

AN INTERPRETATION OF COMANCHE NAMES IN AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SPANISH DOCUMENT

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Introduction

Nearly sixty years have passed since the publication of Thomas' comments on a Spanish document dating from the 1780s which contains a list of Comanche chiefs (Thomas 1929). The document deals with a Comanche military campaign against the Apache near Santa Fe, following a Comanche-Spanish treaty effected while Juan Bautista de Anza was governor. With increased information now available on lexical and grammatical aspects of Comanche, most of the names can be interpreted, though certain difficulties remain.¹ In a few instances I am tempted to account for irregularities by appealing to a lapse in facility with Spanish on the part of the Comanche who gave the names and their Spanish equivalents. Thomas does not refer to extent of bilingualism in Comanche-Spanish relations, but it is safe to assume that virtually no informative details can now be known of the actual process of recording the chiefs names given here.

With one or two possible exceptions, the Spanish document clearly shows Comanche of that period retaining the nasal + stop clusters that it has subsequently simplified through loss of the nasals. Interestingly, these clusters are almost always spelled with letters implying a voiceless rather than voiced stop ("nt" rather than "nd", etc.). It is impossible to determine whether the earlier geminate stops seen in Shoshoni have shifted to the current [h]+stop clusters of Comanche. That is, whether the writer heard [pp] or [hp], he wrote simply "p", and similarly for the other points of articulation. Comanche's high back unrounded vowel is written in various ways, usually "e" and a few times "a". The latter spelling is perfectly natural in light of the fact that the underlying high vowel very often is fairly low phonetically. The glottal stop is reflected as "r" or "t" or, as one might expect, based on Spanish phonology and orthography, simply omitted entirely. It should be noted, however,

¹I have used the following sources: Canonge 1958; Wistrand Robinson n.d., which is largely based on Canonge's unpublished lexical fileslips; St. Clair 1902; and, for comparative purposes, Miller 1972.

that /ʔ/ often has no phonetic manifestation in current Comanche or Shoshoni and may not have been consistently present as the chiefs' names were dictated to the writer. The Spanish spellings record no distinctions of vowel length or of voiceless versus voiced vowels, though it is possible that voiceless vowels were pronounced as voiceless vowels in order to aid the writer.²

Notation in my comments is straightforward. I use capitals for voiceless vowels, [j] for a voiced palatal glide, [c] for a voiceless alveolar affricate, [b] for a voiced bilabial fricative, and [y] for a high back unrounded vowel. The Comanche names appear here in the same order as in Thomas' article, but I have added numbers for ease of reference. Each entry is headed by Thomas' rendering of the Spanish spelling and translation (where known) from the original document, plus the English equivalent supplied by Thomas.³ Ignoring certain details, data in my comments are cited in roughly systematic phonetic form.

Names

1. *Quetaniaveni*, also spelled *Cuetaninabeni*: El Maltratado/The Maltreated One. Probably *kyhtaa* 'tight, strong, hard' + *ninabeni* + ²NOMINALIZER. The second element is currently unattested but appears to be parallel to *kynabeni* 'bite (as would a bug)', with *ni-* 'by voice' in place of *ky-* 'by teeth or mouth'. The name then appears to mean something like 'verbally abused, hounded'.

2. *Equeracapa*: El huerfano/The orphan. ²*yky* 'recently, just now' + *rahnika* 'keep orphan as foster child' + *py*² or *pʃ* NOMINALIZER. Loss of the syllable *-ni-* is based on a remarkable coincidence. This chief, "the most trusted and universally esteemed ... of the nation", wore hide armor and was given the Spanish title *Cota de Malla* 'Coat of Mail' (Thomas 296). As Thomas tells us, if taken as Spanish rather than Comanche the name *Equeracapa* means 'leather cape'. The chief is also known as *Contatanacapara* (see number 6).

3. *Salambipu* (no Spanish translation). Possibly ??? + *bihpoo*² 'water jug'. There are very few words beginning /sa.../ in

² More than one fieldworker among the Shoshoni and Comanche has noted this strategy on the part of language consultants.

³ There are a few typographical errors and other problems in Thomas, but since some of these can only be resolved through examination of the original document, I merely note their existence in what follows.

Comanche. Canonge (1958) gives *saraa* as a word having unknown meaning. Presence of "I" may indicate a non-Comanche source.

4. *Encajive* (no Spanish translation). Possibly *ʔenka* 'red' + ???.

5. *Piaquegipe* (no Spanish translation). Possibly *pia* 'big' + *kwysipy* 'tangled, braided' + ʔNOMINALIZER.

6. *Contatanacapara* : Grulla en Cruz/ Crane on the Cross.⁴ Probably *koonty* 'crane' + *taʔnikyʔ* 'stake, nail' + *paʔa* 'on'. Current forms for 'crane' are *kusikwaʔaaʔ* (*kusi* 'grey' + *kwaʔaaʔ* 'crane' (?)⁵), which also occurs in St. Clair, and *paʔatofokaty huucuuʔ* (literally 'bird that has a long neck'). Gosiute Shoshoni has /*koonty*/ 'blue crane', which seems to account for the first two syllables of the Spanish spelling if we hypothesize a similar form here. Comanche has *taʔnikyʔ* 'to insert, stake, nail', from which a noun could theoretically be derived by addition of -ʔ NOMINALIZER. The form *taʔnikyʔ*, however, is not currently attested. (Cp. *tyrawynaʔ* 'stake, nail' from *tyrawyna* 'to stake, nail'.)

7. *Tosacodata* : Grulla Blanca/White Crane. *tosa* 'white' + *koonty* 'crane'. This leaves a problem in interpreting the syllable *-ta* here and in number 6. It is possible to analyze the *-ty* of *koonty* as a nominalizer, so that *codata* here may be a compound of *koon* + *kwaʔaaʔ* (see fn. 5).

8. *Tosapoy* : Camino Blanco/White Road. *tosa* 'white' + *puʔe* 'road'.

9. *Hichapat* : Ardiloso/The Crafty One. *ʔisapyʔ* 'liar, schemer', from *ʔisa* 'to lie' + *pyʔ* NOMINALIZER. Palatalization of /s/ is augmentative (i.e. 'a really bad liar, schemer').

10. *Paraginanchi* : Orejas de Venado Alasan/Ears of a Sorrel Deer. *paryhy* 'elk' + *nankl* 'ear'. *paryhy* is from *pa(a)* 'water' + *ryhy(ja)* originally 'deer' but currently 'horse'. It occurs as *paryhy* in St. Clair but in more modern materials as *parya* (see numbers 19 and 22).

⁴ Anza's reports say this name means "El sin igual en hazañas militares" ('The one without equal in military achievements') (Thomas 296). This is presumably an attribute of the chief, but hardly the meaning of the name.

⁵ Miller 1967 gives **kwa* 'eagle' based on several northern and southern Uto-Aztecan languages, with reflexes meaning, variously, 'eagle', 'hawk', 'grey crane', 'blue heron', 'condor', etc. So far as I know, the form *kwa aa* is unattested in current Comanche except in the compound *kusikwa* 'grey crane'.

11. *Quinaneantime* : El Roe a su Amo/He gnaws his Master. Probably *ky* 'by teeth or mouth' + ???.

12. *Sonacat* : Muchos Pimientos/Many Peppers. *soon* 'many' + *ʔahkaaʔ* 'devil's club' + *tY* NOMINALIZER. Devil's club, *Oplopanax horridus*, is a common plant having edible seeds. (Cp. Gosiute (?) *akkyn* 'sunflower seeds'.)

13. *Canaguaie* : Amugerado flaco/The Feeble Effeminate One. *kana(ba ʔa)* 'tall and slender' + *wa ʔhpfʔ* 'woman'. The ambiguity of Spanish *flaco*—slender versus feeble—is presumably not found in the Comanche source.

14. *Pisimanpat* : Zapato podrido/The Decayed Shoe. *pisi* 'festering, infected' + *nampY* 'shoe' (+ perhaps *ʔ* or *tY* NOMINALIZER). The interchange of the nasals is unexplained.

15. *Toyamancare* : Sentado en la Sierra/Seated on the Mountain Range. *toya* 'mountain' + *man* 'on' + *kary* 'sit SG'.

16. *Tichinalla* : Juega [*sic*] Feo/Ugly Game. *tyhcy* 'cruel, mean, ugly' + *naya* (meaning unknown). The latter is attested only in the compounds *naya-ʔisa ʔaitʔ* 'liar, spreader of stories' and *naya=nohitekuary* 'person who jokes a lot'.

17. *Queremilla* : El que hace prodigios, Sacerdote, o Ministro entre ellos/He who makes miracles, Priest, or Minister among them. Perhaps ??? + *mi(ʔa)* 'go'. More likely ??? + *wiaʔ* 'Indian having Spanish (or, now, Mexican) blood'.

18. *Huanecoruco* : Zorra de Pano/Fox of Cloth. *waani* or *waa ʔneʔ* 'fox' + *korohko* 'wear around the neck' + *ʔ* NOMINALIZER. Permutation of *pano de zorra* to *zorra de pano* is unexplained, except perhaps in the sense 'use or wear a fox as a (neck)cloth'.

19. *Tosaporua* : Oso blanco/White Bear. *tosa* 'white' + *parua* 'bear'. The latter is commonly attested as *parya* 'elk', but the name *parya kuhma* 'Bull Bear' preserves the desired species.

20. *Fasahuques* : Ladra Ronco/Hoarse Bark. *pasa* 'dry' + *woo(woo)ki* 'howl' + *sY* INTENSIFIER. The last element is conjectural, as the most reasonable account of the final "s".⁶ If correct, the form is verbal and not nominal. It is also possible that "s" reflects *-hci* DIMINUTIVE.

21. *Ysaquebera* : Lobo Largo/Long Wolf. *ʔisa* 'lie, scheme' + *ky* 'by teeth or mouth' + *wyraʔ* 'bear'. The last element now means

⁶ My thanks to John McLaughlin for this suggestion.

'panther, mountain lion'. If this analysis is correct, *largo* 'long' is more likely *loco* 'crazy'.

22. *Tuchubarua*: Hozo Paxarito/Bear Bird. *huhcuu* [?] 'bird' + *barua* 'bear'.

23. *Encantime*: Savandija/Beetle. Perhaps *ʔenka* 'red' + ???.

24. *Pagabipo*: Vasija de Panza/Basin Pauch [*sic*] [i.e. paunch]. *pahki* 'leather' + *bihpoo* [?] 'water jug'.

25. *Cunabunit*: El que vio Fuego/He who saw Fire. *kuna* 'firewood' + *buni* 'see' + *ty* PROGRESSIVE.

26. *Quahuahacante*: Cuero matado/Dead Hide. *kwa(hary)* 'antelope' + *wana* 'cloth, clothes, trade goods' + *kan* 'have' + *ty* PROGRESSIVE. If correct, there is no form meaning 'dead'.

27. *Oxamaquea*, also spelled *Oxamaguea*: Manos Amarillas/Yellow Hands. *ʔaha* 'yellow' + *makwe* 'back of hand' + *nyh* DUAL. Identification of "a" is doubtful. If the form is dual, current Comanche would require reduplication of the adjective stem (i.e. *ʔoʔaha-*).

28. *Tomanaguene*: Alzó las manos/He raise [*sic*] his hands. *tunaa* 'straight' + *makwe* 'back of hand' + *nyh* DUAL. If correct, the adjective stem has not reduplicated. It is possible that the first element is *tohima* 'raise PL', requiring that final "ne" be interpreted as *nih* Dual OBJ. But the expected order would be object + verb, not verb + object.

29. *Tahuichimpia*: El Suegro/Father-in-Law. *ta* 'one's' + *huucimpia(pY)* 'daughter-in-law'. The problem in meaning is obvious. Note also that the nominalizer *-pY* is not recorded.

30. *Camquencavite*: Casa Colorada/Red House. *kahni* 'house' + *ʔenkabitY* 'red' PREDICATIVE.

31. *Quemanacare*: El que esta lejos/He who was [*sic*] far away. *kyma* [?] 'beside, at edge' + *nakwY* 'toward, in direction of' + *ry* NOMINALIZER.

32. *Quetampunigue*: El que no han Visto tirado/He whom they have not seen shot. *ke* 'not' + *tam* 'one' + *puni* 'see' + *wee* 'pitiful'. If correct, there is no reference to shooting.

33. *Nomasonasallo*: El que hizo su saco/He who made his sack. Presumably *nymy* 'Comanche' + *sona* 'quilt, cloth, cover' + *ʔai* 'make' + *ju* CONTINUOUS, DURATIVE.

34. *Huillome*: El Alezna/The Awl. Probably *wi(i) ju* 'awl' + *myy* 'to do, treat' + [?] NOMINALIZER.

35. *Ancachouate*: Hasta sinpunta/Even without purpose. ??? + *kaco* 'end, rear, back' + *wahty* 'without'.
36. *Tampiallanenque*: Risa grande/Great Laugh. *tam* 'one' + *pia* 'big' + *jahne* 'laugh' + *nky* CAUSATIVE, BENEFACTIVE.
37. *Sucaque*: Que cosa es/What is it. *subka* 'that OBJ' + *hakY* 'where?'. If correct, the meaning is locative rather than nominal.
38. *Tanansimu*: El Sarsillo/Small Rake. *ta* 'by the foot' + *nua* 'to move, push' + ? NOMINALIZER + *hcl* DIMINUTIVE + ???. The identity of the last element remains obscure.
39. *Amabate*: El sin Caveza/The One without a head. *ahma* 'underarm (to waist)' + *wahty* 'without'. The Spanish translation may be an error on the part of the speaker, or may reflect a widened sense of *ahma* no longer current.
40. *Tanticanque*: El que come/He who eats. *tan* 'one' + *tyhka* 'eat' + *nky* CAUSATIVE, BENEFACTIVE.
41. *Ybienca*: Muger Colorado [*sic*]/Red Woman. *hybi* '(middle-aged) woman' + *enka* 'red'.
42. *Ecopisura*: Cuchara Arrastrada/Scraping Spoon. *ekom* + *pi* 'bottom, base' + *su ne/su nai* 'to scrape, rub' + ? NOMINALIZER. The first element is possibly 'tongue' but more likely a currently unattested form related to Gosiute /*ehkon*/ 'pinecone hook'. However, loss of the nasal before /*p*/ is unexplained in either case.
43. *Parnaquibitiste*: Oso muy pequeno [*sic*]/Very small bear. *parya* 'bear' + *kytitsi* 'young' + *ty* NOMINALIZER.
44. *Taoinan*: El Flauta/The Flute. *ta* 'one's' + *woinu* 'wind instrument'.
45. *Humavaenvite*: El Gavilán Roxo/The Red Sparrow-Hawk. *huhmara* ? 'falcon' + *enkatitY* 'red' PREDICATIVE.
46. *Tamavencaniguay*: El preguntado por el Anillo/The One questioned because of the Ring or The One asked for the Ring.⁷ *ta* 'one' + *ma nika* ? 'ring' + *niwai* 'to ask for, request'. There has apparently been some contamination in spelling between this form and number (45), certainly an error in copying and not in the original recording of the names. Thomas' second English equivalent can now be seen as the correct one.

⁷ Thomas explains in a footnote that the correct interpretation of several names depends on analysis of the Comanche, the Spanish equivalents often being ambiguous in English (Thomas, 298).

47. *Cageneiqueuate* : El sin Faja/The One without a Sash. Presumably *ta* 'one' + *nyʔnehi* 'sash' + *wahty* 'without', although this requires the recognition of rather erratic recording or copying.

48. *Encatabebo*: Vermejo/The Bright Red One. *ʔenka* 'red' + *tabe* 'sun' + *boo* 'to draw, mark' + *ʔ* NOMINALIZER.

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Resumen

Armagoost analiza los elementos morfológicos en comanche de una lista de nombres de jefes comanches encontrados en un documento del siglo XVII que publicó Alfred Thomas en 1929. Thomas incluyó la traducción al español que habían dado los comanches en varios casos, y agregó una versión en inglés del español, a veces equivocada. Armagoost incluye algunos comentarios sobre la evolución del idioma comanche que observa al comparar el lenguaje del documento con lenguas shoshonianas y el comanche actual.