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WICHITA AND CADDO RELATIONSHIP TERMS

By LESLIE SPIER

THE following Wichita and Caddo terms¹ were obtained at Anadarko, Oklahoma, August, 1919, from John Haddon, a Kichai who habitually speaks Wichita, and Bill Edwards, a Caddo of the xasině band,² respectively. While I am reasonably sure of the Wichita, I lack confidence in the Caddo, particularly as the unusual separation of collateral from lineal relatives suggested would indicate misunderstanding.

WICHITA³

ð'kω, grandparent.

dada, father.

nati'āse'i, my father; used only for God (?).

da'tasikitsā, "little father:" father's younger brother; great grandfather.

da'tasiwatsā, "big father:" father's older brother; greatgrandfather (since in the last case relative age cannot be meant; possibly this term and the preceding are used indiscriminately for greatgrandfather).

ǎ'tsiǎ, mother, used by children.

nałkake'kł, "my woman:" mother, father's sister, mother's sister.

natiatsia'tsikitsā, my father's sister or my mother's sister, both younger than mother or father (which one is not clear; probably the former); greatgrandmother.

natiatsia'tsiwatsā, my father's sister or my mother's sister, both older than mother or father; greatgrandmother (again relative age can play no part).

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² The Caddo were said to comprise the xasině, kadohadac, hainaī, and anadark' (among others?), between whom there were slight dialectic differences. All now speak the same dialect.

³ a as in father; ǎ as in hat; ā as in hut; e as in fate; ǣ as in met; i as in pique; ĩ as in pin; o as in note; ð as in not; ö as in German schön; u as in rule; ũ as in put; ω as in law; d and t may be variants of a single intermediate; ' is a weak glottal stop, except after k where it is almost a fortis; ˘ is a breath.

naŭkaheki neŭkŭti, my father's sister's husband; my mother's husband (i.e. my father).

naŭri yörtsski, stepfather; father's sister's husband; mother's sister's husband.

natiwatsiössi, my mother's brother.

naŭdihössi, "my old man:" mother's brother.

naŭötsskŭtsi, my mother's brother's wife; son's wife (cf. *naŭ'tsŭtsi*).

This term may sometimes be used by a man for his own or a conceptual brother's wife.

hantöero'ski, man speaking—brother; son of parent's sibling.

nati'rotsŭi, woman speaking—brother, as the preceding.

naŭtötsiŭ, man speaking—sister; daughter of parent's sibling.

hantare'eyats'i, woman speaking—sister, as the preceding. Half-brothers and sisters are siblings; step-brothers and sisters are not related.

nateöŭ, my child; my brother's child; my greatgrandchild: woman speaking—my sister's child. This corresponds to the designation of greatgrandparents as parents. (*naŭyë'ki*, my children.)

nateöŭ wirsŭksëŭ, "my child a boy:" son.

nateöŭ tcerŭksëŭ, "my child a girl:" daughter.

hirotŭëöŭ, our (dual) child, i.e., man speaking—his own child or that of his brother; woman speaking—her own child or that of her sibling. (Perhaps this is used only in speaking to a non-sibling; cf. *hirotiokŭ* and *hirotŭkŭtŭ*.)

natidohöŭ, our (plural) child, i.e., man speaking—his own or one of his brothers' children; woman speaking—her own or one of her siblings' children.

natidohöŭ dodikitsŭrëŭ, "our child the young man."

natidohöŭ kohek'odë'ë, "our child the young woman." These words specifying a youth or maiden may also be used with *nateöŭ* and *hirotŭëöŭ*.

naŭtorŭkŭtsi, man speaking—my sister's son.

naŭtsëwatsŭi, man speaking—my sister's daughter.

naŭikŭdŭ, my husband.

hirotsiëkŭdŭ, our (dual) husband, used by two (real or conceptual) sisters to one another. The individual's name is suffixed when a specific reference is desired.

hirotŭkŭtŭ, our (dual) husband, used by two sisters in talking to anyone not their sister.

natsiřrokikídř, our (plural) husband, used by three or more sisters among themselves.

natiok'ř, my wife.

hřrotsio'kř, our (dual) wife, used by one brother to another (real or conceptual) of either's wife.

hřrotiokř, our (dual) wife, used by one of two brother's of either's wife in talking with someone not a brother.

natsiorok'ok'i, our (plural) wife, i.e. the wife of any of three or more brothers talking among themselves.

natiě'si, my daughter's husband; my (real or conceptual) sibling's daughter's husband; man speaking—my (real or conceptual) sister's husband.

'utckřtsi,⁴ woman speaking—brother's wife.

nati'isřtsi, my son's wife; my (real or conceptual) sibling's son's wife; my father's brother's wife.

natiřwaworřsi, my grandchild; my sibling's grandchild (possibly including those of a man's sister). Where precision is demanded the words for boy, girl, young man or woman given above are suffixed.

natiřwovorř nekřdř, "my granddaughter's husband."

natiřwovorř nok'ř, "my grandson's wife." The grandchild's spouse is jokingly called "husband" or "wife," since this follows from the designation of greatgrandchildren as children.

natsěiwksi, my parent-in-law.

hřrotsiatsěwksř, our (dual) parent-in-law, used by two (real or conceptual) siblings in speaking to each other about the parent-in-law of either.

hřrotsiatsěwksřkř, our (dual?) parents-in-law, used by two brothers to one another for the parents-in-law of either or both, i.e., two or four persons.

No exogamous units are said to exist. Nor were the bands or villages exogamous: on the contrary, a certain feeling of band solidarity brought about a tendency toward band endogamy. The children of the parent's brothers and sisters cannot be married; in fact, these conceptual siblings must be treated with all the respect shown to real brothers and sisters. The sororate was practised: this was considered preferable to marriage with women who were not sisters, but it was not obligatory. Usually if a man

⁴ In a communication Mr. Haddon wrote this "dutch-kits, with the d silent."

married an eldest sister and she left him or died, he would marry a younger sister if it was agreeable to her. A man could marry any of his wife's real or conceptual sisters, but not her aunt or niece. The levirate was practised only to keep a woman who had children in the family.⁵ She would marry either an older or younger brother according to choice.

Neither a man nor a woman could talk much to their parents-in-law or the brothers and sisters of these parents-in-law, nor to the wife's or husband's nephews and nieces. Communication was usually carried on through the spouse; but these relatives could be directly addressed in matters of extreme importance. This taboo is rigorously followed even to-day. On the other hand, one may joke freely with a spouse's brothers and sisters. Joking is tabooed with one's parents' siblings and with his siblings' children, but not with grandparents and all those regarded as siblings.

CADDO

eb'it, grandfather.

ik'it, grandmother.

a'a, father.

ahaiime', "big father": father's older brother.

ahaitit, "little father": father's younger brother; stepfather.

ina', mother

inahaimě, "big mother": mother's older sister.

inatit, "little mother": mother's younger sister.

ikwe'i, stepmother.

ahai', father's sister.

eba', mother's brother.

ebak'in, father-in-law; (real or conceptual) daughter's husband.

inka'an, mother-in-law.

tcuhuanu, mother's brother's wife; (real or conceptual) son's wife.

ine'itit, man speaking—older brother; parents' sibling's son older than self. The final syllable *itit* is customarily dropped in this and the following terms.

tu'itit, man speaking—younger brother; parents' sibling's son younger than self.

⁵ G. A. Dorsey does not specify the levirate, but indicates that the deceased husband's parents must give their consent before the widow can marry again. (The Mythology of the Wichita, Carnegie Inst., Publ. 21, 1904, 10).

kŕ'nŕŕt or *kŕ'nŕtsŕ*, woman speaking—brother; parents' sibling's son.
tai'ŕŕt, man speaking—sister; parents' sibling's daughter, woman speaking—younger sister; daughter of parents' sibling younger than self.

ie, woman speaking—older sister; parents' sibling's daughter older than self.

dahai', spouse of (real or conceptual) sibling.

sai'ëtë, "old lady"; wife (non-vocatively).

hon'sti, "old man": husband (non-vocatively).

nätsikwaŕ, spouse (non-vocatively). There seems to be no term for a spouse in direct address.

hanŕ'', son; daughter: (real or conceptual) brother's child; woman speaking—(real or conceptual) sister's child.

pa'tsŕ, man speaking—sister's child (also given for father's sister's daughter, but this seems to be an error).

bŕkkŕntc, man speaking—grandson; greatgrandson.

kahanŕtc, woman speaking—grandson; greatgrandson. Both of these terms probably include the granddaughter and the greatgranddaughter.

The application of the following terms is by no means clear. *Cahŕ't* was given first as meaning "cross-cousin" and even "parallel-cousin," but the final explanations were the following.

cahŕ't, father's father's brother's son's son or daughter, etc. Presumably a cousin in the speaker's generation related through a grandparent.

sa'kŕn, father's father's brother's son's son's son or daughter, etc. Evidently the child of *cahŕ't*.

wahadŕn, father's father's brother's son's son's son's son or daughter, etc., i.e. the child of *sa'kŕn*.

ŕne'tŕt, etc., The terms for siblings are applied to the children of *wahadŕn*.

One cannot marry cross or parallel-cousins, nor any *cahŕ't*, *sa'kŕn*, *wahadŕn*, or their children, *ŕnëtŕt*, etc. "One boy was at the river and he became deaf and dumb. The old men asked about him and found out his parents were *wahadŕn*." If a man marries the oldest sister of several and she dies, a younger sister may take her place if it is agreeable. There are said to be no exogamous

groups, but in conversation with my informant maternal affiliation seemed to be stressed.

Conversation is tabooed between parents-in-law and children-in-law except in cases of serious need. This is equally binding to all concerned.

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