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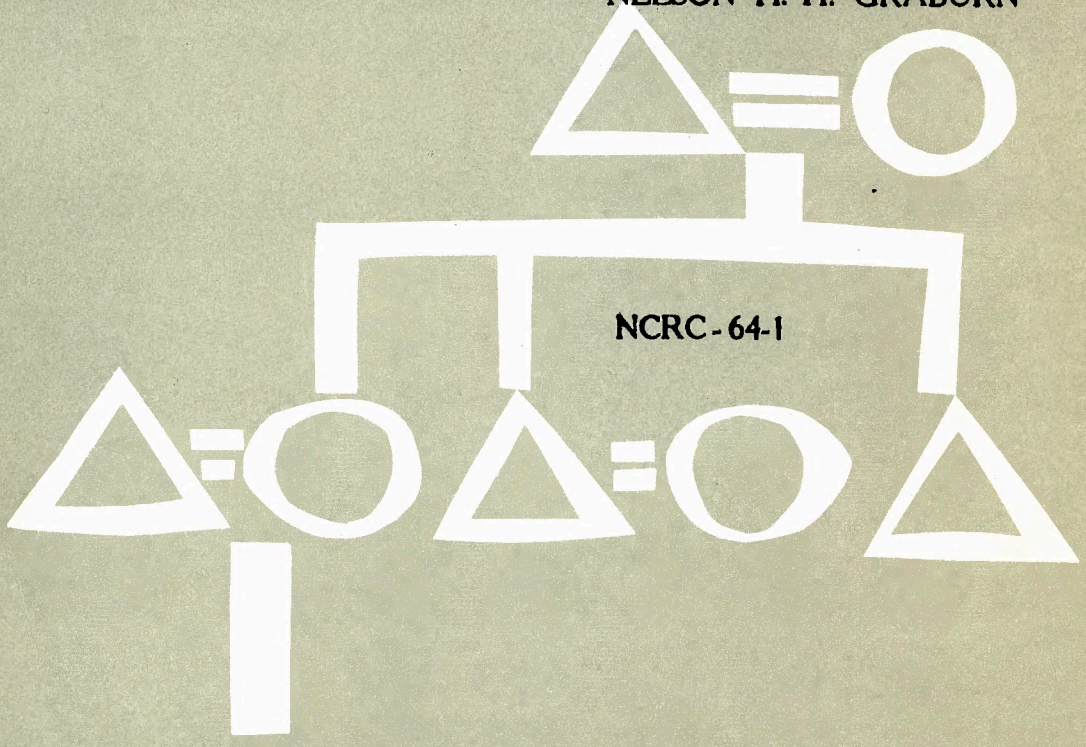
TAQAGMIUT ESKIMO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

NELSON H. H. GRABURN



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by

Nelson H.H. Graburn

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is based upon materials gathered in the field during five months of the summer and fall of 1959. Most of this period was spent in the Eskimo settlement of Sugluk, Quebec, on the North Coast of the Ungava Peninsula. The purpose of the research was to collect data of a more general ethnographic nature than in the present paper. For this opportunity to work among the Eskimos of Sugluk, Quebec, and the further opportunity to do fieldwork among the Eskimos of Lake Harbour, Baffin Island, I must thank Mr. V. Valentine and Mr. M. Greenwood of the Northern Coordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources of the Government of Canada.

The data from these two field trips were written up as Reports for the Canadian Government (Graburn 1960b, 1963). In addition, the data from the Sugluk fieldwork was written up as my M.A. Thesis at McGill University in a similar broadly ethnographic form (Graburn 1960a). For advice and encouragement in the latter task, I must thank Drs. Fried and Yatsushiro of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology of McGill University, Montreal. In addition, I must thank the latter for experience I gained as his research assistant on similar data collected among the Eskimos of Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island. For financial support during this period I thank the Department of Anthropology of

McGill University, the Canada Council and the McGill-Carnegie Arctic Institute. Other friends in Canada to whom I express gratitude for their encouragement and interest in my research include particularly Dr. W. Willmott of the University of British Columbia and Dr. Asen Balikci of the University of Montreal.

After these two field trips I came to the University of Chicago in the fall of 1960 where I pursued further my academic career and research on the Eskimo language and culture. For stimulation, encouragement and advice in pursuing these latter researches I must particularly thank Professors Fred Eggan, David M. Schneider, Norman McQuown and Paul Friedrich of the Department of Anthropology. I am especially grateful for the opportunity to work under Dr. Schneider in his project on American Kinship which has provided not only financial support, but also an extremely stimulating environment and valuable involvement in the continuing study of bilateral kinship systems.

Of the many present and former students of the University of Chicago Anthropology Department with whom I discussed aspects of this research, I particularly extend my thanks to Cal Cottrell, Gary Schwartz, Daniel Scheinfeld, Peter Stone, Lee Guemple and Dave Damas (of the National Museum of Canada) for their interest and encouragement. For financial support enabling me to carry on the present research I must thank the University of Chicago, the Anthropology Department, and particularly Professors Fred Eggan and David M. Schneider.

Through the great majority of the ideas expressed herein

are the heritage of anthropologists, I take full responsibility for the ways they are presented, argued and expressed.

Last, but not least, I must thank all the people of Sugluk, Eskimo and white, for their inestimable cooperation and interest, particularly Putulik Oqituk, Aisaka Mugualuk, Taiara Itiq, the Reverend David Ellis and his wife, Father Veerspeek O.M.I., and Mr. and Mrs. Archie Fluke.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

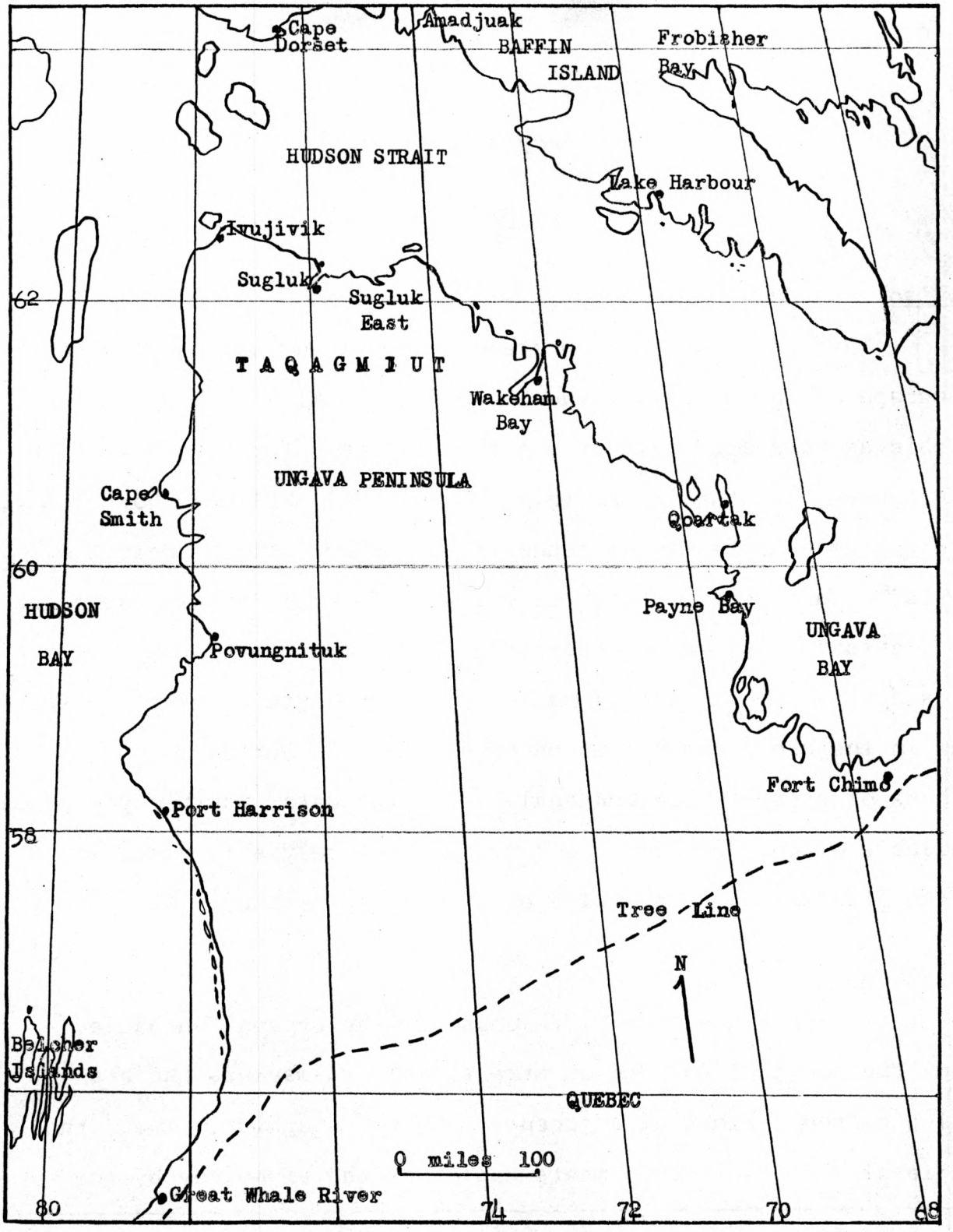

Fig. 1.--The Ungava Peninsula

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Proviso

This paper does not pretend to be in any way an ethnographic monograph of the people of the Sugluk area. Although many ethnographic aspects are dealt with less completely for this area than others have for other areas (e.g., Damas 1962, Willmot 1959, 1961), more extensive data may be found in the author's far longer M.A. Thesis.[1] This paper intends to examine one small problem area and the necessary data is selected from the earlier thesis only where necessary. However, considerable amounts of data of greater detail than in the above are presented here in full. Furthermore, the methods of presentation and analysis of the data, whether previously available or not, are for the most part entirely different, and herein lies the intended value of this contribution.

The Taqagmiut

The people of the North Coast of the Ungava Peninsula, along the south of the Hudson Strait, call themselves and are called by the Eskimos of adjacent regions "Taqagmiut," i.e., the People of Darkness. Informants explained the etymology by the

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[1]Available from the author or McGill University Library. Due to be published by the Northern Co-ordination and Research Center.

fact that they have shorter days and seasons than the people of the surrounding coast (which is all to the south) and that the sun reaches them later than it does the people to the east. The latter are called the Uqumiut, i e., People of the East/Warmth or the Suqinimiut, i.e., the People of the Sun. (See Fig. 1.)

Within the area of the Taqagmiut there are now three major settlements Ivujuvik, Sugluk and Wakeham Bay. Formerly the population spread out over the whole coastline and these three places were "nodal" localities for winter encampments. Sugluk is now twice as large as the other two settlements at 250 people, has the majority of the white agencies, and was the one where I spent most of my time.

The Fieldwork

Before leaving for Sugluk, I spent six weeks in Ottawa studying Eskimo kinship terminology as reported in other recent works on the Eastern Arctic. From this I learned the terminology systems very thoroughly and wrote up a comparative analysis on the subject.[1]

I went from Montreal to Sugluk on the Eastern Arctic Patrol ship C.G.S. C.D. Howe which carried many Eskimos returning from hospital, and the necessary interpreters. The latter were interviewed in the light of the kinship terminologies and problem

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[1]Data from Willmott on Port Harrison; Balikci on Povungnituk; Yatsushiro on Frobisher Bay; Dunning on Southampton Island, and Dailey on Rankin Inlet. This paper, though finished, was never published but is being rewritten with considerably more data.

therefrom developed in Ottawa. Very little contact was made with the Eskimos from the hospitals because I spoke very little Eskimo at that time. While on the ship I took four half-hour lessons in elementary Eskimo. The voyage started June 27 and we arrived in Sugluk July 9. On the way I went ashore at Wakeham Bay (in the Taqagmiut area) and spent some hours with Father Muscaret O.M.I. who has been in the area over twenty years. I particularly sought his help in problems of kinship terminology and gathered some useful information on the frequency and meaning of some rarer terms.

My stay in Sugluk lasted until October 19. During this time I lived in a tent among the Eskimo tents, spending most of my time visiting the Eskimos, recording daily patterns of interaction, and particularly detail on over 2,000 visits between households. I was able to pick up enough Eskimo to pass the time of day, make some elementary ethnographic inquiries and, in the last month, conduct some simple interviews.

Much of the inquiry required a more sophisticated knowledge of the Eskimo language. The only Eskimo interpreter in Sugluk was employed full-time by the Hudson's Bay Company, but was of the greatest help, both as an informant and an interpreter during his spare time. His English was by no means perfect but he had a very quick mind and read English, too. I was also very lucky to be able to have the Anglican Missionary, the Reverend D. L. Ellis, act as an interpreter at times and as a valuable guide and mentor; his knowledge of the people and their language was considerable and sympathetic. In addition his education and understanding of anthropology was most useful.

Making use of the Eskimo learned on the ship combined with the familiarity with the kinship terminology I was, by myself, soon able to probe more deeply into certain fields. These included complete genealogies for the area, census data, certain patterns of cooperation, residence and migration patterns and testing the extent of knowledge and use of kin terms.

Two major social phenomena investigated at Sugluk were (1) the problems relating to the (local) unwillingness to get married, and (2) the occurrence of social grouping larger than the "extended family" but smaller than the community; these I have called bands though the local whites called them clans. In addition, an enormous amount of economic data, much relating to the acculturated situation, was gathered both from Sugluk and records.

I returned on the C.G.S. McLean leaving October 19 and arriving at Montreal on November 10. On this voyage I was accompanied by two young Eskimo men who continued to serve as very helpful informants.

During my stay in Sugluk, I went on an extended whale hunting expedition which included staying at the settlement and camps of Wakeham Bay. Interviews on kinship terminology and other matters there showed no appreciable difference from Sugluk. I was also able to interview people from Ivujivik with the same results. In fact many of the people now resident at Sugluk came from Ivujivik and Wakeham Bay and points in between, lending credence to the idea that the sub-culture of the Taqagmiut was for most purposes internally undifferentiated. During that summer I was

also able to interview Eskimos from more distant points such as Fort Chimo, Payne Bay, and James Bay. As far as terminology was concerned these too showed that there was less difference among all the peoples of this continuous coastline (over 1,000 miles) than there was between them and the people of Baffin Island, less than one hundred miles to the north.

The Sugluk Report and
M.A. Thesis

These two papers are almost identical, and were written up between November, 1959, and April, 1960. These papers are long and mainly descriptive accounts of the main ethnographic features of Eskimo culture as seen in Sugluk. The first part contains background information on Sugluk, the culture of the Taqagmiut and some data and discussion on the history of the area. This is followed by a simple analysis of the acculturative situation, and its theoretical implications.

The second part contains accounts of various aspects of the culture as recorded in 1959. These include in some detail demography and migrations, economics, daily and seasonal routine, the domestic cycle (including socialization and adult personality), etc.

The third part is more analytical and deals with kinship and social organization. The former is only concerned with normative aspects and is analyzed along traditional anthropological lines. This is followed by a summary description and analysis of the "traditional" social organization as far as is known for the

area. Compared with this are the social groupings and social control found in the 1959 fieldwork. This is then followed by a more detailed analysis of one of the groups, the band. This latter group, rarely found elsewhere,[1] is analyzed both historically and compared cross-culturally with kin-based groups discussed elsewhere in ethnographic and theoretical literature.

In the summer of 1960, I was again employed by the Canadian Government to do fieldwork in the settlement of Lake Harbour, Baffin Island. I was only able to spend two months there, and my limited time was concentrated more on the immediate problems of great acculturative pressures from surrounding settlements, and less on kinship and social organization. In addition, I spent some weeks in Frobisher Bay, Baffin Island, where I had contact with Eskimos from all over the Eastern Canadian Arctic. The report on the Lake Harbour study, accented almost entirely towards acculturative and administrative matters, is available.[2]

Since I came to the University of Chicago, many cultural and linguistic aspects of my field research have been re-analyzed and written up.

Taqagmiut Kinship Terminology

Since the M.A. paper on Sugluk much more data of a better quality has become available to me on the subject of Eskimo kinship

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[1] By A. Balikci, Povungnituk, Quebec and F. Rainey, Point Hope, Alaska.

[2] From V. F. Valentine, Chief, Northern Co-ordination and Research Centre, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, Ottawa.

terminology. In addition, I have also become familiar with newer and more sophisticated methods of anthropological analysis. Initially it was thought possible to rewrite the comparative analysis of the various "normative systems" using the newer data, in the style of the paper written first in Ottawa. However, this did not come about for two reasons.

First, it was thought that although there is a great mass of data from different areas, it was not of sufficient detail nor of consistently high quality to make such a study reliable or meaningful enough. The reason for this is mostly that ethnographers not specifically concerned with the social system have collected the kinship terminology system rather as an "appendage" with very little relationship to the rest of their data. Also, in that it was not central to their investigations, it has been collected haphazardly often with little attention to detail. And, on a more practical level, there are almost as many orthographies, often with scant explanation, as there are ethnographers, making what data there is even more difficult to use.[1]

Second, before going on to a comparative study, it was thought that a more thorough investigation of the relationship of the terminology to the rest of the social system ought to be carried out for at least one area. This then could form a much more meaningful basis for the wider study. Furthermore, there is more and better data on the kinship terminology and the related behavior patterns (normative and deviant) available for Sugluk than any

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[1]Witness the great complexity encountered in presenting a simple comparative series of tables for relatively few terms from many sources in Guemple (1962), Appendix III.

other area in the Eastern and Central Arctic. Much of this data was not utilized in the preliminary analyses presented in the above mentioned M.A. Thesis and more still was only examined from a single limited approach.

This paper, then, hopes to be the sort of thorough investigation needed before going on to the more complicated problems of comparative analyses of systems found in different areas and settlements. Once completed, it is hoped that the author (or another investigator) may be able to both collect reliable comparative data from related areas and make more meaningful sense out of the data already available.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Statement of the Problem

This dissertation deals with the problems of regularities and inconsistencies in kinship terminologies collected from a balanced sample of the population of Sugluk. The object is to show where and why these occur, to relate them to inter-kin behavior patterns, and to point out more exactly the problems for further research in the same area. It has been found by others[1] and myself that the Eskimos of this area exhibit a certain "flexibility" not only in their inter-kin behavior, but also in their systems of terminology. One of the major problems tackled is to try to relate the "flexibility" in these two fields of behavior.

Method and Hypotheses

A very general hypothesis, implicitly or overtly held by most social anthropologists, is that there is an abstractable and demonstrable relationship between the kinship terminology system and the normative aspects of the social organization within any society. I might add a logical corollary to this: there is a

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[1]Most specifically Willmott (1961), and personal communications. In fact, it was his full reporting that first aroused my interest in the field.

demonstrable relationship between deviances in terminology and non-normative aspects of the social organization.

It is my contention that the relationship between terminology and normative behavior should depend, especially for own and parents' generations, on real simple and concrete factors, and not on the anthropologist's abstractions, however logical the latter may be to other anthropologists. The former factors must be real in that they form important and meaningful foci in the thought and behavior of the people themselves. This does not necessarily mean that the people discuss these phenomena in terms of their kinship terminology. However, it is inferred that these factors are of great and obvious importance in everyday life. There will be further investigation of this matter in the field.

It is on the nature of this relationship that this paper is concentrated for the most part. The "problem of explanation" has been in the forefront of much of the analysis. Statistical correlations may, in fact, be valid for a number of "explanations" of the data, however the problem is to show which explanation is the "real" one for the issue. It is here that an examination of the patterns of deviancy help. The latter may narrow down and provide insight into the normative system. (See Nadel 1957:45-62.) Outline of analyses and conclusions: First is presented the "Normative/unitary" terminology system for Taqagmiut Eskimo society. How this is derived is explained in the next chapter. This system is then related to other normative systems and to the general context of Eskimo kinship terminology available in the literature. It is shown that

the system is one of the most complicated found in the ethnographic literature. In addition, a componential analysis has been performed using genealogical components. The number and abstraction of these components is extremely complicated. In fact some of them are probably too "analytical" to be meaningful to the people who use the system. They may even bear little relationship to the actual social groups in which Eskimo society operates.

Following this a different approach is used after Leach (1945, 1958, 1961). A number of simple postulates on the ideal nature of Eskimo social organization are given. These are followed by a number of "rules" guiding the essential relationship of terminology to social organization. This model shows that in addition to (and to some extent in place of) the major obvious genealogical variables, residence, both household and camp group, is the crucial factor in Eskimo social organization and patterns of cooperation and authority, and that this is reflected rather exactly in the normative terminology system.

Following these assumptions, the implications thereof for the actual relationship of social organization and terminology are logically worked out for the "ideal" system. Further implications of the original postulated model are followed through the domestic cycle. It is hypothesized that this ideal model, as reflected in the terminology is the guide by which the actual Eskimos operate their social lives, and that this model does not have to be approached at all exactly for it to remain of paramount importance.

The next section of the paper is concerned with the "fit"

between the ideal model and the actual living arrangements of the Eskimos as recorded at Sugluk. An attempt is made to explain why the model is not approached when it is not, and to show that it is in fact adhered to as closely as non-ideal circumstances (demographic, social, acculturative) permit. For the most part, given the model and the relevant situational factors, it is shown that in fact one may predict the actual social arrangements very accurately indeed. This, combined with ethnographic data from other aspects that are not essential to the model, helps to show that this model is adequate.

The factors essential to the model and reflected in the terminological system are then put in componential form. These (it is hoped to show) are simpler and more "real" than those arrived at in the purely genealogical componential analysis.

Comparisons between the model derived from the genealogical componential analysis and the model based on certain principles imminent in the social structure show a number of points. The most important is that the latter is little "superior" to the former. However, fewer components are necessary for a componential presentation, and, it is argued, they are less abstract. A prose description of the componential meanings of each term greatly emphasizes this point. Further research in the field with the same informants is intended.

Relevant Literature

Theory and Kinship Terminology

It is hoped to show here that, though great advances have

been made, especially in the past decade, in the thinking of anthropologists in this field, the approach and conclusions of this paper can make a contribution which will stimulate further thought and provide a guide for further investigations, not only among the Eskimos, but also other bilateral systems and the field of kinship as a whole.

Kinship terminology systems are linguistic sub-systems that denote categories within a presumably bounded but ill-defined field of "kin." As such they are part of and in some societies almost coincident with the more general sub-systems of status terminologies (Edmonson 1958, Heinrich 1960, Service 1960). Among the enormous number of linguistic sub-systems which may be analyzed for their underlying generating conceptual principles, kinship terminology systems have been analyzed with a methodological rigor and theoretical productivity rare among ethnographic endeavors. This is because they have been shown to be indicative of and relevant to the study of social structures, the latter being one of the main fields of interest of anthropologists for over one hundred years. As such, kinship terminologies have been examined many times more often and more thoroughly than any other linguistic sub-system. Linguists too, often unmindful of the underlying ethnographic aspects of linguistic systems, have turned their concerted attentions to the study of terminology systems within the last decade and a half, with very fruitful results. Methods developed in both disciplines are considered within this paper.

A number of basic problems have long been apparent in this sub-field of anthropological inquiry. Two of the major ones concern continuity and change in both kin terms and systems and, relatedly, the "meanings" of these terms and systems. Morgan (1870) hypothesized that these systems were related to the biological evolution of a people and "unitary" (i.e., that there is only one "correct" system for any one society). The latter idea has remained with us longer than the former.

Within the problem of "meaning" there have been two major positions. First, that kin terms are means of classifying persons who stand in a certain genealogical relationship to the actor or, second, denoting certain normative relationship-types based on selected culturally defined characteristics, genealogical or otherwise. Morgan may be said to have adhered more to the former view and McLennan (1876) to the latter when he called kin terms "mere salutations." These two views have remained with us till today, although many more recent writers, including this one, have inclined to the latter view. Kroeber (1909) taking a linguistic view of kinship terminology systems, was the first to state that it was possible to analyze any system into the combinations of a few variables or components. These latter he called his eight "psychological principles." While we do not necessarily agree with his eight or the fact that they are psychological, we do accept the idea of teasing a few components out of a system. It is the deeper relationship, that between the components and the social structure

itself that concerns much of this paper but has been avoided by the majority of writers in the linguistic part of the field.

From the turn of the century until the last decade or so the analysis of kinship systems and their terminologies remained, for the most part, a matter of delineating the characteristics of normative relationships between genealogically specified kin. In many cases analyses, by extrapolation from our own system and the problems of "equivalents," presented terms as indicating specific "primary" kin categories with "extensions" to more distant kin who happen to be called by the same terms (especially Malinowski 1932: 5, 423, 477). What they failed to see is that a term may be seen as a minimum number of characteristic components and does not have to embody all the characteristics of what may be the most important relationship type within the category. (See Leach 1958:124 for an excellent analogy.) In this same period the ideas of the "unitariness" and implicated "immutability" were perpetuated, more by default than design, by "structural/functional" social anthropologists. For them it was convenient in a "status/functional" view of society to see one synchronic system.

However, detailed studies of societies over time showed changes not only of specific terms, but also of whole systems. This was first presented in an analytical framework by Eggan in 1937 followed by Spoehr, Freidrich, Fortes and others. These demonstrations of changes from one type to another, rather than upholding an evolutionary view of society, only served to show what sensitive

indicators kin terms are of normative relationships and hence, of changes within relationships.

An outgrowth of the thinking stimulated by the above, combined with a more sophisticated approach to fieldwork, brought another problem to light. Not only were there apparent variations in kin terms and systems over time, there existed apparent anomalies in synchronic data, not only within systems but within single categories. In many cases these phenomena are not attributable to change even though this may be an attempted explanation. At this point the monolithic idea of a single set of terms as the system for any one society begins to be doubted. However, the majority of ethnographies even now fail to recognize this and, generally, anthropological training tends to omit the fact. Relating to the problems of "meaning" we now have to ask again what are the relationships of "norms," "alternate norms" and "variations."

With a growing number of anthropologists and linguists using more sophisticated methods of both analysis and elicitation, this problem of meaning has again come to the fore. The linguists, fortunately, have applied to kinship terms the same analytical principles that had been previously used with success in dealing with those basic units of language, morphemes and phonemes. This, following the same principles as Kroeber involves the deduction of the ultimate components that are combined in different ways in the specific categories within the system. These components may be genealogical or otherwise, though most analysis has been performed with the former view. The movement gained impetus from the thinking

of Morris (1938), Greenberg (1949) and particularly Goodenough (1951, 1956) and Lounsbury (1956). An admirable summary of this method, with some additional thoughts, appears in Wallace and Atkins (1960). The method is generally called Componential Analysis, though this is misleading, and is best thought of as a specific application of "emics" (Pike 1954).

This method requires one "unitary" kinship terminology system as its starting material; and, although purporting to provide a cognitive map of the formal network of relationships, the content is often at such a high level of abstraction that its meaningfulness can be doubted.

During this same recent period, non-linguistically orientated anthropologists have been making independent and valuable contributions. Leach (1945), with his own materials from the Jinghpaw Kachin, used another approach. Here, and in his re-examination (1958) of Malinowski's data on the Trobriand social system and the kinship category "tabu," he showed the overriding importance of behavioral norms based on categories that are, in part, non-genealogical. To do so he set up a model based on a few simple postulates of the social structure, and proceeded to show that the terminology system was the simplest sufficient for the operation of the model. This method has been best outlined by Levi-Strauss (1953) in his paper on Social Structure.

The problems of multiplicity and alternates have recently had some attention. Perhaps the best contribution so far comes from the examination of our own kinship system by Schneider and

Homans (1956) who tried to show that the variety of terms for single kin categories was dependent on factors of a much more complex and "social" nature than genealogy. Similar but less extensive contributions include Schneider and Roberts (1956) with Zuni, Schwartz (1960) on the Trukese, Lander (1962) on the Navaho and Ruel (1962) on the Banyang. However, there is still the tendency to assume or try to show that terminological variance is due to "catching the society in a state of change" rather than admitting the possibility that this might be the normal state of affairs (Freed 1960 on the Washo). This paper will only use a few examples of "deviance" to illustrate some of the major points of the normative system. A more thorough presentation will appear in a later essay after further fieldwork.

The investigation of non-unilineally organized societies has mushroomed even more recently. Notable exceptions are some of the works on North American Indians. However, the pre-eminence of the "functionalist" school of social anthropology in the field of social structure, whose studies have largely been among the highly lineal societies of Africa and Australia, maintained this neglect until fairly recently. Furthermore, the institutions of non-unilinear peoples are comparatively more complex for the tools of analysis that had so far been developed and used with success. Post-war studies of such primitive groups, e.g., Freedman (1955, 1958) on the Iban (who are more nearly "ambilateral" than "bilateral") Pehrson (1954, 1957) on the Lapps, Gluckman (1950, 1951) on the Lozi, Goodenough (1955) on the Gilbertese have come

to grips with the problems. Combined with this is the ever increasing penetration of anthropologists into the studies of peasant and complex societies where "bilateralism" is nearly universal. Of the above works, perhaps Pehrson's is somewhat relevant to the present paper. His demonstration of the methods of selection and operation of social groups through Br-Br and, over time, Fa-Son bonds brings order to a system of apparently wide-open choice. A similar, as yet unpublished, work by Damas (1962) on the Igloolik Eskimos examines the kin-based social groups in an area very relevant to that under consideration. More mention of this will be made where it is applicable.

As a concomitant to the study of bilateral systems, anthropologists have looked (in vain) for corporate kin groups here that are comparable to and may be analyzed in the same way as the "sibs" and "clans" almost universal in unilineal structures. The ancient concept of the "kindred" has received much attention, e.g., Leach (1950), Hoebel (1954), Freeman (1955, 1961), Davenport (1959), Mitchell (1962). It has been asserted (Murdock 1949:57, 227) that this group would be found to be well nigh universal in bilateral societies "though they often go unreported."

However, although it is recognized that there must be some bases for group formation in these societies and that they often have principles in common, it is not even clear yet, in recent writings, what anthropologists mean when they use this term. Doubtless the kindred is a <u>category</u> of people, but whether it is often an actual <u>group</u> and who should be included within it is not clear.

The intensive research on kinship behavior in our own society (Firth, Schneider, Ayoub, Mitchell, etc.) along with current research on simpler societies, should delineate the characteristics and limitations of this or similar groups. Though touched upon in this paper, the problem of group formation, selection and "boundedness" has been examined in more detail elsewhere (Graburn 1960a Pt. III) and will be the subject of a forthcoming contribution of more limited aims.

Literature on the Eskimos

The vast majority of the voluminous publications on the Eskimos are useless or irrelevant to the present discussion. Boas's (1888, 1901) first fieldwork, among the Eskimos of Eastern Baffin Island, give us very few ideas on social organization and even less on kinship. Little other anthropological fieldwork was undertaken in the last century. The early works of Morgan (1871) and Spier (1925) failed to view Eskimo social organization in any depth, probably because of the paucity and low standards of their data. The period up until World War II saw the production of the classic ethnographies of many regional variants of traditional or nearly traditional Eskimo culture (Steffanson 1914, Jeness 1922, Mathiassen 1928, Rasmussen 1931, 1932, Birket-Smith 1924, 1929). The limited theoretical orientations are of little relevance to the present problems. Furthermore, the quality of their data in the field of kinship is inadequate for the detailed examination here undertaken. The more theoretical contributions of Mauss (1904)

and Linton (1936) are of greater importance to the subject of group structure than kinship terminology.

Murdock (1949), expanding on the work of Spier, has elevated the importance of Eskimo kinship terminology and social organization by setting it up as one of his "standard types." Owing to the data considered or available, he presented the "Eskimo type" with monolithic homogeneity characterized by cousin terminology separate from siblings, lineal terms for uncles and aunts, and absence of unilineal descent groups (1949:227). However, recent detailed fieldwork has shown so much variety in the forms of Eskimo kinship terminology that, although many do not contradict Murdock, they render his "type" applicable to the limited problem he approached, rather than representative of Eskimo culture in general. Following Murdock's publication a number of workers scoured the literature for "agreement" with his type, particularly Sperry (1952) and Valentine (1952) with tentatively affirmative results. Furthermore, it has become almost routine in works on the Eskimos, even though their focus may lie elsewhere, to compare the particular terminology system recorded with the "type" as presented by Murdock, to see if they fit (e.g., Willmot 1961:78-71; Dailey 1961:45-50). Unfortunately this procedure has done very little more than show us that some do and some don't! The majority of the many more recent works have pointed up (regional) variation of some degree from the type[1] but

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[1]Recent and fairly complete kinship terminologies are available from: Nunivak Island, Lantis (1946) and Giddings (1952); St. Lawrance Island, Hughes (1958, 1960); Point Barrow, Spencer (1958, 1959); Anaktuvuk Pass (Nunamiut), Pospisil and Laughlin (1963); Behring Straits, Heinrich (1955); N. W. Alaska, Heinrich (1960);

very few have attempted to explain why that particular form if found where it is. The major exception is perhaps Hughes (1958) who showed that the form of both kinship terminology and social organization found on St. Lawrance Island exhibit strong patrilineal tendencies. He was able to relate these phenomena to the specialized limitations and ecology of the island life, and show how this form could have been evolved from the more general and familiar bilateral bands of the Central Arctic.

It is not to the problem of regional variation that we address ourselves here[1] but to the other major phenomenon pointed out by a few of the recent ethnographers. This is the problem of variation of kin terms and system <u>within</u> one single settlement or area. Only the more detailed reporting has shown this,[2] namely Willmott

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Cambridge Bay, Bathurst Inlet, Perry River, Damas Personal Communication (1963 via F. Eggan); Netsilik, v.d. Steenhoven (1959); Baker Lake, Chesterfield Inlet, Valli (1961); Rankin Inlet, Dailey (1961 and 1959); Coral Harbour, Dunning (1959); Eskimo Point, van Stone and Oswald (1960); Igloolik, Damas (1962); Belcher Islands, Guemple Personal Communication (1963); Fort Chimo, Great Whale River, Port Churchill, Tootoo (Wolfe) Personal Communications (1960); Port Harrison, Willmott (1960) and 1961); Povungnituk, Balikci Personal Communication (1959); Frobisher Bay, Yatsushiro Personal Communications (1958, 1959, 1960). Collected by the author in 1959 and 1960, from Lake Harbour, Cape Dorset (Baffin Island), James Bay, Cape Smith, Ivujivik, Sugluk, Wakeham Bay, Payne Bay, Fort Chimo, Qoartak.

[1]If this analysis proves successful, and other areas can be treated in the same way, it is hoped that the author (or a colleague) may attempt an overall analysis on a higher level than the preliminary attempts of Heinrich (1955, 1960).

[2]It is of course probable that such data is collected, but not presented. Anomalous data would be welcomed by this author from any sources in the Arctic if not otherwise used.

(1961, Port Harrison) and Yatsushiro (1959, 1960 MSS for Frobisher Bay) and the author (Sugluk 1959). As far as is known only the latter has systematic quantifiable data on the matter and this forms the basis of this thesis. As has been mentioned in the previous section, similar data from other cultures has been presented and analysis attempted by a few recent writers, of which only one body of data (Schneider and Homans, 1956) is known to have been quantifiable in the same way.

CHAPTER III

SUGLUK: HISTORY AND ACCULTURATION

In order to evaluate more clearly the data and analyses in this paper, readers may wish to know when and in what ways the major institutions found at Sugluk and the surrounding area differ from those of the "traditional" Eskimo of the Eastern Arctic. In order to spare him the time of reading through my previous more general work on the area (Graburn 1960a), the relevant facts are summarized here.

History

The Ungava Coast and Sugluk have been inhabited for at least two millenia. Archaeological fieldwork in the area[1] revealed a skull and many artifacts of Early Dorset culture, judged to be about 2,000 years old. The present population is from a different stock who brought a different culture, the Thule culture, into the area some time in the past millenium.[2] It is not known whether there has been constant habitation of the area since the earliest finds.

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[1]By Dr. W. Taylor of the National Museum of Canada. (Personal Communications, 1959, 1960.)

[2]Remains of this are visible all along the coast.

The first known historical reference to this area (Lyon 1825) describes how explorers stopped on the coast at a place resembling Sugluk or Deception Bay (Sugluk East) where they met and traded with Eskimos in "kajaks." They did not, however, go ashore or describe the settlement. Contacts previous to this may have been made, but there are no records.

My older informants said that Sugluk has "always" been a settlement but not one of particular importance, in fact Deception Bay used to be far more important, until the last few decades, because of the better hunting there. The populations of Sugluk itself during the last century is thought to have fluctuated around thirty-five to forty people.

The first tentative figures on the population of the area (Hawkes 1915:22) gave the number of families (households) between Stupart Bay and Cape Wostenholme (i.e., the Taqagmiut) as eighty; reckoning five individuals per family (as was done then) the total population was around four hundred which is somewhat less than it is today. While the Eskimos of the Hudson Bay (the Itivimiut) were being subjected to influences of whites at Little Whale River from the early part of the last century and soon after, by missionaries, and the people of Ungava Bay (the Suqinimiut, or Ungavamiut) had similar influences at Fort Chimo and elsewhere, the Taqagmiut remained comparatively isolated. They were described by a late nineteenth-century writer as

> but little influenced by contact with white traders. . . . Their customs and habits are primitive and many appear to be entirely distinct from their neighbours to the East and South. . . . The people are tall and of fine physique. . . . The

> language is distinct (from that of Chimo) . . . a harsh tongue. They are much given to amusement and still retain many of the old games that the Suhinimyut have forgotten. Their dead are treated with no ceremony. . . . Old and infirm are treated with severity. Gambling is carried on to such a degree . . . wrestling and leaping. Feasts are held at stated times in huge structures built of snow blocks. The exact signification of these feasts was not learned . . . (Turner 1894:177-78)[1]

It can be seen from the above that the Taqagmiut were a comparatively unknown and mysterious people even to the residents of the North in those days. Although many of the traditional institutions have disappeared it is probable that the Taqagmiut bear the same relationship to the Suqinimiut today in matters of acculturation as they did in the above account.

There is very little data on the social organization of the Eskimos of this area. Speaking of the Suqinimiut in the 1890's, Turner describes the residential units:

> If the father lives to a great age, and some men certainly attain an age of more than 80 years, he may have great grandchildren about him, and these never fail to show respect for their ancestor. All this family may dwell in a single tent, or in two or more tents. Where the leader directs, there they all repair although each one who is head of a family may be left to employ himself as he may prefer. These <u>sons</u> [italics mine] with their wives and children, form a community, which may have other persons added to it, namely the persons who are related to the wives of the sons. There may be one community in the locality and this is known to the local white people as the "gang" of the head man. Families whose members have decreased in number by death or marriage, may seek the membership of one of these communities for protection. The new arrival at once acknowledges his dependence, and is, in a manner, under the influence, if not the control, of the leader of the community he joins (1894:177-78).

How closely this description fits the "Bands" found within Sugluk <u>and</u> the "Ideal Model" (the virilocal camp) will be seen in the following chapters.

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[1]This writer only met Taqagmiut who were visiting Chimo to trade. He did not visit their area.

The first regular contacts with whites came through the visits of Anglican Missionaries from 1902 on. They nominally converted all the Eskimos of the area to Christianity. In 1904 a trading post was set up at Cape Westenholme (100 miles to the West). The first permanent white agency was an independent trader who came to Sugluk in 1910. This probably caused an increase of the Eskimo population based there because by 1919, the earliest date for which I can work out an "exact" population, there were over 100 residents. There continued to be a series of independent traders right up until 1946 when the Hudson's Bay Company finally bought out the last one.

The Hudson's Bay Company established their first permanent post at Sugluk in 1927-28 and have been there ever since. This attracted another fifty or so to the population. When the independent trader was bought out in 1946, the Roman Catholic Oblate Fathers bought his buildings and set up a mission in 1947. These buildings had been used as the Roman Catholic Mission until the second new mission house was completed in 1959. A previous mission house, built in 1955 was somehow burned to the ground in the winter of 1957.

The Church of England in Canada (now the Anglican Church of Canada) to which all the Eskimos still belong, sent up a missionary in 1955. He built a mission house there, and a church in 1957.

From then on changes came thick and fast. In 1957 the government built a day school, a teacher's house, an electric power house and a small warehouse. In early 1958 a Northern Service

Officer of the Department of Northern Affairs moved in and a new large house was soon built for him and his wife.

In 1959 a large warehouse was built by the Department of Northern Affairs and two Arctic houses for their employees. Under construction was a combined wash-house and drying-house for the use of the general population. Further developments were in sight at that time.

Throughout this period then, the population has been increasing by immigration, and more recently, from natural increase, and may be summarized, as follows:

Year	Population
1900	35-40
1920	100
1930	150
1945	170
1955	200
1959	257

Acculturative Changes

The culture of the Taqagmiut up until this century is thought to have approximated to that of many other areas of the Central and Eastern Arctic as described in the earlier ethnographic sources. It was a hunting and gathering culture whose subsistence depended mainly on caribou and sea mammal hunting, there being no organized trapping or trading or other means of partaking in the rest of the world's economy. Its "scale" was small, but perhaps, not so small as many other primitive groups because the Eskimos were inveterate travellers and knew many of the people of the

neighboring coast from Great Whale River to Labrador. This accounts, in part, for the alleged and assumed homogeneity of this culture area.

The social organization somewhat resembled Steward's "Composite Hunting Band" (1955:143) though there was most likely a definite patrilocal bias. These groups, constantly merging, separating and disappearing, contained anywhere between ten to fifty people. The households within them were mainly nuclear or small extended families and showed considerable independence in their affiliations. Membership was kin-based, but ecological conditions were constant and often overriding modifiers. There was little organized leadership in that the position of the leader (usually a senior experienced fit male) was more of an advisor. He was followed out of the accruing economic advantages rather than other obligations.

Religion had little influence and the practitioner or "angakuq" was often either a leader or independently successful man whose main function was "curing." Practically no information on this latter subject was available in Sugluk in 1959.

Acculturative changes probably occurred before permanent contact with the introduction of guns for hunting, beginning before the turn of the century. Though these undoubtedly increased the efficiency of hunting (when ammunition was plentiful) it is only conjecture to state how they affected group composition and kinship relations. However, because of this or for other reasons, the caribou began to decline in numbers and this form of hunting

required more effort and longer journeys inland to be productive. This in turn probably made for greater dependence on winter sea mammals and larger aggregations along the coastline.

The next, and far greater, influence was the establishment of the trader and the encouragement of trapping as a major economic pursuit. It meant more permanent attachment to one place (to trade), a decrease in the time spent in (and probably the size) of the large winter camps on the coast, and probably a extra emphasis of solidarity in small hunting groups, mainly Br-Br and/or Fa-Son. It also brought in the notion of "territoriality" which applied to the far flung trapping lines in a way that was never true for hunting. However, this subject was not investigated by the author.[1] In addition, greater reliance was placed on store foods and women and children were often left with less able men on the coast while the others went inland. Trapping was the overwhelming source of money income up until the 1950's and is still very important in the winter.

The introduction of the money economy itself has wrought far reaching and irreversible changes. Manufactured boats, later with motors, became available, and, along with guns, this has changed the pattern of hunting from single men in kajaks with harpoons to crews having to range much further afield for their game. This again has caused more separations of men and the families for longer periods.

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[1]Balikci (1960) has investigated this for nearby Povungnituk.

One further effect of the changed money/material economy on the group structure has been the matter of ownership of large boats. Though the "umiaq"[1] is known to have been used in the area up until fifty years ago, there is little information on its ownership or the control of its use. It is conjectured, by comparison with sources from other areas, that this was the sphere of the "head man" as described in the above pages. However, since then there has been available to the Eskimos a superior craft of even larger dimensions requiring a crew of six to eight men--the Peterhead.[2] In order to buy and operate this boat (both are very expensive) a number of men must combine their money resources. Conversely, the products of the hunt from this boat, which holds up to ten tons of game, are distributed among these men and their families. It is known that during the "golden years" of trapping, the 1930's, when prices for pelts were up to ten times higher than now, some individual men owned such boats. However, nowadays, money income from wage labor, carving, family allowance, etc., comes in more regularly but in lesser quantities, and no one man can afford the purchase price ($4,000 or more) or to run it (three miles to the gallon, with gasoline at $1.10 a gallon). The camp groups, that previously roamed the coastline, have settled at Sugluk but retain their identity in group I called "Bands" and it is the avowed intent of

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[1]The "umiaq" was a thirty foot skin boat, whale-bone or wood frame, rowed by two large oars with a primitive rudder and a small sail. It held up to thirty-five people and their gear, but was ungainly for hunting.

[2]The Peterhead (originally a Scottish fishing vessel), forty feet long and ten tons in weight, has a large hold, a powerful inboard motor and two cabins.

these bands to acquire a Peterhead each. In 1959 two of the five bands had them, and since then another has one. The Peterhead, then, tends to stabilize the size of these groups at a number probably larger than the original camps and direct their financial and hunting efforts, at least for the summer.

The organization of these bands and a comparison of them with the previous camp groups is presented later.

Sources of money income have become available to the whole population over the past few decades and consequently so have store and mail order goods. Permanent employment provides for only four men, but the majority of the others get some temporarily employment, say, during the shipping season. Trapping is still a major source of income for all able-bodied men and some get extra income from selling seal-skins. Family allowance ($6-8 per child under sixteen, per month) provides a steady, savable, income for all families and the less fortunate get relief and pensions. In addition, in the past, five to ten years carving has been a major source. These are carvings of familiar Eskimo objects made out of soapstone (steatite), the same material out of which the "blubber lamp" ("kudlik") was and is made. Nearly all adults carve and sell to either the Government Officer or the Hudson's Bay Company, but a much smaller proportion make a considerable income from it. Though carving has contributed up to 35% of the total money income of the community, prices and demand are irregular and probably cannot be sustained.

Community Life

Outstandingly more important than all the above modifications of the Eskimo way of life are the two factors of (1) living in a large community and (2) permanence of residence. Sugluk has drained the surrounding coastline and eliminated some former settlements with the magnet of its many agencies. Furthermore, no longer is it just a trading post. The old seasonal cycle of movements has gone. The Eskimos live there all the year round except for a few spring months when they move out to an island at the head of Sugluk Inlet, eight miles away because of the better hunting there at that time.

During the summer months hunting activity takes place in motor boats, ranging as far as 250 miles away for the bigger game, especially white whale. In this period most of the population moves back into the settlement and lives in groups along the shoreline. (See Fig. 13.) There is often some temporary employment--unloading ships, a settlement "clean-up" and sometimes mining, construction and loading work outside the settlement. Everyone lives in duck tents and clothing is mainly store bought.

By September or October everyone is back from the Island, the snows come and sleds are brought into action. During this period the Peterheads go on the annual walrus hunt to Nottingham Island. This is a dangerous but rewarding expedition and usually provides much dog meat. Very few walrus are obtained otherwise. In the settlement people move their dwellings back from the shore to higher ground and begin to move into houses. Twelve families still lived in snow-houses. Of the others, about half lived in wooden houses with double walls and insulation, and the remainder

are in houses that are made out of wood-scrap, tent-duck and other less satisfactory materials. Throughout the year camp and primus stoves are the main source of heat, though a few households still use the "kudlik" lamp. Mantle lamps are almost universal.

Fall is the time when large amounts of game are cached under rocks and in barrels. This is usually a function of the band. Winter clothes are bought or made and houses are built or repaired. Hunting is poor and trapping has not yet begun.

Trapping begins around December and men, in pairs or threes, set off to lay their lines far inland. Rarely a wife or family goes too. Carving may occupy the time of those who stay in the settlement.

Hunting also takes place on the sea ice, through seal breathing holes, but this is not too successful at Sugluk, at least until the spring. In general, hunting of all kinds of poor at Sugluk because:

(a) it never was well supplied with game;

(b) the population is far too large for the local resources;

(c) modern equipment--motor boats, guns, etc.--has driven off what game there was to other nearby parts of the coastline;

(d) this has been over the past fifty years a general reduction in the numbers of all kinds of game, especially walrus.

Even on the extended trapping expeditions far inland (over 100 miles) caribou are not sighted these days. The last caribou hunt, by two of the most expert hunters in the area, took place a few years ago. In spite of travelling "hundreds" of miles, they shot and killed only two caribou. These were, of course, used up as dog

and human food long before they returned to the settlement, leaving only the two skins! During the winter those who spend much time outside wear caribou-skin traditional clothing. The skins for this are usually from the government which supplies them according to need from more fortunate areas.

As spring approaches (April on) trapping diminishes and people move out to the sea ice and the ice-edge for some good hunting. Whole families and bands may go together (at least the fitter members) and young seals, whose pelts are more valuable, are taken in small quantities. This is the start of the move to the Island. Ice still covers the Inlet until June or July, so the move is made on sleds although people have moved out of their houses into tents. They usually return in boats (which some people leave at the Island for the winter).

Soon after the ice breaks up, the government patrol and hospital ship makes its annual call starting the shipping season and the seasonal cycle begins again.

The above way of life has its concomitants in the social organization. In the old camp groups, face-to-face interaction between all members was possible on a daily basis. All the products of the hunt were shared between all. Those who wished to get away from the camp just left for another one or, for a time, a nuclear family could be completely independent. The "leader" was the paternalistic advisor in both social and economic matters. Social gatherings, feasts, live crisis events, were matters for the whole population.

However, with the more than five-fold increase in community size, most of the above is impossible. Bases for selection have to be found for patterns of interaction where there was no need previously. Only in one institution does the pattern continue, and that is in sharing game. This deeply engrained value is met by all except one (deviant) group. However, it is a great strain to carry this on, and in 1959 there was a great debate as to whether the custom should continue. One band brought back (in its Peterhead) thirty-five large seals but some of its members did not want to share these with all forty-seven households. Finally, the older men prevailed and the pattern continued but probably won't much longer.

In other matters a group intermediate in size between the settlement and the household is the focus of solidarity and cooperation. This is the above-mentioned, Peterhead-owning band. It is believed, on theoretical grounds as well as from what the Eskimos said, that in fact these bands are direct continuations of the camp groups that moved, at different times, into Sugluk. They have similar kin-based compositions and leadership structures. They are mainly exogamous, co-residential and cooperative. Life crises are mainly only the concern of the members of that particular band.

Above the band level there is very little solidarity. There is a "Community Council," organized by the Government Officer, but, as yet, it has little effectiveness.

Another consequence of the settlement type, along with changes in the economy and the religion, is the recent marriage problem. It appears that many of the young people are not getting

married at all or until late, and they blame their parents, while the parents blame each other or their "promiscuous" children. Traditionally the way to go about getting married was that a young man would ask his parents to ask the parents of the girl (or the man's parents would suggest this). If all was in order, the young man would move into the tent, or at least camp, of the girl and they would not usually be considered married, at least until she was pregnant. After the birth of the first child or so, the young couple would usually move back to the man's camp. Occasionally, as described by the present informants, the young man and his father-in-law and even the woman would disagree. In that case, they might elope or have a fight over the matter and the younger stronger man usually won--he might even have to rope the woman to his sled and carry her off to another camp to do so. At any rate all able-bodied adult Eskimos got married; it was almost essential for economic survival. Widows and widowers remarried quickly.

Most of the above mechanisms for going about marriage are still extant, but are less effective in the new environment. For one thing, the range of potential mates is so infinitely larger that the young people have the greatest difficulty choosing a mate. Secondly, marriage is not now essential for survival; clothes and food can be bought and there is relief for the unfortunate. Thirdly, parents no longer have the positive authority (especially with daughters) to say "Get married or else!" The young people can just go and stay in one of the forty-six other households. Men are unable to "carry off" women, and, particularly since the advent of

Christianity, fights and bitter feelings are avoided at all costs. (This is not the direct prescription of the missionary.) As one young man put it: "Nowadays if we marry a girl against her parents' wishes, we have to live in the same settlement as them for the rest of their lives. People on bad terms with each other cannot live so close together!" How true this is is not certain; three such marriages have taken place in the last decade or so and, although there was initially much bitterness, they were all friends again within a month. Another factor is the present economic power of old people. They often get pensions or rations at the very age when they would have been losing their grip in the traditional society. A number of post-menopausal women have adopted babies, and expect their grown daughters to look after them. In addition, young men refuse to move into a tent where their wife would be spending most of her time looking after the rest of the family, with a prospect of having to do so for years to come. The state of promiscuity is cited by a number of people as a partial reason. They say young men (and some young women) prefer to have a different partner every night to being married. The parents all claimed vehemently that they "told their children not to" but that it doesn't make any difference! However, the results of this, in the form of illegitimate children (over 11%), are hardly frowned upon. Often they are adopted out or incorporated into the girl's sibling group at the younger end.

So we see here a problem, which at the time I was there, had come to a head, and not been resolved. The whites talked to

both the young people and their parents with very few results. They leaped upon me at my arrival, thinking that as an anthropologist I might be able to develop new mechanisms for solving it. However, I did not try. It is not known how much this problem has distorted the overall patterns of inter-kin behavior, but I judge that so far the effect is slight. It will continue to grow if more babies are produced and the marriage rate remains very low. In spite of similar acculturative conditions this problem does not seem to have occurred in the same way or to the same extent in any other settlements, except perhaps Frobisher Bay which is a very different type of community.

Summary

Material conditions at Sugluk have undergone radical change in the past fifty to sixty years, however, the new items are mainly incorporated to traditional ends. For instance, a man may work for years to save enough money to be able to buy a boat, stop working and go back to full-time hunting.

Old cultural mechanisms for organizing social life are still very much in effect, however, the new demographic conditions have lowered their efficacy. These mechanisms, nevertheless, are still the same for the bases of group formation, economic cooperation, leadership and authority, etc., and are fairly effective. Parts of the value system, e.g., sharing game, not living with people with whom you have quarrelled, are held to with great tenacity.

The following analysis, however, is for the Sugluk of

1959. How much of it applies to previous stages is not known and although I think most of it does, I am too uncertain of the former social life to make more than the most tentative conjectures.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORMATIVE TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM

One might ask, in view of the stated purposes of this dissertation, "What is the ideal terminology system?" But in this chapter we are not going to consider the deviances and alternates in the raw data. At this point we are considering the terminology system in terms of labels for kin categories (as derived from the following elicitation). For the vast majority of kin categories the "ideal" coincides with and is taken as the statistical norm and, especially for closer kin, there are no deviations at all. We are not here considering terms of address either. The use and significance of the latter are not discussed. Where the statistical norms are ill-defined, we have taken the data from the most knowledgeable informants, combined with the expectations of internal consistency of pattern.

Luckily there are a few points which make the task easier. First, the terms were all elicited the same way under similar situations. Second, the system, for this area, does pattern satisfactorily. Third, kin terms are not used (overtly) for non-kin references except under specialized white influence, such as "God the Father" (Guti ataata). Statistical information on how closely the terms elicited actually coincided with the designated kin categories is not presented. Further, kin-related terms, which were not

systematically elicited, but were investigated, are also excluded from this presentation but are dealt with elsewhere. Unfortunately there is (or I was not aware of it) no overall term that "bounds" kinship terms, as has been described for some Eskimo (Posposil and Laughlin 1963:187, "ilyatka") and other societies (Goodenough 1956: 201 for Trukese, "tefej"). However, it will be later apparent that there is no great theoretical objection. (See also Wallace and Atkins 1960:60, Step [1].)

Acquisition of Data

As stated above, I was familiar with kinship terminologies from other settlements in the Eastern Arctic before arriving at Sugluk. During the voyage I had interviewed interpreters from nearby settlements and the missionary at Wakeham Bay and had found systems substantially similar to that later found at Sugluk. Further investigations revealed no significant differences between the Sugluk terminology and that of the surrounding coastline, i.e., the Taqagmiut.

During the first part of my stay in Sugluk, my investigations on the subject were mainly directed towards finding the "correct" system and explaining the many anomalies that had occurred elsewhere[1] and at Sugluk. Many of the more responsible adults were systematically interviewed and a few "discoveries" seemed to be significant, mainly:

(1) The Sugluk "correct" system seemed to be internally more consistent than much of what was reported elsewhere, and

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[1]Particularly found by Willmott (1961) for Port Harrison.

(2) there was general agreement on the extension of terms to the descendants of the siblings of grandparents; something I had not then seen recorded for other Eskimos.[1]

However, in spite of the apparent adequacy of my data, I decided towards the end of my stay, motivated by an urge to "quantify," to make further systematic observations. Thus evolved the following procedure. By this time I knew the genealogies of all the population and of many neighboring settlements and had found that everyone was related to everyone else, often in many ways. Furthermore, I thought I knew the kinship terminology as well or better than most of my informants themselves. So I selected a number of informants (fourteen) as a representative cross-section by age and sex and band affiliation. For each of these individuals I rewrote a skeleton genealogy so as to have at least one of every possible kin category that the person had (e.g., for the two unmarried informants there were no affines). Where the person was related to Ego more than one way "alter" would appear on the chart in the two places. Where there were adopted kin (and there are over 15% at Sugluk) the adoptee would be included (if possible) both in its biological and its social positions. Next to the name of each "alter" I left a space so I could write in the (kin) term supplied. If two were supplied the order or certainty of presentation was noted--if no term was given, this was noted.

Then I interviewed each informant in turn, by themselves. The method of elicitation was not to say "What do you call the son

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[1]Similar data has since been found by Damas (1963) (Personal communication).

of X?" or "What do you call X, the son of your father's sister?" which would have given a genealogical description. I simply used the Eskimo phrase "Kinagiviuk ___?" which may best be translated "Who/what is ___ to/for you?" The actual connotation is probably best expressed as a circumlocution "How do you think of ___?" or "What role does ___ play with respect to you?" In fact, the question does not require a kin term answer.[1] However, as I only included kin as those on the charts, most of the answers were kin terms.

Thus were elicited over 730 kin terms. In terms of my supposedly "correct" system, I noted that a large number were found to be "incorrect" (15%) and there were many (ca. 15%) blanks. I did not at the time of interviewing ask the people "why they gave me the wrong terms" mainly because I did not know Eskimo well enough to settle any question quickly, and, secondly, because I did not want to interrupt the spontaneity of the answers by implying criticism. However, after some of the interviews I was able to ask about some of the "anomalies." The latter explanations, unfortunately, are by no means so full or systematic as the original data.

Status Terms and
Kin Categories

The relative order of the terms is of no particular significance. The list below is supplementary to the charts, in order to cover the total contents of all categories.

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[1]The Eskimo word for kin-term "atik" was avoided.

1. ataatacialiquitik--"great-grand-father or -uncle"

A male bilateral consanguineal relative or zero or first degree of collaterality and of the third ascending generation, e.g., FaFaFa, MoFaMoBr, FaMoFaBr.

2. anaanacialiqiutik--"great-grand-mother or -aunt"

Analogous female term for (1).

3. irngutaliqiutik--"great-grand-child"

A bilateral consanguineal relative of either sex of zero to third degree of collaterality and the third descending generation, e.g., SoSoSon, BrDaDaDa, MoMoBrSoDaDaSoSo.

4. ataatacia--"grand-father or great-uncle"

A bilateral consanguineal relative of zero or first degree of collaterality and second ascending generation, or spouse of (5), e.g., FaFa, MoFaBr.

5. anaanacia--"grand-mother or great-aunt"

A female bilateral consanguineal analogous to, or spouse of (4), e.g., FaMo, MoFaSi.

6. aanak--"paternal grandmother"

A female paternal lineal of the second ascending generation. Alternative in the category of (5); FaMo only.

7. ataata--"father"--male parent of Ego.

8. anaana--"mother"--female parent of Ego.

9. atkak--"paternal uncle and Fa's male first cousin"

A male paternal consanguineal of the first or second degree of collaterality and first ascending generation, e.g., FaBr, FaMoBrSon.

10. atsak--"paternal aunt, etc."

A female paternal consanguineal as (9), e.g., FaSi, FaMoBrDa.

11. angak--"maternal uncle, etc."

A male maternal consanguineal of the first or second degree of collaterality and first ascending generation, e.g., MoBr, MoFaSiSon.

12. ajakuluk[1]--maternal "aunt etc."

A female consanguineal as (11), e.g., MoSi, MoMoBrDau.

13. anik--"brother" (female speaking)

A full brother to a woman.

14. naijak--"sister" (male speaking)

A full sister to a man.

15. angajuk--"older (sibling)" (also means "large")

An older full sibling of the same sex.

16. nukak--"younger (sibling)" (also means "new"0

A younger full sibling of the same sex.

17. aniksak--"male cousin (F.S.)"

A male bilateral consanguineal relative, of Ego's generation and opposite sex, of the second or third degrees of collaterality, e.g., MoBrSo, FaMoSiSoSo.

18. naijaksak--"female cousin" (M.S.)

A female bilateral consanguineal, as (17), e.g., MoBrDa, FaFaBrDaDa.

19. qatangutiksak--"cousin"

A bilateral consanguineal relative of Ego's generation and sex, of second and third degrees of collaterality, e.g., MoBrSon, FaMoBrDaSon.

20. irniq--"full" son.

21. panik--"full" daughter.

22. qangiak--

A child (either sex) of a male consanguineal of the same sex; of the first to the third degrees of collaterality and first descending generation, e.g., BrSon, FaSiSoDa, MoMoBrDaSoSon (MS).

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[1]The "-uluk" is not optional at Sugluk, though "ajak" would be understood. The radical "ajak-" is common to the Eastern Arctic.

23. ujuruk--

A child (either sex) of a female consanguineal of the opposite sex; first to third degree of collaterality and first descending generation, e.g., SiCh, FaSiDaCh, MoBrDaCh (M.S.).

24. angak--

A child (either sex) of a male consanguineal of the opposite sex; first to third degrees of collaterality, first descending generation, e.g., BrCh, FaSiSoCh, MoMoBrDaSoCh (F.S.).

25. nuakuluk[1]--

A child of a female consanguineal of the same sex; first to third degrees of collaterality, and first descending generation, e.g., SiCh, MoBrDaCh (F.S.).

26. irngutak--"grandchild"

A bilateral consanguineal of either sex, zero to third degree of collaterality and second descending generation, e.g., SoSo, SiDaSo, FaBrSoDaDa, MoMoSiDaDaSoSo.

27. uik--husband.

28. nuliak--wife.

29. aipaq--"spouse" of either sex, used by the other.

30. aviliak--co-spouse of either sex, used by the same sex. Also means "rival" in the socio-sexual sense.

31. ningauk--"a male in-law"

A male affine through a consanguineal of Ego; of any generation below GaPas except when of the same generation and opposite sex as Ego; zero to third degrees of collaterality; either sex speaker, e.g., DaHu, FaSiHu, MoMoBrSoSoDaHu, SiHu (M.S.).

32. ukuak--"a female in-law"

A female affine through a consanguineal of Ego; of any generation below grand-parents except when of the same generation and opposite sex to Ego, or when of the first ascending generation, paternal side and opposite sex to Ego; zero to third degrees of collaterality, e.g., SoWi, FaBrWi (F.S.), MoFaSiDaDaSoWi, BrWi (F.S.).

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[1]The "-uluk" is hardly ever optional in Sugluk, though "nuak" would be understood. The root "nuak" means the same in other nearby settlements, but may have another suffix (optional or not). See also term (12) above.

33. angnaijuk--"paternal aunt-in-law (male speaking)"

A female affine of the first ascending generation, first or second degree of collaterality, of the opposite sex, on the paternal side, related through a consanguineal of Ego, e.g., FaBrWi, FaMoBrSonWi, FaFaSiSoWi (M.S. only).

34. aikuluk--

An affine of Ego or of a consanguineal of Ego's spouse, of the same generation and opposite sex, of the first to third degrees of collaterality, but only of the first degree of collaterality when related through Ego's spouse, e.g., BrWi (M.S.), HuBr (F.S.), WiSi (M.S.), or FaSiSonWi (M.S.), MoMoBrDaDaHu (F.S.).

35. sakiak--

Spouse's sibling of the same sex as Ego, e.g., WiBr (M.S.), HuSi (F.S.).

36. sakik--

Spouse's parents and their siblings and parents.

37. irniakjuk/angutiakjuk--(the former is more frequent).[1]

Husband's brother's son (female speaking only).

38. paniakjuk--

Husband's brother's daughter (female speaking only).

39. angajungruk--

The spouse of Ego's spouse's older ortho-sibling.

40. nukaungruk--

The spouse of Ego's spouse's younger ortho-sibling.

It is seen that the Eskimo system is fairly complex and extensive. A few "normative" alternates have been included in the above because there is no dispute about them. They and other more questionable ones will be discussed later.

Having established the normative system, we shall now go on to construct alternative models for its explanation.

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[1]These are interchangeable at Sugluk and equally understood.

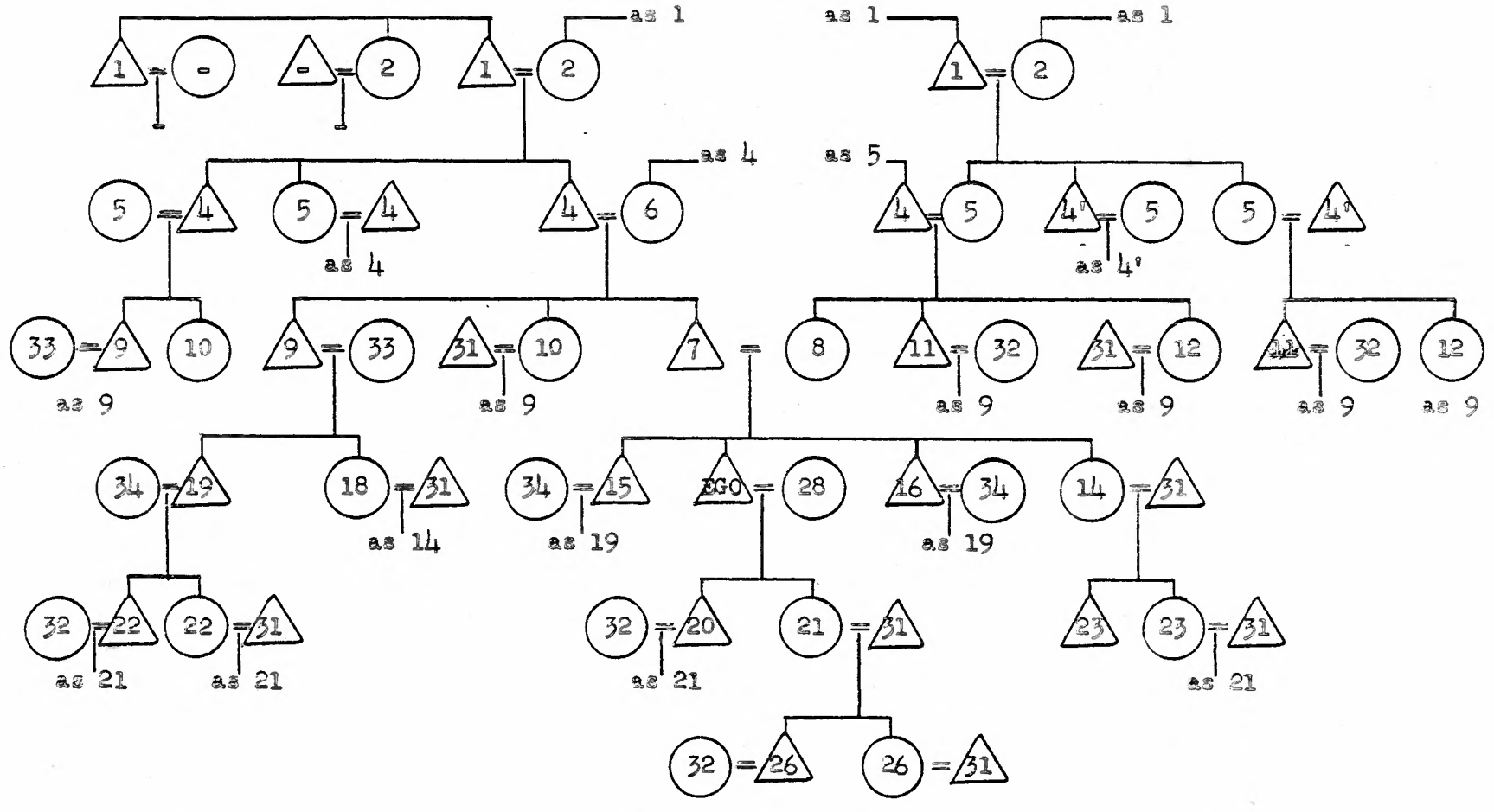
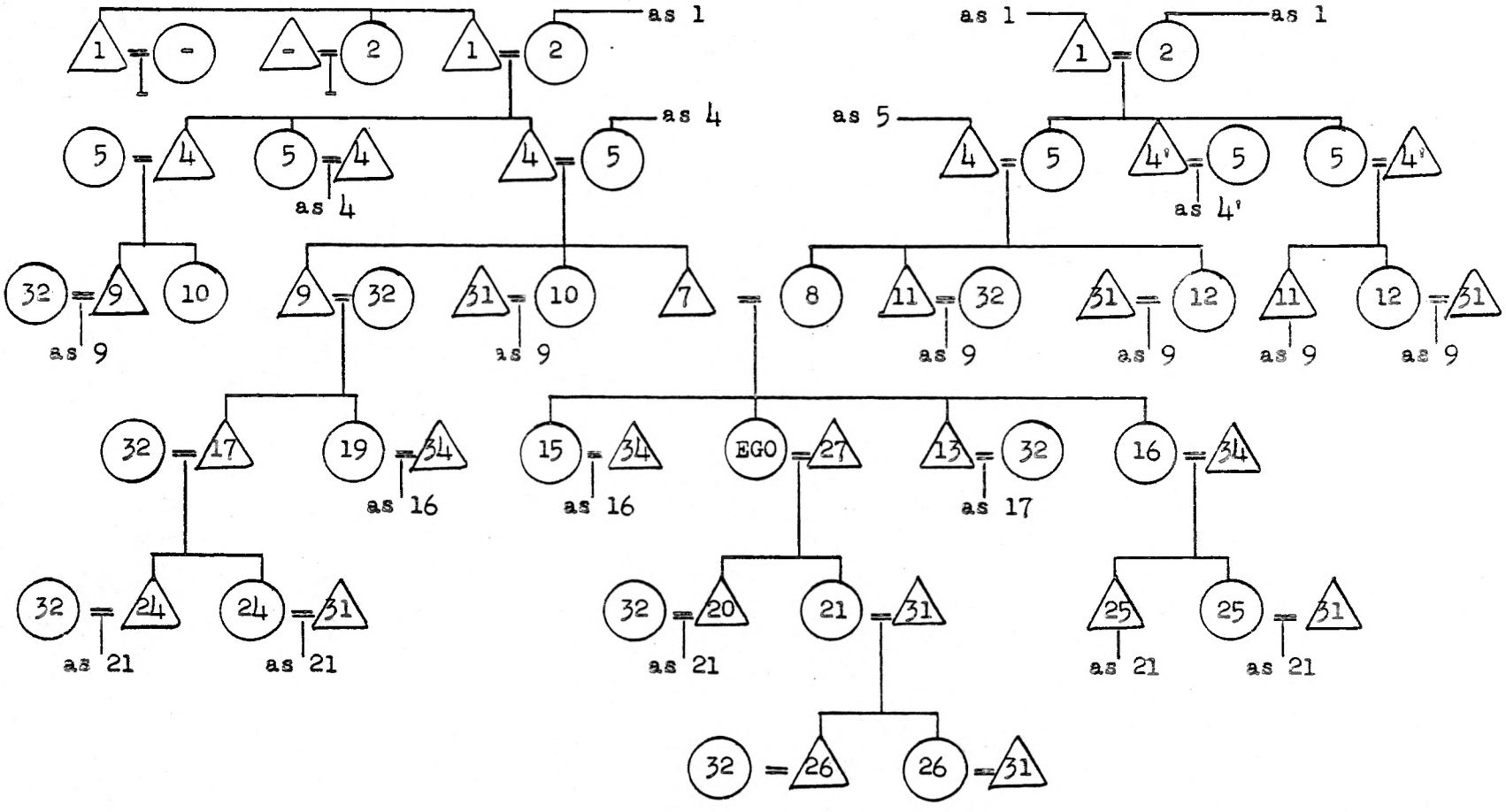


Fig. 2.--Consanguineals: Male Ego



----------all irngutaliqiutik----------

Fig. 3.--Consanguineals: Female Ego

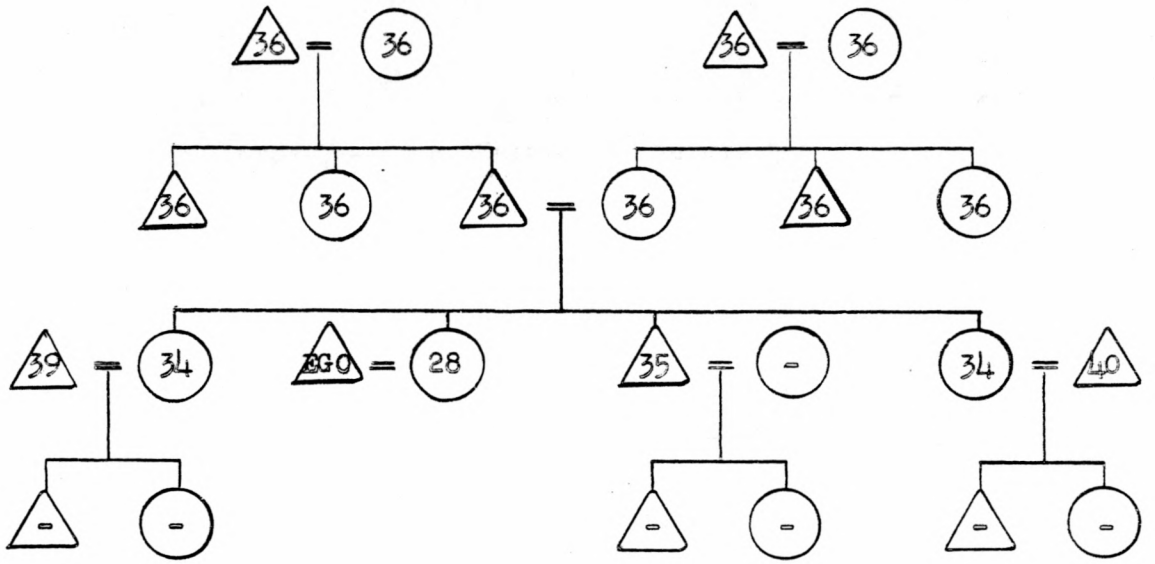


Fig. 4.--Affinals: Male Ego

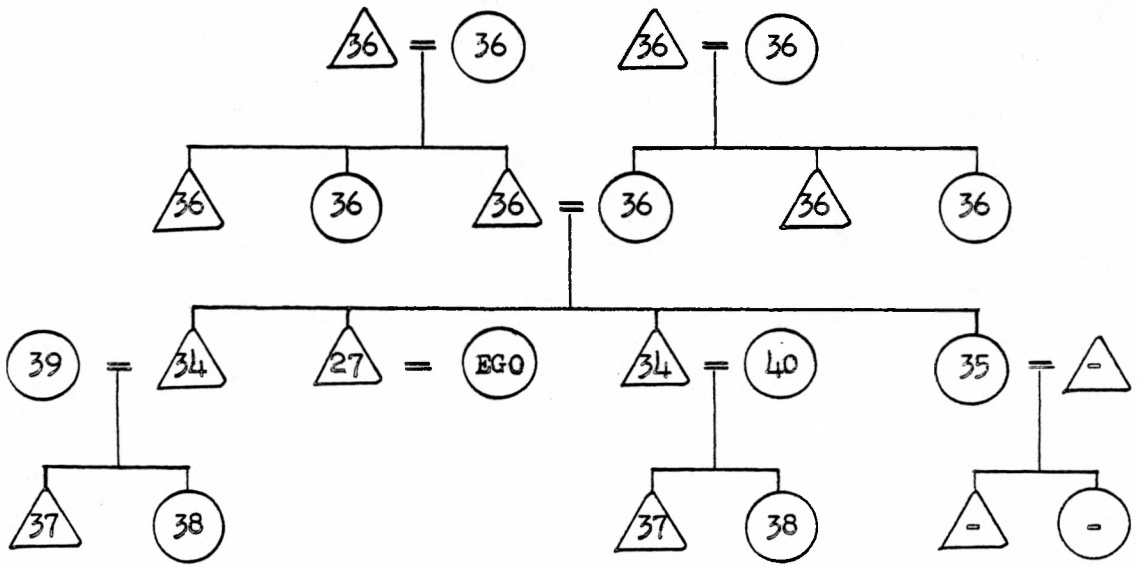


Fig. 5.--Affinals: Female Ego

CHAPTER V

THE GENEALOGICAL MODEL

Perhaps the best outline of the methodological procedures of structural studies has been presented by Levi-Strauss in Anthropology Today (1953:524-53). Social structure he says "has nothing to do with empirical reality but with the models built up after it . . . not to be confused with social relations" (1953:525-26). He relies on the theories of von Neumann and Morganstern (1944) as to the nature of these models:

> Such models are theoretical constructs with a precise, exhaustive and not too complicated definition; and they must be similar to reality in those respects which are essential to the investigation in hand. . . . The definition must be precise and exhaustive in order to make a mathematical treatment possible. The construct must not be unduly complicated so that mathematical treatment can be brought beyond mere formalism to the point where it yields complete numerical results. Similarity to reality is needed to make the operation significant. And this similarity must usually be restricted to a few traits deemed essential "pro tempore"--since otherwise the above requirements would conflict with each other.

He goes on to make plain the difference between "mechanical" and "statistical" models (528-31).

In the following two analyses we have two models each derived from a different order of data. In the first analysis the criteria for differentiation of the domains of the kin terms are derived from a genealogical model. In the second, an ideal model of the social structure has been set up and the criteria are derived

from concepts inherent in the structural norms of the model. We are therefore, in both analyses, only concerned with "mechanical" or "ideal" models. These are concerned with "ideal" as opposed to statistical norms, or what Leach has called "jural Norms" (1963: 155-83). For the sake of contrast I have completely separated the approaches derived from the two models.

The previous chapter told us something about the parameters of the terminology system. However, further descriptive material on the content of the particular dyadic relationships was hardly attempted (cf. Damas 1962, chapter iii). If it had been, with the purpose of relating the terminology more directly to behavior, the meaning of the system as a logical whole might have been lost in a wealth of detail. The model which we are using in this chapter is a genealogy. The components are therefore derived from concepts inherent in a genealogy, i.e., kin types. This method follows that of the classic componential analyses of Goodenough (1956) and Lounsbury (1956). It is only after the analysis that our resulting categories are examined in terms of behavioral norms. In the following chapter the behavioral norms are developed first and later the resulting categories are lined up with kin types. In neither this chapter nor the next are we concerned with deviance of terminology or behavior, therefore the results of both analyses will be found to be congruent.

Componential Analysis[1]

In order to demonstrate the kinds of genealogical distinctions

[1]This analysis was performed before the author saw that of Pospisil and Laughlin (1963) on the Nunamiut Eskimo.

that are made, and hence where many social organizational axes lie, it is thought advisable to present the above in componential form. It is also hoped that the analysis presented in the following chapter will demonstrate the superiority and greater "reality" of the method used therein. A discussion of the "Components" will take place below. It is to be noted that no "step-" "half-" "adoptive-" "wife-exchange-" relatives have been included yet. They can be analyzed in terms of suffixes added to the above. We are only considering, therefore, the basic minimal system.

Componential analysis, in spite of its rather frightening name and, as yet, minor place in anthropological literature is very simple. It is the application of "emics" to kinship systems. A number of components or "semantic features," each having more than one value, are set up such that combinations of two or more of them account for each and every category in the simplest possible way (see p. 66). In all the published analyses presented in this form, the components are genealogical, though genealogical aspects are usually those of the natives themselves.[1]

There is one division that cuts right across the terminology system. That is, the Eskimos practically never use the same terms for a consanguineal and an affinal relative,[2] though as we shall see there is more than one kind of affinity. We may therefore set up our first component:

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[1]Goodenough's Trukese (1956:201-05) define generation in terms of lineage.

[2]In certain cases of "deviance," this is, significantly, not true. The exceptions are in the Generation +2, and this was by no means agreed on by all informants.

1. c = consanguineal or a = affinal.

There are two kinds of affinity that are always distinguished except in one term (34). Hence:

2. c = the affinal bond is the last link to alter

   s = the affinal bond is the nearest link to Ego (i.e., through Ego's spouse).

Collaterality is of three kinds, all of which contrast somewhere:

3. l = lineal
   s = one degree of collaterality (i.e., sibling of a lineal)
   c = more than one degree of collaterality.

Generation is always distinguished for consanguineals, and to some extent for all affinals:

4. has values +3, +2, +1, 0, -1, -2, and -3 only.

Absolute sex is distinguished for many kin and affinals:

5. m = male, f = female.

And for many others, relative sex (to Ego) is crucial.

6. s = same sex as speaker, o = opposite sex.

For a number of important relatives it is not the sex of alter that is crucial, but the sex of the ultimate link to alter. Thus we have:

7. m = male ultimate link, f = female ultimate link, and

8. s = ultimate link same sex as Ego, o = ultimate link opposite sex.

For a few, but important, relatives, we have the same for nearest link:

9. m = nearest link male, f = nearest link female.

10. s = nearest link same sex as Ego, o = nearest link opposite sex.

Within Ego's own generation, it is often crucial to distinguish the relative ages of ortho-siblings, both when Ego

is one of them, or when the pair forms the link between Ego and alter:

11. o = alter, or ultimate, ortho-sibling older.
    y = alter, or ultimate ortho-sibling, younger.

Thus we may proceed to give componential formulae for our forty terms. In order to do so, it is necessary, at times, to use Boolean Algebra, the main features of which may be summarized:

(a + b) = a or b, or both a and b

(a . b) = a and b, only

(a ^b) = a or b, only

$\bar{a}$ = not a; or (a ^b) = not a or b, i.e., = (a . b) or $\overline{(a \cdot b)}$

This form of presentation is kept to a minimum.

1. ataatacialiqiutik = 1c, 3$\bar{c}$, 4 +3, 5m
2. anaanacialiqiutik = 1c, 3$\bar{c}$, 4 +3, 5f
3. irngutaliqiutik = 1c, 4 -3
4. ataatacia = 1c,[1] 3$\bar{c}$, 4 +2, 5m
5. anaanacia = 1c,[2] 3$\bar{c}$, 4 +2, 5f
6. aanak = 1c, 3 1, 4 +2, 5f, 9m
7. ataata = 1c, 3 1, 4 +1, 5m
8. anaana = 1c, 3 1, 4 +1, 5f
9. atkak = 1c, 3 $\bar{1}$, 4 +1, 5m, 9m
10. atsak = 1c, 3 $\bar{1}$, 4 +1, 5f, 9m
11. angak = 1c, 3 $\bar{1}$, 4 +1, 5m, 9f
12. ajakuluk = 1c, 3 $\bar{1}$, 4 +1, 5f, 9f

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[1] Possibly 1(c ^a). See p. 69.

[2] Ibid.

13. anik = 1c, 3s, 4 0, 5m, 6o

14. najak = 1c, 3s, 4 0, 5f, 6o

15. angajuk = 1c, 3s, 4 0, 6s, 11o

16. nukak = 1c, 3s, 4 0, 6s, 11y

17. aniksak = 1c, 3c, 4 0, 5m, 6o

18. najaksak = 1c, 3c, 4 0, 5f, 6o

19. qatangutiksak = 1c, 3c, 4 0, 6s

20. irniq = 1c, 3 1, 4 -1, 5m

21. panik = 1c, 3 1, 4 -1, 5f

22. qangiak = 1c, 3 $\overline{1}$, 4 -1, 7m, 8s

23. ujuruk = 1c, 3 $\overline{1}$, 4 -1, 7f, 8o

24. angak = 1c, 3 $\overline{1}$, 4 -1, 7m, 8o

25. nuakuluk = 1c, 3 $\overline{1}$, 4 -1, 7f, 8s

26. irngutak = 1c, 4 -2

All of the following include at least one affinal link.

27. uik[1] = 1a, 2(c + s), 3 1, 4 0, 5m, 6o

28. nuliak[2] = 1a, 2(c + s), 3 1, 4 0, 5f, 6o

29. aipaq[3] = 1a, 2(c + s), 3 1, 4 0, 6o

30. aviliak = 1a, 2(c $\wedge$ s), 3 1, 4 0, 6s

31. ninguak = 1a, 2c, 5m, $\overline{(4\ 0\ .\ 6o)}$

32. ukuak = 1a, 2c, 5f, 6o . (4 + 1 . 9m $\wedge$ 4 0)

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[1]The three terms 27, 28, 29 (Hu, Wi, Spouse) are a special kind of affine in that the ultimate (affinal) link is Ego, or the nearest link is also Alter. Thus the value of 2. could be c or s or c.s or c$\wedge$s or c + s, logically speaking. Pospisil and Laughlin (1963:185) deal with this by calling it a third kind of affinity, i.e., their 2a.

[2]Ibid. [3]Ibid.

33. angnaijuk = 1a, 2c, 3 $\bar{1}$, 4 + 1, 5f, 6o, 9m

34. aikuluk = 1a, 2(c ∧ s), 3 $\bar{1}$, 4 0, 6o

35. sakiak = 1a, 2s, 3s, 4 0, 6s

36. sakik = 1a, 2s, 3$\bar{c}$, 4(+1 ∧ 2)

37. irniakjuk = 1a, 2s, 3s, 4 -1, 9m, 10o, 5m

38. paniakjuk = 1a, 2s, 3s, 4 -1, 5f, 9m, 10o

39. angajungruk = 1a, 2(c.s), 3s, 4 0, 8o, 10o, 11o

40. nukaungruk = 1a, 2(c.s), 3s, 4 0, 8o, 10o, 11y

Componential Analysis and Meaning

Perhaps the best overview of this new field, with a critical examination of the two most important papers (Goodenough 1956; Lounsbury 1956) in it, is presented by Wallace and Atkins (1960). Not only do they outline the advances that this method can make, but they also show its most important limitations. The avowed initial purpose of componential analysis is to present "a statement of definitions in terms of distinctive semantic features" (1960:67). Furthermore, these semantic features should be categories within the cognitive processes of the natives themselves, a commitment with which the review authors heartily agree (1960:75). One of the major dilemmas that has occurred is the conflict between the presentation of the results in their logically simplest and most elegant form (as seen by the anthropologist) and in the form most likely to coincide with the categories in the minds of the speakers themselves. It has been shown that there is <u>never</u> one single possible resultant analysis from one set of terms (1960:72-73, 76).

In one instance Burling (1962) has tried to show that, for Njamal, an analysis involving more, but simpler, components may be more satisfactory than Epling's (1961) original "unusually clear presentation."

My above analysis involves eleven components, some of which are (to us at least) rather complex. These are sufficient for the forty terms. Pospisil and Laughlin (1963:185-86) use eight components for a somewhat similar Eskimo system. However, a detailed examination of the latter shows that only twenty-five of their terms are "of the same basic nature"[1] as mine, not the full thirty-eight that they actually list.

A componential analysis is a "shorthand description" of a terminology system. As such it is of very little analytical value in that it is "just another way of stating the facts." And this is where most authors leave the subject. However, I believe, that an examination, not only of the nature of the components, but of their comparative distributions, can tell us more even though it be one further extension of the process of "description." I further believe that for many kinship systems, a penetrating anthropologist can "get as much out of" the system by inspection without having to go to the rather laborious ends of componential analysis. I will, however, present below what seem to be the major points emphasized by the above analysis.

The major division across the system is between consanguinity and affinity. This component has to have a specified value for all

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[1]Many of their terms are "adoptive-, exchange-, or step- kin" which can (as I have said) be attributed to suffixes only, not extra kin terms.

terms except two. These latter are in the second ascending generation, and this "affinal incorporation" is similar to that described by Damas (1962:55) for Igloolik. Most reports do not give the full terminology for this generation, but the reasons for this phenomenon should be widespread in the Eastern Arctic as I hope to show in the next chapter. Affinal incorporation in other categories in one of the more common "deviances" as will be discussed later.

The two kinds of affinity "c" and "s" are about equally represented. There is one term "aikuluk" that can be either/or and is of rather special significance. Three terms involve double affinal links, i.e., affinals (of consanguineals) of affinals. All of these are through one's spouse. The special affinal relationship between co-parents-in-law, i.e., parent's of one's child's spouse, was not found in Sugluk though it is possible it is known there. Unfortunately the ethnocentric ethnographer did not inquire about this category, but, if it were an important one, it would probably have come to my notice as it has at other places.[1]

A large part of the great differentiation of the Eskimo system is derived from distinctions of lineality. As noted, the "Eskimo type" shows lineal terms for "uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces." For the Eskimos there are three degrees of collaterality. Linear relatives are those who are the ancestors or descendants of Ego and their spouses. The next degree are the siblings of lineals and their spouses. These are not distinguished

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[1]Damas for Igloolik, finds "nulliq" (1962:57-58), Spencer for North Alaska finds "nuleriik" (1959:69).

for generations below Ego, for reasons to be expounded in the next chapter. Beyond this are collaterals who, in the generation below Ego are merged with "sib-lineals" and in the second descending generation with lineals. Of the "pure-types" there are nine each of lineal and "sib-lineal" terms and three collaterals. However, the negative categories "$\overline{1}$" and "$\overline{c}$" could also be written "(s $\wedge$c)" and "(1 $\wedge$s)" respectively. Of the former type there are ten and the latter five. For only four terms is lineality not specified; these are for second and third descending generation consanguineals, and for the two (male and female) general affinal (through consanguineals) terms. We may summarize:

Value	Number of Terms	
"1"	14	Not specified: 4 terms
"s"	24	
"c"	13	

This emphasizes the enormous importance of "sib-lineals" in other than Ego's own generation.

Generation, second to consanguinity/affinity, is the most overriding distinction. It is specified for thirty-seven of the forty terms. The three for which it is not are the two general affinals, and ancestors of spouse, and for these it is negatively specified.

The distribution of terms within the various generations is very illustrative of Eskimo social structure and, in fact, their whole "present- orientated" world view (Graburn 1961).

Generation	Number of Terms	
+3	2	(One term is for +1 or +2
+2	3	only and is not included
+1	7	in the table)
±0	14	
-1	8	
-2	1	
-3	1	

The lineal implications of component (3) are balanced by this generational emphasis.

Sex, and sex relative to the speaker, may be taken together and examined across generations.

Generation	(5)Absolute Sex	(6)Relative Sex	
>0	12	1	Absolute sex is denoted for 2 of the 3 generationally undifferentiated terms.
±0	7	14	
<0	4	0	

This would lead us to believe that role-expectations depend almost entirely on sex of "alter" for older people, whereas they depend largely on relative sex within Ego's generation. (Every term in this generation specifies relative sex.) Conversely to the former statement where sex of the younger speaker does not affect the role, the terms for the younger speaker hardly denote sex, especially relative sex. The four terms where absolute sex is distinguished are extremely closely relatives, namely So and Dau and HuBrSo and HuBrDa.

In Ego's generation where all terms indicate relative sex, there are three categories:

Same Sex--Male or Female

Opposite Sex (a) Male (b) Female

This shows that ortho-kin tend to be "equals" (but see 11), whereas hetero-kin (similarly at opposite ends of one dyad) expect different roles of each other depending on sex.

Relative age should be included here because it follows directly from the above. It is only distinguished between ortho- "sib-lineals" of Ego's generation. We may then extend to above statement to say that for ortho-kin roles may depend on seniority, and for hetero-kin roles depend on sex.

For the majority of kin in the generation below Ego, the terminological distinctions depend not on "alter" but on the parents of "alter," i.e., on the "ultimate link" who is within Ego's own generation. Furthermore, commensurate with the statements above about absolute and relative sex within Ego's generation, these are the exact distinctions made for the important ultimate link. For these terms, collaterality is merged with "sib-lineality" and only set off from true lineals. This is what might be expected of a Hawaiian, not Eskimo, terminology. However, it is found throughout the Eastern Arctic Eskimos at least. In that the terms depend on the generation above them, we have here a slight indication of "lineal" categorization; however, as we have mentioned above, this is not unilineal but characteristically bilateral.

For a few terms the distinctions are made in terms of the sex and relative sex of the nearest link. Where the absolute sex

of the parents is crucial, we do have true indications of uni- or bi-lineal organization, and it is here that the slight patrilineal emphasis of the Taqagmiut becomes apparent. In two cases kin reckoned through the father are given more specific terms within very general bilateral categories. One is the descriptive (and alternate) term for FaMo "aanak" which sets her off from all the other "anaanacia's." This can be used by men or women and has been found in other Eastern Arctic areas[1] though it is said to be disappearing. The other term, used only by men, is that for the wife of father's brother or male cousin "angnaijuk." In that I did not record a single female use of this term, the component "relative sex of nearest linking kin" is here 10s. This category is a subsection of the much larger category "ukuak" (approximately "female in-law") which is bilateral and cross-generational. This is the term used by women for this category. It is to be noted that the reciprocal (e.g., HuBrSon) of "angnaijuk" are the only two terms (male and female) for any of the many possible affinal-nepotics.

Reality of the Components

It has been stated above that the components of such an analysis should be coincident with categories and distinctions actually existing in the minds of the users of the system. Wallace and Atkins (1960:75-79) devote a whole section to the "psychological" vs. the "structural" reality of such analyses. They state that:

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[1]As found by the author at Wakeham Bay, Quebec and Lake Harbour, Northwest Territory, and Balikci (personal communication) at Povungnituk, Quebec.

> The crux of the difference between a psychologically valid description and one which is only structurally valid lies, of course, in the choice of dimensions and logical operators (class or relative products) used in defining the (semantic) space, and the choice of the logical operators (class products, class sums, and relative products) employed in defining the terms and mapping the paradigm on the space. . . . Here the standard and "universal" dimensions, such as those suggested by Kroeber (1909) and Murdock (1949), must often be redefined and supplemented by dimensions peculiar to the particular informant and his society. . . . By working only on ethnographic data, two or more extensionally valid and perhaps even tautologically equivalent (in one language) dimensions can usually be obtained for any given term; and, second, that while more than one definition may be psychologically real, in the sense of how users think with and about that term, one or more definitions may be real only in a structural sense even though such definitions must be extensionally equivalent to psychologically real definitions.

The above componential analysis is structurally real in that it can predict terminological usage given the knowledge of the componential values of any category. In fact, in my "kinship testing" there was over 70% correct. It is also obvious, to the reader as well as the author, that other combinations of components (dimensions) could have produced an equally valid structural analysis.

The psychological reality of most of the used genealogical components is undoubted. Generation is real to the Eskimos in the way that it is used in the analysis, that is kinship-generation (as opposed to the broader meaning ascribed in English, e.g., the "beat" generation, "Shakespeare's generation," etc.). Outside the sphere of kinship generation is not reckoned, and even the third ascending and descending generations are very unclear to most informants. In fact, data from other areas fail to show these generations as distinguished from "ancestors" and "descendants."

Sex is very real to the Eskimos in that it is the major

component of role-differentiation in their society (Graburn 1960a; Willmott 1961:68; Giffen 1930). This role differentiation becomes most marked from adolescence on and continues for the rest of life. This corresponds well with the lack of sex as a differentiating component in generations much below Ego, but its continued presence in all generations above. It is within Ego's own generation that sex becomes extremely important in the relative rather than the absolute sense, and this again is undoubtedly very real! It is to be noted that for most of the generation below Ego it is not the sex of the child, but whose child that determines the terms, and the "Who" is similarly determined by sex.

Similarly for these few terms where "sex of nearest link" is the component, the relative may be simply thought of as "Whose Brother/Cousin/Child."

Age only occurs as relative age (Component 11) and within this it is a very specialized kind. Age is not a very important concept to the Eskimos. Most of the adults do not know their age or even their relative age to any fine degree. The relative age in the kin-term sense is only "seniority within a sibling group."[1] Here there is no room for error and the concept forms a fairly obvious basis for role-differentiation, though relative sex is more important. Thus it is within ortho-sibs only that relative age is the crucial criterion. It is illuminating to note that the actual words used in the four terms employing this criterion contain the roots "angajuk" literally meaning "large" (old) and

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[1] Twins do not confuse the issue either, since only one of them is allowed to live.

"nukak" meaning "new" (young), both very applicable to members of a sib-set.

This leaves us with two important but more "abstract" dimensions of affinity and collaterality. Though I do not know if there are Eskimo terms corresponding to affinity or consanguinity (or for the two types of affinity), the almost complete coverage of the terminology system and rigid differentiation leads me to believe that these are in fact real components in the Eskimo mind. However, further investigation is needed here. The divisions posed above "lineal--sib-lineal--collateral" are more difficult to examine. The divisions do not apply to all generations, and "collateral" does not form a basis for distinction for any of the affinal terms. However, these three values are bilaterally extended and tend to form "circles of closeness" concentric about the speaker.

Boundaries, Kin Groups and Exogamy

I do not claim, as Pospisil and Laughlin (1963:187) do from their componential analysis, that those kin covered by kinship terms form a group or a category which is named (his "ilyatka") or definitely bounded. In fact, many of my informants did not recognize kin as far as the system can be extended, or did not do so until I brought the matter up. Conversely, there is at least one important kin category for which there is no term, but with whom there is patterned interaction--that is spouse's hetero-sibling's spouse. If the "kindred" were bounded, it would be possible to provide components for this category (they would be 1a, 2.(s.c), 3s, 4 0, 6o) and denote it by a "zero lexeme."[1]

[1]Goodenough (1956:202) uses "zero lexeme" to denote some categories which fall within his bounded definition of kin "tefej."

Part of the explanation for the differences between this and the Nunamiut system may well lie with the rules of exogamy. Pospisil states:

> In addition to defining the boundaries for the extension of kinship terminology, it (the "kindred, 'ilyatka'") operates as an exogamous unit; to marry within one's kindred was regarded as incestuous and was punishable both socially or informally and legally (1963:187).

In Sugluk, however, different informants would argue as to whom one could and could not marry, the main division being between those who said one could marry one's first cousin and vice versa. In fact, there are some past and recent first cousin marriages, with no apparent sanctions, and a great many more people can trace nameable relationships to their spouses. The whole question of incest and exogamy is very unclear for Sugluk both in my mind, and probably in the minds of many of the Eskimos. This is somewhat surprising in that Willmott (1961:80-81) reports for Port Harrison (which is culturally extremely similar and close to Sugluk):

> One informant stated that Eskimos prefer marriages between as distant kin as possible and no marriages of first cousins were discovered. Sexual play among teenagers in the same camp[1] appears to be condoned, but does not necessarily result in marriage, even when a child is born.
>
> The extension of the incest taboo appears to be bilateral and proportional to the degree of relationship, first cousins never marrying, second cousins rarely so, and so on. Since few relations are recognised beyond the third degree, this essentially means that the taboo is extended to all first cousins.[2]

Willmott goes on to discuss the alleged presence of both the "kindred"

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[1]Note the implied equivalence of "camp" and "kin" (this author's note).

[2]Murdock (1949:227) expects "bilateral extension of incest taboos" for his "Eskimo type."

and the "deme," and claims they are both present. Although equating the "camp" with the "deme"[1] on the grounds of bilaterality and the tendency to exogamy, he goes on to say, I think more significantly:

> We might say that the primary feature of the camp is locality [my emphasis] rather than kinship. . . . (Willmott 1961:81)

It is my contention, as will be shown in the next chapter, that the primary feature of kinship is locality, rather than bilateralism or exogamy. I might summarize the above by saying, notwithstanding the allegations of other authors and the possibility that they may be right for their own areas, in Sugluk (probably all the Taqagmiut) the range of the kinship system and the terms themselves have little directly to do with the "kindred" or exogamy.[2]

We cannot, at this level, make comparisons with the people of Igloolik (Damas 1962), the only other Eastern Arctic area for which there is a good description and analysis of the kinship and social organization, because this area has a very different terminological system.

The above quotations from Willmott are from his passage comparing his findings with Murdock's ideal "Eskimo type." In doing so I think the results justify the effort in that I think he has somewhat distorted his data and missed some important points in doing so.

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[1] The Deme (an endogamous group internally related bilaterally) is another concomitant of Murdock's "Eskimo type." By Murdock's definition (1949:63) Sugluk might be called a Deme. I think Willmott has transposed his uses of deme and kindred by mistake.

[2] Indirectly, of course, kinship, locality and marriage rules are inter-dependent and reinforcing.

To summarize Murdock's "Eskimo type," and see how far the Sugluk data conforms we have the diagnostic principles: (1949:227)

(1) "Eskimo cousin terminology," i.e., cousins are distinguished from siblings and parallel cousins are not distinguished from cross-cousins. On the surface this is true at Sugluk, but there further distinctions are very important, particularly ortho-cousins, of either sex, are not distinguished, but hetero-cousins are. Whether the latter, Eskimo distinction, is as, or more, important than the former, Murdock's distinction, remains to be seen (see below).

(2) Absence of exogamous unilinear kin groups. This again is true for Sugluk (see below re other kin groups). Murdock expects "Eskimo type" societies to be characterized by:

(3) Monogamy. All Sugluk households were monogamous in 1959. However, this was as much by white enforcement[1] as Eskimo preference. In fact, neither the Sugluk Eskimos nor reports from other less acculturated communities show proscriptions against polygamy, particularly polygyny.

(4) Lineal terms for aunts and nieces. These are found at Sugluk and similarly apply to uncles and nephews.

(5) Bilateral extension of incest taboos. We have already discussed this on the previous two pages. The extension is limited and ill-defined. Murdock also expects:

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[1]A year or two before I was in Sugluk, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police forcibly removed two of the three wives of a highly respected man to distant communities. This is not uncommon. Missionary influence has had similar effects.

(6) "The frequent presence of bilateral kin groups such as kindreds and demes." It has been stated above that Sugluk itself probably coincides with Murdock's definition (1949:63) of the deme. Murdock defines the "kindred" as a "kin group of a typically bilateral type" (1949:45). What exactly this means I do not know, but other writers have examined the concept of a kindred more thoroughly (particularly Freeman 1961 and Mitchell 1963). It is still not exactly clear to any anthropologists "gathered together in the name of bilateral kin groups" whether the kindred is any more than (a) a category (not a group) or (b) a temporary action group. Let it be said, first, that as a category, the kindred is, of course, present in Sugluk. As a temporary action group it is very rare. Other groups fulfill what might be expected of the kindred. The kindred as a permanent real bounded group, whatever its functions, is a logically impossibility except in one case. That is, if it is endogamous, for instance, with prescribed bilateral cousin marriage. This latter type, as far as is known to the author, has only been described for the Sinhalese.[1] The kin-based groups found at Sugluk will be further discussed in a later chapter.

One point in the "Eskimo type" seems to be the inconsistency between the terminological distinction of siblings from cousins when set against the expected bilateral extension of incest taboos. For bilateral systems if terminological distinctions have

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[1]Yalman (1962:568). Here, though "unilineal descent groups . . . existed side by side with the kindred, the latter were felt to be more vital."

anything to do with incest or exogamy (as they tend to in most societies) one could expect to find one of two positions: (1) that marriage to all recognized kin is prohibited, or (2) that, if, within the category "kindred," one may marry people beyond a certain degree of genealogical distance, the associated terminology should make a distinction at this very point.

Murdock's statement is the very opposite to (2). Position (1) is not uncommon, for instance, in the ancient Anglo-Saxon cousin system or among the Iglooligmiut (Damas 1962:79-80). In the latter case, we have the expected "Hawaiian" cousin terminology. Sibling terms <u>are</u> extended to cousins and one is not allowed to, and does not, marry them. Position (2) occurs both within the present Western system, where one may marry first cousins, and these <u>are</u> differentiated from siblings, and exactly similarly among the Taqagmiut Eskimos. In the case of the endogamous Sinhalese kindred the terminology system is not "Eskimo" but "Dravidian" in type (Yalman 1962). We must, therefore, look for other factors to be crucial in the relationship between Eskimo social organization and associated kinship terminology. Perhaps residence and household composition is the key. Though not explicitly stated this solution was hinted at by Murdock when he said (1949:227) that an expected concomitant of the "Eskimo type" system, is "independent nuclear families" by which, I take it, he means the nuclear family coincides with the household. In few other ways are nuclear families independent.

To summarize, an examination of Eskimo kinship terminology

in Murdock's terms has told us little. We know that it is bilateral and highly differentiated. But, relating the "type" to social groups and rules of marriage has been somewhat unproductive. Further examination of residence as a factor is continued in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will set up a model of the type outlined above (p. 54) based upon certain structural principles that are, I hypothesize, the implicit norms of Taqagmiut society. This may then be related to the terminology system. The method parallels that of Leach's two stimulating analyses of his Jinghpaw Kachin (Leach 1945, reprinted in Leach 1962:28-53) and of Malinowski's Trobriand Islanders (Leach in Goody 1958:120-45). In fact, it has been more than the method alone that has been gleaned from these two papers. The assumption is that there is a structurally "ideal" model of the social organization to which the society rarely approximates, but which is a guide to normative behavior. Further, the terminology system represents this ideal model and not reality; "deviances" are expected both in the terminology and the behavior itself. To paraphrase Leach:

> I seek to show that (Eskimo) kinship terminology, which is superficially extremely complex, would appear simple and consistent to a person living in an ideal society, organised according to certain very simple rules. These rules constitute the ideal pattern of (Eskimo) society, to which the actual society is now, and probably always has been, a somewhat remote approximation. (After Leach 1961:31)

In order to perform this type of analysis, we must have an "ideal" kinship terminology system, just as was necessary for the

genealogical model. For the great majority of (kin) categories, the "ideal" norm does in fact coincide with the "statistical norm," just as it did above (see p. 44 above).

The first task was to construct an ideal type of social organization such that the "ideal" kinship terminology system was both necessary and sufficient for the operation of the model. In fact, this was done by a process of "dreaming up" rather than by a detailed examination of the data. The norms of behavior in this ideal social system follow certain structural principles. The interaction of these principles should produce the proliferation of terminology found in the "ideal system."

The Structural Principles[1]

Following Leach and Levi-Strauss, the structural model and its principles should only be concerned with the most obvious features of any social system. We have shown in the previous chapter that marriage rules and descent groups are not the relevant features for this system. Even though the genealogical componential analysis uses more, and more precise principles, we hope to demonstrate not only that many of these are unnecessary but that they are too complex and covert for, for instance, children to learn or average adults to carry in their heads.

1. Eskimos live in households composed of nuclear families, i.e., parents and their unmarried children, if any.

2. These households are grouped into camps which are geographically separated from other similar camps.

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[1]Leach (1961:31) calls these "hypotheses" of "structural principles."

3. Upon marriage a man goes to live in the camp of his wife's parents. Their first children are born there.

4. After a few years the new nuclear family moves back to the camp of the husband's parents. They occupy a separate household within that camp. Visiting continues with the other camp.

5. Essential cooperation (mainly economic) is between ortho-siblings of the same camp, and between ortho-siblings[1] and ortho-lineals of adjacent generations.

6. The gradient of "dominance-submission" or "advice-consent" flows from older to younger generations, and from older to younger ortho-siblings.[2]

Along with these principles are certain rules for terminology.

1. Relative age is distinguished for ortho-siblings.

2. Generation is always distinguished for consanguineals and for co-resident affinals.

3. Sex, or relative sex, is the major role-determinant for adults; i.e., for all those of Ego's generation and above (whatever) Ego's age.

4. Household and camp-affiliation are always distinguished for Ego's own and adjacent generations, for lineals and sib-lineals.

5. For these people "original inhabitants" are distinguished from "incoming residents" (i.e., defining affinity).

6. An individual is always known to the speaker by the term that the speaker originally learned, irrespective of whether Ego or Alter later change their residences, marital affiliation, etc.

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[1]Ortho-siblings in this context includes "affinal ortho-siblings," i.e., WiSiHu, HuBrWi, and, to a lesser extent because they are hardly ever co-resident, WiBr and HuSi.

[2]Damas (1962:68) found this principle overtly expressed by the Iglooligmiut as "nalaxtok" and has very neatly incorporated it into his analysis.

Terminology and the Domestic Cycle

In that the system is learned in a certain order and no one actor uses the whole system at any one time, we may examine the various stages of the life cycle. It is convenient to start at the beginning and follow the individual from birth on through the constantly expanding social world. From birth until adolescence the greater proportion of the individual's interaction is with the people in his primary social group, the household, and he soon learns to distinguish between them. They are classified according to generation and then relative sex, absolute sex and relative age:

The Household

Older Generation	Male		Female	
Ego's Generation	Same Sex		Opposite Sex	
	Older	Younger	Male	Female

This then is the initial model of the Eskimo's social world. Most of the rest of the system will be seen to fall into paradigms of the same shape.

Malinowski, in his examination of Trobriand kinship,[1] used this developmental cycle approach. However, although I state that

[1]Malinowski (1932:447) did, however, phrase his definition of the kin term "tama" in both genealogical and non-genealogical ways (as "husband of my mother" and ". . . the sentiment existing between a boy or a girl and a mature affectionate man of the same household" respectively). While I do not agree with this particular definition of the term "tama" (see Leach 1958:123-24) this dualistic position is relevant to the central problem of this dissertation.

this paradigm of the primary group is later extended to other groups in the social world, I do not, as Malinowski did, imply that any of the individual terms have a primary meaning followed by "extensions." Beyond the household are the camps of both parents. From principles 3, 4, and 5, we see that for the child who has shifted residence there may be two different "groups of people in the same camp" depending whether the parents are virilocal or uxorilocal at that time. However, the composition of the household is not thereby affected.

If the child is one of the first of the sib-set, during its earlier years it will reside in the camp of its mother's parent's. The people therein are similarly distinguished according to generation and sex:

Mother's Family's Camp (outside own household)

Older Generation	Male	Female
Ego's Generation	Same Sex	Opposite Sex
		Male Female

In addition to the residents of the camp, there may be one or two families who are temporary residents, or just visitors--people whom the child does not see nearly so often.[1] These are again categorized into a paradigm of identical shape to that above.

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[1]This distinction between "residents" and "visitors" is very similar to that made by Leach (1958:125) when he distinguishes between "domicile" and "resident." (My "resident" = his "domicile," etc.) In his terms one might say that the Taqagmiut are "domiciled" in their father's camps, but residence varies according to the principles earlier set out. I do not want to use the word "domicile" in preference to "residence" because it implies additional factors that are not relevant to the Eskimos.

Furthermore, there may be some very ancient people who are in an age group senior to Ego's parents. Ego's parental generation calls these people "mother" and "father." Ego calls these people by additional terms appropriate to their sex (just like he does with his parents). Thus, we may add one further line to the above paradigm:

Oldest Generation	Male	Female

Identical paradigms can be made up for Ego's father's family's camp, dividing people similarly into "residents" and "visitors."[1] In Ego's own generation all the other children outside his own household are playmates, and later to some extent his sexual mates (either in play or reality). There is no exogamous boundary among them and the roles depend on relative sex. Thus the only terminological distinction between them is in terms of relative sex.

So far we have pursued the system as though it were perfectly bilateral. However, the emphasis is on the people of the father's camp because this is where the child spends most of the rest of the years up until he is married. We might expect some terminological expression of this. In this camp, the person with whom there is likely to be the greatest contact and who is likely to live longest of all the people in his grandparent's generation is his father's mother. Here we do find a special descriptive term for her, i.e., "aanak." Others of this generation, irrespective

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[1] Ibid.

of where they live (i.e., their collaterality) are called "father" and "mother" by people of the generation above Ego. Hence we find that both grandparents' siblings and their spouses (who are after all fathers and mothers of Ego's parents' generation) are called by terms according to their respective sex.

In the generation of Ego's parents, we see, according to principles 4 and 5 that the persons with whom there is greatest contact and cooperation in the father's camp are father's brothers and their wives. Father's sisters and their husbands are likely to be living in some other camp and be merely visitors to Ego. In addition to father's brothers and their households, there may also be in this camp a household or two of father's father's brothers' children. These would probably be father's father's brother's sons and their wives. As already noted these are called by the same terms as for father's brothers (atkak) and it might be expected that their wives would be called by the same terms, too. In addition, these latter women will be the only affines that logically will be in the camp for any length of time. Furthermore, they are particularly important in cooperating with Ego's parents, and it might be expected that they would be terminologically distinguished from the many other female affines of consanguineals. This is exactly so. Here we find the special term "angnaijuk" in addition to the more general terms for such affines ("ukuak"--female). None of the latter are likely to be in Ego's father's camp while he is growing up.

Thus far we have covered all the regular social contacts

that a child is likely to have until marriage. These are people from Ego's generation up, living in or regularly visiting either his mother's (family's) camp or his father's camp. Within this group of people the criteria for further distinction are sex, relative sex (and relative age for siblings of the same sex). All these are, I believe extremely obvious and simple, and may in fact be the most "psychologically real" components upon which distinctions are based. It will be noticed that so far no strict genealogical components have been used at all. As the child grows older the genealogical aspects of these non-genealogical categories will most likely become apparent and for the adult may form the major bases for distinctions. However, this does next vitiate my argument regarding the fundamental status of the ontogenetically primary, non-genealogical categories.

We may now present the above categories with their criteria of distinctions along with the actual kin terms that would be found in the "ideal" society.

We may now view the other half of the system--the generations below Ego, to be a reciprocal of what we have already shown. The extra camp group involved at marriage and the new terms (acquired in young adulthood) for the people therein will be considered in the next section.

For generations below Ego, the sex of Alter is only important for those children closest to Ego. In the G -2 generation, the reciprocal of grandparents, no sex distinctions are made. Thus all children of this generation, wherever they live, are called by one term. So we have the set:

Generation	Own Household	Outside Own Household							
G +2	----------	Male ataatacia				Female anaanacia (aanak)[a]			
G +1		Father's Camp				Mother's Camp			
		Resident		Visitor		Resident		Visitor	
	Male Female	Male	Female	Male[b]	Female	Male	Female	Male[b]	Female
	ataata anaana	atkak	angnaijuk	ningauk	atsak	angak	ukuak	ningauk	ajakuluk
G 0	Same Sex / Opposite Sex	Outside Own Household							
	Older Male	Same Sex				Opposite Sex			
	angajuk anik								
	Younger Female					Male		Female	
	nukak naijak	qatangutiksak				aniksak		naijaksak	

[a]This is an alternate term specific to Father's Camp. The other terms in this generation are not.

[b]It is to be noted that "visiting males" of the parents' generation are classed together by the same term.

Fig. 6.--Kinship Terminology and Residence: up until Marriage

	G + 2	G -2
Male	ataatacia	irngutak
Female	anaanacia	

Similarly for the generations G +3 and G -3, which we did not consider in the original analysis. The actual occurrence of such people is extremely rare and hence the terms are hardly used (or known).

	G +3	G -3
Male	ataatacialiqiutik	irngutaliqiutik
Female	anaanacialiqiutik	

This set again applies irrespective of camp affiliation.

As far as is known there is no special reciprocal term of "aanak" (FaMo), i.e., one that would set off a woman's sons from others in the G -2 generation.

For the generation above Ego, where residence was a key criterion, we again have a similarly differentiated set of reciprocals:

G + 1	G - 1 (Reciprocal)
Mother's Camp:	
Male angak	ujuruk

Mother's Camp: Visitors G +1	G -1 (Reciprocal)
Female ajakuluk	nuakuluk
Father's Camp: Resident	
Male atkak	qangiak
Female[1] angnaijuk	Male: irniakjuk Female: paniakjuk
Father's Camp: Visitors	
Female atsak	angak
Own Household:	
Male: ataata	irniq
Female: anaana	panik

It must be remembered again that the terms for members of one's parent's generation outside one's own household, i.e., atkak, atsak, angak, and ajakuluk are not just FaBr, FaSi, MoBr and MoSi, but, as we have shown, they are all the members of these generations, i.e., the respective first cousins of one's parents. Reciprocally, too, the terms qangiak, ujuruk, angak and nuakuluk are not just BrCh (M.S.), SiCh(M.S.), BrCh(F.S.) and SiCh(F.S.), but also the children of categories within the very similar paradigms outside one's own household of origin (quite logically

[1]It is to be noted that none of the visiting affines ("ninguak" and "ukuak") have reciprocal terms for the children of the camps that they visit. The only affine to use reciprocal terms is that very important "female of parent's generation in father's camp" with whom the children are co-resident for many years. She uses terms which differentiate between the sexes and resemble the terms for the children in her own household, i.e., son and daughter.

in that each married person has his own household). We may now present the fuller table in Figure 7.

A number of significant points emerge from the analysis in Figure 7, especially concerning the generations immediately above and below Ego.

First, looking at the system in terms of residence, the whole problem of lineality versus merging in G +1 to -1 becomes completely logical. From Ego's point of view his parent's siblings and first cousins live in a number of camps and are distinguished from each other in terms of which camp. All these are distinguished from parents who live in Ego's household. In Ego's generation those who live in his/her household (i.e., siblings) are distinguished from those who live outside his household (i.e., cousins). However, the two paradigms for these two categories are internally differentiated in very much the same ways. This explains the so-called "Eskimo type" cousin terminology.

When Ego's generation gets married they all move into separate households, and, again, the new generation G -1, is cut into two categories, i.e., those living in Ego's household (sons and daughters), and those not living in Ego's household. This latter group merges all children irrespective of the closeness of relationship. This explains the problem noted above (p. 74) of the contrast between "Eskimo type" sibling and cousin terminology, and "Hawaiian type" nepotic terminology. Internally, however, the two categories of G -1 are not differentiated by the same criteria as G 0.

Generations	Own Household	Outside Own Household							
G +3		Male: ataatacialiqiutik				Female: anaanacialiqiutik			
G -3		irngutaliqiutik							
G +2		Male: ataatacia				Female: anaanacia (aanak)[a]			
G -2		irngutak							
		Father's Camp				Mother's Camp			
		Resident		Visitor		Resident		Visitor	
G +1	Male Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	ataata anaana	atkak	angnaijuk[b]	ningauk	atsak	angak	ukuak	ningauk	ajakuluk
		Outside Own Household							
G -1		Child of a Male				Child of a Female			
		S.S.P.[c]		O.S.P.[c]		O.S.P.[c]		S.S.P.[c]	
	irniq panik	qangiak	----[b]	----	angak	ujuruk	----	----	nuakuluk

[a]Father's Camp only--alternate term

[b]The special position of "angnaijuk" and her reciprocals will appear in later paradigms of Spouse's Camp.

[c]S.S.P. means "child of a person who is the same sex as Ego." O.S.P. means "child of a person who is the opposite sex to Ego." The distinguishing criterion of these categories is the relative sex of the parents, more specifically, the link in Ego's generation.

Fig. 7.--Kinship Terminology and Residence: Reciprocal Generations

The analysis emphasizes the four reciprocal pairs of the generations G +1 and G -1 (which are in fact adjacent for any pair of speakers). We have: atkak-qangiak, atsak-angak, angak-ujuruk, and ajakuluk-nuakuluk. These "dualities" were also shown by Damas (1962:54-58) to represent a basic consistency within the system and later incorporated into his "hierarchy of affectional closeness" (1962:70-72).

It is also to be noted that the semantic (ortho-) space (Wallace and Atkins 1960:69-73) covered by these G +1 and G -1 sets is identical. If they were not they would not be reciprocals. However, again, the criteria for internal differentiation are entirely different.

Marriage

In our ideal society Ego's get married at approximately the same time as other members of his/her generation. Furthermore, Ego marries someone from outside either his father's or his mother's camps. So do his brothers and sisters. This introduces a proliferation of places of residence which may be reflected in the terminology.

At or even before marriage a man moves to his wife's parents' camp and encounters people who, even if not unknown, assume new roles for him. He and his wife may live in the household of her parents for a while but will set up a new household before they have children. In his own generation his wife's siblings and their spouses have important roles according to their sex.

According to principle 5, dyads of cooperation are between ortho-siblings, i.e., Wi-WiSi, Ego-WiSiHu, Ego-WiBr. The latter, however, is likely, either to be unmarried, or to have gone off to his wife's camp so the former two are more important. Returning to the relationship between Ego and his WiSis and their families, the behavior patterns here depend on whether the wife is "senior" or "junior" to her sisters, and hence whether Ego is "senior" or "junior" to the other young men who may have recently joined the camp, i.e., his WiSisHus. The terminology reflects this.

However, if his wife's brothers are married too, they are likely to be still in <u>their</u> wives' parents' camps and Ego may or may not meet them until he returns to his own (father's) camp. Although he undoubtedly meets them from time to time, he is not likely to be cooperating with them to any continued extent. This relative lack of importance is reflected in the fact that there is no kin term for WiBrWi or HuSiHu. There is a term, however, for WiBr. If the latter is not married by the time Ego is, he will still be living in Ego's WiPas camp--more specifically in their household.

By the time the focal couple have children, or WiSis and WiBrs have children, Ego and his family are moving back to his own (father's) camp. The children of WiSis and WiBrs are of little importance to Ego now and even less later. He has no terms for them. However, as shown above (pp. 81-84) they do have a general "affinal" term for him (more specifically "male visitor/temporary resident"). Within Ego's own household there may be new arrivals,

too, who do assume great and continuing importance and these are distinguished according to sex.

Thus, for a young man, recently married and living in his wife's parents' camp, we have the following paradigm, whereby the newly acquired kin of importance are classified according to generation, sex and status within the camp.

Generation

	Own Household		Other Households (especially WiPas household)			
+2	----		sakik			
+1	----		sakik			
0	Male Ego	Female nuliak	Residents Male sakiak	 Female aikuluk	Visitors/Temporary Residents Older angajungruk	 Younger nukaungruk
-1	irniq	panik	(None for in-marrying male Ego----------			)

At this point the focal family moves back to the Hu's camp and now the wife has to learn a new set of terms to denote the important relatives with whom she is going to live and cooperate. However, her status is slightly different from her Hu in her own camp.

The husband's camp is the camp where the wife is going to spend the rest of her married life and the people within it are of greater importance to her than the people of her camp were to her husband who was a temporary resident there. This is reflected in the terminology. The man, of course, retains those terms he had already used for kin that were previously there, as his wife does for her camp members (Rule 6).

For the incoming young wife there are HuPas, and their siblings and parents. She uses the same terms for them as her husband did for hers. Within her own generation there is also an analogous set of people. However, their movements in and out of the camp are different from what the husband had to reckon with in her camp. First, the main axis of ccoperation is between Hu-HuBrs. The wives of the latter are of great importance to the wife as they will become permanent residents of the camp, just like her.

In the generation below Ego, the position differs from that of the husband and her camp. HuBr's children <u>are</u> going to be important for her because they are going to be living in the same camp as her for many years. HuBrSons particularly will be living in that camp after they are married. HuSiCh are not co-resident in the same camp for long, and there are no terms for them. Thus we have a paradigm analogous but not identical to that on the previous page:

<u>Generation</u>

<u>Households in HuPas Camp</u> (other than own household, which is the same as previous page)

+2	sakik			
+1	sakik			
0	<u>Residents</u>		<u>Incoming Affines</u>	
	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Older</u>	<u>Younger</u>
	aikuluk	sakiak	angajungruk	nukaungruk
-1	irniakjuk	paniakjuk	----------	

So far we have delineated the essential characteristics of thirty-eight of the forty terms. The remaining two, which have occurred "randomly" in the above description, are "ninguak" and "ukuak." I find it very hard to state the underlying common components of either of these complementary terms. A summary description will show why:

"ukuak"

A. Male Speaking

(1)	G +1	Spouse of any male consanguineal not living in father's camp
(2)	G 0	No one
(3)	G -1	Spouse of any male consanguineal
(4)	G -2	Spouse of any male consanguineal

B. Female Speaking

G -2 to +1	Spouse of any male consanguineal

"ninguak"

A. Male Speaking

G -2 to +1	Spouse of any female consanguineal

B. Female Speaking

(1)	G +1	Spouse of any female consanguineal
(2)	G 0	No one
	G -1 and G -2	Spouse of any female consanguineal

Thus we can say that these terms are "spouses of consanguineals" ("ukuak" of a male; "ninguak" of a female). Furthermore, for G -1, and G -2 this applies to all possible members of the category irrespective of their residence. For G 0 it does not apply to members

of the opposite sex who are "aikuluk." For G +1 it applies to all members of the category, except for those females that live in the same camp group as a male speaker.

It would be neat to say that these terms applied to affinals of consanguineals who do not live permanently in the same camp as Ego. But there are the two exceptions. (1) For a female Ego, "FaBrWi" lives in her own camp and is called "ukuak" and (2) a "daughter-in-law" (SoWi) comes to live permanently in the focal camp and is "ukuak." Furthermore, there are similar affinals in other camps who may be "aikuluk." Thus, residence is not a primary criterion underlying these complementary categories. In fact, they can only be delineated negatively, i.e., as "what they are not."

The Total System

We may now look at the system as a whole (see following charts). First, it can be seen that social (and semantic) space is divided into four main blocks, each of which represents (positively or negatively) some residential unit:

(1) Own household, which only extends to G $\pm$1 provides a model for the other "blocks" in that generations G +1 and G -1 are differentiated according to sex, and G-0 according to relative sex.

(2) Father's and mother's camps, which are reckoned only for generations above Ego. For G +2 and G +3 each generation is divided into male and female, except for the alternative term for G +2 in Fa's camp. In G +1 the primary division is into four sets,

G +3	All Households	Male		Female
G +2	All Households	Male		Female In Father's Camp Not in Father's Camp
G +1	Own Household Male Female	Father's Camp Residents: Male Female Visitors: Female	Mother's Camp Visitors: Male Female Residents: Male Female	Spouse's Camp Both Sexes
G 0	Own Household Same Sex: Older, Younger Opposite Sex: Male Female	Other Households Same Sex Opposite Sex: Male Female		
G 0*	Male Female	Spouse of Same Sex Opposite Sex: Male Female	Spouse's Camp Residents Same Sex Opposite Sex	Visitors Older Younger
G -1	Male Female	Child of Same Sex: Male Female Opposite Sex: Male Female	(Husband's Camp only) Male Female	
G -1*		Male Female		
G -2	All Households	Both Sexes		
G -2*		Male Female		
G -3	All Households	Both Sexes		
G -3*		Male Female		

From G 0 down all generations are thought of in two halves, i.e., before and after marriage. All the categories in G are in addition to those already learned.

Fig. 8.--Kin Categories and Residence

G +3	ataatacialiqiutik					anaanacialiqiutik					
G +2	ataatacia					aanak	anaanacia				
G +1	ataata	anaana	atkak	angnaijuk	atsak	ningauk	ajakuluk	angak	ukuak	sakik	
G 0	angajuk	mukak	anik	naijak	qatangutiksak		aniksak	naijaksak	sakiak	aikuluk	angajungruk nukaungruk
G 0*	uik		nuliak		aikuluk		ukuak	ningauk			
G -1	irniq		panik		qangiak	muakuluk	angak	ujuruk	irniakjuk	paniakjuk	
G -1*	ukuak		ningauk								
G -2	irngutak										
G -2*	ukuak		ningauk								
G -3	irngutaliqiutik										
G -3*	ukuak		ningauk								

Fig. 9.--Kin Categories and Terminology

according to residence, i.e., Fa's camp--residents and visitors, and Mo's camp--similarly. Each of these sets is divided into male and female.

(3) All relatives from G-0 down who are outside Ego's own household (and outside spouse's camp [4]). They are not otherwise differentiated according to residence. The paradigms for G-0 and G -1 sets are similar in shape. In fact, closer examination leads me to believe that they all depend on the original G 0 paradigm, the others being "Child of" and "Spouse of," thus (outside Own Household):

G 0	Same Sex	Opposite Sex	
		Male	Female
	qatangutiksak	aniksak	naijaksak
G 0* "Spouse of"	aikuluk	ukauk	ningauk

G -1 "Child of"

Male		Female	
qangiak	nuakuluk	angak	ujuruk

But

G -1*	Male	Female
	ningauk	ukuak

It is probable that if "block (3)" is to be divided into two, the line of division is at the marriage of the generation G -1. The paradigm of the generation after marriage is more similar to those of the second and third descending generations than it is to those above it where the initial division is "same-opposite sex." The status of the third descending generation after marriage is in doubt, being (obviously) a very rare occurrence.

(4) Spouse's camp. This category is only acquired at the marriage of Ego's generation although it includes (sexually undifferentiated) ascending generations. In Ego's generation its paradigm is an interesting mixture of "blocks (2) and (3)." Initially the differentiation is between the type statuses resident and visitor, but, within these, the criteria are the same as for siblings, i.e., same/opposite sex and older/younger. In the first descending generation of this category the differentiation is even more specialized (and limited) in that it differs for male and female Egos. Only a wife uses it (of her husband's camp) at all, and within it the differentiation is according to Sex just as for her own children.

The device of dividing all generations for Ego's own down into two halves is rather unusual, but is likely to accord with Eskimo thought. Birth, the start of a new generation, is an extremely important social event and is marked by new terminology. But marriage, too, is of great importance. Not so much that it involves the creation of a new unit, etc., but because the marriage of a generation involves a complete re-shuffling of households and residences for at least 50% of its members. The players are already on the board, but this is the point at which they make their moves. Those for whom there are already terms are not re-defined at this point, but new members (affines) are added to the system and terminologically differentiated, according to the pattern of that generation.

It might be asked why the generations above Ego are not similarly divided into two. However, from Ego's point of view the

"re-shufflings at marriage" have already taken place before he comes on the scene. In fact, to divide up the system into consanguineals and affinals, "angnaijuk" (FaBrWi, FaFaBrSoWi) is almost a "consanguineal term." It, along with "ataatacia" and "anaanacia" shows "affinal incorporation" in that it is in a category which is not characterized by visiting or changes of residence.

Residence patterns help us see the real difference between the "two kinds of affinity" (see p. 59 above). Those in spouse's camp are set off from those who belong in more familiar camps. It does not, however, explain the term "aikuluk" which cuts across both categories and may be thought of (for the moment) as "affine of the opposite Sex and same generation as Ego" irrespective of residence.

Residence, then, is a major component for differentiation of the more important generations in Ego's universe. Within the large blocks set off by residence, absolute and relative sex are the major criteria. In G +2, residence is a minor factor. In G +1 residence is the overriding factor, with own household, Fa's camp, Mo's camp and Sp's camp, including the differentiation of resident and visitor. In G 0 it sets off own household from all other households, and these from spouse's camp. G -1 is similarly divided. In G -2 and G -3, as in G +3 and most of G +2, all people are in fact both "outside own household" and "outside spouse's camp," thus residence does not appear as a necessary component because, in fact, only one category of locality is considered.

The place of residence, then, as a criterion of differentiation, accords almost 100% with what one might expect in a bilateral system with the given arrangements of locality. This is best seen in Figure 10. In Figure 10 all the people above Ego's generation are shown in the localities that they occupy when Ego first learns about them. For all the other generations the people are shown in the places where they are born or spend their childhood, i.e., again, where they are when Ego first learns about them.

A = Fa's Camp--Residents B = Mo's Camp--Residents

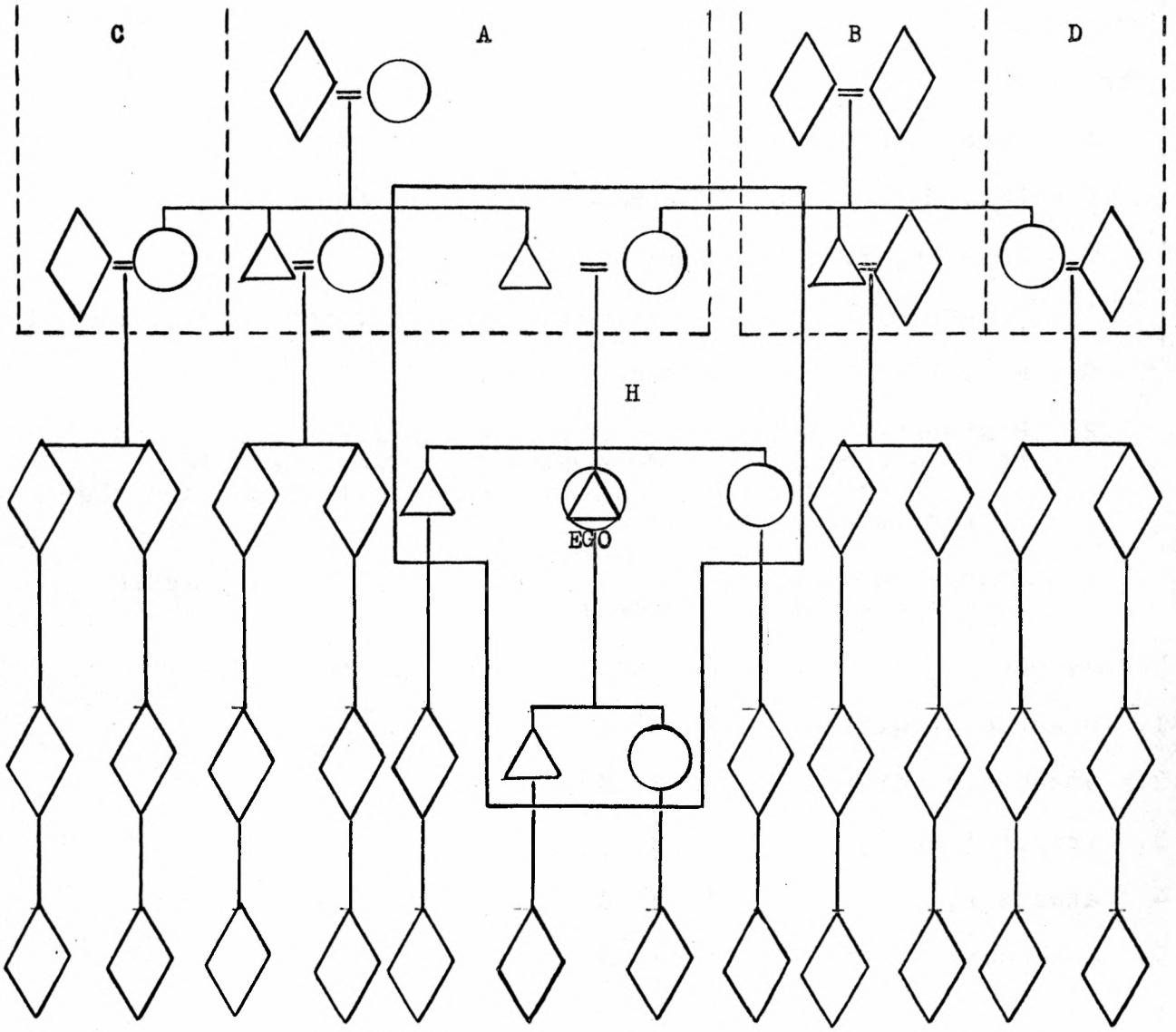
C = Fa's Camp--Visitors D = Mo's Camp--Visitors

H = Own Household (in both its stages, Ego = child and Ego = Parent

The camp affiliations of Ego's own generation and below are not significant and are not shown. Only Household membership or lack thereof is shown. It is seen that the significance of residence narrows down from G +1 to G -1. As each sibling group has children the latter are terminologically incorporated with the children of the sibling group next closest to Ego. This, of course, corresponds to the fact that the members of each group move out to their own households as they get married until we come to the point where Ego's own children move out. Their children <u>never</u> live in Ego's household, and are therefore merged with all the others in G -2.

<u>Components and Residence</u>

We shall now attempt to put the various terms of the system in componential form, using components different from those already presented (pp. 57-58 above). Six components are the same



△ and ○ are categories (male and female) that are camp-specific.

◇ are categories (of either sex) that are bilateral.

A, B, C, D and H are symbols of residential groups as in the text. Note that H (Own Household) embraces parts of both Camps A and B.

Fig. 10.--Kin Categories and Residential Specificity

"genealogical" ones, and three new ones take the place of the other five.

A = Generation, and has values from +3 to -3

B = Sex, M = Male, and F = Female

C = Relative Sex, S = Same sex, and O = Opposite sex

F = Nature of Ultimate Link, Ch = Child of, and Sp = Spouse of

G = Relative Age, O = Older, Y = Younger

R = Residential Affiliation (at time Ego first learns it) Fa = Fa's camp, Mo = Mo's camp, H = Own Household, Sp = Spouse's camp. (Unless specifically mentioned the latter is never included.)

S = Status in camp, L = Lives there, V = Visitor. (Again, from Ego's point of view.)

We may now provide algebraic notations for all the terms.

1.	ataatacialiqiutik	A +3 B m
2.	anaanacialiqiutik	A +3 B f
3.	irngutaliqiutik	A -3
4.	ataatacia	A +2 B m
5.	anaanacia	A +2 B f
6.	aanak	A +2 B f R Fa S L
7.	ataata	A +1 B m R H
8.	anaana	A +1 B f R H
9.	atkak	A +1 B m R Fa S L
10.	atsak	A +1 B f R Fa S V
11.	angak	A +1 B m R Mo S L
12.	ajakuluk	A +1 B f R Mo S V
13.	anik	A O B m R H C O
14.	najak	A O B f C O R H

15.	angajuk	A O C S G O R H
16.	nukak	A O C S G Y R H
17.	aniksak	A O B m C O R $\overline{H}$
18.	naijaksak	A O B f C O R $\overline{H}$
19.	qatangutiksak	A O C O R $\overline{H}$
20.	irniq	A -1 B m R H
21.	panik	A -1 B f R H
22.	qangiak	A -1 F Ch(B m . C S) R $\overline{H}$
23.	ujuruk	A -1 F Ch(B f . C O) R $\overline{H}$
24.	angak	A -1 F Ch(B m . C O) R $\overline{H}$
25.	nuakuluk	A - 1 F Ch(B f . C S)R $\overline{H}$
26.	irngutak	A -2
27.	uik[1]	A O* B m R H
28.	nuliak[2]	A O* B f R H
29.	apiak[3]	A O* C o R H
30.	Aviliak[4]	A O* C s R H
31.	ningauk[5]	A <+2 F Aff(B f . R $\overline{H}$) $\overline{A\ O\ .\ C\ O}$
32.	ukuak[6]	A <+2 F Aff(B m . R H) $\overline{A\ O\ .\ C\ O}$
33.	angnaijuk	A +1 F Aff(D m, E s) R Fa
34.	aikuluk[7]	F Aff(A O . C S) R $\overline{H}$ + A O . C O(R Sp . S L)
35.	sakiak	A O C S R Sp S L

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[1] A O* is here used in the sense of G O* in pp. above.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. [4] Ibid.

[5] The exact components of these terms are in doubt (see pp. 93-94 above).

36.	sakik	A +1 ~2 R Sp
37.	irniakjuk	A -1 B m F Aff(B m . C O) R Sp
38.	paniakjuk	A -1 B f F Aff(B m . C O) R Sp
39.	angajungruk	A O F Aff.(C O . R Sp . S). G O
40.	nukaungruk	A O F Aff.(C O . R Sp . S L) G Y

CHAPTER VII

SUGLUK HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

It is the task in this and the following two chapters to examine the relationship between the ideal model, and the reality of social life found at Sugluk. First, we must see where the reality coincides with the model. Second, where they do not coincide we shall try to see where there is deviance and why, and, if possible, construct secondary norms for the non-ideal situations.

To recapitulate the original postulates, the Eskimo household is composed, ideally, of the nuclear family, i.e., parents and their unmarried children. Upon marriage the man goes to live in the camp of his wife's parents, forming a new household into which the children are born. Later he returns to the camp of his own parents (and logically, brothers) setting up a new household there.

This state of affairs, however, presupposes a number of facts about events in the life cycle, e.g., that all the children are married before their parents die, and that old parents are able to maintain a separate household. Obviously life for people "on the ground" does not run so smoothly and there must be secondary norms for handling such situational variations. In other words, there are a number of choices for acting out any aspect of social

organization, among which the "ideal postulates" represent the preferred ones.

Sugluk Households (1959)

Our task is to examine the actual structures of the households found in Sugluk for the amounts and reasons for deviance from the ideal. In that the ideal is tied to the domestic cycle, we must examine the households at all stages. It might be preferable to follow individual households through, but such information is not available for most of the units.

The sample consists of all forty-seven households extant in Sugluk during the period of fieldwork. Of these, twenty-six consisted of parents and their unmarried children (only) and another ten consisted of one parent and unmarried children. Thus, thirty-six, or 76.5% conform to the ideal model.

Deviant Cases

This leaves us with eleven households (23.5%) which do not conform. Two major factors are involved in most of these cases. First, there are unmarried siblings of either the wife or husband whose parents are dead. We take it as an axiom that for Eskimo society a single man or woman is not a viable socio-economic unit, and indeed there are none. Households of this type (i.e., with unmarried siblings) account for four more cases (8.5% of the total). Second, there are old parents, especially women, who cannot maintain an independent household, and, if all their children are married they live with one of their married children. Ideally it

ERRATA SHEET

In the title and elsewhere in the report for "TAQAGMIUT" read "TAKAMIUT".

In the final chapter, in the table of "life stages" for "surisiluk" read "surisik".

would be the household of a son (men being "ultimately patrilocal"). This accounts for two more cases (4.3%).

Four of the five remaining non-ideal cases are variants of the above two. One, a temporary situation, is a young man from another community who is living with his wife and two young children in the household of his wife's father. This is only a slight variation of the ideal situation of "initial uxorilocality." Another household is comprised of a widower and his unmarried sister. Both of them have daughters with illegitimate children. A similar household contains a couple and their children, of whom the daughter has an illegitimate child that has been unofficially adopted by the mother.

The two last cases involve more distant kin. In one there is a couple and their children and the unmarried brother of the wife's deceased first husband. The latter is the only living member of his sibling group, and the wife is the closest relative.

In another case a couple and their unmarried children have taken in a "boarder," an old crippled man who is not apparently related to any living member of the community.

We may summarize the household types:

Parents and unmarried children	26	76.5%
One parent and unmarried children	10	
Above, plus unmarried sibling(s)	4	8.5%
Above, plus old parent	2	4.3%
Parents and children and their illegitimate children	2	4.3%

Parents and children, plus married daughter and her husband and children	1	2.1%
Distant or non-kin	2	4.3%

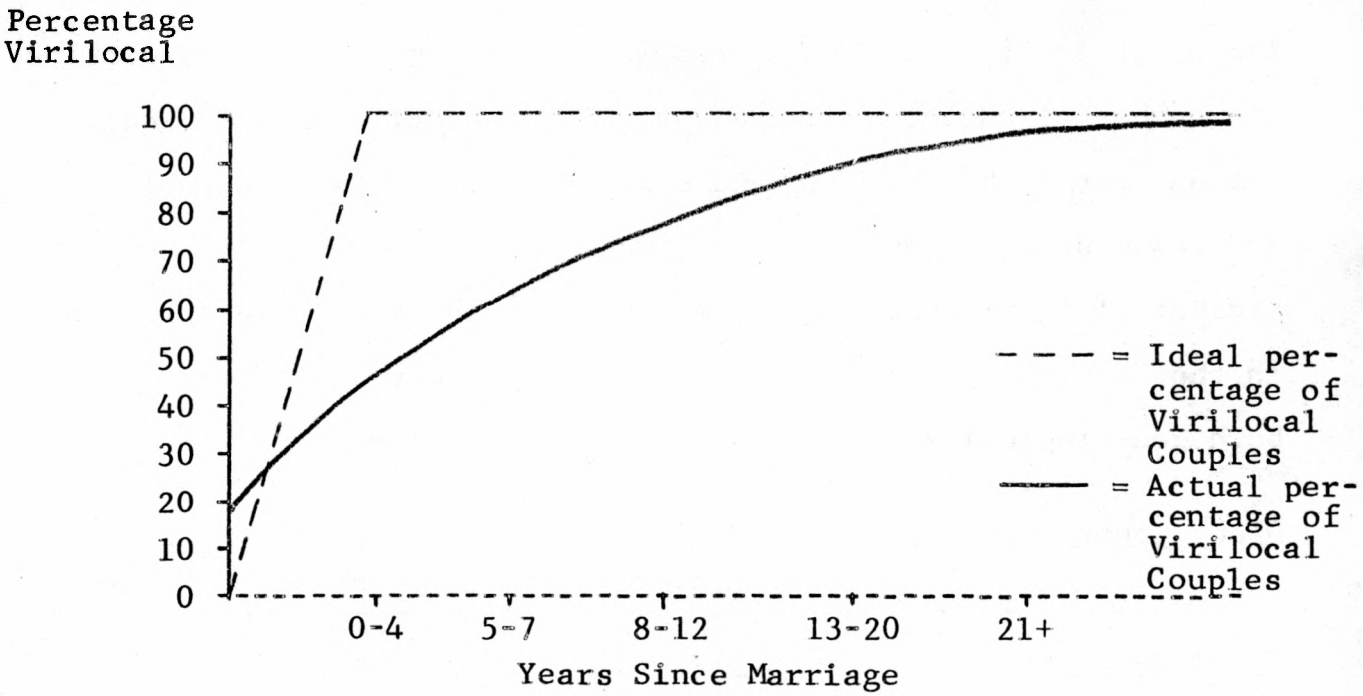
Thus, over 80% of the households conform to the "ideal type" from the point of view of kinship terminology (i.e., the composition of the household is such that ideal distinctions may be made on residential as well as purely genealogical grounds).

Locality of Households

An integral part of the model is the location of the households with respect to other kin at each stage of the domestic cycle. Unfortunately, it is not possible to find out for all the households whether the residential group of either the husband or the wife is that of the individual's mother or father. However, it is possible to state whether a household is virilocal or uxorilocal in terms of the sibling group of either the husband or the wife, and the extant cooperating economic units. Ideally the unit of cooperation and residence is based on two or more brothers, plus the father if surviving, for families that have been established (with children) for more than a few years. The number of these "few years" is not exactly specified but will be taken as four or five years after marriage.

This latter figure is arrived at from the "ought" of respected informants and the actualities of those units whose other characteristics correspond to the ideal. We may say, therefore, that "ideally" 100% of the marriages are initially uxorilocal, and

that after five years 100% of the couples have moved back to become virilocal, and remain so until the death of the partners. Compared with this model, analysis of the actual residence of couples at Sugluk shows a slight, but not contradictory, deviance. This is best shown by a graph of the 100% of couples virilocal against years of marriage. The percentage is of the total known with respect to virilocality/uxorilocality. For couples married over twenty years, the proportion for which there is not sufficient data rises to 40%.



Note:

This is marriage in the Eskimo sense (not by a missionary). Where the date is unknown, it is taken to be approximately six months before the birth of the couple's first child.

Fig. 11.--Virilocality by Years Since Marriage

The above graph includes widows as "couples." Where a widow has stayed in the residential group of her husband's kin, the case is counted as virilocal. Where she has returned to the group of her own parents', even after being virilocal, the case is counted as uxorilocal. The problem of locality of household and residential status of widowed and unmarried siblings is dealt with more fully in the next chapter.

Personal Residential Deviance

To put the data of the above section in perspective from the point of view of kinship terminology, we must not only examine the number of unit-households that are of ideal/non-ideal composition, but go beyond this and examine exactly how many people are residentially deviant. For instance, 24.4% of the households are not of ideal composition, but not all the people therein are in the "wrong" places. The ideal household may be diagrammed in both genealogical and "age-sex" categories, thus:

Older Generation	Male father	Female mother
Ego's Generation	Same Sex	Opposite Sex
	Older ortho-sibling	Male (F.S. only) brother
	Younger ortho-sibling	Female (M.S. only) sister

From the point of view of an unmarried person we may see what proportion of people in each "age-sex" category (or

genealogical position) are in fact the kinsmen they ideally should be. Surprisingly, in view of the alleged chaos of Eskimo social organization, 92.6% do in fact coincide with the correct kin category. This may be further broken down thus:

Older Generation: (one above Ego)

Male: 90.5% = Fa Female: 94.0% = Mo Total: 91.4% = Ideal

For males of this generation there are five deviant members. All of them are unmarried (single, divorced or widowed without children) siblings or sibling-in-law of the household's parental couple. Ideally if the parents (of a man) are dead, his younger unmarried brothers would live with him. This accounts for two of the cases. In two more cases it is the WiBrs who live in. In both cases the wife has no married brothers and the parents are dead. In the remaining case the man is $WiHu_1Br$ to the focal couple, and has no living siblings. He, unmarried, had been living with his brother (i.e., $WiHu_1$) as expected, but the latter died. He continued to reside in the same household as the wife (his BrWi) and her new husband. Thus, all five "deviant" cases are extrapolations of the ideal model against a background of non-ideal circumstances (i.e., early death of parents or siblings).

Female "deviants" are three. Two are unmarried HuSis to the focal couple. Their parents are dead, but, as might be expected from the model, they continue to live in the natal household which has already passed from their Fa to their Br. (Women are not expected, ideally, to move out of their natal household and

camp until they are married.) The other case is one unmarried WiSi, the stress here being on the cooperation of ortho-siblings, as is indeed the case. In another way this case is particularly instructive about the relationship between terminology, behavior and residence. The WiSi lives with her Si and SiHu and their two children. One of the latter thinks that his MoSi is actually his Mo and acts towards her as such, including calling her "anaana" = Mo. The adults encourage this and the two sisters divide the tasks of wife and mother between them. In other than sexual aspects (and maybe there, too) it is a polygynous household.

Ego's Generation

Male

There is only one "deviant" resident here, i.e., 99% are ideal. The one case is a young man who is temporarily living with his Wi and children in his WiFa tent. As mentioned above, to the children of the household he is SiHu (and not the ideal = Br) and is initially uxorilocal as the model predicts. He was getting his own tent and hence separate household during my stay in Sugluk.

Female

There are two "deviant" cases here. Both are FaSiDaus where FaSi has never married and hence has never left her natal, i.e., her Fa's and later her Br's, household. In this category, 97.4% of those of this generation and sex are in fact ideal kin, i.e., sisters.

According to the ideal model, we have exhausted the

generations that should be present in any one household (i.e., unmarried children and their parents). Of course, we could have considered Ego as a parent and hence included G -1, but the figures would be the same. However, there is also deviance in there being members of the "wrong" generations present.

Generation below Ego

Ego is still unmarried and living with his parents. There are five members of this "deviant" generation. Of these, two are the children of the temporarily uxorilocal couple mentioned above. The other three are all children of "women of the household" who have never married and have therefore never left. One is a FaSiDaSon, neither of the women involved being married, and the other two are SiDaus, where Si is not married. Again the cases are all extrapolations of the ideal model for residence with a background of non-ideal events (i.e., illegitimacy).

Generation above
Ego's Parents

Here we are considering an unmarried Ego's grandparental generation in which there are three deviant household members. Two of these are old women, unable to take care of themselves. Being "ultimately virilocal," though widowed, they have remained in the household of their late husband, and hence son. Hence, these two cases conform to an extrapolation of the ideal model. In the one last case, however, the inmate is no kin to any other household members; in fact, he cannot trace kinship to any living person. He

is a cripple and has never married, and lives in the household of a generous and wealthy camp leader. He cooperates with the running as much as possible. I have never heard of him addressed or referred to by a kin term by anyone. One might say this was the only case "truly unpredictable" in terms of the original structural principles.

Summary

It has been shown that 76.5% of the actual households are of ideal composition, and within these 92.6% (239/258) of the Sallumiut do actually reside where the model predicts. Also, of the nineteen "deviant" cases, eighteen reside in households that are as close to the ideal model as the exigencies of real life (early death, illegitimacy, etc.) allow. In only one case (less than 0.4%) is the datum completely unpredictable in terms of the chosen model and the known circumstances.

In view of the much exhorted "flexibility" and "variation" of Eskimo social organization, I have shown that, given the correct model there is almost total predictability of behavior at this leve. Relating the above findings to the results of systematic investigation of kinship terminology shows a high degree of coincidence, leading one to believe that this model is the most economical explanation of the terminology system. All the questions with respect to this category, i.e., nuclear family or household co-residents (present or past) elicited not one "error" from any of the informants. In addition, I have shown how the model acts as a guide to behavior where non-ideal circumstances do not allow ideal performance.

CHAPTER VIII

SIBLING GROUPS AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS

The ideal principles (chapter vi above) include prescriptive rules for the relative residential localities of sibling groups at all stages of the domestic cycle. There is at all times one, and only one, norm of residence for all individuals.

In order to relate reality to the model, we have chosen all those sibling groups which have at least one living member in Sugluk, and about which the residences of all members who have lived to adulthood is known for any one time (i.e., the ethnographic present [1959] or at death if already deceased by then). These number sixty sib-sets, very nearly all those encountered at Sugluk. Of these sixty, twenty-eight are all unmarried children and all these sets live in the household and camps of their parents as the model predicts. Hence, we may say that these groups, or 46.8% of the sixty sib-sets, conform ideally. It is among the thirty-two groups with some or all of their members married that residential mobility combined with non-ideal exigencies have caused deviation from the ideal.

Sib-Sets with Married Members

First, of these thirty-two groups, eleven, or 35% deviate

in no way from the ideal. Thus, combined with the unmarried siblings, we have thirty-eight sets, or 63.4% that conform ideally.

Both ideally, and in fact (for details see the appropriate chapters of Graburn 1960a), economic cooperation is between households that are in the same camp group, therefore, ideally, between ortho-siblings.

In these thirty-two sibling-sets, there are 161 members who have lived to adulthood. (Those who did not are not counted in this analysis.) Of these 161, 115 are or have been married. This shows the Eskimos sib-set to be quite large, averaging five members (3.6 married). They range in size between two and nine (or zero and seven married) members each. The sex ratio ranges from all-male to all-female members.

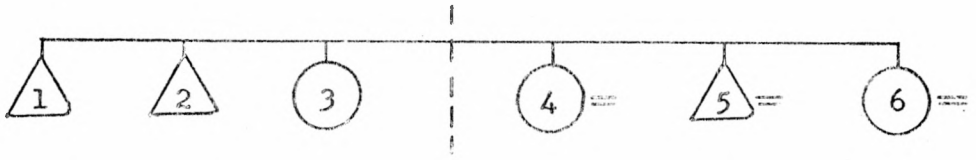
Although only eleven sets are ideal in residential composition, counting the actual people in these sets (as we did for households in the last chapter), 139 of the 161--or 86.4%--conform exactly to the model. The other twenty-three people account for the deviance of the remaining twenty-one sib-sets.

Of these deviants we intend to show (1) how many conform to extrapolation of the model in non-ideal circumstances, and (2) how many are in fact in positions that are in no demonstrable way related to the ideal model and the known personal circumstances.

Personae

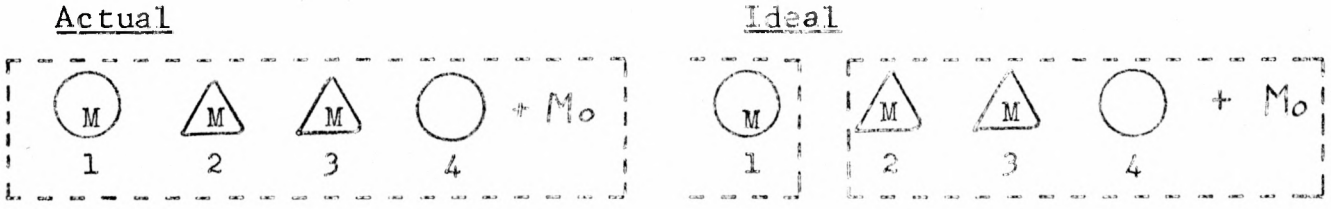
In the analysis of the above we have taken as the "units" to be counted neither the actual individuals nor the actual sib-sets. The following is a more realistic method of "counting heads."

The unit called the "persona" is the adult person not living in the household of his parent(s). Also a unit is the household containing unmarried children and their parents. It can be seen that according to the model the unit is, in fact, the household, and that we are considering the groupings of the households of siblings. Thus:



In this example (1) to (6) are siblings; (1), (2) and (3) are unmarried and still living with their parents. The three together count as one unit as against (4), (5) and (6), each of whom is married and living in a separate household, and therefore counts as a separate unit. Thus we have here four units or "personae." Using this model, the analysis proceeds by comparing the actual residential distribution of personae in a sib-set with the ideal, if it conformed to the postulated model.

An example will serve to introduce the further complexity of co-residence within a camp in addition to households. Those living within the same camp group are enclosed within the same broken lines. Each symbol with an "M" indicates a married person and their family within a separate household:



In the above case we have households:

1. A married sister
2 and 3. Two married brothers
4. An unmarried sister living with their widowed mother

In the actual case all four households are in the same camp group. Ideally the married sister (1) should be living in the camp group of her husband and his siblings, but is not. This is the sole "deviant" persona of the example, i.e., one out of four, or 25% of the personae represented are residentially non-ideal. (The initial uxorilocality of young couples has, of course, been taken into account wherever applicable.)

In the above manner, thirty-two sib-sets have been compared with their ideal residential locations. As stated above, eleven of these are 100% ideal. The task is to find patterned "secondary" norms for why certain groups are ideal and others are not. The tendency for a sib-set to break-up (to become residentially non-ideal) does not, unfortunately, correlate meaningfully with the number of men in the group, nor with the percentage of married men in the group, nor with the presence or absence of one of both parents remaining alive. About the only generalization that can be made is that the larger the group (and the greater the number of men in it) the more likely it is to be non-ideal. However, the correlation is so low that it could be attributed to chance. For instance, if there is a chance of, say, one in six, that any one persona will be non-ideal, then every sib-set of six or more will most likely have at least one persona non-ideal, and every sib-set of three or more will have at least a 50% chance of having one

person non-ideal. Similarly, for sets with (a) three or more men and (b) one or two men (the sex ratio is approximately equal). We therefore have to investigate not the size of the sib-set or the numbers of men, but the one in six chance of deviance. The above figures are, in fact, approximately true for our sample of thirty-two sib-sets with married members.

The Household

This has been covered in the last chapter. The relevant figures for this chapter (concerning sib-sets only) are seven cases of adult unmarried sibs living with their married sibs when the parents were dead. It was pointed out that, though non-ideal, these people are in fact following the model as closely as exigencies allow. We also had one further case of a married woman with her husband and children living temporarily in her natal tent with her parents and sibs. Thus, there are eight non-ideal personae, as far as household is concerned, out of a total of 129 personae in the sib-sets under consideration. This means we have 93.7% conformity with the prescriptive rules concerning sib-sets and household composition. For conformity and deviance of personae with respect to the larger camp groupings we must take each of the twenty-three deviant personae individually and examine the peculiar circumstances.

Camp Groupings of Married Siblings

Of the thirty-two sets twenty-one are non-ideal in at least one way. These twenty-one represent twenty-three non-ideal

personae (two sets are non-ideal in two ways). However, non-conformity in one set may be the same non-conformity as occurs in another set. For instance, if a man remains uxorilocal in his wife's sib-set group, both his own and his wife's residential sib-set groupings are going to be non-ideal, i.e., the non-idealness of one persona accounts for the non-idealness of two sib-sets. This occurs in twelve of the sib-sets, i.e., six personae have caused twelve cases of non-conformity. This reduces to seventeen the actual number of non-ideal personae. Thus, we may say 112 out of 129 personae are exactly residentially ideal, i.e., 87.8%. We shall now examine the remaining deviant cases in terms of the few important factors that occur (often more than one factor to a case) in creating non-ideal exigencies.

A: Widowhood

Ideally a widow remains in the camp group of her late husband and his brothers, and perhaps, her married sons. We have, however, three cases in which widows live in the groups of their own brothers. In each case, their late husbands had no living brothers or brothers' sons. Also, in two of the cases, they had no married sons. In the other case, the sons themselves lived temporarily in the groupings of their wives' parents (and hence account for two more non-ideal cases below). However, in this latter case, come winter, the sons re-grouped into a residential unit, and the mother moved in with them, as ideally predicted.

In three cases also, we have men who are, or were, widowed, and have become somewhat out of line. In one case, the man was

widowed and went off to another camp to find a new wife, and for reasons completely unknown to the ethnographer, never returned to the residential group of his two married brothers. This was some time ago; however, it is known that he and his family ended up in Frobisher Bay, a burgeoning township on Baffin Island, which has drawn over 1,000 Eskimos from neighboring settlements. In another case, a man was widowed and his only brother died. So, when he remarried he joined the thriving grouping of his wife's three married brothers. In the last case--which is related to two later cases, and hardly non-ideal--a widowed man has no brothers. However, his two sons married two half-sisters from a thriving family, and all three men are now co-residential, but have joined (at least they are economically somewhat integrated with) the family of the sons' wives.

B: Lack of Adult Men

The basis of the Eskimo cooperative group is a number of able-bodied adult men. Hence, we would expect to find that where there are none in a sib-set it completely breaks up as a cooperative and hence co-residential unit. In fact, this is so. Ideally, where they are all women, they should go and live with the camp groups of their husbands--and this we find. Furthermore, we would expect where there is only one adult male in the set to find that he resides outside his "paternal-fraternal" camp if his father is dead or incapable. This is indeed a theme that runs through these non-ideal cases.

We do have twelve sib-sets in our sample in which there is

at the moment only one adult male member in each. Of these, five have become members of their wives' camp groups, thereby joining another viable cooperative group. However, in two of these cases, the men are recently married and therefore this initial uxorilocality is to be expected. It remains to be seen whether they will make this their permanent place of residence. Of the other seven groups, six manage with other male relatives, i.e., two men are grouped with their adult sons and sons-in-law, conversely; three "only sons" are grouped with their living fathers, and unmarried brothers or fathers' brothers; in one case the lone brother has been joined by his sister's husband (who has split from his own brothers) and the pair are "upwardly mobile" in cooperating with the former's high prestige WiFaBrs families. In the single case where a man has not joined up with other male kin (because he has none) he tries to "make-do" with his sixteen-year-old son, and, admittedly, has a very hard time of it.

C: Lack of Evidence

There are, among our sample of twenty-three cases, five cases where the deviant personae were in other settlements, the events leading to the deviance occurred long ago, the ethnographer never met them and in fact, three of them are dead.

One of the cases stems directly from an older "only brother" remaining in his wife's camp, and the youngest sister moving in with her next older sister when the latter got married and their parents died. The other four cases involve brothers who have split up and failed to form, or remain in, viable fraternal co-residential and

cooperative groups. The explanations for these cases are tentative and perhaps ill-informed. In one case, the only Sugluk member of four brothers is acknowledged to be (by whites and Eskimos) socially very deviant, not just in this respect, but, for instance, he refuses to share products of the hunt in the accepted way, he has been violently aggressive to his sons-in-law, and his daughters are more than usually promiscuous. This family rests at the bottom of the well-defined hierarchy of prestige. To put it mildly, his two brothers who are co-residential elsewhere probably would not want him in their group! He has another brother who has also separated from the latter two. He, too, by rumor is "crazy" ("isumakituk") and the same set of facts may hold. In two cases, an older brother has left an otherwise very successful fraternal group. In both cases they "ought" to have been leaders, but were "ousted" by their more successful and more prestigeous younger brothers who are the present leaders at Sugluk. Here again, we must cast the explanation of deviance in personality-conflict terms. In the fourth case, I have no explanation whatsoever. Both the brothers of the group are dead, and the widow of the Sugluk member also belongs at the bottom of the social scale.

D: Temporary Situations

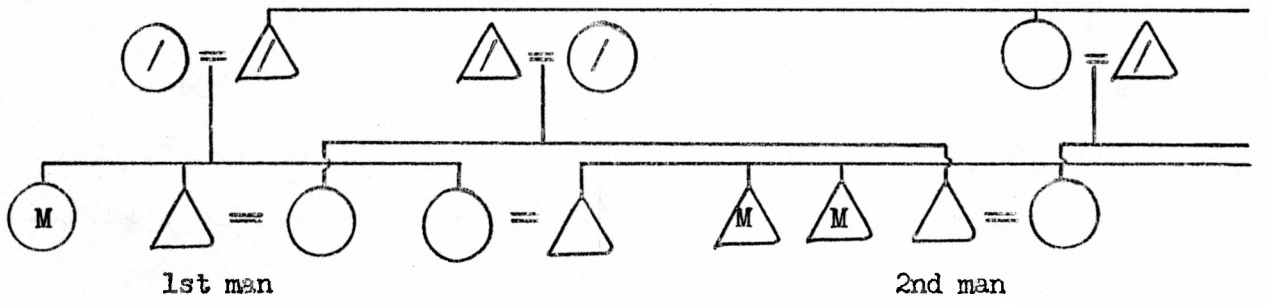
We have two cases which may be looked upon as the acting out of secondary structural alternatives. For the summer the two brothers of a sib-set split up. One went to be employed in a mining camp and was later involved in an airplane crash, while his wife lived next to (and depended upon) her own father. The other man

(who therefore had no present married brothers, or father) lived and hunted with his wife's group. This man's group does not own a large boat for hunting, whereas his wife's group owns one of the best and needed experienced crew members. As winter came, the two brothers returned to live with their widowed mother and unmarried brothers, and this latter group traps together.

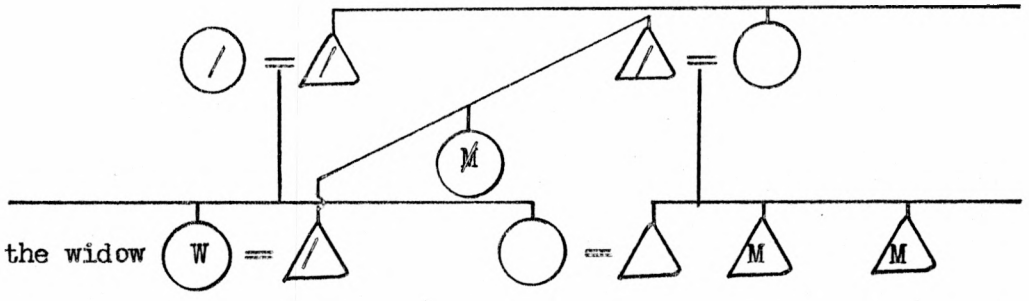
E: Relatedness of Spouses

In at least eleven of these cases, this factor plays a part, if not the only part, in supporting non-ideal residence. Unfortunately, though the logic of the situations appears obvious to the ethnographer (and the Eskimos) wordy description would be unclear. Therefore, a series of diagrams may help.

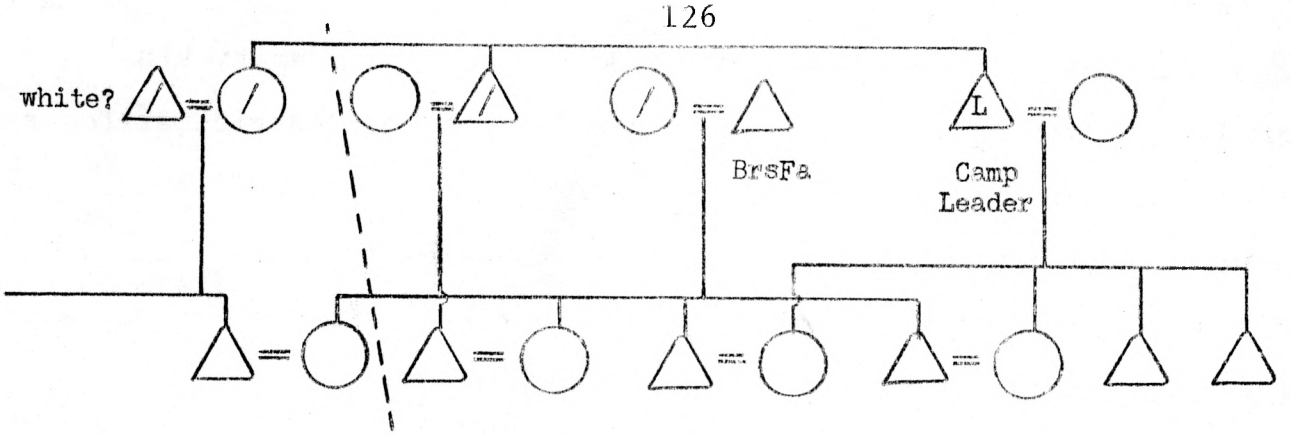
(1) Two men have been incorporated into non-ideal groups, one to his sister's and the other to his wife's. Both the men are the only present adult members of their sib-groups. In this case, however, three additional ties reinforce their decisions: (a) the first man's wife is the sister of the second man; (b) the first man's sister is the BrWi of the second man; and (c) the first man and the second man's wife are first cousins and initially co-residential in a large and very powerful cooperative kin group.



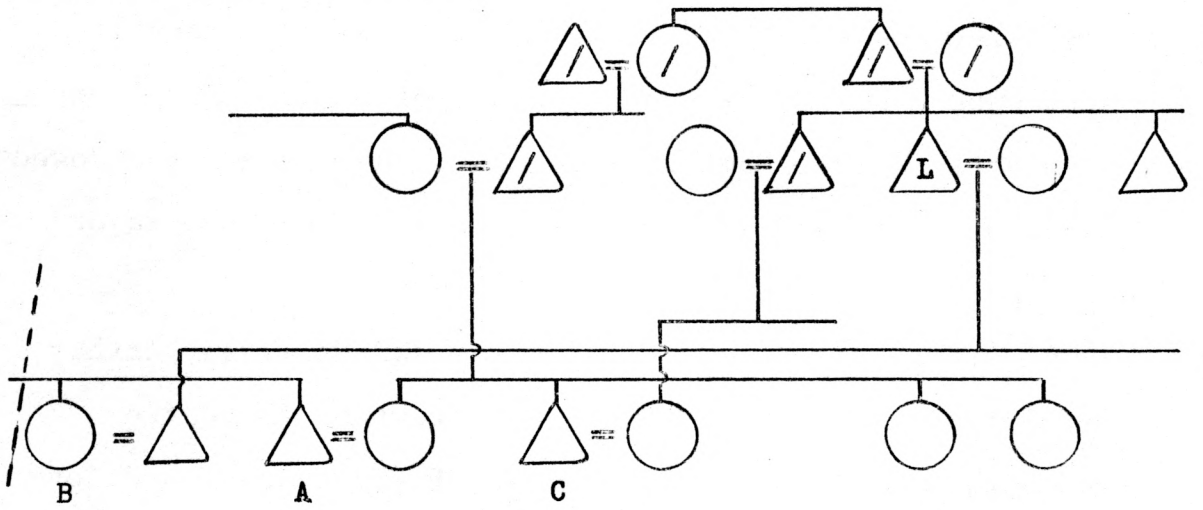
(2) In a further case involving the same solidarity kin group as the above, a widow is incorporated into her married sister's kin (rather than her husband's). However, her HuBr, who is dead, is also the father of this same sister's husband, i.e., conforming with the model, the widow <u>is</u> living with her HuBr kin. Furthermore, the widow's father is brother of her sister's HuMo:



(3) In another case, two brothers are cooperative with their wives' father. The two wives are in fact half-sisters. Ideally these brothers should be co-residential and cooperative with their father, who is still alive. But in this case, the father is widowed and is an "only brother" and has been incorporated into the major group of his sons' wives, too. Thus, the father and his two sons form a sub-unit within the larger unit of the sons's wives' father, a very powerful leader. In addition, two sisters of these two brothers have both married sons of siblings of the leader, and form further sub-units within the overall co-residential and cooperative group:



(4) In another complicated case a man (A) and his sister (B) (both married) have left their camp of origin, and joined another camp (C) in forming a sub-unit of the most prestigeous group in Sugluk. Although kin ties play a large part here, "upward mobility" (in the form of paying for a share of the large boat, etc.) has played a large part, too.



(5) In the last case of this type, the actors do conform entirely to the residential prescriptions of the model, but are non-ideal in that a young man married his SiHuSi. Being initially uxorilocal, the latter couple are in the same camp group as the

former. This situation is probably temporary in that the younger couple will return to the camp group of the man's father:

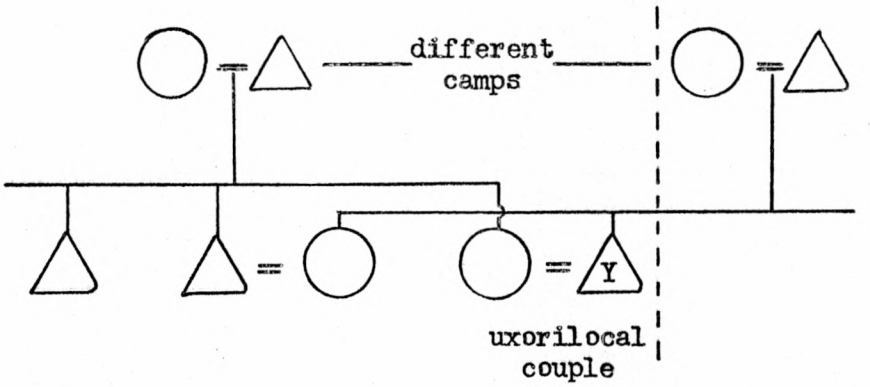


Figure 12 summarizes all cases of residential (camp group) deviance. Twelve, or 50% or more of the cases have at least two contributing factors accounting for their deviance. The others all have one, but it is possible that in these latter cases the full facts are not known.

In view of the prescriptions of the model it is possible to say that of the seventeen deviant personae, nine conform as far as circumstantial extrapolation allows. The other eight personae have had to be explained in the non-predictable terms of "personality deviance," acculturative influences, etc., or none at all, given the present data.

Thus, in this total sample of personae in sib-sets with at least one married member, we have:

Ideal Conformity to Model	112	87.8%
Extrapolation of Model	9	7.0%
		94.8%
Non-predictable cases	8	6.2%
Total Personae	129	100.0%

No.	Deviant Persona	Deviant Residential Group	Ideal Persona	Ideal Residential Group	Parents Alive: Hu's	Parents Alive: Wi's	Only Br of Sibling set	Widowed	No Contact or unknown	Temporary	Spouses Related	"Deviant" Personality	See also Case No.
1.	Si(w)	Br	Si(w)	Hu	dec.	dec.	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Si(w)	Si	Si(w)	Hu	dec.	dec.	-	x	-	-	x	-	-
3.	Si(w)	Si	Si(w)	Hu	dec.	dec.	x[a]	x	-	-	x	-	-
4.	Si(m)	Brs	Si(m)	Hu	dec.	Mo	-	-	-	-	x	-	10.
5.	Si(m)	Fa	Si(m)	Hu	Mo	Both	-	-	-	x	-	-	11.
6.	Si(m)	Fa/Hu	Si(m)	Hu	Fa	Both	-	-	-	-	x	-	17./18.
7.	Si(m)	Fa	Si(m)	Hu	Mo	Both	-	-	-	x	-	-	15.
8.	Si(m)	Brs	Si(m)	Hu	dec.	dec.	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.
9.	Si(u)	Si(m)	Si(u)	Br	÷	dec.	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
10.	Br(m)	Si/Wi	Br(m)	Brs	dec.	Mo	x[b]	-	-	-	x	-	4.
11.	Br(m)	Si	Br(m)	Brs	dec.	dec.	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Br(m)	Si	Br(m)	Brs	Mo	dec.	x	-	-	-	x	x	13.
13.	Br(m)	Si	Br(m)	Brs	Mo	dec.	x	-	-	-	x	x	12.
14.	Br(m)	Wi	Br(m)	Brs	Mo	Both	-	-	-	x	-	-	5.
15.	Br(m)	Wi	Br(m)	Brs	Mo	Both	-	-	-	x	-	-	7.
16.	Br(m)	Wi	Br(m)	Br	dec.	dec.	x	x[c]	-	-	-	-	8.
17.	Br(m)	Wi/Fa	Br(m)	Br/Fa	Fa	Both	-	-	-	-	x	-	6.
18.	Br(m)	Wi/Fa	Br(m)	Br/Fa	Fa	Both	-	-	-	-	x	-	6.
19.	Br(ym)	Si	Br(ym)	WiPas	Both	Both	-	-	-	x	x	-	-
20.	Br(m)	Wi/E	Br(m)	Brs	dec.	dec.	-	-	x	-	-	x	-
21.	Br(m)	Wi	Br(m)	Brs	dec.	dec.	-	-	-	-	-	x	-
22.	Br(m)	E	Br(m)	Brs	dec.	dec.	-	x[c]	-	-	-	x	-
23.	Br(m)	E	Br(m)	Brs	dec.	dec.	-	-	x	-	-	x	-

[a]Only Br, others dead. [b]Only Br, other left area. [c]Ego was widowed, hence changed residence.

Abbreviations: Si, Sister; Br, Brother; Hu, Husband; Fa, Father; Mo, Mother; Pas, Parents. (w), widowed; (m), married; (u), unmarried; (ym), young married (uxorilocal); dec./ deceased; E, elsewhere; Wi/Fa (e.g.), Camp of both wife and father.

Fig. 12.--Summary Table of Factors in the Residential Deviance of Siblings

The number of cases under the heading of "extrapolation of model" are too few to allow us to formulate "secondary" norms for the various non-ideal circumstances, though they are suggested. Further research into more cases will be fruitful here.

CHAPTER IX

THE SUGLUK BAND

We have already described the forty-seven households in Sugluk (chapter vii) and the way that the houses of siblings are aligned residentially (chapter viii). This is in no way the whole picture of the social organization of Sugluk settlement.

A settlement the size of Sugluk (over 250 people) is certainly very different from the traditional geographical unit, in fact, it is very different from what obtained some twenty years ago. I have tried to show that interaction used to be almost entirely on the basis of kinship. However, within the present settlement there has to be further selection among the forty-seven households; furthermore, the total is too large a number to form one effective unit for economic cooperation.

Owing to acculturative pressures described in more detail elsewhere (Graburn 1960a Pt. III), Sugluk has grown from a relatively unimportant camp site at the turn of the century, to the "metropolis" of the South Coast of the Hudson Strait that it is today. As a result of this it has denuded large stretches of coastline around it and halved nearby settlements. Although I do not have full data on the subject, what there is suggests that one by one the various small camp groups along the coastline came to

Sugluk and failed to leave again. For a time all these groups traded into Sugluk, but made their more permanent bases elsewhere. Now, all those people live (relatively) permanently in Sugluk, hunting and trapping in their former areas on long expeditions. We may expect, then, that the present population is structured into groups that resemble, to some extent, the former smaller camp units.

I believe that this is so, though it cannot be proved as records for the earlier decades are not available. However, the outstanding social unit in Sugluk between those of the community and the household is what I shall call the Band. Thus, the population is divided up into four groups which are: (a) co-residential; (b) economically cooperative units, including corporate ownership; and (c) kinship based. In addition to the main four, there are another fifty to sixty people who do not share the above three characteristics, but for comparison's sake, I have called them the fifth "band" of "Others."

The major function of each band is to own and operate a large fishing boat, the Peterhead,[1] which is used for the extended expeditions that are now necessary for efficient hunting. At the time I was in the field two of the four bands owned and operated them, and a third was well on the way to saving enough money to buy one. Since then, I have heard that this group has obtained one.

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[1] A Peterhead is a wooden vessel of about ten tons, capable of carrying ca. ten tons in its large hold. It is forty feet long, with small cabins at the front and the rear. Though a motor vessel, the craft is capable of being sailed with a simple rig. Hunting is from the deck, with one man always at the wheel.

Each boat costs from three to five thousand dollars, is expensive to operate (forty cents per mile), and requires a crew of seven or eight men to operate and hunt from it. Thus, the major requirements of each group are that (a) it should have adequate economic resources for the capital investment and operation, and (b) that it at all times can supply the manpower to make use of all suitable hunting opportunities. Allowing for members who may be ill, or in wage employment this means a pool of ten or more able-bodied adult men. Assuming there is rarely more than one adult male per household, the sizes of the bands ranges from eight to twelve households (i.e., forty-three to sixty-two people).

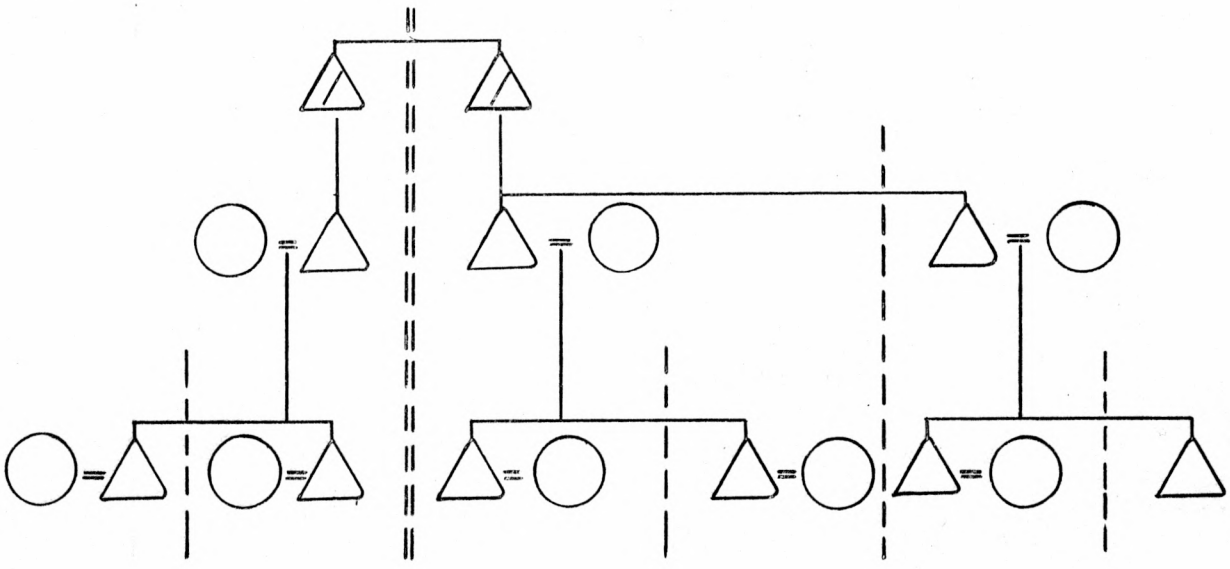
The Structure of the Band

At first glance, the genealogical structure of the bands seems to be bilateral. They have been compared with Steward's "Composite Hunting Band" (see Graburn 1960a Pt. III and Steward 1955:143ff), which he states is the social consequence of the type of ecological situation of "traditional" Eskimo society.

However, comparison of the actual bands with the ideal model of the camp group (chapter i) shows an approach to the patrilocal model. Somewhat similar groups have appeared among Eskimo populations under acculturative influences in Povungnituk, Quebec (personal communications, Balikci 1960), and Point Hope Alaska (Valentine 1952 after Rainey 1952).

The model of a geographically isolated camp consists of the following people: a set of married brothers and their wives and children, with, perhaps, a younger sister and her husband and maybe

children; the parents and FaBrs of the set of brothers and the FaBrSons (married or otherwise). It may, further, include FaFaBrSons and their agnates:



The size of the co-resident groups at any one time depends on the seasons and the local ecology, and the breaks are (ideally) at the broken lines. The groups may range from nuclear families to the whole gathering.

It can be seen that the size of this ideal group may vary approximately from many of four to one or thirty or so. It is this larger unit that interests us here for the sake of comparability with the Sugluk bands.

Another aspect of the ideal model is that cooperation (as a function of co-residence) is between siblings (mainly males) of the same sex, and that the leader of the group is always the oldest present able-bodied male of the sibling group. Let us now compare the model with the actual groups.

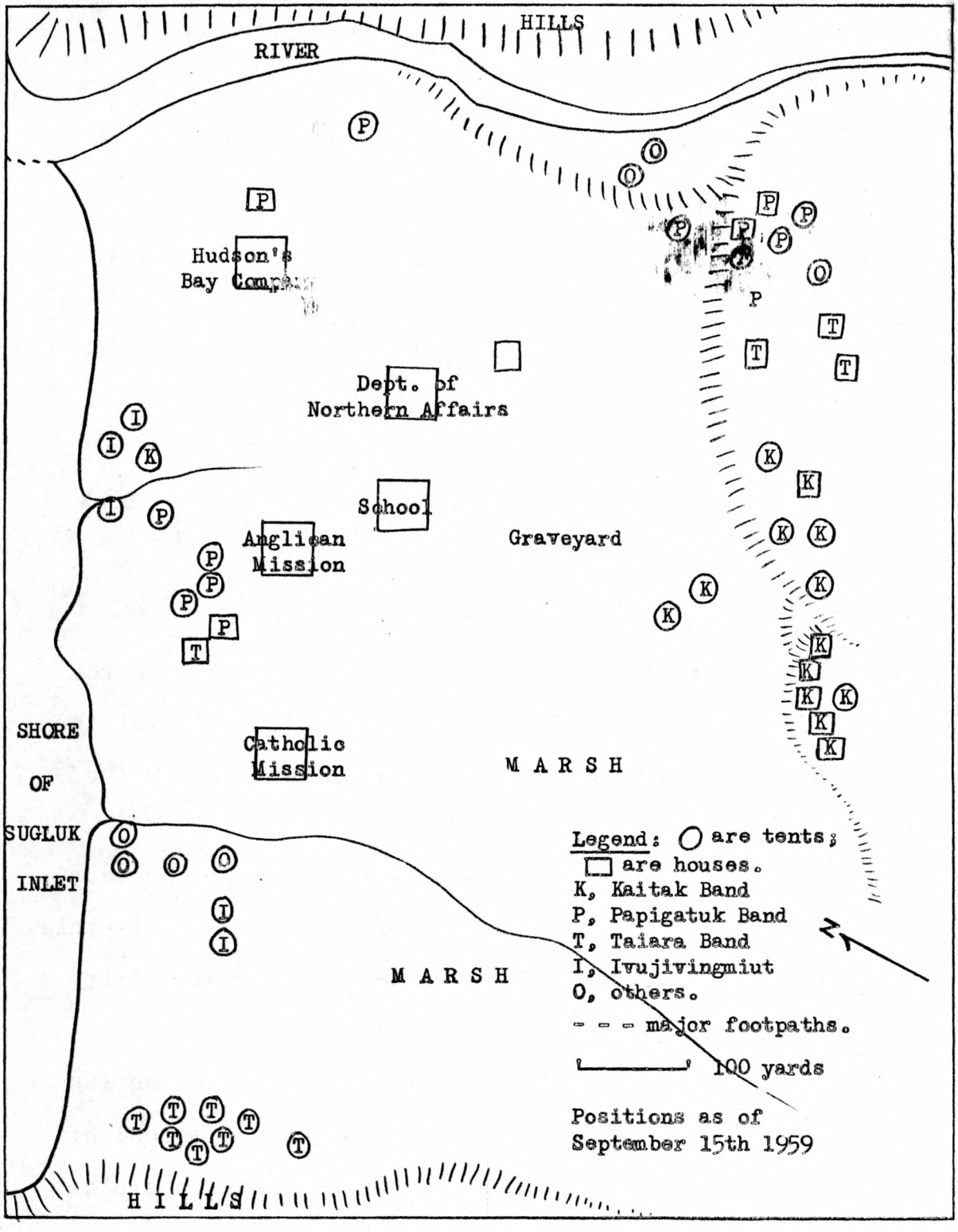
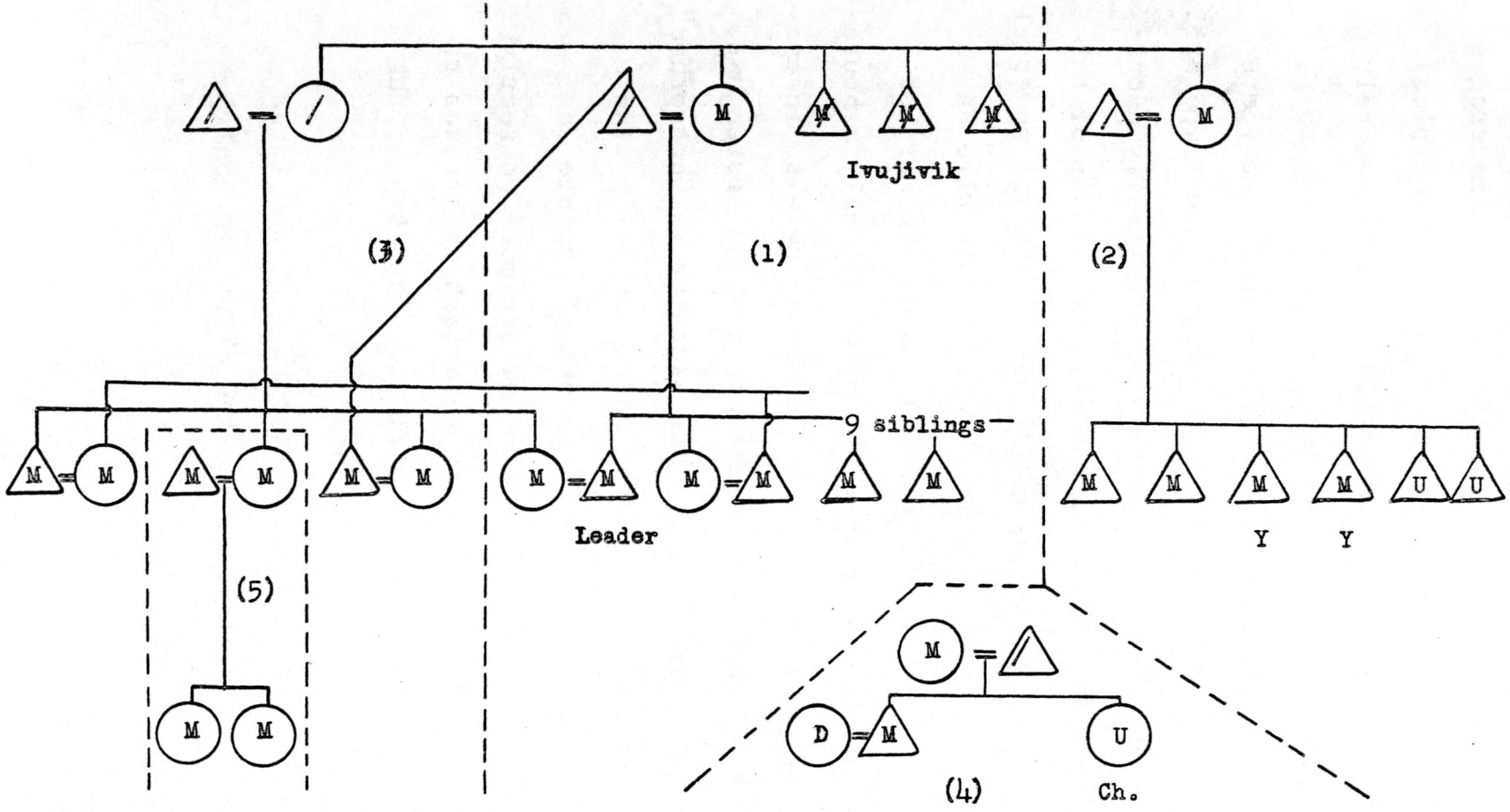


Fig. 13.--Sugluk Tent Groups and Band Affiliations

A. Kaitak Band

This band is the most solidary, and has most "in-marriages" (the latter being non-ideal according to our original principles). Group (1) is the very powerful core of this group and is entirely co-residential and cooperative. The mother of Group (2) is co-resident (as explained above) because her husband died some years ago and had no brothers. The brothers of this group were temporarily resident elsewhere, two of them are young and were initially uxori-local, but by the winter returned to form a major sub-group of this band. The sole brother of the sib-group (3) has joined the powerful group (1) because (a) he has no economic power; (b) his wife has a sole brother who has married into it; and (c) his sister married the brother of the father of the group. Group (4), actually a house-hold, is not socially related to this group, nor anyonw else in the community as far as I know, but (a) his unmarried blind sister has had two children by a member of (1), (b) his daughter is "brtrothed" to a member of (2) and (c) he alone is not an economically viable unit, but being a good hunter, is readily incorporated into the band when needed. Group (5) is a sub-group who are more correctly members of the fifth band "Others" but try to attach themselves to this group for the economic advantages. All the other kin of the man of (5) are resident in other settlements.

The leader of band A is the oldest brother of the large sibling group (1). Subsidiary leaders are the oldest (or only) brothers of the sib-sets (2) or (3).



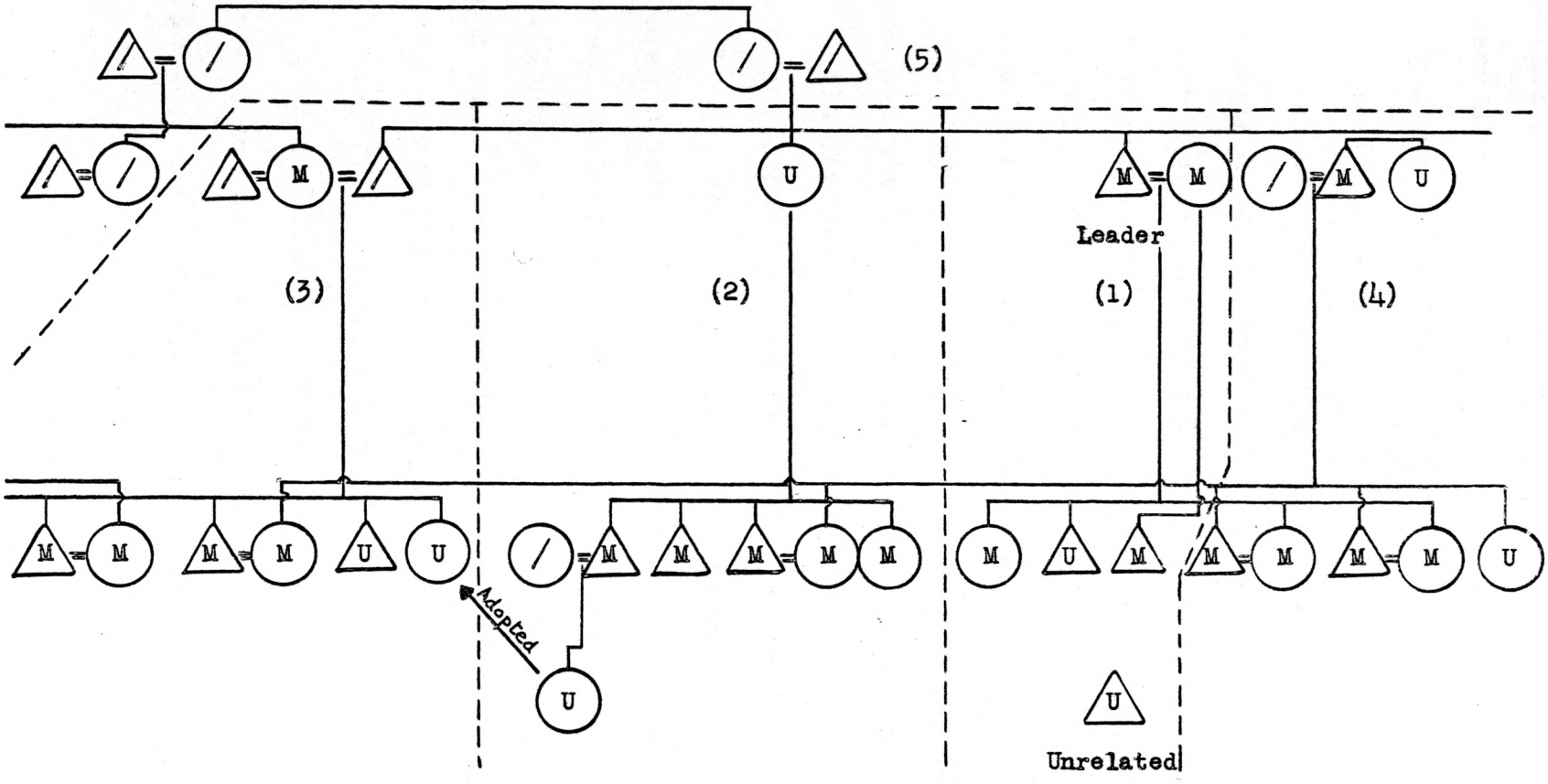
Abbreviations: M, married; Y, young married, (i.e., uxorilocal); /, deceased; D, divorced; Ch., children

Fig. 14.--The Kaitak Band

B. The Papigatuk Band

This band had not gotten a Peterhead while I was in Sugluk but was saving for, and has since purchased one. Their main boat was an old but large whale-boat. This band, again, is composed of the descendants of male members of a sib-set, with other less fortunate sib-sets attaching themselves for economic advantages.

This band is by far the largest, in numbers (over sixty) and its members hold four of the five full-time jobs in the community. Since they now have this Peterhead they may no longer hold such a high proportion of the available jobs. Group (1) is the core of the band, and the father of it is the overall leader and a very powerful man in the community. It is in his tent that the unrelated man lives. Group (2) are the descendants of a woman who never married. The sibling group had a number of fathers, all white, and has constantly been associated with their MoBr, the leader (as one would expect for the children of an unmarried woman). Within this sib-set the leader is the second oldest male, the oldest having been widowed and adopted his children out; these two men live in the same household. Group (3) is, as the model predicts, attached to their FaBr. Their mother has died since the fieldwork ceased. Group (4) is economically weak, and has become attached to this group by affinal (non-ideal) links. All four married members of the young sibling group have married members of the sib-sets of (1), (2), or (3), and, in doing so, have probably helped consolidate the three groups. Group (5), although linking



Symbols as in Fig. 14.

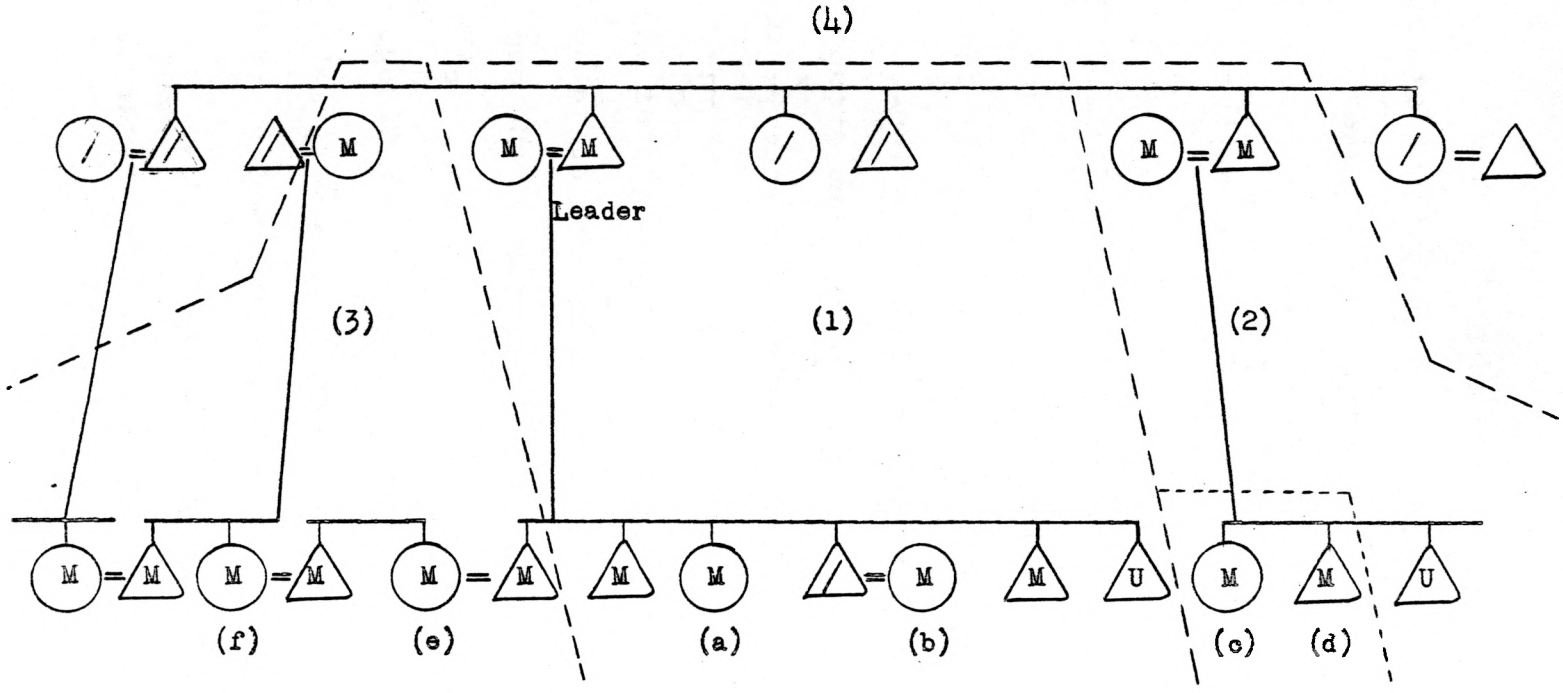
Fig. 15.--The Papigatuk Band

members of the band, are not a real group and reside (or used to) elsewhere.

C. The Taiara Band

This is the most respected social group in the community, and is the most "traditionally" orientated. However, this does not mean they are "poor" by the standards of the more acculturated. They were the first group to get a Peterhead and many less fortunate groups have tried to attach themselves to it, with varying success.

Groups (1) and (2), two brothers and their descendants, form a very close-knit core to this band. The leader (L) Taiara is said to be the greatest hunter along the coastline in this century and is very highly respected by whites and Eskimos alike. The leader's eldest daughter (a), married a man from a sub-group of band A, and for summer hunting purposes this man was incorporated in this band. However, for trapping and winter residence he rejoined band A with his mother and brothers. The widow (b) of one of L's sons is under thirty, and rejoined the "band" of her father. Surprisingly, she comes from the lowest social stratum of the community, and everyone wonders how she ever married so "high"; (c) and (d) married a brother and sister and the latter, being young, resides in the camp of his wife and wife's father. However, in both hunting and trapping ventures he is definitely a part of band C, having paid for part of their Peterhead. Group (3) is an anomaly; (e) (female) was widowed from another band, and remarried a son of the leader much younger than herself. This son is said to



Symbols as on Fig. 14

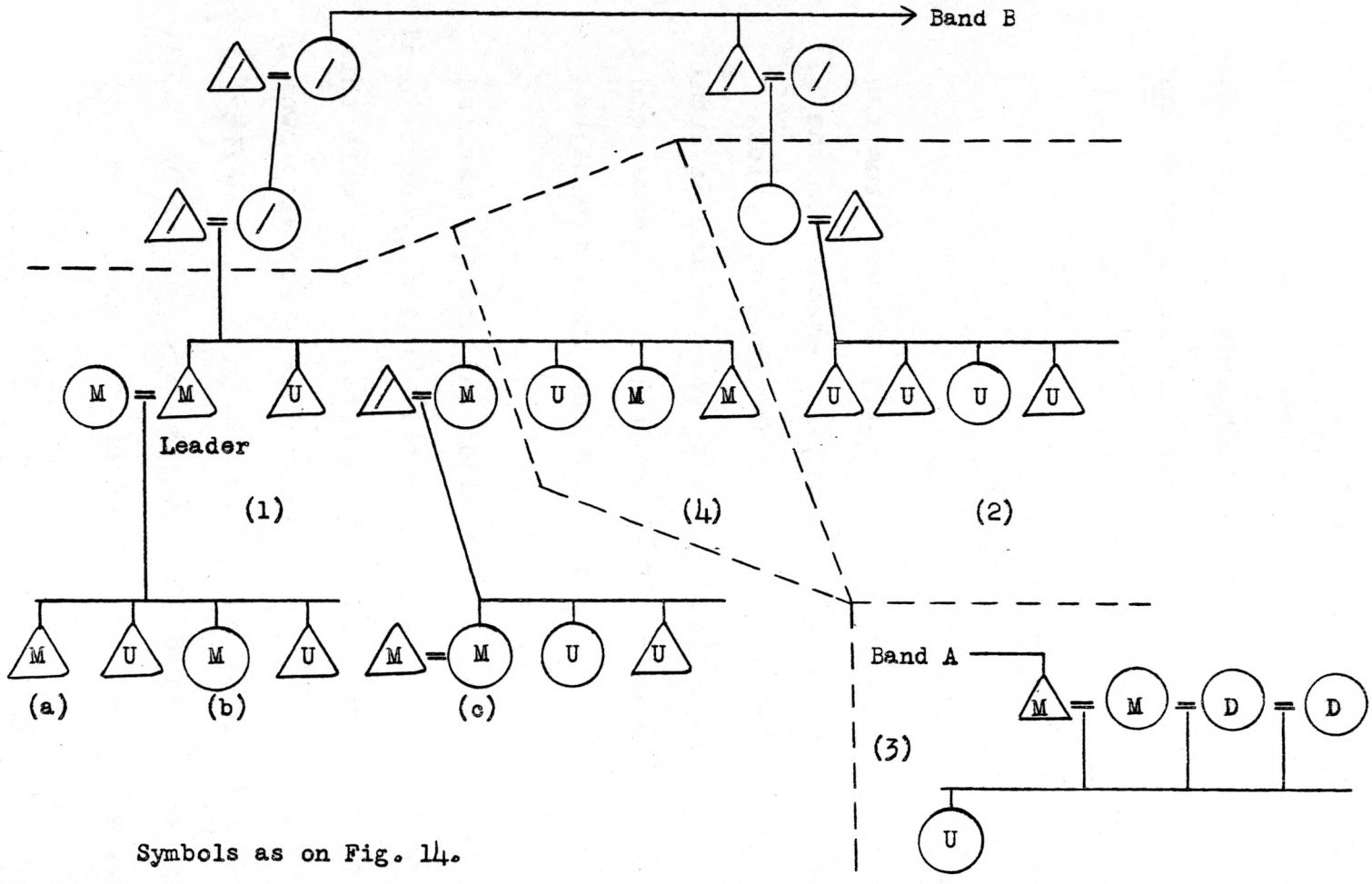
Fig. 16.--The Taiara Band

be the best hunter in contemporary Sugluk. Her brother had previously married a distant relative of band C, and being a very able hunter as well as contributing a considerable sum towards the Peterhead, has been successfully incorporated into band C. His wife's brother, a slight cripple, is the Catechist for the community and a fairly powerful man, and not too bad a hunter. Hence, this whole group (3) has been upwardly mobile through its achievements rather than its genealogical position. Group (4) again, is not a group, but people who have detached themselves from this band and may live elsewhere.

D. The Ivujingmiut
(The People of/from Ivujivuk)

The members of this band have recently arrived from the nearby (100 miles) settlement of Ivujivik, in response to the greater economic and available service attractions of Sugluk. They were, however, already related in many ways to the Sallumiut and have made use of these ties. They are a less cohesive band and are, in fact, less closely related between their two major groups than they are with other bands.

Group (1) is the core of this band; (a) and (b) married a sister and brother, and the latter is still initially uxorilocal. In addition, the latter also shares his monetary wealth with this group; (c), too, is initially uxorilocal. This group also owns a medium sized boat for hunting, but it is too small to benefit all the adult males at any one time. Group (2), a widow and her adult unmarried sons, tries to make use of her ties to both Group (1)



Symbols as on Fig. 14.

Fig. 17.--The Ivujivingmiut

and band B, rather unsuccessfully in the latter case. Group (1) has similarly tried to make use of its affinal links to band C through (a) and (b), again with limited success. Group (3) consists of an older man and his non-adult children. This man was polygynous until a few years ago, when the Royal Canadian Mounted Police removed his second and third wives and their children. He has a full-time job, and as such this group does not particularly need, and is unable to render, much economic cooperation.

E: The Others

These people are in fact from five different families which are not related to each other. They comprise eleven households. Each of these families has for economic and other reasons tried to align themselves with one or more of the four major bands. In nearly all cases they have attempted to join the band to which they are closest genealogically. Where the association has been successful, there is an almost complete break with the family of origin, and in other cases the "Others" are almost outcasts. They may be the butts of many jokes and are acknowledged as "crazy" ("isumakituk" or "isumaqangituk"). These particular family groups do not exemplify the model in the usual sense. However, their desperate attempts to achieve incorporation into one of the big four symbolizes their conformity to the ideal system that is here used for the basis of analysis.

Bands and Visiting Patterns

In addition to the more obvious phenomena of cooperation and

co-residence, some further evidence is useful. There have been 1,154 visits (between households) analyzed. People visit households within their own band considerably more than households of other bands, even though members of the latter are close kin (e.g., outmarrying sisters):

Visitors are members of bands:

Visitees are members of band:	A	B	C	D	E
A	181 76.5%[a]	6	22	8	20
B	16	171 46.5%[a]	86	44	49
C	16	52	105 43.5%[a]	43	29
D	6	49	19	72 36.4%[a]	52[b]
E	16	8	18	19	49[b] 44.5%[a]

[a]Each persentage indicates the proportion of intra-band visits out of the <u>total</u> number of visits that that band receives.

[b]It is interesting to note that the members of band E visit band D more than they visit themselves. This does not apply to any other group of visitors and visitees. It tends to show that band E is less of an integrated group than any of the four main bands.

Fig. 18.--Inter- and Intra-band Visiting

Each band is approximately one-fifth of the total population of Sugluk. If each group were randomly chosen, we might expect visits <u>within</u> any one group to be 20% of the group's total visits. A percentage in excess of this would indicate that the group was not a random entity. The fact that over 44% of the visits to band E were from within E, in spite of the demonstrated fact that it is not socially integrated, is explained by the fact that no one else wants to visit them very much. In fact, members of band E visit <u>out</u> three times as often as members of other bands visit them (150:61). This excess of outgoing versus incoming visits is absolutely unapproached by any other band.

CHAPTER X

THE BAND, THE CAMP AND THE KINDRED

The Ideal Distribution of Kin

The camp is the largest social group within our structural model. It has been shown how this residential unit is incorporated into terminological categories in chapter vi. We have also shown (in the previous chapter) to what extent the actual "bands" found at Sugluk approach this ideal. We shall now examine the distribution of kinsmen among all the camps that assume importance at one point or another in the total social life of an individual.

Using the actor centered view of the developmental cycle, we may logically derive the placement and spread of links to other residential groups.[1] When a young man gets married he gains ties to a set of affines in his wife's camp. These links are not only to individuals who are and will remain in this camp, but also to other incoming young men who have come to marry wife's sister's.[2] These young men will leave this camp at approximately the same time

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[1]We shall for the moment disregard links through one's parents. These will be accounted for by the later addition of married sons and daughters at the appropriate stage in the cycle.

[2]"Angajungruk" or "nukaungruk" according to the relative age of the ortho-sibling's wife and wife's sister.

as Ego leaves it in order to return to his father's camp. In leaving these young men do not cease to be kinsmen, nor do they cease to be included in the appropriate status category (Rule 6). Thus, for each married sister that Ego's wife has, Ego obtains permanent links to the camps of their husbands.

For each brother Ego has, he gains a brother's wife. Although the latter lives for a time in her camp, sooner or later the couple returns to live in the camp of Ego (male). Furthermore, Ego does not recognize as kin any of BrWi's relatives, so he retains no permanent links in her natal camp. However, for each sister Ego has, he gains a sister's husband (ningauk) and this couple sooner or later moves to the latter's camp, giving Ego one more permanent link.

Reciprocally, for a female Ego, she gains links to the camps of her husband (uik), her HuSi (sakiak), her own sister (who leaves their natal camp to join her husband's parents) as well as retaining the consanguineal links to her own camp. Thus, not counting links through the older generation, the couple shares links in four camps:

Ego	A	B	C	D
Male	Si SiHu	Ego Br, etc.	Wi WiBr, etc.	WiSi WiSiHu
Female	HuSi	Hu HuBr, etc.	Ego Br, etc.	Si SiHu

Continuing the cycle, we shall assume that each of these persons has children who in turn marry, and examine how far these

affinal links spread in the generation below Ego. We shall assume that each additional sibling group contains one male and one female.

Considering camp A the children here are "ujuruk" to Ego (male). The sons of this camp do not create any new permanent links for Ego as sooner or later they bring their wives to live in A. A daughter of this camp goes to live in her husband's camp, creating another lasting link. Her husband is "ningauk" to Ego.

Following this type of analysis through to include all links through the generations adjacent to Ego, shows us that a married couple with married children share between them links to forty-two camps (see Figure 19).

Even before the generation below Ego gets married, there are links to nineteen separate camps. Considering each member of the older married couple, the man has recognized kin links to thirty camps, and the wife to twenty-nine. Thus they share links to seventeen camps, making a total of forty-two.

The above analysis has made a number of assumptions which must be borne in mind. First, each sibling group has one male and one female member, except those of mother and father, each of whom has one brother and one sister. Also, the husband has two brothers and a sister, and the wife has two sisters and one brother, because terminological distinction of these people are made. This still leaves us with an average of under 2.4 members of each sibling group reaching maturity which is a very reasonable figure for a favorable period.

Each person, upon reaching maturity, married and has the

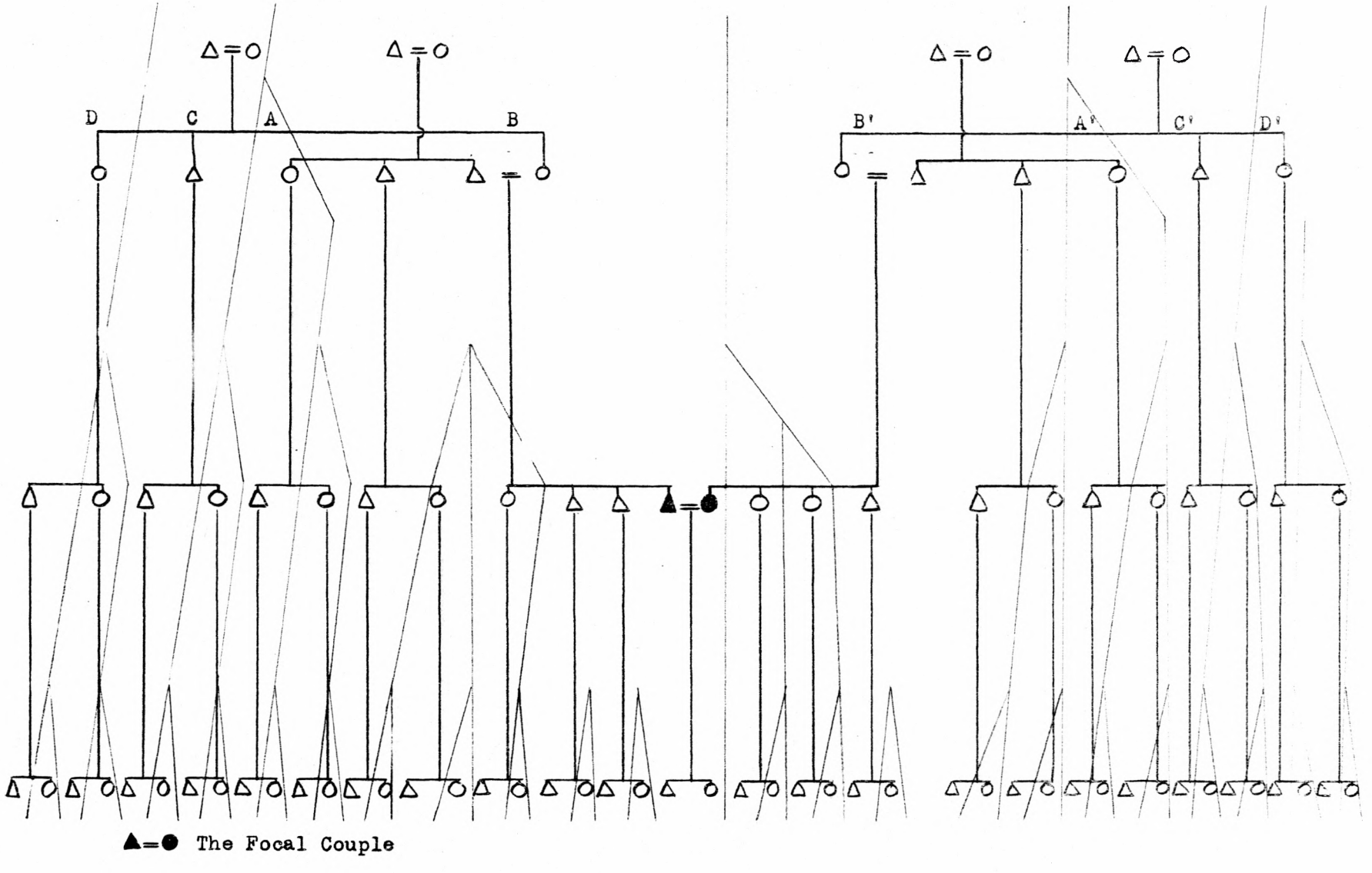

Fig. 19.--The Distribution of Kin among Camp Groups

above-mentioned number of children. This again is, for the Eskimos, the "ideal norm." It is further assumed that each person (a) married outside their camps of their childhood, and that (b) all marry into <u>different</u> camps. This is how we arrived at the maximum number of camps possible, i.e., forty-two. For any one area within which there is likely to be social contacts, it is unlikely that there would be even twenty such camps for this random spread of kin. Many people would marry into or from the same camps. Therefore, one might not expect these Eskimos to have to distinguish, terminologically, forty-two camps. By the substitution of status terms for genealogical categories it can be shown that, in fact, far fewer camps are terminologically distinguished.

However, the main point that emerges is to show that, theoretically, it is possible within two generations to establish links to nineteen camps, and within three generations to increase the network to include forty-two camps.

Owing to the harsh and crisis-prone environment where one may have to depend on the generosity of other camps for one's very life, this ideal proliferation of kin-links may be a very adaptive factor. In addition, the aggressiveness of the traditional Eskimos, especially towards unidentified strangers, makes specific kin-relationships most advantageous to anyone outside their own camps.

The main concentrations of kin are, of course, in camps B and B', i.e., the natal camps of husband and wife respectively. The actual distributions depend on how closely the actors adhere to the ideal residential proscriptions.

The Terminological Distinction of Camps

As mentioned above, not all (forty-two) camps to which a couple have kin links are terminologically distinguished by the husband or wife or both. In reality, within any one geographical area, there are never likely to be as many as twenty, let alone, forty-two camps among which a person may have kin links. Thus, the number of camps terminologically distinguished (nineteen for an older couple, or fourteen for an old woman) although still derived from the ideal model, is probably much nearer to reality.

By "terminologically distinguished" I mean that a camp contains individuals or combinations of individuals, whose status terms are not identical to those of any other camp. The actual individuals (and their terms of reference) within the camps are listed in Appendix III.

For an older man, there are thirteen distinct camps, of which eleven are shared with his wife (i.e., she has terms for at least one of the members in each). However, the terms used by a husband and a wife differ in all cases except those used for sons and daughters and their spouses. For an older woman, there are fourteen distinct camps, of which eleven are shared with the husband. However, of the shared eleven, each speaker only distinguishes between eight, a different eight for each.

The Sugluk Band and Other Group Models

It was shown in the last chapter that the Sugluk bands do not approach the ideal group, the camp, at all closely. However,

it might be said that they approach this model more than any other. One indication of this is that the households belong to the band of origin of the husband in over 65% of the cases, whereas they belong to that of the wife in less than 30%. In addition, nearly 10% belong to the band of neither the wife nor the husband. (These figures include those "upwardly mobile" from the "Others.") The discussion of the idealness of the sibling groups in the previous chapters supports this view. The necessity for a larger permanent group, to buy and operate the new Peterhead boat (as opposed to the old "umiaq") has been the main factor in adding those sub-units which greatly decrease the idealness of this kind of group.

Another structural model most usually applicable to bilateral systems is the kindred. It has been proposed on a number of occasions that this group does actually exist in many bilateral societies. However, the kindred is never shared by more people than members of one sibling group and cannot be a corporate bounded group except in the case of proscriptive symmetrical cross-cousin marriage. This has already been discussed more fully above (p. 73).

The kindred, as described above, has been called the "personal kindred" (Leach 1950:61-62) and, as such, can only be a category or a temporary action group in that there are as many as there are sibling groups in the community. It can immediately be seen that for no individuals do any of the Sugluk bands approach this model of the kindred. For any Sugluk individual, his "personal kindred" would cut across two or more band boundaries. However, certain claims may be made on kinsmen and these are extended

bilaterally. For instance, aid in housebuilding or other chores may be asked of one or more kinsmen. However, this does not mean that the "personal kindred" ever meets as a group. The extent and frequency of the above claims were not investigated, however, they are thought to be of minor importance.

This is because many of the functions that would be carried out by members of a "personal kindred" in societies where there are no corporate kin groups. However, in Sugluk there are the bands. These are permanent[1] multifunctional bounded groups, not "categories" nor "temporary action groups." Only with complete bilateral endogamy could all one's cognates be in only one group. This does not occur at Sugluk, however, the Kaitak band (pp. 135-36 above) with its relatively high rate of in-marriage, approaches this model more closely than any other Sugluk group. For the sibling group of the leader, most of the members of the band comprise a considerable part of their "personal kindreds." Hence, even more corporate functions may be taken care of by people within this band than can be said of any of the other bands. This accounts for the high degree of solidarity which it exhibits in visiting (see p. 144), housebuilding, hunting and other ventures that I observed. Furthermore, the "personal kindred" ascription to which is bilateral[2] could not fit the model of virilocal co-residence and cooperation in which the major axes has been shown to be agnatic.

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[1]See the following page for a discussion of continuity.

[2]I prefer the term "bilateral" to Parsons' (1942) term "multilineal" although he may have meant the same thing. Davenport (1959:569) clarifies the position of these two terms.

There is one model in the literature which the Sugluk band does resemble to a large extent. This is Davenport's (1959:565) "Stem Kindred." The unique characteristics of this type are that it has a permanent "core" with corporate functions to which other individuals or families may attach themselves. The "stem kindred" does not, by definition, presuppose any particular rule of descent or ascription, however the Sugluk case seems to fall well within it.

In Sugluk, the individual decides sooner or later where his (family's) alignments lie. It has been shown that this choice and/or ascription is mainly agnatic, but other forms have proved acceptable. In that the bands are corporate in common ownership and other functions, and are relatively clearly bounded, we have the problem of the persistence of this group over time and the mechanisms for its efficient maintenance. At the time I was in Sugluk the bands had not been in existence long enough in their present form for me to investigate the problems of continuity.

Leadership within the Sugluk band is held in all four real groups by the oldest surviving male of a large sibling group. This is consistent with the original principle that authority flows from older to younger ortho-siblings. Within the "Others," who do not constitute a real group, there is no overall acknowledged leadership. Each extended family has its own leader, usually a father or an older brother. Most of these latter men would readily subsume their authority to that of one of the four major leaders in order to gain entry into one of the four bands.

The problems of succession to the leadership of the band are more complex. According to the ideal model of the camp, leadership should be held by the oldest male sibling, and would pass to his oldest son. If the group were stable, the leader would then be the oldest male of a group of patrilateral parallel cousins. In Sugluk succession to leadership has probably not been routinized as, so far, none of the leading males has died or relinquished his "founding" leadership.

The whole problem of the Sugluk bands[1] and kindreds will be reexamined in a later paper. A re-study of the settlement, after some of the charter members have died would be very illuminating.

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[1]These groups have been preliminarily examined in considerable detail in Graburn 1960a Pt. III chap. iv.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSIONS[1]

We may now ask, what are the purposes of my analyses of the Taqagmiut kinship terminology system, and have they been fulfilled? In addition, what contribution has the above made to the study of kinship and kinship terminologies? In doing this I shall consider four other works that are relevant to my study. The first two, Goodenough's (1956) componential analysis of the Trukese kinship system and Lounsbury's (1956) similar work on the Pawnee are the two classic examples of "componential analysis" after which my first analysis (chapter v) is modelled. The second two are Leach's analyses of Jinghpaw Kachin kinship terminology (1961),[2] and of the Trobriand terminology system (1958). The latter two have provided much of the inspiration, and to some extent the model, for my second analysis. I am not saying that my first analysis exactly resembles the first two works nor that my second analysis is identical to Leach's; however, the works do fall into these two groups. In addition to comparing the purposes and major points of these

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[1]Many of the ideas in this chapter have developed during very fruitful conversations with Dr. David M. Schneider and Dr. Paul Friedrich of the University of Chicago. The author, however, takes full responsibility for the presentation.

[2]It must be remembered that pp. 31-53 of this article were written in 1945.

two groups, discrepancies on a number of points within each are shown to be very illuminating.

Objectives and Assumptions

We may first examine the purposes and assumptions of the other three authors in comparison with my own. Special attention will be paid to the underlying premises regarding explanation in anthropology. The methods and procedures used depend to a large extent on these a priori notions. While the overt purposes of the three authors are stated, their implicit assumptions are difficult to abstract.

The six analyses with which we are concerned all start with a body of data called "kinship terminology systems." These "kinship systems" are all words which are used in reference (and in some cases address) to persons or groups of persons in the societies where they have been collected. Furthermore, they are used by a speaker with reference to persons significant in his social experience.

It is assumed that each set of terms is a set of "labels" of the same order for these persons or groups. There are, of course, other terms for referring to or addressing these same people within each of the societies, e.g., names. It is further assumed that each of the five sets of kin terms are of the same order--an order that we have called "kinship terminology."

It is assumed that within a system those persons who are grouped together (i.e., under a single term) have something in

common with each other from the point of view of the speaker, and that those persons who are called by different terms differ somehow. The criteria used for describing this "similarity" and "differentiation" are the heart of the analyses. The object of each of the analyses is to show that the criteria of differentiation and similarity are meaningful and necessary in the social systems to which the terms relate.

None of these analyses pretends to show historical or final causes, i.e., they do not show how the systems are the way they are. Nor are any of the analyses comparative in the sense of comparing cross-cultural regularities. Leach calls his analysis "functional" (1961:31) in that he is trying to show that the terminology system relates functionally to the structural principles upon which the (Jinghpaw) society is based.

The problems of labelling and criteria are dual and yet inseparable. First, what is being labelled? Are we dealing with "people," "relationships" or "attitudes" or combinations of these? We must never forget that when we give a label to something we are not describing the thing itself. Furthermore, any object (be it one of the above three or anything else) may be adequately defined in a number of ways. For instance, when I say "my father," he may be defined as "the man who lives at Norley Farm," "the man who is my socially recognized pater," "the man who married my mother," etc. Each of these is a sufficient definition, but each uses different criteria to state his uniqueness.

Goodenough and Lounsbury have, without further overt

consideration, taken the denotata of each of their terms as genealogically specified kin-types (1956:164-66, 200). This is similar to the listing for my first analysis (pp. 54-66 above). Lounsbury states: "There are two ways of defining a class: by naming the members of the class (the denotata), or by stating the defining features of the class (the significatum), that is to say, the necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in that class" (1956:167). Both Goodenough and Lounsbury take, as starting material, only the terms and their denotata phrased as kin-types. Therefore, their criteria for differentiating classes (terms) can only be stated in terms of concepts which are inherent in "kin-types," i.e., genealogical. Perhaps the overall label "kinship terminology" may be misleading to those undertaking such analyses, in that it infers that all the people labelled by such terms are in fact, and are thought of as "kinsmen." They may in fact be so (and usually are within our society), but we must not assume that the type of kinsman is the most important criterion for differentiating the labels.

Although Leach (1958, 1961) and I, in my second analysis, have titled our essays as concerning kinship terminology, we have tried to demonstrate that the systems we have considered may be divided up by other criteria. We cannot "prove" that "this is how the natives think," but we have tried to demonstrate that the criteria for defining differences and similarities between our classes are more likely to be those in the minds of the speakers than genealogical criteria alone.

In judging the six analyses, there are two dimensions to be considered (apart from the correctness of the logic used).

(1) Efficiency. Is the analysis the simplest and most coherent explanation of the system? (2) Reality. How relevant is the explanation to the social system to which the terms relate? The second question is subsidiary to the first in that both Leach and I have assumed that an explanation must be reasonably simple and coherent for it to be relevant to the people within the system. There are many possible ways of explaining a system efficiently and logically. Two explanations of the Eskimo kinship terminology system are presented in this paper.[1] Among these many, one, or some, may be more crucial to the social system than others. That is to say, the criteria used are the ones that the actors themselves use.

Deviance and Change

So far I have only claimed that Leach and I have stated that our explanations are "more likely" to have presented the crucial criteria of differentiation than Goodenough and Lounsbury. In order to "prove" this, i.e., in order to be able to make valid predictions, we can consider two circumstances.

First, there are irregularities of usage found in the data. For instance, using my second model of normative Eskimo social structure, there is only one adult female in the household of a growing child. She is called "anaana." I might say that "anaana" means (1) adult female in my household; (2) my biological genetrix; or (3) my socially recognized mater. We know that (2) is not true

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[1]Many other analytical possibilities were worked out before presenting the two in this paper.

because of the terminology used in the many cases of adoption. If I were to find that some households contain adult females who were not the socially recognized mater of the child and they were not called "anaana," I would say that (1) was wrong. In fact, there is one particularly well documented case in my data where (2) and (3) are wrong, i.e., the child calls an adult female in his household "anaana" although she is neither his genetrix nor his mater. This kind of argument can be extended to all other categories in the terminology system. In other words, where certain social facts are not in accordance with the principles of the normative system, one might expect terminological usage to express this. Spencer, for the North Alaskan Eskimo, lends support to the importance of residence over genealogy with an illustrative statement on deviance: "Where there is co-residence with Ego, and 'uncle' or 'aunt' term is used for such affinals as FaSiHu and MoSiHu, FaBrWi and MoBrWi . . ." (Spencer 1959:67).

In both my second, and Leach's models, we have shown "ideal systems" where genealogy does in fact accord with terminology and social groupings. However, nearly 30% of my elicited data on kin terms does not accord with the genealogically normative system. It would be fruitful if this data were to be examined in terms of the other criteria that I have used to differentiate terms and the groups that they designate. In this case the criteria that I have set up are types of residence. Thus, if a person of a certain kin-type were not resident in the groups where persons of that kin-type are normatively resident, I might expect him to be called by the

term appropriate to the actual residential group where he was living.[1] This is, of course, assuming that the individual was living there from the time that the speaker first acquired social awareness. Unfortunately, I do not have all the facts about residential history to satisfactorily interpret all my cases where my terminology does not accord with genealogy. Further research may provide the necessary data so that the analysis of "terminological deviance" will be presented in a later paper with the intention of confirming or denying the hypotheses that I have alleged to be "likely" in this paper.

The same process can be applied to other components, genealogical and otherwise, to test their validity. For instance, if a person is in an age group which is not in accord with their genealogical generational position, we may ask whether he is called by a term that is in accord with his age-group or his kin-type. This will at least tell us what the criterion that we have called <u>generation</u> means to the people in the system, if it is in fact a valid criterion at all. As a matter of fact, in a large proportion of the cases where terminological usage was not in accordance with genealogical fact, it was the component "generation" that was "wrong." A check through the data to see if the majority of these "deviant" usages align more closely with chronological relative age shows this to be true of only 20% (approximately) of the instances.

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[1] This is not to say that <u>every</u> case would have to be like this. It would be sufficient to show that the Eskimos considered the non-genealogical term to be normative.

Another method of determining the correctness of the criteria presented is an examination of cases of change in the social system. If the principles of the social structure change and yet the rules for the relationship between structure and terminology remain the same, we can examine the resulting terminology for confirmation or refutation of our chosen criteria. For instance, if among the Sugluk Eskimos it became the structural norm for people to marry <u>within</u> the camp there would be no major residential change at marriage except for the creation of a new household. It would then appear that for the children of the new household their FaBr and their MoBr would be living in the same camp. This is not the case in the ideal model of the system. I have suggested that the only criteria of differentiation between MoBr and FaBr is that they live in different camps and that the child is aware of this. I would expect, therefore, under the conditions of change described, for the terms for FaBr and MoBr to be merged.

It is actually true that the community of Sugluk is largely endogamous. Therefore, the emerging system can only be based on residence in terms of the sub-groups I have described and called bands, not the groups I have called camps in the ideal model (see chapters ix and x). If, for some reasons, these internal differentiations disappeared, as they may under present acculturative influences, I would expect to find bifurcate merging terminology in the generation above Ego. If I did not, one of two things could be the explanation. (1) That the terminology is not now correctly differentiated in terms of residence, but in terms of

other factors (genealogical or relational) that I have not recognized. (2) That, owing to the changing conditions and, perhaps, confused kin-roles, the present criteria of differentiation ceased to be important and genealogy, being relatively unalterable, became the major axis.

Procedure, Discovery and Statement

We cannot assume that any of the four authors concerned actually presented the statement of their analyses in the same procedure as they actually discovered them. However, the procedures of discovery are, in fact, very illuminating in understanding the results. What I am about to present is presumptive in that I am imputing certain mental procedures to the other authors. It is a very general account of the supposed procedures of thought by which I think they arrived at what they actually wrote and published.

All of us had three types of data at our disposal before we started the analyses. These may be presented diagrammatically:

(1) "Kin" Terms	(2) Kin Types	(3) Associated Behavioral Norms[1]
X	x_1, x_2, etc.	a_1, a_2, a_3, etc.
Y	y_1, y_2, etc.	b_1, b_2, b_3, etc.
Z	z_1, z_2, etc.	c_1, c_2, c_3, etc.

[1] These may be of any order: relational, affective, economic, marriage regulatory, etc.

Not one of us has actually presented such a table in his paper. The nearest are those of Leach for the Trobrianders (1958:130) and Lounsbury for the Pawnee (1956:183). These latter two are, however, only presented as demonstrating the results of the analyses rather than the starting material. I am not saying that such tables ever existed, but that they were implicit in the minds of the analysts.

What each author has done is to present only two of the three columns as starting material. Goodenough and Lounsbury have presented columns (1) and (2) (1956:164-66 and 200), as I have in chapter v (pp. 54-75). Leach has presented the equivalents of columns (1) and (3) (1958:126-31 and 1961:31-42), as I have in chapter vi (pp. 76-104). Each has then derived the explanatory criteria from the concepts in the second of the two chosen columns in order to define and differentiate the terms in column (1).

However, the processes were not that simple. Taking the first two authors and my first analysis (i.e., analyses presenting columns [1] and [2] initially) the defining criteria arise from concepts inherent in "kin-types," i.e., genealogy. It is probable that there are many simple and coherent componential analyses for each one of these three terminology systems, each using purely genealogical criteria. And yet, only one analysis is presented by each author.[1] It is obvious, then, that each author must have had some reasons for choosing one analysis of combination of criteria

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[1]Goodenough does present partial alternate paradigms (1956: 211-13).

over the others. Apart from simplicity and coherence, as I have stated above (p. 159) there is the dimension of relevance to the social system, and, of course, we must not forget that each of these authors also started knowing the data of the order that I have called column (3) above. That is, I am saying that the particular components chosen (where there was ambiguity with equal simplicity) were suggested by reference to associated behavioral norms. For the Pawnee, Lounsbury actually incorporates principles of descent (i.e., behavioral norms) in his components.[1]

> Considerable simplification of definitions can be achieved, however, if the first two of these (agnatic and uterine consanguinity) are replaced by the following complex dimensions which incorporate generation distinctions (1956:170-71).

I am claiming that Lounsbury only used components "agnatic and uterine consanguinity" because he already knew the descent system of the Pawnee, and that he only made the "simplifications" because he knew it would be congruent with their behavioral norms. Later on in this same paper he finds: "unresolved . . . the cyclical identifications . . . all of which may be summarised as $A^{n+3} = A^nU = UA^{n-3}$ . . ." (1956:181). And to explain this he brings in a hypothetical behavioral norm (a marriage rule). This is the <u>apparent</u> opposite to Leach who sets up a marriage rule as the guiding principle of his (Jinghpaw) society before starting his analysis (1961: 31). Later on, Lounsbury examines his rather scanty sociological data and concludes that a statement

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[1] Lounsbury uses the term "dimension" for what I mean by "component" or "criterion."

> . . . may lend, if not support, at least plausibility to the inference. . . . Outside of this there is the compelling nature of the kinship data (1956:188).

This latter statement leads us to believe that owing to the poor nature of his data Lounsbury may in fact have <u>really</u> arrived at this conclusion the opposite way from Leach (see also later in the discussion of Leach's presentation). Goodenough similarly uses his knowledge of kin groupings and descent in the elucidation of the criteria he uses. For instance in his Figure 1 (1956:202) he arranges his lexemes (terms) in columns according to matrilineal groups, even noting "zero lexemes" for individuals or groups who are in the matrilineages but for whom the Trukese have no terms. It is from this figure that he goes on to derive certain of his components. Later on, in his discussion of alternate paradigms (1956:211-13) he only tries to decide between the three structurally adequate examples on the grounds of my first dimension, Efficiency (p. 159 above). However, he does note that:

> If there is a future change in Trukese kinship usage, but which L for example, becomes the only criterion (as against D and F) to account for the difference between the denotative sets for different lexemes (terms), such a change will represent no more than a resolution of the conceptual alternatives already present in Trukese culture in favor of one of them (1956:213).

This is a similar statement to that which I have made concerning change in the system (p. 162 above). However, I would go further, in terms of my dimension (2) to state that such a change would tell us that "criterion L" is already in favor in Trukese culture now.

In my first analysis, I have presented my componential criteria without apparent reference to behavioral norms. However,

in arriving at the particular presentation in chapter v, which involved discarding other components and combinations of components, I cannot say that pre-knowledge of these norms did not influence my choices in addition to the more important dimension of efficiency. Pospisil and Laughlin (1963:182-86) similarly seem to arrive at their componential analysis without much consideration of behavioral norms. They do, however, present certain norms in their listing of alternate denotata of their terms. In these cases the norms are concerned with co-residence, lending credance to the hypotheses of my thesis that where they conflict, residence is a more important criterion for terminological reference than is genealogy. These authors do not, however, include non-genealogical components in their componential analysis. It is possible that it is in the nature of (our concepts of) bilateral systems to be easier to present "purer"[1] componential analyses than it is for other systems with more well-defined descent groups and rules of marriage.

Turning to the overt and covert procedures of my second analysis and those of Leach (1958, 1961), we have a more difficult task. Our presentation of starting materials is less well organized and the orders of data more implicit. Each poses a rule or set of rules for an idealized form of the society; these rules are data of the nature of column (3). These rules are of descent, marriage and residence for Jinghpaw society (Leach 1961:31), descent, marriage, residence and economics for Trobriand society

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[1]"Pure" in the sense of using all genealogical components as has been done in all the "classical" componential analyses.

(Leach 1958:124-25), and residence and economic cooperation for the Taqagmiut Eskimo (p. 77 above). Each takes a slightly different path from here, however, the main emphasis in all three of these analyses is on residential groups (they may or may not also be descent groups) as major segments into which the society is divided.

The procedure in the Trobriand article (Leach 1958) is not as straightforward as in the other two. Leach considers various theoretical propositions in its development and is particularly interested in the enigmatic term "tabu" and rebutting Malinowski's notions of "extensions." After presenting a summary of the developmental cycle, he divides the resulting residential groups into their respective age-categories (1958:126) and goes on to show the importance of the "urigubu" gifts. Apart from minor mentions, his first introduction of data of the order of columns (1) and (2) is in the ingenious diagram of "the Trobriand social world" (1958: 130), which, when considered with the diagram on the next page (showing the relationships of social groups and "urigubu" transactions) sums up all the data of all three types. This is followed by a summary presentation of results and discussion in the form of terms, i.e., column (1), and their behavioral definitions (1958: 132, 140).

The Jinghpaw paper is more similar to my own analysis. Following the "hypotheses" (1961:31) and my "principles" (p. 77-78 above) are "rules" for developing a kinship terminology system from the given behavioral norms. This is where I feel Leach and I differ

(see later section). We then develop the appropriate social categories in behavioral terms, trying to show that these are the most logical and most likely from the point of view of the actor. Leach uses terms for each of these categories without mentioning where they come from until after the end of his analysis when he states:

> The system of relationship terms described in Section I is the terminology actually employed by the Jinghpaw Kachins . . . (1961:42).

However, there is no doubt that data of the order of column (1) is of course uppermost in his mind all along. Furthermore, because he is dealing with a hypothetical society, he can, right from the beginning use kin-types, i.e., column (2) because of course they are ideally congruent with groups defined by behavioral norms. The procedure in my second analysis (pp. 75-104 above) is almost identical, although, like Leach, in my paradigms I relate kin terms directly to behavioral norms.

The important point in considering these three analyses is again the matter of criteria. The hypothetical principles and the social categories developed therefrom are framed in terms of behavioral norms. However, these did not come out of our heads from nowhere, although the order of statement makes them appear to do so. Right at the end of the Jinghpaw paper, Leach states:

> The inverted presentation of the two main sections (theory and practice) of this paper was chosen in order to make it easy to see that the practise of the Jinghpaw is a modification of the formal simplicity of a theoretical scheme (1961: 50).

In other words, both Leach and I were very aware of the relation between kin terms, kin types and behavior before we could safely

propose a hypothetical society. My demonstration of the statistical frequencies of ideal and non-ideal behavior (chapters vii-ix) were, in fact, written after my second analysis. However, I had already made certain, even if only in my head, that my analytical scheme was congruent with reality. Both Leach and I claim, following Levi-Strauss, that:

> These rules constitute the ideal pattern . . . to which the actual society is now, and probably always has been, a somewhat remote approximation (1961:31).

Leach does not show us how approximate his rules are, but one can be fairly sure that they are more congruent with Kachin practice than any other such simple set of rules. In any society data of the column (3) type forms the material for by far the greatest proportion of the anthropologist's field notes. Therefore, of this huge mass of data, Leach and I had to discard most in order to leave those few which we have chosen to be the criteria for differentiating our categories. It might be asked how this process of choosing was actually carried out for it is not made explicit in the statement of the analyses. Again, the two dimensions were efficiency and reality. As I have emphasized, the former was considered a prerequisite to the latter. In these cases it was (normative) reality that was our starting point. We both know of the particular details of congruence between kin-term and kin-type, so it was the reality that was narrowed down in order to provide the criteria that we have used. Therefore, logically, it was data of columns (1) and (2) which provided a guide. The ideal system based on normative reality was divided up, or discarded as relevant, in

the light of the sub-divisions we already knew existed. Our paradigms (Leach 1961:39, 41, and pp. 84, 88 above) do not indicate kin-type at all. However, kin-types are implicit in every one of them because we have already stated the relationship between kin-type and associated behavioral norms in the principles presented at the beginning of each analysis.

This is why this second type of analysis can only be performed with an ideal system either in mind or on paper. We have already discussed the relationship between these ideal norms of the social structure and the facts of social relations (see Levi-Strauss 1953:525). In order to select behavioral criteria to differentiate the categories of a "unitary" terminology and kin-type system one must have the congruent "ideal" normative behavioral system. Where the data is irregular, i.e., no more than two of the three types of data (in the columns suggested on p. 163 above) a more sophisticated approach is needed, such as was used by Schneider and Roberts (1956) and not attempted, but suggested, in this paper. The latter authors showed that kinship terms were indicators of the contents of role relationships such that the same kin type or even the same individual may be called by more than one kin term (see also Schneider and Homans 1956).

To summarize, all four authors start with the three main types of data. Each is only considering an ideal normative system in which term, kin-type and behavioral norms are congruent. The discovery procedures are more similar in fact than the published statements, each author presenting two types of data and choosing

his criteria to be congruent with the third, implicit, type. However, this third type is made explicit in each case except my own first analysis in order to (1) make the statement clearer to the reader, or (2) to resolve ambiguities that appear from the development of models based upon the other data. The contrast between the two procedures comes out very neatly between Lounsbury and Leach. On the one hand, from an ambiguity in his results, Lounsbury (1956:181-85) develops a hypothetical marriage rule and goes to the behavioral data to try to check it. Whereas Leach develops a marriage rule from his Jinghpaw data and uses it as a basic principle for developing his criteria of differentiation.

The fact that Leach has not presented his results in algebraic "componential" form is no bar to comparability. He has in fact done a componential "emic" analysis in both papers and these can very easily be put in algebraic form much as I have in my second analysis (pp.102-04 above). We shall now consider certain important aspects in more detail.

Boundedness

Boundedness may again be considered in terms of the three types of data. Starting only with the terms themselves Lounsbury (1956:163) admits that he has an incomplete set of terms. In order to be able to state this, one must ask how a set is bounded at all. We must, therefore, rely upon the assumptions stated above (p. 156). For Leach, and my second analysis, the problem of boundedness is more important in that what we have called "kinship" terms, we

claim are a set of terms of the same order which encompass all the significant social contacts that a speaker has in his everyday life.

Goodenough outlines his method of selection of terms by stating:

> The first step is to gather together all expressions whose denotata make it appear on inspection that there may be some common element in their significata. . . . We are concerned with the subject matter of kinship. . . . We therefore collect expressions . . . whose denotata suggest that they may belong to the universe of kinship" (1956:198).

This is congruent with his selection of genealogical kin-types as the data from which he selects his criteria for the differentiation of the groups labelled by his kin terms.

He goes on to elaborate the procedure:

> There are two procedures. . . . (1) Start with an expression such that a sample of its denotata seems most clearly to put it in the realm of kinship. Or (2), start with an expression whose denotata appear to cover the whole universe in question . . . , i.e., kinsmen; expressions whose denotata are entirely included within the denotata of this expression clearly belong to the universe of kinship.[1] Where both approaches are possible, as in Truk, one serves to check the other (1956:198).

In Sugluk only the first method is the only one available as no overall word for kinsmen was found. My contention that the "world of kinship" comprises the whole normative social world arises partly from this fact. This is why my analysis appears to arrive at the opposite conclusions from that of Pospisil and Laughlin (1963).

Goodenough uses his first suggestion by following River's genealogical method and produces a number of lexemes whose denotata he lists only as kin-types. He then confirms his impression that

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[1] This statement is not universally true. It depends, for one thing, on how the anthropologist defines the denotata, and that must be an assumption or there would not be the many possibilities of analysis of any one system.

they are all part of the same universe by introducing the lexeme "tefej" whose denotata include all the denotata of his listed terms plus a zero lexeme. He goes on to state (1956:201) that "tefej" does not cover all those people to whom the Trukese can trace a kin relationship. There are a number of such people who have no denotata within "tefej" and are included within the category "maaraari" with certain, seemingly optional, conditions. I have tried to show in my second analysis that such people do not have a kinship term because they are of no social significance to the Taqagmiut Eskimos.

Lounsbury is hardly concerned with this problem, and, as noted above, he knows his list of terms is incomplete. He just states (1956:163-64) that he is dealing with a "kinship system" (undefined) and that his data is "a portion of the kinship vocabulary of the Republican Pawnee . . . from Lewis Henry Morgan (1871)." Thus, he lets the available data define his boundaries. Like Goodenough he has no compunction in saying:

> . . . definitions of meanings are given by listing as many kin types as are known to be included in each kin class (1956:163).

He makes no attempt to find an overall term similar to "tefej."

Leach (1945) in his title and elsewhere says that he is dealing with "kinship terminology." Furthermore, before he starts the article, he knows which kin terms he is going to use, and what kin types they include. However, within the analysis he does not present us with the full facts, nowhere stating whether these terms fall within any bounded group defined by a single term. His

boundaries are set sociologically. Since he tries to refuse to designate genealogical descriptions (e.g., 1961:40) the boundaries of the world of kinsmen (if this is a necessary word at all) lie in those villages with which Ego has minimal social contact, the emphasis being on the sociological and not the genealogical distance. He goes on to state that one of his major conclusions is to show that

> . . . although a classificatory system, in theory, includes an unlimited number of individuals, the practical number of persons involved is quite small (1961:52).

In his Trobriand paper (1958) he takes the same principles even further. His "kinship terms" (from Malinowski 1932) are categories denoting only sex, age, sub-clan hamlet affiliation and potential or actual economic (i.e., marital) relationships.[1] His "tabu" becomes the equivalent of Goodenough's "maaraari." Here, again, the "social world" is co-terminous with the "kinship world."

The two analyses that I have presented differ considerably in both the meaning and content of "boundedness." In the first analysis (chapter v) there is no overall term for "kinsman" and the boundaries of my data were set as much by the questions that I asked (see p. 45 above) as the answers given by my informants. I took the steps outlined by Goodenough as the first procedure (see previous page). The normative system is set out on pages 46-53 . I did not, for instance, ask systematically about kinsmen beyond "second cousins" (of any degree of removal) for consanguineals. In

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[1] For greater detail on the "urigubu" gift, see Leach 1958: 127-31.

many cases the informants did not even know their second cousins (i.e., how they were related) although I did, and told them. For affines (through spouse) I asked a number of informants about the cousins of their spouse's. Although the informants generally knew the relationship to these people, the great majority did not actually have any "kin term" for them and, when pressed, either gave consanguineal terms or "extended" along classificatory principles terms for spouse's siblings. The answers here were so irregular that I did not include them in the normative listing. Thus, for the first analysis, the boundaries were determined by (1) knowledge of the genealogical relationship and (2) the knowledge of an appropriate "kin term."

The second analysis (chapter vi) follows Leach (1958, 1961). In the definitions of the kin terms there nowhere appears a component which states that alter is a kinsman at all. "Affinity" and "child of" are the components of certain ultimate links, but the status of the person to whom alter is linked is similarly defined in non-kin terms. I have set up a model which ideally includes the <u>whole</u> social world of the Eskimo throughout his life cycle. The status terms should cover all persons with whom there is significant social contact. The boundaries of the social world are those camps into which Ego's most distant female relatives marry. These boundaries are very similar to, though more numerous than, the Jinghpaw villages AA and CC (Leach 1961:41) and the Trobriand sub-clan hamlets where reside "tabu," "yawa," and "lubou" (1958:130-38). In fact, if the Eskimos carried out their ideal system the range of kin

contact, that is social boundaries, would coincide quite well with the boundaries established by other means in the first analysis. So we may say that in this respect the two analyses tend to support each other.

It is, of course, true that the Eskimos do have significant contacts with people who do not fall into the categories mentioned in the second analysis. This is particularly true now when the camps have all converged into one settlement of a number of "bands." This does not, however, vitiate the usefulness of the model which is only set up to explain the principles of the terminology system, not the actual social relations. Another order of terminology, names, is used for referring to these people.

Further investigation, with the same informants in the same area, may well turn up a "class-word" approximating to "kinsmen" or even a number of words for larger sub-categories of the same order (c.f., our terms "consanguineal," "affinal," etc.). This will not vitiate the second analysis, unless, of course, the terminology system has also changed in response to the changing conditions of social life.

Learning and the Domestic Cycle

We must now consider in more detail this subject which is central to the rationale of Leach's and my second analysis. Leach in the earlier paper (written 1945) said that he was "following Malinowski's biological approach from childhood to old age" (1961: 52). This approach brought out, so he then claimed, that:

> (1) Extensions of a classificatory system are merely elaborations and modifications of simple childhood sentiments . . . of . . . home life (1961:52).

While he specifically disagreed with this in his new introduction to the paper (1961:28) and in the Trobriand paper (1958:123) he does not abandon the approach.

There are two separable issues to be considered here. First, Leach, in his efforts to provide a framework that a child can understand and learn, considers that "simplicity should always prevail" (1961:32, 52). Second, Leach was, by his own admission, initially under the powerful influence of Malinowski (1961:28-29) in thinking that a classificatory system is an extension of the sentiments learned in the primary group, with the result that "primary biological meanings can be extended to other persons" (1962:34).

Since then he has roundly criticized Malinowski (1958: 121-24) and himself for following the former (1961:28-29) on the second issue. He has thrown out all notions of "extension," coming round to the view that kin terms are "category words" rather than individualizing proper names," and denies any priority to any particular kin-type within and kin-class denoted by any kin term. He has furthermore thrown out the word "sentiment" as a relevant component if a primary kin-type, replacing it with the more general term "associated behavior" as characteristic of the whole kin class.

He has not, however, thrown out the idea that a terminology system may be both examined and explained in terms of the life

stages of the individual, and, in this, I follow his example. The key word here is "biological." While we both take the individual through his biological stages of growth, a better word for this is "developmental" because the former word has too many connotations of "biological," i.e., genealogical, reckoning of kinship.

Lounsbury makes no attempt to develop his data as it would be learned in the developmental cycle. We are presented with it "as a block." He does, however, later concern himself with another kind of "social time," that is the ideal model of "cycling" in the Pawnee patrilateral second-cross-cousin marriage system. This explanation is provided less for explaining how the system works for the individuals in it than as an analytical scheme explaining the system as a whole for anthropologists. Goodenough is similarly concerned with kin groups and marriage rules, but for the same reasons. My first analysis, too, presents a list of kin terms and kin types and is unconcerned with the problems of learning and complication from the Eskimo point of view.

Implicitly, both Leach's analyses and my second one are trying to say: "This is how the system ought to be learned by a child growing up in X--- society." Because of the simplicity of our models and the "obvious" nature of the structural features we use to explain them we assume that a child could perceive the system our way. However, Leach presents very little data to support this and in his section "Practice" one is left with the impression that a child who could learn the "ideal" system would

either be an anthropologist or extremely fortunate in having the behavior of those around him conform to the model. In the Trobriand paper, however, we may use what data Malinowski has left us on actual residence and "urigubu"-giving (Malinowski 1932, 1935). And here Leach's proposals sound more possible.

As for the Taqagmiut, I present little data to show that children learn the "kin categories" in terms of the characteristics that I assign to them. However, a further examination of the many (over 16%) "deviant" terms elicited, along with more data on the residential whereabouts of the kinsmen concerned, may well enlarge the possibilities of my contentions. An analysis of the "terminological deviance" in genealogical terms[1] has failed to show significant correlations between deviant usage and deviant componential position. There may be other explanations, which have not so far been considered, which involve categories defined by components other than "residential" or "genealogical."

Models

We have already stated above (p. 54) that the analysis of social structure is concerned with "models which are built up after . . . empirical reality" (Levi-Strauss 1953:525-26). In this section we intend to examine the place of models in the analyses we are considering; and the relationships between the models used and empirical reality.

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[1]This analysis has not been included because of its length and inconclusive, even negative, results. A similar study will be presented in a later work.

We may ask, in the light of the six analyses, what the models are. I have stated that the starting materials for the analyses are of three types (p. 163). For all the analysts the terms themselves are lexemes whose domains of reference we are trying to define and distinguish. The domains of reference are defined and distinguished by (what I have called) criteria. And it is the criteria that are abstracted from the model. The model may, therefore, be operationally defined for this type of study as that body of material from which the criteria of differentiation are developed. Thus, for Goodenough and Lounsbury the model is a genealogy and for Leach and my second analysis, it is a set of structural principles.

In an ideal society the two models are congruent. For instance, given the kin-class one can state the essential behavioral norms and vice versa. It is only where the patterns are inconsistent that the relationship between the two types of models becomes more complex. We may find that both are necessary (and sufficient) for stating the criteria of kin term domains as Schneider and Roberts (1956) found for Zuni, or that one takes precedence over the other as Schneider and Homans (1956) found for the American system.

We may now inquire further into the relationship between the model and reality. Leach states:

> Any structural analysis of a kinship system is necessarily a discussion of ideal behavior, not of normal behavior (1961: 31).

Thus, his model is an "ideal model" based upon principles which are "ideal norms." He defines what he means by "ideal":

> The field worker has three distinct "levels" of behavior pattern to consider. The first is the actual behavior of individuals. The average of all such individual behavior patterns constitutes the second, which may be fairly described as the "norm." But there is a third pattern, the native's own description of himself and his society, which constitutes "the ideal" (1961:30).

While the first of these categories approximates to what Levi-Strauss calls "social relations" (Levi-Strauss 1953:525), the second two fall within the scope of "social structure." It is apparent, then, that there may be two kinds of structural models, corresponding to Leach's second two categories. These are what have been called "statistical" models (Levi-Strauss 1953:528-31) and "jural" (Leach 1963:174) or "mechanical" models (Levi-Strauss 1953)528-31). Similarly, there are two types of "norms." Statistical norms, or "averages" and "ideal norms," variously known as "ideals," "norms," and "ideal patterns." As Leach says about these two levels:

> Because the field worker's time is short and he must rely upon a limited number of informants, he is always tempted to identify the second of these patterns with the third. Clearly the (statistical) norm is strongly influenced by the ideal, but I question whether the two are ever precisely coincident (Leach 1961:30).

In the actual analyses themselves, all the authors are only concerned with the <u>ideal</u> models and norms. For instance, in his discussion of eliciting terms, Goodenough says:

> It is always possible to check with an informant, moreover, whether the persons in question are properly or "literally" in the relationship attributed to them . . . (in his sense of proper or literal).

Lounsbury could not, of course, check whether his data was "ideal," but he is obviously concerned that it is ideal when he points out "ambiguities" that he leaves out of his list and adds terms that he himself has derived (Lounsbury 1956:164-66). In the derivation of the genealogical model for my first analysis (pp. 42-62) a closer comparison between "statistical" and "ideal" norms was possible. In most cases they coincide, but for some parts of the system the information of a few adult informants is taken in preference to average response to my questions.[1]

Leach's non-genealogical models are said to be "ideal." However, we are not actually shown what relations exist between the ideal and the statistical norms in the two societies he discusses (1958, 1961). My second analysis is similarly based on an ideal model of Taqagmiut society. However, I have devoted some space (chapters vii, viii, ix) to showing the relationship between my ideal model and the actual social relations. Again, it is true that in many cases the ideal and the statistical coincide. Further data, derived from many interviews which mainly concerned other topics, provide many supporting statements for all aspects of the principles upon which my model is based. However, there is a proviso. Many of these statements referred to the not too distant past, especially when they came from older informants, e.g., "When I was young all women got married. . . . When a couple got married they always lived at her parents place for a while." It

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[1]This analysis is not presented in full here, but it may suffice to say that kin terms and kin-type classes correspond diminishingly with genealogical distance.

is possible that these norms no longer hold good for the majority of the population under the changed social conditions. On the other hand, it is well known that people in parental and authority positions in a society often phrase the "oughts" and "ideals" in terms of "the good old days," whereas, in fact, these ideal patterns may have been followed no more closely then than now!

I have also tried to show (in chapters vii, viii and ix) what happens when it is circumstantially <u>not</u> possible for people to perform as the ideals suggest. For instance, when a man has no living brothers or father (with whom he would normally reside), he may go and live in the group of his wife's brothers or his sister's husbands. One may ask here "Do the Eskimos consider this normal?" It is not the statistical norm, but, if they consider it normal, one must consider norms further. There are not really enough cases in my Sugluk data to show irrefutably patterns of alternate choices when circumstances prohibit the ideal. They are, however, suggested. I will, therefore, make a distinction between 1^{o} norms wherein ideal patterns are followed in ideal circumstances and 2^{o} wherein proscribed alternate patterns are followed which keep as close to the ideal as the non-ideal conditions allow. I will not state that these 2^{o} norms are alternates to primary norms. There is, rather, a hierarchy, which most informants could well state, in which the 1^{o} norms are clearly on one plane, and the 2^{o} norms are on another in which they are alternates of <u>each other</u>.

All these papers, therefore, are concerned with ideal

models embodying ideal norms. However, not all of them have demonstrated the relationship between their ideal models and statistical norms. The problems of relating models to statistical and actual patterns has been touched upon in my analyses, but will be further developed in a later paper.

Components, Criteria, and Definitions

Although I have already discussed at some length most of the components used in my first analysis (pp. 57-58 above) a few will be re-examined in the light of some of the statements made earlier in this chapter. The actual analyses have to yield results that are both logically consistent and meaningful to the actors in the society.

Both my analyses, and those of Goodenough (1956) and Lounsbury (1956), have presented results in the form of definitions of "kin" terms as algebraic formulae. These formulae have combinations of components of various values and are the criteria for the differentiation of one term-domain from another. The components themselves have been derived from the ideal models used. It is the reality of the formulae that is the major concern here and this, in turn, depends on the simplicity of their form and the real significance of the individual components.

It is noted that although the two types of analysis have four components in common, the first analysis has an additional seven, while the second has only three more. There are many possible algebraic solutions to any componential analysis and the

analyst must try to seek a balanced one. In any algebraic presentation he is faced with the choice between the use of many individual components combined a few at a time into short formulae or relatively few components combined many times into long formulae. On the grounds of significant reality, whatever the content of the components, one cannot have very long or complex formulae for such a mundane set of lexemes as kin terms. It is partly for this reason that my second analysis is rather suspect in certain of its formulae (p. 103 particularly). The components of the second analysis derived from the model in chapter vi involve five that are genealogical and two that are "residential." In my attempted care to provide meaningful components, these were the only ones that developed obviously from the model. However, the presentation of formulae for "affinals" is obviously unsatisfactory. A number of them involve "semantic addition" (e.g., term 34) and many contain complex relative products (e.g., terms 37 to 40). However, relative products in themselves are not prohibitively complex, witness the English terms "son's wife" or "father's father's brother." These are examples of relative products of English primary kin types. In this case the kin types themselves are the components. Lounsbury (1956), too, uses relative products of some complexity although he is not primarily concerned with sociological reality.

The five genealogical components used in the second analysis are universal factors that are the determinants of many role-relationship. Sex and relative sex are obviously of socio-biological

significance, and it has been explained (p. 58) that relative age is only significant, and only occurs as a criterion, in determining the authority axis of ortho-siblings. Generation is not something that is necessarily identical cross-culturally (especially in lineal systems; see Goodenough 1956:201-05). However, among the Eskimos it underlies an important authority-leadership-respect axis inherent in many dyadic relationships (Damas 1962:69). Leach prefers to discard the term generation, and replaces it by the perhaps more realistic notion of "age group" (1961:40). In the Trobriand article he divides up the "age groups" of the kinship system in terms of the native conceptions of the socio-biological stages of the life cycle (1958:126). For the Taqagmiut a similar scheme supports the categories already used in the growing child's division of his social world (see pp. 79, 81 above).

Generations	Sex			
	Male	Undistinguished	Female	
G +3		sivudliut		"ancestors"
G +2	ituk		ningiuk	elsewhere used as grandparent-terms.
G +1	angutik		arngnak	normal terms for "man" and "woman" (alternates for Hu and Wi)
G 0	surusiluk		niviaksiak	

This could also be extended to the generations below Ego for an older speaker.

The genealogical components "spouse" and "child of" are, by analogy with our system, quite tenable. The definition of an

(often not too socially close) person as "so and so's wife" or "so and so's kid" show the ultimate link to be as or more important than alter. Kroeber (1909) in his original set of "categories of relationship" considered the characteristics of linking kinsmen. This is exactly what we do when we separate agnatic from unterine kinsmen. However, in this case, I am not concerned with showing the kin-type of the ultimate kinsman. The latter is already defined by other (not necessarily genealogical) means. The nature of the ultimate link itself is the only genealogical factor. Though I do not have complete documentation of this type of thought among the Taqagmiut teknonymy[1] is a common speech form, especially among the children.

Other than these five components, there are two more concerned with residence and domicile. These components have been developed from a detailed examination of Eskimo group structure and mobility, ideal and actual. They take the place of the seven genealogical components that appear in the first analysis. These seven include the major abstract principles "consanguinity," "affinity," "collaterality," etc., whose reality to the Eskimo mind remains unproven, as noted above (p. 69).

A comparison of the results of the two analyses, when presented in prose rather than formulae (compare pp. 58-60 with 102-04) shows the considerably simpler nature of the second set. Much of the extra complication of the first set is in the degree of collaterality, having to define both the inner and outer

[1]This is teknonymy in its broadest sense, not just limited to parent-child linkages (see Murdock 1949:97).

limits. Whereas in the second set the model already defines the boundaries of the social world, and only camp and household inclusion or exclusion need be noted. It is to be noted that in many of the definitions negative components are necessary, though these are more frequent in the strictly genealogical analysis. While it is undoubted that the Taqagmiut are capable of defining categories negatively, there is little evidence for this. It is more probable that the use of the analytic concept of contrast accounts for the negativity which explains why it is more frequent in the more linguistically orientated first analysis.

In considering the complications of the formulae in the two analyses, apart from the reality or complication of the nature of the components, we would expect the second analysis, with its far fewer components, to have more complex formulae. However, this is not true. A comparative table shows us:

Features	First Analysis	Second Analysis
Average No. of Components per Formula:		
Consanguines	4.4	3.5
Affines	5.2	4.3
Total	4.9	3.9
Range of Nos.		
Consanguines	2 to 5	1 to 5
Affines	4 to 7	2 to 8
Negative Components		
Consanguines	12	7
Affines	5	3
Components of More than One Value		
Consanguines	0	0
Affines	8	1
Number of Relative Products		
Consanguines	0	4
Affines	2	7

Thus we can see that the formulae for the second analysis are shorter, but not overwhelmingly less complex. In particular, the second analysis is less adequate for dealing with the "affinal" terms, particularly terms 31, 32, and 34. It has already been noted that the algebraic definitions of these terms has not been fully worked out for the second analysis (pp. 93-94 above). It is possible that this reflects upon the adequacy of my original structural model, but it is more probable that more components could be generated from the same model and prove adequate.

The problem of an apparent zero-lexeme (for SpHetSibSp, see p. 69 above) does not have to trouble the first analysis here, because there is no overall "class word" which covers "kinship terms." Goodenough (1956:213-14) uses "behavioral norms" to explain the occurrence of a zero-lexeme that is within his "tefej" but is normally filled with a poly-lexemic circumlocution (1956: 200-01). I do not know if the Taqagmiut use a circumlocution for this class of kin-types. I did not elicit any during my investigations and I gather that names are usually used where necessary. However, as we have said, names are terms of a different order and are not considered part of the system that we are analyzing. I also have a "behavioral" explanation for this phenomenon, however, I claim that the fact that this class has no term is because the members therein are never of great significance in the social life of the speakers. This supports the contention of the second analysis that the "kinship terminology" in fact includes all those people of continuing significance to the speaker, kinsman or otherwise.

The algebraic presentation of the componential results that appears in both of my analyses (pp. 58-60, 102-04) approximates to that of Pospisil and Laughlin (1963:186). This is purely a matter of statement and is of no analytical significance. Goodenough (1956:206, 212) presents his results as paradigms, not lists, while Lounsbury (1956) nowhere presents his results in such forms. None of Leach's results are in algebraic lists or paradigms in the Trobriand paper, however his diagrams (1958:130) and definitions (1958:132, 140) could easily be put in such a form. Similarly his paradigms in the Jinghpaw paper (1961:40) would be even easier to put into algebraic symbols. Perhaps a prose list of the resulting definitions (which would be too long to present here) is the best type of presentation for the purposes of understanding the reality of the analyses.

The Terminology System

The examination and analysis of the terminology system has brought to light certain points with respect to its consistency and may allow us to make certain predictions.

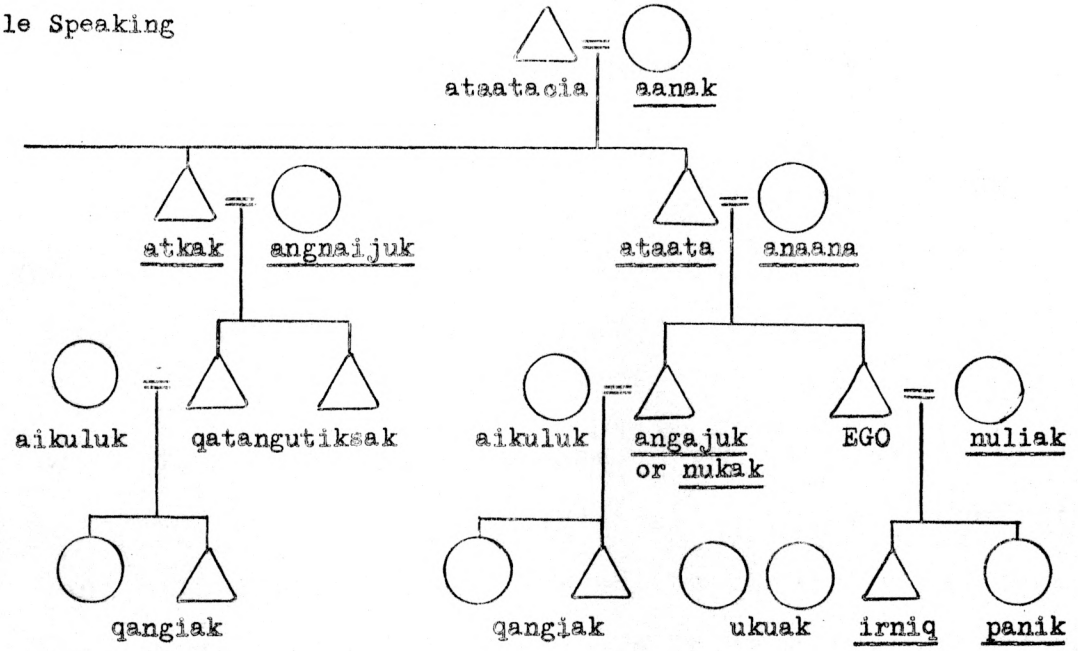
One of the underlying bases for my second analysis has been that camp affiliation and status is an important criterion for distinguishing many categories. This further implies that those people with whom the speaker is going to be in daily contact, i.e., those who live in his camp, may be distinguished from those who are infrequent visitors to the camp and with whom cooperation is not such a matter of life and death. This is supported by the greater number and differentiation of terms for people in

spouse's camp for a female speaker than a male. However, not all the "kin types" are so distributed among the terms.

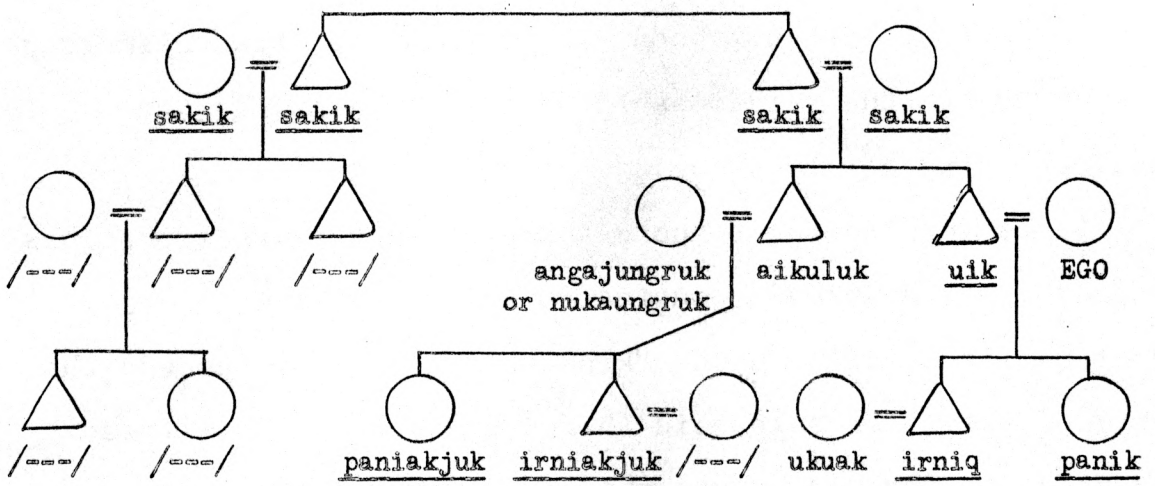
The emphasis of the system has been shown to lie with a virilocal bias superimposed on a bilateral basis. The diagrams on the following page show the salient points. There, first, the obvious "angnaijuk: irniakjuk/paniakjuk" relationship, emphasizes (for a male child) the importance of FaBrWi and, to a woman, HuBrCh. However, one might expect that for an in-marrying wife, HuBrWi (the affinal ortho-sibling) with whom she will be co-operative and co-resident all her married life, to have a descriptive term. But, the term for this person is exactly the same as the term that a man uses for his WiSiHu. He is only co-resident with this person for a short time when both he and alter are resident in their spouses' camp, i.e., when they are both newly married. In view of the terminological emphasis on HuBrCh one might expect something similar for HuBrWi. These two women (both HuBrWis to each other) enjoy equal status (apart from the age differences of their husbands) in the camp and they will be cooperating more with each other than with any other people within the camp. I have no explanation for this. It might be suggested that the components "residence" and "status" are inappropriate for "affinal kin" which might have something to do with the difficulty expressed above that the second analysis shows in handling this group.

Paralleling the above case of symmetry where one might expect assymmetry is the bilateral classificatory term "aikuluk" which includes BrWi. Again, this person is going to be co-resident

Male Speaking



Female Speaking (about her husband's camp)



All terms underlined are specific to this camp. The others are bilateral. /---/ means no lexeme of the order we are calling "kinship terminology".

Fig. 20.--The Kinship Terminology of a Man's (Father's) Camp

with the speaker all their married lives. Other persons however, who also fall within this term's domain may be distributed through many and far camps with little, or no contact with the speaker. All I can say here is that, as in the case in the above paragraph, the relationship is categorized primarily by relative sex rather than residence.

Similar statements may be made about the fact that a man does not distinguish between his patrilateral parallel cousins and all his other male cousins. He may expect to live with the former group throughout most of his life, whereas the others are all in other camps. In fact, this term is also used by a female speaker for all her female cousins with whom she is never to be co-resident during her adulthood. This point has been discussed with reference to the relationship between terminology, generation and residence (pp.186-87 above).

It is interesting to note that an in-marrying spouse has no terms for her husband's cousins at all, whether they are co-resident or elsewhere. In the "kin-testing" (p. 44 above) the majority of the informants said there were no terms for these people at all. However, those who did attempt to give terms gave consanguineal terms, i.e., they "affinally incorporated" themselves into their spouse's structural position (while retaining their terminological sex identity).

A similar problem might be thought to exist in the grandparental generation where "aanak" means specifically "father's mother," i.e., it is therefore camp-specific. One might also

expect a specific term for "father's father." However, the current status of "aanak" is in doubt. It is clearly an alternate for the classificatory term "anaanacia" (i.e., "female in G +2) which is strictly parallel to the term for the male "ataatacia." "Aanak" is said to be an old and dying term.[1] I have heard parents argue with their children about what the proper term for "father's mother" is. The older generation chose the "older," more specific term, i.e., "aanak" as correct. Some Sugluk Eskimos are said not to know that the term even exists (personal communication with Lee Guemple 1963) and, linguistically, it comes perilously close to the word "anaak" (faeces) and the name "anak" (Anna).[2] In other areas "aanak" (or "arnak/q" as it is variously spelled) is the term for all female siblings of G +2 through the father in addition to "father's mother" (Lake Harbour, Northwest Territory, field research by the author in summer 1960), all consanguineal females of this generation (Point Barrow, Alaska, Spencer 1959:66), and even as an alternate for "mother" (Bathurst Inlet and Perry River, personal communication with Damas March, 1963). In addition, it appears to enjoy the same status as at Sugluk in Povungnituk (personal communication with Balikci 1959) and Frobisher Bay (personal communications with Yatsushiro 1958-59). Further investigation is obviously needed.

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[1]Personal communication with Father H. Muscaret, July, 1959, at Wakeham Bay. Father Muscaret has been in the area of the Taqagmiut for over twenty years and is widely respected for his knowledge of their language and culture.

[2]For a discussion on the phonemicization of length, see Graburn 1960c.

This bring us to the question of alternates and the unitariness of the normative system. Certain other terms included in the list (pp. 46-49 above) are alternates of considerable importance. These are "aipaq" (spouse, mate) and "aviliak" (co-spouse, rival). Both of these terms have meanings that do not vary throughout the published and unpublished literature. However, the status of "aipaq" does vary geographically. In Port Harrison (Willmott 1961:84) and perhaps James Bay (personal interviews with E. Menarik 1959) its use is preferred to the more specific terms "uik" and "nuliak."

There are at Sugluk other alternate terms which were not included in the normative list. For instance, a few people use the terms "angutik" (man) and "arngnak" (woman) in preference to "uik" and "nuliak" for husband and wife. However, the low statistical frequency of such usages kept these out of my list. For the sake of the particular types of analyses carried out in this paper, it was thought that the starting material should be a "unitary" system. The status of alternate terms has not been examined in detail nor differentiated from "deviant" terms. This would require a more thorough and sophisticated study.

Explanation and Cause

So far we have considered my analyses in terms of their internal coherence and the meaningfulness of the results for the speakers. However, although I have set up a structural model and shown how closely actual social relations approach it, I have done little to explain why the system is as it is. There are two

orders of explanation here. The first is what Leach called "functional" (Leach 1961:31) and the second might be called "final." Although they are very much inter-related, I will consider them separately in order.

Functional explanations stem from the biological analogy of an organism and its inter-related, interdependent organs. In this analogy a society is a whole made up of inter-related and interdependent institutions. We have been dealing with the institutions of the nuclear family, marriage, kinship and their distributions in residential groups. Leach (1961) deals with the same institutions with the addition of descent for the Jinghpaw but for the Trobrianders (1958) his analysis is heavily dependent on the institution of the "urigubu" gift and rights in sub-clan lands. Neither Goodenough nor Lounsbury (1956) are particularly concerned with functional or final explanations and their works will not be considered in this section.

Where my analysis differs from both of Leach's is not in the handling of institutions in the structural model but in what Leach calls "rules of classification" (1961:32), i.e., the rules for relating the model to the terminology system. My rules (pp. 77-78 above) are hardly more than statements of fact concerning what actually happens. There is very little functional rationale behind them. Whereas Leach's rules (1961:32-34 and 1958:123ff) are largely justified in terms of role differentiation. And, his roles are differentiated functionally in terms of institutions other than kinship, especially in the Trobriand paper. For

instance, when I state (Rule 4) "Household and camp affiliations are always distinguished for Ego's own and adjacent generations for lineals and sib-lineals," I have not said why this is so, I merely state it because I know that is what happens. Compare this to Leach's Rule 7 (1961:34), "Among members of the opposite sex in patrilocal groups other than the speaker's own, the child must distinguish between persons with whom marriage is permitted and those with whom it is forbidden," or with a diagram such as his Figure 2 in the Trobriand paper (1958:131). I am not claiming that Leach's analyses are perfect, but they do lead me to a re-examination of certain aspects of my own. Let us consider certain types of role differentiation suggested by Leach.

The Taqagmiut camp is, in addition to being a residential unit, an economic unit. Sharing of food is mandatory when there is need for it. Therefore, each household knows that its welfare may in critical times be thrown in with that of all the other households. Therefore, it is to each person's advantage to maximize the hunting efficiency of the group if they wish to live in it. It is for this reason that in spite of their basically "democratic idealogy" a leader or a hierarchy of command is allowed to exist among the adult males. As a general rule, the older the adult male, the more experienced a hunter he is, and, equally important, residents of a camp know the area resources better than visitors (however proficient the latter may be at hunting). As a matter of fact, the major point is that the "leader" ("isumatik") is more of an advisor than a commander and his function is more to know where the game will be and when to move camp than to be

actually the best "handler of weapons." An older man is more useful if he knows where the game is than ten young skillful hunters if they do not. This underlies many of the distinctions of generation that are made within a camp where Ego is resident and why relative age is a criterion among consanguineal and affinal ortho-siblings (see Principles 5 and 6, and Rules 1, 2, and 5, on pp. 77-78 above).

That sex and relative sex must be distinguished for Ego's generation and those senior to him can be explained partly in terms of sexual and marital affairs, however, I do not have much data explaining why the oldest people should be distinguished by sex. They do not, in turn, distinguish those much younger by sex.[1] Damas (1962) has demonstrated certain role differences here for the Iglulik area, but I cannot affirm that they would also be true of the Taqagmiut and there are terminological differences between the two areas.

Rule 6 states that persons are known by the same terms as were first learned for them irrespective of their later changes of status and residence. This may seem like common sense to avoid confusion, and, of course, this does not apply when children are adopted into another household at an early age. In the latter circumstances the child assumes the structural and terminological position appropriate to his new status.[2] The only major reason

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[1]There are demonstrable differences among the frequencies that children and young adults visit the two sexes in senior generations, however, I have no concrete explanations for these facts.

[2]I have complete statistical documentation of these facts although they are not presented in this paper.

there might be a terminological change would be if marriages were between people who already have kin terms for each other. This does, in fact, occur (see diagram on p. 136 above, for instance). However, we have constructed the model such that there is hypothetically no cousin marriage, so the problem does not arise.

It might at first seem obvious that a child would terminologically distinguish between the adult members of his father's camp on the one hand and his mother's camp on the other. However, in that he is resident in both camps at some time or another and hence subject to similar pressures of cooperation and authority, some further basis need be found. We have already shown why it is important to distinguish between residents and visitors, but a child's grandparents do not distinguish between their son's and their daughter's children (although the children may distinguish between FaMo and MoMo). However, as the child distinguishes between the camp affiliation of members of the age group directly above him, these latter people only distinguish between the children of their own household and others when it comes to residence. (They do distinguish between brother's and sister's children and for those of male and female cousins; however, none of the resulting categories are camp-specific.)

For the moment we can suggest that children do not distinguish between the camp affiliation of G +2 because by the time they are adult these people will be dead, and during their childhood the children will actually be dividing their time between their mother's and their father's camp. In G +1 the children do distinguish between father's and mother's camp affiliation because

people in the former camp are going to be far more important (for a boy) for much of his adult, hunting life, and it is with them that he and his wife are going to share economic fortunes.

The question of camp-affiliation, then, becomes more than one of "residence." Residence, as I have used it, is perhaps just a "label" for more important and real role differences which may lie in the economic and, perhaps, affective spheres. However, this does not vitiate my use of residence as a component as long as it is understood that, as a label, it automatically implies these other factors. Further research or analysis may show that it is advisable to replace the term "residence" with more immediate and important role components if the latter take precedence over the former in terminological usage.

Related to all the above are questions about why the model society is the way it is at all. We cannot here explain any of the institutions functionally in terms of other institutions as the latter are assumed to be reinforcing the forms of the former and, hence, the arguments would be circular. It has been shown that the bilateral recognition of kinship, when carried to its logical ends, may entail links to as many as forty-two camps (pp. 164-65 above). A known kin link takes one out of the category of potentially hostile "strangers" ("adlak")[1] and economic necessities may be put at one's disposal. Furthermore, by the principles of the hypothetical model, one marries people to whom one has no kin link. Therefore, such people are potential "wife takers." Such

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[1]Also means "Indian" or "enemy."

people may arouse feelings of potential hostility on both economic and sexual grounds, analogous to the Trobriand category "tabu" (Leach 1958). The bilateral spread of links is, therefore, very adaptive in such a potentially or actually hostile social and ecological environment.

Also mentioned in the previous section is the rationale for the facts of ultimate virilocality. The overall picture is that women shift residence and men do not. Men are the major hunters and providers of all the raw materials and therefore it is essential that they are not only skillful in their hunting techniques, but that they know the distribution of resources in their area. Women, however, perform most of their tasks within the household and are able to operate equally efficiently in any area. These feelings have been expressed to me by a number of my informants.

Thus, we can see that a young man in his spouse's camp temporarily is in a very precarious position. Not only might he be an added economic burden, he is also a wife-taker and does not know much about where to hunt in the area. No wonder his father arranges the marriage for him before he goes there!

Summary and Suggestions for Further Research

This dissertation has been concerned with a system of terms of the order usually called kinship terminology. It has been demonstrated that this is more than one way to perform a componential analysis of the data. The two methods demonstrated have both used the same three bases of data, namely the list

of terms, the kin types they normatively denote, and the associated behavioral norms.

Both analyses are concerned with ideal systems. Terminological and behavioral deviances have not intruded into the central analyses. The first componential analysis derived its components from concepts inherent within a genealogy of kin types. The second derived components from a hypothetical model of the social structure and are therefore based on both genealogical and behavioral norms. The relationship between the hypothetical behavioral norms and the actual social relations at Sugluk have been examined in detail.

The central hypothesis of my work is that an analysis whose components are derived from behavioral norms provides criteria for differentiating kin classes that are likely to be more meaningful to the actors within the system than those criteria which are purely genealogical. Residence has been shown to be a major criterion because it is central to group structure and economic survival.

Further research within the area of the Taqagmiut may confirm or deny the "likelihood" in the central hypothesis. Both the analyses are concerned with an ideal system where kin types and associated behavioral norms are actually interchangeable. An examination of circumstances where they are not so, and of deviances in terminological usage will show which criteria take precedence. Other criteria not specifically considered, but, perhaps, embodied in the concepts of "generation" and "residence" as I have used them, may prove to be equally or more significant to the Taqagmiut.

APPENDIX I

ORTHOGRAPHY

The orthography used throughout this paper is based on the Standard Alphabet proposed by Lefebvre (1958). This orthography was chosen for the sake of standardization with the works of others concerning the Eskimos of the Eastern Canadian Arctic. Furthermore, it is an almost phonemic representation of the Inupik language and others may reinterpret words herein directly into the dialect pronunciations of other areas.

The phonemes may be listed with their approximate English or phonetic equivalents:

/a/ as u in the English "cut"

/g/ varies between a hard g as in "gut" to a gutteral "r" (see Graburn 1960c)

/i/ short, as in "pit"

/j/ as y in "yet," except when it is the second phoneme in a cluster when it is hard, as the g in "smudge"

/k/ as the c in "cut"

/l/ as in "light"

/m/ as in "might"

/n/ as in "night"

/p/ as in "pan"

/q/ as ch in the Scottish "loch," or more gutteral

/r/ appears as many forms of Trill from alveolar to uvular, and even as a Flap at times. In some contexts it is interchangeable with /g/

/s/ is generally sh in this area, especially when initial

/t/ as in "time"

/u/ high back rounded as in "put," with a tendency towards /o/ in final syllables

/v/ labio-dental as in "value"

Vowel length is phonemic and is represented by re-duplicating the symbol, e.g., "unak" and "unaak."

APPENDIX II

ESKIMO ROOTS AND MORPHEMES USED IN THE DISSERTATION[1]

Eskimo	English
aanak	father's mother
-acia[2]	good/beautiful/"Eskimo-like?
-aijuk	?
aik	affine of the same generation but opposite sex to speaker
aipaq	spouse, mate, "other half of a complementary pair"
ajak	mother's sister or female cousin
-akjuk	?
alak/adlak	Indian, foreigner, stranger
anaana	mother
angajuk	large or older ortho-sibling
angak	mother's brother or male cousin; or child of sister of female cousin (of a male speaker)
angutik	man (male)
anik	brother (of a female speaker)
arngnak	woman (female)
ataata	father
atik	term of reference or address, i.e., name or kin term
atkak	father's brother or male cousin
atsak	father's sister or female cousin
aviliak	co-spouse, rival
-giviuk	. . . is he/it for you? (This is technically more than one morpheme.)
irniq	son
irngutak	grandchild of speaker or speaker's siblings and cousins
isuma	thought
ituk	old man

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[1]This list does not include proper names.

[2]Those terms with a hyphen in front are always post-base morphemes. All other terms are root morpheme or words.

Eskimo	English
-(k)i-	negative possession (privative)
kina	who
-liqiutik	(over) again
-liut	people/beings (of)
-miut	inhabitants (of)
naijak	sister (of a male speaker)
ningauk	"a male affine" (see pp. 98-99 above)
ningiuk	old woman
niviaksiak	girl (pre-adult female)
nuak	child of a brother or male cousin (of a female speaker)
nukak	new or a younger ortho-sibling
nuliak	wife
panik	daughter
-qangi-	. . . has not . . .
qangiak	child of brother or male cousin (of a male speaker)
qatak	?
qatangutik	sibling
-sak	almost, "raw material for"
sakiak	spouse's sibling of the same sex as speaker
sakik	spouse's parents and their parents and siblings
sivu-	first
surusiluk	boy (pre-adult male)
taqak	dark(ness)
-tuk	he/she/it/there is
uik	husband
ujuruk	child of sister or female cousin (of a male speaker)
ukuak	"a female affine" (see pp. 98-99 above)
-uluk	little
umiaq	boat, ship (originally skin-boat)
-ungruk	?
uqu-	warm, East

APPENDIX III

DISTRIBUTION OF KIN IN CAMPS

A diagram similar to Figure 19 has been worked out and expanded to show the kin-content of each of the forty-two separate camps. (It is not presented here as it is too large) It was found that the kin-contents of a number of the less important camps were identical, e.g., for a male speaker the kin-content of the three camps containing his WiFaSi, WiMoBr, and WiMoSi is terminologically "sakik," i.e., they are not "terminologically distinguished." This procedure was logically carried out for all forty-two camps, and thus it was found that only nineteen are distinguished by an older married couple.

The lists that follow present first the terminological content of each camp, followed by the genealogical position of all the individuals reckoned as kin within each. This is done separately for (1) an older man and (2) his wife.

Older Man Speaking

Camp A[1]

Terms	Genealogical Positions of Members
atsak	FaSi

[1]The symbols for the following camps correspond to those in Figure 19.

Terms	Genealogical Positions of Members
ningauk	FaSiHu
qatangutiksak	FaSiSon
aikuluk	FaSiSoWi
qangiak	FaSiSoSon (and daughter, if unmarried)
ukuak	FaSiSoSoWi

Camp B

EGO	----	angajuk	OBr
nuliak	Wi	nukak	YBr
ataata	Fa	irniq	Son
anaana	Mo	qangiak	BrSon, FaBrSoSon
atkak	FaBr	ukuak	BrSoWi, SonWi, FaBrSoSoWi
angnaijuk	FaBrWi		
qatangutiksak	FaBrSon		
aikuluk	FaBrSoWi, BrWi		
ataatacia	FaFa, FaFaBr		
aanak	FaMo		
anaanacia	FaFaBrWi(FaMo)		

Camp C

angak	MoBr
ukuak	MoBrWi, MoBrSoSoWi
qatangutiksak	MoBrSon
aikuluk	MoBrSoWi
qangiak	MoBrSoSon
ataatacia	MoFa
anaanacia	MoMo

Camp D

ajakuluk	MoSi
ningauk	MoSiHu
qatangutiksak	MoSiSon
aikuluk	MoSiSonWi
qangiak	MoSiSoSon
ukuak	MoSiSoSoWi

Camps A', C', and D' are merged terminologically for the man.

sakik	WiFaSi, WiMoBr, WiMoSi

Camp B'

sakik	WiFa, WiMo, WiFaBr, WiFaFa, WiFaMo
sakiak	WiBr

One of:

naijak	Si
ningauk	SiHu
ujuruk	SiSon
ukuak	SiSoWi

One of:

panik	Dau
ningauk	DaHu

One of:

aikuluk	WiOSi
angajungruk	WiOSiHu

One of:

aikuluk	WiYSi
nukaungruk	WiYSiHu

Four camps are teminologically merged:

naijaksak	FaBr/FaSi/MoBr/MoSi	Dau
ningauk		DauHu
ujuruk		DaSon
ukuak		DaSoWi

Five camps are merged:

ujuruk	FaBr/FaSi/MoBr/MoSi/DaDau, SiDau	
		DauDauHu, SiDaHu

Six are merged:

qangiak	FaBr/FaSi/MoBr/MoSi/SoDau, Obr/YBrDau	
ningauk		SoDaHu, DaHu

Thus we have thirteen camp groups with different terminological combinations. Of these, the first ten and the last one are shared with the wife, i.e., she has terms for at least one of the members, though they differ from his in all cases except for son and daughter and their spouses.

Wife Speaking: (taking the camps in the same order as above)

Camps A, C, and D are merged for the wife.

sakik	HuFaSi, HuMoBr, HuMoSi

Camp B

uik	Hu
Ego	----
sakik	HuFa, HuMo, HuFaBr, HuFaFa, HuFaMo
irniq	Son
ukuak	SoWi
aikuluk	HuBr
angajungruk	HuOBrWi
nukaungruk	HuYBrSi
irniakjuk	HuBrSon
paniakjuk	HuBrDau

Camp A'

atsak	FaSi
ningauk	FaSiHu
aniksak	FaSiSon
ukuak	FaSiSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi
angak	FaSiSoSon

Camp B'

ataata	Fa
anaana	Mo
atkak	FaBr
ukuak	FaBrWi, FaBrSonWi, FaBrSoSoWi, BrWi, BrSoWi
aniksak	FaBrSon
anik	Br
angak	BrSon, FaBrSoSon
ataatacia	FaFa
anaanacia	FaMo

Camp C'

angak	MoBr
ukuak	MoBrWi, MoBrSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi
aniksak	MoBrSon
angak	MoBrSoSon

Camp D'

ajakuluk	MoSi
ningauk	MoSiHu
aniksak	MoSiSon
ukuak	MoSiSoWi, MoSiSoSoWi
angak	MoSiSoSon

One of:

sakiak	HuSi

One of:

panik	Dau
ningauk	DaHu

One of:

angajuk	OSi
aikuluk	OSiHu
nuakuluk	OSiSon
ukuak	OSiSonWi

One of:

nukak	YSi
aikuluk	YSiHu
nuakuluk	YSiSon
ukuak	YSiSoWi

Two of:

paniakjuk	HuO/YbrDau

Four of:

qatangutiksak	FaBr/FaSi/MoBr/MoSiDau
aikuluk	DauHu
nuakuluk	DaSon
ukuak	DaSoWi

Five of:

angak	FaBr/FaSi/MoBr/MoSiSonDau
ningauk	SonDaHu

Six of:

nuakuluk	FaBr/FaSi/MoBr/MoSoDaDau, O/YSiDau
ningauk	DaDaHu, DaHu

Of the above fourteen camp groups, the first eleven are shared with (though not necessarily distinguished by) the husband. Thus, of the total nineteen camps terminologically distinguished, eleven have members for whom both the husband and wife have terms. However, of these eleven, both the husband and the wife only distinguish terminologically between eight of them, a different eight for each speaker.

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