ABBREVIATIONS USED

A
I' A
AA
AAA-M
ArA
AES-P
AGW-M
AJPA
AMNH
-AP
-B
-M
-MA
-MJ
BAE
B
-C
-MA
-MA
-MA
-MA
-MA
-MA
CNAE
CU-CA
FL
FMNH
- M
-PAS
IAE
ICA
IJAL
JAFI
JRAI
MAIHF
- C
-JN
- INM
PM
-PMM-B
SAP-J
SI
-SM
-SM
-SM
-SM
-SM
UC-PAAE
UPM-AP
USNM
-UW-PA
ZE

Anthropos.
L' Anthropologie.
American Anthropologist.
Archiv für Anthropologie.
American Ethnological Society, Publications.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Mitteilungen.
American Journal of Physical Anthropology.
American Museum of Natural History—
Anthropological Papers.
Bulletin.
Memoirs.
Memoirs, Anthropological Series.
Memoirs, Jesup Expedition.
Bureau of American Ethnology—
Bulletins.
(Annual) Reports.
Contributions to North American Ethnology.
Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology.
Field Museum of Natural History—
Memoirs.
Publications, Anthropological Series.
Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.
International Congress of Americanists (Comptes Rendus, Proceedings).
Journal of American Folk-Lore.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—
Contributions.
Indian Notes.
Indian Notes and Monographs.
Peabody Museum (of Harvard University)—
Memoirs.
Papers.
Reports.
Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin.
Smithsonian Institution—
Annual Reports.
Contributions to Knowledge.
Miscellaneous Collections.
University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.
University of Pennsylvania (University) Museum, Anthropological Publications.
United States National Museum—
Reports.
Proceedings.
University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
MEXICAN KINSHIP TERMS

BY

PAUL RADIN
MEXICAN KINSHIP TERMS

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INTRODUCTION

The following kinship systems were all extracted from old dictionaries and confessionarios. In spite of the fact that the authors of these works were priests who had no interest whatsoever in the strange customs of the people they were converting, great care was generally taken in obtaining as complete a list of kinship terms as possible in order to prevent the natives from marrying within the forbidden degrees of marriage as laid down by the Catholic church. These lists are, on the whole, fairly complete and adequate, i.e., they give us enough data to determine the type of kinship systems used by the Indians described.

It is naturally difficult to study kinship systems apart from social organization, and we know wretchedly little about the social organization of the Indians of either ancient or modern Mexico. Of the tribes discussed in this paper we know fairly definitely that the Opata, Tepehuanos, Tarahumare, Cora, and Otomi did not have a clan organization and we also know that their social organization was simple. For the other tribes our specific knowledge about social organization is not always much better, but we do know a good deal about their culture in general. For the Totonaca we have the data given by the older Spanish sources, particularly Sahagun and Torquemada.¹ There seems to be no adequate reason, on the basis of the facts they give, to assume that the Totonac either had a clan organization or a marked development of social classes. That their culture was quite complex, however, admits of no doubt. It seems to have been closely related to that of the Huaxtec. Among the Huaxtec there appears to have been a fairly well developed "caste" system, but there are no indications of clans. It is only when we come to the Mixtec and Zapotec

¹ This has been excellently summarized by W. Krickeberg, Die Totonaken, Baessler Archiv, vols. 7 and 9.
that we find a highly definite caste system² and probably a clan organization. For the Zapotec there seems to be little doubt that a clan organization once existed.³ The evidence for the Mixtec is not so good, although it seems reasonable to assume that owing to the extreme similarity of the two cultures in social organization, what holds for the Zapotec would also hold for the Mixtec. The Mixe and Zoque do not seem to have had any distinction of classes. Whether they had a clan organization it is hard to say, but the presumption has always been that they did.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the kinship systems of Mexico is that, with exception of the Maya and Tarascan,⁴ we find no example of the classificatory type and even the two mentioned are only classificatory in part. In the main the Mexican systems can be grouped into three types, the Opata, Tepehuan, Tarahumare, Cora, and Huaxtec constituting the first, the Totonac, Otomi, Mixtec, Zapotec, Mixe, and Zoque, the second, and the Tarascan and Maya, the third.⁵ The first group approximates most closely to Spier's⁶ type V (Yuman) and the second to his type IV (Acoma).

² This is even definitely expressed in the language where a special set of personal pronouns exist only used when addressing one's superiors.
³ The evidence is to be found partly in Burgoa, but particularly in Santamaria y Canseco, Papeles de Nueva España, Relacion de Mitla, etc. (1580).
⁴ Paul Radin, Maya, Nahuatl and Tarascan Kinship Terms, AA, n.s., v. 27, no. 1.
⁵ The Aztec belongs to neither group. In the scheme outlined by Spier it would have to be placed in his type III (Salish).
OPATA RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group
Father, mas
Mother, degua
Son, no
Daughter, mara

Grandparent-Grandchild Group
Grandfather, pao
Grandmother, su
Grandson, paomari
Granddaughter, paom

Sibling Group
Older brother, baa
Younger brother, boo
Older sister, coo
Younger sister, bii

Uncle-Nephew Group
Father's older brother, cuh
Father's younger brother, bebir
Mother's older brother, soro
Mother's younger brother, dechim
Father's older sister, babo
Father's younger sister, der
Mother's older sister, teppo
Mother's younger sister, der
Nephew, taim
Niece, taimari

TEPEHUANO RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group
Father, oja, avuscia, mama
Mother, dadda
Child (father speaking), tututo, alidaga
Child (mother speaking), mamata, alidaga

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7 Extracted from P. Balcaastro, Vocabulario de la Lengua Opata. I am quoting from the manuscript copy of A. Pinart in the Bancroft Library.
8 Extracted from Benito Rinaldini, Arte de la Lengua Tepeguana, 1743.
Grandparent-Grandchild Group

Paternal grandfather, boscica
Maternal grandfather, babba
Paternal grandmother, casuli
Maternal grandmother, uli
Great grandparents, visuli, vippizare
Child of son (man speaking), bossimata
Child of daughter (man speaking), bamata
Child of son (woman speaking), casci, camata
Child of daughter (woman speaking), bamata

Sibling Group

Older sibling to older and younger sibling, succuli, supidi
Younger sibling to older sibling, scisci

Uncle-Nephew Group

Father’s older brother, cumuli
Father’s younger brother, aquita
Mother’s older brother, cuscii
Mother’s younger brother, tatali
Mother’s and father’s older sister, dusuli
Mother’s and father’s younger sister, discica
Children of older brother (man speaking), aquimata
Children of younger brother (man speaking), cumuli
Children of older sister (man speaking), tatali
Children of younger sister (man speaking), cuscimata
Children of older brother (woman speaking), boboyta
Children of younger brother (woman speaking), dusuli, mamasuli
Children of older sister (woman speaking), discica
Children of younger sister (woman speaking), dusuli

Affinities

Father-in-law (man speaking), tud ba
Father-in-law (woman speaking), mat boscidi
Mother-in-law (man speaking), tud mu
Mother-in-law (woman speaking), mat casuli
Son-in-law (man speaking), bamatoga
Son-in-law (woman speaking), uli ogade
Daughter-in-law (man speaking), bassimata dud
Daughter-in-law (woman speaking), casci du
Brother-in-law (elder brother speaking), cuali
Brother-in-law (younger brother(?) speaking), mayoga
Brother-in-law (woman speaking), oteysei
Sister-in-law, inscisci jonigade9
Children’s spouses’ parents, tasei

9 Literally, wife of my brother.
TARAHUMARE RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group
Father, onó
Mother, eyé, yeyé
Child, ranara, mara; qui

Grandparent-Grandchild Group
Paternal grandfather, achicari
Maternal grandfather, aparóchi
Paternal grandmother, acáchuri
Maternal grandmother, ushú
Great-grandfather, great-grandchild, omúri
Grandchild, usú

Sibling Group
Brother, rejimára
Older brother, bachirá, bachi
Younger brother, bonirá, boni
Sister, retéima
Older sister, cochirá, cochi
Younger sister, huayé, huai, huaira

Uncle-Nephew Group
Uncle, aunt, raté
Nephew, niece, raté

Cousin Group
(Cousins are grouped with siblings.)

Affinities
Father-in-law, siá
Mother-in-law, siarúame
Son-in-law, moné
Daughter-in-law, monéra
Brother-in-law, repó, huága
Sister-in-law, cheé, huága

10 Extracted from Jose Ferrero, Pequeña Gramática y Diccionario de la Lengua Tarahumara, 1920.
CORA RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group

Father, tiyaöppa
Mother, tite
Child (man speaking), tiperic
Child (woman speaking), tiyaoh

Grandparent-Grandchild Group

Grandfather, tiyaxu
Grandmother, tiyacuari
Grandchild (man speaking), tiyaxu
Grandchild (woman speaking), tiyacuari

Sibling Group

Older brother, tihatzi
Younger brother, tihutzi
Older sister, ticutzi
Younger sister, tihutzi

Uncle-Nephew Group

Uncle, tinaozi
Aunt, titata
Nephew, tinaozi
Niece, titata

Cousin Group

(Cousin group same as sibling.)

Affinities

Man’s brother-in-law, tiyaoberi
Woman’s brother-in-law, tihuitari
Sister-in-law, tihuitari
Parent-in-law, timúni
Child-in-law, timúni

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11 Extracted from Nicolas Carlos de Cervantes, Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Cora, 1732.
HUAXTEC RELATIONSHIP TERMS

\textit{Parent-Child Group}

Father (man speaking), paylom
Father (woman speaking), pap
Mother, mim
Child (man speaking), atie
Child (woman speaking), tam

\textit{Grandparent-Grandchild Group}

Grandfather, mam
Grandmother, ach
Grandchild (man speaking), momob
Grandchild (woman speaking), yyib

\textit{Sibling Group}

Older brother (man speaking), at mim
Brother (woman speaking), xibam
Younger brother, atatal
Sister (man speaking), ixam
Older sister (woman speaking), bayil
Younger sister (woman speaking), acab

\textit{Uncle-Nephew Group}

Father's older brother (man speaking), yelam paylom
Father's younger brother (man speaking), tzutz paylom
Father's older brother (woman speaking), yelam pap
Father's younger brother (woman speaking), tzutz pap
Aunt, tzanub
Children of sister (man speaking), itzae
Children of brother (woman speaking), yyac

\textit{Cousin Group}

(They are all merged with siblings.)

\textit{Affinities}

Father-in-law (man speaking), yyam
Father-in-law (woman speaking), alib
Mother-in-law (man speaking), uxum iyam
Mother-in-law (woman speaking), uxum alib
Son-in-law, yyam
Daughter-in-law, alib
Brother-in-law (man speaking), bayl
Brother-in-law (woman speaking), atmul
Sister-in-law (man speaking), atmul
Sister-in-law (woman speaking), pahuan

12 Extracted from Carlos de Tapia Zenteno, Noticia de la Lengua Huaxteca, 1767.
TOTONACA RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group
Father, tlat
Mother, tzit
Son, cam
Daughter, pozeayacam

Grandparent-Grandchild Group
Grandfather, papa
Grandmother, tago
Great-grandfather, xonapapa
Great-grandmother, xonatago
Grandson, tanat
Granddaughter, tanat

Sibling Group
Sibling, tala
Older brother (man to man), poxo
Older brother (woman to man), gag chin
Younger brother (man to man), taho
Older sister, pipi
Younger sister (man to woman), tahot
Younger sister (woman to woman), chahan

Uncle-Nephew Group
Uncle, coco
Aunt, napa
Cousin, puxnimit

Cousin Group
Cousin, tapuxnimit

Affinities
Father-in-law, son-in-law, pohuiti
Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, pohuitit
Brother-in-law, hazta
Sister-in-law, haztat

13 Extracted from Domingo Pantaleon, Arte de Lengua Totonaca, 1752.
OTOMI RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group
Father, na-ta
Mother, na-me
Daughter, xubahtzi
Son, bahtzi

Grandparent-Grandchild Group
Grandfather, xita
Grandmother, na-tzu
Great-grandfather, buexta
Great-grandmother, buetzu
Grandchild, xubehto

Sibling Group
Brother, chuada
Older brother (woman speaking), yda
Younger brother, tzichuada
Sister, machu
Older sister, na-thugue
Younger sister, tzichuh, cu

Uncle-Nephew Group
Uncle, ue
Mother’s brother, na-gue
Father’s brother, na-mo
Aunt, ttxitzy
Mother’s sister, na-hi
Father’s sister, ttxitzi
Nephew, na-bedatzy
Niece, na-begue

Cousin Group
(No cousin term was found. In all probability the sibling term was used.)

Affinities
Father-in-law (man speaking), dohioe
Father-in-law (woman speaking), tza
Mother-in-law (man speaking), na-to
Mother-in-law (woman speaking), na-ca
Son-in-law, tzi-gue
Daughter-in-law, behoe
Brother-in-law, na-co
Sister-in-law, fiamudu, behpo

14 Extracted from Luces del Otomi (Eustaquio Buelna, editor). The vocabularies reprinted by Buelna date from the eighteenth century.
MIXTECO RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group

Father, dzutu (A); yua (B)
Mother, dzehe (A); dihi (B)
Son, dzahya yi (A); dehe hy (B)
Daughter, dzahya dzihi (A); dehe dihi (B)

Grandparent-Grandchild Group

Grandfather, sij (A); xii (B)
Grandmother, sitna (A); xitna (B)
Grandchild, dzaya faniindi (A)
Grandson, dehefani hii (B)
Granddaughter, dehefani dihi (B)
Granddaughter, dzahya fani dzihi (A)

Sibling Group

Brother, fani (B)
Brother (man speaking) fani (A)
Brother (woman speaking), cuhua (A)
Sister, quha (B)
Sister (man speaking), cuhua (A)
Sister (woman speaking), cuhui (A)

Uncle-Nephew Group

Uncle, dziso, dzito (A); dito (B)
Aunt, dzidzi (A); didi (B)
Nephew, dzasi, dzaxin (A); daxi (B)
Niece, dzicu (A); dicun (B)

Cousin Group

(The sibling terms were employed although at times descriptive terms were also applied.)

Affinities

Father-in-law, yua dido (B); yuva dzidzo (A)
Mother-in-law, dzihi dzidzo (A); dihi dido (B)
Son-in-law, dzahya cadza (A); dehe cada (B)
Daughter-in-law, dzihi xanu (A); dehe sano (B)
Brother-in-law, dzidzo yi (A); dehe hy (B)
Sister-in-law, dzidzo dzihi (A); dehe dihi (B)

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15 There are two principal sources, an old grammar by Fray Antonio de los Reyes, *Arte en Lengua Mixteca*, 1593, and a modern *Catecismo en Lengua Mixteca (Mixteca Baja)*, Puebla, 1837. The first represents the Upper or Mountain dialect (Mixteca Alta) and the second the Valley. The abbreviation A is for Alta, B for Baja.
ZAPOTEC RELATIONSHIP TERMS

**Parent-Child Group**
- Father, bixoce
- Mother, xiñaagacana, naaya
- Child, xini

**Grandparent-Grandchild Group**
- Grandfather, pixoze
- Grandmother, xoce
gola
- Grandchild, xiagaya

**Sibling Group**
- Brother (man speaking), beech`
- Brother (woman speaking), zaana
- Sister (man speaking), zaana
- Sister (sister speaking), beelda, pela

**Uncle-Nephew Group**
- Father's brother, pechetitia; pixioa
- Mother's brother, pizaana naaya
- Father's sister, pizaana titia; naaya
- Mother's sister, pela naaya
- Uncle, cdajiu (R)
- Aunt, cnanjiu (R)
- Man's brother's son, xini pechoa
- Man's sister's son, xini tazanaya
- Man's brother's daughter, xini chapa pechoa
- Woman's sister's son, xini bizaana
- Woman's sister's daughter, xini chapa tazanaya; xiagoya
- Sister's children, sa'a (R)

**Cousin Group**
- Man's male cousin, peche
- Man's female cousin, pizaana
- Woman's male cousin, pizaana
- Woman's female cousin, pela

**Affinities**
- Wife's father, pixoze gonna
- Husband's father, pixoze niquijoya
- Wife's mother, xiñaagonnaya
- Husband's mother, xiñaaniquijoa
- Man's brother-in-law, xiniochia; pechoa
- Woman's brother-in-law, chillonaya
- Man's sister-in-law, xiniochia; xiñaapechoa
- Son-in-law, xiniochia
- Daughter-in-law, xiniochia huialijchia

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16 Extracted from Juan de Cordova, Vocabulario en Lengua Zapoteca, 1576, and my own notes. Terms obtained by me are marked (R).

17 Sa’a means blood relative.
MIXE RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group

Father, teit
Mother, taac
Son, une, mane
Daughter, nox

Grandparent-Grandchild Group

Grandfather, ap, apteit
Grandmother, oc, octaad
Grandson (man speaking), apunc
Grandson (woman speaking), ocune, omane
Granddaughter (man speaking), apunc
Granddaughter (woman speaking), ocnox

Sibling Group

Older brother (man speaking), aich, motuqueex
Older brother (woman speaking), ay
Younger brother (man speaking), vich, motuqueex
Younger brother (woman speaking), coyai
Older sister, tzoo, cotoix
Younger sister, vich, cotoix

Uncle-Nephew Group

Father’s brother, tzucumteit
Mother’s brother, haim
Father’s sister, tzucu
Mother’s sister, tzucuutaac
Brother’s son, tzoemane
Sister’s son, haim
Brother’s daughter, tzoenox
Sister’s daughter, haim

Cousin Group

Older male cousin, aich
Older male cousin (woman speaking), ay
Younger male cousin, vich
Younger male cousin (woman speaking), coyai
Older female cousin, tzoo
Younger female cousin, vich

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18 Extracted from Fray Augustin de Quintana, Confesionario en Lengua Mixe, 1733, and reprinted by the Comte de Charencey.
Affinities

Parent-in-law, moot
Mother-in-law (woman speaking), xoicx
Brother-in-law (man speaking), hoy
Brother-in-law (woman speaking), noih
Sister-in-law (man speaking), caip
Sister-in-law (woman speaking), noih
Son-in-law, moot
Daughter-in-law (man speaking), tzuu
Daughter-in-law (woman speaking), xoicx
Children's spouses' parents, comoot

Ordinal Names

First-born son or daughter, cob (rabbit)
Second-born son or daughter, puut (deer)
Third-born son and thereafter, octz (lion)
Third-born daughter and thereafter, oic (armadillo)

ZOQUE RELATIONSHIP TERMS

Parent-Child Group

Father, haata
Mother, mama
Son, mana; unc
Daughter, han

Grandparent-Grandchild Group

Grandparent, aputa
Mother's grandparent, oco
Father's grandparent, tahuata
Paternal great-grandfather, tua-puta
Maternal great-grandfather, tuoco
Paternal great-grandmother, tuta-haata
Grandson, aputa unc; oco unc
Granddaughter, aputa han; oco han
Great-grandson, tua-puta; mana
Great-granddaughter, tuha-haata unc; tuha-haata han

19 Extracted from Fray Luis Gonzales, Arte Breve y Vocabulario de la Lengua Zoque, 1672. Reprinted by Raoul de la Grasserie in Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine, vol. 22. Care must be taken in the use of all of Grasserie's reprints. They are full of typographical errors.
Sibling Group

Older brother, hatsi  
Younger brother, pootzo  
Older sister, tza-tza  
Younger sister, cose (I am assuming that Grasserie's designation of cose as hermana mayor is a typographical error)

Uncle-Nephew Group

Paternal uncle, tzeni  
Paternal aunt, paapo  
Maternal uncle, hamo  
Maternal aunt, eme  
Son of brother, itzeni-manac  
Son of brother (sister speaking), poopo-manac  
Son of sister, apu-manac  
Son of sister (sister speaking), eme-manac  
Daughter of brother, tzeni-han  
Daughter of sister, apu-han

Cousin Group

Cousins, tzeniteva  
Children of brothers, poopo-toeva  
Children of sisters, eme-toeva

Affinities

Parents-in-law, muent  
Son-in-law, muent  
Brother-in-law, pissi  
Sister-in-law (sister of wife), capay  
Sister-in-law (sister of husband), hoya  
Son of brother-in-law, tzuu-manac  
Son of sister-in-law, sepa-manac  
Daughter of sister-in-law, tzuu-han  
Daughter of sister-in-law (woman speaking), sepa-han  
Wife of uncle, sepa  
Brother-in-law of mother, tzuu  
Children's spouses' parents, tzane

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20 In this and the following term manifestly the son of husband's brother and the daughter of wife's sister are meant.
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Index, pp. 446–448.

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