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CLASSIFICATORY VERB STEMS IN TEWA

Anna Speirs

0. Introduction
1. General Classification
2. Basic Classification
3. Collocation with Number Classes
4. Other Classificatory Stems
5. Conclusion

0. A system for classifying nouns on the basis of their occurrence with specific verb stems is a common feature of Athapaskan languages (Davidson, et al. 1962; Landar 1967; Hoijer 1945; Krauss 1968). These verb stems have to do with the handling or moving about of an object, and in general indicate or correlate with the fact that the object is round, long and slender, animate, bulky, etc.

Tewa¹, a Tanoan language of New Mexico, also has classificatory verb stems in a limited semantic area, namely the stems meaning 'to be in a place,' (or, with a certain set of pronominal prefixes, 'to have'), and 'to put or set down.' This paper describes the classificatory system through the intransitive verb stems and then explains the transitives in relation to the intransitives.

The set of intransitive stems meaning 'to be in a place' contrasts with the verb stem meaning 'to exist' much as Spanish ser contrasts with estar.

hă:an ² namu:	'what is it'
tə'féân namu:	'it is a pencil'
wăhă:an in tə'fé nak'ó:	'where is the pencil'
má:sa k'éwé nak'ó:	'it is on the table'

1.

In these examples -mu: is the stem describing existence (comparable to ser), while -k'ó: (comparable to estar) is one member of the set of intransitive classificatory stems with which this paper is concerned.

With a different set of pronominal prefixes the classificatory stems have the meaning 'to have'.³

wên tɔ'fé dînk'ó: 'I have a pencil'

wên tɔ'fé ûnk'ó: 'he has a pencil'

Before discussing how these verb stems classify nouns, it is important to summarize the distinctive character of the category of number in Tewa and how nouns are classified by it. Like other Kiowa-Tanoan languages, Tewa exhibits the phenomenon which has been called 'inverse number' (Wonderly, et al., 1954). In Tewa this phenomenon can readily be seen in the indefinite articles meaning 'a, some', as they delineate number for various noun classes.

	<u>singular</u>	<u>dual</u>	<u>plural</u>
Class I	wí	wên	wên
Class II	wên	wên	wí
Class III	wí	wên	wí

From this paradigm it is seen that what marks dual remains the same for all noun classes, while that which marks singular for one class marks plural for other classes and vice versa. Studies have been made of this phenomenon for Kiowa (Wonderly, et al. 1954; Merrifield 1959; F.C. Trager 1960), for Taos (G.L. Trager 1961), and for Tewa (R.H. Speirs 1972).

In the Tewa study a careful analysis of morphemic and syntactic classes produces the following semological classes: Animate, Inanimate aggregate, Inanimate distributive. These classes coincide with the classes (determined by number) listed above as follows:

Class I (wí wên wên) Animate

Class II (wên wên wí) Inanimate aggregate

Class III (wí wên wí) Inanimate distributive

The Tewa study suggests that the inanimate aggregates are possibly thought of as 'sets' in the singular/dual and as an 'entity' (collective) in the plural; while the inanimate distributives are thought of as entities in singular/plural and sets in the dual. (This is based on occurrence of set marker -n on nouns, articles, demonstratives, adjectives.) But this classification leaves certain questions: Why would some objects be regarded as sets and others as entities in the singular? (Some things with parts are considered sets in the singular, e.g., t̄a'nin 'book', but other things with parts are considered entities, e.g., θanta: 'clock' or pandi? 'sewing machine'.) Is there a semantic reason why an inanimate noun belongs in Class II or III? Faced with a new inanimate vocabulary item, into which class would a Tewa speaker put it?

This paper attempts to answer these questions by presenting a new dimension in classification, showing that nouns of Class II occur with one group of classificatory verb stems and nouns of Class III occur with another group, and that this occurrence is dependent on the shape and/or position of the object in question. A Tewa speaker when presented with a new vocabulary item like 'frisbee' (a tossing disc) was readily able to say whether it would occur with wí or wên in the singular, and with which of the classificatory verb stems it would occur.

1. In one of the Athapaskan studies it is stated "...the verb...assigns to the noun certain qualities...of number, shape, texture," and that a particular verb stem has the meaning "the lying there of a single round solid object," (Davidson, et al., 1962). As would be expected, round solid objects occur with this stem. There seems to be an interaction between the verb stem and the noun. The verb stem has a meaning which refers to the shape of the noun, and the noun has a shape which permits it to occur with that verb stem.

A somewhat similar situation exists in the data being described for Tewa. The verb stems under consideration usually have a meaning related to position (sitting, lying, standing, being attached). The group of nouns that occurs with a verb stem, in turn, usually has a characteristic shape or function (bulky, long and flat, granular, hollow). Nouns very often occur with a certain verb stem because their characteristic shape permits them to assume the position the verb implies. (That this is not always so has important bearing on the distinction which will be made in section 2 between 'basic classes' and 'secondary occurrences of nouns with verb stems'.

Some of the classificatory verb stems have a singular/dual form and a plural form. (This is true of a small percentage of all Tewa verb stems.) When the intransitive classificatory verb stems delineate position they can be glossed as follows:

<u>Sing./Dual</u>	<u>Plural</u>	
-ʔán	-k'wó ⁴	'to be sitting'
-k'ó:	-k'wó	'to be lying'
-čá	-sa:	'to be attached/to be a container (in normal position)/to be in a container'
-win	-win	'to be standing'
-yi'	-yi'	'to be walking about'
-ná	-ná	'existence of time or event'

The stem -ná does not seem to have a meaning related to position. As will be seen later, it is used of things in nature, events, institutions, and time. Note also that the formal distinction between 'sitting' and 'lying' is lost in the plural, -k'wó being used for both.

The following examples illustrate the interaction between verb stem and noun.

wí θanta: naʔán 'there is a clock'

θanta: 'clock' occurs with -'án because it is squat and bulky and can in some sense 'sit' which is the meaning of -'án.

wên t̩'f̩é nak'ó: 'there is a pencil'

t̩'f̩é 'pencil' occurs with -k'ó: because it is long and can 'lie down' which is the meaning of -k'ó:.

wí θanta: nak'ẃ̩ 'there are some clocks'

wí t̩'f̩é nak'ẃ̩ 'there are some pencils'

Both θanta: 'clock' and t̩'f̩é 'pencil' occur with -k'ẃ̩ in the plural because as stated previously the distinction between 'lying' and 'sitting' is lost in the plural.

wên s̩'áwé načá 'there is a dish'

s̩'áwé 'dish' occurs with -čá because it is a container.

wí te: nasa: 'there are some trees'

te: 'tree' occurs with -čá (singular) and sa: (plural) because trees are attached or rooted in the ground.

wên féfá' nawin 'there is a shovel' (standing in corner)

féfá' 'shovel' occurs with -win when it is in an upright position.

wí cé nayi' 'there is a dog'

cé 'dog' occurs with -yi' when one is speaking of the dog as moving about in a general way.

Table 1 lists a representative group of nouns and marks their occurrence with the various classificatory verb stems. It also shows what number class the noun belongs in (I, II, or III), according to the system explained earlier. The last column in Table 1 lists the basic class to which a noun belongs by the system of agreement with verb stems which is being developed here. These last two sections of Table 1 do not concern us just now, but will be pertinent in sections 2 and 3 of this paper.

By putting together the nouns which occur with

	-pán	-k'ó.	-k'wó	-čá	-sa.	-ná	-yic	-win	Number			Basic Class
									I	II	III	
sen 'man'	x	x	x				x	x	x		A	
zo.ku 'turtle'	x	x	x				x	x	x		A	
wá.sí 'cow'	x	x	x				x	x	x		A	
te 'wagon'	x	x	x				x	x		x	A	
púwéré 'chair'	x	x	x				x			x	A	
pándi? 'sewing machine'	x	x	x				x			x	A	
k'u. 'stone'	x		x		x		x			x	A	
púnanbe. 'ball'	x		x		x		x			x	A	
be. 'apple'	x		x	x	x		x			x	C	
po. 'pumpkin'	x		x	x	x		x			x	C	
tá?fé 'pencil'		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	B	
sú 'arrow'		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	B	
fakó 'candle'		x	x	x	x		x	x		x	B	

the same set of verb stems, we delineate the following classes: (The information under each class is derived from other data besides that of Table 1 in order to give a clearer picture of what kinds of things are included in each class.)

Class 1 consists of those nouns which occur with -'ǎn, -k'wó, -k'ó:, -yi', -win.

Examples: sen 'man', 'o:ku: 'turtle', θanta: 'clock',
te 'wagon', pändi' 'sewing machine',
má:sa 'table'

A summary of this class would state that it includes people, most animals (except those of Class 6), and bulky objects which can assume a vertically elongated position.

Class 2 consists of those nouns which occur with -'ǎn, -k'wó, -k'ó:, -yi'.

Examples: púwéré 'chair', desk, record player,
machinery

This class includes bulky objects which cannot assume a vertically elongated position.

Class 3 consists of nouns occurring with -'ǎn, -k'wó, -yi', -čá, -sa:

Examples: be: 'apple', po: 'pumpkin', t'o 'nut',
tôn 'button'

This class includes round or bulky fruits and vegetables and small non-long objects which can be put into a basket or similar container.

Class 4 consists of nouns occurring with -'ǎn, -k'wó, -yi', -sa:

Examples: 'á'i 'sugar' (cubes), k'u: 'rock' púnanbe:
'ball'

This class includes cubes, round objects, and bulky objects which cannot assume a lying down position. They would be subdivided into small and big objects, the small ones occurring with -sa:, the big ones not occurring with -sa:.

Class 5 consists of nouns occurring with -k'ó:, -k'wó, -čá, -sa:, -yi", -win

Examples: tǎ'fé 'pencil', sú 'arrow', fakó 'candle',
te: 'tree' fóri 'door', póvi 'flower',
sä'áwé 'dish', fênbe: 'box'

This class includes long objects which can be put into a container, or which grow, and containers.

Class 6 consists of nouns which occur with -k'ó:, k'wó, -sa:, -yi"

Examples: pa: 'fish', nansi: 'earthworm', pá:ñu 'snake'
This class includes long, flat animals.

Class 7 consists of nouns which occur with -k'ó:, -k'wó, -sa:, -yi", -ná, -čá

Examples: p'in 'mountain', okú 'hill', t'ová 'cliff'

This class includes natural land formations.

Class 8 consists of nouns occurring with -k'ó:, -k'wó

Examples: p'o'k'e: 'river', kwi'ôn 'ditch',
texwá 'house', p'ô: 'road'

This class includes long strips.

Class 9 consists of nouns occurring with -k'ó:, -k'wó, -ná

Examples: bú:"ú 'town', "oxúwá 'cloud'

It is difficult to make any summary for this class.

Class 10 consists of nouns occurring with -k'ó:, -k'wó, -yi", -win

Examples: táféñi" 'broom', féfá" 'shovel', nanxwäri
'hoe', p'o:cíxwaye'mirror'

This class includes flat objects which can lie or stand.

Class 11 consists of nouns occurring with -cá, -sa:

Examples: p'ó: 'moon', ?agóyó 'star'

This class includes celestial bodies.

Class 12 consists of nouns occurring with -sa:, -k'ó:,
-k'wó

Examples: ?á"i 'sugar', ?a:ñä: 'salt'

This class includes granular substances.

Class 13 consists of nouns occurring with -sa:

Examples: sã: 'stew', túsã: 'beans'

This class includes things like stews and soups.

Class 14 consists of nouns which occur with -sa:, -yi"

Examples: p'o: 'water', wã:p'o 'milk', ûnp'ó: 'blood'

This class includes liquids which can flow.

Class 15 consists of nouns which occur with -ná.

Examples: ?ehkwéla 'school', sánkî"ri 'fiesta'

This class includes institutions and events.

Class 16 consists of nouns which occur with -yi"

Examples: conxu: 'commandment', hí" 'word'

This class includes abstracts like rules, number
concepts.

2. The above arrangement shows groups of nouns,
but it indicates nothing about the circumstances under
which a noun will occur with one of the verb stems
rather than another. For example, fakó 'candle', in
Class 5 above, occurs with -k'ó:, -k'wó, -cá, -sa:,

-win, -yi", but the above classification does not explain when it occurs with -k'ó: rather than -čá, or -win rather than -sa:, etc. The following examples will explain the circumstances under which fakó 'candle' occurs with each of the verb stems and will point out a further method of classification.

-k'ó: would be used for a candle lying on a table.

wên:fakó nak'ó: 'there is a candle'
(lying there)

-k'ó: would also be used to ask someone if he has a candle, with no reference to the position the candle might be in.

ti wên fakó 'úk'ó: 'do you have a candle'
(literally, 'is a candle to you')

-k'wó would be used for three or more candles possessed or lying on a table.

ti wí fakó 'úk'wó 'do you have some candles'
wí fakó nak'wó 'there are some candles'
(lying)

If, however, one were speaking of a candle in a candlestick, -čá would be used for singular/dual and -sa: for plural.

wên fakó načá 'there is a candle' (in
candlestick)

wên fakó dačá 'there are two candles'

wí fakó nasa: 'there are some candles'

If one were speaking of a plural amount of candles in a general way, -yi" would be used.

báyékí fakó 'ûnyi" 'he has lots of candles'

báyékí fakó nayi" 'there are lots of candles'

As seen from Table 1, almost any noun can occur with -yi". This occurs when the nouns are spoken of in this generalized plural sense. Therefore, -yi" does not serve as a strong classifier of nouns.

If a candle were upright on a table, leaning

against a wall, -win would be used.

wên fakó nawin 'there is a candle' (standing)

All of the occurrences of verb stems with fakó 'candle' listed above depend on the actual position of the candle, except the occurrences with -k'ó:, -k'wó in the sense of 'to have'. This seems to be strong evidence that the verb stems which a noun occurs with in the sense of 'to have' mark a basic class to which that noun belongs. The occurrences of the noun with other verb stems are secondary occurrences, dependent on the temporary position the noun is in. In the above case, fakó 'candle' belongs basically to the class of nouns which occur with k'ó:, k'wó 'to have', and it occurs in a secondary sense with k'ó:, k'wó 'to be lying'; -čá, -sa: 'to be in a container'; -yi' 'to be a general plural amount'; and -win 'to stand'. In the case of fakó 'candle', the stems used to mark the basic class (-k'ó:, -k'wó) are also used for one of the secondary occurrences, namely when the candle is lying on something. This is not always the case. The basic class (determined by what stem is used for 'to have') may be marked by a verb stem which can delineate a position which it is impossible for the noun to assume. For example, animals like wá:sí 'cow' and pá: 'deer' occur basically with -'án, which can have the position meaning 'to be sitting', even though such animals could never actually 'sit'.

ti wí wá:sí 'ú'án 'do you have a cow'

By using the frame, 'do you have' or 'I have' (and thereby determining what verb stems a noun occurs with when position is not in focus), we can unite the above 16 classes into 5 basic classes. These are marked A through E on Table 1. Table 2 gives a fuller picture of these five basic classes, and the rest of this

Basic Class	Includes General Classes; (From Table 1)	Verb Stems which mark Basic Class	Verb Stems in Secondary Occurrences	Semantic Reference of Basic Class
A	1, 2, 4, Part of 3	-án, -k'wó	-k'ó. -win -yi' -sa.	People, most animals, bulky inanimates
B	Part of 5; 6, 8, 10	-k'ó., -k'wó	-čá, -yi' -win	Long, flat animates, Long, flat inanimates
C	Part of 3, Part of 5; 7, 11 12, 13, 14	-čá, -sa. -sa. only	-án, -k'wó -k'ó. -yi' -win -ná	Growing things, containers, Things in a container, Attached things. granular things (-sa. only)
D	16	-yi'	-	Abstracts, such as commands
E	9, 15	-ná	-k'ó., -k'wó	Events, institutions, places

section of the paper explains and enlarges on Table 2. (Note that -win 'to stand' is not used as a classifier of any of these five basic classes. This is because no nouns have been found which occur with -win in the frame 'do you have'.)

Class A nouns occur with -'án, -k'wó basically (that is, in the frame 'do you have' and when position is not in focus).

This class includes all of Classes 1, 2, and 4 above, and the non-botanical items from Class 3. (There is a special problem with nouns like 'apple' which will be discussed under Class C.) Class A, therefore, includes all animates (except long, flat ones, like worm), and bulky inanimate objects like clock, iron, chair, bed, table, typewriter, and wagon.

ti wí ʔe ʔnú ʔú'án	'do you have a son'
ti wí wá:sí ʔú'án	'do you have a cow'
wí te dîn'án	'I have a wagon'

Class A nouns also occur with other verb stems in a secondary sense, when the nouns assume a certain position. For example, almost all Class A nouns can occur with -k'ó: in a secondary sense, that is, if they assume a prone position.

Mary hospital ʔiwe nak'ó:	'Mary is in the hospital'
ʔowe sí wá:sí nak'ó:	'there is a cow over there (lying down)'
ʔowe wí te nak'ó:	'there is a wagon over there' (turned on its side)'

Only those Class A nouns which can assume a vertically elongated position occur with -win 'to be standing'. For example, púwéré 'chair' cannot occur with -win because its basic occurrence is with -'án, and therefore -'án 'to be sitting' is used for its normal upright position. There is no way to change the

position of a chair to a more vertical one, therefore púwéré 'chair' does not occur with -win. (A chair turned on its side or upside down occurs with -k'ó: 'to be lying'.)

Class A nouns which do occur with -win are people, animals which can get up on two legs, and bulky objects which can be upended, like a bed or a long table.

John ʷowe nawin	'John is over there' (standing)
ʷi cé nawin	'the dog is standing' (on hind legs)
ʷowe ʷi te nawin	'the wagon is over there' (upended)

All Class A nouns studied so far occur with -yi" in a secondary sense. Animates occur with it singular, dual, or plural, in the sense of general location or moving about. Inanimates occur with it only in the plural in a general sense of being in a place.

ʷi cé ʷowe nayi"	'the dog is over there' (moving about)
------------------	--

Johnʷo: Albuquerque nayi"	'John is in Albuquerque'
---------------------------	--------------------------

(This last refers to John's having gone to Albuquerque on an errand, or staying there for a period of time, but not to making a permanent home there.)

báyékí t'owa diyi"	'there are a lot of people'
báyékí púwéré nayi"	'there are a lot of chairs'

Only a few Class A nouns occur with -sa:. These are small items (cubes, small balls, buttons) when they are in a container.

wí bohtôn nasa:	'there are some buttons' (in box)
-----------------	-----------------------------------

Class B consists of nouns which occur with -k'ó:, -k'wó, basically. This class includes Classes 6, 8, and 10 from the previous arrangement, plus the items

from Class 5 which are not rooted or attached and not containers, namely items like pencil, candle, stick. This class therefore includes long, flat animals, and long, flat inanimate objects.

ti wên tã'fé 'úk'ó: 'do you have a pencil'
 wí nansi: dînk'ó: 'I have an earthworm'
 wí tã'fé dînk'wó 'I have some pencils'

Class B nouns occur with other verb stems in a secondary sense by assuming a certain position. Some Class B nouns occur with -čá, -sa: in this way. These are the nouns which can be put into a holder, for example, a candle in a candlestick or a pen in a holder such as is seen in a post office.

wên tã'fé načá 'there is a pen' (in a holder)
 wí fakó nasa: 'there are some candles'
 (in candlesticks)

sú 'arrow' also occurs with -čá, if it is stuck in an animal.

wên sú 'ûnčá 'there is an arrow in it'
 (the deer)

Class B nouns occur with -win, if they are in a standing position, e.g., a shovel, rake, or broom upright in a corner.

wên féfá' 'owe nawin 'there is a shovel over there' (upright)

Class B nouns occur with -yi' in the same way that Class A nouns do, in a generalized plural sense.

báyékí sú nayi' 'there are lots of arrows'

Class C consists of nouns which occur basically with -čá, sa:. This class includes the botanical items from Class 3, plus Classes 5, 7, and 11. Classes 12, 13, and 14 form a subclass of Class C, since they occur basically with -sa: only, not with -čá.

Class C therefore includes inanimate nouns which are attached or rooted (flower, apple, tree, window), or

containers (dish, basket), or granular substances (sugar, salt).

ti wên te: ʔúćá 'do you have a tree'
 wí póvi dînsa: 'I have some flowers'
 ti wên sâ ʔáwé ʔúćá 'do you have a dish'
 ʔûnxwáfórisa:⁵ 'it has windows'
 ti wí ʔáʔi ʔúsa: 'do you have some sugar'

Class C nouns also occur with other verb stems in a secondary sense, by assuming certain positions.

Class C nouns which can assume a prone position occur with -k'ó:, -k'wó.

wên póvi nak'ó: 'there is a flower' (lying on table)
 wí te: nak'wó 'there are some trees (felled)
 wên fóri nak'ó: 'there is a door' (lying on floor)
 wí ʔáʔi nak'ó: 'there is some sugar' (spilled)
 wí ʔáʔi nak'wó 'there is some sugar' (spilled in clumps)

Class C nouns occur with -yiʔ in the same generalized plural sense as do Classes A and B nouns.

báyékí fóri nayiʔ 'there are a lot of doors'
 For most Class C nouns -sa: would be preferable even in this generalized sense.

A few Class C nouns occur with -win under special circumstances, e.g., a plate on a shelf in an upright position, leaning against a wall, or an uprooted tree that is still standing, leaning against other trees.

wên sâ ʔáwé nawin 'there is a plate' (standing)
 wên te: nawin 'there is a tree' (standing, but not rooted)

The round botanical items of Class C (like apple, pumpkin, nut) occur with -ʔán, k'wó when they are not on the plants they grow on, but rather on a table, in a bowl, or in someone's possession. In fact, there could be a question as to whether these nouns belong

to Class A or Class C.

When one asks if there are apples in an orchard, -sa: is used.

ti wí be: ʔúsa: 'do you have apples'

-čá is used to speak of one apple on a tree.

wí be: dînčá 'I have an apple' (on tree)

If one were to ask at someone's house for apples, either -sa: or -k'wó could be used, the choice depending on whether the speaker visualizes the apples as loose or in a container.

ti wí be: ʔúk'wó 'do you have some apples'
(loose)

ti wí be: ʔúsa: 'do you have some apples'
(in a basket)

When asking for one apple, -ʔán is used.

ti wí be: ʔúʔán 'do you have an apple'

If one were speaking of an apple on the table or in a bowl, -ʔán would be used.

wí be: naʔán 'there is an apple'

For several apples in a container, -k'wó or -sa: is used, with the difference that -k'wó would refer to a readily countable number (5 or 6), while -sa: would refer to a larger indeterminate number.

wí be: nak'wó 'there are some apples' (several)

wí be: nasa: 'there are some apples' (a lot)

We have chosen to include nouns like be: 'apple' in Class C, using their attached position on plants as the basic form. When an informant was asked why p'ó: 'moon' occurs with -čá, -sa: only (therefore basically), she said she supposed it was because the moon hangs in the sky like an apple hangs on a tree. This seems to hint that things like apples are spoken of basically when they are in their growing state.

A few Class C nouns occur in a secondary sense with -ná, when they are being spoken of as being

present in nature in a general way.

nap'inná 'there are mountains' in the sense
of 'it is mountainous'

Class D consists of nouns which occur only with
-yi". This class is the same as Class 16 above. Very
few nouns of this class have been found. Examples
include commandments, rules, words, arithmetic solutions.

tä conxu: nayi" 'there are ten commandments'
po:ye hí" nayi" 'there are three words'
po:yeárí wíyeárí p'ánú nayi" 'three and two
are four'

Class E nouns occur basically with -ná. This
class includes Classes 9 and 15 above. Again, very
few nouns have been found for this class. It includes
events, institutions, and places.

wên sánkî'ri dinná 'they are having a fiesta'
dín'ehkwélaná 'they are having school'
ti báyéki "úbú:"úná 'do you have a lot of
towns' (in your area)

Words like bú:ú 'town' occur in a secondary sense
with -k'ó:, -k'wó, referring to lying in view.

wên bú:"ú nak'ó: 'there is a town' (looked
down on from a mountain
or a plane)

wí bú:"ú nak'wó 'there are some towns'

Words like "ehkwéla 'school' occur with -k'ó:,
-k'wó, but then they refer to the building, not the
institution.

There are a few other verb stems which refer to
'being in a place'. They are not used as often as the
ones we have been discussing, and like -win, they are
used only in the secondary sense (that is, they never
mark a basic class). These include:

-to'on 'to be in something' (like a box)
-ku'un plural of -to'on
-xwi'won 'to be hanging'

ʔi púnanbe: fê̂nbe: ʔiwe natoʔon 'the ball is in
the box'

wí taʔfé fê̂nbe: ʔiwe nakuʔun 'some pencils are
in the box'

wíʔa: naxwiʔwon 'some clothes are hanging'

3. It was mentioned earlier that these classificatory verb stems would help to clarify why some inanimate nouns occur in Number Class II (wê̂n in singular) and some in Number Class III (wí in the singular). (It has already been stated that nouns of Number Class I are animate, so these will not concern us here.) Table 3 will compare Number Classes II and III with the verb stems they occur with, and will note some restrictions on such occurrence.

Table 3

Class II sg. du. pl. wê̂n wê̂n wí	Nouns of this class occur with verb stems -k'ó:, -k'wó, basically or secondarily. They never occur with -ǎn, even in a secondary sense.
Class III sg. du. pl. wí wê̂n wí	Almost all nouns of this class occur with -ǎn, -k'wó basically or secondarily.

A few exceptions have been found which make it necessary to say 'almost' under Class III. p'ó: 'moon' is one word of Number Class III which does not occur with -ǎn, k'wó. But it is to be presumed that if a moon could be put on a table, it would act like be: 'apple' and occur with -ǎn, -k'wó. (In fact, this is true of a model of a moon. When speaking of it as placed on a table, one would say, naʔǎn.) Two words of Number Class III present

a more serious problem. They are *texwá* 'house' and *p'o:cíxwaye* 'mirror'. They occur basically with *-k'ó:*, *-k'wó* and do not occur with *-ʔán*. There is no apparent solution to these exceptions, but the important fact still emerges from the comparison shown in Table 3 that nouns of Number Class II never occur with *-ʔán*, *-k'wó*.

From the data of Table 3 the following semantic conclusions about Number Classes II and III can be drawn.

1. If an object is bulky, it occurs with *-ʔán*, *-k'wó*, and goes in Number Class III (*wí* for singular).
2. If an object is long and flat, it occurs with *-k'ó:*, *-k'wó* and goes in Number Class II (*wên* for singular).
3. If an object is rooted or attached and long, or if it is a container, it occurs with *-čá*, *-sa:* basically and *-k'ó:*, *-k'wó* secondarily, and it goes in Number Class II (*wên* for singular).
4. If an object is rooted and bulky, it occurs with *-čá*, *-sa:* basically and *-ʔán*, *-k'wó* secondarily, and it goes in Number Class III (*wí* for singular).

4. As mentioned earlier, there are also transitive stems, counterparts to the intransitive ones, which also collocate with the stems that mark Classes A, B, C.

	Class A		Class B		Class C	
	sg/du.	pl.	sg/du.	pl.	sg/du.	pl.
'it is there'	<i>-ʔán</i>	<i>-k'wó</i>	<i>-k'ó:</i>	<i>-k'wó</i>	<i>-čá</i>	<i>-sa:</i>
'(I) set it'	<i>-sóge</i>	<i>-k'wóri</i>	<i>-k'ûʔ</i>	<i>-k'wóri</i>	<i>-kíri</i>	<i>-sa:</i>

- ʔi *θanta: dósóge* 'I set the clock down '
 ʔi *θanta: dók'wóri* 'I set the clocks down '
 ʔin *təʔfé dók'ûʔ* 'I set the pencil down '
 ʔi *taʔfé dók'wóri* 'I set the pencils down '
 ʔin *səʔáwé dókíri* 'I set the dish down '
 ʔi *səʔáwé dósá:* 'I set the dishes down '

5. Classificatory verb stems have been noted in Taos (Tiwa) and Kiowa also among the Kiowa-Tanoan languages (with specific cognates existing between Tewa and Taos). Whether or not the verb stems in these languages function in the same way as do the Tewa remains a question for further study.

Notes

1. Tewa is spoken in six pueblos north of Santa Fe, N.M.: Tesuque, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Nambe, Santa Clara, San Juan. The material discussed here is essentially the same for all the Tewa pueblos, but the examples are given in the San Juan dialect. The material was gathered between 1956 and 1972 and was checked with Mrs. Estefanita Martinez (p'o: cãwã), a student at the 1972 session of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota. Heartfelt thanks are extended to Mrs. Martinez for her patience and for the sharing of her insights into the language.
2. In the Tewa examples, ä = æ
3. As will be seen, this is not a transitive verb, but rather could be literally translated, 'a pencil is (lying) in reference to me'. Transitive verbs are marked by occurrence with an entirely different set of pronominal prefixes.
4. kw and xw in all examples = k^w and x^w.
5. Nouns may be included between the pronominal prefix and the verb stem, or they may occur outside the verb with a demonstrative or article. Constraints on their occurrence within the verb are complex and do not concern us here. Some forms are cited in the former way because that is the preferred way for them. Most forms are cited

the latter way. The choice of verb stem is not affected by this alternation.

6. -ná is also used in time expressions.

hâ:ran naná 'what time is it?'

p'â:nú 'iwe naná 'it is five o'clock'

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