyntactic forms from the Kiowa speakers of today with those of the previous, more fully fluent generations, I will here paint a picture of Modern Kiowa, and provide insights into both language "obsolescence" and language recovery.

1.4.1. Process of Language Obsolescence in Endangered Languages

Integral to the process of obsolescence is the distinction of language-internal (attrition and imperfect learning) and language-external (contact) influences on morphosyntactic change. As Pavlenko (2002) and Cook (2003) argue, language change due to contact should not be considered equivalent to L1 attrition. After identifying the processes at work for each change, I will classify it in these internal vs. external terms. However, following Thomason (2001) and Aikhenvald (2006), I anticipate that some shifts in the linguistic system may also be ascribed to both sources of change, as they may work together (Myers-Scotton 2002). For example, simplification by reduction in the number of forms in the Kiowa pronominal system could possibly be considered a language-internal leveling of paradigms. Yet, it could also be a consequence of contact with a language containing fewer pronominal forms, such as English. A closer look at which forms are actually produced will clarify the question of the source of a seeming simplification.

'Simplification' (part of what Pavlenko calls 'restructuring') is a term often used in both attrition and contact literature but rarely explained (Pavlenko 2002, Campbell and Muntzel 1989). I use the term in its broadest sense, including both a wholesale

reduction in forms as well as a move away from marked structures. Simplification may, however, have consequences that actually complicate the system as a whole. The Kiowa noun class system is a good example. Kiowa noun classification is related to underlying cultural understandings that have faded over time, rendering the semantic basis obsolete for today's speakers. So losing the noun class system may seem to be an attrition-based simplification of the language. Yet noun classes are integral to plural formation, a core grammatical concept. My preliminary research has shown there to be some variability in production of plurals, to the extent that speakers may not know if a form is singular or plural. I anticipate variability to be greater in less-common plural forms.

Included in language-external contact phenomena are processes of interference and transfer. It has been posited that structures most different from the dominant language (English) are among the first to change or fade from usage. Andersen (1982) argues this, and Campbell and Muntzel (1989) agree, looking at Pipil and American Finnish. Dressler (1991) argues this for Breton phonology. This phenomenon is similar to what Pavlenko terms 'shift' (in a usage that is non-standard in the literature) in her discussion of Russian learners of English (2002) and in Williams' study of teenagers bilingual in Spanish and English (1979, 1980). The polysynthetic nature of Kiowa is significantly different from analytical English, so finding extensive loss of incorporating structures such as nouns and serial verbs would support this hypothesis.

Both internal and external changes are often caused by rapid social transformation. The Kiowa people have been in intensive contact with English for more than a century and a half, and the shift to English has occurred most rapidly during the past four generations. How are linguistic changes driven by choices speakers make in the context of cultural change and language renewal or disuse? I will examine the contexts or domains of language use and language ideologies in the community, including language purism, language usefulness, and identity. To what use is the language being put, and does this influence the shape that it takes? Language use data gathered as Kiowa occurs naturally, or does not occur, in Kiowa social gatherings and events will illuminate conscious and unconscious choices speakers make to ensure that the Kiowa language fulfills community needs.

Unconscious choices are seen through the changes in structures as discussed above. However, when a language is undergoing rapid obsolescence, community members are aware of the shift to English. In this current atmosphere, speakers of Kiowa have roughly three conscious choices: 1) avoidance and loss, 2) allowing shift to take place, or 3) current efforts to bring back or reconstruct older forms. Avoiding a structure will eventually lead to loss.

<u>Reduction in Frequency and Domains of Usage</u> One aspect of conscious language choices I test here includes Schmid's (2002, 2007) connections between reduction in frequency of use and domains of usage (correlative to functions) directly to language change. She posits 1) reduction of registers related to reduction in functions, 2) lexical reduction related to frequency of use, and 3) complexity in morphosyntax being reduced, moving towards a more analytical language structure. Morphological structures found more often in certain domains in which usage has faded, such as noun incorporation in Kiowa storytelling, will likely become less common (see Palmer 2001, 2003 on Kiowa storytelling). Woodbury also discusses the type of rhetorical and aesthetical loss in endangered languages that a reduction in storytelling would entail (Woodbury 1998). Aikhenvald's factors of contact (2006, see above) predict that certain structures may be more inclined to resist diffusion due to frequency of use. This may be the case for structures found in phrases used in prayer, one of the primary genres in which Kiowa is still used, specifically public prayer and religious song (Lassiter, Ellis and Kotay 2002, Lassiter 1998). For some people, Kiowa in the context of prayer can constitute a sacred language, a language ideology shared with Arizona Tewa people about their kiva speech (Kroskrity 1992, 1993, 2000a). These domains and the ideologies connected with their usage will be described in Chapter 3, and their role in changing language forms will be addressed in Chapters 4 and 5.

These are the contexts in which language change, loss, and renewal are being negotiated in Kiowa. Decisions made in the past, consciously and unconsciously, about the language have affected the type of language used today and the contexts in which it is used. Today members of the community are in a position to make conscious decisions about what type of language they want to use in the future. It is this situation that I will explore: a) what is the shape of the Kiowa language in use in the community

today and b) what are the contexts of its usage and the language ideologies surrounding it? Understanding these aspects of Kiowa language change over four generations will elucidate the relationship of the community to its language today in comparison to the past, and present possibilities for where it may go in the future.

1.4.2. Revitalization: Language Change and Language Teaching

Any study of an endangered language can be greatly beneficial for tribal efforts towards language maintenance and revitalization. This project is designed with this in mind. One of my goals is to reinforce the validity of "Modern Kiowa," and illustrate how speakers of Modern Kiowa are creatively fulfilling necessary functions within the community. Two of these functions are marking identity and contributing to community-building events. Kiowa language classes themselves are events of this type. In emphasizing that today's Kiowa is a system to be described, I hope to illustrate that change is a natural process in viable languages, and does not mean that the language is necessarily 'compromised' or 'corrupt' (Baldwin, personal communication). Following the example set forth by Daryl Baldwin and Wesley Leonard for the Myaamia language, which they and other tribal members are in the process of reviving, the message for tribal members may be to not care about pidginization or like processes. The language that is being reclaimed may not be exactly the same language as before, but going forward anyway can be key. Validating the modern current form of the language may contribute to language revitalization within the community by restoring pride to speakers of all types, encouraging curriculum development, and supporting use the language for more functions. The impact this study has for language revitalization in the Kiowa community will be addressed in Chapter 6.

1.5. Conclusion

This research aims to augment current understandings about and practice concerning the need to continue working to maintain endangered languages. In many situations, there is at most one grammar available. I am contributing to a fuller description of an endangered language by giving an updated description of some specific but important parts of grammar forty years later, following an intense period of change.

Unfortunately, very few endangered languages have such a luxury, which means that very few communities have access to the form that their language takes today as opposed to decades ago. In this way I hope to contribute to the idea that we linguists need to continue working on these languages even after the "definitive" grammar has been written, so that endangered languages – in the format that they are – can be of the most use to the communities who speak them and to theoretical linguists as well.

The findings for this study should be encouraging and useful for Kiowa people wanting to teach. Seeing that the Kiowa language is still alive and well in certain domains can provide hope to those who want to promote its usage. A thorough understanding of how the today's Elders are speaking Kiowa can provide a definite goal for teaching efforts, such as enabling the children of today to communicate in their heritage language with their great-grandparents in useful ways. This research means to clearly demonstrate the types of choices that Kiowa speakers have been making in their language usage, and articulating these choices will ideally be helpful to those who are determining where the language will go in the future.

The impact of the realization of conscious language choices can be empowering and lead to more purposeful language planning. A vision of on-the-ground language planning could perhaps be a model for other tribes as well. Many tribes are dealing with the fear of creolization, which is not the same as language change. Understanding the difference can help endangered language programs determine how to face these issues, and move beyond them to go forward with their efforts.

2. Methodology:

Integrating Ethnographic and Linguistic Analyses

The purpose of this dissertation is twofold, providing both a description of Modern Kiowa and a subsequent evaluation of current models of language change in an endangered language. Thus the approach must be twofold as well. First, I will pursue a thorough investigation into the structures of the language that are undergoing change and the current status of language use, and then, an analysis of which mechanisms of change are operating in these instances. Furthermore we will consider whether they are contact-based or can better be attributed to attrition, or whether this distinction is too simplistic. In undertaking a complete description of Modern Kiowa and comparing it to Old Kiowa, two essential elements must be included: 1) an ethnographic description of how and where the language is being spoken today, and 2) a structural description of the structures that have changed or are in the process of changing. This follows the practices established by Hill and Hill for Mexicano (1986), Schmidt for Dyirbal (1985), and Goodfellow for Kʷakʷawak (2005). As in these works, I aim to provide a more complete picture of language change that examines all facets of a community's sociocultural situation, from the basis of where the languages are spoken (domains) to the cultural beliefs and practices of the speakers. The pattern for this was set in Dorian's description of Scots Gaelic in Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, the seminal and oft-cited work that laid out the a basic picture of language endangerment as well as a linguistic examination of the evidence of the language's decline (Dorian 1981). Hill and Hill

followed up on this pattern with their ethnographic research into the formation of Mexicano, as the language evolved from dialects of Nahuatl under increasing pressure from the prestige language, Spanish, in a number of towns in Mexico (Hill and Hill 1986). Another commonly cited example of such thorough investigation is Annette Schmidt's examination of Young People's Dyirbal in Australia, which my work in Kiowa perhaps most closely resembles as she also looked at changes in Dyirbal as evidenced through comparison of the language of various generations of speakers (Schmidt 1985). A more recent correlary can be found in Goodfellow, who focused on the context in which Kwakwala changed by integrating linguistic discription with a holistic view of language, culture, and identity, a similar focus to mine (Goodfellow 2005). Barbra Meek included the important focus on language ideologies and the equation of language and culture in her research on the Kaska language community in Canada (Meek 2007). These linguistic anthropologists form the inspiration for my understandings of how it is only in a picture of the complete cultural context that one can truly understand what it is that is motivating speakers both to shift and yet retain aspects of their language, and thus drives language change.

2.1. Describing the Ethnographic Context of Language Change in Kiowa

In order to determine how the Kiowa language is being used today, I have considered three primary factors. First we might ask who is speaking the language, and what is their sociolinguistic or ethnic background. Second, in which domains is the language being spoken, and for which genres is the language being used within these domains. Finally, it's also important to consider how people feel about the language or language

ideologies. These three factors not only contribute to a sociolinguistic description of a speech community, but can also be used to determine the health of a language and if endangered, predict its future possibilities. Each factor will be addressed in detail below. Since the starting point for any ethnographic research is the context, my first step was to observe Kiowa language use at different types of events, in both public and private, be they community- or family-oriented, 'traditional' cultural or more related to contemporary Kiowa existence. I categorize the context of language use in terms of where the language is being spoken (various domains, including those public, private, and in between) and what forms the language is taking (genres, such as daily conversation, speeches, prayers). In my descriptions I utilize the methodology pioneered by Dell Hymes and John Gumperz, the S.P.E.A.K.I.N.G. model of Ethnography of Speaking (later called the Ethnography of Communication, following Saville-Troike). Much sociolinguistic research has been based on Gumperz and Hymes model, as laid out in its initial form in the 1960's and expanded upon in the 1970's (Hymes 1962, 1964, 1974; Gumperz and Hymes 1964, 1972) up through more recent investigations of the methodology (Saville-Troike 2003; Haviland 1995). This basic framework provides a great starting point for an analysis of the ethnographic context behind language change in Kiowa. There are seven basic components to examining a communicative event following this model: Setting, Participants, Ends, Acts, Key, Instrument, Norms, and Genres. A further inspiration for analyzing genre was Bakhtin's definition of genre, which involves "relatively stable types" of utterance, which may share thematic content, style, and compositional structure, as well as the concept of language as symbolic action, which Hymes terms "speech acts" (Bakhtin

1986:60, Hymes 1974). I extend these components to cover all situations in which Kiowa is used today as compared to how it was used in the past, when Kiowa was spoken in all domains of community interaction. In addition to using the Ethnography of Speaking (EoS) guidelines, I also describe the 'macro-variables' applicable to Native Americans as a whole, and 'micro-variables' that apply to individuals of the Kiowa tribe in particular (Edwards 1992, Grenoble and Whaley 1998. The macro-variables include the well-documented history of warfare, missionization, and boarding school education (see Ellis 1996a & b), including the ideological indoctrination leading Native American groups to question the applicability of their languages to success in the 'modern' world. Micro-variables specific to the Kiowa case include both length and intensity of contact, both of which increased steadily after the Kiowa/Apache/Comanche Reservation was formed in 1867 and formerly Indian lands were opened up to white settlement in 1887. Integration of the Kiowa community with the white community has moved Kiowa from a situation of "gradual language loss" (as typified in Campbell and Muntzel 1989) towards a more "radical language loss" situation, relating to the idea of Dorian's "linguistic tip" (Dorian 1989:51). In this context, I will also consider Woolard's question: are the "social processes that encourage or discourage [Kiowa] language's continued use" the same as the "social conditions, processes, and activities that affect a [Kiowa's] language's form" (1989:355).

The most vital factors in any ethnolinguistic analysis are of course the speakers themselves, and in section 2.1.2. below I detail how I have categorized the speakers in order to effect both a synchronic analysis and a diachronic analysis. In the former,

language change is examined by means of looking at generations of speakers living today. This synchronic analysis is the first level of organization for my data. The latter, a diachronic look at change over a deeper time depth, involves comparing data from the speakers of today with the speakers of the past, using both transcriptions of older recordings of Kiowa from the 1970's and 1980's, along with written descriptions of Old Kiowa. The final important factors are the intentions and attitudes of speakers, which are part and parcel of the language ideologies relevant to the situation, must be determined in order to complete the ethnolinguistic picture.

2.1.1. Language Use in Context

I have been working with Kiowa people and with the Kiowa language for nearly a decade now, and observation over time at community events and meeting places, as well as discussion with participants, gave indications as to which specific domains (Gumperz and Hymes' "settings") I should consider as potential places where Kiowa might be spoken. My first introduction to public Kiowa cultural events was in 2005, a meeting of the BlackLeggings Society ceremony, held every October (previously held biannually, also in March) . At this type of public event, I heard some language use, but much less than I had expected. This inspired me to attend more events, and to explore different types of speech. Public domains I have observed include traditional-centered community events, both ceremonial and secular, such as the Gourd Clan, Ohoma, and Black Leggings Society ceremonies, Native American church events, and non-secular meetings such as pow-wows and benefit dances. At the majority of these events, there would be an announcer or Master of Ceremonies who would conduct, expound upon, or

otherwise keep the organization of the event. In this genre of public speech, introduction, and/or commentary, the speaker often used some Kiowa, although he (nearly always a an older man) would speak primarily English. At some events there would be opportunities for others to stand up and give speeches or prayers (including women and younger men), and these would contain more or less Kiowa depending on the speaker, but nearly always at least a word or phrase or two (at the very least à:hô "thank you"). Other settings included were Western religious events, such as funerals and prayer meetings, as well as secular events such as Kiowa classes, political gatherings, or openings of businesses connected with the Kiowa tribe, again led primarily by men who would either drop in Kiowa words or phrases, or occasionally give short speeches in Kiowa, sometimes followed by a translation. The exception to this male-centered public speaking role would be the language classe and the religious events, where the genres of teaching, praying, and conversation were spotlighted. I attended more than 30 public events over a period of three years, including large annual events such as the Gourd Clan celebration held every July and the Blackleggings Society, as well as smaller events such as funerals, prayer meetings, and community pow-wows.

Private domains included private conversations at community events, and conversations held at the Kiowa Elders Center, and within households. Some prayer meetings are small enough to be considered private events, although generally private events are considered more to be along the lines of family get-togethers and interpersonal conversation. By this definition I attended numerous private events both prior to and during my three year research period; approximately 45 different meetings

are considered in this study. It must be mentioned that conversations within these domains were rather more difficult to observe, as not all participants were often as fluent as others, and my presence or the presence of others considered to be minimal or non-Kiowa speakers also influenced the amount of code-switching involved. Code-switching in both domains and genres has also to do with the interlocuters and audience (also part of the "participants" of any given speech event) at various events; these are taken into account during the analysis, as will be seen in Chapter 3. However, as people grew more accustomed to my presence and confident in my understanding of Kiowa, I was able to witness more Kiowa language usage.

As people became more comfortable with my presence and even participation in the various domains, I became better able to identify the specific registers and genres , also important parts of the EoS model[3], for which Kiowa was used. As expected from preliminary observation, public genres as prayer, speeches, teaching, and song were relatively common. Despite the importance of Kiowa song as outlined by Lassiter (1998) and the prevalence of the use of song in Kiowa community events, including cultural ceremonial events, church services and funerals, and pow-wows, I did not focus on song to any great extent. The words of songs are relatively static, and spontaneous speech is more relevant to both conscious and unconscious language change. I also identified genres in both public and private domains including greetings, interpersonal conversation, commands (generally simple ones), and joking. Perhaps the most common is the simple act of thanking someone; all participants – perhaps even anyone who identifies with the Kiowa language – know and use the word *à:hô*, often

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[3] These are sometimes termed 'key' and speech acts, respectively, by Hymes, although my definition also includes Bakhtin's considerations of primary speech genres from "short rejoinders of daily dialogue" to "the diverse world of commentary" (Bakhtin 1983:60).

accompanied by a gesture relating to Native American Sign Language.[4] Kiowa was also used for particular purposes such as to emphasize one's identification as a (in-group) Kiowa community member, or to honor an elder speaker, either present or who has passed away. These genres were particularly used by partial speakers and language learners. As I consider in my ethnographic analysis, the genres for which the language is used illustrate the purposes that Kiowa serves today in the community, and the fact that these different types of speech acts are effective and understood in the speech community as a whole helps establish that Modern Kiowa is a functioning language and not an incomplete or deficient system.

2.1.2. Discerning Ideologies and Attitudes

The other major piece of the puzzle in the EoS model are the attitudes and norms; the ideas about how language is and should be used. Ideas concerning the state of Modern Kiowa, Old Kiowa and "how things *should* be" are considered language ideologies: "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in the world" (Woolard 1998:3) The final aspect of my analysis is integrating language ideologies into a working model on language change in severely endangered languages. As many recent scholars have recognized, language ideologies shape the context of language endangerment in a variety of important ways (including Shiefflin 1998; Agha 2006; Kroskrity 1992, 2000a and 2000b, 2009; Hill 1989; Jaffe 1993). I use two primary types of ideologies that are relevant in language use and

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[4] Although I do not discuss Native American Sign Language in this study, it is also often used as a marker of identity amongst Kiowa people, as well as other Indian people. The word *à:hô* itself has been taken on in many circles as a Pan-Indian expression of gratitude, perhaps because of its widespread use in Native American Church ceremonies and at pow-wows.

language learning: 1) limiting language ideologies, such as language purism and linguistic social darwinism, that and 2) enabling language ideologies, that promote use of the language and are more permissive in terms of grammar. The data for these language ideologies is drawn from semi-structured interviews with study participants, which I used discourse analysis to process. One to two interviews were conducted with each study participant, to determine how they feel about Kiowa language use, and where and how, in their experience, they heard the Kiowa language being used. Probes and follow-up questions were used to more specifically pinpoint which language ideologies might be undergirding their opinions. These interviews constitute an important means for investigating how, where, and why the Kiowa language is spoken today, and throughout the final analysis I place them in dialogue with each other, considering how these may affect the types of changes taking place in the Kiowa language and how they will affect the shape it takes in the future.

The interviews provided a vital look into limiting language ideologies, many of which have a number of reductionist effects on language change, particularly language purism.[5] Yet I find that language use evinces effects of language attitudes as well. First, I posit a reduction in new word formation, and loss of lexical items due to "forgetting" or a reluctance to connect such non-traditional cultural items with a heritage language. This is tested by looking at the lexical items that are being retained and those that are being lost, and seeing which semantic categories they fit into. Finally, I address ideologies that relate local ideas to political and economic macroprocesses (Kroskrity 2000b:2, Grenoble and Whaley 1998). Ideologies about the usefulness of language

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[5] Language purism has been extensively researched and theorized; see Jernudd and Shapiro 1989, Dorian 1998, Kroskrity 1998, Mahikara and Meek, among many others.

contribute to decisions to speak it or not have developed from the history of boarding schools and Indian/white relations of past centuries. These ideas are what Dorian has termed "linguistic social Darwinism," that the language has no place in "modern" society (Dorian 1998:12). This is a very common ideology in situations of language endangerment, and, pared with the ideology favoring monolingualism for thorough language mastery, forms one of the primary reasonings behind a discontinuation in intergenerational language transmission. Parents want their children to succeed in changed circumstances, and they believe that the heritage language can only hold their children back, keeping them from realizing their full potential and achieving success in the dominant society. Yet the middle or "lost" generation of G3, many of which could be considered passive speakers or "understanderers" often express regret that they did not learn to speak, a sentiment which the younger G4 members share. The decisions made by G3 and particularly G4 will determine the future status of Modern Kiowa, and the attitudes they hold are influenced to some extent by those held by their forebears but also by more recent trends, including the widespread Pan-Indian drive towards revitalization of their respective languages. The second major assumption I test in this dissertation is that pro-language ideologies, that are more permissive of second language learners and accepting of interlanguage forms, promote language change. Potential changes deriving from this attitude include phonological changes (which I do not address in this work) but also changes in the pronominal system which are covered in Chapter 4. I will address all of these ideologies and their results in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.1.3. Speakers

For many years it was primarily elders who spoke Kiowa actively, and the number of speakers decreased continuously from the 1970's to the present. Estimates of how many speakers there were have long been based simply on an estimate of the number of elders registered with the tribe; as of my research period, this was estimated to be 200. But today not an accurate assessment, as even many elders today do not claim to be speakers of the language and use it only sparingly. Some speakers claim that there are no more than 20 fluent speakers of the language. Evans (2001) discusses this dilemma. "…the social implications of being a speaker in an endangered language environment are widely recognized as riddled with potential prestige and/or stigma" (in Leonard and Haynes 2010). They also assert that having an outside linguist determine who is or is not a speaker falls in line with outdated and inequitable historical colonialist practices, an assertion I agree with. There are two factors that I use to overcome this problem, which is to classify as speakers "anyone who uses the language," even passively. In order to categorize my collaborators, I considered both age, using generations as a reference as will be explained below, and the concept of "speakerhood."

Speakerhood Following suggestions by Leonard and Haynes (2010), I classified participants according to their self-identification and frequency of use, taking into consideration whether they considered themselves to be fluent or rusty, partial speakers or language learners, as well as how they used the language in the community. Although these are not ideal terms, they are ones that both the community and researchers of endangered languages recognize. It is not simple either linguistically or socially to determine what a speaker is (Leonard and Haynes 2010). For the purposes of

my work, I choose to consider everyone who purposefully uses the language to any extent a speaker of sorts, even those who simply listen and understand it, although clearly there are different types of speakers. In order to elucidate the somewhat vague terms of 'partial speaker' versus 'language learner,' I use a "speakerhood continuum." The characteristics of each group are determined based on the tasks speakers regularly perform in various situations, particularly conversation but also in more formal domains. There are five classes of speakers that I use: 1) fluent, 2) rusty, 3) partial speaker, 4) language learner, and 5) passive speaker.

Figure 2.1. The Speaker Continuum.
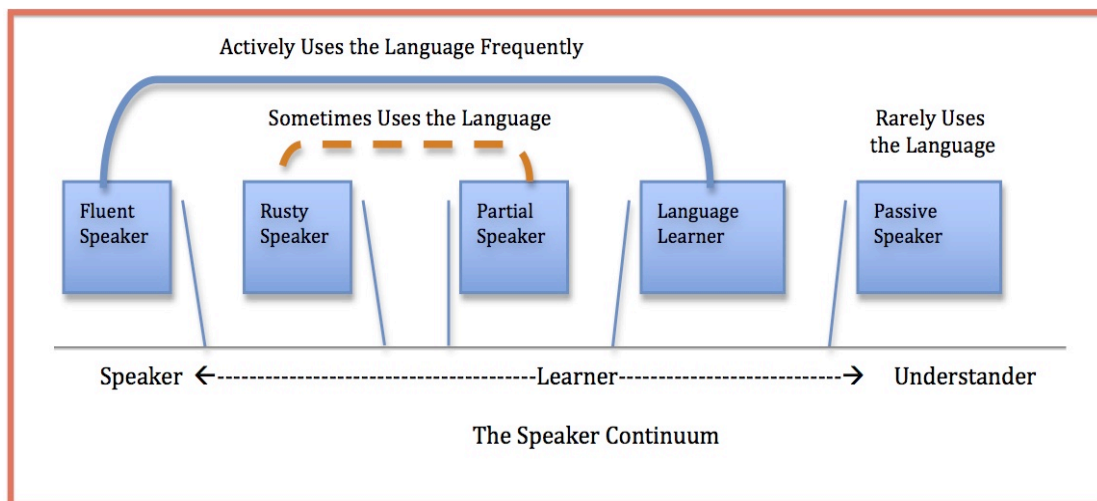
Fluent Speaker The classic definition of a fluent speaker is a 'native speaker' who learned the language as their first language, and who is capable of speaking the language effortlessly in any situation and can express any thought without needing to code-switch into another language. This does not mean that fluent speakers do not code-switch, as this practice is very context-dependent and a speaker may code-switch for

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many reasons, often having to do with the other participants in the interaction and the degree to which they speak the language, or with the nature of the situation itself. Two of my collaborators estimate there to be only a few fluent speakers of Kiowa, a maximum of 20. However by others the term is sometimes applied rather liberally to speakers who consider themselves to be "rusty," and even to partial speakers and language learners. One of my friends in the community often refers to me as a "good speaker," although I consider myself to be more of a partial speaker or language learner based on my speech practice in the community.

Rusty Speaker The rusty speaker is well-known in language endangerment. A rusty speaker can speak but does not use the language frequently, for various reasons, including linguistic insecurity or influence from various language ideologies, such as a belief in language purism or even linguistic social darwinism. These ideologies, based on ideals of 'pure' language or the diminished social value of a lesser spoken language, are explained in more detail in Chapter 3. Some rusty speakers thus claim that they "do not speak the language." Although they were raised with the language, due to infrequent use there are 'gaps' in their speech, resulting in codeswitching and an inconsistency of forms compared to more fluent speakers. Many elder speakers fall somewhere on the spectrum between fluent and rusty.

Partial Speaker A partial speaker should be considered a second-language learner, although there are some speakers who can be said to have had frequent contact even from childhood, but have not completely acquired the language. This is in contrast to rusty speakers, who were once more fluent but have experienced language attrition. These speakers do not self-identify as speakers. They may not be active language

learners, but can they speak at least in words and phrases. They may not have a very thorough grasp of grammar, but have sufficient vocabulary to make their ideas understandable. In the case of Kiowa, this is difficult, as many partial speakers do not make the appropriate distinctions in phonology in order to make themselves clearly understood.

Language Learner A language learner is actively making an effort to acquire the language, either through classes or through self-study, *and* self-identifies as such. Language learners may have differing degrees of fluency, from a classification as partial speakers to semi-fluent speakers, but they are always second-language speakers and are English-dominant in the case of Kiowa. They rarely self-identify as fluent speakers despite the fact that a few have a considerable control of the language. Dr. Candessa Tehee, a researcher who works with the Cherokee Language Immersion program in northeastern Oklahoma, discusses the status of second-language speakers in the Cherokee community, particularly those who are serving as language teachers, and the challenges they face.

Passive Speaker Passive speakers self-identify as non-speakers, but as they can understand the language and have the potential to be language learners and eventually speakers, they qualify to take part in this study. Passive speakers were likely raised with the language but did not acquire it sufficiently to communicate in it. Many are capable of using words and codified phrases in the language appropriately, but do not create novel utterances and do not consider themselves to be active learners.

Diachronic and Synchronic: The Generational Approach   It is established practice when looking at language change to working with different living generations

along with previously recorded data in order to look at changes that have taken place or are taking place in a language. A diachronic study looks at changes with some degree of time depth by using pre-recorded materials, and a synchronic study uses data from living generations. Thus the primary basis of my classification for speakers is based on age, because of the social circumstances in which consecutive generations of Kiowa people were raised. As I found during the interviewing process, speakers within certain generations have many things in

2.1. Introductory Analysis of Participant Characteristics by Generations

	Generation 1: Elders of Elders	Generation 2: Current Elders	Generation 3: Adults	Generation 4: Young Adults
Type of Data	Pre-recorded serial monologues	Elicitated and Natural Speech	Elicited	Elicited
Age	passed on; born turn of century	65-90	36-64	18-35
Dominant Language	Kiowa	Child: Kiowa Adult: English	English	English
Types of Bilingualism	Yes; Most spoke at least some English	Yes; Most speak at least some Kiowa	Very Rare	Rare
Geographic Location	Primarily local to KCA region in southwest OK (former Kiowa/ Comanche/Apache reservation)	Born and often returned to KCA; may have lived many years elsewhere	Some local to KCA; many have lived or still live elsewhere and/or OKC metro	Various; some KCA area, others elsewhere; most in OKC metro at least briefly
Language Acquisition	Natural (from birth)	Natural (from birth); some refresher 'courses'	community classes or self-study, *in situ* learning	self-study, institutional classes, *in situ* learning

common: exposure to the language based on context; availability of language input from either community events, personal exposure, or classes; and language ideologies present throughout the decades of potential language learning. I will describe these in more detail below, but in short: Generation 1, speakers of Old Kiowa, are elders who have since passed on. Generation 2 are the elders of today, aged approximately 65 and

above, who were raised with the language but have spoken it increasingly infrequently. Middle-aged adults, from age 36-65, generally fall into Generation 3, and were raised around the language but did not thoroughly acquire it except through self-motivated study or by attending community classes (which were generally short-lived). Generation 4, young people from age 18-35, often learned the language through classes at secondary schools or institutes of higher learning. No children participated in this study.

Generation 1: Elders of Yesteryear (G1) There are various sources of pre-recorded materials available for Kiowa, but as I described in Chapter 1, in this study I utilize data from the Kiowa Cultural Program corpus recorded from Kiowa elders in the 1970's and 1980's. These elders were born around the turn of the 20th century, grew up speaking Kiowa, and were contemporaries of the native Kiowa linguist Parker McKenzie who during his long career worked with linguists John Harrington in the 1920's and Laurel Watkins in the 1980's. Although most of these elders were also fluent in English, they spoke primarily Kiowa amongst themselves and thus used it on a regular, even daily basis throughout their lives. The recordings are serial monologues in which each Kiowa elder takes a turn sharing their experiences and opinions on a given topic with each other, but also for the purpose of recording and preserving Kiowa cultural and linguistic knowledge for their descendants. I worked with two groups of current elders and Kiowa language teachers Prof. Gus Palmer, Jr. and Dane Poolaw, to translate these recordings and develop interlinear translations for comparative purposes. From these monologues were drawn specific samples for comparison with the speech of the living generations.

Generation 2: Current Elders (G2) The oldest living generation of speakers is comprised of both fluent and rusty speakers. Some are also language teachers. Elders are classified as being above 65 years of age, and some participants for this study are in their upper 80's. There are older Kiowa speakers but they were not approached because of poor health. All of these speakers were born within the bounds of the area classified as "Kiowa country" – the location of the former Kiowa-Comanche-Apache (KCA) reservation. A few of these speakers spent some time living outside of this area, due to outmarriage or the relocation programs that took place in the 1950's, but moved back home to be closer to family. Further explanation of the demographic background of these speakers can be found in Chapter 3. Although the majority of the research data comes from the elicitation sessions, there are some examples drawn from observations of natural speech amongst this generation which shall be noted as such. The elicited data from G3 is vital in determining the shape of "Modern Kiowa" as this generation exhibits both attrition and contact-influenced change in their speech.

Generation 3: Middle-aged speakers of today (G3) The middle generation is sometimes referred to as the "lost" generation in some endangerment studies. This is because this generation is often where the major break in language transmission occurred. Many from this generation may have heard the language growing up, but were discouraged (or at least: not encouraged) from speaking it. Participants from this generation are 36-65 years of age. Others may not have heard the language much growing up, as they may have grown up outside of the KCA area and their parents may not have had a chance to speak it much. More detail is given on this generation in Chapter 4. This generation is comprised primarily of partial speakers, some language

learners, and passive speakers. There is one speaker who could be considered conversationally nearly fluent in Modern Kiowa, Lance White, although his speech shows various idiosyncrasies that will be discussed in Chapter 4. However, most speakers from this generation could not complete sections of the elicitations. G3 data is crucial as it gives a good picture of interlanguage forms that develop from intermittent language use.

Generation 4: Young Adult (G4) The youngest generation participating in this study ranges in age from 18 to 35. These people can all be considered language learners, who are active to differing degrees. A few are also language teachers, and one has spent considerable time and effort in learning as much as possible, practicing with his elders, and further developing teaching materials. Many of them have taken Kiowa courses in school, or have spent time with elders working to acquire the language. A few had the opportunity to speak it with their grandparents. There is one such speaker in this generation, Dane Poolaw, who could be considered to be fluent by the standards of teachers of modern languages and many of the community as well. This is partially due to dedicated self-study, and actively practicing with elders throughout his life, including the late Parker McKenzie. He is also a language teacher who has spent much time and effort developing teaching materials that are based on Old Kiowa documentation. Another speaker with considerable conversational and sociolinguistic competence is Warren Queton, who acts as Grandpa Rabbit for the Tainh-Peah Society. The data drawn from this generation is essential in determining not only the current state of Modern Kiowa, but in looking forward towards which directions Kiowa may take in the future. They are the ones who will determine Kiowa's ultimate fate.

2.2. Examining Structural Language Change

As discussed above, examining language change involves comparing the speech of different living generations along with data recorded from past generations of speakers. By using pre-recorded materials, I can achieve some degree of time depth for changes, and incorporating a synchronic study with data from living generations gives a more complete picture of the changes that have taken place within the past forty years. I have chosen this time period because this is the time span over which the most intense shift has taken place, as confirmed by the elders of G2 who have witnessed this change. There is also no earlier reliable data than the corpus recorded in the 1970's of G1, the speakers born around or just after the turn of the 20th century.

2.2.1. Elicitation

Linguistic elicitation, is often used to gather linguistic data about languages systematically and quickly. In order to determine how speakers of Kiowa would express certain ideas, I used both elicitation lists and natural speech[6] to gather data. Although the bulk of my examples come from the elicitation lists, as these were most useful in targeting specific structures. The reason for this was to ensure consistency in data across generations. I used common words and phrases that would be recognizable and, to the greatest extent possible, replicable for all generations and levels of ability, including language learners. I worked with three different elicitation lists, each targeting a different potential structural change. These lists can be found in Appendix I, but they include such items as "sit down" "come here" "I am sitting" "You two are sitting" and

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[6] Sometimes called "spontaneous speech" by the UCLA school of linguistics, although I would consider this a bit of a misnomer, as some natural speech can still be somewhat planned, as in the case of some of the recorded monologues I use from Generation I.

"The dog chased the cat." I did not cover all three lists with all participants in their totality, partially due to time constraints and partially because not all participants had sufficient vocabulary or grammatical knowledge to complete some of the more complex items.

After compiling the elicited data, I analyzed the forms according to age group to find patterns within each generation, thereafter sorting by speaker type using the speakerhood continuum. I also compared forms within these subgroups see whether or not certain structures were idiosyncratic to speakers from a smaller subset of participants, including potential dialect differences. Factors involved in this analysis included residence history and family history. Although my sample set is relatively small, there is enough consistency that general patterns can be found that comprise my description of Modern Kiowa. Then I compare forms drawn from the different generations with each other in order to determine how Modern Kiowa is different from Old Kiowa.

The first priority when comparing within generations was to rule out forms found only in the speech of one or perhaps a few speakers, who may have lived in a certain area and interacted with just a few other speakers, or who may have learned from one particular teacher. While these are not considered to be telling characteristics of Modern Kiowa, they were taken into consideration when looking at patterns of changes. Some alternations fit with others, particularly those changes that seem to be due to attrition, which will be discussed more thoroughly in the structural linguistic analysis in Chapter 4.

The next major task was to look for general patterns of change that can be found within the speech of multiple speakers, first within the same generation or cross-generational changes common to more than one generation. Changed forms that are found within all generations are clearly hallmarks of Modern Kiowa. When looking at the forms produced, certain factors were taken into consideration, particularly residence history and language learning method, but also motivation and degree of social connectedness with other speakers.

2.2.2. Comparative Analysis

One of the primary tools of any linguist is the comparative method – comparing one language with another, one language variety with another, speech from one generation with speech from another, even speech from one genre with speech from another. My work is no exception in my analysis is based on a comparison of data, speech forms, from different speakers (grouped by generation) from, as I argue, different speech varieties (Old Kiowa and Modern Kiowa). Although I make use of written sources, these sources are all from either actual speech samples, primarily monologues, or elicitations and linguistic sources based on these – thus verbal and not written genres. To some extent, I have also used introspection as an analytic tool, as throughout my years of research and as a teacher's assistant and later, a teacher of Kiowa language myself, I have managed to gain a degree of proficiency which gives me to some extent a sense of relative acceptability of utterances. That said, I still consider myself a language learner, not yet fluent in all genres, and so generally check these intuitions with more fluent speakers for another degree of accuracy, especially since the degrees of

acceptability for Modern Kiowa are still relatively fluid as it is still a variety in a state of some flux. My aim here is to show in which ways, comparatively speaking, Modern Kiowa differs from Old Kiowa, and to describe it to the extent that we can see which way the grammar is tending to solidify, as much as any living language does.

2.3. Connecting Context and Structure

The second major goal of this dissertation is based on an evaluation of current research models of language change in endangered languages, and my specific point of departure is very much a linguistic anthropological approach. Many studies of change endangered languages focus on the process commonly called language obsolescence, a process of intense change due to rapid shift towards another language culminating in language death, although as mentioned earlier, I prefer the term "intense language change." Bakhtin discusses the "primacy of context" and how it is vital not to divorce structure from context (Bakhtin 1981); this is a concern that I share, and is in fact one of the founding principles of my research methodology. I consider the pragmatic context to be relevant to the structural form that a changing language takes, especially one that has been greatly reduced in terms of the domains in which it is spoken and the genres for which it is used. In order to accomplish this, three levels of analysis, both sociolinguistic and structural, were applied to the collected data comparing Modern Kiowa forms with Old Kiowa forms. The first level looks on a structural level at whether changed forms can be attributed to language-internal or language-external phenomena. This analysis refers specifically to language contact and attrition, but also includes second language learning phenomena. In the second level, I correlate the

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structural changes with ethnographic data regarding language use in particular domains, and how language is used for specific genres within those domains. On the third level, a linguistic anthropological level, I look at the role that language ideologies play in how Kiowa is spoken, as the underlying assumptions that speakers hold about language use affect not only where the language is spoken, but also how it is spoken. In this analysis, I make use of the common techniques of discourse analysis to examine the way that different ideologies are in dialogue with each other within the community. Language ideologies can The final step is an evaluation whether or not it is effective and useful to look at language change in endangered languages by using a dichotomic model such as language-internal versus language external changes, or whether this is too simple a classification. This is addressed in more detail in Chapters 4-6.

2.3.1. Change through Contact: Language External, and Attrition: Language Internal

Contact is considered a language-external change particularly important in endangered languages. Language endangerment necessarily involves language shift and bilingualism, which are both results of contact. Since the primary language of contact is English for most speakers, comparison of the changed Kiowa forms with English forms in the same context is the most telling analysis for identifying whether changes are due to contact or to attrition. Mechanisms of language change that fall under the realm of language contact. These include: 1) restructuring, 2) interference features or shift, and 3) borrowing of structures or patterns, all drawn from Vashenko (2002). I also consider Andersen's idea of a functional load (1982) and Thomason's negotiation, changing patterns to approximate what speakers believe to be patterns of another language

(2001:75). Other mechanisms I consider are Aikhenvald's spread features, including analogy and functional parallelism (2006:22-26). Second language learning effects are connected with language contact, but are considered a subcategory: some changes may be identified as interlanguage forms that have solidified as part of imperfect learning due to a paucity of input.

Attrition, or language-internal change, is a bit trickier to test, for a number of reasons. Firstly, in order to determine that a change is due to attrition, I have to first establish that it is not due to contact; i.e., that it is not becoming more like – or less like, in contrast to – English. Secondly, I must make sure that an alternate form is not a result of imperfect learning; this means that only those speakers who learned the language as children sufficiently enough to be considered fluent at one point in their lives. This stipulation narrows it down to only G2, the living elder generation, whose data is eligible for attribution to this type of change. Finally, I do not have diachronic data on individual speakers, as I do not have any recordings of them speaking as children. Thus, all I can do is compare their speech with the previously recorded data and accounts of the language that I have, that document Old Kiowa as it was spoken by Generation 1, who were of course L1 speakers. I posit that changes that seem to be alternations or overgeneralization of patterns from more commonly used paradigms, are those most likely due to disuse or forgetting, the basis of language attrition.

I consider a common model in first (L1) language attrition studies sometimes called 'simplification,' including processes of generalization, leveling, and reduction in forms.   Understanding that 'simplification' in some areas of morphology often complicates others, I use it as a convenient cover term but focus on processes following

Schmid (2002). Seliger (1991) discusses three types of leveling: 1) analogical leveling, 2) paradigmatic leveling, and 3) category leveling. Multiple mechanisms may be at work, as I hypothesize for the case of plural formation in Kiowa. Placement of nouns within the noun class system determines whether a plural takes the 'regular' (unmarked) plural morpheme (called the 'inverse') as in Class I (animates) or the marked pattern, where the singular receives the 'inverse' marking (Class II: inanimates). As the noun class system is leveled (category leveling), plural marking undergoes analogical leveling and the 'unmarked' pattern undergoes paradigmatic leveling.

When looking at language attrition within individuals, following Köpke and Schmid (2002), I have taken into account six variables: 1) age at onset of second (L2) acquisition, 2) age at onset of L1 attrition, 3) time since onset of attrition, 4) level of education, 5) attitudes, 6) frequency, amount, settings of use of L1 undergoing attrition. In the analysis sections of the following chapters, I describe these variables for individuals, but also extend them to the generational focus of this study. These demographic variables help define Generation 2 as a group, while distinguishing between individuals who may show differing levels of attrition in their Kiowa usage.

2.3.2. Domain and Genre Delimitations

One of my core questions is whether the frequency of use, and the domains and genres in which language is used, affect which structures are retained, which are more subject to attrition, and finally, which direction change may take. Work on this topic up until now has been primarily conjectural; as discussed in Chapter 2, little actual research has been done to test this hypothesis. The ethnographic research I have undertaken gives a

framework for looking at which structures are most commonly found in the domains that are being used. Thereafter a comparison can be made between the changes that have taken place or are taking place with structures commonly present in these domains to see if any correlations can be made.

Schmid's Model of Frequency and Domains The first step in testing Schmid's model involves listing in which domains the language is most commonly used, and which types of structures are most frequently found in these domains. I examine the data to see if those structures most frequently found are those that are being retained or even being extended to fill in the gaps in the input that partial speakers and language learners are experiencing. There are three hypotheses to be tested in this area: 1) Does a reduction of registers for different domains and genres result in a reduction of structural functions for the language? 2) Does a reduction in frequency of use affect structural reduction? 3) As a language is used less frequently, is there a reduction in structural complexity, and a move towards a more analytical language?

2.4. Conclusion

This study was designed to bring together the ethnolinguistic and the structural factors, including diachronic and synchronic data in both linguistic structural change as well as changes in language ideologies and language use. I envisioned and enacted a study that considered both macro- and microvariables, and was grounded in historical language use and the shape of Kiowa round the turn of the century as well as the shape it has come to take in recent years. The various models I have drawn together in this attempt to present a complete, integrated picture of language change range from ethnolinguistic

examinations of structural and sociolinguistic change such as Hill and Hill, Schmidt, and Goodfellow, to detailed language obsolescence portraits such as Dorian and , ideological considerations from Meek, Kroskrity and others, and theoretical considerations of how language change from Campbell and Muntzel, Thomason, Aikhenvald, Köpke and Schmid, My methods were geared towards compilation of two types of data: linguistic elicitations and ethnolinguistic interviews and observation. In the following chapters I present a my integrated findings as a picture of a specfic case study of language change. Examining the changes in structures of Kiowa speech today as compared to yesterday, in the context of Kiowa langauge use today, gives us the background to look at why particular changes are taking place. In the process of this examination, I develop an analysis through which I evaluate current models of language change in severely endangered languages and consider how these factors could be applied in the context of language revitalization, which has been an underlying current throughout the development of the entire study.

3. Ethnography of Speaking Kiowa Today

The past ten-year period, from 2005 to 2015, during which I have had the good fortune and opportunity to get acquainted and work with Kiowa community members, changing opinions—both theirs and my own—about the state of the language have been the rule rather than the exception. Despite initial dire proclamations such as,"Kiowa is no more," "I never hear Kiowa anymore," and "Young people just aren't interested in Kiowa," I have witnessed an atmosphere of tentative hope developing. While it is true that the number of Native speakers has been dwindling with the passage of time and mortality inherent to the human condition.

But both ideas about and practices geared toward stemming the "inevitable" tide of eventual demise and extinction of the Kiowa language have been steadily growing, which not only counters previous predictions of impending doom but also helps to attract and motivate increasing numbers of people to action, in Indian Country and beyond. While adult heritage language classes have come and gone, people have begun focusing on teaching children how to speak the language, as evidence of the success of language immersion programs such as those of the Cherokee and Chickasaw has been emerging over the past few years in Oklahoma. Some of the previous barriers for second language speakers even attempting to speak Kiowa have been fading, including ideologies of language purism, which is discussed more fully below. Any efforts to improve the overall amount and number of people operationalizing the Kiowa language needs a solid foundation, which necessarily includes serious inquiry into both the actual

state of language use today as well as factors from the past that have contributed to how and why it has come to the point of having so few contemporary speakers and language users. Such concerns and motivations have driven this entire investigation. In this chapter I describe both language usage of old vis-à-vis current language use to look at how sociolinguistic and structural linguistic usage could be interrelated, in hopes this information may be useful to Kiowa language revitalization efforts.

Any inquiry into language use has changed over time, and how a language has come to be endangered, requires a closer look at both the historical context as well as the current context of Kiowa language use. The tried and true methodology for looking at cultural language use within a community involves Gumperz' and Hymes' Ethnography of Speaking method (Hymes 1962, 1964, 1974; Gumperz and Hymes 1964, 1972) which takes into account the necessary variables for painting a picture of language use, including the 'hows, wheres, whos, and whys' of speaking the language. This is, admittedly, on one hand somewhat difficult when looking at the language historically, as very little sociolinguistic research has been conducted within the Kiowa community, either then or now. Yet there are other variables that can be of use when considering how and why language use has changed over time, and this includes the macrosocial and microsocial variables introduced by Edwards (1983). In this chapter, I present the changing context of Kiowa language use over time, and provide a snapshot view of what language use looks like in the Kiowa community today.

Although there are many similarities in how Native American languages have come to be endangered in North America, there are specific circumstances as well that have contributed towards Kiowa's general decline in usage throughout the past century.

These include social factors both external and internal to the community, as well as language ideologies that influence language practice and language use. I will first address the historical context that has brought Kiowa to the brink, and thereafter consider where the language stands today in terms of language use.

3.1. Historical Context of Kiowa Speaking

The origins of the Kiowa language are somewhat mysterious. Kiowa oral history says that they came down "from the North," through the mountains of Montana, and headed south for game after having spent a while with their friends, the people of the Crow tribe. They even say that there were others up North that spoke Kiowa, but remained in the ice and snow. Whether these were part of the Kiowa tribe that had split off (as one legend tells us) or people who spoke a related language, we cannot be sure. All we know is that we cannot find ethnographic evidence of anyone speaking a language related to Kiowa in the North, in either written or oral history. What we do know is that the Kiowa language is most closely related to Tiwa, Tewa, Towa, and the other Tanoan languages, which are spoken in the American Southwest in the pueblos of New Mexico (Powell 1891, Harrington 1928, Hale 1962, 1967). Perhaps the pueblo-dwellers and the Kiowa had once been a single group of people, who came south at different times and went in different directions, which would be consistent with a Kiowa legend about the "Angry Udder-Beings," although the fact that the pueblo groups have no stories about this causes the argument to be primarily speculation.

There are many aspects of Kiowa history that are common to many, if not all, Native North American peoples Other factors are specific to the Plains peoples, and

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particularly to those Southern Plains groups—such as the Kiowa—which now reside in Oklahoma. I call these the "macrosocial factors" following Edwards 1983. Many of these macrosocial factors are well-known, but I will briefly revisit them here since the historical context is not only foundational to understanding the Kiowa language today but also, the linking of synchronic and diachronic perspectives best enables me to bring the specific research objectives outlined in this dissertation to fruition.. The aspects of the historical situation that specifically concern the Kiowa people and language are the "microsocial factors," and I address those identified as most relevant to this research endeavor in turn.

3.1.1. Macrosocial Historical Factors – Pan-Indian

Nearly all Native North American languages are endangered by degree. There are multiple reasons for this, and most go beyond mere language contact and questions of prestige, but initially concern relations among Indian peoples, white settlers, missionaries, and, in an American context, the U.S.government. Ideologies spawned from relationships of oppression have far-reaching ramifications and the effects on Native languages have radiated through time for many generations. Native Americans from different parts of the country have different experiences with colonization and assimilation policies and practices, but one thing such policieshad in common was that they were designed to "take the Indian out of the Indian." This meant, for one, the removal of removing Native American children from their communities, their parental and grandparental homes, and forcing them to learn English and leave their Native

languages and lifeways behind. These Pan-Indian macrovariables, on which I elaborate specifically in regards to the Kiowa situation have had significant effects.

Native American / EuroAmerican Warfare It is a grim fact of American history that what began as cordial relations between white refugees from Europe in the early 1600s had by the 19th century, turned into a campaign driven by the philosophy of "Manifest Destiny,"[7] first as enacted Indian Removal policies and eventually outright war with Native Americans for land and resources. The Plains Indians in particular fought back fiercely against this loss of territory and attempts to take away their means of sustenance and ways of life The campaign to "tame" the "wild" Indian was extremely oppressive on the Midwestern reservations, as elsewhere across the United States. The Kiowa, like other Indian peoples across the land, were coerced, extorted, and in many cases, compelled with violence to inhabit the relatively small areas of land "reserved" for Indian residency.

. The grinding poverty and other social maladies seen in most Native communities today stem in large part from the privations they experienced during this period privations mainly caused in the first place by faulty government policies and practices, such as the failure of the plans to turn these hunters and gatherers into farmers. Furthermore, the segregation of Indian peoples via legal and military relegation to the isolated reservation areas—which were (and still are, for the most part) far-removed from mainstream populations and centers of commerce—essentially rendered all Native populations official wards of the state. Always a small tribe, and despite the

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[7] Manifest Destiny reflects the attitude of entitlement (God-given right for white men to take, occupy and farm land not be "used" or "used properly" by Indians) associated with the philosophy of Manifest Destiny (including its primary policies and practices that impacted Indian people).

practice of taking captives, on-going warfare and the poor quality of life on the reservations caused the Kiowa population was reduced to 1,000 people in 1875, rising only slightly to 1,700 by 1920 (Richardson 1940).

A major component of assimilationist plans for Native Americans was to "save their souls" and "civilize" them by introducing—more accurately: converting—them to Christianity (Bowden 1981). Various missions from different denominations were established to bring the word of the Christian God to the many Native American tribes. The missionaries present on and near the KCA reservation included the Baptists, the Methodists, Pentecostals, and to a lesser extent, the Catholics (Lassiter, Ellis & Kotay 2002). These efforts were very successful, as the majority of Kiowa people today are Christian to some extent, with most belonging to local Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal churches, as well as to the Native American Church (NAC), which integrates Christian tenets with Native beliefs and practices. One part of the success of these missions was the enlisting of Kiowa people in creating hymns, with Kiowa words and a syncretic mix of Kiowa and traditional hymnal melodies (Lassiter 1998). Although Kiowa pastors were formally trained, most services were originally in English, and so the language of Christianity grew to be English. Others joined the Native American Church, an entity in whose early years some Kiowa people were involved and the practice of which involves some Kiowa songs. The Native American Church, however, has always been Pan-Indian (Stewart 1989), so the common language of most services has for some time been English, and even though some directives are

given in other languages (depending on the region, this may include Kiowa), they are often translated for the non-speakers.[8]

Cultural Repression. Another aspect of colonization and its associated outcomes of forced assimilation, missionization, and the relegation of tribes to reservations and intensified regulation by the federal government was the outlawing of many cultural practices, such as the Sun Dance and the Ghost Dance. Amongst the Kiowa, this included their war dances and societies, including the Gourd Clan and the Kiowa Blackleggings Society. Many of the once strong organizations faded as the context for their existence was removed, including the prestigious War Dog society to which Sétá:gà (Sitting Bear) belonged and young men's societies. Some of the songs and cultural practices remained in memory, such as those that were revived for the Gourd Clan and Ohoma societies, while others have faded into obilvion.

Visiting remained an important social context, and the celebrations were replaced by the more innocuous and governmentally-accepted powwows, the Indian Expo in Anadarko, and a Fourth of July celebration in Carnegie (which later provided a context for the revival of the Gourd Clan celebration, as discussed in 4.2.1 below). Some Kiowa people who converted to Christianity looked down upon those who maintained tribal culture and moved about in the "powwow circle," and divisions existed for many years between these groups. The language was used and has been better retained by those who practiced and celebrated (sometimes in secret) Kiowa cultural ways and attended powwows where they could still wear traditional clothing, and sing songs with Kiowa words and perform dances.

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[8] This information is from my collaborators, as I have never attended an NAC event.

Boarding School Contexts The third essential part of the picture in the purposeful erosion of Native American languages was the boarding school context, about which much has been written in both academic and popular press (see Ellis 1996, Lomawaima 1995, Sa 2000). Indian children from across the state, even the continent, were taken from their homes and forced into boarding schools with other Indian children from different tribes, where English was their only common language. It is well-known that children were punished for speaking their ancestral languages, in some places more severely than in others, as illustrated by one of my collaborators, who indicated that at St. Patrick's mission in Anadarko, they were able to speak Kiowa together without too much censure. Still, all students were taught that their home languages were 'holding them back' from civilization and being 'saved' through religion. As time went on, these practices became more lenient, as some elders have told me, but by that time English had already been established as the language people used at boarding schools.

The boarding schools also increased the number of intertribal marriages, as people met and grew up with other Native Americans from across the state and even the nation. Intertribal marriages meant that one partner had to switch to the other's language, or that a common language – often English – would be used in the home. This is another part of the reason that many of the middle generation (Gen. 3) did not learn the ancestral language in the home: they had two ancestral languages, but the common language became English.

Boarding schools also taught Native children "white ways" of being: skills such as farming, animal husbandry, sewing, Euro-American ways of housekeeping, and other

Euro-American-style vocations (Lomawaima 1995). These were meant to bring them into the white world and give them the possibility of social advancement and the chance to escape the poverty of the former reservation areas. They also had the effect of solidifying the ideologies that the white teachers intended: Native American ways, including their languages, had no place in "modern" society, and would not contribute to their advancement and success in the larger society, relating to the ideology that Dorian calls "linguistic social darwinism" (Dorian 1989).

Allotment For Oklahoma Indians, allotment was the next piece of the puzzle in eradicating Native American languages. The Dawes Act of 1887 made official the practices that had begun in the early 1880's of disbanding of communal reservations and dividing the land up into parcels of land which were allotted to individual members of each tribe. This practice enabled the state to open up and give away the "extra" land left over after allotment had taken place to white in the famous Oklahoma Land Runs, and later, to sell the remainders piecemeal. This meant not only were tribes split up and dispersed across wider territories, but white settlers came into their communities, meaning that more domains were taken over by English and affording less exclusive use for the native languages (including Kiowa) and ever increasing contact with English. As the impoverished tribes and individuals who were unsuccessful at (or unwilling to commit to) farming gradually rented out and sold off their lands, more and more white people came to live in these areas.

3.1.2. Microsocial Historical Variables

While the above factors were common to many, perhaps even most, Native American societies across the United States, there are many other historical factors that contributed to the gradual decline in use of the Kiowa language. Some of these related to Plains tribes as a whole, and others specifically to Kiowa tribal practices that continued through time. I will address these trends in order.

Tribal Relations on the Southern Plains The history of warfare on the Southern Plains meant that although the tribes were originally very distinct and warred and raided most often against one another (Mooney 1979). As battles against the U.S. government troups and with white settlers intensified, tribes formed alliances and banded together against their common enemies. The Kiowa already had a long-standing relationship with the Crow, a Northern Plains tribe, but eventually formed alliances with the Cheyenne and the Comanche to present a united front (ibid.). Bilingualism was already present for purposes of trade and peace-making, having in some cases replaced (or at least supplemented) the use of Plains sign language, particularly with the Comanche language, which was used as a lingua franca on the Southern Plains (Wallace and Hoebel 2013). But intensified collaboration and the practice of taking captives in warfare resulted in intermarriage with these tribes. Originally captives and people who were married into tribes learned Kiowa and adopted Kiowa cultural practices, but this eventually resulted in more use of English in homes as the 20th century wore on.

The purposeful driving to extinction of the buffalo, the Plains Indians' major food source, was also part of what drove the tribes to submit to living on reservations (Mooney 1979). The massacre of horses at Palo Duro canyon in 1874 was the beginning

of the end for Kiowa resistance fighters (ibid.). Becoming dependant on government allocated rations caused rampant poverty and disease, and shrank the numbers of many tribes, including the Kiowa tribe. This too made marriage within the tribe difficult, as increasingly the dwindling numbers of remaining Kiowa people were related to each other in some way.

Thus the intermarriage increased during the reservation era and even after allotment, as after sharing a reservation with the Comanche and the Plains Apache, the Comanches and Apaches remained nearby neighbors. Although the Plains Apache (a smaller tribe, long called the Kiowa Apache) had traveled with the Kiowa as far back as their movement from the North through the mountains and into the Southern Plains, they retained a separate identity and along with it, their language, for many years. But as intermarriage became more and more common, and spouses relocated into the more populous Kiowa areas and towns, they found a common language to be useful – originally often Kiowa, but increasingly, English. The results can be seen in the more rapid erosion of the Apache language amongst the Plains Apache in Oklahoma (few, if any, native speakers remain) but this too contributed to decreasing use of Kiowa.

Kiowa Bands The long cultural history of Kiowas residing in bands that came together to support each other only during the tough winter months and for purposes of warfare, a pattern common in the Plains and the Great Basin areas (Silver and Miller 1999). At one time, prior to contact, there were as many as 10 different bands, interesting for a small population of 2000-2500 (Richardson 1940). This resulted in the development of dialects that remained for many years. There is unfortunately little record of these dialects, as most of the written documentation comes from just a few

speakers. Some hints of the dialects could possibly be found in the speech of the elders recorded in the 1970's and 1980's, but these are primarily accents and synonyms by this time.

      <u>Kinship Relations, Captives, and Exogamy</u> The long-standing Kiowa practice of taking captives originally resulted in increasing the numbers of the tribe, and thus Kiowa speakers. Thus exogamy was common practice, and the close relations of many that belong to one's family's band meant that it slowly became increasingly difficult not to marry one's relative. The gender-related generational system of kinship meant that one's father's brother's children were considered to be brothers and sisters, while the sister's children were just cousins, and the mother's sister's children were also one's brothers and sisters, but her brother's children were then cousins. As more and more Kiowas came to adapt to white ways and Euro-American kinship reckoning, a thorough understanding of the original system began to fade amongst the younger generations. Yet elders maintained the importance of exogamy and not marrying one's relatives, and as the Kiowa tribe first shrank during the rough years of the reservation era and then slowly grew, more and more families were considered interrelated with each other. This made it hard to find a suitable Kiowa mate who was not related and thus acceptable to one's elders, and as a result, more and more young people looked outside the tribe for marriage partners, again with the result of mixed language households and a gradual shift to English.

3.1.3. Ethnography of Speaking for Old Kiowa

Since sociolinguistics was of lesser importance than recording the bare bones of the language at the time, we have little record of how, where, and when Kiowa was spoken during the early periods. We can assume that prior to contact Kiowa was used in every aspect of life, both in private domains, religious contexts, and in official or public ones, with the exception of intertribal contact, when we know that Comanche was the lingua franca of the Southern Plains. Presumably, genres included all that people would normally need in a nomadic context; everday conversation and song, meetings and planning, speeches, storytelling, and healing incantations. We do know that as Kiowa people came into closer and closer contact with other tribes and with white people during the years of warfare, reservations, boarding schools and allotment, bilingualism became more and more common, and some public contexts required the use of other languages. This includes, as mentioned above, domains such as Christian churches and schools, the agency, and as intermarriage became more and more common, even in some homes. By the 1970's, when our recordings were made, Kiowa was primarily the language of private domains, conversations amongst adults and still to some extent, official tribal contexts. Even in the home context, by this time, English was used with children in many cases, which then also ruled out genres of storytelling with children. Kiowa was being related to a language of the past.

3.2. Current Overarching Context

The general trends mentioned above have continued to have effects up to the present day, but there are other macrosocial and microsocial variables that have particular

effects on how the language is spoken today. Many of these have to do with living situation and location, which affects the amount and type of input potential language learners might receive. Some of these also affect language teaching, which is one of the primary means that the language is transmitted currently. Some specifically contribute to the lack of a unified tribal language program and cooperation amongst teachers of the language or cooperation and sharing of materials between the different classes held in different parts of the state. We will also be able to treat in more detail the sociolinguistic contexts in which the language is used, following the Ethnography of Speaking variables more closely, which gives us important insights into the changed context of speaking Kiowa today.

3.2.1. Macrosocial Variables

Some of these macrosocial variables are carryovers from the historical situation, although some of these have changed significantly in recent memory. Although I will start by relating these to Native Americans as a whole, I will also narrow them down to the specifically Kiowa context in order to give a complete picture of their situation. These variables contribute to not only the decline in usage of Old Kiowa, but also the development of Modern Kiowa. After these sections, I will address language ideologies, and some of the other most important variables of Ethnography of Speaking for Modern Kiowa: Speakers, Domains, and Genres.

Economic Disparity The poverty the tribe experienced during the reservation era did not lessen after allotment, as efforts to turn Indians into farmers often failed. The division of allotments to pass lands down to descendants resulted in increasingly

smaller portions of land to be made use of. Many Kiowa eventually ended up selling their allotments to make ends meet, and moving to town, where they interacted more frequently with non-Indian people, both white and Mexican. This had two effects for Kiowa people: those remaining in the country became somewhat more isolated, and those living in town used more and more English. The results of these gradual developments can be heard at the Elder's center (established in the 1970's), where lunch is provided for elders by the Kiowa tribal government. According to all my sources and personal observation, Kiowa speech use even there has declined signifantly over the past decade. The varying background of the elders who meet there, including those who had long lived outside the boundaries of Kiowa country (the former KCA reservation lands), has meant that some had become increasingly rusty in their language use. Insecurity in their ability to speak Kiowa resulted in a reduction in usage and increased usage of English. Today English is the most common language heard there, but one does still hear Kiowa being spoken, even if code-switching is the norm.

There is another result of the historical (and frequently, continued) relative poverty of many people who continue to live in the former KCA region, as well as a follow-up of the boarding school experience, which is the importance placed on education and the resulting migration to other places to live to make a better living. This includes places out of state (such as Kansas, where the Indian college Haskell is located in Lawrence) but also city centers in Oklahoma, such as Norman (where OU is located, a favorite amongst many Native American people) and Oklahoma City, but also Tulsa or even other places (especially centers where Indian people live, also through intermarriage). While this did indeed help the economic circumstances for many Kiowa

people, in some cases it resulted in isolation of Kiowa people and a lack of opportunities to use the language, although in others it results in new centers where Kiowa people can come together, especially in the Dallas/Ft. Worth area and pockets in California. Relocation to centers in Oklahoma or nearby surrounding states means that people can still visit relatives and come back for celebrations and cultural events (even the smaller ones, such as society or benefit pow-wows and prayer meetings) more easily. Additionally, the existence of classes in Anadarko High School and at OU mean that some who relocate to these centers have the opportunity to increase their knowledge of the Kiowa language and supplement the language input they may have received growing up.

Migration for Employment In the 1950's came the urban relocation programs that took Indians even further away from their native communities, to larger cities across the United States: some as close-by as Dallas and Ft. Worth, and others as far as California, Cleveland, and Chicago. Those that took advantage of these programs moved even further away from their homelands, and had even fewer chances to speak their heritage languages. It is true that in some cases, as mentioned above, Kiowa people settled near each other and so did still have the opportunity to use Kiowa relatively often, but this was not often the case. Quite a few of these Kiowa families later returned to their homeland to live out the remainder of their years, including a number who took part in this study.

Another factor in the relocation of many younger Kiowa people in order to have a more comfortable standard of living is the paucity of jobs found in many rural and small town regions that affects most small towns in America, and particularly in the

Midwest. This is accompanied by the relative difficulty of establishing successful businesses in these small towns populated primarily by farmers and Indians who may sometimes live off government subsidies. The distance of the Kiowa center of government and of living from larger city centers means that it is more difficult to establish some of the successful money-making ventures that other tribes have managed, including specifically casinos. There are also political reasons why it is difficult for many of the tribal members to run successful businesses, which will be discussed below.

3.2.2. Kiowa-Specific Microsocial Factors

It is in the microsocial factors that we can find the reasons that the Kiowa situation is more complicated than in many other tribes. Unfortunately there seem to be a number of circumstances working against a sense of collaboration across the entire tribe. For example, there is a fierce individuality and kin-centered approach that some Kiowa people exhibit that can make collaboration difficult, and affect the degree to which Kiowa people can agree on many things, including how best to teach the language or how to put a tribal language program in place. They can even affect the degree to which some language forms are seen to be acceptable, and who can be considered a "good" speaker of Kiowa.

    <u>Political Factionalism</u> There are many historical and current divisions within the Kiowa tribe politically. Some of these are carryovers from the band system, while others have to do with familial affiliations. The result is consistent political instability. Nepotism is common, and when someone is elected to public office, he or she

frequently hires people from within his or her own extended family to fill tribal governmental positions. As one of my collaborators opined, since those who still live in Carnegie, where the tribal headquarters is located, and in nearby Anadarko, are often not university educated, the result is that the government is sometimes run by those with fewer management skills. This sometimes results in accusations of mismanagement of funds and subsequent recalls of governmental representatives. Those that are university educated often had to relocate outside the community for a period of time, and are then not trusted by those in other factions. These frequent turnovers make implementation of stable language programs nearly impossible.

Another factor that makes the establishment of tribally-sponsored language programming difficult is lack of funding. The Kiowa Tribe is not a rich tribe, for many of the reasons mentioned above, and the areas that comprise Kiowa country are not economically strong enough to contribute to much funding for community programming. The result is that most language programming is at least partially funded by the federal government, either through Bureau of Indian Affairs donations or through schools and universities (such as the classes at Anadarko High School and Elgin High School and Jr. High, and the Clemente course offered in Anadarko through USAO, the University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma, as well as at Comanche Nation College in Lawton). These experience the difficulty of finding teachers with the certification to teach courses as well as sufficient knowledge of and fluency in Kiowa. There are other opportunities for funding, but tribal politics has done its damage in these situations as well, resulting in minimal benefits from such programming as the initially enthusiastic efforts fizzle out from lack of participation from other factions.

Bands and Dialects. As mentioned above, the echoes of ties of bands and extended family can still be heard even today, although generally it has been reduced to allophones, allomorphs, and synonyms. Still, the existence of the dialectal differences sometimes results in dischord amongst elders today about who has the "right" version of a particular vocabulary item, and whether or not a language learner is pronouncing a certain word "correctly," even though they may have heard it spoken that way by their grandparents. One example of these dialects that can still be heard today is the alternation between allophone /e/ and /i/ in words such as *é:dè* and *é:gàu* also pronounced *í:dè* and *í:gàu*. The mid vowel is the most common variant, being spoken in areas such as Mountain View, Rainy Mountain, where many consider the most "refined" Kiowa to be spoken, and Carnegie, where the tribal headquarters is located. The variants *í̠:dè* and *í̠:gàu* are heard in the areas around Anadarko and Red Stone. This particular variant does not seem to cause much distress today amongst most Kiowa teachers, but this does not hold for all speakers. A similar alternation is are the allomorphs *-bàu* and *–gàu*, which can be found in the words for bread *é:bàu* / *é:gàu* and apple *álàu:bàu* and *álàu:gàu*. These alternations hae actually caused some confusion related to change in the noun class system, as will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Heterographia Another divide that exists within the Kiowa tribe that has proved an impedance to language teaching and language use, as well as a source of language change, is heterographia, the existance of a multitude of writing systems for the Kiowa language. Although I could write an entire chapter on heterographia (as I did with Prof. Gus Palmer, Jr., published in 2009) to discuss this issue in detail, I will just give a brief treatment here as it is essential in understanding the situation of the Kiowa language

today. The phonological and morphological characteristics of the Kiowa language, as well as the great variation of spellings for sounds in American English (particularly Southern American English, and the Oklahoma dialects which comprise part of this regional categorization that many Kiowa people, especially elders, speak to some degree) make it difficult to write in a systematic way using the English spellings of sounds. Education in the English language and English spelling resulted in multiple attempts to write the language on the part of early Kiowa language teachers, and loyalty to and respect for these early teachers has solidified some of their systems which are relatively unsystematic and difficult for learners to use, as will be discussed below.

Parker MacKenzie, a self-trained Kiowa linguist who worked with a number of linguists, including the famous John Harrington who first documented Kiowa, Laurel Watkins who wrote the grammar of Kiowa, and Gus Palmer, Jr., who was key in establishing the Kiowa language classes at OU, has had a huge impact on the existing Kiowa language documentation. He also developed an efficient and systematic writing system that is extremely useful in writing Kiowa, correlates well with APA, is used in teaching the language at OU and that I use here in my dissertation and in my transcriptions for analysis. There are many reservations about and much resistance to using his writing system in the wider Kiowa community, however, for a number of reasons. One has to do with politics and interpersonal relations; his influence was necessarily limited due to a number of factors, including his personality and his job for part of his life, working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a tricky position to manage where it is probably impossible to keep everyone happy. Another has to do with the way he represents certain sounds that Kiowa has that English does not. He uses what he calls

"replacement letters" – letters that represent sounds in English that the Kiowa language does not have – to represent sounds and distinctions that Kiowa has that English does not. This can be confusing initially for students and teachers who might pick up some of the teaching materials and stories and lists he recorded and compiled and try to read them without first going through a thorough introduction to the system. In short, it takes practice to learn the system and use it effectively. One has to overcome one's inclination to ascribe English sounds to these letters, and know that Kiowa does not have the sounds that these letters represent in English. He also used diacritics as tone markers and to represent nasal vowels, both of which are essential as they are phonemic in Kiowa and make distinctions between minimal pairs. Failure to correctly pronounce these sounds results in one's utterances being misunderstood or even nonsensical.

Many teachers and learners of Kiowa believe that what they call "phonetic" writing systems are easier to use. Perhaps for fluent speakers they may be so. But these systems are not truly "phonetic" in that they do not have a one-letter-to-one-sound correlation. They are rather what I call "transphonic" in that they take English spellings of sounds and attempt to transfer them to Kiowa sounds (Neely and Palmer 2009). Since this is not easy to do, particularly for ejective sounds or to represent distinctions between aspirated and unaspirated consonants, or to make a distinction between nasal vowels and the presence of /n/ in the coda position in a syllable, many variations are possible and do exist in different teachers' writing systems. In fact, some are unsystematic in their representations to the extent that they can hardly be called systems at all. They may not represent some of the consonantal or vowel distinctions whatsoever, or they may make (often equally unsystematic) use of diacritics that are not

well understood. The overwhelming majority of these systems (in my experience, I could say "all") do not represent tone whatsoever. A table comparing these various writing systems can be found in Appendix B. Although it may be possible for fluent speakers to use these systems, their unsystematic nature makes using them for written communication and language teaching more difficult, as it is harder for language learners to recognize and learn the differences between these sounds. As a result, some teachers encourage students to write words "however it sounds to them," resulting in a nearly infinite number of writing systems, hence the term "hetrographia," which draws upon Bakhtin's conception of heteroglossia (Neely and Palmer 2009).

It is easy to see how hetrographia can present a barrier to developing language teaching materials that can be used in multiple classrooms, or to compiling dictionaries that would make learning and maintaining the language much easier, or to developing literature in the language, or even simply to writing personal letters to each other or maintaining a newsletter in Kiowa. Added to this problem is the long-standing existence of a historical sense of cultural artistic and intellectual property that means that the rights to creations of one artist are passed down within the family (Jordan 2011). This entails that in order to use someone's teaching materials that they developed, or perhaps even their writing system, one must have permission from the developer's family. Due to the political factionalism discussed above, this is not an easy thing to obtain, and loyalty to one system or another is very strong.

One solution that Dane Poolaw, a young Kiowa teacher, researcher, and self-taught linguist, has developed is to integrate the various systems into one that looks familiar but is extremely systematic in its representations of sounds. He studied

formally with both Alecia Gonzales at Anadarko High School, a teacher trained in speech pathology who developed her own (relatively systematic) writing system, and with Gus Palmer, Jr. and Carole Willis at the University of Oklahoma. He has also studied all written documentation thoroughly, heard the language to some extent as he grew up, and has also, through respectful persistence, learned from his elders (particularly his grandmothers, Carole Willis and Martha Nell Poolaw, who have both also taught Kiowa at OU). His experiences teaching Kiowa at OU have also given him particular insights into Kiowa grammar and pronunciation, and have further stimulated his desire to teach Kiowa more effectively. Although he teaches in the Parker MacKenzie system at OU, and in his community classes that he co-teaches with his grandmother at the Jacobson House Museum located on OU's campus, he is willing to work within both systems to teach in a way that is most effective for learners in order to try to produce communicatively competent speakers.

An important talent that will affect Kiowa language revitalization efforts in the time to come is Dane's ability to sidestep politics to a great degree. He is connected in the community, but does not align with any of the factions, neither in explicitly agreeing or disagreeing, just by being a generally agreeable fellow. This, along with his willingness and readiness to share any and all materials and experiences he has (to the greatest extent possible, while being respectful of those who developed them), gives his system a great chance of succeeding. It has already proven effective in his interactions on Facebook in the community group "Kiowa People Family News," which I treat briefly below and more extensively in a forthcoming publication that analyzes these

interactions and what they mean for Kiowa people and the future of the Kiowa language.

Kinship Relations and Intertribal Marriage Although I have addressed this topic extensively above, let me revisit it in the context of the current situation. Currently, there are very few Kiowa people who marry within the tribe, due to the now very extensive network of familial relations. One collaborator informed me that "Everybody is related to everybody else in the Kiowa tribe" and that it's "nearly impossible to find someone who you're allowed to marry who is Kiowa." As Jordan noted in his dissertation on Kiowa descendant organizations, kinship is bilateral, and each of the major nineteenth century patriarchs has hundreds of descendants (Jordan 2011). In order to raise one's children as Kiowa speakers, there must be an agreement made with one's spouse; there must be sufficient motivation (such as a desire to participate in Kiowa cultural events) and in some cases, a willingness to forego learning another heritage tribal language in favor of Kiowa, and thus adopt a more strongly Kiowa identity. This is a difficult choice, especially given the difficulty of enrolling in the Kiowa tribe due to blood quantum restrictions (and the relative reduction in benefits as compared to other tribes). Yet due to the increasing momentum behind Kiowa language learning, and its persisting presence in cultural and pan-Indian events and organizations such as the pow-wow circuit and the Native American Church, as well as in Christian churches due to the multitude of beautiful Kiowa hymns,[9] there are a number of families (at least five, to my knowledge) and young people who are making this choice, and many others who have enrolled their children in Kiowa language courses.

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[9] A Kiowa hymn was even sung at the Vatican at the official canonization of St. Kateri, who was actually from an Algonquian-speaking tribe, as one collaborator told me from an eye-witness account.

Religious and Cultural Divisions – and Coming Back Together For many years, religious divisions existed between those who followed different Christian denominations, and even greater ones between those who followed more traditional cultural ways and eschewed Christianity (or at least put it on the back burner). One of my collaborators told me that she believed her family had spoken less Kiowa because they were "church people." But gradually, as one of my collaborators informed me, prejudices in this direction faded, and "church people" and "pow-wow people" became more accepting of one another's ways, and this division faded. The revival of the Gourd Clan and the revival of the Blackleggings society by Gus Palmer, Sr. brought more acceptance of adherence to cultural traditions, and for many, the integration of Euro-American ways of life with Kiowa cultural ways of the past, to create a new syncretic way of being Kiowa as exhibited by most Kiowas today. It is at these cultural celebrations that Kiowa is most often heard publicly, even more frequently than in church or at prayer meetings and funerals, although prayer in Kiowa is highly valued and brought into the ceremonies as frequently as possible, with elders often being sought out for this purpose. People often return for the large cultural celebrations, coming in even from out-of-state to take part and renew ties with family.

3.2.3. Language Attitudes and Ideologies

An essential part of the ethnographic situation of the Kiowa language today is an analysis of the language ideologies that undergird people's beliefs, opinions, and behaviors as regards the Kiowa language, specifically its use and its teaching. I have addressed many of these in previous publications (Neely and Palmer 2010, Neely 2012),

but it is vital that I discuss here briefly but concisely those essential to understanding the evolution of language obsolescence and language change, as well as the potential and actual effects of language revitalization efforts, as that is part of the final phase of this process.

Limiting Language Ideologies There are many ideologies that are anti-language use that have contributed to the level of Kiowa's endangerment and the state of the language today, reasons for the changes that have taken and are taking place. Although others may come up during the discussion, there are two main, broad-reaching ideologies that are especially relevant in this discussion: 1) language purism, and 2) ideologies about the usefulness of the language, also called "linguistic social darwinism." Within this framework I will disentangle the threads of people's language attitudes and opinions about the Kiowa language, its structure and its use.

Language Purism Ideologies of language purism are directly responsible for a significant part of the extreme reduction in the use of Kiowa. What Dorian (1998) has termed "language purism," sometimes referred to as "elder purism" (e.g. Loether 2009), that holds change to a language should be avoided at all costs, as it might threaten the language's integrity. A number of elders have indicated reluctance to use Kiowa words for things of the "modern" world. For some elders this reluctance is connected with a disassociation of anything "modern" from Kiowa, from cars to television to the technology of writing itself. According to some of the Kiowas with whom I have spoken, it would be just as well if Kiowa was spoken until it is spoken no more, and once it ceases to be spoken it would mean the end of Kiowa as it is understood right now. Some Kiowa people believe language change should be worked against at all

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costs. These types of conservatism are strengthened by a fear of accusations from peers that anyone who uses new words (or even older words that are less widely known) is trying to "change" the language; the authority to do so may be called into question. The invention of slang and other hybrid forms coined by children (who often fit English pronunciation and word formation rules to Kiowa lexemes) is sometimes seen as disrespectful or just "un-Kiowa." It is, however, not the case that Kiowa is seen as a 'sacred' language, as is the case for speakers of Tewa "kiva speech" (Kroskrity 1992). The ideology of language purism has long worked against language use in the community; language learners were afraid of censure. But as one elder from the community expressed to one of us, community values about the need to speak the language correctly should not keep people from learning the language:

> "I guess if you mean by disrespect, I mean um, because I don't . . . I don't want to speak, because I want to speak it right. And so that's a measure, you're showing respect for the language, when you're afraid that you're going to not speak it right. There's that. But . . . and then on the other hand . . . if you really want to speak it, then you will try to learn it."

I have seen myself that these attitudes are changing, as attempts to speak the language have been increasing, both amongst younger language learners and amongst elders who previously would refrain from speaking. One may still hear "oh, he's not speaking it right" but people are at least applauding the efforts younger people are making to try. Although it is still not used amongst elders to the extent that it once was, a small but determined group continues to encourage their peers to speak the language with them.

Linguistic Social Darwinism. Another ideology that seems to be fading is the ideology that Nancy Dorian has described as a *linguistic social darwinism* (Dorian 1998) can also be found in the Kiowa community, as some seem resigned to the idea that the era of spoken Kiowa is meant to pass, perhaps even has already passed. Today

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most Kiowa people with whom I have spoken feel that Kiowa is important to them and to their people, that it is valuable and and must be preserved at the least, and for many, revitalized. There are likely those for whom Kiowa remains unimportant in their personal lives, which could theoretically be a holdover from the impact this language ideology has long had, but today it has less of a hold on the popular imagination.

Enabling Langauge Ideologies There are a number of ideologies that are pro-language use, including ideas of language as a resource, the equation of language with culture, and finally, language as decolonization. The idea of language as a resource is very important, as it helps solidify the authenticity and authority of speakers and elders in the community, but also for younger speakers. Young aspiring community leaders often pepper their public speeches with Kiowa words and phrases, and some learn passages or prayers by heart as well. The ideology that language equals culture is now widespread, and serves as an important motivation for maintenance and revitalization of the language. While this ideology is also tricky, because many cultural traditions are capable of being and are currently being passed down through English, these efforts are not to be discounted (Heller and Duchêne 2008). The idea of language maintenance and use as a decolonization strategy is one that must also be mentioned. The power of Native American languages as symbolic tools and badges of identity that encode and embody important cultural information has the potential for both empowerment and disenfranchisement (Kroskrity 2000:8). While it is not often overtly addressed in conversation, as only those who are familiar with the term and the decolonization movement can express their feelings using this idea. But it does seem to undergird some of the reasons that Kiowa people wish to maintain their language, in order to maintain a

sense of self and their identity as a nation, a special and separate people, and as a means of resistance to (or an attempt to reverse) complete assimilation to Euro-American ways of life.

One final pro-language use idology that must be addressed is the idea that language adaptation is natural and even vital to survival. I acknowledge that, in my role as a linguist who is a stakeholder and an advocate, this ideology is one that I in particular espouse, and wish to encourage. This ideology is gradually gaining ground, particularly amongst younger language teachers and language learners. It is one that will definitely have an effect on the form of the language in years to come.

3.3. Speakers of Kiowa

Who are the speakers of Kiowa? Once, all Kiowa people spoke Kiowa exclusively, then they became largely bilingual, and then the break occurred: parents stopped teaching Kiowa to their children. Then gradually the numbers of speakers shrank as more and more people switched to using English exclusively, and the language went unspoken as people became less certain and as elders who spoke it fluently slowly passed on. This is a common picture amongst endangered languages. But today, a new generation is working to become true speakers of Kiowa. The speakers of Kiowa in this study fit within all categories of speakerhood discussed in Chapter 2: fluent speakers, rusty speakers, partial speakers, language learners, and passive speakers. Some can be classified as speakers of Old Kiowa (specifically Generation I, the elders of the past) or at least, partial speakers of Old Kiowa (particularly those who have made a study of old documentation in order to complete their understandings of the language, often

language teachers themselves). The majority of the participants in the study, however, should be considered speakers of Modern Kiowa, and it is upon this data that my analysis of structural changes is based. I will address the following general characteristics of the Kiowa speakers from each generation. As I move through my analysis of particular speech forms, I may go into more detail about each speaker's background as it is relevant to determining whether they have likely experienced more contact, been subject to a lack of speaking possibilities leading to attrition, or are more likely to exhibit characteristics related to imperfect language learning, interlanguage features, or even effects from learning "Old Kiowa" in classes or through self-study.

3.3.1. Old Kiowa Speakers

When I refer to "Old Kiowa" speakers, I am referencing Kiowa people who may likely have been bilingual but whose first and primary language was Kiowa. The previous generation of elders born around the turn of the century were perhaps the last first-language speakers of Old Kiowa. The language they used to speak with each other in most domains was Kiowa, as can be heard on the Kiowa Cultural Program recordings. Occasionally some would code-switch into English, but it was clear from these recordings that not all of them were particularly comfortable in English. Some of today's most fluent speakers remember speaking only Kiowa even with their parents. Yet there are also many elders of the same generation who may have spoken it only with their grandparents. Additionally, many of their children were raised speaking English partially or even exclusively, so clearly many of them could comfortably use English at least in informal domains. Thus it is safe to conclude that most, but not all,

people from the 1930's onward have been bilingual in English to some degree, although there are some who were bilingual in Spanish or Comanche.

As a whole, the speakers of Old Kiowa in this study are fairly similar in their experiences with Kiowa, and yet representative of people from different parts of Kiowa country. Although I made sure to include both male and female speakers in my samples, there are really no significant differences in male versus female speech to be found, at least, not that are relevant to this study. Kiowa is not historically one of those languages that has overt distinctions between male and female speech, so this is not surprising. Thus it is acceptable to treat them as a group when describing their linguistic backgrounds.

The speakers represented in this study come from some of the major culturally recognized sub-groups of the Kiowa community. This includes Mountain View, Rainy Mountain, Carnegie, Hobart, Lone Wolf, and Anadarko. One participant moved around more than the others and also lived in Oklahoma City for a time. Although some exhibit some characteristics of the dialects from their respective areas, the differences were by this generation minimal to the extent that they formed no impedance to understanding or transcription, and thus were not relevant when looking at variation and change.

3.3.2. Modern Kiowa Speakers

The experiences and backgrounds of the living generations of Kiowa speakers taking part in this study are much more varied than those of their predecessors, Gen. I. Although there are some overarching similarities to be found within the generations,

there are also a fair number of specific circumstances that will need to be addressed as I analyze their data in the chapters to follow.

Generation II: Elders The elders of today are a somewhat more diverse group than Generation I, although not quite as diverse as Generations III and IV. The majority of them, particularly the speakers with whom I worked, were born and raised in the KCA area, although a fair number of them lived outside the area or even outside the state because of the relocation programs of the 1950's. They still share many characteristics, however. The primary language of Generation III is English. Many of them were raised speaking Kiowa to some degree, but the majority left it behind as they grew older, married (often to people from other tribes or Euro-Americans), and had children. They overwhelmingly did not teach it to their children, a common pattern amongst Native American language communities today. Some do not consider themselves to be speakers of Kiowa, but most are bilingual. They may not self-identify as speakers, perhaps because of ideologies of language purism, or because they are rusty and do not feel comfortable speaking the language in all situations. This varies greatly from speaker to speaker. Some speakers are comfortable using Kiowa (at least phrasally if not code-switching) in conversation with other speakers, and some are not. There is a sort of quiet probing that takes place to determine whether or not your interlocutor is comfortable speaking Kiowa with you, one elder told me. The vast majority of this age group all learned the language in a natural learning situation: at home, from their parents or grandparents. Traditionally, the grandparents raised the children while the parents worked, and some still follow this model even today.

All of the elders that took part in this study currently live in the KCA area, or in the OKC metro area (including Norman). One spry lady is rather nomadic and shuttles back and forth between Mountain View, Yukon, and Norman frequently to help take care of her great-grandchildren. A fair number of these speakers have lived out of state for a period of time,[10] but came back to Oklahoma retire and spend their golden years back home, amongst their families and their people.

Generation III: Middle-Aged Speakers The middle-aged speakers of today are the most diverse group, being comprised of partial speakers, language learners, and passive speakers. Their primary language is English, and most use Kiowa primarily in phrase- or word-dropping. A handful are comfortable enough with the language to carry on brief conversations, and a very few feel confident enough to use the language in public speeches or to give prayers (some of which are clearly memorized or comprised of common phrases). Those who are more fluent usually learned the language through classes or by specifically requesting help from elders. Some, particularly the passive speakers, may have heard it frequently growing up, but in many cases often never fully acquired the language. The speakers of this generation are somewhat scattered. They have been raised in many different places both within and outside of Oklahoma, although the ones who have taken part in this study primarily reside in either Kiowa Country or more often in urban areas such as Norman and Oklahoma City.

Generation IV: Young Adults The youngest generation was raised speaking and hearing primarily English. They may only have heard Kiowa in asides as their grandparents were talking together. They are all second-language learners, and have had

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[10] I have no formal statistics on this, but according to my sample, the number is approximately one in four.

relatively little input growing up except when they made the effort to pay attention or to ask about the language. Thus these new speakers have usually learned to a large extent through classes, but with some dedication and persistence they have often also learned through elders, by asking direct questions or initiating conversation and ensuring follow-through. This generation is also primarily comfortable in phrase- and word-dropping, in public and in private. In some cases they will also code-switch and even use complete sentences in a very few cases, usually in private conversation. Although some of these speakers still reside in the rural areas of Kiowa Country, those who took part in this study live primarily either in Norman, Oklahoma City, and surrounding areas, or in Anadarko – the places where Kiowa language classes were offered in schools.

3.3.3. Speakers and Authenticity

Speaking Kiowa is an important means of establishing and reinforcing, even securing, a reputation for authenticity. This is important for speakers from all generations, but particularly for elders, who command respect simply because of their age, but also because of their ability to serve in leadership roles in public functions, such as leading prayers or songs. They are the bearers of culture, and help pass it down to the younger generations. Ability to speak Kiowa reinforces their social standing. In connection with ideologies from the Foucauldian discourse of tradition (Eire 1998:16), speakers of the language are perceived as more authentically Kiowa, just as people from tribes who have few remaining speakers are perceived as less authentically Indian. Many language ideologies are connected with different power struggles both within the community and

between the community and wider society. Language can be used to express identity and solidarity, but along with in-group identification comes certain types of exclusion. People have different types of personal and political ties and varying expectations about who is authorized to speak about certain subjects that are bound up with ideas of authenticity. This is also part of the motivation for some younger speakers to use the language, to impart a sense of authenticity and tradition to their discourse, particularly in ceremonial settings.

In other uses, Kiowa people, even those who are non-speakers (or 'potential learners' as I prefer to think of them), will also emphasize their Kiowa identity through use of words and phrases, using snippets of Kiowa language as a 'badge of identity' in the sense of 'crossing' between different social identities (Rampton 1995). Use of "a common language may be the ideal vehicle to express the unique character of a social group, and to encourage common social ties on the basis of a common identity" (Dieckhoff 2004, in Jaspal 2009). One useful corollary can be found in what is called 'ethnic signalling' on the part of Jewish people, who use specific references and phrases that express their "jewishness" in their daily lives (Plotnikov and Silverman 1978). Kiowa is often used in this regard, by younger and older speakers alike, particularly in Pan-Indian settings. During my time here at the University of Oklahoma, I have seen members of peer groups using Kiowa words and phrases with each other, even those who are not enrolled Kiowa but affiliate themselves with the tribe in some way. They may have Kiowa ancestry, or belong to societies such as the Tain-peah society as honorary members. Even the use of Kiowa slang such as 'todes' for shoes (*jódé*) and

'hangey' for money (*àulhą́ungà*) serves to publicly emphasize a young person's Kiowa identity, in a way with which they are comfortable.

3.3.4. Language Teachers and Authority

Issues of authority are often questioned in language use (and this goes doubly for language planning) in the community, particularly who speaks Kiowa (well), who doesn't, who is qualified to teach, who is old enough to be considered an elder, who is qualified to offer an opinion, and whose writing system is worthy of consideration. This is a difficult subject, as authority to teach is often contested in the community. Elders who have a reputation as speakers have the most authority and are most respected, but often do not have the health to teach on a frequent basis. They also often do not have the credentials to teach at institutes of secondary or higher learning, and the classes sometimes have difficulties being maintained and end up being taught by those who are less than fluent speakers, using materials developed by their predecessors. Additionally, respect is supposed to be attributed to one; one is not supposed to claim legitimacy for oneself. This attitude is unfortunate in the context of language renewal, as those who are doing the work of promoting and teaching the languages are subject to unfavorable commentary and questioning of their authority as well. Yet as time goes on, and there are fewer speakers able to hold Kiowa classes, a younger generation of teachers such as Dane Poolaw and the Sunray family, is taking charge, by establishing authority due to working extensively with elders and drawing upon learning materials gathered from time-honored teachers and scholars such as Parker McKenzie and Alecia Gonzales.

3.4. Domains of Kiowa

An essential element in describing the ethnography of speaking Kiowa is discussing in which domains Kiowa is used. This gives us insight not only into the relative health of the language, but also insights into which structures may be more resistant to change, as some of the genres and phrases used in these domains may be specific enough to effect language change. Throughout this chapter I have been giving indications of in which domains Kiowa is currently being used, but I will summarize them in short here, for purposes of clarifying the argument in the chapters to come.

3.4.1. Public Domains

There are five primary public domains where Kiowa is heard (or seen) today: 1) cultural ceremonies, 2) community events, 3) religious events, 4) classes, and 5) electronic media. Since many of them have been mentioned above, I will only give a brief description of these domains that will serve to solidify both the import of these domains for the state of the language today as well as the impact that use of the language in these domains has for language change. I should note that I will not address electronic media here as a domain, but will go into more detail in the section on genres below.

Cultural Ceremonies The most common place that Kiowa is heard, and the greatest amount of Kiowa is heard at cultural ceremonies, including the Gourd Clan and Tain-Peah, Black Leggings and O-Ho-Ma ceremonies. It is here that people are celebrating their Kiowa heritage and Kiowa culture, and most believe that language is an important part of that culture and heritage, and thus an important part of being Kiowa. People of varying ages will speak Kiowa in these domains, and although elders

are most commonly called upon to speak, younger participants from G3 and even G4 are heard here as well. Some of the functions that the language fulfills in these contexts is referencing tradition and cultural authenticity, as well as establishing themselves as worthy participants, or in some cases, authorities.

Community Events Somewhat less Kiowa is heard at non-religious and less formal community events, such as benefit pow-wows, descendant society gatherings and some family reunions. In some sense, one would assume that a family reunion constitutes a private event, as only relatives are in attendance. But as mentioned earlier, as Jordan emphasizes in his dissertation on descendant societies, due to bilateral generation kinship reckoning, Kiowa families can be quite extensive. Pow-wows, even intertribal ones, are also a place where Kiowa language is often heard at least in a few stock phrases given by the announcer and in the presence of Kiowa songs. In these contexts, the language fulfills the function of establishing the authenticity of an event, and solidifying the identity of the participants as Indian. Other less common examples might include governmental events, such as speeches given during election season, or the opening of Kiowa tribal ventures such as the opening of the Kiowa casino a few years ago. At this particular event, the then tribal chairman Billy Evans Horse gave a five-minute speech entirely in Kiowa. He paraphrased it afterwards, but did not translate it word for word. This is a good example of using the language to re-establish one's authority as the rightful and still vibrant leader of the tribe.

Religious Events Kiowa is an integral part of many religious events, from Christian church events to Native American Church gatherings, although it is limited in some ways. The types of Kiowa heard at religious events fall within two specific

genres: prayer and song. Although Kiowa has a clear presence at most religious events, it is usually limited to these genres, as we will discuss below. In the context of religious events, the language can add to the solemnity of the event, bringing a long history of Kiowas and Christianity to the forefront. In this way, the language is again fulfilling the function of upholding tradition and contributing to the authenticity of the event as being important to Kiowa people, who have long been known for their spirituality amongst Southern Plains tribes.[11] On a personal level, being asked to contribute to the event also brings with it a status of sorts, evidence that one is somewhat of an authority on this level.

Classes Although this is not generally a domain of 'natural' speech, it is still a domain where Kiowa is heard. When I first started going out to Carnegie, I was introduced to a grassroots 'class' that was really a meeting of elders who sat together and visited, or worked on an endless glossary project that had been ongoing since the 1970's. They recorded every session, and had tapes going all the way back to the origins of the project. One G3 passive speaker had been part of the endeavor for years untold; she was even present on some of the KCP recordings done in the 1970's and 1980's. As time went on, people came and went, as some passed away and others came to visit. Eventually the class changed, morphing into a Kiowa language class for children, with one particular elder speaker and a younger, G3 speaker serving as the teachers. The parents or chauffeurs of the children would sit and visit in the entry room outside the classroom, sometimes asking questions about Kiowa themselves. There are

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[11] A Comanche man told me a story of his ancestors once, saying that he'd been told "We Comanches would get fed up with Kiowas on raids. They'd want to spend the whole night beforehand praying and fasting, and we'd just want to dance and feast and have a good time. Then if the signs weren't right, they'd want to *wait* – well, we got tired of waiting and left to go on the raid without them."

others of these children's classes, including one held in Norman by the Sunray family and one that was long held at Carnegie Elementary by Wilda Koomseh, as well as meetings held seasonally at Riverside Indian School. A class for adults, the Clemente course taught through USAO by Dorothy DeLaune facilitated by Rachel Jackson, is also a meeting of primarily elders and G3 students from the community. Another community class taught by Dane Poolaw and his grandmother Carole Willis in Norman, OK. There are of course the more formal classroom settings, including the high school classes at Anadarko and Elgin, and the classes at the University of Oklahoma and Comanche Nation College in Lawton. Other community classes have been held in the past, near Tulsa and in Lawton, these have both been discontinued due to illness or the passing of the teacher. In these classes the function is of course to teach the language to those interested or to practice one's language skills, but there are always complications with making these classes more widespread, due to spotty attendance or a continuing shift of students. The attendant difficulties with the ideologies of authenticity and authority hold in these settings, particularly for second-language teachers, a topic explored in-depth for Cherokee by Tehee 2014. Students I have spoken with attend these classes out of a desire to get in touch with their culture or history, following the Foucauldian discourses on tradition and authenticity.

3.4.2. Private Domains

In order to address Kiowa language use in private domains, I have relied primarily on reporting from my collaborators. Since when an outsider is present, even one that has some command of the Kiowa language, people invariably switch (or at least, frequently

code-switch) to English, it was difficult for me to observe Kiowa in private domains. For example, when I told a younger collaborator that I stopped attending pow-wows because I did not hear any Kiowa spoken there, he informed me that "yeah, it's there… you'll hear elders speaking it with one another, in small groups… They'll usually switch when somebody who doesn't speak it comes to join in the conversation, or if they're having a hard time remembering a word, but it's still there."

<u>One-on-One or Small Groups at Events or Elder's Center</u> Although I have not personally witnessed much extended Kiowa conversation at events, for the reasons mentioned above, I have been told that certain elders will often speak to each other in Kiowa in these places, either to tell secrets, jokes, or just for the pleasure of using the language. While I am told that there is "hardly any" Kiowa spoken at the Elder's Center anymore, I have still witnessed small exchanges in the language. There are a few elders who tend to initiate these conversations, and while they report that some others try to avoid speaking Kiowa, they indicate that they can usually get most people to at least speak a few lines, if they're careful. One elder lady told me that "you have to know how to approach them" because you don't want to appear to be "showing off" how much you know, or trying to make them feel bad because they don't speak as much. Additionally, even here code-switching seems to be the norm.

<u>In the Home</u> There are a few families (at least five that I know of and have spoken with) who are implementing Kiowa language use and teaching in their homes, and in some cases, it is even partial immersion-type teaching. In these cases, the Kiowa language is filling many functions, including emphasizing the families' Kiowa heritage, and working to instill in the children a sense of cultural continuity. These are not simple

tasks, as parents must continuously strive to keep lessons fresh and interesting, and encourage children to see Kiowa not as a 'must' but as something they can hopefully enjoy and gain from throughout their lives.

3.5. Genres of Kiowa Speech Today

As with domains, Kiowa is somewhat limited in the genres in which it is used today. In my observations, I narrowed it down to six genres heard in public domains, and five heard in private domains. The public genres include: 1) prayer, 2) stories, 3) speeches (although I treat phrase-dropping in speeches separately below), 4) songs, 5) teaching and learning/practicing, and 6) public electronic media such as Facebook. Speaking Kiowa in public takes some determination and fortitude, and a thick skin to withstand the critique that may follow from elders who are more fluent speakers. Yet people are stepping up and using the Kiowa language in these ways, as will be seen below. The private genres include: 1) interpersonal conversation, 2) prayer, 3) phrase dropping and word dropping in conversation, 4) jokes, 5) electronic media such as texts or Facebook personal messages.

3.5.1. Public Speech

Kiowa has a public presence, even today; although it is somewhat more limited in domains and genres than it used to be, one cannot say that the Kiowa language is dead by any means (and this was my first clue that Kiowa was not as endangered as people say, despite the numbers often cited). Due to the fact that even younger speakers from Generations III and IV are starting to speak up and dare to use Kiowa in public, even if

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only phrasally, I take this as a sign that Kiowa likely increase in both domains and genres as time goes on. Although there is still some critique to be heard of the language that these younger speakers are using, many are applauding their efforts and encouraging them to keep working to learn the language more thoroughly.

Prayer By far the most common genre in which Kiowa is heard today is prayer. Prayers are heard at almost all (if not all – I actually cannot remember witnessing one where it was not) community events, and often at least part of them are in Kiowa. Complete prayers in Kiowa are somewhat more rare, and are usually either interspersed with English translations or a translation is provided afterwards (although some speakers will just code-switch and finish their prayer in English). Some prayers make much use of phrase-dropping, as there are a number of fairly standard expressions that are often heard in the Kiowa hymns. It is this genre that is most likely to have the strongest effect on the form of Modern Kiowa and how it is spoken today, as we will discuss in the chapters to follow.

Storytelling There are only a few Kiowa elders who can tell stories completely in Kiowa, and very few do so in public. In fact, I have only witnessed one, Dorothy DeLaune, and she was caught a little off-guard when asked to do so. She did so off-the-cuff, but ended up code-switching back to English towards the end, partially because she knew that her audience was probably not following anymore (even though she kept it pretty simple). I'm sure that she could have finished, and even more sure that, given the opportunity to prepare, she could have told the story quite fluently and elegantly. Other elders that I have hear tell stories tend to do so in English, although they will often sing the accompanying songs in Kiowa or give vocabulary items (such as animal

names) in Kiowa. Storytelling is also a function performed as part of the role of Grandpa Rabbit at the Gourd Clan and Tain-peah society celebrations. As with other storytelling events I have witnessed, these are often told partially in English, but with certain words and phrases from Kiowa. The songs are generally sung in Kiowa.

<u>Speeches</u> When one discounts prayer as speeches, it is true that there are few speeches held in Kiowa these days. Former tribal chairman Billy Evans Horse did have the ability and the motivation to give speeches in Kiowa – partially because he believed in the importance of maintaining the language, and partially just because he could. One example was mentioned above, at the opening of the Kiowa casino. This practice solidified his authenticity as a traditional Kiowa man and substiantiated his standing as a valuable Kiowa leader. His speeches may have been planned, but occasionally some parts were also clearly off the cuff, proving him to be a fluent Kiowa speaker. There are few others who can still give speeches entirely in Kiowa as he could, and it is likely that many of them are planned beforehand. The late Lucille Aitson could give speeches in Kiowa, and did so publicly at a naming ceremony at the Kiowa Gourd Clan celebration in 2011. Mrs. Carole Willis can also give speeches in Kiowa, and also did so at a naming ceremony at the Gourd Clan celebration that was held in 2010. The late Dr. Ted Lonewolf also had this capacity, although he tended to do so rather briefly. Prof. Gus Palmer, Jr. can also give speeches in Kiowa, although he generally refrains from doing so unless it is a special occasion. Although I have not heard these ladies do so, I am fairly certain that Mrs. Melva Wermy and Mrs. Dorothy DeLaune are capable of doing so, and I have heard that Mrs. Ella Fae Horse would also be likely to possess this faculty, although I have not met with her personally.

Of the younger generations, I have only heard one speaker (from Generation III or IV – I don't know him personally) give a public speech in Kiowa, at a Gourd Clan celebration in 2012. Although I only observed and listened, I and some elders who heard it can attest that he exhibited many characteristics of a partial speaker or language learner, to the extent that part of his speech was not completely possible to be understood. It is likely that Dane Poolaw could give a speech entirely in Kiowa, although he would likely wish to prepare it in advance. Warren Queton can also speak Kiowa well enough to give short speeches, and he also uses Kiowa in his function as Grandpa Rabbit for the Kiowa Tain-peah Society.

The reasons for giving speeches in Kiowa are many, and this fulfills many functions, even though it is not as common as it once was. Giving speeches can solidify one's reputation as a good Kiowa speaker, which serves as social capital (Bourdieu) and contributes to one's social standing in the community as well as substantiating their authenticity as traditional Kiowa people who value and wish to pass on culture, as mentioned above. It also serves the purpose in the community of reassuring people that the Kiowa language still lives, and gives them hope for its continuance in the future.

Song   Kiowa is still used frequently in song, although some of the words in a fair number of songs have been replaced with vocables. Still, one does hear songs with Kiowa words at pow-wows and particularly the church hymns at funerals and prayer meetings are still often heard, as long as there is someone who can sing them. Most people who do sing (and certainly, who lead) songs with Kiowa words today are from Generation I, although there are a few from younger generations who can and sometimes do lead songs, particularly Freddy Cozad (G3) and on occasion, Warren

Queton (G4). I did not focus on song in my research, because the words are fixed and thus would not give a useful picture of morphological change. They may, however, be helpful in looking at phonological change, as many elders have expressed that some younger singers "don't say the words right" and this may indicate alternation or variation in certain phonemes.

Those that lead songs are fulfilling important functions in the Kiowa community; just as giving speeches or even just hearing Kiowa spoken "makes you feel good" as Warren Queton put it, songs lift the spirits of Kiowa people. Song is very important for Kiowa people historically and currently as well, as Eric Lassiter explained in his work "The Power of Kiowa Song" (1998). Finally, the ideology that the Kiowa language is sacred comes into play in the singing of hymns, as

Phrase-Dropping in Public Speeches A phenomenon that is much more common is phrase-dropping and word-dropping in public speeches. This practice is found amongst all generations of Kiowa speakers today, although those who take part in cultural events have more reason and more opportunity to make use of this strategy. As mentioned before, this practice can serve as a type of 'ethnic signalling' that clearly serves the function of expressing one's Kiowa identity in public, and solidifying one's reputation (authenticity) as someone who values their Kiowa heritage. It also demonstrates that the Kiowa language is important to them, and may establish them as a language learner or at least a potential one. Another common example of phrase-dropping in public involves the use of Kiowa by announcers or MC's at pow-wows or cultural ceremonies. These phrases include the commonly heard reflexive verbal

commands directed towards second person plural "*Bé hâ*!" 'Rise' or 'Stand' and "*Bé sáu*!" 'Be seated' as well as the ubiquitous *à:hô* 'thank you' and *Chólhàu!* 'well done!'

Teaching and Learning or Practicing Teaching is an interesting genre, as there are many different ways one can go about it. Finding someone who can give a sustained immersion lesson in Kiowa is very difficult, although it might be possible for some elders to conduct Master/Apprentice type lessons (Hinton 2001) completely in Kiowa. There are different forms for the many classes being taught across Oklahoma. Early classes (dating back as early as the 1970's) focused on teaching vocabulary words and phrases, according to the understandings of the time. The children's classes (and this includes the ones at Riverside, which are for somewhat older students) still tend to focus primarily on memorization of vocabulary, scenarios, and songs, sometimes geared towards preparing groups to participate in the annual Oklahoma Native American Youth Language Fair held in Norman, OK, each spring, although the Kiowa Kids classes held in Norman do involve some elements of partial language immersion. The high school classes use storytelling and vocabulary, while the university classes focus on vocabulary and grammar, with attention to oral communication skills alongside in the form of phrases and careful formation of sentences that illustrate the grammatical concepts being studied that week. In the past few years, Poolaw has initiated efforts to bring immersion-type teaching and TPR (Total Physical Response, first developed in Asher 1969) into his classroom, using gesture and pictures to elicit Kiowa responses from his students. The Norman community class is designed to give insights into grammar and pronunciation while being taught in a primarily oral, dialogue format, encouraging students to perform tasks and enact scenarios with each other. Other

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community classes, such as the ones formerly held in Lawton and the Clemente course currently held in Anadarko tend to focus on particular topics or on answering questions that the students bring with them to class. In the more private home settings, parents/teachers speak Kiowa with their children to the greatest extent possible, including giving commands, teaching and learning new vocabulary words, and even telling about one's day. As with any oral teaching efforts, the forms most commonly heard are first person and second person forms, command forms and statement forms. While the majority of these classes exhibit Kiowa ensconced in a framework of English, and none of these classes in and of themselves are likely to produce fluent speakers, the nature of the methods of teaching have their effects on the form that the language takes today.

Electronic Media (Facebook) Kiowa has a demonstrated and ubiquitous presence on Facebook, as I found when I researched posts on the "Kiowa People Family News" Facebook group page. People from all living generations participate on this page, and nearly all of them word-drop at least occasionally, if not frequently, even at least to throw in an *à:hô* (often spelled ah-ho or aho – few use diacritics on Facebook, even though it is possible). The most obvious reason they do so is to reach out to the Kiowa community in a personal way, as this is the purpose of the page, and again, to solidify their identity as Kiowa people. What is very interesting about the posts on Facebook is that linguistic creativity is appreciated and even encouraged. Spelling is not usually commented upon. Usage on Facebook solidifies the assertion that prayer is the most common usage of Kiowa language today, as the most complete and thorough usage of Kiowa is usually prayers.

3.5.2. Private Speech

Although some would contend otherwise, Kiowa is still used for private speech. One participant indicated that he heard it weekly, and on some special occasions, even daily. There are many genres of private speech, which I define as being between just a few people, with a minimum of one (private prayer) or more commonly two (conversation) and a maximum of six (small group meetings). The language use heard during my group meetings counts as private speech.

Interpersonal Conversation The most common mode of Kiowa use heard in interpersonal conversation is still phrasal usage according to most reports, although with some speakers it counts as code-switching since it is frequent enough. I have heard of very few conversations conducted completely in Kiowa, with the exception of some of those held between Dane and his grandmother, or on the phone between Dane and Mrs. Dorothy DeLaune. As mentioned previously, evidently the frequency of interpersonal conversation in Kiowa is much higher than I have witnessed, so I must still consider this to be an important domain of Kiowa usage.

Prayer Documenting the usage of Kiowa in private prayer is very difficult, as it is based purely on self-reporting. Although it is not widespread, the ideology of the sanctity of the Kiowa language exists for some. The belief that it is dear to the Lord motivates some people to use Kiowa in prayer as frequently and to the greatest extent possible, I have been told. Some people are intent on learning Kiowa at least for this purpose, although it then serves the dual purpose of perhaps eventually being able to pray in Kiowa in public, which has other benefits as well. Prayer usually involves addressing the Lord directly, which means frequent use of the second person, as well as

first person singular and plural forms. The word "to pray" is itself a reflexive verb, as are *sáugà* 'to sit down' and *hâ* 'to stand up,' so this helps solidify the reflexive pronominal forms in the popular parlance, as we will see in Chapter 4.

<u>Phrase Dropping and Word Dropping in Coversation</u> This is the most common mode of Kiowa speech overall, and it is heard not only in conversations between relatively fluent elders (G2), but is also used by partial speakers and language learners from all generations, and even occasionally by passive speakers in Generations III and IV. Amongst the more fluent elders one might surmise it to be code-switching, yet in this case I am not talking about something as frequent as that. This 'word dropping' has the same primary function of that it did in public, solidifying one's Kiowa identity and emphasizing one's heritage, although in this case it can also be a way of establishing rapport or expressing one's in-group belonging and cultural understandings. It can also raise one's social capital or show one's family values.

<u>Jokes</u> Many Kiowa people use Kiowa in joking, even if they just use it phrasally. Sometimes the fun is in an inside joke, meant only to be understood by those who understand Kiowa, and sometimes the jokes are meant for more ears. Some jokes make use of synonyms or homonyms, or of body parts (such as the words for 'eight' and 'armpit', which differ only in tone) and are thus not for mixed company. Examples of jokes that are meant for multiple ears can be as simple as a single word, such *Bègáu!* which has been variously translated as 'Oh, you again!' (or 'him again') or 'What do you want now?' or 'You're just too much!' or *Màubé!*, the word for stupid or silly. Other common silly one-word expressions include 'Buh!' and 'Aye' (pronounced *é:*) which are very common in the Kiowa community, especially amongst G3 partial

speakers, but which likely do not have Kiowa origins, as 'aye' is almost certainly Pan-Indian, even being evidenced as far off as the Northern Plains and Canada (Alberts 1998), and 'buh' involves a non-Kiowa vowel.

Electronic Media (Text Messages) Speaking Kiowa is cool (and useful), and texting is cool (and useful), so what is more fun than combining the two? I know of at least 5 people amongst the younger generation (and I might add myself to that list and call it "participant observation") who often use Kiowa in their text messages to each other. Admittedly, it is not easy to use diacritics on your phone, and some don't, but a determined user can text perfect Kiowa (even Old Kiowa) if they so choose, although Modern Kiowa is likely more frequent (I do not have statistics to support this, but I know personally a number of people who use Modern Kiowa and alternate spelling systems). This is, to my mind, clear evidence that Kiowa can be used in any media, and that it is moving on in the digital age (bit by bit).

3.6. Summary of Ethnographic Situation

There are a few important points that I wish to emphasize and that I want the reader to take home from this chapter. The first and most important in my mind is that although the Kiowa language has been extremely endangered and still has its challenges in making a comeback, its prospects are looking up. Old Kiowa may be gone, but Modern Kiowa is hanging on, and fulfills its purposes and may come to fulfill many more. The reasons for this encouraging prognosis are multiple. The intense interest, motivation, and hard work on the part of some key individuals may prove the driving force to revitalize the language, in one form or another, or perhaps in a new, syncretic form that

is still developing. This will be discussed further in the coming chapters. A number of language ideologies have been changing, and people are more understanding of the challenges language learners face and more open to the changes that the language has been undergoing and will need to continue to undergo for it to become a fully functional language again in the community (which some, even many, desire). There is also intense interest within the community for the maintenance and "preservation" of the Kiowa language, although some recognize that "preservation" is for museums; past documentation is imminently useful, but in order for Kiowa to persist, it will need to grow and this means change. I hope that this dissertation will help people recognize that although changes have already taken place, the road ahead has multiple possibilities.

Upon this follows the idea with which I began this dissertation: "Kiowa is not a dying language." Kiowa is a changing language, and languages that can adapt are alive and may hopefully survive, if properly nurtured. Although Kiowa has faced multiple challenges in its history, both those that are similar to and those that are different from the situation of other Native American languages, it has survived, and now has a new form and is used for specific purposes. This can still be expanded upon.

Finally, I suggest that the state of the Kiowa language as it is spoken today directly relates to the changes that have taken place in its structures, which are in turn related to the domains in which and the purposes for which it is spoken. Here I have outlined in detail the "where" and "what for" of Kiowa usage, and in the following chapters I will extrapolate upon the "how" and explain how these are related. In the final analysis I will discuss how I hope this information will be useful in moving forward with revitalization efforts.

4. Structural Kiowa Language Change:

Pronominals

The Kiowa system of pronominal clitics has long been known to be extensive. Merrifield describes the system as both complex and "intricate" (Merrifield 1959a:168). This system is one of the most likely candidates for change, particularly reduction, due to the fact that simplification of complex, nearly subconscious systems is a common facet of language attrition and change (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). It is also very different from English, most speakers' dominant language, particularly in the portmanteau morphemes that signal both agent and patient in transitives and ditransitives, and even some older speakers may simplify the transitive system. [12] While reduction may indicate simplification on a surface level, as posited by theories of language obsolescence, on another level it may result in puzzles that need to be solved contextually (Schmid 2002, Campbell and Muntzel 1989). Categorical leveling, or 'collapsing of categories' as Watkins terms it, is demonstrated in Old Kiowa but increases in Modern Kiowa, as I demonstrate in this chapter. Changes in the Kiowa pronominal system appear to be systematic as opposed to idiosyncratic, and the

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[12] It is an interesting question to what degree the pronominal system is subconscious. For example, while some older, more fluent speakers seem easily manipulate the inclusive/exclusive distinction in first person plural, this is not true across the board, and younger speakers, unless educated in classes, do not seem to have acquired these forms. The inclusive/exclusive function is indexical, and as Silverstein (1977) indicates, such structures are only sometimes available for metalinguistic awareness on the part of speakers. In classes such metalinguistic discourse is utilized to facilitate acquisition of the system, but even in the most reflexive speakers I have not heard a solid explanation as to why *è* (first person exclusive) would be used instead of *bà* (first person inclusive).

examples in this chapter illustrate that many speakers are using similar structures.[13] But

before describing how pronominals are used in Modern Kiowa, let me first give an

introduction to the Old Kiowa pronominal system. This will give us a basis for

comparison and analysis of changes that have taken place.

4.1. Basic Kiowa Sentence Structure

Before discussing Kiowa pronominals, let us first consider basic Old Kiowa sentence

structure, as described by Watkins (1984) and as taught at the University of Oklahoma

during the years from inception to at least 2013. As can be seen in Example 1. below,

the only necessary element in a sentence is the verb, including its pronominal prefix.

Kiowa also possesses a zero-morpheme form, for third person singular intransitives and

third person singular agent / third person singular patient transitive forms.

(1) Minimal Old Kiowa (O.K.) sentence – intransitive, 1st person singular
    Àtáuhêmà.
    À-táuhêmà
    1SG-hungry-STAT
    He/she is hungry.

(2) Minimal Old Kiowa (O.K.) sentence – intransitive, 3rd person singular
    Tó̜hêmà.
    Ø-tóhêmà
    3SG-thirsty-STAT
    He/she is thirsty.

(3a) Minimal Old Kiowa (O.K.) Based on OU teaching
                             – transitive, 3rd person singular -> 3rd person singular
    Báò chégùn á:lé.
    Báò   *chégùn*   *Ø-á:lé.*
    cat   dog   3SGA/2SGP-chase-PERF
    The dog chased the cat.

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[13] This is not to say that I completely rule out the idiosyncratic in my analyses, as they may give
indications of potential trends of change in the system and what is socially acceptable in speech,
and not adversely affect perceptions of linguistic competence.

(3b) Minimal Old Kiowa (O.K.) Based on Watkins (1984)

                         – transitive, 3rd person singular -> 3rd person singular

Chégùn báò á:lé.
chégùn   *báò*   *Ø-á:lé.*
dog   cat   3SGA/2SGP-chase-PERF
The dog chased the cat.

As can be seen in (3a) and (3b), optional elements include the noun(s), either object or patient first followed by agent, or agent first followed by patient and object[14]; adverbs, which are sentence initial or may follow the pronominal, being incorporated into the verb. As Watkins notes, during discourse nouns are frequently left out of the sentence after being referred to the first time. (ibid.) Conversations with Palmer and other Elder speakers, as well as Old Kiowa data that I have transcribed, indicate that word order was relatively flexible in Old Kiowa, as will be illustrated in Chapter 5.

Verbal inflection for tense is demonstrated by suffixes that are attached to the verb, while mode and affix may be either suffixes, prefixes, or stand-alone words found sentence-initially. See Figure 4.1. below for the complete sentence template based on Watkins 1984 and Figure 4.2. as based on the University of Oklahoma teaching program as taught by Dr. Gus Palmer, Jr. and Mrs. Carole Willis, both of whom have retired from teaching the class.

Figure 4.1. Old Kiowa Sentence Structure Based on Watkins (1984)

       (Adverb) (Agent) (Patient) (Object) Verb

Figure 4.2. Old Kiowa Sentence Structure Based on University of Oklahoma Teaching

       (Adverb) (Object) (Patient) (Agent) Verb

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[14] Admittedly, there are many other semantic roles that could stand in the "object" position besides patient. As a general rule, locations and themes are sentence initial, while instruments are often incorporated into the verb.

4.1.1. Pronominals: Prefixes or Clitics

The pronominal encodes person and number for the agent, the patient (if applicable) and the object (which is always third person) for number. As mentioned earlier, Watkins considered them to be prefixes in Old Kiowa, but Harbour analyzed them as clitics and increasingly speakers and teachers consider them separate words. This evolution is one of the primary differences between Old Kiowa and Modern Kiowa, and provides evidence for the argument that Kiowa is becoming less polysynthetic and more analytic. For this reason it is important that I introduce this topic here and present both Watkins' and Harbour's analyses, as well as Palmer's view as expressed through his teaching.

Watkins' Analysis: Prefixes. Watkins (1984) identifies the pronominals as prefixes, using a a type of 'analysis of position.' Her verb template (seen below in Figure 4.3.) illustrates that the pronominal is the first necessary element in her verb template or verb phrase (VP). The status of the pronominals as being able to fulfill arguments for the verb in fact render the inclusion of NP's unnecessary, as can be seen in Example 2 above.

Figure 4.3. Old Kiowa Verb Strucure Based on Watkins (1984)

(Adv)-PronCl-(N)-(AdvPrx)-VStem-⎧Inflect⎫ -(Synt)
⎩Modal ⎭

Watkins also provides an indepth analysis of internal prefix structure, illustrating how the surface forms are created from underlying morphemes indicating 1) person, 2) person number, 3) object, and 4) object number. These segmental morphemes are then derived via phonological rules. She gives the basic underlying prefix structure as follows:

Figure 4.4. Old Kiowa underlying prefix structure posited by Watkins (1984)

1		2		3		4
Person	-	Person number	-	Object	-	Object Number
C		V		V		C

I will not repeat Watkins' discussion here in its entirety, for the sake of brevity, as it is quite an involved argument. I will, however, note that when she considers the history of the pronominal prefixes, she considers the possibility that they had developed from larger segments that then joined into smaller ones, as has been documented in various language families. But then she considers that the the Tanoan prefixes seem to be "fused" in the same manner as the Kiowa ones (1984:127), so positing such a development becomes too much of a stretch.

Harbour's Analysis. In contrast to Watkins' practice, Harbour (2004), however, has shown the pronominals his collaborators use to be clitics. Clictics are more loosely attached to the verb, and as such, I propose, indicate a movement towards Kiowa becoming more analytic (i.e. less polysynthetic) in morphosyntactic structure (although due to the many portmanteau morphemes Kiowa would thus be technically more inflectional, just moving towards more isolating on the scale). Pronominals as spoken by more recent fluent speakers seem best analyzed as clitics, although when speakers teach, they invariably consider them to be separate words. Harbour gives five reasons why they must be clitics, with an analysis that is primarily phonologically based, and could be considered the most standard evidence for clitics.[15] In the following I reiterate Harbour's analysis, as I believe it to be important to the overall argument of a lessening

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[15] One example would be the English *not*, which is a word that could possibly carry stress, from the enclitic *n't*, which cannot be stressed.

degree of polysynthesis, supporting the linguistic practice I have seen in the field of pronominals being seen as separate from (yet not necessarily completely independent of) the verb.

1) Word-Final Devoicing. Consonants are devoiced at the ends of words, without aspiration. Compare Example 3a) with 3b) below, in which the alveolar stop in coda position seen in 3b) has been dropped and replaced by lengthening the vowel in 3a). This takes place in other contexts as well, such as in Example 4a) 4b), 4c), and 4d).

3a)   *bédê*
        2DUA>1SGP>3SGO

3b)   *bé:t*
        2DU.INTR

4a)   *gút*
        write.PERF

4b)   *Gàt gút.*
        gàt=gút
        3SG>PLO=write.PERF
        'I wrote things.'

4c)   *gú:dâu*
        write-NEG
        'did not write'

4d)   *gú:-jàu:*
        write-FUT
        'will write'

2) Word-Internal Cluster Devoicing. The next argument Harbour gives is also phonological. Because of the phonological rule of Word-internal Cluster Devoicing, an analysis of the pronominals as prefixes would result in devoicing of the onset in initial verb syllables following a pronominal prefix with a consonant in coda position as seen in (5a) and (5b) below:

5a)   *Gyàt=gút*
      **gyàt=kút*
      1sgA>plO=write.perf
      'I wrote things'

5b)   *gút-ká*
      *gútgyá
      write-NOM
      'written'

3) Tonal Effects: Internal H-Tone Spread. The next phonological reason that Harbour gives is related to tonal sandhi versus word-internal tonal spread features. Watkins discusses tonal spread between syllables – notably, between pronominals and verbs. Her morphological analysis of the internal structure of prefixes involves tones that are transferred onto the verb stems that follow. But this does not seem to be the case more recent fluent speakers. Let us discuss Harbour's argument. As can be seen in Examples 6a), 6b), and 6c), Harbour's speakers did not exhibit high tone spread between pronominals and verb stems, but did have high tone spread between syllables within the same word.

6a)   *á=dè̠:+qáu*
      3PL.INTR=sleep+lie.down
      'they lie asleep'

6b)   *kí:sáu*
      afternoon

6c)   *kí:sáu+dé̠:+qáu*
      afternoon+sleep+lie.down
      'sleep in the afternoon'

4) Glottal Stop insertion with V-codas.

7a)   *jé-kìdà'-fa*
      all-day-LOC
      'everyday'

7b)   *gà=pàu:+bau*
        1SGA>SGO=buy+bring
        'I bought it.'

5) Prosodic Analysis. Harbour's final argument is relatively simple, and relies on prosodical observations. A prosodic analyses, based on pausing and emphasis, indicates that speakers today do not treat them as prefixes, but as something more loosely connected to the word. These have also been my general observations of linguistic practice of speakers I have heard, although the reason I follow Harbour's analysis here is that I was not specifically looking at Kiowa pronominals phonologically. Below I give some of the morphological arguments why pronominals should be considered to be clitics as opposed to prefixes.

Morphological Analysis. There are two other reasons why the pronominals may be considered clitics. The first is the existence of 'stand-alone' forms that can could be considered free-standing pronouns (Watkins 1984:101). These are used primarily for possession, but also for emphasis. The stand-alone pronouns are used in Old Kiowa only to indicate possession, specifically kindship terms, replacing or even in addition to the set of possessive pronominals (which will be discussed below). Body parts in Old Kiowa are signaled using the possessive pronominal set. These can be seen in Examples 8) and 9) below, drawn from Palmer (2003). The use of Kiowa pronouns for emphasis is frequent today, but was more rare in Old Kiowa. Since I did not focus on possessive pronominals in my study, I mention this only in passing.

8)   *Á í:tà tǫ́:hê̱ma.*
        á   *í:tà*   *Ø=tǫ́:hê̱ma*
        2SG.POSS   daughter   3SG.INTR=thirsty-STAT
        'Your daughter is thirsty.'

9) *Náu jáu é̱ dàu.*
   náu   jáu   é̱   dàu
   1SG.Poss   father 1SGPOSS>3SGP   be
   'He is my father.'

Another morphological/phonological reason that pronominals may well be considered clitics is that adverbial prefixes can be inserted between the pronominal and the verb. While some adverbs are found standing independently in sentence-initial position, others are bound to the root. Pronominal prefixes do not seem to affect the tone of these adverbials, either.

Palmer's Transitory Analysis. Gus Palmer, Jr., a native Kiowa speaker as well as a Kiowa teacher and linguistic anthropologist, seems to give an indication of the possible 'grey areas' of this distinction, and I will outline these below. As a fluent Kiowa speaker and a Kiowa person himself, Gus Palmer, Jr. has strong intuitions about the language, in addition to expertise. He worked closely with Parker McKenzie, a self-taught linguist (as did Watkins) to understand the ins and outs of Kiowa grammar. In his teaching materials, he often refers to the pronominals as prefixes. In fact, some of the earlier teaching materials were developed in conjunction with Watkins, and some of the materials come from things he shared with Parker McKenzie or with other members of the community with whom he is close. In the representation of the pronominals in these materials, however, he usually separates them from the verb by a space, which hints at their possible nature as clitics. It is true that I have, in fact, noticed other speakers and teachers, when they write, doing this as well. Although this may be due to convenience when teaching students accustomed to English syntax, this can be seen in materials dating back to earlier Kiowa native speaker documentation. When speaking, it is clear that he too, like other speakers I have observed, can pause or emphasize the

pronominal prosodically – not with pitch, but with volume, for example. Thus Palmer seems to present a 'midway' view.

Conclusion: Pronominals Becoming Increasingly More Independent. Following these criteria, as well and the intuitions of speakers from the community, it seems logical to conclude that Kiowa pronominals are indeed somewhat less closely connected to the verb, and are thus clitics. Additionally, this analysis seems to challenge the assumption that clitics cannot form arguments of the verb, which may be an interesting contribution to the discussion on the topic of clitics, or it might be evidence of the result of contact with English, speakers' intuitions of them as separate words, and the movement towards a more analytic language. Since Harbour's research is more recent, and he worked primarily with speakers living today, thus from Generation III, we may consider that this to be a characteristic of Modern Kiowa (or perhaps a sign of the transition to Modern Kiowa), and constitutes a phonological and morphological change from Old Kiowa, where they were clearly prefixes. The speakers I have worked with exhibit the phonological correspondences Harbour mentions as well. I do not, however, focus on phonological analyses in this dissertation, so we will leave this analysis as it stands, and turn instead to my morphological discussion in the sections that follow.

For ease of reference, we shall henceforth term them 'pronominals.' Use of this term is also standard practice in the Kiowa classes at the University of Oklahoma, which are based on Watkins' work, MacKenzie's documentation, Palmer's work, and recently, on Poolaw's research and experience. One reason for calling them 'pronominals' is that, as discussed above, today's speakers often analyze them as separate words, in which case they would be properly termed 'pronouns.' But their

position as relatively fixed closely preceding the verb and thus still connected to the verb renders this linguistically unadvisable at this point in time, and we will consider them clitics in Modern Kiowa following Harbour's analysis. This may change as Modern Kiowa continues to develop, as will be discussed below, but calling them simply pronominals will suffice for the purposes of this study. In my Old Kiowa transcriptions, I will treat them as prefixes. In my Modern Kiowa transcriptions, I consider them clitics, but transcribe them as separate words following the intuitions of the speakers.

4.1.2. Noun Classes and Pronominal Agreement as Verbal Agreement

Since pronominals are the primary <u>inflectional</u> markers indicating not only the arguments of the verb but also the type of verb (intransitive, transitive, reflexive, etc.) it is vital to here discuss briefly their relationship to the <u>nouns</u>, the subjects and objects, of the sentence. These will be treated in more detail in Chapter 5, but I will give a brief overview here to explain some terms and concepts commonly used in Kiowa literature. There are four <u>classes</u> for Kiowa nouns, which are signaled in how they use the "inverse" form (used in the Kiowa literature for the inflected (marked) noun form, and also encoded in the pronominal form) for plural formation.:

- Class I takes the basic form for singular and dual number (as opposed to the inverse form, marked by a suffix, as will be discussed in Chapter 5)
- Class II takes the basic for for dual and inverse, and the marked form for singular

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- Class III takes the basic form for dual, and the inflected form for singular and inverse;
- Class IV takes the basic form for all number markings.

Note that the basic forms of verbs (stems) in Kiowa are perfective, i.e. completed action. All other inflection and derivation is marked by suffixes. Some verbs are number-sensitive, and different forms are then used for the singular and dual, and another for the plural. As will be seen below, the inverse marking for number is important in the pronominal system.

Table 4.1. Noun Classes in Kiowa – Brief Overview

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV
Basic Form	singular, dual	dual, plural	dual	all
Examples	*báò*	*á*	*á:làu*	*tháp*, áutháuth<u>á</u>i
	1 cat, 2 cats	2 trees or sticks 3 trees or sticks	2 apples or plums, 2 fruit	deer, salt
Inverse Form (inflected)	plurals	singular	singular, plural	none
	báògàu	á:dàu	á:làugàu	----
	cats	tree, stick	1 apple, piece of fruit 3 apples or fruit	----

Although as Watkins notes, it is not always simple to determine to which set a noun might belong, there are a few general guidelines.

- Class I: Most animate nouns, with a few exceptions. Some items that Western understandings would be considered inanimate belong to Class I because of cultural understandings and mythology.
- Class II: Most inanimate and manmade objects, also with a few exceptions. Most body parts usually belong either Class II or Class III.

- Class III: A small class, sort of an "other" class, but many members could be classified as "round things." Some body parts.

- Class IV: many members could be classified as mass nouns. Has three subsets which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2. Introduction to Old Kiowa Pronominal System

The Old Kiowa pronominal system has are five standard sets and two alternate sets of pronominals categorized primarily by the valency of the verb with which they are used: 1) intransitive, both active and stative; 2) a special set best described as 'cognitive'; 3) reflexive; 4) transitive, with distinctive subsets based on the personhood (and to some extent, animacy) of the Patient or Object; 5) ditranstive[16] (with a valency of 3); 6) a previously undescribed set, to be discussed below; and 7) a set determined not by verb, but by possession. Choice of pronominals within each set depends on the participants that are involved. For the intransitive verbs, and the cognitive[17] verbs (and in some cases, the 'ususual' subset), valence equals one; i.e., there is only one participant involved. For the transitive set, there are two participants involved, and for the ditransitive subset, three participants are involved. The set for possession is unusual in that the valence of the verb is often one, but in actuality there are two participants involved: the Subject (be it Agent, Patient, or even Object) and the possessor. I do not address this subset in this study, as I focus on the more commonly used sets: the

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[16] This is the term used by Watkins and in the Kiowa classes at OU.
[17] Watkins uses "dative" for the set that indicates both "cognitive" verbs such as háigà 'know,' máu:gáu 'to be proficient at (something),' and gú 'to have good sense, be wise,' and for possession. This is because the sets overlap in a systematic way. Here, however, for the sake of clarity, I here speak of the cognitive verbs as their own set, and treat the set of pronominals that have to do with possession as a separate set. This is a practice that some of the language teachers at the University of Oklahoma have adopted as well.

intransitive, transitive, and the cognitive set. The complete Old Kiowa pronominal system can be seen in the charts corresponding to the different sets in Appendix A.

For each set, person, number, role, and to a certain extent, animacy are distinguished with a few important additions to the expected divisions. There is an inclusive/exclusive distinction, based on whether or not the listener is included, although it is not identified throughout all of the sets. Another notable division is number into singular/dual/plural[18] (3 or more), which carries through the noun class and plural marking on nouns as well. Table 5.2. below shows the intransitive set of pronominals, which work with verbs that are either active or stative. In these cases, the

Table 4.2. Intransitive Pronoun Set

	1st		2nd		3rd	
	Engl	*Kiowa*	*English*	*Kiowa*	*English*	*Kiowa*
Sg	I	**à**	you	**èm**	he/she/it	**ø**
Dual (du)	we two (excl)	**è**	you two	**mà**	they two	**è̱**
	we two (incl)	**bà**				
Plural (pl)	we all (excl)	**è**	you all	**bà**	they all (Kiowas)	**á**
	we all (incl)	**bà**				
Inverse (inv)	they all / it (others; animals; things)					**è**
Inanimate things						
Plural (pl)	they / it (it = innumerative or unspecified for number)					**gà**

subject is almost always an agent. In some cases, the subject of a sentence with an intransitive verb may be a patient, but in these cases, the role is usually that of an experiencer and is associated with different set of pronominals is used (what I call the

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[18] Plural is called "triplural" in much Kiowa literature, particularly teaching materials, to distinguish it from English plurals which encode only singular and more than one.

'cognitive' set – see Appendix A). With other intransitive verbs, the set used is the

'possessive' set, because two participants are involved, although one is the subject and

the other, the possessor (see Appendix A).

Table 4.3. shows the transitive pronominal set for verbs involving an agent an a

3rd person object (usually either inanimate or animal). An example of this pronominal

set can be found in Example 2 above (here labeled 10a), and (10b) below.

10a) *Chégùn nèn á:lè.*
      chégùn   nèn-á:lè
      dog   1SGA>DUO.TRANS-chase.PERF
      'I chased the two dogs.'

10b) *Á:dàu è têm.*
      á:dàu   è   têm
      stick-INV   1sgA>invO   break-perf
      'I broke the stick.'

Table 4.3. Transitive Pronominals: A>P

	Sg			Dual				Plural			
Subject ⇒	*1st* **I**	*2nd* **you**	*3rd* **he, she**	*1st **we** (-u)*	*1st* **we (+u)**	*2nd* you 2	*3rd* they 2	*1st **we** (-u)*	*1st* we all	*2nd* you all	*3rd* they all
Acting on: ⇓				*excl*	*incl*			*excl*	*incl*		
Obj											
Sg	**gà**	**à**	Ø	**é**	**bá**	**má**	**é**	**é**	**bá**	**bá**	**é**
Dual	**nèn**	**mèn**	**è̠**	**èt**	**bèt**	**mén**	**èt**	**èt**	**bèt**	**bèt**	**èt**
Pl	**gàt**	**bàt**	**gà**	**ét**	**bát**	**mán**	**ét**	**ét**	**bát**	**bát**	**ét**
Inv	**dé**	**bé**	**é**	**ét**	**bét**	**mén**	**ét**	**ét**	**bét**	**bét**	**ét**
3pl.animate	**bè**	**èm**		**ét**	**bé**	**mé**	**ét**	**ét**	**bé**	**bé**	**ét**

With all of these distinctions combining into single forms for each specific

situation, this system potentially results in 274 separate forms. There is, however,

considerable homophony in the forms across sets, partially due to phonological rules in

the form of the pronominals (see Watkins 1984 for a complete analysis of the

'micromorphemes' and the associated phonological rules that result in the surface forms

of each pronominal). The reduced number of forms is also due to some collapsed

categories (such as person number that in some sets does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive, even in Old Kiowa) resulting in 62 different surface forms. An additional factor is a cognitive focus on the roles of Agent in transitive and some ditransitive forms, and of Patient in the genitive, dative, and many ditransitive forms. Looking purely at surface forms and ignoring collapsed categories, there are only 7 forms with just one referential meaning.[19] The high degree of homophony can also be explained following Watkins' identification of single-phoneme morphemes that can be combined to specify each meaning, along with phonological rules of phoneme deletion and truncation (Watkins 1984). [20]

Speakers of Kiowa treat these pronominal clitics as separate words so I will not be dealing with these historically posited[21] individual single-phoneme morphemes, but will treat the fused surface forms as morphemes of their own. This sense of pronominals as separate words may also be a result of contact with English, a more analytic language, and may also indicate language change. Since Harbour's work is more recent thant Watkins, and his younger collaborators treated pronominals as clitics phonologically and prosodically, the documentation supports this theory. My research,

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[19] Following Watkins' enumeration, which includes all collapsed categories, there are 42 forms denoting the focus of a specific situation. This is because she considers, for example, the focus of a genitive construction to be the patient, and the focus of a ditransitive construction to be a patient, and so regardless of the number of the object, the form would be considered to have the same meaning. While this is efficient linguistically, perceptually speaking for speakers and learners, it is just too condensed to be useful in enumerating unique forms. Even so, 20 out of 62 surface forms denoting more than one referential meaning still results in a very high degree of homophones (roughly one-third).

[20] Although there are still some unexplained elements in her final analysis, the focus of this dissertation does not require further explication of these processes, thus here is not the place to discuss them.

[21] As Watkins notes, although the development of agreement prefixes has been followed in many different language families, none of the members of the Kiowa-Tanoan family give concrete evidence that these single-phoneme morphemes ever actually were present independently in any of these languages. They all exhibit the same degree of fusion.

as shown below, moves this theory even further, and provides further support for Dixon's argument that languages change along a cycle, and may gradually move from polysynthetic to analytic over time (1989). Of course, the role of change in this process for Kiowa is key, and so cannot prove his theory.

4.3. Modern Kiowa Pronominal Usage

In describing Modern Kiowa pronominal usage, I focus on the forms that are being used most frequently by the living generations today. The Modern Kiowa usage of pronominals does not properly fit the definition of a concrete 'system' as of yet, as at this point in time there is still too much variation amongst speakers to speak of a cohesive practice of pronominal usage. Still, there are consistent patterns to be seen amongst speakers, particularly those who share social connections such as a teacher/learner relationship or membership in a cultural organization, as will be discussed below. After describing the patterns that can be found, I will then compare Modern Kiowa with Old Kiowa forms, and discuss which changes are taking place. But first let me mention the role that vocabulary plays in the selection of pronominal forms, as whether a verb is stative or reflexive makes a difference in which pronominal set is used. Knowledge of or loss of these vocabularly words gives vital background information into the nature of Modern Kiowa.

4.3.1. Intransitives and Reflexives Vocabulary

In order to make the elicitations most accessible to all generations of speakers, items focus on some of the most commonly heard and used verbs. These include words used

in phrases that speakers may have heard from parents and grandparents as commands as children. Many of these verbs are intransitives with directly contrasting reflexive correlates: *á:gà* 'be sitting' and *sáu* 'sit down'; *dé* 'be standing' and *hâ* 'stand up,' and *qáu / qúl* 'be lying down and *mâu* 'lie down.

In some cases synonyms were used, when the speaker greatly preferred an alternate form. One example is *páu* 'stop/stand' as a synonym for either 'be standing' or 'stand up.' *Páu* is actually an intransitive active verb as opposed to the intransitive stative *dé* 'be standing' or the reflexive *hâ* 'stand up,' but Speaker 11 (Gen. II) consistently substituted it for both *dé* and *hâ*. The younger speakers, however, often did not have these synonyms readily at hand, and produced the verbs as expected, which is typical of second language learners. As will be seen below, many speakers requested that some sort of context be given in order to elicit the forms elicited, even though the items were framed as simply as possible. Perhaps they felt they were too simplistic, or just as likely, reductions and collapsed categories in the pronominal system required that additional context be given in order for them to supply the forms as they understood them, as we will see in section 4.4 below.

The majority of the verbs elicited were readily available to most speakers. If a speaker was uncertain of the verb vocabulary, the form was provided to see if they recognized it. If recognized, it was generally categorized as expected, especially by G2 speakers, illustrating that the verb categories of intransitive and reflexive are still relatively salient. This was not always so for G3 and G4 speakers, depending to some extent on the commonality of the verb and its frequency of usage in today's domains of

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Kiowa speech. But compared to retention of verb vocabulary, it is the retention of pronominal forms in which the most variation is found.

4.3.2. Modern Kiowa Pronominal Patterns: Less Polysynthetic, More Isolating

For some older Kiowa speakers (G2) many forms may remain very similar to Old Kiowa forms. Speakers who are Kiowa teachers at the University of Oklahoma as a general rule exhibit all Old Kiowa forms, as they have studied and teach Old Kiowa. The remaining forms from speakers from G2, G3, and G4 who are either rusty speakers, are primarily self-taught in natural contexts, and/or have learned through community classes, are most telling about what is different from Old Kiowa in the basic parts of the Kiowa pronominal system. They may reproduce some Old Kiowa forms, but may overextend them. In this section I address the most systematic patterns of Modern Kiowa pronominal usage, beginning with the predominance of second person and imperatives.

Predominance of Second Person and Imperatives The most common pronominals used in a systematic way by speakers of Modern Kiowa today is the second person singular and second person plural. These forms, commonly found in commands used when addressing children or students, are mandatory in Kiowa, as opposed to English where the pronoun is understood and thus absent in the surface form. Second person forms in Modern Kiowa are the same in both imperative and statement context, and often very similar to Old Kiowa forms. The imperative form of the verbs elicited took precedence over statements for second person, perhaps because of the common speaker/learner context, but also because in some contexts the statement

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seemed awkward, as in "Why would I need to tell you that you are lying down?" This was circumvented by giving extra contextual information, such as a situation in which the person addressed is confused or has been unconscious, which caused some hilarity but did produce the forms requested. One example can be found in (11) below. The speaker follows Old Kiowa sentence structure, so I will not reproduce it for comparison here.

(11)   Speaker 25 (G2)
        Máu èm dé.
        máu   *èm*   *dé*
        probably   2SGA.INTR   stand.STAT
        'It looks like you are standing.'

Some speakers do not distinguish between the imperative and perfective forms, but will produce the imperative form in statements as well and may specifically state that these forms are one and the same. One specific example is *sáugà* 'sit down.' The imperative form *sáu* was produced for all sentences elicited by nearly all speakers from G2, G3, and G4, except those who have made an intensive study of Old Kiowa. One Elder (Speaker 11) bypassed this issue by providing the future tense forms as can be seen in example (12), which is the same format as Old Kiowa for future tense. When asked to produce second person forms, she produced only the imperative forms, even if requested to produce a statement, as in (13) below. The Old Kiowa forms are given in (13b) as elicited 'You two sit down' and (13c), the imperative, to compare with (13a) as Speaker 11 gave it.

(12)   Speaker 11 (G2)
        Dè sáu:jàu.
        dè   *sáu-jàu*
        1SGA.REFL   sit.down-FUT
        'I will sit down.'

(13a)   Speaker 11 (G2)
      Mé sàu:.
      mé   *sàu:*
      2DUA.REFL   sit.down.PERF.M.K.
      'You two sat down.' (elicited)

(13b)   Old Kiowa (as elicited)
      Mésàu:gà.
      mé-sàu:gà
      2DUA.REFL-sit.down.PERF
      You two sat down.

(13c)   Old Kiowa (compare to utterance produced in 13a)
      Mé sàu:.
      mé-sàu:
      2DUA.REFL-sit.down.IMP
      '(You two) Sit down.'

University educated speakers produced second person forms very similar to Old Kiowa, and some Elder speakers produced these forms as well, albeit sometimes inconsistently. Imperatives, however, permeate the utterences elicited for second person pronominals in the speech of G2 speakers. In example (14a), Speaker 9 (G2) gave a Modern Kiowa sentence that was almost identical to the Old Kiowa form, except for the imperative verbs *hébè* and *sáu:*. In her first iteration of this expression, she produced the form *mà* 'you two' (1DU/PLA.INCL.INTR & 2PLA.INTR), then corrected herself and produced the expression below in (14b), which is just like Old Kiowa except for the imperative verb form. In her first iteration she produced the second person dual for the second person plural, but she then revised to produce this sentence:

(14a)   Speaker 9 (G2)
      Mà hébè gàu bé sàu:.
      mà   *hébè*   *gàu*   *bé*   *sàu:*
      2DUA.INTR   enter.PERF.MK   CONJ   2PLA.REFL   sit.down.PERF.MK
      'You all entered and you all sat down.'

(14b) <u>Speaker 9 (G2)</u> (correction, Old Kiowa form, except for *sàu: and hébà*)
       Bà hébè gàu bé sàu:.
       bà   hébè   gàu   bé   sàu:
       2PLA.INTR   enter.PERF.MK   CONJ   2PLA.REFL   sit.down.PERF.MK
       'You all entered and you all sat down.'

When third person dual forms were elicited, she did produce the perfective forms of the

verbs. There was, however, a subtle yet significant difference from Old Kiowa in her

pronominals, though the reflexive form differed from Old Kiowa only in tone, which is

high in Old Kiowa. The intransitive pronominal she produced was not nasalized, which

made it resemble the form for first person dual/plural exclusive or third person plural

non-Kiowa (or non-human, as it is now considered in Modern Kiowa). The expected

Old Kiowa form for the elicited expression is (15b).

(15a) <u>Speaker 9 (G2)</u>
       É:gàu è hébà gàu èn sáu:gà.
       é:gàu è   hébà   gàu   èn   sáu:gà
       Here   3DUA.INTR.MK   enter.PERF   CONJ   3DUA.REFL   sit.down.PERF
       'They two entered here and they two sat down.'

(15b) <u>Old Kiowa</u>
       Èhébà gàu ènsáu:gà.
       èhébà   gàu   én-sáu:gà
       3DUA.INTR-enter.PERF   CONJ   3DUA.REFL-sit.down.PERF
       'They two entered and they two sat down.'

Examples (16) and (17) below provide evidence that some speakers of G4 are

making use of these same imperative forms for statements. For second person in

reflexives, in Old Kiowa singular and plural are distinguished purely by tone. Notice

that the tone on the verb is affected by tone sandhi and becomes a low tone *sàu.* This

speaker also assured me, when I asked, that there is no difference between the

imperative and the declarative (perfective) forms.

(16)   Speaker 34 (G4)
         Bè sáu:.
         bè   *sáu:*
         2SGA.REFL   sit.down.PERF/IMP.MK
         '(You) Sit down.' / 'You sat down.' (Modern Kiowa)

(17)   Speaker 34 (G4)
         Bé sàu:.
         bé   *sàu:*
         2PLA.REFL   sit.down.PERF/IMP.MK
         '(You all) Sit down.' / 'You all sat down.' (Modern Kiowa)

The *bè* versus *bé* contrast is an example often emphasized by language teachers and by Elders who are trying to make the point that "it's the way that you say it" that is important in speaking Kiowa. This is a common euphemism for tone amongst Kiowa Elders, along with "it's the way that you use it." This point has been driven home to the extent that one speaker from G3, who learned primarily from study with G2 speakers, actually uses the second person singular form for all singular reflexive agents, as can be seen in example (18a):

(18a)   Speaker 25 (G3)
         É:hàu náu bè sáu:.
         é:hàu   náu   bè   *sáu:*
         here   1SG   SGA.REFL.MK   sit.down.PERF.MK
         'Here is where I sat down.'
(18b)   Old Kiowa
         Dèsáu:gà.
         dè-sáu:gà
         1SG.REFL-sit.down.PERF
         'I sat down.'

Note that this speaker employs the stand-alone pronoun **náu** 'mine, me.EMPH' along with what he considers to be the singular reflexive pronominal in order to make clear that he is talking about himself. Although **náu** is primarily a possessive pronoun used with inalienable objects such as family members and body parts, it can also be used for

emphasis. Whether this is a long-standing practice or whether it began after Kiowa speakers came into contact with English and started becoming bilingual is inconclusive, as will be discussed below in the analysis section. It is certain that GI speakers used this form to some extent as it can be found translated as "I" on a language sampler cassette produced by Evalu Ware Russell, who was a well-known speaker, storyteller, and language teacher of Generation I.

<u>First Person Singular with Freestanding Pronoun</u> First person plurals are more commonly similar to Old Kiowa for G2 speakers. For learned than first person singular for partial speakers, although as can be seen above, they also exhibit some variability. As seen above in (18a), Speaker 25 uses second person singular reflexive pronominal *bé* to include first person singular reflexive, although in (19a) he produces the Old Kiowa first person intransitive pronominal <u>alongside</u> the freestanding pronoun '*náu*':

(19a)   <u>Speaker 25 (G3)</u>
         É:hàu nàu à <u>á</u>:gà.
         é:hàu   nàu   à   <u>á</u>:gà
         here   1SG   1SGA.INTR   sit.STAT
         'I am sitting.' (elicited) 'Here is where I'm sitting.' (gloss given by speaker)

(19b)   <u>Old Kiowa</u>
         À<u>á</u>:gà.
         à-<u>á</u>:gà
         1SGA.INTR-sit.STAT
         'I am sitting.'

He includes the first person singular pronoun as well as pronominal forms throughout the elicitation. Other partial speakers follow this convention as well, including Speaker 19 (G3, bordering on G2, who initially learned Kiowa as a first language but switched over early in life). She also uses the first person singular freestanding pronoun *náu* as a

person marker, and thus here in (20a) the pronominal form refers simply to number, i.e.,

it signals a singular agent.

(20a) <u>Speaker 19 (G3)</u>
Náu àl bè sáu:.

náu	*àl*	*bè*	*sáu:*
1SG	also	SGA.REFL.MK	sit.down.IMPF.MK

'I sat down.' (elicited) 'I sat down as well.' (as given by speaker)

(20b) <u>Old Kiowa</u>
Dè sáu:gà.
dè-sáu:gà
1SG.REFL-sit.down.PERF
'I sat down.'

Speaker 34 (G4) produces first person forms similar to Old Kiowa readily, as can be

seen in (21a) below. In example (22a), however, when a reflexive verb is used, he

produces a Modern Kiowa form similar to the Old Kiowa first person plural intransitive

pronominal *bà,* although it does have the high tone of the reflexive first person plural

bé.

(21a) <u>Speaker 34 (G4)</u>
Bá <u>á</u>:gà.

Bá	<u>*á*</u>*:gà.*
1DU/PLA.INCL.INTR.MK	sit.STAT

'We all are sitting.'

(21b) <u>Old Kiowa</u>

Bà<u>á</u>:gà.
Bà-<u>á</u>:gà.
1DU/PLA.INCL.INTR.MK-sit.STAT
'We all are sitting.'

Tonally he exhibits the same pattern in (22a) and (23a) and uses the intransitive

pronominal for a reflexive verb but with the high tone as expected for reflexive plural

pronominals. The expected Old Kiowa form for second dual reflexive (in 23b) is *mé.*

(22a)   Speaker 34
     Bá sàu:.
     Bá   *sàu:.*
     1PLA.INCL.REFL.MK   sit.down.IMPF/IMP.MK
     'We all sat down.'

(22b)   Old Kiowa
     Bé sàu:gà.
     Bé sàu:gà.
     1PLA.INCL.REFL   sit.down.IMPF
     'We all sat down.'

(23a)   Speaker 34 (G4)
     Má sàu.
     Má   *sàu.*
     2DUA.REFL.MK   sit.down.PERF/IMP.MK
     'You two sat down.'

(23b)   Old Kiowa
     Mé sàu:gà.
     Mé   *sàu:gà.*
     2DUA.REFL   sit.down.PERF
     'You two sat down.'

In (24), the same G4 speaker produces the Old Kiowa form for the second person dual intransitive, underscoring that it is in the reflexive forms (which are more cognitively salient, following the argument from Chapter 3) that more changes are taking place.

(24)   Speaker 34 (G4) (same as Old Kiowa form)
     Mà <u>á</u>:gà.
     mà   *<u>á</u>:gà*
     2DUA.INTR   sit.STAT
     'You two were sitting.'

Speaker 23 follows the same pattern as Speaker 34, using the first singular intransitive *á* with a reflexive verb, seen in (25a). Although this speaker was relatively reluctant to produce sentences with specific pronominal forms, and certainly not full paradigms, her phrasal and vocabulary recollection was more extensive. Her speech repertoire reflects

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her background with the language, as a child who was raised in the old 'traditional' ways (partially reared by Kiowa-speaking grandparents), and second person singular forms predominate. Interestingly, this reflexive verb DOES have the same form for both perfective and imperative in Old Kiowa.

(25a)   Speaker 23 (G3)
        À hâ.
        à   hâ
        1SGA.MK   stand.up.PERF
        'I stood up.'

(25b)   Old Kiowa
        Dè hâ.
        dè   hâ
        1SG.REFL   stand.up.PERF
        'I stood up.'

Another first person plural form that is commonly heard at social events and is therefore often similar to Old Kiowa is the first person plural transitive 'activity' form, which seems to act like an intransitive but is an underlying transitive and thus takes that form. These pronominals correspond to the subset of transitive pronominals similar in form to the subset of dative pronominals (i.e., the 'inanimate plural' form is used to signal a patient subject for a particular type of verb). I was alerted to this category by eliciting the forms for 'run' (bound root *-ái*, most common surface form *kófé:ài,* which seems to be lexicalized and is considered unanalyzable, i.e., not an incorporation or compound verb). While 'run' would seem to be an intransitive or reflexive verb, it did not take these forms. After eliciting the same entire paradigm from four different Kiowa speakers (two of whom use primarily Old Kiowa forms) I decided to pull these forms out as a subset of their own. The most commonly heard example is 'Let's eat':

(26)   Speaker 27 (G3)
        Bát fàu:.
        bát   *fàu:*
        1DU/PL.INCLA>ACTO.TRANS   eat.IMP
        'Let's eat.' (also: '(You all) Eat.')

This pronominal can also be analyzed as 1DU/PL.INCL.A>PLO.TRANS, which would indicate that something is being eaten, which is automatically implied with the verb *fáugà* 'eat.' I have labeled it a 'transitive activity' verb, however, following a discussion with a known Old Kiowa scholar about the discovery of this category, which also includes the verbs *máu:hòtjàu* 'get dressed' and *jǫ́:zànmà* 'be speaking' (Palmer Jr., personal communication, 4/5/12). Just as with Speakers 19 and 25 above, speakers from G3 and G4 also often use pronominals indicating person regardless of number with these verbs, as Speaker 27 does to indicate first person plural intransitive in (27a):

(27a)   Speaker 27 (G3)
        Bát á̱:gà.
        bát   *á̱:gà*
        1PL.INCLA.INTR.MK   sit.STAT
        'We all are sitting.'

(27b)   Old Kiowa
        Bàá̱:gà.
        bà-á̱:gà
        1PL.INCLA.INTR-sit.STAT
        'We all are sitting.'
(28)   Speaker 27 (G3)
        Bát á̱:gà.
        bát   *á̱:gà*
        2PL.A.INTR.MK   sit.STAT
        'You all are sitting.'

The idea of inclusive/exclusive is indeed the same, in both paradigms. The speaker illustrated his maintenance of this concept in (28).

I have given some indications of how these forms may have changed based on incorporation of the ethnographical data of speakers. In the next section I will address

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the mechanisms of change as found in the linguistic literature in more detail. I continue to include information on the speakers, however, as it can be relevant to determining whether a changed form might be due to language contact, imperfect learning, or possibly language attrition.

4.4. Mechanisms of Change

We have seen some of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in Modern Kiowa above. As anticipated, it would seem that the major strategy is simplification of the system, that actually results in new strategies needing to be invoked to specifically clarify a given situation. The term 'simplification' is somewhat misleading, as simplifying one grammatical aspect may result in complication of another part of the system, or create a need for pragmatic expansion or further explanation in context. But since seeming simplification of the system is a quite common strategy, I will address the mechanisms that fall under this umbrella term singly below.

There are also specific sociolinguistic reasons, partly connected with language teaching and partly connected to contextual usage, why some forms are more vulnerable to change than others. These will be discussed in turn. Finally, I will discuss these changes generationally and attribute changes to either attrition or contact, including interlanguage forms and imperfect learning.

4.4.1. Categorical Leveling and Overextension

Two of the most common processes that could be classified as types of simplification are the collapsing of categories (also called 'categorical leveling' following Seliger

1991) and the overextension of existing forms. Speakers from all living generations, including Elders (Geneneration II 'G2'), middle-aged speakers (G3) and younger speakers (G4), illustrated some degree of categorical leveling, with resulting paradigmatic leveling. One example can be found in Example (28):

(28a) <u>Speaker 9 (G2)</u>
       É:gàu è hébà gàu èn sáu:gà.
é:gàu	*è*	*hébà*	*gàu*	*èn*	*sáu:gà*
Here	3DUA.INTR.MK	enter.PERF	CONJ	3DUA.REFL	sit.down.PERF
       'They two entered here and they two sat down.'

The same phrase in Old Kiowa would look somewhat different:

(28b) *É:gàu èhébà gàu ènsáugà.*
é:gàu	*è-hébà*	*gàu*	*én-sáu:gà*
Here	3DUA.INTR-enter.PERF	CONJ	3DUA.REFL-sit.down.PERF
       'They two entered here and they sat down.'

Here, Speaker 9 seems to be merging the third person dual category with third person plural, **è** 'they all (inverse or non-Kiowa)' in the first pronominal (intransitive). Her tones are not as expected, either. These could be either tonal sandhi effects, or an effect of attrition. Since sandhi is not thoroughly understood for Kiowa, it is not prudent to make a judgment on this matter.

The collapsing of categories already present in the Old Kiowa system provides a precedent for this method, and perhaps also provides a glimpse of how the pronominal system may already have been evolving. For example, in the intransitive pronominal chart (Table 4.2, repeated below for ease of reference), dual and plural are collapsed in the first person inclusive, and second person plural uses the same form as well. Dual and plural are collapsed in first person exclusive as well. This collapsing of the dual/plural distinction holds in the reflexive pronominal set as well, for first person

exclusive, and for first person inclusive. There are other categories in Old Kiowa that are collapsed; there is also no distinction between inclusive and exclusive in the dative/genitive set.

Table 4.2. Intransitive Pronoun Set

| | 1st | | 2nd | | 3rd | |
	Engl	*Kiowa*	*English*	*Kiowa*	*English*	*Kiowa*
Sg	I	**à**	you	**èm**	he/she/it	**ø**
Dual (du)	we two (excl)	**è**	you two	**mà**	they two	**è**
	we two (incl)	**bà**				
Plural (pl)	we all (excl)	**è**	you all	**bà**	they all (Kiowas)	**á**
	we all (incl)	**bà**				
Inverse (inv)	they all / it (others; animals; things)					**è**
Inanimate things						
Plural (pl)	they / it (it = innumerative or unspecified for number)					**gà**

But Modern Kiowa speakers are leveling categories to an even greater extent, even to the extent that confusion may result unless additional methods are used to identify the subject of the sentence. There are, however, a number of strategies that Modern Kiowa speakers employ to deal with this issue.

Categorical leveling and resulting overextension (which could also be termed 'paradigmatic leveling' following Seliger 1991) can be relatively subtle, as exhibited in (29) and (30) (examples used in discussion previously, drawn from Speaker 34) for reflexive and intransitive first person plural *bá,* or it can be more severe as seen in the use of second person singular reflexive *bè* for first person singular reflexive as in (31)

and (32) (repeated from (18a) and (20a) above), which results in the necessity of requiring the use of the stand-alone pronominal *náu.*

(29)   <u>Speaker 34 (G4)</u>
       Bà <u>á:gà.</u>
       Bà   *<u>á:gà.</u>*
       1DU/PLA.INCL.INTR   sit.STAT
       'We all were sitting.'

(30)   <u>Speaker 34</u>
       Bá sàu.
       Bá   *sàu.*
       1PLA.INCL.REFL   sit.down.REFL
       'We all sat down.'

(31a)   <u>Speaker 25 (G3)</u>
       <u>É</u>:hàu náu bè sáu:.
       <u>é</u>:hàu náu bè   *sáu:*
       here   1SG   SGA.REFL.MK   sit.down.PERF.MK
       'Here is where I sat down.'

(31b)   <u>Old Kiowa</u>
       Dèsáu:gà.
       dè-sáu:gà
       1SG.REFL-sit.down.PERF
       'I sat down.'

(32a)   <u>Speaker 19 (G3)</u>
       Náu àl bè sáu:.
       náu   àl   bè   *sáu:*
       1SG   also   SGA.REFL.MK   sit.down.IMPF.MK
       'I sat down.' (elicited) 'I sat down as well.' (as given by speaker)

(32b)   <u>Old Kiowa</u>
       Náu àl, dèsáu:gà.
       náu   àl   dè-sáu:gà
       1SG.EMPH   also   1SG.REFL-sit.down.PERF
       'I also sat down.' 'I sat down as well.'

There are multiple examples of categorical leveling and overextension that cross generations, although the more subtle examples seem to be found in G2 while more

extreme examples are found in the interlanguage forms of second language learners from Generation III, some of whom have learned solely through self-study and community classes. The second language learners from G4 have often been through classes at Anadarko High School or the University of Oklahoma, and will thus exhibit more Old Kiowa forms as these are explicitly taught there. In this section I address some of the specifically reductionist moves that Modern Kiowa speakers are making and the strategies they use to fill the gaps left by categorical leveling.

4.4.2. Singular Overextension and Strategies for Clarification

Extensive overextension of the type found in examples (31) and (32) above can be found in many second language learners of Generation III and IV. The use of *náu* for first person is a very interesting development that signals a move towards a more analytic structure: one stand-alone morpheme for person, and another for number, either singular or plural. The existing stand-alone pronouns *náu* '1SG' and *ám* or *á* '2SG' are the most likely candidates for these additions, but some speakers use other strategies as well, as can be seen in (33a) and (34). Speaker 27 makes use of a noun to specify the agent to which he is referring, thus indicating that he is referring to third person singular, while using the MK collapsed singular intransitive form. The Old Kiowa pronominal form as elicited is given in (33b) and the Old Kiowa version of the speaker's utterance can be found in (33c).

(33a)   Speaker 27 (G3)
    Mátàun èm <u>á:gà</u>.
    mátàun   *èm*   *<u>á:gà</u>*
    girl   SGA.INTR.MK   sit.STAT
    'He/she is sitting.' (elicited) 'The girl is sitting.' (gloss given by speaker)

(33b) Old Kiowa (as elicited)
Á:gà.
Ø-á:gà.
3SGA.INTR-sit.STAT
'He/she is sitting.'

(33c) Old Kiowa (compare to speaker's given form)
Mátàun á:gà.
mátàun   Ø-á:gà.
girl   3SGA.INTR-sit.STAT
'The girl is sitting.'

In (34a) Speaker 19 provides an example of the practice of using the indefinite pronoun form *jé:* 'all, everyone' along with an unmarked relative clause using the first inclusive plural /second person plural pronominal. It should be noted that when I requested the first person dual form, I asked for 'You and I' so as not to trouble speakers with fancy and probably confusing linguistic terms like 'inclusive' and 'exclusive.' Perhaps this speaker wanted to illustrate something she <u>was</u> certain of in the sentence by including everyone else. The pronominal *én* she gave in (34a) actually refers to third person dual in Old Kiowa, thus she does exhibit some recollection of Old Kiowa concepts from her youth. Incidentally, the form for 'we two inclusive' and 'we all inclusive' is the same form: bé, so the complicated phrasing really isn't needed at all in Old Kiowa (34b). The root *káulé-* 'together' can be added (34c) for emphasis.

(34a) Speaker 19 (G3)
Jé: én sàu, bé sàu.
jé: én   sàu   bé   sàu
everyone   DUA.REFL sit.down.REFL.MK PLA.REFL.MK sit.down.REFL.MK
'We two (incl) sat down.' (elicited) 'We two sat down with everyone else.'
                                                          (given)

(34b) Old Kiowa
Bésàu:gà.
Bé-sàu:gà
1DU/PLA.INCL.REFL-sit.down.REFL
'We two/all (incl.)sat down.'

34c) Old Kiowa
    Békàulésàu:gà.
    bé-kàulé:+sàu:gà
    1DU/PLA.INCL.REFL-together+sit.down.REFL
    'We two/all (incl.) sat down together.' ('We two sat down with everyone else.')

Here she levels the inclusive/exclusive distinction, overextending the first person plural

exclusive form to include inclusive, and signifies this by using 'all' to indicate that both

the speaker, the addressee, and the audience (first person plural inclusive and second

person plural inclusive) are considered. It should perhaps be noted that this speaker,

although she began learning it as a child, is very rusty indeed and rarely uses full Kiowa

sentences in conversation, preferring phrases and word-dropping instead.

(35a) Speaker 9 (G2)
    Jé è dé.
    jé   è   dé
    all   1PLA.INTR.MK   stand.STAT
    'We all are standing (including you).'

(35b) Old Kiowa
    Bàdé.
    bà-dé
    1PLA.INTR-stand.STAT
    'We all are standing (including you).'
    Another example of the use of the indefinite pronoun *jé* 'all, everyone' is shown

in (36a), where Speaker 9 (a more fluent (if a bit rusty) speaker) uses it to elucidate first

person plural from first person dual. She has collapsed the inclusive/exclusive

distinction. Incidentally, first person dual and plural are the same in intransitives; it is in

the inclusive/exclusive distinction where the pronominals differ (see 36c and 37b).

(36a) Speaker 9 (G2)
    Jé è dé.
    jé   è   dé.
    all   1PL.INCL/EXCL.INTR.MK   stand.STAT
    'We all are standing.'

(36b)   Old Kiowa (elicited)
         Bàdé.
         bà-dé
         1PL.INCL.INTR-stand.STAT
         'We all are standing.'

(36c)   Old Kiowa (pronominal given by speaker)
         Èdé.
         è-dé.
         1PL.EXCL.INTR-stand.STAT
         'We all (but not you) are standing.'

This can be compared with (37a), where she uses the same pronominal for first person dual exclusive. In this example, she includes extra information when asked for the 'we two exclusive' form by specifying exactly who are sitting down. She required extra context in order to exclude the addressee, clearly because her inclusive and exclusive categories had indeed collapsed. This could possibly be due to attrition, although since English has no inclusive/exclusive distinction, one cannot rule out contact as the source.

(37a)   Speaker 9 (G2)
         É:gàu í:tà gàu náu è dé.
         é:gàu í:tà   gàu náu è   dé
         here   daughter.MK CONJ 1SG 1PLA.INTR.MK   stand.STAT
         'We two (but not you) are standing.' (elicited)
         'My daughter and I are standing here.' (given by speaker)

(37b)   Old Kiowa (elicited)
         Èdé.
         è-dé.
         1DU/PL.EXCL.INTR-stand.STAT
         'We two (but not you) are standing.'

(37c)   Old Kiowa (format given by speaker)

         É:gàu nàu í:tà gàu náu è dé.
         é:gàu nàu   í:tà   gàu   náu   è-dé
         here   1SG/PL.POSS   daughter   CONJ   1SG.EMPH   1PLA.INTR-stand.STAT
         'My daughter and I are standing here.'

It is also interesting that she does not include the first person (singular and plural) stand-alone possessive pronoun *náu* with *í:tà* 'daughter', which is a required element in Old Kiowa as family members are inalienable, but instead uses it in its emphatic (MK: first person marking) sense.

4.4.3. Relinquishing the Inclusive/Exclusive Distinction

As mentioned above for Speaker 9 in (36) and (37), another distinction for which categories collapse is the inclusive/exclusive distinction found in first person dual and plural forms for intransitive, reflexive, and transitive verbs. There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction with genitive or dative verbs, in which the subject is a patient following Watkins' analysis. Some ditransitive categories make this distinction and some do not (the ditransitive pronominal set is divided up into categories based on who is considered to have primary focus, Agent (for example, the 'giver') or Patient (the 'receiver'). The lack of this distinction in these various categories, although logically linked to a lack of agency on the part of the subject in Old Kiowa, is not transparent to a speaker, and dropping this distinction altogether is not much of a stretch. Since where there is normally a inclusive/exclusive distinction the first person dual and plural categories are collapsed, this results in one form for first person plural, which corresponds with English. Speaker 11 produces the series of forms seen in Table 4.4, consistently one after another.

How did she choose the exclusive form as the basic form? This could perhaps be connected with the common focus on the second person. Since the second person plural form for intransitives is *bá* and for reflexives *bé* (see the last two rows in (24)), the same

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Table 4.4. Speaker 11 (G2) Inclusive/Exclusive Categorical Leveling

Elicitation Request	1DUA.INCL We two (you & I)	1DUA.EXCL We two (I & someone else).	1PLA.INCL We all (you, me, and others)	1PLA.EXCL We all (me and my group, but not you)
'We are sitting.'	**È _á:gà._**	**È _á:gà._**	**È _á:gà._**	**È _á:gà._**
expected OK form	*Bà á:gà.*	*È á:gà.*	*È á:gà.*	*È á:gà.*
'We sat down.'	**Ét sàu.**	**Ét sàu.**	**Ét sàu.**	**Ét sàu.**
expected OK form	*Bé sàu.*	*Ét sàu.*	*Bé sàu.*	*Ét sàu.*
Contrast with her	**Bà _á:gà._**		**Bé sàu.**	
produced forms:	*2pl.intr 'you all'*		*2pl.refl 'you all'*	

surface forms as first dual/plural, she may have given cognitive significance to that form and chosen the alternate form for first plural. In this way she both collapsed a category and split another, reanalyzing and "standardizing" the system in the direction of English.

4.4.4. Second Person Dual / Plural Leveling.

Leveling does not just occur in the direction that may be expected, i.e., in the direction of English or following Old Kiowa pre-collapsed categories. Speaker 7, one of the most fluent speakers, retains the inclusive/exclusive distinction, but demonstrates categorical leveling of the second dual and plural forms, which are consistently marked and never collapsed in Old Kiowa. She chooses the dual reflexive form *mé* to represent both second person dual and second person plural in Table 4.5 below, retaining the *bé* form for first person dual and plural. Even though the dual surface form *bè* appears to be different, the lower tone is a result of tonal interaction with the high tone of the preceding morpheme for 'here' *í:* (a dialectical allomorph of *é:,* the most commonly

Table 4.5. Speaker 7 (G2, fluent speaker) Leveling of 2SG Dual/Plural Pronominals

Elicitation Request	2DUA.REFL You two	2PLA.REFL You all	1PLA.INCL We (you, me, and others)	1PLA.EXCL We (me & my group, but not you)
'Y'all sat down'	**Mé sàu.**	**Mé sàu.**		
expected OK form	*same*	*Bé sàu.*		
'We all sat down.'			**Jé: bé sàu.**	**Hégàu í: jé: èt kàulésàujàu.**
expected OK form			*Bé sàu.* (same)	*Ét sàu.* (same – before sandhi effects)
'We 2 sat down.'			**Í bè sáu.**	
			same (before sandhi effects)	

found form). This dialectical variant can also be found in (38a) below, which I have

pulled out in order to fully translate the form.

(38)   Speaker 7. (G2)

Hégàu í: jé: èt kàulésàujàu.
hégàu í: jé: ét   kàulé-sàu-jàu
DM   here   all   1PLA.EXCL.REFL   together-sit.down.REFL-FUT
'Well right here we're all gonna sit down together.' (but not you)

We can also see in (38) how she still makes use of the inclusive/exclusive distinction,

and how she uses the freestanding pronoun 'all' to distinguish between dual and plural.

The categorical leveling and overextension of the second dual form is contrary

to how most Modern Kiowa speakers are leveling, which is in the direction of English.

Without our even having discussed this example, Gus Palmer, Jr. gave a possible

indication perchance in an offhand remark about how Kiowa people may "favor the

dual," as he phrased it (personal communication, 4/5/12). He related that some Kiowa

speaking announcers at community events would sometimes use the second person dual

form to indicate everyone, "perhaps because they were accustomed to addressing

couples all the time." This is an interesting contextual observation, although whether

Speaker 7 overextends the dual form because she was exposed to that context or because of paradigmatic leveling due to language attrition is up for debate.

4.4.5. Kiowa Pronominal 'Specification': Counter-leveling

In some cases, requesting particular forms may be the cause for speakers to more narrowly specify participants than they would otherwise need to in Old Kiowa. This can be found frequently in the speech of Speaker 7, as seen in Table 4.5 and example (38) above. She uses the indeterminate pronoun *jé:* 'all' to emphasize first person plural, in both the inclusive and interestingly also the exclusive (38) examples. Perhaps this is because she does maintain the Old Kiowa dual/plural category collapse, but feels the need to distinguish between the two forms as most Modern Kiowa speakers do. Speaker 9 does this in (37) as well. The incorporation of person morphemes in Modern Kiowa seems to lead to a feeling of compulsion to expand upon distinctions made in categories that were collapsed in Old Kiowa. This includes the first person dual/plural category. Here two methods are utilized to pinpoint the participants involved in addition to the regular addition of the pronominal *náu* for 'I': 1) indeterminate pronoun *jé:* 'everyone' to more closely specify number (39a) and 2) specifying participants in great detail (40).

(39a) Speaker 7 (G2)
 Jé: bé káulésàu.
 Jé: *bé*   *káulé+sàu.*
 everyone   1DU/PL.INCLA.REFL.MK   together+sit.down.PERF.MK
 'We all sat down.' (elicited) 'We all sat down together.' (given)

(39b) Old Kiowa
 Bé-káulé+sáu:gà.
 bé-káulé+sáu:gà
 1DU/PL.INCLA.REFL-together+sit.down.PERF
 'We all sat down together.'

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(40a)　Speaker 9 (G2)
　　　Máugi gàu á í:jè gàu mà̱:yí gàu náu ét sáujàu.

máugì	*gàu*	*á*	*í:-jè*	*gàu*	*mà̱:yí*
grandson	CONJ	3SG.POSS	son-3SG.POSSO	CONJ	woman

gàu	*náu*	*ét*	*sáu-jàu*
CONJ	1SG	1DU/PL.EXCLA.REFL	sit.down-FUT

　　　'My grandson and his son and a woman and I will all sit down.'
　　　Elicited form: 'We all sat down (excluding you).'

(40b)　Old Kiowa
　　　Ètsáu:gà.
　　　èt-sáu:gà.
　　　1DU/PL.EXCLA.REFL-sit.down.PERF
　　　'We all sat down (excluding you).'

As we can see in (40b), there is a very simple way to say 'we all sat down (except you).' Yet (40a) remains very true to Old Kiowa forms for the most part, except that it leaves out the freestanding pronoun *náu* 'my, our' one would expect on *máugì* 'grandson.'

4.5. Discussion: Pronominal Usage in Context

While progressing through this chapter, we have been discussing why some pronominal forms seem more contextually salient than others. Following Schmid's prediction, one should be able to correlate a reduction in the domains and frequency of use of the language, and particularly certain forms within the different genres of the language, directly with language change. This prediction should be examined by specifying the domains of usage, the genres of usage, language attitudes involved in the context, and language teaching of the forms involved. There has been some running discussion of the contexts of usage throughout the chapter, but I will summarize the results here.

4.5.1. Domains Relevant to Pronominal Usage

Pronominals are present in every complete Kiowa sentence, although not in every utterance if one includes word-dropping as an utterance. Since the Kiowa language is used by only a small set of speakers, less than 1% of the population, the opportunities that many speakers and learners have to hear Kiowa pronominal usage is limited to certain genres in public domains (as discussed in Chapter 4). Thus pronominal usage in public domains will be discussed in the immediately following section 5.3.2. on genres. Within private domains, especially interpersonal communication, Kiowa pronominal usage is limited to the degree to which a speaker is engaged in the conversation. Speakers and learners who grew up hearing Kiowa spoken in the home, even if they do not speak it fluently themselves, are going to be more familiar with second person pronominals as those are the ones used in giving commands and direction to children. This argues for the retention of the second person pronominal forms over first person forms such as found in example (41) (repeated from 32a above) as well as the Modern Kiowa overextension of the imperative form *sáu* to be perfective as well, supplanting the Old Kiowa *sáu:gà.*

(41)   Speaker 19 (G3)
        Náu àl bè sáu:.
        náu   àl   bè   sáu:
        1SG   also   SGA.REFL.MK   sit.down.IMPF.MK
        'I sat down.' (elicited) 'I sat down as well.' (as given by speaker)

        The Kiowa speech community is relatively widespread as well as thinly spread, since a small number of primarily Elderly speakers live in often relatively geographically isolated places. This incidentally matches up with Fishman's description of a 'severely endangered language' (1991). The younger generations of speakers and

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learners are more mobile, and are able to travel the longer distances necessary to be able to speak with each other, but there are many, many fewer of their peers who speak the language, and thus a more limited number of domains in which they can use it. Speakers do, however, form 'pockets' based on their social lives. Some use the language when they get together at community events (such as those who always attend dances such as Ohoma). Others use the language with those who are geographically close to each other. Speakers 9 and 11, both of G2, live in close proximity to one another. They also both displayed the reduction in the inclusive/exclusive distinction as evidenced above.

4.5.2. Genre-related Pronominal Usage

Since the primary genres of Kiowa language usage in public are prayer, song, and speech giving, as well as some exhortatives at public ceremonies, many speakers and learners are accustomed to hearing and using particular forms. Forms relating to prayer and hymns, often heard at church services of course, but more widely heard at funerals and other public religious events, are more similar to Old Kiowa forms. The second person pronominals, both singular and plural, are commonly used in these domains, as in prayer one is addressing a Second Person Singular Being (when referring to God in English, one must capitalize, of course). This supports the data for retention of second person pronominal forms, particularly those related to church terms such as *Bé dáu:chái.* '(You all / we all) Pray.' Cultural events such as dances also display a high degree of second person pronominal usage, in the exhortative imperative expressions expressed by the MC: *Bé hâ!* '(You all) Get up!' often followed by *Bé gún!* '(You all)

Dance!' This argues for the retention of the second person reflexive pronominal forms. Speaker 34, who produced many such forms, often attends such cultural events.

4.5.3. Language Attitudes Relating to Pronominal Usage

Interestingly, there do not seem to be any language attitudes that relate directly to pronominal usage. As long as someone is making themselves understood, some degree of variation seems to be tolerated. Perhaps this is because pronominals are a functional category that are essential to understanding the meaning of the sentence. This illustrates that Modern Kiowa is a functioning system, that functions sufficiently for the uses to which it is put, even with a degree of variation for pronominal usage between speakers and across generations.

4.5.4. Language Teaching and Learning Methods and Pronominals

Language learning methods can obviously have an important effect on the forms of speech that one uses. For example, G3 and G4 speakers/second language learners who took the Kiowa language classes at OU use more Old Kiowa forms because the classroom materials were based on Old Kiowa documentation and speech forms by teachers who have continually retained or carefully relearned primarily Old Kiowa forms. Speakers/language relearners who learned the language in context, such as Speaker 25, will exhibit more Modern Kiowa forms.

Language teaching methods also have an effect on which Kiowa forms are retained. Although it seems to English-dominant speakers to be a very very fine distinction, the difference between *bè* 'you' and *bé* 'you all' comes down to just the

tone, low versus high. As mentioned above, language teachers commonly use these very forms as an example for how "you have to say things just right," as one Elder community teacher told me. This is further evidence that language teaching can help maintain certain forms.

Some teachers teach grammar overtly, while others focus on conversational usage. Currently many of the local community classes focus on a conversational approach based on distributing word lists and sharing phrases. This is another way that overextension of pronominal forms may occur, when second language learners or relearners are aware of one form and a related distinction, but are uncertain exactly which other form to use. Speaker 27 provides evidence for this in (27) and (28), where he overextends the form *bát* 'first person agent / activity object' (actually transitive but seemingly intransitive given an English-centered point of view) based on his knowledge of the phrase *Bát fàu!* 'Let's eat!' (26). This also results in our 'workaround' strategies such as the use of the stand-alone pronouns.

4.6. Attributing Changes to Language-Internal or Contact Phenomena

As Aikhenvald (2006) notes it is not always a straight-forward matter to ascribe a particular change to specifically language-internal or language external phenomena. Although considered language-internal, attrition (unless aphasic) presumes contact with, even 'supplantation by' in the case of obsolescing languages, another language (2006:9). Examining the mechanisms of change involved can help elucidate this process. In the case of Kiowa pronominals, there are already some indications that

many of the changes may be inflenced by contact, at the very least. This does not, however, hold true across the board.

4.6.1. Language Contact: External Phenomena

The majority of the examples of change described in this chapter seem to be able to be attributed to language contact, specifically contact with English, as most seem to move in the direction of phasing out Kiowa-specific distinctions.

Restructuring. Of the major contact mechanisms described by Vashenko (2002), restructuring is probably the most relevant in the case of Kiowa pronominal change. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) use the term 'simplification' although not every change results in a more 'simple' solution. Restructuring involves leveling Nearly every change involves some form of categorical and/or paradigm leveling such as identified by Seliger (1991), and most of the categories collapsing are doing so in the direction of English. The leveling of the inclusive/exclusive category described in Table 4.4 is a good example. Dropping this distinction reduces the two forms, based on a distinction not present in English, to one, corresponding to the English 'we.' This actually is a type of simplification of the system. Overextention or 'overgeneralization' as Pavlenko (2002) calls it, is another type of restructuring, although it is not a form of simplification in the case of Kiowa overextension of the singular forms as described in 4.4.2. Overextension results in the reduction of the meaning of the morpheme *èm* to number 'singular,' which then requires that another element be introduced to specify person. At first glimpse this does not seem to be a change influenced by English. But one of the major strategies for dealing with the results of this overextension is use of the

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stand-alone pronominals, such as *náu* 'first person singular' which roughly corresponds to 'I' and is sometimes analyzed as such. Adoption of this form does indicate contact with English. While there is no overt borrowing of forms amongst these speakers.

Interference features. Transfer and interlanguage effects are clearly in evidence in many of the G3 and G4 speakers and learners of Kiowa. The use of the stand-alone pronominal *náu* for 'I' as seen in section 4.4.2. is clearly an interlanguage effect. Some G1 speakers even analyzed and used this pronominal in a similar way, for emphasis, although its basic use is as a marker for possession of inalienable objects. Use of *jé* 'all, everyone,' for this purpose, as seen in (34a), (35a), and (36a), also used in Old Kiowa for emphasis, does not directly indicate an interlanguage effect in itself, but in that it follows the same pattern in solving problems of overextension. The strength and widespread usage of this structure, even to the point of 'Complification' seen in (34a) (introducing further distinctions where they need not be signaled) illustrates that increased usage of the stand-alone pronouns is a change that is well-established in Modern Kiowa.

4.6.2. Language-Internal Phenomena

There are only two changes that are not obviously linked to language contact and thus could possibly be attributed to language-internal phenomena. One of these is found amongst G2 speakers (leveling of second person dual / plural distinction in reflexives; see Table 4.5) and the other for a G3 speaker, as evidenced in (36a) above.

'Simplification.' The above-mentioned overlap between language-external and language-internal phenomena certainly holds for the mechanism of simplification, which was mentioned above in the leveling of the inclusive/exclusive category. There is

only one example in this corpus of data that exemplifies non-contact based simplification, and that is the collapsing of the categories for second dual and second plural reflexive pronominals as seen in Table 5.4. This form seems to indicate a strictly Kiowa sensibility, as Palmer indicated.

Language Attrition. Should the simplification leveling of dual/plural reflexive form be considered a type of language attrition? Possibly, as Speaker 7 has little trouble producing the second dual and second plural intransitive pronominal forms. But an analysis of the variables of attrition for Speaker 7 (following Köpke and Schmid's 2002 paradigm) shows that she is a frequent and fluent Kiowa speaker, who is often called upon to speak in public. She learned English when she attended boarding school, and spoke Kiowa exclusively with her mother, who did not speak English. The fact that she produces the opposite reduction in forms to other G2 speakers (i.e. she drops the commonly salient second plural reflexive **bé** form) proves only that she does not converse with them. Since one of them does not speak the language often at all, and the other one is homebound 45 minutes away, it is not surprising that they fall outside of her immediate speech community. All of these variables The contextual information provided by Palmer indicates that this may be a speech convention of a previous generation, and this may be a more likely explanation for this instance of leveling.

Imperfect Language Learning. The pronominal structures provided by Speaker 19 in (42) (drawn from 36a above) seem to be evidence of imperfect language learning.

(42)   Speaker 19 (G3)
       Jé: én sàu, bé sàu.
       Jé: *én*   *sàu*   *bé*   *sàu*
       everyone   DUA.REFL sit.down.REFL.MK   PLA.REFL   sit.down.REFL.MK
       'We two sat down with everyone else.'

Overextending a third person dual reflexive form to include first person is rather a rare move amongst the second language (re)learners of G3, and is certainly not motivated by contact with English since English has no dual distinction (although her use of *jé:* could possibly be). She was the only speaker to overextend this form and collapse first and third person categories. Speaker background information, however, indicates that use of this form could be related to imperfect language learning or to attrition, as she knew the language in her youth but never used it extensively as she grew older. She may remember the form *én* as marking dual reflexive from her youth, but not recall its specification for number. It is true that amongst the ditransitive set there are various collapses of first and third person (both as agents and as patients) but it is unlikely that Speaker 19 could be called upon to elicit any ditransitive forms as she did not produce full paradigms of the verbs that we had. The fact that she also includes a relative clause without marking it, and places the indefinite pronoun in sentence initial position (where *jé:* is often found, as it marks focus and emphasis), near the main clause instead of the relative clause to which it belongs, gives even stronger evidence that this utterance is the result of imperfect language learning.

4.7. Pronominal Argument for Movement Towards a More Analytic Language

Many major theorists note a common trend towards becoming a more analytic language, most notably Thomason (2001) and Dixon (1998). The major argument that pronominals present for a movement towards an analytic language concern the usage of the stand-alone pronominals to help clarify 'fuzziness' left by categorical and paradigmatic leveling. Watkins' model of single phoneme morphemes that combine to

form these pronominal surface forms presents another argument, as she there posits that Kiowa was once even more polysynthetic than it was when she studied it. The development of these into fused prefixes, then into clitics provides further evidence for shift from a polysynthetic language towards a more analytic one. Personal perceptions of speakers themselves, who analyze their pronominals as separate words, completes this cycle. Let address each of these in more detail.

4.7.1. Results of Contact with English

The majority of the changes illustrated in this chapter are connected to language contact in some way, and this hold particularly for the usage of the stand-alone pronominals. *Náu* provides a single form to fill the person slot (1st person) that is in English held by 'I' across all verb categories. The pronominal then commonly signals number, just as our verbal suffixes do. Kiowa verbal suffixes encode tense, aspect, and mode, but not subject agreement, since this information is provided by the pronominal (which following Watkins (1984) was formerly a verbal prefix, and thus was attached to the verb). Use of the stand-alone pronoun forms provides a sentence structure that is more similar to English, although in terms of analytic language they take it one step further in that these morphemes (and the paradigmatically leveled pronominals) encode only one meaning.

It is possible, as has been pointed out to me, that the increased usage of the stand-alone pronominal forms could be related to "ease of learnability," which seems to have been the case for the Chinese language. Yet since increased usage of these pronouns for emphasis can be found from speakers from G1 as well as the younger

generations, by people who were not directly involved with teaching (and often did not even speak Kiowa to their own children), I argue that it is still primarily a contact phenomenon. This older generation was by and large bilingual in English as well as Kiowa, and while speaking Kiowa with generational peers was proficient enough in English to use it with outsiders and with their children.

4.7.2. Analytic Evolution of Kiowa Pronominal Structure and Usage

The changes taking place in the Kiowa pronominal system provide evidence confirming the prediction of movement of the Kiowa language along Dixon's model from polysynthetic to analytic language. Watkins' description of the composition of pronominal prefixes as comprised of individual single-phoneme mini-morphemes that have been fused into a single form, with surface forms determined by regular phonological rules, provides a starting point for this analysis (1984:115). She surmises that perhaps these single-phoneme morphemes were once independent morphemes, a process evidenced in several language families in Native North America (1984:127). These morphemes still seemed to be prefixes for the Generation I speakers that Watkins worked with, but Harbour's work in the early 2000's with Generation II speakers demonstrated that after nearly 20 years these prefixes now behaved phonologically and prosodically as clitics, which are only loosely attached to the verb.

Based on orthographic conventions learned when Native American children started attending school, Kiowa people early on who tried to write their native language wrote these forms separately, just as English pronouns were written. Between these writing conventions and the disparities between the language systems, the ideas that

Kiowa speakers had as to where word boundaries lay became more and more vague through the years. Many Kiowa speakers separated Kiowa words based on syllables, as can be seen in the English reproductions of many Kiowa names, such as N. Scott Momaday's ancestor Mamay Day Te (Meadows, personal communication). Thus contact with English and writing conventions make this a logical step. Because this line of argument is primarily intensive contact-induced, however, it does not necessarily help prove Dixon's theory, which posits this type of 'natural' progression (Dixon 1998).

  <u>Speaker Perception and Pronominal Behavior.</u> As stated earlier, participants themselves view pronominals as separate words, albeit with a relatively fixed position in the sentence (which is connected to word order, discussed in Chapter 8). The new role that the stand-alone pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and use of nouns to indicate number, are playing in further limiting the number of meanings that a single morpheme contains (number or person, but not both) are a clear indication that, in terms of pronominals at least, Kiowa is indeed moving towards a more analytic sentence structure.

4.8. Conclusions

Several important conclusions can be drawn from Modern Kiowa pronominal usage. One is that contact with English has played a prominent role in the changes taking place in the system. Another is that the speech of the younger generations has been strongly influenced by the domains and genres in which and for which the language has most commonly been used in most recent years. Third, Kiowa does appear to be becoming more analytic, and fourth, the fact that the Kiowa pronominal system is still functioning

as a system, with sufficient explanatory power that it is useful in conversation as well as in more structured genres.

Language Contact Primary Mechanisms. First, in regards to the process of language obsolescence, the majority of the changes from Old Kiowa can be attributed to language contact mechanisms, particularly reduction and categorical and paradigmatic leveling, while language-internal mechanisms such as attrition and contextual simplification account primarily for individual idiosyncratic evidences of leveling. 'Simplification' is, however, not a useful mechanism in and of itself, as it does not have much explanatory power.

Ethnographic Language Contect Data Affects Structural Change. Secondly, Kiowa ethnographic data does provide an important clue as to which forms are retained. The variation amongst speakers and language learners is significant depending on social context; those who use the language more frequently with each other hold more forms in common, including Modern Kiowa forms that are the result of language change. Frequency of particular forms and distinctions in common language domains are indeed more likely to be retained, following Schmid's prediction and Woolard's inquiry (Schmidt 2002, Woolard 1989). The answer to Woolard's question "[Are the] social processes that encourage or discourage [Kiowa] language's continued use [the same as the] social conditions, processes, and activities that affect a [Kiowa's] language's form?" (1989:355) is: yes, for pronominals at least. Recent more lenient language attitudes encourage language learners to go ahead and attempt to try new forms. Kiowa usage in particular domains where certain forms are more likely to be heard are more likely to be retained.

Kiowa Becoming More Analytic. Thirdly, Kiowa does indeed seem to be moving from a polysynthetic structure towards a more analytic structure. Based on both structural reconstruction and synchronic data, we can see this change occuring. While this evolution may historically have already been occuring, contact with the more analytic English language is expediting the process. Kiowa pronominal usage illustrates this nicely through the usage of stand-alone pronouns to both provide strategies for dealing with leveling and to make more poignant distinctions between categories.

Modern Kiowa Pronominal System Still Functioning. Finally, our data illustrate that although changes, some even relatively intensive, are taking place and have been taking place, the Modern Kiowa pronominal system still functions satisfactorily. For every loss of a structure or seeming 'gap', a strategy can be found to ensure that effective communication can continue. This underscores the essential point: the Kiowa language is still a viable means of communication, particularly for the functions for which it is used.

5. Structural Language Change:

Noun Classes, Plural Formation, Incorporation, and Word Order

A noun class system is one of the aspects of language that is most closely tied into culture, and Kiowa is no exception. Membership in noun classes is often determined to some extent based on the cosmology of the culture of the language's speakers, as can be seen by the inclusion of such things as the stars as animate beings in Kiowa as children of legend or tobacco as animate in some Algonquian languages, due to their having 'spirit'. Noun classes are one of those things that are intuitively understood by speakers, but are very rarely explicitly taught in natural language situations. Because of this, and since cultural understandings are so opaque, they are very prone to loss as the community assimilates to a dominating society. Thus noun class systems and their corresponding markers are also, logically speaking, one of the first on the list for language loss or, at the very least, change. Yet plural formation (or rather "number marking" since Kiowa has a singular/dual/plural distinction in the noun classes as well as in pronominals) is a fundamental morphological process in most languages, which would theoretically make it more resistant to change. The way in which the two are entwined, however, causes plural formation to be a source of confusion for language learners and semi-speakers. This is part of the reason I use the term "plural formation," particularly for Modern Kiowa, as opposed to the more technically precise yet cumbersome "number marking on nouns." First, I chose it because plural formation is automatically associated with nouns and number (as opposed to "number marking in pronominals" or "number agreement marking on verbs") . Second, I prefer this term

because plural formation is what many (especially younger) Modern Kiowa speakers are trying to do: talk about more things, not being concerned with the dual because it does not exist in their mother tongue. Finally, as we will discuss, the dual is usually grouped in with either the singular or the plural when it comes to number marking on nouns; the basic form for dual is in Class III, which is being phased out in Modern Kiowa, one of the major changes taking place in Kiowa today.

In this first section I will first explain the Kiowa noun class system and describe its basic functioning, including number marking using the inverse morpheme[22] and its relationship to pronominals, in Old Kiowa, drawing both upon my own experience with speakers and the standard grammar from Watkins (1984). I then describe plural formation in Modern Kiowa and the corresponding characteristics of the evolving revised noun class system. Finally, I will analyze the changes that have taken place in the noun classes and the ways in which plural markings are shown based on the mechanisms for change.

5.1. Old Kiowa Noun Class System and Plural Formation

Kiowa is known in the linguistic literature not only for its extensive pronominal configuration, but also for its noun class system (Mithun 1999:445). While not as extensive or pervasive as, for example, many Athabaskan noun class systems (such as that found in Navajo), it is still very integrated in the linguistic system. The noun classes are integral to signalling number, but are also thoroughly integrated with the pronominal system. There are four basic noun classes in Kiowa, with the fourth having

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[22] Inverse is used in the Kiowa literature for the inflected (marked) noun form, and is also encoded in the pronominal form.

four sub-classes. The basis for the noun classes is a consideration of animacy and "natural" number, as culturally conceived, which we will discuss in more detail below. Plural formation draws upon these Kiowa understandings of number, marking the "odd man out": in some classes, the singular is unmarked while plural is marked, and in other classes, the singular is marked while the plural is unmarked. The dual forms generally are grouped in with either singular or plural, depending on class, with Class III being the exception. Markedness is shown by the presence or absence of what Kiowa linguists call the inverse affix (Watkins 1984). The term "inverse" is used in a different way than most Native North American linguists, particularly Algonquianists, are accustomed to (Bloomfield 1962 gives a good definition of this type of inverse). As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Kiowa inverse refers to the alternate number allomorph, assigned according to class, which signals what can perhaps be called the "unexpected" number as indicated above. This will be addressed in more detail in the sections discussing the characteristics of each of the four noun classes below.

5.1.1. Old Kiowa Noun Classes and Plural Formation or Number Marking

There are two primary distinctions made in the Kiowa noun class system: animacy and number. While as with most noun class systems, assignment of members can be somewhat arbitrary, in clear cut cases it is to a large extent animacy that determines to which noun class an item belongs. Animacy in Kiowa refers to whether something has 'spirit' or not, although it is also to some extent tied to 'natural' number. By "natural" number, I refer to the idea that some things are more innately singular or plural in nature. Animate things such as animals and people, found primarily in Class I,

are more individual, and are viewed primarily as separate entities as opposed to part of a group. Inanimate things are usually manmade, and/or do not move of their own volition. There is generally less reason to point out these things indiviually. For example, the word for trees or wood is *á:*, while the word for tree or stick is *á:dàu*, the marked form. Horses, dogs, and people are all animate, whereas trees, hats, and houses are all considered inanimate and can be found in Class II or in Class IV. Cultural understandings play into this when it comes to things like moon, sun, and tobacco, which are considered animate because they have 'spirit.'

Number is signalled both through affixation of the inverse affix, according the class of the noun, and through the pronominal system. Kiowa distinguishes three categories of number: singular, dual, and plural (sometimes called "tri-plural" in Kiowa literature, as it signals three or more). These distinctions go all the way through the linguistic system; particularly throughout the pronominal system, as we have seen in previous sections.

<u>Old Kiowa Noun Classes</u> As mentioned above, there are four basic noun classes in Old Kiowa, and these are based partially on considerations of animacy and partially on considerations of "natural" number. Although as Watkins notes, it is not always simple to determine to which set a noun might belong, there are guidelines. Each noun class has a general defining characteristic, although as with most noun class systems, this does not completely explain the inclusion of all class members. As is common, there are usually at least a few examples in which there is some degree of arbitrariness to the assignment of some nouns to their respective noun class. Table 4.1. gaves an overview of the four noun classes with characteristic examples of their members as well

as basic plural formations in Chapter 4; I repeat it here for convenience. A thorough examination of each noun class is found below, partially based on Watkins (1984) and partially on my own experience with speakers and teachers of Kiowa.

Table 4.1. Noun Classes in Kiowa - Overview

	Class I Animates	Class II Inanimates	Class III Other or "Round Things"	Class IV Mass Nouns
Basic Form	singular, dual	dual, plural	dual	all
Examples	*báò*	*á*	*á:làu*	*tháp*, áutháuth<u>á</u>i
	1 cat, 2 cats	2 trees or sticks 3 trees or sticks	apple, 2 fruit	deer, salt
Inverse Form (inflected)	plurals	singular	singular, plural	none
	báògàu	*á:dàu*	*á:làugàu*	----
	cats	tree, stick	1 apple, piece of fruit 3 apples or fruit	----

Class I: Animates. Most common nouns for animals and all those referring to people belong to Class I, the class of animates. Again, in addition to terms for people and animals, this class also includes culturally animate nouns such as *fái* 'sun,' *váu:* 'moon/month/river,' and *j<u>á</u>:* 'star,' as well as implements originally made of animal material *th<u>áu</u>:* 'spoon' and *ch<u>ó</u>:* 'awl,' which were made from bone. Some body parts are also included in this class, while others are included in Class II, although the basis for this division is unclear. As mentioned above, the basic number for animates is singular or dual, and the plural form is marked with the inverse affix *–gàu*, with *–dàu, -jàu* and *–òp* being a few of the most common allomorphs.

Class II: Inanimates. The other most common class of nouns is that of inanimates, Class II. This class can be described as being comprised primarily of things that do not move or have spirit, including most manmade things. Class II nouns are

basic in their dual and plural forms; the singular is marked with the inverse as in *á:dàu* 'tree/stick.' Things in nature such as *á:* 'trees, sticks' and food items such as *àivé:è:* 'potatoes' and *é:* 'berries, grain, bread' belong to this class, as do manmade items such as *qàuál* 'dishes' and *chàt* 'doors.' Some body parts also belong to this class, including *thǫ́:sè̱* 'bone,' *màuqáun* 'nose,' and *àunsó* 'foot,' although the majority are Class I, and a very few are Class III or Class IV. As you can see, some of these body parts fit into the considerations of 'natural' number (feet, bones) and some do not (nose). Class II is, after Class I, the second largest of the noun classes.

Class III: Other/Round Things. Cross-linguistically most noun class systems have a sort of catch-all class, for which it is difficult to determine what the primary basis for inclusion is based on a simple study of the similarities among set members. It is also quite common for this class to include something of the nature of "round things," and this seems to be true based on our knowledge of this very small class. There are only four known members of this class, and most can be considered in some way to be round: *álàu:bàu* 'apples, plums, fruit,' *é:thólàu̱:bàu* 'oranges,' *qâudàu* 'tomatoes,' and, interestingly, *áu:dàu* 'hair.' In this class, the basic form is the dual, while the singular and the plural are marked with the inverse.

Class IV: Mass Nouns and Other. Class IV nouns are distinguished primarily based on the fact that they never take the inverse marker. Number for Class IV nouns is either non-specific or is specified based on what pronominal is used. Many mass nouns belong to Class IV, such as *tǫ́:* 'water,' *áutá̱:thái* 'salt,' *chóisé̱:ǫ́:gà* 'pepper,' and *cí:* 'meat.' Other nouns may not be mass nouns following an outsider's definition, but are considered as groups according to Kiowa cosmology. *Jó:* 'house/s' or village/camp and

xó: 'rock/s' are members of Class IV because they are generally found in groups and distinguishing them individually is not culturally important except in certain cases. Houses are parts of a village, and rocks are found in clusters. Class IV is further sub-divided based on how the nouns are used in context with the pronominal system. 1) Subclass A consists of the members of the class that are represented according to their actual number. Among others, this includes *xó:* 'rocks,' *cí:* 'meat,' and *háu:thàucù:* 'nails.' 2) Subclass B contains items that take a singular prefix, such as *jó:* 'house, building,' *hóàun* 'road,' and *chói* 'liquid, broth, coffee.' As Watkins states, these items are treated "collectively as a set" (Watkins 1984:90). 3) Subclass C are the nouns that are considered plural no matter the actual number of objects. Members of this set include *cút* 'book, letter, school,' *qólpà* 'necklace,' and *jó:* 'teepee' (as opposed to when *jó:* refers to houses). Following Merriweather, this seems to be because of the "distributive plural," where each of these items is made up of many constitutent parts; i.e., beads in a necklace, writing in a book or letter, the many assembled parts of a teepee. As Watkins explains it, *jó:* as house, on the other hand, is part of Subclass B because it is treated as a whole.

Old Kiowa Plural Formation or Number Marking As can be seen from the above description, plural formation is bound up intrinsically with the noun class system. Plurals are formed differently based on whether they belong to Class I, II, III, or IV. The inverse signals something different in each class: 1) for Class I, the inverse signals plural (three or more): *chégùn* 'dog' and *chégû:dàu* 'dogs;' 2) for Class II, the inverse signals singular: *á:dàu* 'tree or stick' and *á:* 'trees or sticks;' 3) for Class III, the inverse signals non-dual (singular or plural) and 4) Class IV exhibits no inverse; plural

is either irrelevant, as in the mass nouns, or it is signaled through means of the pronominal clitic, be it natural number (Subclass A) or culturally assigned number (Subclass B and C).

The form that the inverse suffix takes is not always straightforward. There are numerous allomorphs, and although Watkins lists the basic underlying form as –*gàu*, she gives four primary allomorphs: -*Cáu* (Consonant), -*gú*, -*óy*, and -*óp*, as well as simply falling tone. As teacher Dane Poolaw has found, there are many variations on these forms, and for teaching purposes he compiled a list, which I find useful to illustrate the variety of surface forms the inverse can take (and that the learner would need to acquire to speak Old Kiowa). Table 5.1. below lists many various allomorphs that the inverse form can take. The table is partially based on Poolaw's teaching materials (2014) with some modifications from Watkins (1984). As Poolaw and Watkins indicate, there is a system for determining which inverse form is used, mostly based on phonological rules but not completely predictable, as Watkins notes (1984:80). I will not go into this system here; see Watkins (ibid.) for a more thorough discussion of Kiowa phonology. The inverse allomorphs usually carry a low tone, but not always (see –*yóp* in *tàlyóp* "boys"), and in some cases, as Watkins mentions, the plural may be formed simply by changing the tone on the final syllable to falling tone. There are also a few suppletive forms, and some exist alongside inverse forms, such as *zem* for "teeth" in addition to *zǫ́:gàu*. Thus despite the existence of a system, learning which Kiowa inverse marker to use still involves a lot of memorization and can be difficult to teach, even if speakers did have conscious access to how the system works (which, unless linguistically trained, they generally do not).

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Table 5.1. Inverse Allomorph Surface Forms.

Basic Form Coda or Final Syllable*	Inverse Allomorph	Kiowa Example	English Translation	Noun Class of Example
general	-gàu	áugáufì / áugáufì:gàu	buffalo / more buffalo	Class I
à	-dàu	á: / á:dàu	trees, wood / tree, stick	Class II
	-gàut	á: / á:gàut	feathers (straight) / feather	Class II
ái	-màu	thènétsèyothài / thènétsèyothàimàu	eggs / egg	Class II
àu	-bàu / -gàu	álàu / álàubàu or álàugàu	2 apples / apple or fruit	Class III
-bà	-bàut	jó:bà / jó:bàut	flutes / flute	Class II
-dè	-gàu	já:dè / já:gàu	eye / eyes	Class I
è	-op	zóntâfè / zóntâfòp	squirrel / squirrels	Class I
-hí	-gàu	cú:jò:hì / cú:jòhì:gàu	eagle / eagles	Class I
	-hyòi	á:hì / àhyòi	cottonwood tree / trees	Class II
i	-yóp	tàlí / tàlyóp	boy / boys	Class I
	-yôi	ví / víyôi	female's sister / sisters	Class I
l	-jàu	dàuál / dàuájàu	buckets / bucket	Class II
	-dàu	jógúl / jógú:dáu	young man / men	Class I
		ául / áu:dàu	hair / single hair	Class III
m	-_:bàu**	áu:tám / áu:tá:bàu	lynx / lynxes	Class I
-ma	-màimàu	máutêmmà / máutêmmàimàu	female teacher / teachers	Class I
n	-_:dàu	chégùn / chégù:dàu	dog / dogs	Class I
		qâun / qáu:dàu	tomato / tomatoes	Class III
o	-op	thènétséyò / thènétséyòp	chicken / chickens	Class I
	-ôi	àunsó / àunsôi	feet / foot	Class II
o	-gàu	zó: / zó:gàu or zém	tooth / teeth	Class I
òl	-òp	pá:jòl / pá:jòp	baby cradles / cradle	Class II
-gà	-gàut	ì:váugà / ì:váugàut	baby / babies	Class I
		dó:gà / dó:gàut	seed / seeds	Class II
cà	-càut	bélkítcà / bélkítcàut	screech owl / owls	Class I
-qí	-qàgàu	ézènqì / ézènqàgàu	policeman / policemen	Class I
y / áui	-gú	Cáui / Cáuigú	Kiowa person / people	Class I
not predictable	falling tone	Thàukáui / Thàukâui	White person / people	Class I
		màuqáun / màuqâun	noses / nose	Class II
	suppletion	tá: / tê:	wife / wives	Class I

* Some of these "final syllables" are suffixes or bound roots (such as nominalizers –*dè* or –*gà* or gender specific suffixes –*mà* and –*qì*) but not all. Those that are usually suffixes or bound roots I have marked as such.

** an underscore followed by a colon indicates deletion of nasal consonant and nasalization and lengthening of the preceding vowel.

<u>Old Kiowa Number Marking and Relationship to Pronominals</u> The pronominal

clitics that signal agreement between the nouns and verbs in a sentence also make use of

the singular-dual-plural distinction, and the importance of the inverse carries through to pronominals as well. When an inverse noun is the subject or the object of the sentence is inverse, then there must be agreement, and the pronominal form chosen must be the one that indicates an inverse subject or an inverse object. That is to say that the inverse marker overrides considerations of natural number. If an object is singular, it will only use the pronominal considered for singular objects if the noun is Class I or Class IV. If the noun is a Class II or Class III noun, the singular is marked, and thus one would use the pronominal using the inverse pronominal.

5.1.2. Modern Kiowa Noun Class Usage and Plural Formation

As I argue throughout this work, the shape of Modern Kiowa today is based on what Elders today are doing, and what younger speakers are doing and will be doing in the future. Kiowa plural formation is often a source of some consternation to many Kiowa speakers, for varying reasons. Elders deplore the "slang" casual younger speakers employ by applying mixed forms, while conscientious, self-taught language learners who may otherwise be relatively communicatively competent culturally speaking may have difficulty forming plurals for less common nouns or even avoid the structures. This is because of the very nature of noun classes: they are unconsciously absorbed by language learners, and thus are not accessible to speakers for extrication to impart to their students. Since plural formation is intrinsically bound with the noun class system in Kiowa, this makes it somewhat difficult to explain for most native speakers, usually resulting in some confusion on the part of language learners and an impression that the only way to learn them is through rote memorization. In classes such as those at the

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University of Oklahoma and other classes taught by graduates or others affiliated with that program, the teachers have the metalanguage to explain the noun class system in a way that makes it more readily perceived, and despite the various exceptions to the general guildelines mentioned above, students can at least make educated guesses as to what the appropriate plural forms may be (although of course, some memorization is still involved, due to the large number of varying inverse allomorphs). As can be seen above in Table 5.2., the inverse morpheme is much more complicated than the English –s to which second language speakers and learners are accustomed. We will discuss the results of these linguistic and sociolinguistic conditions below.

Modern Kiowa Noun Class and Plural Formation Innovations The interwoven nature of noun class and plural formation in Kiowa is remarkable enough to be of note in Mithun's comprehensive text on the languages of Native North America (1999). If the language and accompanying sociolinguistic worldview fail to be passed down through the generations, a domino effect may occur. Speakers may know, for example, that the terms *álàu:*, *álàu:bàu*, and *álàu:gàu* exist, but may not realize that they are all forms of the same vocabulary item, using the same root word ('apple, plum'), and reinterpret them as different items. This is in fact, what happened at one language class that I attended. These were all listed as items on the vocabulary list. One speaker indicated that *álàu*: should be glossed as 'apples', while another determined it to be 'fruit;' in the end, *álàu:bàu* was determined to be apple, and *álàu:gàu* to be plum, and although they remained divided as to what exactly *álàu* was, 'fruit' seemed to have more proponents and thus the list was amended. It was not determined exactly what the

form for 'apples' would be. This particular vocabulary item belongs to the somewhat mysterious Class III, which is undergoing changes we will discuss below.

Additionally, one generation's slang may become the next generation's socially accepted means of speech. More than one Elder, including ones who are considered to be good speakers, has told me that the way that they speak themselves was once considered to be substandard, even slang. Some aspects of the younger generations' (G3-G4) speech, even that sometimes considered "slang," are interlanguage forms, and could be considered to be part of the Modern Kiowa system, while others, I would argue, are more akin to lexical borrowings into the matrix of their English speech.

Changes in Noun Class System In describing Modern Kiowa noun class usage and plural formation, I focus on the forms that are being used most frequently by the living generations today. It is difficult to elicit data directly on noun classes, since knowledge of noun classes is latent in native speakers, so the best way to approach this information is to look at how they form plurals or otherwise mark number, since one system is dependant upon the other. For this reason, in this section I will discuss only the overt noun class change taking place in Modern Kiowa: the issue of Class III nouns. While there is some variation amongst Elder speakers as to how they assign nouns to classes and form plurals, there is a general trend to be distinguished, moving in the direction of the eradication of Class III, as will be discussed below. The anecdote given above with apples and plums is a good example. In some respects they were all "right," since all the terms they included are indeed associated with these forms and would likely be understood by other speakers of Kiowa today, and thus can be considered part of Modern Kiowa. Technically speaking, however, in Old Kiowa, the root word or basic

form *álàu:* refers to two apples or plums, while *álàu:bàu*, and *álàu:gàu* are dialectal variants of the inverse (singular or plural) form. The way in which the class members dealt with this issue is symptomatic of how speakers deal with Class III nouns.

Pruning Away Class III Kiowa's Noun Class III was already a bit of an enigma at the time of the writing of the Kiowa grammar in 1984. Watkins described it as a "small closed set" consisting of only four items: *álàu:* 'plum, apple', *tóthólàu:* 'orange', *qâun* 'tomato', and *ául* 'hair' (or '(head) hair' as she lists it). Technically speaking, these should be translated as 'two apples,' 'two oranges,' 'two tomatoes,' and 'two heads of hair (or two strands of hair),' since dual is the basic form for Class III nouns, while the inverse forms indicate both singular and plural. An additional quirk was that the basic form could be used to refer to 'bundles' of things: strands of hair or heads of hair. It seems that the noun class system was already in a state of significant change, and with the interruption of intergenerational transmission, as Fishman (1991) calls it, most Modern Kiowa speakers no longer have the frame of reference for utilizing the Class III terms according to the Old Kiowa number categorization. Examples (1)-(3) illustrate some of the ways that speakers from different generations treat with Class III nouns. These are drawn from my elicitation data, and the English translation is either the statement elicited, or the translation given by the speaker.

(1a) <u>Speaker 9 (G2)</u>
    Álàu:gàu dé fáugà.
    álàu:gàu   *dé*   *fáugà*
    apple-Inv   1sgA/InanInvP   eat-Perf
    'I ate an apple.'

(1b)   *Yí álàu:gàu mèn fáu.*
    yí   *álàu:gàu*   *mèn*   *fáu*
    two   apple-Inv   2sgA/3duP   eat-PImp
    'You should eat two apples.'

(1c)   *Étjè álàugàu mén fáulí.*
        étjè   *álàu:gàu*   *mên*   *fáulí*
        many   apple-InvP   2duA/InanInvP   eat-IImp
        'You two should be eating a lot of apples.'

Speaker 9, an Elder considered to be fairly fluent in the community, treats *álàu:gàu* as the solitary word for 'apple,' and uses stand-alone number forms to indicate exact number. This is her only deviation from Old Kiowa forms. Her pronominals consistrently use either the inanimate inverse form as in (1a) and (1c) or indicate number as in (1b). It is interesting that although she uses the noun with inverse marking in the dual, she uses actual number agreement on the pronominal, just as she would in Old Kiowa if she were using the basic form. The translations are hers; she demonstrated a playful disinclination to produce the requested items exactly as elicited, but preferred to embellish a bit. She considered it rather ridiculous that I would ask her to tell me that I had eaten an apple and modified it so it made better sense to her.

(2a)   Speaker 21. (G3)
        Álàu:gàu bàt fáu.
        álàu:gàu   *bàt*   *fáu*
        apple-Inv   2sgA/InanPlP   eat-imp
        'You ate two apples.'

(2b)   *Álàugàu: bàt fáu.*
        álàu:gàu   *bàt*   *fáu*
        apple-inv   2sgA/InanPlP   eat-Imp
        'You ate an apple.'

(2c)   *Álàu: bàt fáu.*
        álàu: *bàt*   *fáu*
        apple   1&2plA/InanPlP   eat-Imp
        'We two ate many apples.'

An interesting note about Speaker 21 is that he is one of the oldest students to have learned Kiowa at the University of Oklahoma. He was there near the beginning of the program there. He has, however, continued speaking Kiowa in the community, particularly with his Elder family members (including his mother and aunts, all his

cháu-gàu 'mothers' in the Kiowa way). It is community patterns that he demonstrates in his language use. The Class III noun number marking follows the Class II pattern: inverse for singular and dual in (2a) and (2b), and basic for plural in (2c). He uses the pronominal 'bàt' consistently as the   pronominal associated with the common expression *Bàt fáu!* 'Let's eat!' (which happens to be the same pronominal for second person singular agent in Old Kiowa, but he did not realize this before I remarked on it afterwards). In Old Kiowa, this form is associated with plural inanimate (thus non-inverse) objects. He also uses the imperative form of the verb. For this reason, this form should also be considered Modern Kiowa, as it is an extension of a well-known phrase.

(3a)   <u>Speaker 30 (G4)</u>
         Álàu: èm fáu.
         álàu: *èm*   *fáu*
         apple-basic   2sg.MK   eat-imp
         'You ate two apples.'

(3b)   *Álàugàu: èm fáu.*
         álàu:gàu   *èm*   *fáu*
         apple-Inv   2sg.MK   eat-Imp
         'You ate an apple.'

(3c)   *Álàugàu: bét fáu.*
         álàu:gàu   *bét*   *fáu*
         apple-Inv   1pl.inclA/InvPeat-Imp
         'We two ate many apples.'

Speaker 30 studied Kiowa at OU a number of years ago, but since then has primarily practiced speaking in the community. This combination can be seen in the way that he does use the Old Kiowa form of the Class III noun 'apple' but uses the command form of the verb instead of the statement requested. This is the form of the verb that is heard most often in the community. He also uses a pronominal in (3a) and (3b) that in Old Kiowa would be considered intransitive as opposed to transitive, but the one he uses is

the one most readily accessible for many semi-speakers, and can thus be considered a Modern Kiowa adaptation via the process of simplification. Interestingly, in (3c) he uses a form that is identical to the Old Kiowa pronominal for 'we (inclusive)' as agent and the inverse as patient. These statements would likely be understood by Modern Kiowa speakers.

After noticing the phenomenon of great variance in usage of Class III nouns in the community, Dane Poolaw, the young Kiowa teacher at the University of Oklahoma, came to a conclusion. He decided to cease teaching Class III in his classes, incorporating these items into Class II instead. In fact, this is how the members of the Kiowa class I mentioned earlier seemed to be treating *álàu:* in that, by interpreting it as 'fruit,' it could be the plural form of either apples or plums. Another way of interpreting the class decision could of course be through analogy with English compounds, with –*bàu* having the sense of 'apple' and –gàu having the sense of 'plum' – i.e., 'apple-fruit' or 'plum-fruit.' Since Kiowa is left-headed, with nouns modified by the addition of bound root suffixes, this reanalysis would work for bilinguals as well.

In teaching Kiowa with the system in place for including former Class III nouns as Class II members, Poolaw is both solidifying common practice, making it more systematic, as well as exerting agency in how Modern Kiowa is taking shape. As language learners emerge from classes informed by OU's teaching methodology[23], they will take this system with them into the community and share it with their interlocutors. Whether or not this directed, systematic change to a system that is partially subconscious unless actively acquired takes root in this way depends on many factors in

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[23] This includes classes taught in Norman, Lawton, and to some extent, Anadarko, as the teacher there is a speaker not trained as a teacher but who is in relatively close contact with Poolaw.

addition to the linguistic: sociolinguistic, language ideological, and sociocultural. Elders are generally given deference in all matters cultural and linguistic, but as the largely non-Kiowa-speaking or semi-speaking G3 population becomes the Elders, it is difficult to say what the ideological relationship between language, authority, and social standing will be.

Modern Kiowa Plural Formation Plural formation amongst Modern Kiowa speakers varies greatly, depending to some extent on the sociolinguistic and language learning factors discussed in Chapter 4. For some older Kiowa speakers (G2) many forms may remain very similar to Old Kiowa forms. Speakers who are Kiowa teachers at the University of Oklahoma as a general rule exhibit primarily if not exclusively Old Kiowa forms, as they have studied and teach Old Kiowa. The remaining forms from speakers from G2, G3, and G4 who are either rusty speakers, are primarily self-taught in natural contexts, and/or have learned through community classes, are most telling about what is different from Old Kiowa in the basic parts of the Kiowa noun class system. They may reproduce some Old Kiowa forms, but may overextend them. In this section I address the most systematic patterns of Modern Kiowa plural formation.

More Common Nouns, More Systematic Plural Marking. One relatively predictable pattern that can be seen is that nouns that are more common follow the Old Kiowa pattern more closely than those that are less common. For example, all the speakers who performed this task used the Old Kiowa plural forms for dogs and cats. A better example for comparison is my elicitation with boys and skunks seeing each other. The elicitation goes through various numbers of boys seeing various numbers of skunks and vice versa. *Tálí:* 'boy' is a more commonly used noun than the word *jál* 'skunk.' As

I did above, I will begin with a speaker from Generation 2, then one from G3 and finally one from G4. In this case, they are the same speakers from my first example. Interestingly, there is not much difference between the generations here, and the speakers themselves show some consistency with their utterances above. This can be seen clearly in example (4a) and (4b), elicited from a female Elder from Generation 2, who has in the past taught Kiowa language herself:

(4a)   <u>Speaker 9. (G2)</u>
       Tàlí: jâl bó̱.
       Tàlí: jál   bó̱.
       Boy   skunk   see
       The boy sees the skunk.

(4b)   *Pá̱ò tàlyóp étjè jâl ét bó̱:.*
       pá̱ò   tàly-óp   étjè   jâl   ét   bó̱:
       three   boy-Inv   many   skunk   3InvA/InvP   see-Perf
       The three boys saw many skunks.

Again, just as she did with the Class III example above, Speaker 9 uses only one form *jál* for the noun 'skunk', but uses the pronominal forms corresponding to the Old Kiowa pattern. She produces the inverse agents acting on inverse objects pronominal form for the plural statement in (4b), indicating that both agent and patient are Class I animate nouns. Finally, she use stand-alone number marking words to indicate how many of the entities are involved in the sentence.[24] Extension of the meaning of a word form in this way (*jál* for both 'skunk' and 'skunks') could be considered a type of simplification, but not one that is due to contact with English, but rather a form of attrition, perhaps forgetting the inverse form (*játjàu)* of a less common word.

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[24] Admittedly, since these are elicited forms, there is the possibility that in asking for specific numbers of entities a speaker might believe I was asking for as close a translation as possible, which might lead them to include number words. I needed to do this, however, to capture the use or lack of use of the dual distinction and differentiate it from true plurals.

(5a)   Speaker 21 (G3)
         Jâl tálí: bǫ́:.
         Jâl   tálí: Ø   bǫ́:.
         skunk boy   3sgA/3sgP   see-Perf
         The boy sees the skunk.

(5b)   *Étjè jâl pǎò tàlyóp á bǫ́.*
         étjè   jâl   pǎò   tàly-óp   á   bǫ́.
         many skunk   three boy-inv   3plHuman-M.K.   see-Perf
         The three boys saw many skunks.

The G3 speaker who studied Kiowa long ago at OU but has since spoken and continued

learning primarily in the wider Kiowa community again shows the signs of his

background in that he uses both Modern Kiowa and Old Kiowa forms. As was common

at OU at the time, following the collaboration on study materials of linguists Watkins,

MacKenzie, and Palmer, students were taught sentence structure was that placed objects

first in transitive sentences where nouns are included for both agent and patient. Just as

Speaker 9 does, he uses separate number-marking words to indicate number while using

one form, *jâl*, to indicate 'skunk' in both singular and plural. It should be noted here

that he asked me to remind him of the word for 'skunk' in Kiowa, but once I told him,

he remembered immediately, even reproducing the appropriate falling tone. Finally, his

pronominal form is a Modern Kiowa adaptation, and could be derived either from the

intransitive third person plural form for humans (*á*) or an expansion of the imperative

expression "Á bǫ́:!" "Look!" as he did in example (2) above.

(6a)   Speaker 30 (G4)
         Jál tálí: bǫ́:.
         Jál   tálí: Ø   bǫ́:.
         skunk boy   3sgA/3sgP   see-Perf
         The boy sees the skunk.

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(6b)   *Jál tàlyóp bó̱.*

Jál	tàly-óp	Ø	bó̱.
skunk	boy-inv	Ø	see-perf

The boys saw many skunks.

Speaker 30 is similar to Speaker 21 in that he places objects first in the sentence. He follows the pattern of both the above speakers in that he extends the meaning of the word *jâl* (although he uses a high tone as opposed to a falling one) to encompass both 'skunk' and 'skunks.' What he does differently is that he does not make use of separate enumerative words to distinguish that the boys saw many skunks. He also uses the null morpheme in his plural sentence, ignoring number altogether. He carried this pattern throughout the transitives and plurals elicitation. Since he is a second-language speaker, this is more likely due to imperfect learning (or simply lack of practice with transitive sentences) than actual attrition of the linguistic system.

5.1.3. Language External and Language Internal Factors of Change

As can be seen from the discussion on changes within the noun class III, the gradual reduction in the system from a four class system to a three class system over more than four generations is evidence of a language-internal change. The rules for plural formation are undergoing attrition for many speakers, even G2 speakers in the case of Class III nouns and less common nouns from other classes. In the case of plural formation and noun class membership for Kiowa speakers, it is primarily attrition of the system due to lack of use and not contact with English that is driving language change.

5.2. Morphosyntax and the Changing Kiowa Sentence

The remainder of this chapter is dedicated to two topics that are of great import to my theory that Modern Kiowa may be considered a less typically polysynthetic language than Old Kiowa. It has long been considered that many Native North American languages are polysynthetic; in fact, the term "polysynthetic" was coined in the early 1800's by Peter Duponceau to describe the "general character of Indian languages" as tending to include "the greatest number of ideas in the least amount of words" (Hewett 1893). One of the "oldest and most frequently cited of typological features" according to Mithun (2009:3), the concept has been honed over time, and even today there is no unanimous agreement as to exactly what qualifies a language as polysynthetic. Following the original definition, the idea of morphemes-per-word count could be considered an ideal test; Mithun cites Greenburg, whom she calls "the founder of linguistic typology," and his M/W synthetic ratio, with M of course being morphemes and W being word (ibid.). While it is often assumed that languages such as may have six or more morphemes in a word, in fact it is very uncommon, according to Greenburg, for languages to rate than 3.00 on the scale. It should be noted that few languages can be completely classified as belonging exclusively to one category or another, especially if consider the structure of different linguistic categories. To take a well-known example, English is towards the analytic end of the scale in terms of morphemes-per-word count, but it is inflectional in its verb structure and agglutinating in its noun structure.

Baker, in discussing his Polysynthesis Parameter, takes an even narrower definition of polysynthesis. His view that "every argument of a head must be associated

with a morpheme in the word containing that head" and that this may be accomplished by agreement or "movement", i.e. incorporation (Baker 1996:400). By this definition, it seems, he excludes Greenlandic, even though this language was rated highest among his samples on the morphological typological scale, with an average of 3.72 morpheme count per word (Mithun 2009). Mithun argues that Baker's view is too narrow and veers away from the original definition.

Yet even by Baker's Morphological Visibility Condition (the Polysynthesis Parameter), Old Kiowa with its pronominal prefixes could be considered a polysynthetic language, and he discusses the direction of adjunction, which is immediately relevant to our discussion on word order below (1996:117). This classification may be changing, however, as with the changing nature of former pronominal prefixes, becoming clitics which are increasingly perceived and taught as stand-alone words by speakers, Modern Kiowa seems to be moving away from this classification and becoming more analytic. Yet these processes seem to be becoming less productive, more commonly lexicalized forms accepted as vocabulary items, as will be discussed below. Word order seems to be less free for younger speakers, who are either taught a certain way in class or who transfer the grammatical structure of free-standing noun arguments from English. These issues are essential to understand the nature of Modern Kiowa and the structural changes it has been and currently is undergoing.

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5.2.1. Incorporation: Changes in Productivity

What first drew me to look at noun incorporation in Kiowa was its use in the legends as told and written down by Parker MacKenzie. Mr. MacKenzie, the gifted amateur linguist, was eloquent in his Kiowa speech and made great use of the different types of incorporation in the retelling of his stories. It was early on that I was first told that this type of speech was no longer heard as frequently in Kiowa "these days." Many languages in the world exhibit incorporation in some form. Languages have noun incorporation and extensive use of bound roots and multiple affixes on the verb may often be classified as polysynthetic languages, as these morphological processes increase the morphemes-per-word count (Mithun 2000:916). Watkins notes that Kiowa actually exhibits two different types of incorporation, simple incorporation of stems from within the same clause and raising incorporation, where items are inorporated from a subordinate clause (Watkins 224). Both of these types can be found in the data gathered from the Kiowa Cultural Program corpus that represents the speech of the oldest speakers, G1. She also emphasizes in her grammar that Kiowa speakers can incorporate stems from three different syntactic categories: nouns, verbs, and adverbs. Although I originally designed my research to look only at noun incorporation explicitly, it is undeniable that noun incorporation is just part of a larger whole in Kiowa. After working with the translations of the KCP recordings, I found that verbal incorproation or verbal compounding is perhaps even more prevalent in the Old Kiowa data than noun incorporation. I will discuss it here only briefly, as I believe it important to mention all the different types of incorporation that are possible, but incorporation in Modern Kiowa deserves a more thorough investigation than I was able to give it here.

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Generation I: Incorporation and Compounding in Old Kiowa If one takes word formation processes such as incorporation to be one of the defining characteristics of a polysynthetic language, then Kiowa definitely fits within the definition. Lengthy words that are the result of incorporation and compounding are considered by many speakers of G3 to be typically representative of Old Kiowa. While we were doing the translations, many Elders exhibited pleasure in the nostalgia of hearing these forms. In the speech of G1 speakers, however, such this type of word formation was very productive and common. In the monologues from the 1970's Kiowa Cultural Program recordings that our focus group translated, I have heard some speakers use a lot of incorporation, while other speakers use less.

(7)   Margaret Daingkau

Kí:dàfà hàundé gà ậu:màu, gídè:dàpfà né héjáu ámè̱: ét dáu:chátfà...
Kí:dà-fà   háundè   gá-ậu:-màu   gídè:-dàp-fà
day-LOC   things   1PL:INTR-happen-IMPFnight-entire-with
'Daily and nightly things (problems) occur…'

né   héjáu   ám-è̱:   ét-dáu:chá-t-fà...
but   wait   2SG-towards   1PL.REFL-pray-CONT-LOC
'…but still we recognize you prayerfully.'

The speaker from example (7) used less incorporation in her speech as a whole, although she did still use incorporation from time to time, as can be seen in (9) below in the section on genres of incorporation.

(8)   Louis Toyebo
Aùnqí Cáuigù fá:gàu jógà gà dáu.
Aùnqí   Cáui-gù   fá:gàu   jó:gà   gà-dáu.
long.ago   Kiowa-people   one   language   3PLINANS.INTR-be
A long time ago the Kiowa people had one language.

Mr. Toyebo is an example of a well-respected orator who was very clear in his speech. He could use more elaborate structures if he chose to, or he could use more simple

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sentences if that suited his purposes better. One of my collaborators indicated that she believed he would often tailor his speech to his audience or future audience in using simple sentences, as he knew that fewer and fewer people of the younger generation were learning Kiowa. In this particular sentence, he refrains from using extensive incorporation. In (9) Mr. Toyebo uses more extensive incorporation:

(9) Louis Toyebo
   Jé háundé gàhâigàjò̱thá:gà.
   Jé+háundé   gà-hâi-yàu+jò̱:-thá:gà
   all+thing   3PLA.DAT-learn-IMPF+language+be.good.INTR
   People are learning everything in a good language.

(10) George Kauyidaude
   Tháucáuigù jé:hàundé gàu é:qùlgìgâu.
   Tháucáui-gù jé:+hàundé   gàu   Ø-é:+qùl+gígâu.
   Whitemen   everything   CONJ   3PL.INANS-seeds+be.lying+early
   'Whitemen, they plant the seeds and everything early.'

This speaker, Mr. Kauyidaude, uses incorporation extensively. In nearly every sentence of his monologue one will find examples of incorporation. His remarks are a good source of the range of incorporated elements that one finds in Old Kiowa speech.

   Incorporated Elements There are an extensive number of bound roots in Old Kiowa, too extensive to enumerate anywhere except perhaps in a comprehensive dictionary. Incorporation was very productive amongst speakers of G1, as I found in our selections from the Kiowa Cultural Program (KCP) corpus. These can include syntactic categories such as nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives.

(11) George Kauyidaude
   Cí-tháidáu-gàu, fá: Cígúldáugàu.
   Ø-cí+thái-dàu-gàu   fá: Ø-cí-gùl+dàu-gàu
   3SGS.INTR-meat+white-be-PL   some   3SGS.INTR+meat-red+be
   'One's white meat (whitemen), some are red meat (indians).'

(12)   George Kauyidaude

À:kó é:gàu áugàufikáui

À:kó	*é:gàu*	*áugàufi-káui*	*dàu-dè*	*áuihyàu-gàu*
Well	this-INV	buffalo-skin	be-NOM	that.particular.one-INV

'Well, this buffalo hide, that particular one,

gà pàu dèó:dè, à:gààumé

gà	*pàu*	*dè-ó:dè*	*Ø-à:gà+àumé*
3PLINANS.INTR	fur	1SG.REFL-great	3SGS.INTR-sit+make

'that fur is great, and you can create

gàu fálàumgà màun gàdáudàu páu,

gàu	*Ø-fál+àum-gà*	*màun*	*gà-dáu-jàu*	*páu*
and	3SGS.INTR-quilt+make-IMPF	probably	3PLINANS.INTR-be-FUT	fur

'and make a quilt, probably, that will be fur,'

dè gápyìdò cháigà.

dè-gápyì-dò	*cháigà*
1SG.REFLA+around+hold	winter

'I wrap around me in the winter.'

We see many incorporated elements in (11) and (12). These include verb incorporation or verbal compouning such as *à:gà+àumé* 'sit+make' in (12), noun incorporation such as *fál+àum-gà* 'quilt+make' in (12), and adverbial incorporation such as in (11) *Ø-cí+thái-dàu-dè* '3SGS.INTR-meat+white-be-IMPF.

 Genres and Domains of use. These examples all came from the monologues that our focus groups translated together. Example (13) is from a prayer that was said during the opening of one of the monologue sessions. Each session started with a prayer, then was followed by the monologues. Introductory prayers, often took place in both public and private domains, as such prayers would be used not just in church, but also at the opening of many cultural events, as well as at private events such as prayer meetings or family gatherings. The monologues themselves are another type of genre, which are

more likely to be found in more public domains such as meetings or perhaps a related genre of witnessing in cultural or religious contexts.

(13)   Margaret Daingkau
       É̱:gàu dáuqàjó: dáu chéldé:è è
       É̱:gàu dáuqà+jó: dáu   chéldè:-è̱
       This   God+house   be.STAT put-LOC
       We Kiowa are all gathered in this Church we've established,

       èáuijò̱càdàudè; hègáu yánhâigàdàu
       è-áui-jò̱-cà-dàu-dè   *hègáu*   *yán-hâigà-dàu*
       1PL.EXCL.INTR-again-speech-LOC-be.STAT-REL   DM   2SG.GEN-know-STAT
       'speaking together again; well, you (alone) know'

       háundèfédo jógàtháudè.
       háundè+fédò: jó̱:gà+tháu-dè.
       whatever+spirit   speech+listen-REL
       'whatever mystery (spirit speech) we will listen to…'

The above example from a prayer uses a vocabulary item very commonly heard in prayers, *fédò*: 'spirit.' The incorporation at the end shows the object being incorporated, forming an activity that would presumably occur more often in religious settings.

(14)   George Kauyidaude
       À̱:kó é̱:gàu fóigà, bèjó̱:sàumìthàuchàlgàu.
       À̱:kó   é̱:gàu   fói-gà   bé-jó̱:+sàumì+thàu-hàl+dàu.
       well   these   sound-INV   2PLS.REFL-say+interesting+listen-IMPF+be
       'Well, I'm not having you listen to bragging.' (lit. "Well again, you're listening to bragging [implied: but you're not].")

Taken from one of the monologues, (14) is a good example of metadiscourse, a remark that a man may use to say something about his speech. He's using it as framing, to lend weight and credence to his discourse. He uses a very involved incidence of verbal compounding, in which he incorporates three different verb roots, one of which is inflected, which is then turned into a stative verb.

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<u>Incorporation in Modern Kiowa</u> Spoken Kiowa today does not have as many examples of the type of elaborate incorporation that was found in the speech of elegant orators of G1. Dorothy DeLaune expressed pleasure and nostalgia in listening to the heavily incorporated forms, and she indicated that the types of words we were hearing in the monologues were true Old Kiowa, the kind that "you just don't hear anymore." Incorporation today, be it noun incorporation or verbal compounding, is not as productive or frequent as it once was. Yet it does still exist, among the more fluent speakers of G2 and some well-studied Kiowa teachers, and even amongst a few language learners from G4, although it may be limited to only specific roots, particularly for those educated in the classes. For a greater number of speakers, the process of incorporation itself does not seem to be productive, limited primarily to elements that have been lexicalized, such as *áultêmkòpdàu* 'to have a headache' and *hóài* 'run' and *hóàun* 'travel, which I will discuss below.

<u>Incorporated Elements</u> There are a certain number of incorporated roots that are still productive in Kiowa, even amongst younger speakers, at least, the more fluent ones. These include both noun roots and adverbial roots. Tables 5.3. and 5.4. give a lists of the more common incorporated elements, for nouns and adjectives respectively. These are often included in the curriculum materials from the higher level Kiowa courses at OU. Some of these elements still have freestanding counterparts, while others seem to be always bound. If there is a freestanding complement, I list it as well.

Nouns. Some noun incorporation that appears to still be productive, at least among G2 speakers, is the incorporaton of body parts and instrumentals, a very

common pattern cross-linguistically. These follow the same typical pattern of incorporation, as can be seen in (15), (16), and (17) below.

(15) <u>Speaker 11 (G2)</u>
    À àultêmkòpdàu.
    À   *àultêm+kòp-dàu.*
    1sg-Intr   head+hurt-stat
    'I have a headache.' ('My head hurts.' or lit. 'I am head-hurt.')

(16) <u>Speaker 11 (G2)</u>
    Fé̲:fí̲:vàu án è tháp ê̲bànmà.
    Fé̲:fí̲:vàu   *án*   *è*   *tháp+ê̲+bànmà.*
    November   hab   1pl.excl   deer+hunt+go-impf
    'In November we hunt deer.'
    (Lit. 'In Turkey-eating-month we (not you) go deerhunting.')

These two utterances come from the same speaker, for whom incorporation is indeed productive. This standard pattern of incorporation may involve valence changing, as in example 11, when a sentence that is transitive in English in Kiowa takes the form of an intransitive one. The transitive version of the two sentences would be considered awkward or even unacceptable, as in the case of the first. In the first case, one's head cannot actively hurt oneself or be sick by itself, so it could not be considered the true subject of the sentence as it can in English. Another example of this phenomenon comes from my elicitation sessions and can be seen in (17a) and (17b).

(17a)   *<u>Speaker 4 (G2)</u>
    Tálìsyàn xógúfà.
    tálì-syàn   *xó-gú-fà.*
    boy-small   stone-hit-loc
    'The stone hit the boy.' Lit. 'The boy was stone-hit.'

(17b) *Tálísyàn xó gú.*
    **tálí-syàn*   *xó*   *gú*
    boy-small   rock   hit
    *'The stone hit the boy.'

Part of the reason (17b) is unacceptable is because of considerations of animacy. As an inanimate Incidentally, the speaker would have preferred to say exactly <u>where</u> the boy was hit by the rock, possibly so she had a better place to put her locative as opposed to attaching it to the end of the verbal phrase, which seems a bit awkward as locatives are normally suffixes on nouns.

Many words that are actually comprised of bound roots are have been lexicalized, and are seen as unanalyzable vocabulary items. This includes many nouns involving nominalizing bound roots, such as the four that Watikins identified, *–dè, -gà, -bá,* and *sè,* that today are considered simply part of a vocabulary word. Examples of these can be found in body part terminology: *tó̜dé* 'leg' and *jádé* 'eye,' x*ó̜*:gà 'feathers,' and t*ó̜*:sè 'bones.' Interestingly, as Watkins explains, these bound roots are usually dropped when the inverse suffix is added, with the exception of *–sé* (1984:92-93). The inverse forms of these examples are *tó̜:gáu* 'legs,' *já:gàu* 'eyes,' x*ó̜*:gàut 'single feather' (Class II), and the exception *tó̜:sègàu* 'bone' (also Class II).

One example of noun incorporation that could be either productive or lexicalized can be found in the word *ó̜:tàdàu* 'be happy.' The root for 'joy', -*ó̜*:, is very common in Kiowa, as it is part of the phrase "*Kídà:ò̜:*" 'It is a good or joyous day" often heard in prayers, and the common expression *"Dè ó̜:dè."* which is taken to mean a few different things. It is generally taken to me 'it's great' or 'it's good,' as in the often heard utterance *"Dè ó̜:dè èm bó̜:."* 'It's great to see you," (also sometimes expressed as *"Háundè ó̜:dè èm bó̜:"* 'How wonderful it is to see you!" It's also used in the expression *"À:hó dé ó̜:dè"* which seems to express great gratitude, as in 'thank you so much'. One particular instance where it is used in this way in Modern Kiowa that I

can recall is its use at the end of an email. In our translation group we found this phrase as the introduction to a prayer, and the Elders decided it should be transcribed as follows:

(18)   Margaret Daingkau
 Dé <u>*ò:dè*</u>*. À:hô.*
 dé-<u>*ò:dè*</u>   *à:hô.*
 1SG.REFL-happy   Thank you.
 'I'm happy. Thank you.'

I found this to be a bit strange, as in Old Kiowa 'be happy' is an intransitive verb, <u>*ó:tàdàu,*</u> not a reflexive one. There are two other options for this pronominal, albeit with different tones, but they are transitive and ditransitive. The suffix *-de* can be a nominalizer, a bound root, although could be possible that this is a case of relative synonyms with slightly different senses, or simply homonyms. After all, *-gà* is also a nominalizer, and there is a stative verb <u>*á:gà*</u> 'be sitting' and a reflexive verb *sáugà* 'sit down.' Perhaps the sense of this is "I am happy in myself" or 'I am fulfilled.' It is also possible that this is a Modern Kiowa speaker's reinterpretation of a phrase, for as Silverstein (1996) indicates, not all structures are metalinguistically accessible to speakers of the language (even with a linguist trying to explain them).

Table 5.2. shows some of the bound roots speakers recognize today. The most common (and commonly known) bound roots from this selection are of course *qì-* and *–mà* for 'man' and 'woman,' as they are used in many Kiowa names. The least common are probably the roots for male animal and female animal, *-chệqì* and *-chệmà*, as rarely do most Kiowa people have to refer to animals as breeding stock these days. It is interesting that these forms appear similar to the word for 'horse' *chệ:,* which have long been culturally important to the Kiowa people, and a word that long ago was actually

Table 5.2. Bound Roots: Noun examples.

Bound Noun Root	English Gloss	Example	Freestanding form Adverb or Verb	English Gloss
-qì	male person	*jó:àumqì* 'male construction worker' Lit. 'house builder'	qà:hí: qí	man husband
-mà	woman	*gútmà* 'female artist'	mà:yí	woman
-dè	either (one who is) also: nominalizer	*fí:àumdè* 'cook'		
-gú	people	*Cáuigú* 'Kiowa people'		
-í	offspring (of animal)	*chégùní* 'puppy'	kódêdè	immediately, suddenly
-chę̂qì	male animal	*chènbóchę̂qì* 'bull'		
-chę̂mà	female animal		óbàuidàu	

used for dogs. As horses took over the role of dogs as pack animals, pulling the travois, dogs began to be referred to with a new term, chę̂hì, which includes the root –hì which means 'original or most true example' also found in the word for 'eagle' cújòhì. The current word for dog is of course, *chégùn*, although the origins of this change are unknown to all with whom I have consulted.

There are a few of these formerly bound roots that have made their way into Modern Kiowa as freestanding words. I have often heard women, particularly from the younger generations G3 and G4, address fellow women as *má* as a term of endearment evincing closeness, approximating the affectionate English expressions 'Girl!' or perhaps the somewhat antiquated term of address 'old girl.' Once I heard someone use *óbàui* as 'true' as one would use a freestanding adjective in English. as opposed to the Old Kiowa *óbàuidàu* 'be true.' I have, however, heard the Old Kiowa variants, the stative verb and the incorporated adverbial bound root, being used as well. Although they were not a focal part of my investigation, I will mention a few things about the other types items incorporated here as well.

Adverbs. The incorporation of bound adverbial roots seems to still be relatively productive, particularly for certain items. These can be seen in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3. Bound Roots: Adverbial examples. I have chosen the ones that seem to still be most productive. These can all take inverse suffixes, which I will not list here.

Noun Bound Root	English Gloss	Freestanding form Adverb or Verb	English Gloss
cò:dó-	very	qà̱:hí̱, qí	man, husband
bô-	always	màyí	woman
âui-	again		
kó-	now	kódêdè	immediately, suddenly
kàulé:-	together		
óbàui-	real / true	óbàuidàu	
thàum-	first	tháumyáu	first
mi-	almost, nearly	mîn	about to

One hears them in names, such as *Dáuiâuiqì* 'Much Wounded Man," in phrases such as the common equivalent of 'goodbye' *"Èm âuibò̱:jàu."* and in another common phrase *"Bà kóbà."* 'Let's go." (lit. 'We leave right now.') Although there are also many freestanding versions of adverbials, these prefixes have not been supplanted by them as far as I can tell.

Verbs. Most of the verbal incorporation I have heard seems to be lexicalized and are today seen as unanalyzable verbs. One prime example is found in the word *hóài* 'to run.' The first part of the word is the bound root *hó-* 'travel,' but the second is unidentifiable to all the collaborators I have spoken with, and since I used this expression in my pronominal elicitation, I had the opportunity to ask many people. A related form is *hóàun* which means 'drive.' This form was explained to me by one of my G3 participants as 'make one's way on the road' as he explained that *'hó'* was the

word for road. This may be a result of folk reinterpretation, as he knew the phrase

"Thágà bàt hóàun!" 'Drive safe!' (lit. drive carefully).

Table 5.4. Bound Roots: Verb examples. I have chosen them from among the ones that are taught in the more advanced Kiowa classes at the University of Oklahoma, but honestly I have not heard many of these in daily conversation.

Noun Bound Root	English Gloss	Freestanding form Adverb or Verb	English Gloss
-qì	male person	qà:hí;, qí	man, husband
-mà	woman	màyí	woman
âui-	again		
kó-	now	kódêdè	immediately, suddenly
kàulé:-	together		
óbàui-	real / true	óbàuidàu	
thàum-	first	tháumyáu	first

Although I do not have any more examples of verb compounding in my data set, I have heard some of the verbal compounding so prevalent in Old Kiowa does still sometimes take place in Modern Kiowa, especially in the speech of some G2 speakers, just to a much lesser extent. Verbal compounding was not something that I designed my elicitations to bring forth. The productivity of different types of incproation in Kiowa today would be an interesting direction for future research.

Mechanisms of Change: Internally or Externally Motivated? The changes that are taking place in Kiowa relating to incorporation are clear: it is no longer as productive as it once was, with some grammaticalization of incorporated forms and some bound forms seeming to become freestanding. The reasons for this are not completely clear, although it could readily be considered to be a result of simplification due to attrition, as greatly incorporated forms may have come to be seen as the realm of the linguistically more gifted and were not used as much by the G2 speakers who

increasingly used English to communicate. It could also perhaps be seen as a contact phenonomon, as people whose primary language of communication was English, a language more towards the analytic end of the scale, but is moderately inflectional in its verbal morphology. We will now address the the morphological results of contact between English, morphologically typified as more analytic, with Kiowa, a traditionally polysynthetic language.

5.2.2. Word Order or Constituent Order

In more synthetic languages, particularly highly inflectional and polysynthetic languages, word order is generally more flexible than in analytic languages, which use word order to determine the syntactic roles of elements in the sentence. The reason for this is that inflectional and polysynthetic language often mark the roles of participants using processes of inflection, on the nouns, the verbs, or both. As discussed extensively in Chapter 4, Kiowa indicates syntactic roles through its pronominal system, which is attached – although somewhat more loosely as clitics than as prefixes – to the verb, as well as through number marking on the nouns. It does not use case marking to indicate roles of the participants. Since Old Kiowa also has a relatively flexible constituent order (while being primarily verb final), this means that speakers must sometimes rely on solely on context to determine syntactic roles in a sentence, particularly when the two arguments are both third person and from the same noun class and have the same number value, as with, say, a cat chasing a dog. But what if the context is not clear? One way around this conundrum would be of course to use noun incorporation to include the object in the verb. But as incorporation in Kiowa seems to be becoming less

productive, as fewer speakers use it and language learners do not hear it being used, this option may no longer be available to the majority of speakers. Native speakers, of course, may have other ways to indicate, through or through the use of dependant clauses, or through deixis and the use of demonstratives (although these too are contextually based). When we add into the picture the fact that the language in question is in a state of endangerment, where it is not being transmitted intergenerationally, and where the dominant language of all of the speakers is English, a language that does use word order to signal roles, then the student of language change might suspect that changes may occur. These ideas were what inspired me to investigate word order or constituent order in Modern Kiowa.

Generation I: Old Kiowa 'Word Order': Relative Flexibility As both Watkins and Mithun note, word order in Old Kiowa was relatively flexible. Baker's claim that Kiowa was underlyingly SVO was based on Watkins, although he admits that this was his interpretation (Baker 1996:400). His interpretation would seem to be upheld in (19).

(19)   Louis Toyebo
Aùnqí Cáuigù fá:gàu jóɡà gà dáu.

Aùnqí	Cáui-gù	fá:gàu	jó:gà	gà-dáu.
long.ago	Kiowa-people	one	language	3PLInanS.intr-be

A long time ago the Kiowa people had one language.

In the transcriptions of G1 Old Kiowa speakers that I completed together with various Elders in the community, it was difficult to find many examples of transitive sentences that were structured in this way, due to the overwhelming amount of incorporation in their utterances. In example (20), we have an example from this same speaker of what many speakers did with sentences that use verbs that would theoretically have a valence of two: incorporate the noun stem.

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(20)   Louis Toyebo
        Jé háundé gàhâigàjò̱thá:gà.
        Jé   háundé   gà-hâi-yàu+jò̱:-thá:gà
        all   thing   3PL.DAT-learn-IMPF+language-be.good
        One is learning everything in a good language.

Here in (21) we have another example of the same phenomenon, where speakers preferred noun incorporation over forming a transitive sentence. The glosses were provided by our translation group. Although at first glance I would translate the sentence as 'the old woman cooks,' one collaborator insisted that in this sentence she was 'making food' because of what follows, as she says that it's not ready yet.

(21)   George Kauyidaude
        Élmà hègáu fí̱:àumgà, háunè?, hègáu, án èmfóihyômqàjài:dàu.
        él-mà   hègáu   fí̱:+àumgà   háunè   hègáu
        old-woman   DM   food+make   NEG   DM
        'The old woman makes the food, no?, well,

        án   èm-fóihyôm-qàjài:-dàu.
        HAB   2SG.INTR-fine-chief-be
        you're acting like the big chief.' (Note: Includes rhetorical question and speaking to himself, making a point about gender roles in the household.)

The other part of the story is that rarely do we find simple transitive sentences in the corpus. Some speakers, like James Silverhorn, tended to be very eloquent in their speech, using many discourse markers and dependant clauses in expressing their thoughts. Example (19) above is the exception to the rule of preference of noun incorporation. Thus it seems that it is a bit simplistic to pin Kiowa down to any particular constituent order category, and saying that constituent order is relatively flexible, as Watkins does, is the most sensible approach. Exactly where Baker got the impression that Kiowa is typologically SOV is not at all clear. The most certain thing that can be said can be found in Watkins' grammar:

Kiowa is thus a verb-final language typologically speaking, but not strictly so. It is rare to find all three nominals present in a clause in ordinary discourse. Typically, a participant is identified by a full noun at the beginning of a stretch of discourse Thereafter, it is signaled only in the verbal prefixes at least until such time as the speaker feels that the participant should be re-identified for his listeners.

(Watkins 1984:205)

Generation II-IV: Modern Kiowa 'Word Order': Fixed Placement, or Variability?

This brings us to the investigation of the speech practices of Modern Kiowa speakers of today. As noted above, speakers today are all fluent in English, and often use it as their dominant language, even if they had used the language extensively as children, which many did not due to boarding school practices. Second language learners who are coming with ingrained notions about how sentences are put together may struggle with how to form Kiowa sentences, where few guidelines exist as to the 'proper' way to structure a sentence, except "the verb comes at the end, with the pronominal immediately preceding it." In the face of a lack of guidelines, second language students who have not experienced sufficient natural language input will invariably draw upon the structural resources they already possess: from their native language. In fact, one of the participants from G3 (who did not complete this particular elicitation with me as he grew frustrated partly through with his uncertainty) consistently imposed English word order patterns while inserting Kiowa vocabulary (22). He has not taken any official classes, but has done some self-study with Elders in the community. He is charasmatic and adaptable, and can, however, by and large make himself understood when conversing with more fluent speakers, and takes criticism with stride, considering it to be a good learning experience.

(22)   Speaker 25. (G3)
        Chégùn á:lè báò.
        chégùn   á:lè   báò
        dog   chase   cat
        The dog chased the cat.

The linguists who designed the program at the University of Oklahoma decided to take an intermediate approach. They would give students a 'suggested' sentence structure so they could have a more natural Kiowa form to their sentences. Linguists Watkins, Palmer, and MacKenzie together designed the program, and the speakers decided together that the most 'natural' seeming order when directly identifying both nouns in a sentence was most certainly verb-final, but also object-initial, thus OSV. This is what was taught when Speakers 30 and 21 were learning Kiowa at OU. This habit has carried through in their speech – to some extent. For example, Speaker 30 changed his mind halfway through the elicitation, starting off first putting subjects first, and later putting objects first. Here are two examples of this practice:

(23a)   Speaker 30 (G4)
        Chégun báò á:lé.
        chégùn   báò   Ø   á:lé.
        dog   cat   3sgA/2sgP   chase-perf
        "The dog chased the cat."

(23b)   Speaker 30 (G4)
        Jál tálí: bó̱:.
        Jál   tálí: Ø   bó̱:.
        skunk   boy   3sgA/3sgP   see-Perf
        The boy sees the skunk.

In the first sentence, he follows an SOV word order, while in the second he follows an OSV subject order. As mentioned above, he has learned Kiowa both from the community, including his grandparents in particular, with whom he was very close, and by taking classes at OU years ago. His major spheres of interaction since his graduation,

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however, have been with his family members and other Kiowa people with whom he associates. Both of these examples are influenced by these experiences. After struggling at first to remember the transitive pronominal set, as he became more comfortable with the idea of an elicitation (a rather abnormal type of communication, to be sure), his language acquisition practices form the classroom began coming back to him. He then continued this remembered pattern through for the rest of the elicitation. Speaker 21 used the same learned pattern.

Another speaker, Speaker 9, a G2 speaker, still considers flexible word order to be the norm for Kiowa. She indicated that either (24a) or (24b) below are acceptable sentences:

(24a) Speaker 9 (G2)
       Tálí: yí: jâl è bó̱.
       tálí: *yí:*   *jâl*   *è̱*   *bó̱*
       boy   two   skunk 3sgA/3duP   see-perf
       The boy saw two skunks.

(24b) *Yí jâl tálí: è̱ bó̱.*
       yí   *jâl*   *tálí:*   *è̱*   *bó̱*
       two   skunk boy   3sgA/3duP   see-perf
       The boy saw two skunks.

As with previous utterances, she made use of the Old Kiowa transitive pronominal indicating that a single Class I agent was acting on a dual Class I patient. In this case, her use of *jâl* for 'two skunks' would technically still fit in with old Kiowa, since the dual of this class have the same basic form as the singulars. It would have been useful if I had used more Class II nouns in my elicitations, to see how she used plural formation for these words, although I suspect that she would have still produced the Old Kiowa pronominal forms corresponding to the arguments of the verb.

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The data that I have for Modern Kiowa speakers was drawn largely from elicitation, as there were rarely stretches of Kiowa discourse recorded during our group meetings. This means that I must acknowledge that there could be a potential translation bias. Modern Kiowa speakers do not seem to have the same preference for noun incorporation, although that could possibly have something to do with the process of elicitation itself. People who are balanced bilinguals, which is actually rare for Kiowa speakers today, or even for whom the second language is still fledgling, will often make direct translations that try to accommodate what the linguist is asking. Speaker 9 was reliable in that she would note when what I was asking was odd as it was phrased in English, and would point out that in Kiowa it could not be said in the way that I was asking, as she did in Example (16a & b) above regarding the animacy problem with the inanimate stone acting as an agent, which is not acceptable in Kiowa, preferring to use noun-incorporation and treat the stone as the instrument that it was. As a speaker who spoke Kiowa quite extensively with her mother, who was a monolingual Kiowa speaker who never did learn to speak English, she did use the language extensively during her childhood. She attended a Catholic boarding school that was close to where her family lived, and where they were not punished for speaking their native language.

One case in which I believe that the process of elicitation may have affected the sentence structure of the translations of elicitation items can be found in a G2 speaker. She consistently produced sentences that seemed to be direct translations with an SOV subject order. She did not note any complications with the scenario that it would be unconvential for an inanimate subject to act on an animate being.

(25a)   Speaker 8.
        Chégùn báò á:lé.
        chegùn   báò   á:lé
        dog   cat   chase
        The dog chased the cat.

(25b)   *Báò chégùn á:lé.*
        báò   chégùn   á:lé.
        cat   dog   chase-perf
        The cat chased the dog.

(25c)   *Xó tálí gú.*
        xó   tálí   gú.
        stone   boy   hit
        The stone hit the boy.

In these cases, too, it seems that my initial expectations were somewhat too simplistically formulated. I overestimated the degree to which language learners would be able to produce transitive sentences, resulting in too few participants being able to complete the task to give sufficient data from which to draw conclusive results. The Old Kiowa predilection for noun incorporation, which was in the process of fading for many of the G2 speakers who were models for the younger speakers outside of classes, resulted in G3 and G4 language learners not having sufficient input to appropriately analyze and acquire this structure efficiently. Incorporation was taught in the advanced level courses, but since the intuitions for how to appropriately incorporate bound roots themselves (in addition to not knowing necessarily exactly what the forms of bound roots were) were imperfectly acquired resultomg in a lack of confidence to practice these forms, coupled with insufficient input. The convenience of using some type of word order in introducing the transitive sentences in teaching did stick with these students as it was similar to how syntactic roles were determined in English, and did

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result in a predilection to stay true to this sentence organization. This could theoretically indicate a direction in which word order may change in the future, with word order becoming less flexible. But the evidence is as yet insufficient for me to be able to say with any confidence that yes, word order in Kiowa is becoming more fixed due to contact with English and chosen teaching methodologies, although the latter does seem to have an effect. Finally, the elicitation for this data set could likely have been better designed. Perhaps it would have been more useful to show pictures and ask speakers to state what is happening. This would help overcome the elicitation bias.

(26)   George Kauyidaude
        Hàun hàyá póljò̱:gà àdàumàu nè án chólhàu bátjó̱:gà.
        Hàun   hàyá   pól-jò̱:gà   à-dàu-màu   nè
        Neg   where   lie-language   1SGS.INTR-be-neg   but

        án   chólhàu   bát-jó̱:gà.
        HAB   that's.what   1PLINCLA:PLO-   say
        I'm not telling lies, that's what we say.

Future Directions for Research: Potential Change in Sentence Structure. Despite these hiccups, I still believe that potential changes in sentence structure could be a viable avenue for investigation. As more people enroll in and complete Kiowa classes, and as the atmosphere for practicing speaking Kiowa becomes more relaxed with Elders being more accepting of language learners interlanguage forms, a truer picture of an emerging trend in word order may be found. Perhaps incorporation or flexible word order highly dependant on context will make a comeback, or perhaps the trend of practicing what is taught will take root, as we predict it will for the elimination of noun Class III. It is also possible that . Better elicitation design, informed by this first effort in investigating this phenomenon will help, as will the passage of more time to see

whether this new trend towards increased use of Kiowa by language learners will continue.

5.3. Conclusions

Mithun does remark that that use of incorporation does not immediately entail that a language is polysynthetic, since there are some language that are more analytic that show it, so a lessening in the use of incorporation could not itself "dequalify" Kiowa as a polysynthetic language (Mithun 2000:916). Yet a reduction in incorporation would indeed greatly reduce the number of morphemes-per-word in Kiowa, particularly given the increasing independence of Kiowa pronominals.

6. Kiowa Language Change and

Kiowa Language Revitalization

Any study of an endangered language can be greatly beneficial for tribal efforts towards language maintenance and revitalization. This research was undertaken with this in mind. One of my primary goals has to reinforce the validity of "Modern Kiowa," and illustrate how speakers of Modern Kiowa are creatively fulfilling necessary functions within the community. The language that is being reclaimed may not be exactly the same language as before, but going forward anyway can be key. Validating the modern current form of the language may contribute to language revitalization within the community by restoring pride to speakers of all types, encouraging curriculum development, and supporting use the language for more functions. While any major efforts towards revitalization must be undertaken by members of the community themselves, a linguistic anthropologist can aid through documentation, background research, and being an advocate and suggesting possibilities for further or continued action, perhaps even serving as an advisor in matters of language planning. This concluding chapter constitutes an evaluation of the contributions this research could make in Kiowa revitalization efforts, and suggests possibilities for further research and next steps in language planning.

6.1. Language Change and Language Planning

In my work with speakers and learners, I have explained my goal to describe Modern Kiowa as a language in its own right, different from Old Kiowa potentially in similar ways from Old or Middle English and Modern English. Of course, this is a greatly simplified analogy; the processes of change that effect language change over great amounts of time are different in scope from those that have effected change over a very short period of time. But by using this analogy, I have emphasized that change is a natural process in viable languages, and does not mean that the language is necessarily 'compromised' or 'corrupt' (Baldwin, personal communication). Following the example set forth by Daryl Baldwin and Wesley Leonard for the Myaamia language, which they and other tribal members are in the process of reviving, the message I hope to bring in this dissertation to tribal members is to not care about pidginization or like processes. Many tribes are dealing with the fear of creolization, which is not the same as language change. Understanding the difference may help Kiowa language planners determine how to face these issues, and move forward with their efforts.

In moving forward with language planning, it would be helpful for Kiowa teachers and advocates to realize that they are at a crossroads. The impact of the realization of conscious language choices can be empowering and lead to more purposeful language planning. The previous chapters of this dissertation have demonstrated the types of choices that Kiowa speakers have been making in their language usage, both unconsciously andconsciously, and this final chapter indicates what these choices could mean to those who are determining where the language will go in the future.

6.1.1. Language as a Choice

Language revitalization is not the same as language preservation. Preservation implies efforts that are static; maintaining a stronghold for a language that may be endangered, but is still relatively widely used. Revitalization is much more dynamic, and can be applied to languages in a variety of situations, but the focus is on reclaiming either domains for usage or the structure of the language itself, or in many cases, both. The time for language preservation for Kiowa has passed; there are simply not enough fluent speakers to maintain a strong base. Yet Kiowa is ripe for revitalization; as mentioned in Chapter 4, although fluent speakers are few, there are many classes where Kiowa is being taught and various domains in which it is being used. But what does revitalization mean to Kiowa people? What types of choices are they facing today, and in the future? An indication can be found in the language attitudes currently held by those who still hold the reins of Kiowa language use and have taken up the pledge of language teaching and learning.

Language Attitudes: "Where do We Want to Go from Here?" Many of the speakers and language learners of Kiowa with whom I have spoken express that it is indeed their desire that Kiowa continue, in whatever form. The majority indicate that while they mourn the 'loss' of Old Kiowa, they do take comfort in the fact that Kiowa does still exist, even if it is in another form. Although I had anticipated resistance to the idea that 'Modern Kiowa' is just as useful, in its own way, as any language can be, it seems that on the contrary, no few people have either already accepted this as a given, or welcomed the concept.

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There are those who have given up hope for the continuance of Kiowa, citing disinterest on the part of the younger generations, or a lack of resources needed for language teaching, but those who are most integregrated in the community see that at least the former is not the case. The people who are the most involved in language efforts are devising creative ways around the lack of resources, including holding pow-wows to raise funds or focusing on other, more grassroots, ways to teach and learn that do not require extensive resources, such as spending as much time as possible with Elders who speak or teaching in the home. Some of these teachers and students indicate that they would like to see Kiowa revived to the extent that it is spoken "everywhere and anytime," in all domains both private and public. Others simply hope it will continue to be spoken in the domains where it is currently used, but that learners will achieve a higher degree of fluency for those genres where it is currently used. This is one choice that language planners must make: what is our goal for Kiowa? Resolving this question will help direct teaching efforts more efficiently, moving beyond the learning of animal names, colors, and numbers that leaves conversation in Kiowa for beginners in the realm of a pasttime and can discourage learners who may leave class feeling as though there may truly be no useful place for Kiowa in daily life. Using teaching efforts to build upon currently existing domains for Kiowa usage instead provides an excellent starting point for inspiring potential speakers and providing them with a strong motivation to begin to use Kiowa outside of the classroom setting. Some teachers have already taken this course, but they are not currently in the majority.

Modern Kiowa vs. Old Kiowa. The next choice that language planners have before them is one that I present to them with the results of this dissertation: do we

teach Old Kiowa, or Modern Kiowa? While most of my collaborators would agree that they would like Old Kiowa to be revived, they do not see any possibility that this could occur. Most community classes build upon the knowledge of Elders who speak Modern Kiowa, and their knowledge should most certainly not be discounted. Many of the younger teachers and learners, however, have gained their knowledge of Kiowa not only from their still-living or recently deceased Elders, but also through classes at the University of Oklahoma or Anadarko or through study of Old Kiowa materials. The classes at OU teach Old Kiowa primarily through what is called the grammar-translation method, while the Anadarko classes use the same method, but teach Modern Kiowa. Which language variety that is taught should ideally be tailored to the goals of the language program, be they to integrate into domains currently used or to expand Kiowa usage into all domains.

In light of the current situation, a number of possibilities exist. If the current situation continues as it is, there will come to be a gap between the use of the language by community members who are more rural, as opposed to those who are more urban and have access to classes at OU or community classes taught by teachers affiliated with OU. This gap could come to resemble a diglossic situation, in which there is a "high" variety and a "low" variety of the language. An interesting twist to the situation is that Modern Kiowa is the variety that is used most in the community, and the situations in which it is used are those normally occupied by a "high" variety, such as public prayer and speeches. Currently, people who are most involved in community activities have not had the opportunity to attend classes at OU, but have picked up what they can from Elders, in local community classes, or in context at community events.

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Students who attend the OU Kiowa classes, however, may not be in a position to continue their Kiowa usage or to pass it on to others, as they may move away from the community to pursue careers elsewhere. There is, however, a strong base of Kiowa tribal members in the Oklahoma City metro area, including Norman, and this may come to be a new stronghold for Kiowa language – particularly for Old Kiowa. If this speaker base expands, it will present interesting possible directions for the continued evolution of Kiowa; Old Kiowa may yet be revived. This is another of the possibilities. If the new generation of speakers and learners all come to be educated through teachers who were educated at OU, Old Kiowa – or perhaps a modified version of it – may possibly become the "new Kiowa." If this comes to be the case, however, it will need to be approached carefully, in order not to alienate the Elders of today or those who have learned through them.

Combined Approach. This brings us to the most likely, and perhaps most viable possibility, that of a combined approach: elements of Modern Kiowa will continue to be taught in the community by those who have learned it there, and those who have learned at OU will integrate their knowledge with knowledge of Modern Kiowa as they have experienced it in the community and as I have described it here. As my observations have shown, many of the speakers and learners of Generation III are primarily phrasally competent at best, and have learned the language in the context in which they wish to use it. As mentioned in previous chapters, code-switching and word-dropping are the norm. By the time this generation becomes the Elders, if conscious language planning and concurrent language teaching have not taken place, Kiowa usage in the community will become stagnant and primarily symbolic.

Yet this does not seem to be the direction that Kiowa is taking; there are advocates and teachers from Generations III and IV who are taking steps to ensure that Kiowa persists, albeit rather separately. If these advocates and teachers can be united in a way that gives credit to both their respective methodologies and their educational heritages, then Kiowa's situation will improve considerably. In such a situation, Modern Kiowa will evolve into a stronger and more cohesive linguistic system, one that has relevance and communicative power both in formal and in informal domains, and will have better chances for more thorough revitalization. Some steps in this direction have already been taken; as mentioned in Chapter 6, Poolaw has made a conscious decision in his speech and teaching to disband the group of Class III nouns, and incorporate them into either Class II or Class I. Although he has studied and teaches primarily Old Kiowa structures, he has taken this practice from speakers of Modern Kiowa, his family members and other Elders, and incorporated it into his speech and teaching. This is a good example of the combined approach, and it is likely that this will not be the only change as Kiowa continues its evolution. But in order for that to occur, Kiowa must broaden its speaker base, because it has been dangerously close to the tipping point from which an endangered language may not return.

6.1.2. Linguistic Tip and the Kiowa Situation

Following Dorian's definition, linguistic 'tip' occurs when a bilingual linguistic situation that has been stable for centuries suddenly shifts toward monolingualism, usually based on changed social circumstances (1981). In Native American languages, as for many other endangered languages, the social circumstances were dire and

oppressive, as discussed in Chapter 3. The result for many languages was a relatively short period of bilingualism followed by a severely sudden 'tip' in favor of the oppressor's language, English. The tipping point for Kiowa speakers shifting to English monolingualism seems to have been between Generation I and Generation II, but certainly came to a head with Generation III. While Generation I was by and large fluent in Kiowa throughout their lives, Generation II was perhaps largely bilingual as children but came to be more and more dependant on English. It was within Generation III that this 'tip' occurred; of this generation, only a handful have persisted in learning the language. It was during their childhood that Kiowa became moribund, and while they may have heard the language in the home, they by-and-large did not become speakers. It has been only with effort that the younger speakers and learners have gained their use of Kiowa.

Kiowa Language Obsolescence becoming Language Renewal. Language obsolescence, as stated in Chapter 2, is the term for the process of language death, as a language gradually ceases to be spoken at all. Yet for many Native American languages, revitalization efforts may yet turn the tide back in favor of increasing bilingualism. This has already occurred in places such as Hawaii, where a once severely endangered language is now the language in which college courses and indeed, entire courses of study, are taught. It is not without great effort and thorough planning that this occurs. But consistent and concentrated efforts can slow the process of language obsolescence and begin the process of language renewal. Kiowa might be on the precipice of such a new 'tip,' where language planning and teaching can meet with

favorable language ideologies and intense dedication to usher in a new period in Kiowa's history, where new speakers will be increasingly gained instead of lost.

What Could be Kiowa's New Tipping Point? The social situation that created the original 'tip' in favor of English has changed, as the heritage language has come to be increasingly valued as a repository of vital cultural knowledge and a source of pride in one's ethnic identity. It is clear that the motivation is present for Kiowa to make its comeback, and the basic tools are either available or under development. With effective planning, those Kiowa people who currently express an interest in learning the language, at least to some degree, could have access to these tools and to teachers who can wield them. But there are a few other essentials that must be in place. One is a clear goal for what path the revitalization should take, as mentioned above. Another is the choice of what form of the language should be taught. And a third, which may be most difficult, is a sense of cooperation amongst different factions of the tribe. Language teaching in the Kiowa community via the current methods has been complicated by debates over orthography, over methodology, over authority, and over the sharing of teaching materials. A few of the younger generation, Poolaw in particular, have been bridging this divide by sidestepping political debate and taking an inclusive stance towards the sharing of materials and welcoming different styles of teaching. A more accepting attitude towards different writing systems is being adopted by many, although there are drawbacks to this as well, as some systems can hamper understanding and learning due to being too inspecific. Poolaw and other young Kiowa speakers have been adapting the best system by modifying it slightly so that it is more acceptable to those

not schooled in its use. If these practices can become more widespread, it is thoroughly possible that Kiowa may yet find its reverse tipping point.

6.2. Language Teaching and Modern Kiowa: Implications

The realization that the Kiowa language is still alive and well in certain domains provides hope to those who want to promote its usage, and motivation for younger speakers to learn the language. This dissertation aims to provide a better understanding of how the Elders of today are speaking Kiowa in order to better define goals for teaching efforts. One primary goal must be to allow the children of today to communicate in their heritage language with their great-grandparents in useful ways. And another is to encourage Elders who may not consider themselves to be fluent speakers to resume their usage of the language, for there are many reasons to do so. One of the barriers has been fear of reproach for not speaking 'correctly,' but I hope, through this dissertation, to have shown that 'correct' is not what it has always been assumed to be, and that other ways of speaking can be just as efficient and useful as Old Kiowa used to be in its various domains.

6.2.1. The Role of Elder Speakers of Modern Kiowa

Elders are always essential in language planning and language teaching, although often their health is a major consideration in whether or not they can actually teach the classes themselves. As an understanding of the value of Modern Kiowa expands, those younger Elders who might currently consider themselves not to be "true" speakers may step forward to take up the mantle of teaching. This has already happened from Generation I

to Generation II; language teaching efforts have been underway since at least the 1970's, and some of today's teachers use materials developed by the previous generation as they considered them to be better speakers than they themselves are. Many of these materials are incompletely developed, and incorporating some of the wealth of those materials with the strengths of new methodologies will be a task best undertaken by teams of Elders and younger, trained second-language speakers. There are still other resources that need to be completed, including the translation of the great body of recordings left by the Kiowa Cultural Program, of which I and my collaborators have merely skimmed the surface. Kiowa Elders and learners working together can help pinpoint exactly how the learners' vocabulary needs to be enhanced in order to perform more efficiently in the current domains of language use, which would greatly enhance their confidence as well as motivating them to learn more. Finally, the Elders of today will be testing and training the teachers of tomorrow, upon whose shoulders the future of Kiowa rests.

6.2.2. Second Language Learners as Teachers

It is a great responsibility that the young teachers bear, as their efforts will be the ones to bear the most fruit. Many classes are underway to teach young children the rudiments of speaking Kiowa, but it is up to those few speakers, teachers, and parents that comprise Generations III and IV to make sure that their early lessons continue and are expanded upon. As discussed in Chapter 4, there are families who are teaching their children Kiowa, and learning along with them. Younger speakers and community leaders such as Dupoint, a leader in the Kiowa Gourd Clan, and Queton, who fills the

role of Grandpa Rabbit for the Tainpeah Society, provide role models for the youth by singing them songs in Kiowa. And importantly, teacher/scholars such as Poolaw and new teachers like White and Tsatoke will be taking the lead in teaching Kiowa in the future. As a group, these speakers will need to make the decisions they make a reality, by either solidifying the presence of Kiowa in the domains it currently holds, even after the speakers of Generation II are gone, or by expanding the domains in which Kiowa is relevant.

6.3. Conclusion: The Future of Kiowa

The future of Kiowa is by no means certain. There is much potential for Kiowa to make a resurgence, but should the pieces not come together, or not enough new young learners be recruited to the cause, Kiowa may indeed yet go down the path of obsolescence. But the tools are there, and the will is there, at least in a core group of young Kiowa people, and in a number of middle-aged and older Kiowa people who are holding their own and doing their part to make sure the Kiowa language remains relevant to Kiowa people today. The key to Kiowa's future will likely lie in cooperation, which has in the past been a weak point in efforts towards Kiowa language continuance. The probability of a tribal language program taking root is currently very small, and this does not seem likely to change in the near future. Thus efforts will remain tied to grassroots efforts, to language classes in learning institutions or in the community, to workshops and summer camps, and to families. But the community is where the language lives, and the home is where language transmission begins. I believe the future of Kiowa is in very good hands, heads, and hearts.

7. Conclusion:

Modern Kiowa and Changing Contexts

As with any research, this work is at the same time complete and incomplete. There are always small triumphs, but also things one would like to expand upon or would have done differently in retrospect. Three of the primary goals of this research were certainly accomplished. One, this work describes some of the changes that have been taking place in the Kiowa language over the past forty years, changes that indicate that Modern Kiowa seems to be becoming less polysynthetic, and more analytical, than Old Kiowa, through intense contact with English and to some extent, language attrition and imperfect learning. Two, we have also seen that Kiowa is still a viable, living language in the sense that it still has domains in which it is spoken or sung, even frequently, and that people today are using the language to meet their needs in the community, and that the domains in which and genres for which it is spoken have had an effect on the changes that have been taking place. Thirdly, I have shown that language obsolescence is perhaps not the ideal term in the Kiowa situation at this time, since change is a natural part of living languages and Kiowa is not heading inexorably towards death, as long as speakers and language learners continue in their efforts to speak the language and maintain it in the domains in which it is used and perhaps even expand them.

In this final chapter I first revisit the findings gleaned from analysis of the data collected and put into a theoretical framework: the description of Modern Kiowa as regards pronominal change, alterations in noun class and plural formation, and

morphosyntactic change in terms of frequency of incorporation and word order. Second I will review the ethnographic situation of Modern Kiowa, including information drawn from an Ethnography of Speaking approach, an analysis of domains and genres for Modern Kiowa, and considerations of language ideologies and how they affect the situation of Kiowa and changes taking place. Next I address how my findings fit in with the current literature on language obsolescence and language change, and then how studies of change such as this one may be of use for language revitalization. Finally I bring forth suggestions for how I would like to proceed with this project, refining and expanding upon the insights gained here, and consider future avenues of research.

7.1. Describing Modern Kiowa

As a description of Modern Kiowa, this research makes specific inroads into a fuller understanding of what has been happening during an intense period of change. Although more research would be needed for a complete description of Modern Kiowa, certain conclusions can be drawn. Modern Kiowa shows indications of becoming less polysynthetic than Old Kiowa, as can be seen through the behavior of the pronominals, the reduction of incorporation, and perhaps through word order (although this data was admittedly not completely satisfactory). The mechanisms of change that have been at work in the transformation of Kiowa seem to include those primarily of language contact, including simplification and transference, although there is also evidence of attrition in the matter of incorporation.

7.1.1. Pronominal System of Modern Kiowa

The first indication that Kiowa is becoming less polysynthetic can be seen in the fact that the pronominals are no longer prefixes, but are now clitics that show some degree of independence from the verb, as demonstrated by Harbour (2004). While Watkins traces the formation of these pronominals – prefixes in Old Kiowa – back to micromorphemes that combined to produce surface forms, the surface forms themselves now seem to be reinterpreted as separate words by speakers of Modern Kiowa, and both tonally and orthographically speaking are treated as such. This consideration results in an exceptionally large inventory of forms; there are five different sets corresponding to verb type (intransitive, reflexive, dative (also for genitive use), transitive, and ditransitive – six if you consider the "activity" verbs, about which little is known), and each form incorporates person and number (singular, dual, and tri-plural), as well as syntactic role of all arguments of the verb, as can be seen in Appendix A and C.

Modern Kiowa speakers appear to be reducing these numbers, through categorical leveling of sets and overextension of forms. I looked specifically at the intransitive and reflexive sets, as there is no corrolary for the reflexive distinction in English, and to some extent at the transitive set. Admittedly, the data for the transitive set needs to be expanded upon as not enough of the speakers and learners I worked with were as of yet able to perform all of the tasks requested). There is a predominance of second person forms and imperative forms of verbs, which one would expect from people who heard Kiowa primarily as children from their grandparents who issued commands or requests, or as exhortations from announcers at events "*Bé hâ*!" "All stand (to salute the flag)" and "*Bé sàu.*" "Be seated." Speakers also evinced extensive

usage of the standalone pronouns, which were used in Old Kiowa primarily for possession (family members in particular) or for emphasis, to indicate first person as opposed to using the first person pronominal form. Younger speakers in particular (G3 and G4) often collapsed the categories of intransitive and reflexive, using the same pronominal for both types of sentence. There was also evidence of reduction of the inclusive/exclusive distinction, even among some older speakers.

7.1.2. Noun Classes and Plural Formation in Modern Kiowa

A change in the noun class system could likely be considered one of the more subtle types of change, were it not for the fact that it has repercussions for plural formation in Kiowa, a very common morphological operation. While on one hand it seems that for some relinquishing Class III and bringing its members into the fold of Class II nouns is a relatively smooth process, for those Elders who vaguely remember common Class III members or who are dealing with old documents, it does cause some confusion. The *álàu:bàu / álàugàu / álàu* 'apple' vignette given in Chapter 5 is a prime example. The myriad of allophones for the inverse morpheme also causes plural formation to be somewhat challenging for younger speakers, some of whom borrow the simple yet efficient English –s to produce forms such as "todes" for *jódé* 'shoes.' This in itself is a result of English interference, since *jódé* is both singular and dual; it is the tri-plural form that involves the inverse. It would be interesting to conduct a follow-up study that focuses specifically on plural formation amongst the younger generations, to see to what extent Class II and Class I plural formation resembles Old Kiowa or carves new Modern Kiowa pathways.

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7.1.3. Morphosyntactic Change: Incorporation and Word Order

The results of intense language change are perhaps most telling when it comes to incorporation, once a hallmark of Old Kiowa. According to my observations and those of other linguistically-oriented speakers with whom I have spoken, incorporation seems to be much less productive than it once was. Incorporation, once quite prolific in Kiowa, now seems to be limited to a certain number of common forms. No longer are we seeing three or four bound roots hitched together; one or two forms are the most that even the most fluent Elders of today are joining. The context of incorporation may be a question here: did extensive incorporation come to be a hallmark of an eloquent speaker, used primarily in special genres such as speeches or storytelling, and thus fade away as fewer speakers were able to fulfill these roles (and the audience incapable of following)? Not enough is known at this point to make such assertions, yet it is an interesting question to ask.

The matter of word order or constituent order has proved rather elusive. It is clear that word order was flexible in Old Kiowa, depending on focus and narration. As Watkins noted, often a noun would be named in the beginning of a discourse, and referred to thereafter only through pronominals. The elicitation format is not conducive to such practices, and may not have proven sufficient to the task of determining definitively whether or not word order in Modern Kiowa has solidified, mirroring English word order or the word order as taught by a certain group of linguistically educated speakers. Participants did tend to organize their sentences using SOV in most cases, although this may have been suggested by the request to translate a sentence like "The cat chased the dog." and contrast it with "The dog chased the cat." Originally this

was designed based on the experience of having learned Kiowa sentence structure in an OSV format at the University of Oklahoma, and truly, some of the Elder speakers felt that either way was an acceptable way to express the situation. For younger speakers, however, it depended where and how they were educated; former OU students tended to use OSV format while self-taught students tended to reproduce SOV. Since it is not possible to eliminate the consideration that speakers may have been affected by the manner of elicitation, the results must be considered inclusive.

7.2. Context and Change

An essential part of describing Modern Kiowa is to understand its context. Part of this context is the history of how the language has come to be endangered, and the path it has taken to the state in which it is today. The other part is what I have discerned using the Ethnography of Speaking methodology, paying particular attention to the uses to which it is put in the community, particularly the domains in which it is spoken and the genres for which it is used. These go hand in hand with the language ideologies that community members have held through time, influencing both the difficult road towards a seeminly inevitable obsolescence as well as the tenacious and resolute maintenance and possibilities of language renewal that Kiowa holds today.

7.2.1. A History of Challenges and Perserverence

The story of how Kiowa came to be endangered differs little, at first glance, from how many of the languages of Native North America began to decline. It is not necessary to reiterate here all of the factors involved, as all know the result of the centuries of

oppression and genocide, combined with missionization and boarding schools removing children from their parental homes and communities. Yet following the dissolution of reservations in Oklahoma with the Dawes Act of 1887, the Indian people of Oklahoma came into much closer contact with whites than the residents of reservations in other parts of the country. The history of raiding and taking captives meant that the Kiowa were much more accustomed to exogamy than other groups, and intermarriage with other tribes and nationalities was not a strange concept. Yet Kiowa people had been in close contact and alliance with many other groups throughout their history, and had maintained their language and customs, and in some ways, Modern Kiowa has proved to be just as persistent.

7.2.2. Kiowa as a Living Language

I began this dissertation with a quote from a relative of a respected Kiowa teacher, Alecia Gonzales, whose family is still involved with language teaching efforts today. Mr. Doyebi stated with some fervor that "Kiowa is NOT a dying language." While when I first started working with the community, this was not the reigning sentiment, it seems that the idea has taken hold. There are pockets of determined people who are working to teach, maintain, and continue using Kiowa in a myriad of circumstances, and there are not only Elders in Generation 2 who still use Kiowa whenever they can, but also younger people, Generations 3 and 4, who practice Kiowa for a number of reasons. The most important of these seem to be respect for tradition and desire to express their identity, but also to solidify their position within the community as someone who is connected and cares about Kiowa values.

The desire to keep Kiowa relevant for Kiowa identity and Kiowa traditions is evident in the domains in which the language used and the genres for which it's being used. Kiowa is being used in both public and private domains; at community events and cultural ceremonies, at religious events both public and private, in small gatherings, personal communication, and even in electronic media. Kiowa is spoken as prayers, speeches, songs, some storytelling, and as personal conversation or even messages on Facebook or text messages. Truly, long stretches of spoken Kiowa are not as common as they once were, particularly in personal conversation (as far as I have witnessed), but Kiowa does still have a presence amongst most Kiowa people, even if it is just word-dropping into an English framework. These domains and genres do have an effect on the way that Modern Kiowa has been changing, as asserted by Schmidt (2002, 2007). The prevalence of second person forms relates to both the limited language learning Generation III experienced as children in the form of commands and requests from their grandparents, as well as the structure of prayers which are addressed directly to the Lord. The presence Kiowa maintains at community events is often through directives given by the M.C. or announcer or through speeches given by people addressing the crowd during a naming ceremony or a giveaway. Also because of these contexts, people are more accustomed to command forms than statements (particularly statements that seem inane such as some of those I elicited; "Why would I need to tell you that you are lying down?") and to reflexive pronominals as opposed to intransitive pronominals, to some extent. In terms of other domains, there is much more to be said regarding Kiowa orthography and pronunciation and its use in written communication, but this is for another study.

7.2.2. The Effects of Language Ideologies

What happens to a language, whether it is ascendant or in decline, how it is spoken and how that may depend on where or to whom one is speaking it – all is related to language ideologies and the attitudes speakers hold regarding their language and how it should (or should not) be used. The primary ideologies with which I have been concerned in the course of this research are ideologies pro- and anti- language use, or enabling or limiting language ideologies. The other important facet of ideals regarding language use are those regarding speakers: who holds the power in a linguistic situation: who can be considered a good speaker, who is authorized to teach the language, what it means for someone to speak the language. I will address these first.

Ideologies of Authority and Authenticity. The speakers of a language and the language learners use the language for many reasons. Some of these reasons involve identity, as mentioned above. It is often considered that one is more truly connected to one's culture if one is a speaker, that someone is more authentically Kiowa if he or she speaks Kiowa. This is one motivation to learn the language. It can also be a source of authority for Elder speakers, as they are respected as resources and repositories of knowledge that others value. There are sometimes power struggles where some may criticize or denigrate others or their knowledge, and fear of these repercussions may keep people from speaking, which seems to have been the case in the past for some Kiowa speakers. Yet as the number of speakers dwindles, every bit of knowledge regarding the language is valuable, and those who carry it are even more valuable. The language learners are valuable, even the latent speakers or potential language learners are valuable. It is considered a worthy enterprise to at least learn some aspect of the

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language amongst many Kiowa people, and that has moved this discourse from a limiting to an enabling language ideology.

Limiting and Enabling Language Ideologies. Integral to any ethnographic study of an endangered language are considerations of how and why a language is endangered, and what its possibilities are for revitalization. The major limiting ideologies I explored were language purism and linguistic social darwinism, both of which contributed significantly to Kiowa's decline. If a language is deemed not to be "the fittest" for changing times, then it may be considered not useful to be taught to one's children, not essential to pass down or to make the effort to learn. Then there is the idea that a language is not "true" or "right" or respected if it is not spoken as one's Elders spoke it, a purist ideology. Despite the hold that these ideologies had within the Kiowa community for many years, these ideas seem to be changing, and Kiowa is viewed as not only worthy of being learned and spoken, but valuable to the community, in whatever form. These views are part of the enabling ideologies, that Native American languages are a precious part of a community's history and culture, and that one can draw upon them to augment one's standing in the community as well as to reclaim one's heritage or use it as part of a decolonization strategy, to borrow a term from the Decolonization Handbook by Wilson, Yellow Bird, and Cavendar Wilson (2007).

7.2.3. Linguistic Tip

As stated in the introduction, I aimed to pinpoint the moment of Kiowa's "linguistic tip," that crucial moment when it appears that a language embarks on a rapid decline towards death (Dorian 1989:51, Mertz 1989). Given the findings of this research,

however, I would argue that although Kiowa's tipping point seemed to have occurred between Generation II and III, a reversal of tip seems to be in the making. Since the term was clearly designed with death as the most likely endpoint, and Kiowa is still clearly a living language, this designation is problematic in this situation. Although all is not yet played out, and the end results of the language teaching and revitalization efforts are yet to be seen, the fact that semi-speakers and language learners are still in the process of becoming better, more fluent speakers, indicates that death is not inevitable. Yes, Old Kiowa has faded to some extent but another version of Kiowa still maintains a vital presence. Some families are attempting to raise their children with the language, and there is hope that this trend will continue and expand, until the next generation of native speakers may be produced.

7.3. Language 'Obsolescence' – A Certain Type of Change

Part of the initial goal of this dissertation was to look at models of language change and evaluate to what extent the different approaches prove relevant to the Kiowa situation. As has been shown throughout the previous chapters, I prefer the term "language change" to the term "language obsolescence" for Kiowa, since, as Mr. Doyebi pointed out, Kiowa is not dying. There were three primary theoretical frameworks I used to examine this relatively abrupt period of language change that affects so many Native American languages: the matrix of macro- and microvariables proposed by Edwards (1992), the various mechanisms of language change proposed by scholars such as Thomason (2001), Vashenko (2002), Campbell and Muntsel (1989), Seliger (1991), Schmidt (2002, 2007) and Aikhenvald (2006); and the language attrition literature, to a

rather lesser extent than I anticipated. In this research, I realized that more of the structures I was examining were a result of language contact as opposed to attrition, and those that were likely a result of attrition needed to be examined in a different way. But let me address these singly.

7.3.1. Macro- and MicroVariables

One theory that I found to be very useful was the matrix of macro- and microvariables posited by Edwards (1992). In looking at the context of Kiowa speaking as a whole, it was useful in helping to delineate all of the factors that contributed to the state of Kiowa as it is spoken today. Yet it was also particularly helpful in looking at individual speakers, in considering the patterns that formed based on who spoke the language with whom, where they learned the language, what their early background was with the language, where they lived as children and as adults, and so on. Even though I made great use of Edwards' matrix, I still did not utilize it to its fullest, and I believe that it has even more potential in helping fully understand the situation of an endangered language and its speakers, and possibly in contributing to revitalization efforts.

7.3.2. Contributions to Language Change Theorization

The primary findings that contribute to language change literature include the idea that language use does affect change, following Schmid's indication and that a number of the proposed mechanisms of change are at work in the Kiowa situation (). Another finding concerns change called "simplification," which is perhaps too broad of a term to be used singly, can be useful in combination with other proposed mechanisms.

Although theoretically simplification of one type could lead to complications in another aspect of the system, in Modern Kiowa this issue seems to be bridged through various strategies. One includes the extension of the stand-alone pronouns to do double-duty, clarifying that one is referring to first person, and letting the pronominal indicate number, as in "*Náu bè sáu.*" "I sat down." Another is based on common usage; the intransitive and reflexive pronominals are being categorically leveled by many younger speakers. These both can clearly be attributed to intense contact with English; English has no intransitive/reflexive distinctions, and now we have a simple and straightforward word for 'I,' and is a clear case of Thomason's negotiation (2001). There are also collapsing of categories to be found in dual/plural distinctions for intransitives, which could also be considered an interference feature, as the most commonly spoken language for many speakers is English, which of course has only one type of plural. Overextension of singular forms is then clarified by the use of *náu* '1st person' or *ám* or *á* '2nd person.' This increases the functional load of these forms (see Anderson 1982), but fall in line with the type of analogy made between native and target langauges as discussed in Aihkenvald (2006). At this moment it is difficult to say if some of these features are results of imperfect learning, or if they will ultimately contribute to lasting changes as Modern Kiowa continues to develop. A follow-up study would be most helpful in this regard.

7.3.3. Considering Language Attrition

The degree to which this research contributes to language attrition literature is less extensive. The majority of the items examined in this study could be contributed at least

in part to language contact, with two possible exceptions. One is the reduction of the noun class system, and the other is the decreasing frequency of incorporation. Yet these two types of change are difficult to pin down. The noun class system seems to have already been in a state of reduction back when Kiowa was first thoroughly described by Watkins in 1984; even then there were only a few known members of Class III. The way in which speakers of Modern Kiowa are grappling with this change is through a fairly logical strategy: bringing these members into the fold with Class II, a change that is now being institutionalized by being taught in classes, including those at the university level. Incorporation proved elusive to track down; since few Elders seem to be using this word formation strategy, that would imply that it is becoming less productive… but why? It would be necessary to design other tests designed specifically to elicit incorporation or test participants intuitions regarding what is acceptable in terms of incorporated forms and what is not. This would entail focusing purely on Generation 2, as G3 and G4 do not seem to be using incorporation at all.

7.4. Language Revitalization and Language Change

One of my primary motivations in undertaking this study was a concern to examine something useful, something that could possibly help in language revitalization efforts. When I first went out to Kiowa country, it seemed that there was a lot of fear regarding language use: fear (and resignation) that the language was dying, fear of censure because a language learner isn't speaking correctly, fear of speaking the language because one was not a "good enough" speaker and one's reputation might somehow be damaged because of this. Yet what I saw on the other hand was a number of people who

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were determined to "keep the fire burning" and try to speak the language no matter what, to work on language documentation, to blunder through and keep learning no matter what anyone else said. As a student of linguistics, one of the first things we learn is that prescriptive grammar is for the classroom; the language that is spoken, the vernacular, can take whatever shape that suits its purpose, as language is really a sort of communal agreement amongst speakers that forms a system that works. Okay, this is simplifying matters somewhat. But as I continued going out to the community, I saw that matters were changing over time – I saw that people were making the effort, and that they were being respected for it. Attitudes were changing.

As I spoke with people about this study, I made the analogy between the Kiowa spoken today and the "Old Kiowa" that people kept telling me about – every (living) language changes. But by using this analogy, I was emphasizing that change is a natural process in viable languages, and does not mean that the language is necessarily 'compromised' or 'corrupt' (Baldwin, personal communication). And it seems that others in the community, particularly some of the younger teachers, felt the same way. The fact that one of them, Dane Poolaw, did his own research and took change in stride, altering how the language is taught at respected institutions such as OU as well as community classes to reflect how it was being spoken in the community, alongside teaching according the structure of Old Kiowa, indicated that I was not alone in my beliefs. This is how studies of language change can be useful for language revitalization movements: by describing changes that have taken place, the revitalization team has more resources at their disposal to make decisions about how their language fits in with their world. By working together with older texts and with Elders who are speaking

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Modern Kiowa, there are ways to integrate both sources of valuable information and give respect to the older ways and the newer, the Elders of yesteryear and the Elders of today.

The fact that more and more classes for youth have sprung up is encouraging, and it is perhaps even more encouraging to see many of them reaching across the community to make use of teaching methodologies and materials from different sources. The atmosphere has changed immensely, and people are welcoming efforts to learn the language, even if it's not spoken quite "right," but as long as people are understood, it seems, they are on the right path. The shape that Kiowa takes in the future will be formed through this joint effort between the Elders of today and the younger generations who are taking up the challenge to provide opportunities to learn and to speak, to teach it to their children, and to make sure the language is their own.

7.5. Future Directions

While the conclusions I have reached during the process of research, analysis, and writing up are significant in their way, I consider that this description of Modern Kiowa to be only the beginning. The further I went with this research, the more I realized that while this work does stand alone as an introduction, important pieces of the puzzle were missing, both on the structural and the contextual sides of the equation. There are three primary things I would like to do to flesh out this picture, and there are a few more that would be nessessary to present a more complete picture of Modern Kiowa.

7.5.1. More Insights into Context

The continuing difficulty of gaining access to interpersonal conversation was frustrating. Although I can pass muster as at least a semi-speaker and hold brief conversations, I am still an outsider, not an in-group, community member. One thing that would greatly contribute to a follow-up of this study would be working more closely with an in-group collaborator who would be more of an equal in the project, either a native speaker or someone who is fluent enough to converse. A number of people who fulfill this description could be people I might approach for this. Working together with someone who could lead conversations and keep them from drifting back into English, reassuring speakers that even if I myself couldn't follow, that their contributions would be invaluable, would provide invaluable data and insights into how Kiowa is being used on a more personal level.

Another sector of the population to which I was not able to gain access was geographical: I did not have any contacts refer me to people from the Hobart or Lone Wolf areas. I was told that there "weren't any speakers out that way," but I suspect that their definition of a speaker may be different from mine. It would be interesting to talk to people from further out in Western Oklahoma, to correlate data across a broader area, to see how (or if) Kiowa was being used in domains there. Elders from further out would not have had the opportunity to just drop by the Elders Center for a chat, and thus likely not have had as frequent contact with other speakers. This could prove a classic case in language change, that of change in a separated population. It is also possible that if such data could be acquired, there may be more evidence of the elusive dialects.

Finally, there are also a few speakers, at least two fairly good semi-speakers from G3, that I was unable to meet up with, because of their busy schedules. I've been told that they speak Kiowa more frequently than one would expect, but I have no details as to exactly where, when, and how they are using the language, and if they are using it outside of the contexts I had observed. Their input would be essential in a follow-up study, as they are important members of the community in their own ways, partially because of their reputations as singers.

7.5.2. The Importance of Song

Although it is an ever-present genre for Kiowa language use, and one that is very important for the Kiowa community as Lassiter demonstrated in "The Power of Kiowa Song (1999), I did not address song in Kiowa for a number of reasons. For one, the words in songs are relatively set, so the likelihood that one would see morphological changes in song is somewhat unlikely. Yet Elders in the community believe that some younger people are not singing the songs "correctly" – whether this is due to changes in phonology (discussed below) or perhaps because they are not processing the words and are replacing them with other words, I could not say. Still, this is an avenue that should not be ignored, and a question that is certainly of import to the community and possibly to the shape Modern Kiowa will take in generations to come, as Generation III steps up to the plate to fill the places left by Elder singers who must move on. There are a few people, even one or two trained in linguistics or with great linguistic intuitions, who would be great collaborators in such a project. Both Warren Queton and Dane Poolaw are Kiowa tribal members who are familiar with song; in fact, Queton's Master's thesis

dealt with story and song. It would be interesting to see what the results of such an investigation might turn up.

7.5.3. More Clarity on Word or Constituent Order

The most important matter that would complete this study would be more data on word or constituent order. As discussed in Chapter 5, the data on word order could only be considered inconclusive. Part of the reason for this, I surmise, was due to the manner of elicitation. I am convinced that using pictures to elicit statements about an event, as opposed to asking for a direct translation of a sentence, would be more likely to provide solid data in which patterns could be discerned. Since these elicitations were designed to test multiple matters at one time, a more concentrated focus on the word order question might also provide clearer indications as to how speakers would describe these events. Broadening my speaker sample to include those G3 speakers I was unable to reach might also give more insight into how younger speakers organize their thoughts in Kiowa, and to what extent English may be affecting their word order choices.

7.5.4. Continuing with Pronominals

This study was designed to look at some of the basic distinctions made in the language, that I felt would stand a good chance of being used by people across all three living generations. I did not address genitive or dative pronominals, which are in the same set – datives are a subset of the genitive pronominals, and are used with certain verbs. I also did not include the ditransitive set, which takes into account number and person of indirect objects or recipients, as well as agents and patients. The reason I did not

include them initially was because I was not confident that the younger speakers would be familiar with this set, and I was looking for a true diachronic picture of change. I suspect, however, that some of the Elder speakers would indeed be able to use these pronominals, likely subconsciously. It could possibly give some great insights into attrition, which was something that I found somewhat lacking in the final analysis. Too many things were easily attributed to language contact, and using structures that have no direct English equivalent would possibly elicit either other Kiowa pronominals, other ways of phrasing in the expression in Kiowa, or even leaving the pronominals out altogether. This could contribute more significantly to the literature on attrition than this study could.

7.5.5. Considering Phonological Change

An important aspect of the changes taking place in Modern Kiowa is phonological. I did not address phonology as I am not a phonologist, but I would be glad to collaborate with one in the future. There are many contributing factors to the phonological changes taking place in Kiowa, some to do with the disruption of intergenerational language transmission, and others to do with Kiowa orthography and literacy. I addressed some of these difficulties with Kiowa orthography in an earlier publication, so I will not go into great detail about them here. Yet they most certainly have had an impact on how Kiowa is spoken today, especially phonologically speaking. The written representation of Kiowa in early cultural studies, popular media and written sources within the community , as well as many of the older teaching materials, often took a syllabic approach to word boundaries and used the English alphabet to write Kiowa. This

syllabic approach blurred word boundaries, which can already be vague when listening to a language one does not speak well, can make it difficult for learners to acquire vocabulary. Additionally, with the consonantal distinctions that Kiowa has that English does not, early writers of Kiowa were often unsystematic in their representation of these sounds. This includes the phonemic distinctions between aspirated and unaspirated stops (bilabial, alveolar, and velar), and ejectives, which have no English equivalents at all. Ears attuned to English phonology, especially those who did not often hear Kiowa spoken as children, commonly do not distinguish these sounds unless it is pointed out to them, and so will tend to collapse categories that are similar (unaspirated and aspirated stops) and be unsystematic with the distribution of ejectives.

Those who have had a significant amount of exposure to stretches of spoken Kiowa have a great sensitivity to the distinctive prosody of the language; in fact, likely even more than they do into phonology. Still, it would be a useful thing to examine, the way that prosody might also change as the number of second-language speakers begins to outnumber native speakers.

7.5.6. The Changing of the Guard

As time goes on, the question will become: how will Modern Kiowa continue to change as the number of native speakers dwindles? The role Elders play in the coming years will be crucial. If there are opportunities to work in Master/Apprentice type situations, or more begin take a more active role in situations where language learning can be more productive, then they will have a greater impact in the shape Kiowa will take in the future. If these situations are not possible, then those language activists, teachers, and

advocates that are second-language speakers will play an even larger role. The use of Old Kiowa documentation and sources for teaching materials may to some extent 'turn back the clock,' so to speak, and the effects of this transitional phase of Kiowa may fade away to some extent. These effects may not be seen for a generation, and it is impossible to predict anything at this point. Since I did not work with children at all in this study, I do not know what effects the current teaching strategies are having for the next generation of Kiowa speakers. It would be a worthy endeavor to follow up with parents teaching the language at home as well as the parents of children in the language classes, and eventually perhaps with the children themselves, as they will be the torch-bearers for the language in years to come.

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APPENDIX A:

THE OLD KIOWA PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

Table A1. Old Kiowa Intransitive Pronominals Set

	(sg)		Dual (du)		Plural (pl)	
	Engl	**Kiowa**	*English*	**Kiowa**	*English*	**Kiowa**
1st	I	**à**	we two (excl)	**è**	we all (excl)	**è**
			we two (incl)	**bà**	we all (incl)	**bà**
2nd	you	**èm**	you two	**mà**	you all	**bà**
3rd	he/she/it	**ø**	they two	**è**	they all (Kiowas)	**á**
			Inverse (inv)	they all / it (others; animals; things)		**è**
inanimate things			**Plural (pl)**	they / it		**gà**

Table A2. Old Kiowa Reflexive Pronominals Set

	(sg)		Dual (du)		Plural (pl)	
	Engl	**Kiowa**	*English*	**Kiowa**	*English*	**Kiowa**
1st	I	**dè**	we two (excl)	**ét**	we all (excl)	**ét**
			we two (incl)	**bé**	we all (incl)	**bé**
2nd	you	**bè**	you two	**mé**	you all	**bé**
3rd	he/she/it	**èm**	they two	**én**	they all (Kiowas)	**ém**
			Inverse (inv)	they all / it (others; animals; things)		**ét**
inanimate things			**Plural (pl)**	they / it		---

Table A3. Old Kiowa Genitive Pronominals Set

	Sg			*1st dual*	*2nd*	*3rd*	*1st 3+*	*2nd 3+*	*3rd 3+*	*3rd 3inv*
Obj ⇩	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*	***Excl / incl***			*excl / incl*			
	I	***you (sg)***	***he, she***	***we***	you 2	they 2	we all	you all	they all	they (nonK)
Sg	**é**	**gá**	**á**	**dáu**	**máu**	**mé**	**dáu**	**báu**	**∅**	**bé**
Dual	**né**	**nén**	**én**	**dét**	**mén**	**mén**	**dét**	**bèt**	**é**	**bét**
Pl	**yá**	**yán**	**án**	**gát**	**mán**	**mén**	**gát**	**bát**	**gà**	**bét**
Inv	**náu**	**gáu**	**áu**	**dáut**	**máun**	**mén**	**dáut**	**báut**	**é**	**bét**

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Table A4. Old Kiowa Dative Pronominals Subset

	(sg)		Dual (du)		Plural (pl)	
	Engl	***Kiowa***	*English*	***Kiowa***	*English*	***Kiowa***
1st	I	**yá**	we two (excl)	**gát**	we all (excl)	**gát**
			we two (incl)	**?**	we all (incl)	**?**
2nd	you	**yán**	you two	**mán**	you all	**bát**
3rd	he/she/it	**án**	they two	**mén**	they all (Kiowas)	**gà**
			Inverse (inv)	they all / it (others; animals; things)		**bét**
inanimate things		**Plural (pl)**	they / it			**---**

Table A5. Old Kiowa Transitive Pronominals Set

	Sg			*1st dual*		*2nd*	*3rd*	*1st 3+*		*2nd 3+*	*3rd 3+*
Obj ⇩	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*	***excl***	***incl***			***excl***	***incl***		
	I	***you (sg)***	***he, she***	***we (-u)***	***we (+u)***	you 2	they 2	we (-u)	we all	you all	they all
Sg	**gà**	**à**	**∅**	**é**	**bá**	**má**	**é**	**é**	**bá**	**bá**	**é**
Dual	**nèn**	**mèn**	**è̱**	**èt**	**bèt**	**mén**	**én**	**èt**	**bèt**	**bèt**	**èt**
Pl	**gàt**	**bàt**	**gà**	**ét**	**bát**	**mán**	**ém**	**ét**	**bát**	**bát**	**ét**
Inv	**dé**	**bé**	**é**	**ét**	**bét**	**mén**	**én**	**ét**	**bét**	**bét**	**ét**
3pl.animate	**bè**	**èm**	**ét**		**bé**	**mé**	**én**	**ét**	**bé**	**bé**	**ét**

Table A6. Old Kiowa Transitive Pronominals with Animate Direct Objects Subset

	Sg			*1st dual*	*2nd*	*3rd*	*1st 3+*	*2nd 3+*	*3rd 3+*	*3rd 3+inv*	*Any*
Obj ⇩	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*						***Kiowa***	***non-Kiowa***	
	I	***you (sg)***	***he, she***	***we 2***	you 2	they 2	we all	you all	they all K	they all	any-body
1st		you ⇨ me / us	she ⇨ me/ us		you 2 ⇨ me / us	they 2 ⇨ me / us		you all ⇨ me / us	they all K ⇨ me /us	they all ⇨ me /us	any-body ⇨ us
Sg		**é**	**é**		**mâ**	**ê**		**bâ**	**â**	**ê**	
D/Pl		**dáu**	**dáu**		**dáu**	**dáu**		**dáu**	**dáu**	**dáu**	**dáu**
2nd	I ⇨ you		he ⇨ you	we 2 ⇨ you		they 2 ⇨ you	we all ⇨ you			they all ⇨ you	any-body ⇨ you
Sg	**èm**		**gàu**	**gàu**		**gàu**	**gàu**		**gàu**	**gàu**	**gàu**
Du	**máu**		**máu**	**máu**		**máu**	**máu**		**máu**	**máu**	**máu**
3+	**báu**		**báu**	**báu**		**báu**	**báu**		**báu**	**báu**	**báu**

Table A7. Old Kiowa Activity Transitive Pronominals Subset

	(sg)		Dual (du)		Plural (pl)	
	Engl	**Kiowa**	*English*	**Kiowa**	*English*	**Kiowa**
1st	I	**gàt**	we two (excl)	**ét**	we all (excl)	**ét**
			we two (incl)	**bát**	we all (incl)	**bát**
2nd	you	**bàt**	you two	**mán**	you all	**bát**
3rd	he/she/it	**gà**	they two	**ém**	they all (Kiowas)	**ét**
			Inverse (inv)	they all / it (others; animals; things)		**ét**
inanimate things		**Plural (pl)**	they / it			---

Table A8. Ditransitive Pronominals Subest: Singular Subject

	Agent = sg 'I'			Agent = 2sg 'you'			*Agent = 3sg* 'he/she'		
Obj ⇓	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*	*1st*	*2nd*	*3rd*
		$I \rightarrow u$	$I \rightarrow him$	**$u \rightarrow me$**		$u \rightarrow him$	he → me	he → you	she → him
Sg		**gá**		**é**		**á**	**é**	**gá**	**á**
Dual		**nén**		**né**		**én**	**né**	**nén**	**én**
Pl		**yán**		**yá**		**án**	**yá**	**yán**	**án**
Inv		**gáu**		**náu**		**áu**	**náu**	**gáu**	**áu**

Table A9. Ditransitive Pronominals Subset: Agent – Anybody/Some people (dual or plural)

	Sg	*1st dual*	*2nd dual*	*3rd dual*	*1st 3+*	*2nd 3+*	*3rd 3+*	*3rd 3inv*
Obj ⇓								
	See above	*Us*	you 2	them 2	us all	you all	them all Kiowa	them all
Sg		**dáu**	**máu**	**mé**	**dáu**	**báu**	∅	**bé**
Dual		**dét**	**mén**	**mén**	**dét**	**bèt**	**è**	**bét**
Pl		**gát**	**mán**	**mén**	**gát**	**bát**	**gà**	**bét**
Inv		**dáut**	**máun**	**mén**	**dáut**	**báut**	é	**bét**

Table A10. Ditransitive Pronominals Subset: Patient - First Person Singular

Agent	Sg	1st dual	2nd dual	3rd dual	1st 3+	2nd 3+	3rd 3+	3rd 3inv
Obj ⇩								
	See above	we 2	you 2	they 2	we all	you all	they all	they all
Sg		N/A	mâ	<u>ê</u>	N/A	bâ	â	ê
Dual			ménê	<u>é</u>nê		bédê	dê	édê
Pl			mánî	<u>é</u>nî		bágî	gâ	égî
Inv			máunâu	<u>é</u>nâu		báudâu	dâu	édâu

Table A11. Ditransitive Pronominals Subset: Patient – Second Person Singular

	Agent = any non-sg
Obj ⇩	
	'Somebody'
Sg	**gáu**
Dual	**dét**
Pl	**gát**
Inv	**gáut**

Table A12. Ditransitive Pronominals Subset: Patient – Third Person Singular "Sombody"

Agent	Sg	1st dual		2nd dual	3rd dual	1st 3+		2nd 3+	3rd 3+	3rd 3inv
Obj ⇩		*excl*	*incl*			***excl***	*incl*			
	See above	we 2 (not you)	you and I	you 2	they 2	we all, not u	we all, + u	you all	they all	they all
Sg		ê	bâ	mâ	<u>ê</u>	ê	bâ	bâ	â	ê
Dual		édê	bédê	ménê	<u>é</u>nê	édê	bédê	bédê	dê	édê
Pl		égî	bágî	mánî	<u>é</u>nî	égî	bágî	bágî	gâ	égî
Inv		édâu	báudáu	máunâu	<u>é</u>nâu	édâu	báudáu	báudâu	dâu	édâu

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APPENDIX B:

COMPARATIVE CHART: MULTIPLE KIOWA ORTHOGRAPHY SYSTEMS

Representations of phonemes in current writing systems. Bolded graphs indicate under- or overspecification, based on a comparison of spelling conventions in that system with APA from Watkins 1984. The other phonic systems are from Parker McKenzie's and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. A 'C' between vowels indicates any consonant, and a 'V' preceding or following a consonant represents any vowel. The abbreviations in systems I-IV indicate the name of the person who devised the system and developed the teaching materials or resources: Alecia Gonzales, Evans Ray Satepahoodle, David Paddelty, and Charlie Toyebo.

		PHONETIC		*TRANSPHONIC*			
PoA	APA	PMK	SIL	**Sys I - AG**	II - ERS	Sys III - DP	Sys IV – CT
Stops							
Labial	p	f	p	**p', p**	**p**	**p**	**ph, bh, bp, bp'h, bph**
	pʰ	p	ph	**p, p'**	**p**	p	p
	B	b	b	b	**b, p**	b	b
	p'	v	p'	**p'**	**p**	p'	**p', ph, pbh, pbh'**
Alveolar	T	j	t	**t, td**	**t, d**	**t**	**th, dt, dt'**
	tʰ	t	th	**t**	**t**	t	t
	d	d	d	d	d	d	d
	t'	th	t'	**th**	**t**	t'	**td', td**
Velar	k	c	k	**kh, k'**	**k**	**k**	**gk, gk'**
	kʰ	k	kh	**k, kh**	**k**	k	**k, kh**
	g	g	g	**g, kh**	g	g	g
	k'	q	k'	kx	**k**	k'	**kch, kch'**
Laryngeal	ʔ	-	'	'	'	'	'
Fricatives							
Alveolar	/s/	s	s	s	s	**s**	**s**
Alveolar -V	/z/	z	z	z	z	**s**	**z**
Laryngeal	/h/	h	h	h	h	h	**h, h'**
Affricates							
Alveolar	/ts/	ch	ts	**ts**	**ts**	ts	**tsh**
	/ts'/	x	ts'	**ts**	**ts**	**t's**	ts, ts'
Sonorants							
Labial	/m/	m	m	m	m	m	m
Alveolar	/n/	n	n	n	n	n	n
	/l/	l	l	l	**dl**	l	**dl, l**
Palatal	/j/	y	y	y	**e, y**	y	y
Vowels							
Front	/i/	i	ee	**ee, eh**	ee	**ee, eeh**	**ee, y**
	/e/	e	ay	**ay**	**ay, ai, aCe**	**aih, ai, aCe, ay**	**ay, ai, aCe**

PoA	APA	PMK	SIL	Sys I - AG	II - ERS	Sys III - DP	Sys IV – CT
	/a/	a	ah	**ah, ai**	ah	ah	**a, igh, ih', Cye, y**
		PHONETIC		*TRANSPHONIC*			
Back	/u/	u	oo	**oo, ou**	oo	**ooh, ou**	**oo, wu**
	/o/	o	ow	**oe, oCe**	**o, oh, ow, oe, oCe**	oh	**o, oCe, oh**
	/ɔ/	au	aw	**au, aw**	**au, aw**	**aw, o, auh**	**au, aw, ow**
Dipthongs	/ui/	ui	ooy	ooie	ooie	**ooi**	**ooy**
	/oi/	oi	owy	oye	**oy**	**oy**	**oy**
	/ai/	ai	ahy	ai	igh	**ai**	**iCe**
	/ɔi/	aui		oiye	**oy**	**oy**	auoy
Length	:	:, ā	*doubling*	-	-	-	-
Nasalization	ce-dilla	under-line	n	**n, -**	**nh** , -	[ ]	**Vn, nV, nVe, n'V**

Table A13. Alphabetical Listing of All Pronominal Surface Forms and Various Meanings

Kiowa surface form	#	LW	Meaning 1	Meaning 2	Meaning 3	Meaning 4
ø / null morph	4	2P	3sgA.intr	3plPoss>sgO.K.gen	3sgA>sgP.trans	anyApl>2plKR>sgP.ditrans
a	2	2	1sgA.intr	2sgA>sgP.trans		
a	4	2	3plA.Kiowa.intr	3sgPoss>sgO.gen	2sgA>3sgR>sgP.ditr	3sgA>3sgR>sgP.ditr
a	3	1P	3plA>1sgP.trans	3plA.K>3sgR>sgP.trans		
án	4	1P	3sgPoss>plO.gen	3sgP.dat	2sgA>3sgR>plP.ditr	3sgA>3sgR>plP.ditr
àn	3	1P	3sgPoss>invO.gen	2sgA>3sgR>invP.ditr	3sgA>3sgR>invP.ditr	
bà	3	1	1duA.incl.intr	1plA.incl.intr	2plA.intr	
bà	3	1	1duA.incl>sgP.trans	1plA.incl>sgP.trans	2pA>1sgP.trans	
bà	5	1P	2plA>1sgP.trans	2plA>1sgR>sgP.ditr	1duA.incl>3sgR>sgP.ditr	1plA.incl>3sgR>sgP.ditrans
bàzí	4	1P	*continued* 2plA>1sgR>plP.ditr	1duA.incl>3sgR>plP.ditr	1plA.incl>3sgR>plP.ditr	2plA>3sgR>plP.ditr
bàt	2	1	2sgA>plP.trans	2sgA>actP.trans		
bèt	9	2	2plPoss>plO.gen *continued* *continued*	2plP.dat anypl4>2plR>plP.ditr 1plA.incl.actA.trans	1duA.incl>plP.trans 2plA>plP.trans 2plA.actO.trans	1plA.incl>plP.trans 1duA.incl>actP.trans
bàn	10	1P	2plPoss>sgP.gen *continued* *continued*	1sgA>2plP.trans 3sgA>2plP.trans anybody.A>2plP.trans	1duA>2plP.trans 3duA>2plP.trans	1duA>2plP.trans 3plA.K>2plP.trans 3plA.nK>2plP.trans
bàndàn	4	1P	2plA>1sgR>invP.ditr	1duA.incl>3sgR>invP.ditr	anypl4>2plR>sgP.ditr 1plA.incl>3sgR>invP.ditr	2plA>3sgR>invP.ditr
bàut	2	1P	2plPoss>invO.gen	anyApl>2plR>invP.ditr		
bà	1	1	2sgA.refl			
bà	3	3	2plA.refl *continued*	1duA.incl.refl 2sg>invP.trans	1plA.incl.refl anypl4>3inv.nKR>sgP.ditrans	3plnonKPoss>sgO.gen
bàdá	4	1P	2plA>1sgR>duP.ditr	1duA.incl>3sgR>duP.ditr	1plA.incl>3sgR>duP.ditr	2plA>3sgR>duP.ditr
bèt	5	1P	2plPoss>duO.gen *continued*	1duA.incl>duP.trans anypl4>2plR>duP.ditr	1plA.incl>duP.trans	2plA>duP.trans
bèr	9	2P	3plnonKPoss>duO.gen *continued* *continued*	3plnonK.Poss>plO.gen 1duA.incl>invP.trans anypl4>3inv.nKR>duP.ditrans	3plP>invO.nonK.gen 1plA.incl>invP.trans anypl4>3invR>nKplP.ditrans	2plA>invP.trans anypl4>3inv.nKR>inv P.ditrans
dàn	12	1P	1duPoss>sgO.gen *continued* *continued* *continued*	1plPoss>sgO.gen 2duA>1du plP.trans 2plA.1du plP.trans anyApl>1duR>sgP.ditr	2sgA>1du plP.trans 3duA>1du plP.trans anybodyA.1plP.trans anypl4>1plR>sgP.ditr	3sgA>1du plP.trans 3plA.K>1du plP.trans 3plA.nK.1du plP.trans
dàn	2	1P	3plA.K>1sgR>invP.ditrans	3plA.K>3sgP>invP.ditr		

No.	Form								
23	dánt	4	1P	1duPoss>invO.gen	1plPoss>invO.gen		anyApl>1duR>invP.ditr		anyApl>1plR>invP.ditrans
24	dé	1	1	1sgA.refl					
25	dá	1	1	1sgA>invP.trans					
26	dá	2	1P	3plA.K>1sgR>duP.ditrans	3plA>K.1sgR>duP.ditrans				
27	dért	5	2	1duPoss>duO.gen	1plPoss>duO.gen		anyApl>1duR>duP.ditrans		anyApl>1plR>duP.ditrans
	continued				AnyApl>2sgR>duP.ditr				
28	è	3	1	1duA.excl.intr	1plA.excl.intr		3inv.A.intr		
29	è	7	2P	3plAKPoss>duO.gen	3pl.KPoss>invO.gen		1duA.excl>sgP.trans		3duA>sgP.trans
	continued				3sgA>invP.trans		1plA.excl>sgP.trans		3plA>sgP.trans
30	è	5	1	3plAnonK.1sgP.trans	3plA.nK>1sgR>sgP.dir				1duA.excl>3sgP>sgO.ditrans
31	è	2	2	3duA.intr	3sgA>duP.trans		3sgA>1sgP.trans		2sgA>1sgR>sgO.ditr
32	è	5	1P	1sgPoss>sgO.gen	2sgA>1sgP.trans		3sgA>1sgP.trans		2sgA>1sgR>sgO.ditr
	continued				3sgA>1sgR>sgP.ditr				
33	è	4	1P	3duA>1sgP.trans	3plA.nonK>1sgP.trans		3duA>1sgR>sgP.ditr		3duA>3sgR>sgP.ditr
34	édâu	4	1	3plA.nK>1sgR.invP	1duA.excl>3sgR>invO.ditrans		1plA.excl>3sg.R.invP		3plA.nK>1sgR>invP.ditrans
35	édâ	4	1	3plA.nK>1sgR.duP	1duA>excl.13sgP>duP.ditrans		1plA.excl>3sgR>duP.ditrans		3plA.nK>3sg.R>duP.ditrans
36	égî	4	1	3plA.nK>1sgR>plP.ditrans	1duA.excl>3sgP>plP.ditrans		1plA.excl>3sgR>plP.ditr		3plA.nK>3sgR>plP.ditrans
37	êm	3	3	2sgA.intr	3sgA.refl		1sgA>2sgP.trans		1duA.excl>plP.trans
38	êm	3	2	3plA.Kiowa.refl	3duA>plO.trans		3duA>actP.trans		1duA.excl>invP.trans
39	ên	4	2P	3duA.refl	3sgPoss>duO.gen		2sgA>3sgR>duP.ditr		3sgA>3sgR>duP.ditr
40	ên?ñu	2	1P	3duA>1sgR>invO.ditr	3duA>3sgR>invP.ditr				
41	?pâ	2	1P	3duA>1sgR.duP.ditr	3duA>3sgR>duP.ditr				
42	?mî	2	1P	3duA>1sgP>plO.ditr	3duA>3sgR>plP.ditr				
43	ét	1	1	1duA.excl>duP.trans					
44	ét	12	1	1duA.excl.refl	1plA.excl.refl		3plA.inv.refl		1duA.excl>plP.trans
	continued				1plA.excl>plP.trans		3plA>plP.trans		1duA.excl>plP.trans
	continued				1plA.excl>invP.trans		3plA>invP.trans		1duA.excl>invP.trans
	continued				1plA.excl>actP.trans		3plA>actP.trans		1duA.excl.actO.trans
45	gá	6	3P	3plA.inan.intr	3plP.K>plP.gen		3plP.K.dat		1sgA>sgP.trans
	continued				3sg.plO.trans		3sgA.actO.trans		
46	gâ	3	2P	2sgP>sgP.trans	1sgA>2sgP>sgP.ditr		1sgA>3sgR>sgP.ditr		
47	gâ	2	1P	3plA.K>1sgR>plP.ditrans	3plA.K>1sgP>plO.trans				
48	gét	7	2P	1duPoss>plO.gen	1plPoss>plO.gen		1plPoss>plO.gen		1plP.dat
	continued				anyApl.1plP.plO.ditr		anyApl.1plP.plO.ditr		
49	gét	2	1	1sgA>plO.trans	1sgA>actP.trans				
50	gêñu	8	1P	3sgA>2sgP.trans	3sgA>2sgP.trans		1duA>2sgP.trans		3duA>2sgP.trans

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No.	Word						
				continued			
				continued	1plA>2sgP.trans	3plA>K.2sgP.trans	3plA.nK>2sgP.trans
51	gắn	4	2	2sgPoss>invP.gen	anv.plA>2sgR>sgP.ditr	1sgA>3sgR>invP.ditr	3sgA>2sgR>invP.ditr
52	gắnt	1	1	anv.Apl>2sgR>invP.ditrans	1sgA>2sgR>invP.ditr		
53	mà	1	1	2duA.intr			
54	mà	1	1	2duA>3sgP.trans			
55	mà	4	1P	2duA>1sgP.trans	2duA>1sgP>sgO.ditr	2duA>3sgR>sgP.ditr	2duA>actP.trans
56	màm	3	1P	2duPoss>plO.gen	2duP.dat	anv.Apl>2duR>plP.ditr	
57	màmì	2	1P	2duA>1sgR>plP.ditr	2duA>3sgR>plP.ditr	2duA>3sgR>plP.ditr	
58	màm	10	1P	2duPoss>sgO.gen	anybody.A>2duP.trans	1duA>2duP.trans	1plA>2duP.trans
						3duA>2duP.trans	3plA.K>2duP.trans
							3plA.nK>2duP.trans
				continued	1sgA>2duP.trans		
				continued	3sgA>2duP.trans		
59	màm	2	2	2duPoss>invO.gen	anv.Apl>3duR>invP.ditr	anv.Apl>2duR>sgP.ditr	
60	màmmàu	2	1P	2duA>1sgR>invP.ditr	2duA>3sgR>invP.ditr		
61	mè	3	2	2duA.refl	3duPoss>sgO.gen	anv.Apl>3duR>sgP.ditr	3duPoss>invO.gen
62	mèn	11	3P	2duPoss>duO.gen	3duPoss>duO.gen	3duPoss>plO.gen	3duP.dat
					2duA.duP.trans		anv.Apl>3duR>plP.ditr
				continued	2sgA>duP.trans	2duA.duP.trans	
				continued	anv.Apl>2duR>duP.ditr	anv.Apl>3duR>duP.ditr	
				continued	anv.Apl>3duR>invP.ditr		
63	miènê	2	1P	2duA>1sgR>duP.ditr	2duA>3sgR>duP.ditr		
64	nàu	3	1P	1sgPoss>invO.gen	2sgA>1sgR>invP.ditr	3sgA>1sgR>invP.ditr	
65	nè	3	1P	1sgPoss>duO.gen	2sgA>1sgR>duP.ditr	3sgA>1sgR>duP.ditr	
66	nèn	5	3	2sgPoss>duO.gen	1sgA.duO.trans	1sgA.2sgP.duO.trans	1sgA.3sgP.duO.ditr
				continued	3sgA>2sgR>duP.ditr		
67	và	4	1P	1sgPoss>plO.gen	1sgP.dat	2sgA>1sgR>plP.ditr	3sgA.1sgP.plO.ditr
68	yàn	5	2	2sgPoss>plO.gen	2sgP.dat	1sgA>2sgR>plP.ditr	1sgA>3sgR>plP.ditr
				continued	3sgA>2sgR>plP.ditr		