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COMPOSITION OF THE CADDOAN LINGUISTIC STOCK

BY
ALEXANDER LESSER and GENE WELTFISH
New York, N. Y.



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CLASSIFICATION

The Caddoan linguistic stock, named after the language of the Caddo, is composed of four major languages, Pawnee, Wichita, Kitsai,² and Caddo. Of these, the Kitsai had never developed dialectic differentiation; the Wichita and Caddo probably each included several dialects, but as at present spoken are known only in one form; and the Pawnee today occurs in three dialects. On the basis of present knowledge, the broad relationships of the four languages can be indicated as follows: Pawnee, Wichita, and Kitsai are, in relation to each other, about equally divergent, save that Kitsai in phonetic structure and some forms is probably closer to Pawnee than Wichita is to Pawnee. All three, however, are mutually unintelligible. Caddo is the most divergent of the four languages. The general interrelationships of these languages and their dialects can be summarized by the following table:³

¹ Based on field research for the Committee on American Indian Languages.

² The authors have preferred this spelling of Kichai. Kitsai approximates more closely the phonetic character of the native name.

³ In the transcription of native names and words of this treatment, the authors have followed the recommendations embodied in *Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages*, Smithsonian Misc. Coll., vol. 66, no. 6, September, 1916. Briefly summarized, the characteristics represented are as follows:

Consonants:

b, m, n, h, and y have their usual values.

p, t, and k (except in Caddo) are intermediates, neither quite sonant nor quite surd. Pawnee final t is nasalized, indicated by superior n (tⁿ). Caddo t is surd sonant; Caddo k is, however, intermediate.

s is throughout surd, somewhat more sibilant than English s.

c is the usual sound of sh in English show.

x closely approximates the ch of German ich.

r in Pawnee and Arikara is a single trilled r made with the tip of the tongue on the alveolar ridge (see also Boas, *Handbook of American Indian Languages*, Bull. 40, Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pt. 1, p. 17, 1911); in Kitsai and Wichita where a distinct n occurs, the r more nearly approximates the English r, but it is never made as far back in the mouth or trilled as strongly. Caddo r is more strongly trilled.

The affricative ts is intermediate where t is intermediate. In Caddo it is surd.

I. Pawnee, Kitsai, and Wichita.

A. Pawnee: a) South Band Pawnee (or Pawnee proper);

spoken by:

pi'tghawíra't^a

tsəwí'ʔ

kɪtkghaxki^xb) Skiri¹ Pawnee

c) Arikara

B. Kitsai: tɪkítse's band of the Wichita.

C. Wichita: a) Wichita proper, spoken by:

toka'ne

ɪsɪ's

tiwá'

ɪtá'

kɪrikɪrɪ's

akwi'ts

b) Probably dialectically divergent:

tawakgrúw'

wéku'

II. Caddo:

a) Caddo proper; spoken by:

nada'rko

nacɪdóc

ya't'as

nak'ohqdo'tsi

ha'i'c

kaygmáici

kado'gdátc'^u

b) Hainai; spoken by:

háinái

nabadáitcu

?c) ? Adai

¹ Skiri is used herein for Skidi. The d of earlier records is the Pawnee r; see the phonetic key above.

tc has its usual affricative character in Caddo, while in Arikara it is more intermediate.

w is slightly more rounded than in English.

Vowels:

With a few exceptions, the symbols for vowels indicate the usual continental values as follows: *a* as in father; *α* (Greek alpha) as u in but; *e* as a in fate; *ε* (Greek epsilon) as e in met; *i* as ee in feet; *ι* (Greek iota) as i in hit; *o* as o in go; *u* as oo in hoot. Exceptional is *ε* in Pawnee, where in making the sound the lips are very

SUBDIVISIONS

PAWNEE

Of the three Pawnee dialects, that known as South Band Pawnee or Pawnee proper preserves the oldest forms of Pawnee. The dialect of the Skiri differs from the South Band Pawnee primarily in phonetics. Speeds, lengths, and tones differ between these dialects; but most important is the fact that the phonetic changes which have occurred have resulted in Skiri in the loss of a number of vowel and consonant distinctions that are found in South Band Pawnee. As a result, what was already a meager phonetic system in Pawnee proper is still further reduced in Skiri.¹ While it may well be true that historically—as tradition claims—the Arikara dialect diverged from a root which was once common to Arikara and Skiri, nevertheless on the basis of a comparison of the three Pawnee dialects as spoken today, the Arikara divergences should be treated in relation to the Pawnee proper or South Band dialect, rather than in relation to the speech of the Skiri. The phonetic divergence of Arikara can be characterized in two ways: first, there are many shifts of vowels and consonants, numbering many more than those which differentiate Pawnee proper and Skiri; and second, in Arikara enunciation whole syllables are lost to the ear through elision and whispering of the vowels. Today, South Band and Skiri dialects are almost fully mutually intelligible; older natives understand the speech of the other group but reply in their own, while among the young people there is a tendency to develop a mixed dialect which overrides the differentiation of the two. Skiri and Arikara generally insist that they can understand one another, and some do; but

¹ Material on which these statements and those referring to the Arikara are based, as well as the details of the phonetic shifts, will be given in an analytic study of comparative text material.

wide, the aperture between them forming a very narrow slit; and *e* in Pawnee which does not have the usual diphthongal quality.

ω (Greek omega) of Wichita is the aw of English law.

ai of Caddo is the diphthong of English height.

Diacritical marks:

The glottal catch (') and the aspiration (') are used in the usual way. Stress accent is indicated by (') after the syllable (a'). Vowel length is indicated by (ː) after the vowel (aː); vowel shortness by (◌) under the vowel (a◌). Pitch accents are (á) for high tone, (à) for middle high. Tone combinations occurring in Pawnee are: (âː) high to middle high, (ãː) normal to middle high, (ãː) middle high to normal, (âː) middle high to high.

Whispered or slightly articulated sounds are indicated as superior symbols (t^e).

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for the most part, this seems due more to their control of a smattering of the other dialect than to any inherent possibilities of intelligibility, which are in fact slight because of the character of the phonetic changes which have taken place. Actually an Arikara was not able to understand a Skiri text, but was at once able to grasp the same text in South Band Pawnee and translate or transpose it into Arikara. There is still current among the Pawnee a tradition that the Kāwārā'kis group of the Pi'tghawíra't^a spoke like the Arikara. It is impossible at the present day to check this tradition, and it seems unlikely that it was true. The few suggestions of linguistic difference between Kāwārā'kis speech and Pawnee proper which can be obtained, point rather to earlier dialectic differences in the speech of the South Bands. Traditions support this view strongly, all South Band Pawnees of the older generations insisting that when the bands lived apart there were differences in their speech, which disappeared after they came to live together. Texts taken from the oldest living representatives of each band failed to show any vestige of such differences remaining today.

The Pawnees have no name for themselves which includes as a unity the four bands of Tskiri, Tsāwí', Pi'tghawíra't^a, and Kítkgahaxki^x. These bands were known to themselves and to each other by their band names. The absence of a general tribal name reinforces other evidence for the fact that the four bands never formed an integrated tribal unity; in fact, they were in former times independent tribal groups. They often banded together for the buffalo hunt and other collective enterprises. But the Skiri, for example, were no more likely to join the three South Bands for a buffalo hunt in the early nineteenth century, than they were to join the Omahas and Poncas. This fact of the essential political independence of each of the bands is too often overlooked, in part because the United States Government has for long dealt with all the Pawnees as one group.

The words "chahiksichahiks" (tsāhiks'tsahiks), often quoted as the name of the Pawnees for themselves¹, has quite a different use. It is not a word for the Pawnees as distinguished from other Indians. tsāhiks—is "person", "human being", the generic word, as distinct from words for "man", "woman". In the combination the connective—t—has prepositional value rendered somewhat by the translation "men of men" or "people of people". This combination "men of men" implies "civilization" on the part of the persons

¹ Fletcher, A. C., Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (cited hereafter as Handbook), pt. 2, p. 214, 1910.

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referred to. tsáhiksti't, "he's a man", "he's really a human being", implies the idea that a man's ways are civilized, well-mannered, gentle. A wild, ill-mannered, mean man would be called tsáhiks-kaki't, "he's not a human being". Thus tsáhiks'tsahiks is applied by the Pawnees not alone to themselves but also to other Indian groups of their acquaintance whom they considered civilized, such as the Poncas and Omahas. In a general way it was also used for Indians as opposed to white men.¹

The name Pawnee is one which was first applied to the Pawnees by white men. It seems unlikely for linguistic reasons that its use came from parí'ku', "horns", as suggested in the Handbook.² Our informants claimed that it derived from parí'su', "hunter" (Skiri dialect). They said that the first Pawnees to meet white men were on the hunt, and that when the white men asked, "Who are you?" an Indian answered, "parí'su'", "a hunter". In the light of this possible derivation, it is interesting to note that the spelling of Pawnee on the early maps is "panis", and also that in more recent years several recorders have written Pawnee "r's" as "n's" because of the peculiar phonetic character of the Pawnee "r". Clearly from "les panis" a derived singular would be pani or Pawnee.³

The Skiri derive their name from the word for the wolf. In present day usage this is ts'k'írxk'íx (adding the diminutive), but it may well have been the shorter form earlier (tskiri). The Skiri were known to themselves and to other tribes as "wolves".⁴ Their war whoop was the cry of the wolf, and for deception on the warpath and in scouting they dressed as wolves, and signalled each other vocally with wolf cries.⁵ In war dances where combat is dramatized the warriors act like wolves. A mythological background for this

¹ This usage is also quoted from Hayden, Handbook, pt. 2, p. 216.

² Handbook, pt. 2, p. 213.

³ Some years ago James R. Murie suggested to F. W. Hodge *pares* as the origin of Pawnee, and told the same story about it. See Amer. Anthropol., n. s., vol. 17, pp. 215-216, 1915. Apparently the story is a general Pawnee tradition.

⁴ Dunbar, J., in Mag. Amer. Hist., vol. 4, p. 259, 1880, offers as explanation of the name Skiri the association of this group of Pawnees with the Loup (Wolf) River, which in turn was so called because of the abundance of wolves along the stream. Pawnees of today still recall that wolves were abundant along the Loup River in early days. It seems reasonable to believe that such a wolf-teeming habitat had an important influence on Skiri Pawnee cultural forms, and thus was indirectly responsible for the name.

⁵ Grinnell, G. B., Pawnee hero stories and folk tales (cited hereafter as Grinnell), pp. 245-248, 1890, describes these methods of deception in some detail; the statements made herein are based on information from present-day informants.

conception is furnished by an incident in the story of Lightning's visit to the earth carrying all people in a sack. The Wolf-Star, being jealous of the Evening-Star who has sent Lightning to the earth, sends a wolf to steal Lightning's pack. When the people come out and observe the wolf's strange behavior, they kill him, thus introducing death into the world. Lightning tells them to skin the wolf, and to keep its hide on their sacred bundle. He tells them also that wolves will multiply, and that they shall be known as Tskiri.¹

While there was no name for the four Pawnee bands together, an old informant stated that in Nebraska the Skiri used to speak of the other three bands together as *tyhă'witⁿ* (in South Band dialect the word is *tuxră'witⁿ*) which means "village-east". This evidently refers to the position of these bands in relation to the Skiri. The orientation of the Pawnee bands in Nebraska according to present informants was schematically as follows:²

			N		
W	tskiri	kítkgħaxki ^x	tsăwî'ʹ	pi'tghawíra't ^a	E
			S		

It is a matter of interest that contrary to the theoretical statements that the Pawnees always maintained the same orientations of the bands, the band locations in Oklahoma are about as follows:

			N		
W	tsăwî'ʹ			tskiri	E
		kítkgħaxki ^x			
				pi'tghawíra't ^a	
			S		

The three bands which spoke South Band dialect or Pawnee proper did not, however, have any name for themselves as a unit group. Nevertheless restrictions upon intermarriage between bands

¹ Dorsey, G. A., *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee*, Mem. Amer. Folklore Soc., vol. 8, pp. 17-18, 1904.

² Dunbar, op. cit., pp. 257-258, discusses the location of the bands as they were oriented to each other in 1834. While his statements are ambiguous, their most likely interpretation would make the band orientation agree with the statements of our informants. Dunbar also gives *tu'-ra-wit-u*, eastern villages, as the name applied by the Skiri to the other bands.

Fletcher, A. C., *Handbook*, pt. 2, p. 214, gives the relative positions exactly as we have recorded them. Grinnell, p. 218, also gives this order. Inasmuch as our records were secured independently from Pawnees who had moved to Oklahoma from Nebraska, and who knew the facts only from memory and tradition, they are important confirmation of the earlier statements.

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broke down earlier among the three South Bands, and marriages were tolerated between tsawí' and pi'tghawíra't^a at a time when they were still frowned upon between any one of the three bands and the tskiri, indicating a closer affiliation of the peoples of the South Bands.

The name pi'tghawíra't^a can be analyzed as meaning "man who goes east": pi'ta—"man", hawíra't^a—"goes east." The latter is a combination derived from ă'wítⁿ—"east" and frā't^a—"one who goes."¹

According to the writings of James R. Murie,² the pi'tghawíra't^a were formed of two villages: the pi'tghawíra't^a proper and the kawgrā'kís. Informants today state that while these two groups did not live apart, but formed one village, they did speak different dialects, as above noted, and also had independent bundles and ritual and ceremonial performances. The name kawgrā'kís simply refers to the fact that these were the people who had or owned the kawgrā'^a bundle, which seems to have been one of the most ancient bundles of the Pawnees, certainly the oldest of the pi'tghawíra't^a bundles. An indication of the conceived relationship of the two groups is given by the kinship terms which they used for each other. The kawgrā'kís called the pi'tghawíra't^a tsky'rus, "in-law", while the pi'tghawíra't^a replied ríkurakátsky'rusu', "they are in-laws to us".

kítkgħaxki^x means literally "little mud lodge". "On a hill", the meaning given by Grinnell³, has no linguistic basis.

Murie speaks of four divisions of the kítkgħaxki^x:⁴ "the kítkgħaxki^x proper, the little kítkgħaxki^x, the Black Heads, and the karíki'su or 'one who stands in the circle to recite the creation ritual' ". A number of informants agree that there were not four divisions of the kítkgħaxki^x band. Informants state that there were two divisions, the kítkgħaxki^x proper, called kítkgħaxkisú-rāriksis^a (rāriksis^a, "real"), and the little kítkgħaxki^x, called

¹ Grinnell, p. 216, gives "down the stream", or east" as the meaning of this name. There are two usages for east in Pawnee, of which one means "outside through the entrance", referring to the fact that the doorway of the Pawnee earth lodge is oriented toward the Morning Star and the rising sun, hence eastward; while the second usage, ă'wít as above, is related to the stem for floating, hence has a downstream connotation. As all rivers flowed eastward or south-eastward from the Pawnee villages in Nebraska, the word has come to be used for east.

² Murie, J. R., Ceremonies of the Pawnee. To be published by the Bureau of American Ethnology.

³ Op. cit., p. 216.

⁴ Op. cit.; Grinnell, p. 241, speaks of three.

kítkgħaxkĩripatski (kĩripatski, "small"), and that the latter group split off from the main band not more than three generations ago under a self-made chief, Curly-Chief, téktgsaxkārũku. The camp of the kítkgħaxkĩripatski was set up southeast of the main village. The Black Heads (pákskã'titⁿ) was the name of a society; and the karĩki'su was the woman's dance or ceremony before the planting of the corn. Between the kítkgħaxki^x proper and the little kítkgħaxki^x old informants claim there was a slight dialectic difference of speech; but they lived together in one village and as far back as memory and tradition go, their bundles and ceremonies were merged or the same.

The tsãwĩ' name, according to many Pawnee informants, has the reference "beggars."¹ This could not be established as a linguistic meaning; the closest similarity of the word seems to affiliate it with the stem for "doctoring". Nevertheless, we do not doubt that "beggars" had a relevance which has been lost. People of the other bands claim that the tsãwĩ' always came asking for meat, hence the name. Wissler, in a footnote to Murie,² states: "They are now known as tsãwĩ' or Chaui, a band sprung from tsákĩtã'ru—ĩtsat, coon; wi' part of band". This derivation, on close linguistic analysis, does not seem likely; ĩtsat and ákĩtã'ru would combine into tsákiĩtã'ru in South Band dialect, but ĩtsat and wi' would combine into tsãxwĩ' not tsãwĩ'.

The *Arikara* are called arikarã'ru', "horns" or "elk", by the Pawnees, and they call the Pawnees awáhu. As the term Arikara is a good Pawnee and Caddoan word, the linguistic derivation of which is clear, it seems unlikely that, as has been contended, the name is not used by the Arikara for themselves.³ The word means "elk".⁴

¹ Grinnell, p. 216, gives "in the middle" as the meaning of tsãwĩ'. He probably derives this from a confusion of the name with the word tãwe which means "among".

² Op. cit.

³ Gilmore, M. R., The Arikara Book of Genesis, Pap. Michigan Acad. Sci., Arts, and Lett., vol. 12, p. 95, 1929.

⁴ The Handbook, under the synonymy of Arikara, lists: "starrahe" from Bradbury's Travels in the Interior of America, and "star-rah-he" from Lewis and Clarke, the latter given by the explorers as the people's own name. Phonetically this is a good Caddoan (Pawnee or Arikara) word (tstarahi), and its suggestive correspondence to the "harahey" "arahey" of Coronado's expedition makes this a plausible alternative derivation of the Coronado name to awahi, the Wichita name for the Pawnees (see below). In the case of awahi, the possibility is that Wichitas spoke of Pawnees to the Spaniards, in that of "star-rah-he" that Turk or some other Pawnee told them about the Arikara.

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The word given by Gilmore¹ as the Arikara name for themselves, "sanish" is saxnic, paralleling the South Band word tsaxriks, meaning "person"; and "san-sanish" is clearly the Arikara analogue of the Pawnee tsaxriksʔtsaxriks (tsəhiksʔtsahiks) discussed above.

Awahu, the name used by the Arikaras for the Pawnees means "left behind"; it also occurs as the name of one of the Arikara villages.² Traditionally it is said to reflect the movements of the peoples, the fact that the Arikaras moved on to the north in the Pawnee migrations and left the Pawnees behind.

While the Arikara spoke of the Pawnees as *awahu*, they also knew the bands by their individual names. These they rendered as follows: stci'ri (tskiri);³ wi'təhawíra't (pi'təhawíra't); tutkəhaxtc (kltkgəhaxki*); sawí'at (tsawí'').

KITSAI

This Caddoan language is known only as the speech of one small tribe of that name. It was in recent historic times closely affiliated with the Wichita peoples, and Wichitas will be found consistently to give the Wichita name for the Kitsai as one of the bands of the Wichita tribe, although all are aware of the difference in speech. In culture the Kitsai became so similar to Wichita that it is almost impossible today to find characteristics that differentiate them.

The Kitsai language is closely related to both Pawnee and Wichita. Comparisons of the three indicate that it is intermediate to the two others. Many of the Kitsai forms show a striking relation to the Pawnee, while others bear as pronounced a resemblance to Wichita forms. Kitsai resemblances are clearest with South Band Pawnee, and comparison with that Pawnee dialect indicates that these two—South Band Pawnee or Pawnee proper and Kitsai—have been most conservative in retaining old Caddoan forms of the northern Caddoan languages—Pawnee, Kitsai, Wichita.

The Kitsai language is practically extinct today. Of six individuals reputed to know it, one woman knows some simple vocabulary, another seems to understand but is never known to express herself in the language; one man who pretends to speak some Kitsai has its words and forms inextricably confused with a smattering of Pawnee (Wichita being his native speech). Thus only three can

¹ Op. cit.

² On Arikara village names see Gilmore, M. R., Notes on Arikara tribal organization, Indian Notes, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 344-345, October, 1927.

³ *Tschihri*, quoted in the Handbook, pt. 2, p. 216, from Maximilian as the Arikara name for the Pawnee, is clearly the Arikara version of tskiri, as here given.

be said to know any Kitsai, and these habitually talk in Wichita and use no English at all. Of these the man can control Kitsai in its simple forms well; one woman who speaks Kitsai and Wichita is not linguistically gifted in either, and is rather subnormal in intelligence; while one woman, Kai Kai, is thoroughly bilingual in Wichita and Kitsai, with a genuine talent for clear thought in language, and it is from her that a knowledge of Kitsai has been obtained and preserved. It may be said that only while she lives is Kitsai still existent; and she is now past 83.

So far as the Kitsai are known to other Caddoans as a group distinct from the Wichita-speaking peoples, they are known by phonetic variants of their own name.¹ The Wichita speak of the language as kí'tsé's, while their own pronunciation is kitsás; their full name tikítsás. The Pawnees call them kí'tsas. Their own name is said by Kai Kai to mean "going in wet sand"; while the Pawnees translate their version of it as "water turtle."

The Kitsai designate the various groups of the Wichita by the regular Wichita band names, and the Pawnees as awáhi, the same name as that used by the Wichita for the Pawnee.

WICHITA

The Wichita language is spoken by eight of the nine bands of the Wichita tribe, all bands save the tikítse's or Kitsai. Today it consists of one dialect only, and there is no evidence in the speech as used by different Wichitas of former subdivision or divergence. But by tradition, and some casually remembered words and expressions, it seems probable that at least two of the Wichita bands spoke Wichita that was dialectically divergent to a minor degree.

Information obtained and cross-checked with a number of informants yielded the following list of former Wichita bands. It is probably as complete and accurate a list as can be secured at this late date: toka'ne, tsí's, tiwá', utá', kúrikúrí's, akwi'ts, tawakgrú', wéku' (and tikítse's). James Mooney² lists nine bands, some of which are immediately identifiable with those above: thus kútikúkish (kúrikúrish) for kúrikúrí's; akwesh for akwi'ts; tawakoni (tawakarehu) for tawakgrú'; and waco for wéku'. "kirishkitsu", although it is evidently intended for a Wichita-speaking group, may be an old Wichita name for the tikítse's: in which case it is kí'k'i'skitsu, meaning "water turtles", and forming an analogy to the meaning which

¹ Unless "kirishkitsu", as mentioned below is the old Wichita name for the Kitsai.

² Handbook, pt. 2, p. 947.

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rakoni (tawakarehu)
itsu", although it is
oup, may be an old
s kík'i'skitsu, mean-
the meaning which

d Wichita name for the

is given by the Pawnee proper for the Kitsai name. "Tawehash" may be a variant of tiwá', possibly resulting from dialectic differences of pronunciation; the synonymy of the Handbook includes several Spanish variants, such as Teguayos, which seem to support this view.¹ "Yscani," suggested by Mooney on the evidence of Bolton as possibly another name for the wéku', an idea which is supported by the disappearance from historical records of the name Yscani at the time wéku' makes its appearance, nevertheless accords too closely with toka'ne or isi's or both taken together. Further the reason for the late appearance of wéku' seems more probably as suggested below. Of Mooney's names, we have no record of "kishkat" and "asidahetch". The words can however be recognized as good Caddoan. Of the names in the list above Mooney lacks any suggestion of itá'. One old informant suggested as an additional band name netekwó'kgrik^{ws}, "the laughing people", but others claimed this was the name of a village, not of a band.

Traditions and statements of informants today agree that the tawakgrú'w' and wéku' (towaconi and waco) spoke somewhat differently from people of the Wichita bands, although mutual intelligibility is affirmed. Discussion of the speech of these two bands with contemporary Wichitas arouses laughter, apparently because many of the turns of expression of the tawakgrú'w' and wéku' speech as grasped in Wichita phonetics have different meanings from those intended, and sound ludicrous. One or two expressions still recalled, though how accurately can not be determined, support this view, indicating a real dialectic difference which has been lost: a few others suggest as more probable difference of idiomatic usage as the distinction between the speech of these two bands and that of the others. As the wéku' and tawakgrú'w' were the westernmost groups of the Wichita, and somewhat apart from the others, it seems reasonable that local differences should have existed.

The name generally given as the Wichita name for themselves is kíkikrís, the name of one of the bands. The origin of the term Wichita is open to some dispute. One tradition is that the first native met by a white man, asked who he was, replied "wits itá", "a man, that's what I am", whence the name. The suggestion is sound linguistically; but in view of informants' statements that itá' was the name of a Wichita band, it may be that Wichita is a combination of wits—"man", and itá'—this group name, viz., itá'—

¹ Handbook, pt. 2, pp. 705-706.

men.¹ Actually there seems no Wichita name for the tribe as a whole.

Meanings have not been obtained for all the band names of the Wichita, and the full understanding of these must await thorough analysis of the Wichita language.

isí's means "awls", and was used for this group of the people because of their skill in the use of awls.

akwi'ts is "dull teeth", said to refer to the fact that the old people of the band had dull teeth.

tawakgrúw' "neck of land in the water" refers to the character of the place where these people lived.

k̄rik̄rí's "coon eyes", "raccoon eyes", is understood by the Pawnee proper as k̄rik̄ruks "bear eyes".

wéku' is said by informants to be derived from wéhiko, which latter is evidently the Wichita rendition of Mexico as pronounced by the Spanish; it was used for the people of this band because, according to tradition, they were always fighting with the Mexicans. They are spoken of as "Indians who were always scouting around". They are said to have originally been part of the tawakgrúw', without a village to themselves, but later to have lived independently. If this origin of the name be correct, it is clearly not an ancient Wichita or Caddoan name, which may explain why it does not appear unmistakably in historical records until after 1820.²

The Wichita refer to the Pawnee as awa'hi; apparently this is the same designation as the awáhu of the Arikara. There is no evidence that use of awa'hi is recent; but the significance of this identity of Wichita and Arikara names for the Pawnee, in view of the traditional explanation of its meaning as given by the Arikara, must await further study.

It seems possible that this awa'hi is what was intended by the "Harahey" and "Arahey" of the Spanish accounts of Coronado's expedition into Wichita and Pawnee country.³ The country to which Coronado was led has been identified as Wichita country, and there the people told the Spaniards about a land and people to

¹ Nevertheless the same kind of misunderstanding occurred in the case of the Pawnee. Grinnell, p. 240, says of the Pawnees, "the southern tribes call them pi-ta'-da". This is evidently pí'tat which means "man, that's what I am", and phonetically and morphologically is exactly equivalent to the Wichita wts gtá.

² Cf. Handbook, pt. 2, p. 887.

³ James R. Murie some years ago made this same suggestion to F. W. Hodge. See Amer. Anthropol., n. s., vol. 17, pp. 215-216, 1915.

the north, Harahey, whose customs and houses were similar to their own; evidently they spoke of the awa'hi.¹

CADDO

Caddo, as spoken today, is essentially the language of the kado'ḡdátcu^u band, which seems to have gradually eliminated whatever former dialectic differentiation existed, in favor of a common speech. All traditions of older living Caddos point to a time when the various bands lived apart and each spoke a somewhat divergent dialect; some even claim that these were not mutually intelligible, but there is little evidence for this view.

There were in all eight branches of the Caddó tribe which are remembered by present day natives as speaking Caddoan: hāināi, nabadāitcu, nada'rko, načídóc, ya't'as, nak'ohodo'tsi, ha'i'c, kaygmāici, and kado'ḡdátcu^u. To these should probably be added the Adai.

James Mooney lists 12 bands of the Caddo confederacy.² Of these he identifies one (Imaha) as a small band of Kwapa, and another (Yowani) as a band of Choctaw. Of the remaining 10, 9 will be found readily identifiable with the names in the above list; only Mooney's "Nakanawan" is absent. Mooney states that the kado'ḡdátcu^u, nada'rko, and hāināi called themselves collectively hasinai "our own people". While this may have been used by Caddos for some groups of the people collectively, it seems doubtful that it included just these three, since nabadāitcu and hāināi are closely associated together as speaking the same dialect, and as forming the most divergent branch of the Caddo.

According to informants' statements, at one time all bands of the Caddo spoke divergent dialects, save the hāināi and nabadāitcu, whose speech was identical; in fact they claim that the nabadāitcu was a branch of the Hainai rather than of the Caddo in general. Hainai was the largest band numerically, kado'ḡdátcu^u the second largest.

The divergence of Hainai dialectically from Caddo proper is supported by a little evidence still obtainable in the form of a few remembered differences in words. These are of two types: slight phonetic differences of a dialectic character; and complete difference of word. In some cases the latter type of difference suggests adoption of foreign words, particularly of Spanish words; such occur

¹ Nevertheless the possible relation of "harahey" to the Arikara "star-rah-he", as above mentioned, cannot as yet be dismissed.

² 14th Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., p. 1092, 1897.

prominently for words which must be relatively recent in use, such as the word for horse. In Caddo proper, the vocabulary shows instances of multiple synonymy, and more than one word for the same object, which may prove to have resulted from two factors: adoption of foreign words, as Spanish, and preservation of usages of a number of the Caddo bands in the contemporary Caddo proper. Hainai kinship terms and usages also differ from those of Caddo proper.

Adai is preserved to us in the form of brief vocabularies.¹ Those words which can be summarily identified with Caddoan stems indicate that Adai is probably a divergent dialect of the Caddo.

Linguistically the Caddo is most divergent of the Caddoan languages in three directions: phonetics, vocabulary and morphology. In vocabulary, it shows, as above suggested, a mixture of stems and words from a number of alien sources.

NOTE ON NAMES APPEARING IN THE CORONADO NARRATIVE²

It is well known that Coronado, while in the Pueblos in 1540-1541, heard from captive Plains Indians of the lands to the east; and that "Turk", his guide into the Plains, was probably a Pawnee. The name Quivira, used in the Spanish accounts for the land along the eastern Plains to which they were led, is evidently the Pawnee word *kíwira*. This word is not one which was ever employed as a name for any definite tribe or country. It means "different", "strange". It seems plausible that Turk in trying to describe to the Spaniards the country to the east, explained "it's different", etc., meaning different as to flora, fauna and ways of life from the pueblo country in which the Spaniards then were. If this was the case, *kíwira* would have been correctly used for his meaning.

¹ Latham, R. G., *Opuscula*, pp. 402-405 (50 words), London, 1860.

Latham, R. G., *Natural history of the varieties of Man*, pp. 366-367 (48 words), London, 1850.

Latham, R. G., *Elements of comparative philology*, pp. 468-470 (45 words), London, 1862.

Gallatin, A., *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America*, Amer. Antiq. Soc. Trans. (135 words from the Sibley manuscript).

Trans. Amer. Ethnol. Soc., vol. 2, pt. 1, pp. 95 and 97 (60 words from Sibley), 1848.

Gatschet, A. S., *A migration legend of the Creek Indians*, p. 42, Philadelphia, 1884. Refers to a list of 300 words gathered in 1802 by Martin Duralde, which is now in the Library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. We have not seen this last Adai vocabulary.

² Winship, G. P., *The Coronado expedition, 1540-1542*, 14th Ann. Rep., Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pt. 1, 1896.

recent in use, such vocabulary shows one word for the from two factors: variation of usages of any Caddo proper. m those of Caddo

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ADO NARRATIVE²
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14th Ann. Rep., Bur.

While in Kansas, the Coronado expedition was told by the natives about a land and people to the north similar in ways of life to themselves. The Spaniards recorded the name given them as Harahey or Arahey. We have discussed the possible derivations of this name under Arikara and Wichita above. It has generally been accepted that the country to which Turk first brought the Spaniards was Wichita country. No doubt the statements of Spanish accounts that the houses were made of grass is part of this evidence. But there survives among the Pawnees a tradition to the effect that long ago their lodges were grass-covered, and that only as they came into colder northern regions did they cover the lodges with mud. Thus it seems to us possible that it was to a relatively southern group of Pawnee villages that Turk led the Spaniards, and that Harahey was intended to refer to the Arikara further north. This cannot be substantiated, however, by present usage of the Pawnee for the Arikara.

Coronado and his men were told that the nation was ruled by Tatarax. This is certainly a Pawnee word, *tátara'k*—forming the first person inclusive plural of all Pawnee verbs. The most probable form for which it was intended is *tátara'k^{ux}*, "one of us is present (sitting)". It is, however, not a personal name.¹

Ysopete, the name of the Plains Indian who supplanted Turk in the confidence of the Spaniards, seems to be a Wichita word.

¹James R. Murie considered Tatarax as probably intended for *táturash* (*tá'turas*), "I found it", stating that a Pawnee with that name died after the removal of the tribe to Oklahoma. See note by F. W. Hodge in Amer. Anthropol. n. s., vol. 17, pp. 215-216, 1915.

