

KINSHIP AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AMONG THE HAIDA

By GEORGE PETER MURDOCK

THE Haida tribe is divided, culturally and linguistically, into four branches, three of which are found on the Queen Charlotte Islands off the northern coast of British Columbia. Of these the first or southern group is now extinct. The survivors of the second or central branch reside today at the village of Skidegate, and those of the third or northern group at Massett. The Alaskan or Kaigani Haida of Prince of Wales island, Alaska, who constitute the fourth branch, are mainly concentrated today at Hydaburg, although a few still live at the old village of Kasaan. In the summer of 1932, on a field trip sponsored by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University, the author gathered data on kinship systems at Skidegate, Massett, and Hydaburg (hereinafter abbreviated as S, M, and H). At Massett, where he spent most of his time, he worked out the terms and their application on the basis of extensive genealogies, supplemented by interrogation of his three principal informants, Andrew Brown, Robert Ridley, and Grace Jones. His visits to Skidegate and Hydaburg were too brief for adequate use of the genealogical method. At Hydaburg, however, he had the services as interpreter of his best Massett informant, who was already fully familiar with the nature of the information desired, and who was likewise a relative by marriage of the informant, David Morse. And in Skidegate, he was able to use Durlach's¹ genealogical table, as corrected by Amos Russ and his wife, the parents-in-law of Durlach's too civilized informant. *Peter Kelly*

Even more interesting to the author than the system itself are its sociological implications. Every relationship involves, besides the use of a particular kinship term or pair of terms, a series of more or less stereotyped patterns of social behavior, and it is through the channels set by these patterns that a major portion of the social life of the people flows. Thus a study of the sociology of the kinship system affords an excellent cross section of Haida culture in general. The folkways associated with each relationship are summarized below in conjunction with the definition of the terms.

In recording the terms, the phonetic orthography of Sapir² has been

¹ T. M. Durlach, The Relationship Systems of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian, AES-P 11: 104, 1928.

² E. Sapir, The Phonetics of Haida, IJAL 2: 145, 1923. Deficiency of type makes it necessary for us to use the symbol \dot{g} for the velar intermediate stop instead of Sapir's crossed \dot{g} and \hat{g} for the anterior palatal intermediate stop instead of Sapir's g with the diacritical mark transposed beneath the letter.

Andrew Brown
Parents:
Walter &
Elizabeth
Brown
born Jan 8
1879
bapt. Mar 4
1927
?

followed in preference to that of Swanton,³ as both more complete and more in accord with current usage among students of North American Indian linguistics. Fine distinctions in vowel sounds, to which the Haida ear is not sensitive, have not been recorded, e.g., the *i* and *u* glides in which the Haida *e* and *o* sounds respectively terminate as regularly as they do in English. To Sapir's list of consonants, however, it is necessary to add the following: the velar voiced spirant γ as a common variant of the velar intermediate stop \dot{g} in Skidegate, a glottalized form of the same ($'\gamma$) in Massett, a phonemically equivalent glottalized *h* ($'h$) in Hydaburg, and the palatal sibilant voiceless spirant *c* (= English *sh*) in Massett.

A kinship system must be set in the framework of the social organization. The Haida tribe is divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties, the Eagles and the Ravens, each of which is further subdivided into some twenty localized clans. The clan, which is frequently split into several sub-clans, comprises a varying number of separate households of one or more biological families each.

Swanton⁴ presents the Haida system as a strictly classificatory one, in which nearly every term applies to all persons of a particular sex and generation in one of the moieties. While this is often true of the terms in their plural forms, as Swanton records them, they are usually much more limited in their application in the singular and vocative forms. It will be convenient, in defining the terms, to give first the basic (if not original) application of a term to a particular relative and then to show to what extent it is extended successively to that relative's own siblings, to his clansmen of the same sex, and to the corresponding members of the other clans of the same moiety. Whenever a term is extended to the clan, but not to the whole moiety, it nevertheless regularly applies to corresponding members of closely associated clans of the same moiety, i.e., to all clans linked to the one in question by such bonds as traditional common descent, customary alliance in war, and residence in the same village. Patterns of social behavior are to be understood as coextensive with the use of kinship terms; a person behaves toward an extended relative as toward an immediate one, with but minor and usually obvious modifications.

PRIMARY TERMS OF CONSANGUINITY

1. $tc'an$ (M and H), $tc'ing\dot{a}$ (S). Vocative: $tc'ana$ (M and H), $tc'ina'i$ (S). Plural: $tc'an'al\dot{\alpha}\eta$ (M), $tc'an'al\alpha\eta$ (H), $tc'ing\dot{\alpha}\eta$ (S). Primary meaning: "grandfather" (man and woman speaking).

³ J. R. Swanton, Haida, an Illustrative Sketch, BAE-B 40, pt. 1: 210, 1910.

⁴ J. R. Swanton, Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida, AMNH-MJ 5, pt. 1: 62 ff., 1905.

In the sense of "maternal grandfather," the term is extended to all men of the second ascending generation and upward in the opposite moiety, and in M also sometimes to men of the first ascending generation except those of the father's clan, who are called *ye'* (paternal uncle). In the sense of "paternal grandfather," however, it refers specifically to the father's father, who must, of course, belong to the speaker's moiety though not necessarily to the same clan. If the paternal grandfather is a fellow clansman, the term is not extended, except occasionally to his own brothers; clansmen of the second as well as the first ascending generation are called *q'a* (maternal uncle). If, however, the father's father belongs to a different clan, the term may be extended to all males of that clan of whatsoever generation, even to those younger than the speaker, and it is often thus used in preference to a more exact term. It may also be employed by courtesy for any old man irrespective of kinship affiliations, and in this sense it is frequently applied to old men of the speaker's own moiety but of other clans, though in M *q'a* is preferred even here. The plural refers regularly to the men of the paternal grandfather's clan.

A *tc'an* plays with his grandchild (*t'a'k'an*), makes toys for him, tells him stories and sings him songs, and keeps him in the absence of his parents. In return, the grandson performs services for his grandfather, e.g., bringing water and firewood to his house each morning. Between a man and his paternal grandfather an especially close bond exists. The former, if a first son, is usually given the latter's name at birth, and, according to the prevailing notion of reincarnation, he comes thereby to embody the soul of the latter. In this case alone can a Haida bear a name belonging to another clan. Sometimes a man receives the name of his father's father, not at birth, but at the funeral potlatch given after the latter's death. On certain very solemn occasions, as when going forth to pay the penalty for murder, the grandson wears the ceremonial hat of his grandparent. Finally in M, but not in S, a man or a woman is said to possess the right to use the crests of his paternal grandfather's clan when different from his own.

2. *na'n* (M), *na'ne* (H), *na'nga* (S). Voc.: *na'na* (M and H), *na'na'i* (S). Pl.: *na'na'laŋ* (M), *na'nalaxŋ* (H), *na'ngalaxŋ* (S). Primary meaning: "grandmother" (m. and w.sp.).

From "grandmother," either maternal or paternal, the term is extended to all women of the second ascending generation and upward in both moieties, except that in M those belonging to the father's clan are preferably called *sq'a'n* (paternal aunt). It is likewise extended commonly in M and occasionally in H to women of the first ascending generation in the speaker's own moiety but in different clans. It may also be applied, in M at least, to any woman of the paternal grandfather's clan quite irrespective of her age.

Finally, it is a respectful term of address for any old woman, whether related or not.

A grandmother tells stories and sings songs to her grandchild (t'a'k'αn). Her granddaughter assists her in women's work. When a girl reaches puberty her paternal grandmother instructs her in the taboos which she must observe, e.g., abstention from fresh water and fresh fish and from looking at the sun or at the sea.

3. q'a (M and H), q'a'ga (S). Voc.: ga'gai (M), ga'ge (H), ha'gai (S), Pl.: q'a''lαη (M), q'a''αlαη (H), q'a'galαη (S). Primary meaning: "maternal uncle" (m. and w. sp.).

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From "mother's brother," the term is extended to all men of the mother's clan and generation, and even to those of other clans of the same moiety; in the latter case, however, a different vocative is used: di q'a''is (M), di q'a' 'is (H), di q'a'ga 'is (S), meaning "my uncle there." The term is also applied to all men of the second ascending generation and upward in the mother's, i.e., the speaker's own clan with the sole exception of the paternal grandfather, who is called tc'αn. The plural is used, in a special and still more extended sense, for the older people of both sexes and any clan in the speaker's moiety.

The Haida relationship between maternal uncle and nephew (nat) presents an example of a well developed avunculate. As a boy the nephew runs errands and does chores for his uncle, e.g., fetching water and firewood each morning. At about the age of ten he leaves his parents' home and takes up his residence with his uncle either permanently or until he becomes independent. He assists his uncle in the latter's every activity—fishing, hunting, canoe building, war, etc. The uncle assumes sole charge of his education and discipline. To strengthen and toughen the nephew it is customary for the uncle, twice or thrice each winter, to send him out to swim in the icy sea water, and to warm him on his emergence by lashing him four times on the back with brush. The nephew depends upon his uncle for protection. The latter's house is a sanctuary where he can take refuge when he gets into trouble, even if he has committed a murder. The uncle, if wealthy enough, must settle the matter by a payment of property from his accumulated store; only in S is the father expected to assume a significant part of the burden. If the uncle cannot pay the damages, the nephew is turned over to the injured clan to wreak their vengeance. Young men thus find it to their own interest to work without compensation to enrich their uncles. When a house chief dies, leaving no younger brothers unprovided with houses, his dwelling, moveable property, and privileges descend to his eldest sister's eldest son (in S to his eldest nephew by any

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? sister). The nephew discharges his duty to the deceased by giving successively, to the opposite moiety, a small feast (*gat'a'da*) the day after the funeral, a large feast (*da'wa'*) at the end of the mourning period a month later, and a funeral potlatch (*ca'k'a'*) the following winter. At the potlatch he assumes his uncle's highest ceremonial name, succeeds to his chiefly position, and weds his widow.

Between a maternal uncle and his niece (*nat*) there prevails, from the puberty of the latter to her marriage, a strict barrier of reserve which greatly restricts conversation between them and in H prevents it entirely. A niece may succeed to her uncle's position as house chief if he dies without leaving male heirs; in this rare event she discharges the mortuary obligations precisely as would a nephew.

4. 'au (M and H), 'a'uğa (S). Voc.: 'a'wa (M), 'a'wa' (H), 'a'wa'i (S). Pl.: 'a'u'laη (M), 'a'u'laη (H), 'a'uğalaη (S). Primary meaning: "mother" (m. and w. sp.).

The term applies equally to own mother, stepmother, adoptive mother, and mother's sister. It also applies to father's brother's wife—always in M and H, in S only if she belongs to the speaker's clan. In its extended sense, it refers to any clanswoman of the first ascending generation. Only rarely is it extended to women of other clans in the same moiety, and in this case a different form of vocative is employed: *di 'au' 'isıs* (M), etc. The plural constitutes an exception, however, for it denotes any or all older women of the speaker's moiety.

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A daughter (*ğıt* or *gudja'η*) lives with her mother until marriage and usually even thereafter, following her if she is divorced from the father. She helps the mother in her work—cooking, picking berries, slicing and drying fish, making mats and baskets, etc. She inherits the property of her mother at the latter's death, and if her mother was a shaman or seer she succeeds to that position. Either gives the funeral feasts to the opposite moiety at the other's death. A few days after the birth of a girl, the mother, after consultation with the father and the four grandparents, gives her a name—that of a deceased woman of the mother's clan, whose soul is thought to be reincarnated in the child. The mother plays with her young daughter, disciplines her, and instructs her in the duties and activities of a woman. A girl is not necessarily consulted about her marriage, which is arranged for her by her mother, after consultation with her brothers and maternal uncles. After the wedding the mother makes the bride liberal presents of food, clothing, household articles, and sometimes even a slave to work for her. The Haida feel very strongly that the mother, having arranged the marriage, has a vital stake in its success; it is she, therefore, and not the in-

jured husband, who receives any damages that may be exacted from a man who commits adultery with her married daughter.

A son (*ġit*), until he moves to the house of his maternal uncle, lives with his mother, fetches water and firewood for her, and helps her in gathering roots, berries, and seaweed. She names him, as in the case of a daughter, plays with him, tells him stories, instructs him in the proper behavior toward his various relatives, and reprimands or punishes him for his misdeeds. When she decides that he is of marriageable age, she selects a suitable girl, discusses her choice with her husband, brothers, and other immediate relatives, secures the consent of the boy, and then proposes marriage to the mother of the girl.

Descent is matrilineal. Status, or rank in the complicated Haida system of social classes, is not, however, hereditary at all. Neither can it be obtained for a person by his own activities, many statements in the literature to the contrary notwithstanding. A Haida can possess status only if his parents have potlatched, and the precise measure of his status is determined by the number and quality of his parents' potlatches. Of the various types of potlatch, that which confers the greatest degree of prestige is the 'wa'łal or house-building potlatch, which is given by a woman in collaboration with her husband, and which secures for their children the rank of 'ya'e't or "noble." Having conferred status upon her children, a mother feels obligated to maintain it. Thus if a child has been humiliated in any way, e.g., by falling from a canoe into the water and being helped out by a member of the opposite moiety, the mother gives a small potlatch of the *cɪŋa'da* or "face-saving" type, after which no one may recall the incident.

The relationship between a maternal aunt and her nephews and nieces parallels closely that between a mother and her children, as is comprehensible under a system of matrilocal residence where the mother and her sisters are housemates.

5. 'ɣɔŋ (M), 'hʉŋ (H), ġo'ŋga (S). Voc.: 'ɣɔ'ŋa (M), 'hʉŋa' (H), ġoŋga'i (S). Pl.: 'ɣɔ'ŋa'łan (M), 'hʉ'ŋałan (H), ġo'ŋgałan (S). Primary meaning: "father" (m. sp.).

The term is employed for own father, stepfather, and adoptive father. It is also applied to mother's sister's husband, although in H the term *ye'i* (father's brother) is preferred. In the whole Haida system of consanguinity no term has undergone so little extension as that for father. In S, to be sure, where the term for father's brother is lacking, *ġo'ŋga* is extended to any man of the father's clan and generation, and in M and H a similar extension has begun to take place within the memory of the author's informants. Although many of the younger people in M and H are beginning

to call the men of their father's clan and generation "father," this usage is recognized as incorrect, and "father's brother" is still actually the commoner term. With these exceptions the only extension is the usual one of the plural, which refers to the men, especially the older men, of the father's clan.

Durlach⁵ reports that the term "father" is employed for father's sisters' son and for father's sister's daughter's son. This is incorrect. The informants in all three villages laughed to scorn the idea that a man of the speaker's own generation, much more of the first descending generation, could be called "father." Durlach was led astray by her informant, an educated native who has identified himself with an alien race and has chosen to spend his life in a region remote from his people. That he has lost contact with his native culture is shown by other misstatements, e.g., that a father's brother's wife and a mother's brother's wife lie "outside the relationship system,"⁶ and by certain discrepancies in his genealogy, discovered by the present writer in checking it over with Amos Russ, the father-in-law of Durlach's informant and the oldest man in Skidegate. In the present instance, he had simply forgotten the term for male cross-cousin ('l|gɑ'ngɑ), as Durlach⁷ herself indicates, and also the alternative compound term gó'ngána'tga (father's nephew), and supplied the term for father instead. Unfortunately, on the basis of this misinformation Durlach⁸ arrives at certain far-reaching conclusions, which naturally lose their validity with the disappearance of their factual support.

A son (g̃t) lives with his father until about ten years of age, accompanies him on fishing and hunting trips, when he helps by cooking, tending the fire, drying fish, etc., and imitates on a small scale or so far as he can everything that his parent does. The father makes model canoes, miniature bows and arrows, and tiny totem poles for his boy to play with, instructs him in masculine activities and handicrafts, and disciplines him in moderation. If the son gets into difficulties requiring the payment of property in composition of blood revenge, it is in S the father's duty to raise the fine if he can, and in H the maternal uncle's duty, whereas in M the uncle pays and the father contributes. A father, by the 'wa'łal or house-building potlatches which he gives in collaboration with the mother, and to a lesser extent by the cɑ k'a' or funeral potlatches which he gives by himself, obtains social status for his sons, and the desire thus to advance one's children is the dominant incentive to industry and thrift in Haida society.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107, note 1, 110, 112.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 105, note 4, 111.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 107, note 1, 112.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-15.

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6. *ḡat* (M and H), *ḡa'tḡa* (S). Voc.: *ḡa'da* (M), *ḡada'* (H), *ḡada'i* (S). Pl.: *ḡa'da'laḡ* (M), *ḡa'dalaḡ* (H), *ḡa'tḡalaḡ* (S). Primary meaning: "father" (w. sp.).

The usage, for a woman speaking, precisely parallels that of *'ḡoḡ* for a male speaker. Furthermore, in M at least, the plural may be used (w. sp.) for parents.

A daughter (*ḡit* or *gudja'ḡ*) lives with her father until her marriage and even thereafter unless her husband is a house chief or the heir apparent to a chiefship. During her girlhood the father plays with her, makes toys for her, etc., but puberty brings a sharp change in the relationship. Thenceforth they avoid one another, conversing either not at all or only when absolutely necessary. With the daughter's marriage the taboo is considerably though not entirely relaxed. In S the avoidance is rather less strict than in M and H but is never relaxed. A father's authority over his daughter ceases at her puberty, for thereafter he would be ashamed to display it. A father's potlatching confers social status upon his daughters as upon his sons.

7. *ye'* (M), *ye'i* (H), — (S). Voc.: *ye'* (M), *ye'i* (H), — (S). Pl.: *ya''laḡ* (M), *ya''alaḡ* (H), *ya'ḡalaḡ* (S). Primary meaning: "paternal uncle" (m. and w. sp.).

From father's own brother the term is extended to other men of the father's clan and generation, to clansmen of the father in the second ascending generation, and on solemn or ceremonial occasions to an older man of the speaker's generation in the father's clan and to an older man in the opposite moiety in a clan other than the father's. None of the above uses its found in S, where the term is used only in the plural, referring in this form, as in M and H, either specifically to the speaker's parents or in a very extended sense to the members of the opposite moiety irrespective of sex and generation. Durlach⁹ gives a S singular, *yäḡi*, used in the sense of the plural for "parent, forebear, ancestor." Although the present writer neglected to verify this statement, he feels that it is probably correct; on analogy, however, he would expect the form *ya'ḡai*. In view of the lack of the singular and vocative forms in S, at least in the primary sense of paternal uncle, it is interesting to note that the term is today losing ground in M and H. Though still recognized as correct, it shows a marked tendency, among the younger generation, to be supplanted by *'ḡoḡ* (father) except on solemn and ceremonial occasions.

The decline of the term is very possibly correlated with the comparatively slight social importance of the relationship it expresses. When a man

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 107.

is ill, all those who call him ye' visit him to wish him a speedy recovery, and between a paternal uncle and his niece ('wv'c'vη) there exists a marked degree of reserve. But otherwise the relationship involves little of sociological importance.

8. sq'a'n (M), sq'an (H), sq'a'nga (S). Voc.: q'a'na (M), sq'ane' (H), sq'a'na'i (S). Pl.: sq'a'na'laη (M), sq'a'nalaη (H), sq'a'ngalaη (S). Primary meaning: "paternal aunt" and "father's sister's daughter" (m. and w. sp.).

The term is extended from father's sister to all the women of the father's clan and generation, and from father's sister's daughter to all the women of the speaker's generation in the father's clan. It does not apply to a female cross-cousin on the mother's side unless she happens to belong to the father's clan. In M, but not elsewhere, it is used for a father's clanswoman in the second ascending generation, except the paternal grandmother who is always na'n. The term is also considered correct for a clanswoman of the father in the first and second descending generations, but it is rarely thus used in practice and only once appears in this sense in the author's genealogies. Another term is always preferred if the woman in question belongs to the spouse's clan or a closely associated one or if her father is a member of the speaker's or an associated clan. A woman of the opposite moiety but not of the paternal clan is called sq'a'n if she were brought up with the speaker's father in the same house, and the plural is extended to the women of the opposite moiety irrespective of clan and generation. With these two exceptions, however, the term is confined to the father's clanswomen. The compound descriptive terms da'g'it (brother's child) and q'a'g'it (maternal uncle's child) have today almost entirely superseded the older denotative term 'wv'c'vη as reciprocals of sq'a'n.

Lowie¹⁰ has suggested the term "amitate"—on the analogy of "avunculate"—for a special relation between a person and his paternal aunt. The Haida furnish an excellent illustration, albeit they extend the relation to the female cross-cousin on the father's side. At every crisis in the life of an individual his sq'a'^{aunt's present}na'laη play an important rôle, and they usually receive compensation for their services in the form of presents. When a child is born, its sq'a'n cuts the umbilical cord with a knife—one used by the father in the case of a boy, by the mother if a girl—and afterwards secretes the knife in some dry place outdoors, e.g., under the roots of a spruce tree. She ties the cord with a string made from cedar bark and dresses it with powdered charcoal to cause it to heal rapidly. She cleans out the infant's mouth with

¹⁰ AA 34: 534, 1932.

her finger, feeds it a little eulachon grease, gives it a drink of tepid water, greases its body, bathes it in warm water, and places it in the cradle. Then she collects the afterbirth and the bloodstained bedding and clothing and burns them. It is the sq'a'n who tattooes a child at the house-building potlatch given by its parents, and who pierces its earlobes and nasal septum—
 ? in the case of a girl also her lower lip for the labret—at a funeral potlatch given by its father. When a girl reaches puberty (t'a'gwona) she is secluded, usually for a month, behind a screen or sail in her parents' house. Here she is visited daily by her sq'a'-'na'laη, who talk to her, cook and care for her, and at the end of the period bathe her, dress her in new garments, and burn the soiled bedding and clothing. She gives away to them all the toys, trinkets, and clothes of her girlhood, and at her "coming-out" feast they receive valuable presents from her mother. At a wedding the sq'a'n of the groom conducts the bride to him, seats her by his side, and by this act seals the union. It is she, moreover, who gives the wedding feast immediately after the ceremony. When a person is ill, his sq'a'n takes care of him, and when others leave the village, e.g., for the salmon season, she remains behind to tend him. When the patient lies at the point of death, his sq'a'-'na'laη bring out all his property, drape it on the wall behind the bed, and pile it on the floor. Though other relatives come to visit, none but a sq'a'n may touch the patient. Immediately after death the eldest sq'a'n bathes the body, dresses it in fresh clothing, smears the face with deer grease and decorates it with red stripes, wraps the body in mats, furs, or ceremonial blankets, places a dancing hat on its head, and props it on a box in the seat of honor behind the fireplace, where it remains in state for four days. The sq'a'-'na'laη in relays keep a vigil over the corpse for four nights, and after the funeral they burn the clothes, bedding, utensils, and all other articles contaminated by contact with the deceased during his last illness.

No restriction is placed upon sex relations between unmarried persons of opposite moieties and similar ages, and this holds true particularly of a young man and his sq'a'-'na'laη. If the girl becomes pregnant, her mother and sisters take the matter up with the mother and maternal uncles of the boy, who is then compelled to marry her. In any case, the preferred marriage is with a sq'a'n of the same generation, though not necessarily a first cousin. A nephew who is in line to succeed to a chiefship, however, usually marries his q'a'g'at, i.e., the daughter of the maternal uncle whose place he is to take.

A man is under a special obligation to protect his sq'a'n from insult and injury. For any service, favor, or gift received from a sq'a'n, a man or woman must make a return present of greater intrinsic value, although,

according to one M informant, such a return is necessary only for a solicited favor. A sq'a'n has the right to ask her 'wu'c'vη for any object she owns, and it must be given her without expectation of any return. At a feast, double portions of food are always served to the sq'a'na'laη of the host. When a man and his wife entertain the sq'a'n of either at a meal, they heap the board with quantities of food—boxes of grease and berries, etc., none of which have been opened before—and after the guest has left they send all the remains of the food to her house. When they are entertained in return, they similarly receive the left-over food, but they are further obligated to send a valuable present back with the dishes.

9. 'lan (M), 'la'ana (H), 'lga'nga (S). Voc.: 'la'ne (M and H), 'la'nai (S). Pl.: 'la'na'laη (M), 'la'alaη (H), 'lga'ngalaη (S). Primary meaning: "male cross-cousin" (m. and w.sp.).

The term is applied to the father's sister's son, from whom it is extended to all the men of the father's clan in the speaker's generation. It is also used, at least in M and H, for male cross-cousins on the mother's side, i.e., for the son of any man of the mother's clan and generation. The author's principal S informant insisted that it cannot be used for a q'a'ga'g'tga (maternal uncle's son) unless he happens to belong to the father's clan. There is other conflicting evidence on this point, and the author feels incompetent to decide whether the term referred originally to male cross-cousins in general or, like sq'a'n, only to those on the father's side. In the plural it is used for the younger men of the opposite moiety irrespective of clan, and of the descending generations as well as of that of the speaker.

Durlach's¹¹ speculation about this term, to the effect that it may represent a special relationship of the joking type established by the impersonation of supernatural beings in some ceremony, lacks any foundation in fact. It arose from her erroneous information concerning the use of the father-son terminology for cross-cousins.

The relationship with a 'lan parallels in many respects that with a sq'a'n. Male cross-cousins assist the female in tattooing. A woman's labret is made by her 'lan. An unmarried girl may have sexual relations with her 'la'na'laη, and she eventually marries one of them. When a person dies, his 'la'na'laη construct the coffin, assist the sq'a'na'laη in arranging the body and keeping the nightly vigil, and at the funeral carry the corpse out through an artificial aperture in the side of the house and deposit it in the grave, burial house, or mortuary column. At a feast a 'lan is given double portions of food. An article for which he asks must be given to him without

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

expectation of remuneration. When a man returns from a hunting or fishing trip and lands on the beach with his canoe, his 'la'ná'láη are privileged to help themselves as they like from his catch of fish, game, or furs, and he can raise no objection. Male cross-cousins watch over and protect one another. If a man gets into trouble, e.g., his canoe drifts away in a storm, it is his 'lan who goes to his aid or rescue, rather than his brother, son, or nephew. For this, as for all services and gifts from a cross-cousin, a valuable present is expected in return.

The term is everywhere falling into disuse today, being gradually supplanted by the compound descriptive terms 'γῶηna't, xatna't, and q'a'gít.

10. 'wv'c'vn (M), 'wv's'wvn (H), 'wvsǵv'ngá (S). Voc.: 'wv'c'vnai (M), 'wvs'wvne' (H), 'wv'sǵvna'i (S). Pl.: 'wvc'v'ná'láη (M), 'wvs'wv'naláη (H), 'wvsǵv'ngaláη (S). Primary meaning: "cross-cousin" and "brother's child" of either sex (m. and w.sp.).

This term, which is unquestionably the same as Swanton's sǵv'ngá and Durlach's ho'sǵonai, is losing ground today in H, is rare in S, and is obsolete in M, where it is remembered only by the oldest inhabitants. It was not given spontaneously in the genealogical lists and was elicited only by questioning the informants, who did not always act as though they were certain of its definition. Only partial reliance, therefore, should be placed on the following statements. The term seems to be most commonly employed (m. and w.sp.) for the son or daughter of a brother, being in this sense reciprocal with sq'a'n and ye'. It is likewise used (w.sp.) for the son or daughter of a maternal uncle (q'a), being reciprocal here with sq'a'n. It is also said to be applied (m. and w.sp.) in M and H to a sq'a'n of the speaker's generation as distinguished from other sq'a'ná'láη. There is conflicting evidence as to whether it can be used (m.sp.) for a 'lan. It is certainly not applicable to persons of an ascending generation. In modern usage it is ordinarily replaced by the compound descriptive terms q'a'gít, da'gít, k'wa'igít, do'ngít, 'γῶηna't, and xatna't. For the sociological implications of the relationship, see under sq'a'n and 'lan.

11. k'wai (M and H), k'wa'igá (S). Voc.: gwa'ye (M and H), gwa'iyai (S). Pl.: k'wa'i'láη (M), k'wa'iláη (H), k'wa'igaláη (S). Primary meaning: "elder brother" (m.sp.) and "elder sister" (w.sp.).

As used by a man, the term is extended from own elder brother to a father's brother's son, a mother's sister's son, and a fellow clansman of the same generation, in each case referring to a man older than the speaker. The usage by a woman in reference to an older woman of the speaker's generation is identical. Sometimes the term is used for an older person of the speaker's sex and generation in another clan of the same moiety, but

usually a different form of the vocative is employed: *di k'wa'i 'tsis* (M), etc. The plural is used for two or more brothers or sisters, and, in a very extended sense, for the men (m.sp.) or the women (w.sp.) of the speaker's moiety, irrespective of clan and generation.

The relation between two brothers is friendly and coöperative, but lacking in the excessive intimacy of a joking relationship. They fish, hunt, and engage in other activities together. They make frequent presents to each other. Either has the right to ask for a possession of the other as a gift, and he cannot be refused. An elder brother is consulted about the marriage of his junior. The relationship between sisters runs parallel on all these points. The younger brother (do'n) helps the elder to accumulate property for a house-building potlatch, and the elder later reciprocates. Sometimes, in M and H but not in S, two brothers combine their resources and give a house-building potlatch together. Very commonly the younger brother lives with the elder. When a clan or house chief dies, he is succeeded by his younger brother; by a nephew only in default of own brothers. An inheritance is never split; although small objects of personal property may be distributed among several brothers and nephews, all privileges and all property of importance descend *in toto* to the next of kin. Where a younger brother is the heir, he gives the funeral potlatch, erects the mortuary column, takes the potlatch name, and weds the widow of his predecessor precisely as does a nephew. The levirate prevails among the Haida only in the case of chiefs. At a woman's death, her property descends to her sister only in default of daughters; a daughter, however, customarily makes gifts from the inheritance to her mother's surviving sisters.

12. do'n (M and H), do'gāngā (S). Voc.: do'ne (M and H), do'nai (S). Pl.: do'nā'laη (M), do'nalaη (H), do'gā'galαη (S). Primary meaning: "younger brother" (m.sp.) and "younger sister" (w.sp.).

This term, in its use and extension, exactly parallels *k'wai*, except that it refers to a person younger instead of older than the speaker. The plural, however, refers particularly to the younger men of the speaker's moiety (m.sp.) or to the younger women (w.sp.).

13. da' (M and H), da'gā (S). Voc.: da'ai (M), da'e (H), da'gā'i (S). Pl.: da''laη (M), da''alaη (H), da'gā'galαη (S). Primary meaning: "brother" (w.sp.).

From own brother, either elder or younger, the term is extended to father's brother's son, mother's sister's son, and any man of the speaker's clan and generation. For a man of the speaker's generation in another clan of the same moiety a different form of the vocative is usually employed:

di da' 'is̄is (M), etc. The plural is extended to all the men, or the younger men in particular, of the speaker's moiety.

A brother and sister (djas) play together as children, but with the puberty of the latter a period of strict avoidance begins. They may not wrestle together or otherwise come into close physical contact. Neither is permitted to sit or lie on the other's bed. They do not even converse together. After the sister's marriage the avoidance is tempered to a moderate reserve, which forbids only undue joking and physical intimacy. In S, usage differs slightly from M and H, in that the avoidance is rather less pronounced and does not terminate with the sister's marriage. Brothers and sisters assist one another at feasts and potlatches, and attend festivities together. A married woman takes pride in entertaining her brother and his wife both frequently and lavishly. In particular, during the entire winter following the brother's marriage, his sisters in rotation entertain the newly wedded couple in their homes. Either the brother or the sister may ask for anything the other possesses, and cannot be refused; as in all similar cases, however, this right cannot be abused without loss of prestige. When a woman dies, her eldest surviving brother gives the funeral potlatch.

14. djas (M), djas (H), dja'ga (S). Voc.: dja'se (M and H), dja'sai (S). Pl.: dja'sa'laη (M), dja'salaη (H), dja'sgalαη (S). Primary meaning: "sister" (m.sp.).

From own sister, either elder or younger, the term is extended to father's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and any woman of the speaker's clan and generation. For a woman of the speaker's generation in a different clan of the same moiety the vocative di dja's 'is̄is (M), etc., is employed. The plural is applied to all the women of the same moiety, or more particularly to those of about the speaker's age. For the relationship between sister and brother, see under da'.

15. 'alnαηq'a's (M, H, and S). Voc.: (di) 'alnαηq'a's (M, H, and S). Pl.: 'alnαηq'e'yawas (M, H, and S). Primary meaning: "child of father's clansman" (m. and w.sp.).

Except for the M and H vocatives and plurals, the forms given above are open to suspicion. The singular probably differs slightly from the vocative. After one vain attempt to elicit a different form from one M informant, the author gave it up and carelessly neglected to come back to the subject. The S forms probably differ from those of M and H.¹² They were recorded when an S informant agreed with the M forms, with which he was certainly familiar, and again the author neglected to pursue the subject further.

¹² Cf. Durlach, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

The term refers to a person of either sex whose father belonged to the same clan as the speaker's father, but it is never used for a member of the speaker's own clan. It is not confined to persons of the speaker's generation.¹³ The term is most commonly used between men, much more rarely by women or by men with reference to women.

Between two men the relationship is one of excessive intimacy and license. Like two brothers, they hunt and fish together, and have the right to ask each other for articles of property. When one is in trouble, the other comes to his assistance. If one contemplates an adventure or lark of any kind, e.g., to keep a tryst with a pair of unmarried girls, he will ask his 'aln̄aŋq'a's to accompany him in preference to any one else. The most striking feature of the relationship is the license it permits. The two men play practical jokes upon one another. Like college roommates amongst ourselves, they heap insults and scurrilous language upon each other without ever taking offense. One will even, in jest, employ the most potent rites of black magic against the other in the latter's presence. The joking does not cease even on the deathbed. In one reported case, for instance, a younger man, while visiting his aged 'aln̄aŋq'a's as the latter lay seriously ill, happened to notice some attractive food and immediately offered aloud a prayer for his friend's speedy demise so that he himself might enjoy the victuals. In S this license, though prevalent, does not go to quite such extremes as at M and H.

Between women the relationship is much less prominent, but a similar license in a milder form does prevail. Between a man and a woman liberties are inhibited between the puberty and marriage of the latter by a taboo similar to that between brother and sister. After the woman's marriage, however, at least in M, a moderate amount of joking, unconventional language, and even physical intimacy is allowed.

16. ḡt (M and H), ḡ'tḡa (S). No vocative. Pl.: ḡt'da'laŋ (M), ḡ't'alaŋ (H). Primary meaning: "child" (m. and w.sp.).

When a vocative form is required, resort is had to a term of etiquette, particularly lq'an and di'naŋ.

The term is used by either a man or a woman for his own son or daughter; if it is desired to emphasize that the child is female, gudja'ŋ is employed instead. The term is extended to all persons of either sex in the first descending generation of the speaker's own clan (w.sp.), or of the wife's clan (m.sp.), except that the descriptive terms k'wa'iḡt and do'nḡt are preferred for a man's brother's child. Occasionally the term is extended, in H and S but

¹³ *Contra* Durlach, *op. cit.*; p. 109.

not in M, to persons of the first descending generation in other clans of the child's moiety. The plural is used by old men to refer to persons of the opposite moiety irrespective of clan and generation, and by old women similarly for members of their own moiety. For the relations between a child and his father, mother, paternal uncle, and maternal aunt, see under 'γωη, xat, ye, and 'au.

17. gudja'η (M), gudja'ηa (H), gudja'ηga (S). No vocative. Pl.: gudja'ηα'λαη (M), gudja'ηαλαη (H), gudja'ηγαλαη (S). Primary meaning: "daughter" (m. and w.sp.).

This term may be substituted for g̃t wherever the latter is used for a female. There is, however, no tendency to employ gudja'η regularly for "daughter," reserving g̃t for "son." The latter carries no implication of maleness, and is always used for daughter unless an adequate reason exists for specifying sex.

18. nat (M and H), na'tga (S). Voc.: na'de (M and H), nada'i (S). Pl.: na'dα'λαη (M), na'tαλαη (H), na'tγαλαη (S). Primary meaning: "sister's child" (m.sp.).

From the son or daughter of an own sister, the term is extended to any person of either sex in the first descending generation of the speaker's clan, and also to a clansman of either sex in the second descending generation except an own grandchild, who is always called t'a'k'an. For a member of a descending generation in another clan of the speaker's moiety a special vocative form is employed: di na't 'sis (M), etc. The plural is used—by older men only—to refer to the members of the speaker's moiety irrespective of clan and generation. For the relationship between a sister's son or daughter and the maternal uncle, see under q'a.

19. t'a'k'an (M and H), t'a'k'inga (S). Voc.: t'a'k'ane (M), t'a'k'ane' (H), t'a'k'inai (S). Pl.: t'a'k'α'να'λαη (M), t'a'k'α'ναλαη (H), t'a'k'ι'ngαλαη (S). Primary meaning: "grandchild" (m. and w.sp.).

The term is always used by both sexes for an own grandson or granddaughter, the child of either a son or a daughter. It is extended to any person of the opposite moiety in the second descending generation, except that a woman usually calls those in her husband's clan tla'lnat and that a man preferably uses na'tg̃t for the child of his sister's son. It is also extended to persons of the speaker's own moiety in the second descending generation, except that a man employs nat for those of his own clan. Frequently in M and occasionally in H the term is further used for a person of the first descending generation in the speaker's moiety but of another clan. Finally, it can be used as a friendly term of address for any boy or girl, irrespective of kinship affiliation, who is young enough to be a grandchild. The plural is

or the like. Since residence is prevailingly matrilocal, a man at his marriage, if not before, goes to live with his father-in-law. He helps the latter in every way, e.g., building the fire each morning, fishing for him, etc. His father-in-law supplies him with weapons, food, and clothing for himself and his wife. The two men treat each other with marked respect. They converse but rarely and only with averted faces, and neither will joke or speak lightly in the presence of the other.

A daughter-in-law (*ǵitadja'*) of a man is usually also his niece (*nat*), and in S the relationship between them is characterized by the same reserve as that between a woman and her maternal uncle (*q'a*). In M and H, however, this is replaced by a mild form of joking relation, like that between a man and his female *'alɲaŋq'a'a's*. The relationship between a woman and her son-in-law has already been described under *dju'na'n*.

24. *dji'ŋa'* (M and H), *dji'ŋaga* (S). No vocative. Pl.: *dji'ŋa''laŋ* (M), *dji'ŋa''alaŋ* (H), *dji'ŋagalax* (S). Primary meaning: "sister-in-law" (w.sp.).

When a vocative is needed, that of *sq'a'n* is usually employed. Usage in the case of this term differs in the three villages. In M it is applied to the husband's sister or her daughter and, by extension, to any woman whom the husband calls *djæs* or *nat*, i.e., to any clanswoman of the husband in the speaker's or the first descending generation. It is not used reciprocally, the descriptive terms *da'dja* and *q'a'dja* being employed instead. In H, on the other hand, it is used not only in both M senses but also reciprocally instead of *da'dja* and *q'a'dja*. In S it is used reciprocally, precisely as in H, but it is further applied to son's wife, where it is reciprocal with *dju'na'n*. The plural refers to the women, particularly the younger women, of the husband's clan.

Sisters-in-law are friendly and coöperative like own sisters or mother and daughter. They help one another in giving feasts and in their routine labors, and they entertain each other frequently at meals. At a wedding the bride's *dji'ŋa''laŋ* shower her with presents of dishes, baskets, clothing, etc. For an entire winter following the wedding the groom's sisters, beginning with the eldest, entertain the bridal couple in rotation in their homes, and during this time they allow the bride to do no work.

25. *q'e'* (M and H), *q'e'aga* (S). Voc.: *q'e''e* (M and H), *q'e'agi* (S). Pl.: *q'e''laŋ* (M), *q'e''alaŋ* (H), *q'ea'galax* (S). Primary meaning: "brother-in-law" (m.sp.).

This term is used reciprocally between a man and his wife's brother, his wife's maternal uncle, and, by extension, any man of the wife's clan of the speaker's or an ascending generation. It is also employed between a man

and the husband of a female 'aɪnaŋq'a's. The plural refers to all the men of the wife's clan.

In H, but not in M or S, the term is also used by women, but in reference to women rather than men. Thus it is employed reciprocally between a woman and her husband's sister, her husband's sister's daughter, any woman of the husband's clan in the speaker's or the first descending generation, or the husband's female 'aɪnaŋq'a's. The plural refers to the women of the husband's clan. As used by women in H, q'ε' is entirely synonymous with dj:ŋa', and it is slightly preferred to the latter as a warmer and more intimate term.

The relationship between brothers-in-law is characterized by mutual respect and a measure of formality. It lacks the intimacy of the relation between brothers and also the restraint of that between father- and son-in-law. The two men converse freely and even joke in moderation, but a definite undercurrent of reserve is always apparent. A man would be ashamed, for example, to ask his q'ε' to return a loan. They help one another in economic activities, and exchange presents from time to time. If one shoots a deer, makes a good haul of fish, or the like, he always presents a portion of his catch to the other, who is obligated to make some gift in return. After having dined by invitation at the house of his q'ε', a man must send a valuable present to his host in returning the dishes on which he received the remains of the food. An invitation from a sq'a'n is the only other similar occasion requiring a return gift. When the clans of the two men are engaged in a war or feud, they never personally fight against each other, but each seeks to protect the other from injury by his own clansmen.

26. ɪ'no (M and H), ɪ'naŋo (S). Vocative: ɪ'nawe (M and H), ɪ'naŋwa'i (S), ɪ'nas (southernmost dialect). Pl.: ɪ'nawe'a'ŋa (M), ɪ'nawe'ha'ŋa (H), ɪ'na'golαŋ (S). Primary meaning: "sister-in-law" (m.sp.) and "brother-in-law" (w.sp.).

This term is always used reciprocally and between persons of opposite sex. Thus it is applied by a man to his brother's wife and his wife's sister, and by a woman to her husband's brother and her sister's husband. It is also extended (m.sp.) to all women of the wife's clan and generation and (w.sp.) to all men of the husband's clan and generation. In M and H, but not in S, it is further extended (w.sp.) to all the men of the husband's clan and (m.sp.) to the wife of any q'a or nat. The plural is used by women for the men of the husband's clan and by men for the women, especially the younger women, of the wife's clan.

Between ɪ'no and ɪ'no-there prevails a joking relationship of great intimacy and considerable license. They wrestle and play together very

freely. They make fun of, laugh at, and play practical jokes on each other, and maintain an attitude of mutual banter and good fellowship. They are also privileged to carry on sex relations, at least if they are of similar age, and particularly if one is unmarried. Thus a man regards his wife's younger and unmarried sister, who is of course usually a housemate, almost as a secondary wife. Such affairs are only partially, not fully, sanctioned by the mores. They are regarded much as drinking is in a country under Prohibition, namely, as something technically wrong perhaps but nevertheless to be expected, human nature being what it is. If they are carried on clandestinely, as is usually the case, it is to avoid the winks and smiles of tolerant amusement rather than the scowls of an outraged moral sense. A husband or wife is not infrequently jealous of his wayward spouse, but he usually keeps his eyes closed to avoid the ridicule in which a public exposure would involve him. In any case he is powerless to take action, for he has no redress against a clansman.

Under the prevailing forms of the levirate and sororate a widow or widower remarries a H'no. Remarriage with any one else requires the consent of the clan of the deceased spouse.

27. s'wa'na (M), sa'wa'na (H), sgwa'nağa (S). Voc.: s'wa'na (M), sa'wa'na (H), sgwa'nağa'i (S). Pl.: s'wa'na'lαη (M), sa'wa'nαlαη (H), sgwa'nağalαη (S). Primary meaning: "wife's sister's husband" (m.sp.) and "husband's brother's wife" (w.sp.).

The term is employed, always reciprocally, between two men of different clans who have married sisters and between two women who have married brothers. It is extended (m.sp.) to any man of another clan who has married a woman in the clan of the speaker's wife, and (w.sp.) to any woman of another clan who has married a clansman of the husband. It is never used for a member of the speaker's clan, and is in actual practice more used by men than by women.

The relationship is a friendly coöperative one differing in no important respects from that between sisters or brothers.

TERMS OF ETIQUETTE

Among the many Haida terms of etiquette it seems appropriate to notice briefly a few which are implicated with the social organization or kinship system. Those listed below are selected because they refer either solely or preferentially to members of a particular moiety or clan, or to definite kinsmen; in the latter case, especially in direct address where the proper kinship term lacks a vocative form. The terms are given only in the vocative, which is always the usual form and often the only one.

28. tawi' (M and H), ta'xu (S). Primary meaning: "friend" (m. and w.sp.). This term is used for a member of one's own moiety irrespective of sex, clan, and generation. It is sometimes extended to members of the opposite moiety, but never to non-Haidas. *friend*

29. st'a'gvl (M and H only). Primary meaning: "guest friend" (m.sp.). The term applies to the partner in an artificial relationship established between clan chiefs in distant villages either of the Haida or of other tribes. The relationship can be established only with a chief of the same moiety, or of an equivalent phratry in another tribe, e.g., the Tsimshian. Each chief entertains the other lavishly in his home, makes him a handsome gift, and presents him with a privileged name from his own clan fund. Once begun in this manner, the relationship is maintained in perpetuity by the heirs of the original partners. One st'a'gvl never engages in war against the other. The house of either is a sanctuary in which the other may find refuge and protection at any time. In former times it was only by taking advantage of this relationship that the Haida were enabled to carry on their extensive trade with the Tsimshian, despite the inveterate hostility of the two tribes. The term is also employed by courtesy, even where there is no hereditary compact, for a man of the speaker's moiety in a distant branch of the Haida or for a man of a corresponding phratry in another tribe. *fictive kinship*

30. st'α (S only). A polite term of address used by a man in speaking to a man of the opposite moiety, particularly to a clansman of the wife.

31. dla (S only). A respectful term used chiefly by women in addressing a man of the speaker's own moiety.

32. dja'ne (M and H), djana'i (S). In S this term is said to apply (m.sp.) specifically to a female cross-cousin on the mother's side, provided she does not belong to the clan of the speaker's father. In M and H it means simply "sweetheart," and is confined to women of the opposite moiety.

33. gwvne' (M), gwvna' (H and S). In S this is said to be a recent importation from M. The term is used (m. and w.sp) in addressing or greeting any man or boy younger than the speaker. It is, however, usually applied by a woman to a man of her own moiety, and by a man to a man of the opposite moiety.

34. gæde' (M and H only). A polite term of address (m. and w.sp.) for any girl or woman younger than the speaker in the opposite moiety.

35. lq'an (M and H), lq'en (S). This term is used as a vocative (m. and w.sp.) wherever ġit (child) would otherwise be employed. It is also commonly applied (m.sp.) to persons of a descending generation in the opposite moiety and in clans other than that of the speaker's wife and *child*

children, and (w.sp.) to persons of a descending generation in other clans of the speaker's moiety. Finally, it is sometimes applied by a man to children belonging to other clans of his own moiety, and by a woman to children of the opposite moiety except members of her husband's clan, who are called *tla'lnat*.

36. *di'na'η* (M and S), *di'nαη* (H). This term is used synonymously with *lq'αη* in all cases. It is rather more common than the latter in H, and less common in M and S.

COMPOUND DESCRIPTIVE TERMS

The Haida freely compound their primary terms of consanguinity and affinity to form descriptive terms. Almost the only combination which might be expected, but which does not exist, is *sq'a'ngit*. There seems to be operative a definite tendency to substitute descriptive terms for primary denotative ones, and this has resulted in the obsolescence of the latter in certain instances, e.g., *'lan* and *'wv'c'vn*. Since the descriptive terms are regularly formed, it will be necessary only to mention those in most frequent use and to cite the M forms alone.

37. *q'a'dja* (m. and w.sp.). Maternal uncle's wife.
38. *da'dja* (w.sp.). Brother's wife.
39. *sq'a'ntla'l* (m. and w.sp.). Husband of a *sq'a'n*.
40. *'γc'ηnat* (m.sp.) and *xa'tnat* (w.sp.). Cross-cousin on the father's side.
41. *q'a'git* (m. and w.sp.). Cross-cousin on the mother's side.
42. *k'wa'igit*. Elder brother's child (m.sp.) and elder sister's child (w.sp.). For a younger brother's child (m.sp.) and a younger sister's child (w.sp.), *do'ngit* is similarly used.
43. *da'git* (w.sp.). Brother's child.
44. *tla'lnat* (w.sp.). Husband's sister's child.
45. *git'αdja'* (m. and w.sp.). Daughter-in-law.

TABLES

The terms, individually defined above, may now be brought together in four genealogical tables in order to gain a perspective of the system as a whole. Table 1 shows the terms for a male ego, except those employed for relatives through the wife; which are given in Table 3. Table 2 similarly shows the terms for a female ego, except that those for relatives through the husband are arranged in Table 4. The M forms alone are listed, except in cases of divergence, when the variant forms are also given.

TABLE 1. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (M.SP.)

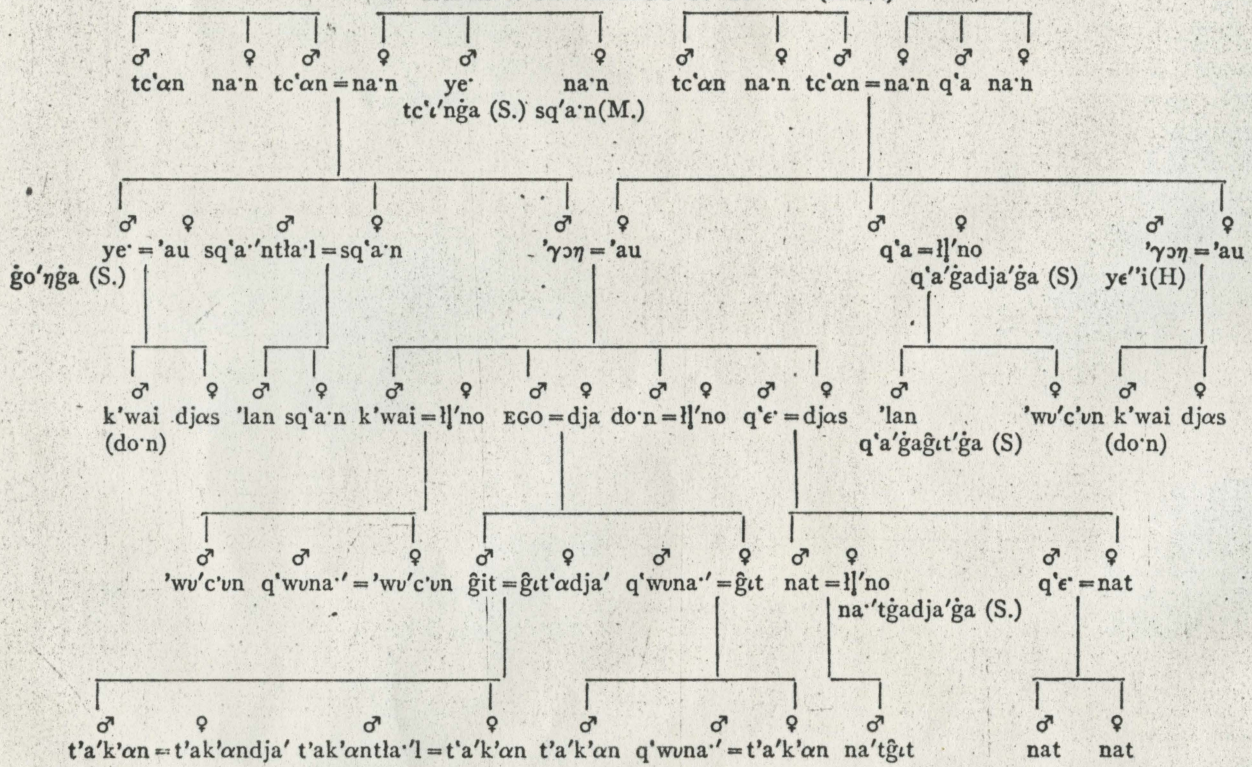


TABLE 2. GENEALOGY OF TERMS (W.SP.)

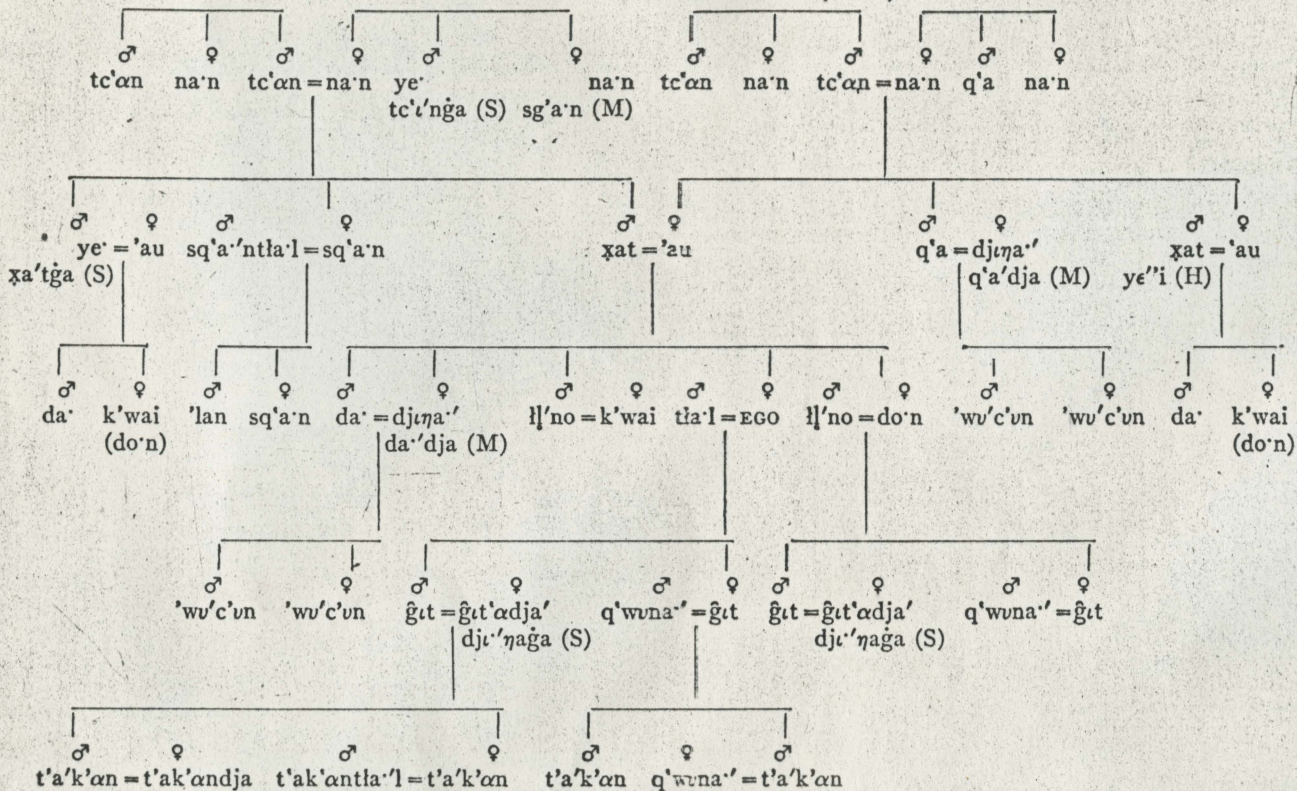


TABLE 3. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR WIFE'S RELATIVES

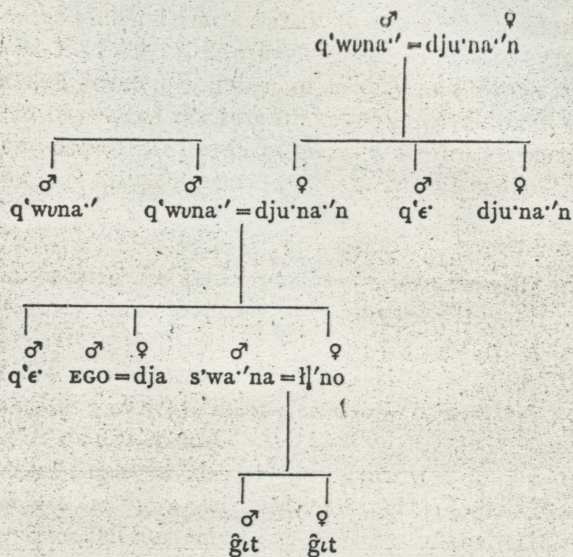
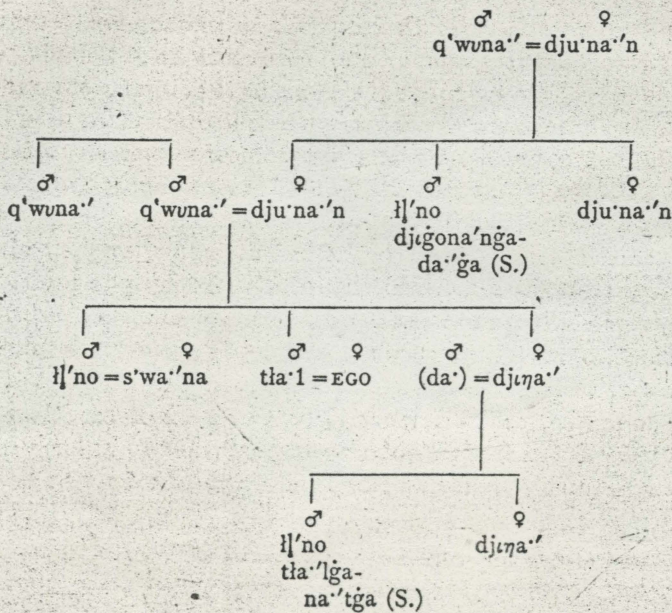


TABLE 4. GENEALOGY OF TERMS FOR HUSBAND'S RELATIVES



CONCLUSIONS

The system as above described may be analyzed for comparative purposes on the basis of the criteria worked out by Kroeber¹⁶ and Lowie.¹⁷

There is a well developed system of affinity in addition to that of consanguinity, and in general the two are kept rigidly distinct. Confusion occurs in only two important instances, in both of which a consanguine term is employed for a relative by marriage; namely, the use of "mother" ('au) for father's brother's wife and of "father" ('γωη) for mother's sister's husband.

In consonance with the dual organization into moieties with unilateral matrilineal descent, relatives through the father are regularly distinguished from similar relatives through the mother, e.g., paternal from maternal uncles and aunts. An important exception is to be noted in the second ascending generation, where tc'an and na'n refer respectively to grandfather and grandmother on either side.

The collateral lines are almost wholly merged in the lineal. Thus a mother's sister is called "mother," and her daughter is called "sister." Terms are ordinarily extended not only to the siblings of the relative in question but to all his clansmen of the same sex and generation. Two exceptions are to be noted to this rule. The term for "father" ('γωη) is not extended in M and H, and the term for "grandfather" (tc'an) is not extended when used for a paternal grandparent of the speaker's clan. Except in the cases of 'alnαηq'a's and of tc'an when used for a younger clansman of the paternal grandfather, the extension even exceeds the confines of the clan and applies to members of other clans linked to the one in question by ties of traditional common descent or residence in a single village. A few terms, especially those for "grandfather," "grandmother," and "grandchild," are extended throughout the entire moiety. Durlach,¹⁸ working with text material, has greatly underestimated the extent of merging in the Haida system.

Distinctions of generation are widely ignored in the system of affinity, where most of the terms are reciprocal. They are usually respected in the terms for lineal kinsmen. The terms for collateral relatives, notably q'a, ye, sq'a'n, 'wv'c'un, and nat, tend to apply to at least two generations. Extreme instances of the disregard of generation are the use of tc'an for any male member of the paternal grandfather's clan irrespective of his age and the custom of calling a person who bears the name of a deceased

¹⁶ A. L. Kroeber, *Classificatory Systems of Relationship*, JRAI 39: 77-85, 1909.

¹⁷ R. H. Lowie, *Relationship Terms*, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, (14th edition, London), 1929.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 96, 98, 102.

relative by the kinship term once applied to the latter. Relative age within a generation is recognized only in the terms for siblings of the same sex (k'wai and do'n).

The sex of the speaker is distinguished in the terms for father, siblings, siblings-in-law, and sister's child. The sex of the relative is distinguished in all terms except those numbered 10, 15, 16, 18, and 19. The sameness of sex of speaker and relative is implicit in terms 11, 12, 24, 25, and 27. Oppositeness of sex is implied, other than incidentally, in 11'no. The reciprocal use of a single term occurs with numbers 9, 15, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27.

The system as a whole conforms to Lowie's "bifurcate merging" type. Spier,¹⁹ on the basis of inadequate information, tentatively classes the Haida system under his "Crow type," the distinguishing characteristic of which is the alignment of cross-cousins on the father's side with the first ascending generation and those on the mother's side with the first descending generation. In actuality, however, the system departs radically from this pattern, despite the use of a single term (sq'a'n) for father's sister and her daughter and the reciprocal use of 'wv'c'vn, and approaches much closer to the same author's "Iroquois type."²⁰

Although speculation as to the history of a kinship system is ever a risky undertaking, the author feels that there is much to be said in favor of the reconstruction advanced by Durlach.²¹ Her theory, in brief, is that the Haida system originated as an individual family system much like our own except that it disregarded sex in the descending generations. Then, with the introduction of the dual or moiety organization, came the necessity of distinguishing relatives on the father's side from those on the mother's, and bifurcation appeared with the narrowing down of existing terms and the introduction of certain new ones. Finally, with the development of the clan system, many terms were extended from particular individuals to all their fellow clansmen of the same sex and generation.

In details, to be sure, Durlach's theory may be open to question, and on certain points it is definitely wrong, e.g., her conclusions on cross-cousin terminology based on erroneous information. In its broad outlines, however, it has the support of a number of facts. That the terms for grandfather, grandmother, and grandchild show no cleavage along moiety lines, for example, seems best explained as due to their origin in a family system and their resistance to a later bifurcation into moieties. This would be more

¹⁹ L. Spier, *The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America*, UW-PA 1: 72-74, 1925.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 99-103.

difficult to account for under the assumption of an original thoroughgoing dual organization.

That the division into moieties is antecedent to, and more fundamental than, that into clans seems beyond all question. In origin the clan appears to be merely the localized segment of a moiety settled in a particular village. It is still possible to trace in many instances the various steps by which a migrating portion of a clan becomes successively a sub-clan, an independent clan retaining a traditional bond with the mother clan, and finally a distinct clan with no indication of the former connection except a common fund of crests. The reverse process is also traceable. One clan moves into a village inhabited by an entirely distinct clan of the same moiety. The two become allied in war. They participate in each other's councils. Their funds of crests gradually become merged. Eventually they become to all intents and purposes a single clan. Clearly the moiety is fundamental, the clan secondary and almost accidental.

In spite of its secondary nature, the clan has unquestionably exerted a strong influence in bringing about the extension of terms from lineal to collateral relatives. Only 'γɔŋ and tc'an have been able partially to resist this tendency; the former only in Massett and Hydaburg, the latter only when used for a paternal grandfather of the speaker's own clan. The probable explanation of these exceptions lies in the very important social rôles of the lineal relatives in question, in which the collateral relatives do not share, for it is the father who confers social status through his potlatches and the paternal grandparent who contributes name and soul. The clan seems also to have operated strongly to override generation distinctions. Thus terms like q'a, ye', sq'a'n, q'ε', and ɪ'no, once probably confined to a single generation, are now extended within a clan to two or more. Perhaps the amitate paved the way. If a sq'a'n is to function at every crisis in the life of an individual, there must be sq'a'nα'lαŋ in at least three generations—a father's sister to bring him into the world as an infant, her daughter to minister to him in the prime of life, and her granddaughter to officiate at his funeral if he dies at an advanced age.

Other factors have doubtless also been operative in shaping the Haida system. Certain obscure linguistic influences probably lie behind the marked tendency, at least in recent times, to substitute compound descriptive terms for primary denotative ones. The notion of reincarnation, as already noted, has exerted a minor influence. Common residence or living together has probably been a significant factor. Thus the term sq'a'n is applied to a woman, even if she does not belong to the father's clan, if she grew up as a child in the same household with the father. The differentiation in

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terms between father's brother and father, but not between mother's sister and mother, is perhaps to be attributed to the fact that under matrilineal residence the last two are necessarily housemates while the first two are not.

The author admits the heresy of doubting whether diffusion has been a prominent factor directly in the evolution of the Haida kinship system. That there has been some borrowing of terms in the area is unquestioned. Sapir,²² for example, has shown that the Haida term *ḡat* has been adopted by the Tsimshian. But the Tsimshian system follows a pattern radically different from that of the Haida; while the Tlingit system, despite a fundamental similarity in structure, reveals such thoroughgoing differences in details as to exclude the possibility of wholesale borrowing. In so far as diffusion has been a factor at all, it would seem to have been operative, not within the kinship system itself, but in the field of social organization in general, where it would have produced the similar conditions—phratries, clans, potlatch, privileges, etc.—to which the kinship systems of the several tribes have had independently to adjust.

However well or ill the facts in this paper may lend themselves to conjectural reconstruction of tribal history, they certainly present a striking example of the manner in which a native kinship system can permeate every phase of the life of a people and determine or canalize social behavior in widely ramifying situations.

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²² E. Sapir, A Haida Kinship Term among the Tsimshian, AA 23: 233-34, 1921.