THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CLYDE INLET ESKIMOS

by

DAVID STEVENSON

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M.A., University of British Columbia, 1964

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Department of **Anthropology**

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver 8, Canada

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is concerned with the interpretation and clarification of a particular set of data dealing with the social organization and behaviour of two groups of Eskimos trading into the post at Clyde River, northeast Baffin Island.

An attempt is made to show that both kinship and what I call extra-kinship factors are important in gaining an understanding of otherwise inexplicable behaviour.

The kinship system, it is posited, is only one system of behaviour and is closely linked with the extra-kinship system with its involvement of spouse-exchange and the production of half-siblings thus creating kinship ties where none had existed before. These ties, in turn, fade at the boundaries so that each succeeding generation must create its own extra-kinship ties.

Within the bounds of either the kinship or the extra-kinship systems the people operate in terms of dyadic pairs. This is most clearly demonstrated for the kinship system but is also shown for the extra-kinship system.

Still other systems of information dispersal and social control could be seen in a) the gossip circle and in b) the adult-exclusive peer groups among the unmarried
population. Further to this is the existence of a well-defined hierarchical system of status and influence. The latter system functions to specify who is the legitimate authority figure in various situations.

The two groups of Eskimos mentioned show unique bonding across kinship lines through the operation of the extra-kinship system, the *iligit* system. This bonding is what serves to give a degree of cohesion to the entire population.

The existence of two groups in the area is a direct result of historical events beginning with the initial depopulation of the area and ending, essentially, with the return of Eskimos about one hundred years later. By that time the whaling operations on the northeast coast of Baffin Island had ceased and the fur-traders had arrived.

The effects of whaler and trader contacts in recent historical times is shown to have had important consequences for the developing economy and the ecology of the area. It is further suggested that this in turn, has had equally important effects upon the social organization.

These results, for example, had direct impact upon residence patterns and camp formation. It is presumed that marriage patterns were affected and as a further consequence, kinship patterns and obligations were in turn subject to modification.

Chapter I sets out the problems to be investigated and discusses the *modus operandi*. Chapter II presents the
contemporary kinship system in the light of terminology and behaviour. Chapter III describes the extra-kinship system and attempts to show how this is linked with the kinship system of Chapter II. Chapter IV presents the historical background as a partial explanation of contemporary social organization especially in the area of the subsistence or economic system. Chapter V draws together the major conclusions arrived at during the analysis of materials in Chapters II, III, and IV, and particularly important is the conclusion that the relationship between the ilagit and the iligit systems cannot be overstressed as a major factor in lending cohesion and a sense of community for the larger social system. This cohesion is especially crucial for the exchange of information concerning vital relations between the indigenous population and the itinerant White population.
ORTHOGRAPHY

Since I am not a trained linguist, I had to resort to established phonologies for the presentation of Eskimo words. The orthography selected for use is that constructed by Lefebvre (1957) entitled: A Draft Orthography for the Canadian Eskimo. This orthography states that: "(1) Letters:

21, 17 simple letters and 4 compound letters. Our Principle is: one basic sound—one symbol. However, on account of the limitations of the Latin alphabet and the traditions of the same, we have not coined new symbols and we have been obliged to make compound, rather heavy, letters which symbolize strictly Eskimo phonemes: /ll/, /ng/, /rng/, /ts/. Each letter represents a phoneme of the Port Harrison dialect, except /e/, /o/.

/a/, /e/, /g/, /i/, /j/, /k/, /l/, /ll/, /m/, /n/, /ng/,
/rng/, /o/, /p/, /q/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /ts/, /u/, /v/.

DIPHTHONGS:

/ai/, /au/.

(2) Their Names:

"ah", "ay", "gah", "ee", "yah", "kah", "lah", "dlah/hlah",
"mah", "nah", "ngah", "rngah", "o", "pah", "rkah", "gkah",
"sah"/"hah", "tah", "tsah", "oo", "vah".

(3) Their Pronunciation in the International Phonetic Alphabet

[a] [I] [ya] [i] [ja] [ka] [la] [qa/qa]
[ma] [na] [na] [Na] [o] [pa] [qa] [Ra]
[sa/ha] [ta] [tsa] [u] [Ba/Va]

(ai) [au]
(4) **Vowel and Consonant Lengthening:**

A long consonant and a long vowel are shown by the doubling of the letter. Double /ng/ is written /nng/, -/ll/, /rng/ are not doubled; the same for /ts/.

/taaqtug/  "it is dark"

/tikippoq/  "he arrives"

N.B. We use no accents, as in Greenland, to denote the lengthening of a phoneme.

(5) **Capital Letters:**

For proper names and after a period (.).

(6) **Punctuation:**

Generally speaking, the marks are the same as in English; but the punctuation follows the Eskimo syntax.

(7) **Silent Letters:**

Strictly speaking, there are no silent letters in Eskimo. Every written letter is pronounced. Certain sounds, which are semi-silent, in the sense that they are faintly heard at the end of words (namely / -t/, / -k), are to be written.

(8) **Hyphenation:**

The hyphen can separate the members of a doubled consonant or vowel, but it cannot divide a diphthong nor a compound letter such as /ts/, /(n)ng/, /rng/, /ll/, /ai/. /au/ ..............................................................Cf. tikippoq "he arrives"................................. but ... sullapunga "I leave".

(9) **The Vowels /e/ and /o/:**

In conformity with the phonetic structure of Eskimo, there are only 3 basic vowels in the Northern branch of the Eskimo family of languages. As Theodore Bourquin, in his Grammatik der Eskimo Sprache, French translation by Balmes, in 1934, had stated, /e/ is a non-significant variation of /i/ before the "gutteral", which is called "uvular" by the linguists, or in final position, i.e. at the end of a word, when nothing follows. Similarly, /o/ is a variation or an "allophone" of /u/ in the same context as above. Bourquin writes that "the different spelling
of those vowels (i.e. /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/) is used BECAUSE OF THE EUROPEANS, and it is precisely because of them that it should be done after fixed rules (i.e. the context already described). This statement is a proof that the actual structure of the Eskimo language does not possess /e/ and /o/ as essential vowels. The native speaker can easily do without their spelling since, given /i/ and /u/, he will make/have them vary according to the context, on account of his subconscious feeling of his own language. Therefore, /e/, /o/ will appear before /g/ and at the end of a word. They will also appear in front of a cluster beginning with /r/, and before /-r/.
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BAFFIN ISLAND WITH PLACE NAMES
CHAPTER I

The literature on Eskimos and on Eskimo social organization abounds with references to their social 'flexibility' and to the loose organizational system as well as the 'diffuse' and/or atomistic nature of groupings which are said to be characteristic. Further, the determination of the extent of kin ties and kindreds are usually reported as being vague. Workers such as Balikci (1960) and Damas (1963) among others, have tackled the problem of defining the boundaries of kindreds and describing the nature of bands and camps but a wholly satisfactory answer has not yet appeared.

Despite the existence of an extremely voluminous literature there persists the need for systematically organized structural analyses of kinship and other structures or systems.¹ One of the more obvious consequences of this lack is apparent in the almost complete absence of analyses at a comparative, cross-group level.² In view of this particular inadequacy of the literature, which is in many other respects excellent, this dissertation cannot hope to fill the postulated gap by providing a concise, accurate, and theoretically important comparative analysis of kinship, or any other structure, for a number of groups or even for one group at different points in time. What is aimed for
here is a useful additional emphasis towards the kinds of analyses I think are required before truly comparative studies can be carried out at a cross-cultural or group level.

Other than making the usual attempt to contribute toward the general body of ethnographic materials, this dissertation is oriented toward providing a descriptive analysis of one Eskimo population in terms going beyond the idea of 'loosely structured bilateral type.' The groups chosen for detailed study are those that trade into the settlement of Clyde River, Northwest Territories with ancillary evidence gathered from migrants into Frobisher Bay, Northwest Territories.

The dissertation attempts to show that conventional kinship principles alone do not account for the observed integration and sense of community characteristic of Clyde Inlet society.

The thesis is derived out of field observations and interviews and asserts that the kinship (ilagit) behavioral system, although the most readily apparent integrating factor, constitutes only one organizing factor or principle. It is further asserted that extra-kinship (iligit) behaviour is another important integrating system. Iligit behaviour differs from ilagit (kinship) behaviour most importantly in the realms of spouse-exchange, the production of half-siblingship, and in economic partnerships.

It is suggested that previous workers among Eskimo groups have consistently failed to separate, analytically,
the two systems mentioned above. The reasons for this are apparently two-fold. First, most previous field observers were not sufficiently familiar with the language to distinguish between the two terms by which the systems are labelled by Eskimos. Second, since the behaviour contained in the two systems are, on the surface at least, very similar, they are easily confused. This confusion has led to numerous reports and debate concerning the 'real' nature of Eskimo kindreds and the apparently pervasive nature of vaguely defined kinship groups and categories. The contention of the thesis is that definitions and principles are in fact not vague, but indeed highly precise.

The thesis also maintains that historical developments have led to the emergence of a community composed of, or comprising two distinct population groups. The distinctions between them are to be found in kinship terminology and behaviour and in marriage and residence patterns. The common bonds between the two groups are the operation of the extra-kinship (iligit) system and the sharing of common economic problems. The economic problems stem from the uncertainty of the results of economic activities, i.e. trapping and hunting. In their attempts to maximize the production and consumption of the economy both groups view the local Whites (the trader, police) as parts of an exploitable environment and behave accordingly. Exploitation of the environment requires the existence of a complete network of gossip or shared information that goes beyond kinship lines and is termed iligit by Eskimos.
Ultimately, this thesis is predicated, at least in part, upon my reluctance to accept as accurate commonly held popular views and general statements about the unstructured nature of Eskimo social organization\(^3\) and about the absence of structures held to be crucial for the existence of any society.\(^4\)

The view that social systems rarely, if ever, operate in simple one to one correspondences, i.e. cause-effect, gives rise to the question: which structures or units to select for a descriptive analysis of social interaction? The inherent complexity of such interaction becomes all the more noticeable if feedback or rebound mechanisms can be seen to influence the social action(s) by which they were originally initiated. Given the existence of a fully effective feedback or self-regulating system one is, theoretically at least, dealing with a sort of social perpetual-motion condition in a number of areas simultaneously.\(^5\) I say theoretically since the empirical evidence indicates that some sort of external reinforcement is involved in all such social relationships resulting in complex chains or lattices rather than cyclic effects. It is at this point in an analysis that decisions relating to the selection of units, as variables, become crucial. I cannot conceive of an anthropological study in which all possible significant variables could be isolated and described in either an analytic or concrete sense. But some decision must be made as to relative significance if any comparative studies are to be attempted.
Abundant empirical evidence shows the pervasive nature and structural significance of the kinship system in ordering the social organization of non-industrial societies (contra modern industrial societies). Bearing this in mind it seems reasonable to focus on the kinship structure (or structure of kinship) as a starting point in the analysis of economic uncertainty. Although the reasonableness of this approach cannot easily be denied I would like to carry the description and analysis of this local social organizational pattern beyond purely kinship factors and attempt to demonstrate that there is another overriding system of organization in operation among this group, that referred to in this society as *iligit*.

Levy (1949) points out that two approaches to the question of kinship analysis are usually used; these he terms relational and organizational. The differences between these are primarily in the choice of the focal unit and the concomitant level of social interaction. In studies using the relational approach, the system under scrutiny is looked at from the point of view of some ego (usually male). The interrelationships of this ego with other individuals and to structures involving some number of sub-units are examined, e.g. the family as a structure having a finite number of component individuals assuming appropriate roles and statuses *vis a vis* ego and operating in a culturally prescribed behaviour pattern, the totality of which gives the family a describable form. The most clearly manifest
problem of this approach lies in the immensity of relationships any ego must be involved in as a functioning total member of the system; so much so that a complete description of the social system in terms of some single ego assumes well-nigh impossible proportions. The organizational approach, on the other hand, has as its focus the structures themselves, e.g. the family as in Levy's study of the Chinese family. The importance of the individual for this collectivity or group is not denied and indeed must often be used for a focus on, and clarification of, the larger unit. The major concern of this approach however remains, or attempts to remain, on the relationships between structures and between these and the sub-structures, e.g. between the family (a sub-structure) and the kinship structure.

According to Levy, the significant analytic sub-structures of any larger concrete structure such as kinship are: role differentiation, solidarity, economic allocation, political allocation, and, as a residual category, integration and expression. It is not intended to utilize every one of these categories in the description but rather to focus upon the structures of kinship and non-kinship grouping in terms of solidarity. This will be carried out with the intention of showing how kinship and extra-kinship structures both relate and overlap.

The definition of role used is that formulated by Levy (1952:159) as:

... any position differentiated in terms of
a given social structure whether the position be institutionalized or not.

Levy makes a distinction between ideal and actual roles and believes that his concept of ideal role, as an institutionalized role, corresponds closely to the term status as used by Davis, Linton, and Parsons. Status for Levy is taken to mean: "the sum total of an individual's or groups' ideal or institutionalized roles" (1952:160).

The sub-structure of solidarity involves the criteria of content, strength, and intensity of interaction. Levy's original use of the term solidarity is restricted to the kinship structure and to the relationship between members of a kinship system (1949:15). For my objectives it is necessary that I take his more general meaning (1952:341) in order to include an analysis of interaction between members of the kinship system (kinsmen), and semi-members/special members (quasi-kinsmen), and extra-members (extra-kinsmen). This procedure is similar to that followed by Bellah (1952) inasmuch as it has the connotation of mutual obligation in either kin or extra-kin terms on the part of all of the participants at least some of the time in a reciprocal behaviour system.

It will be important here to examine the various sub-structures within the range of structures being examined for dysfunctional patterns arising out of the adherence to values and aspects of behaviour concordant with the 'traditional' but discordant with the contemporary setting. Of
crucial significance for this part of the analysis are the 'uncertainty factors' referred to earlier (p. 5). These I conceive of as non-manipulable but highly important factors originating from both within and without the social system being examined. What I am primarily interested in are the possible effects these factors might have upon social action. Eskimo social organization has been variously described as 'adaptive' (Stefansson; Jenness; et al.) or as being 'flexible' (Willmott, Spencer). I suggest that we can arrive at an understanding of this 'adaptability' or 'flexibility' only if we ask the question: "adaptable to what?" or, "flexible for what?" I further suggest that these qualities of Eskimo social organization are direct responses to operations of a system in which the highly important economic factors mentioned above are viewed by the people as either not controllable by themselves or by anyone else, or are and have been arbitrarily determined and controlled by the local Whites since the establishment of permanent bases, either whaling or fur-trading. The major factors are ecological and economic ones. Ecological factors include the population fluctuations that occur in the game and fur animals. Both government and Hudson's Bay Company officials have kept records for these fluctuations over many years and have arrived at a stage where fairly accurate predictions about the game and fur populations can be made. This information unfortunately is only occasionally passed to the local trappers and, even if it were,
would be of very little use in helping them arrive at decisions concerning the success of future economic activities. Economic factors include the fluctuating prices paid for furs taken and traded at the local store. Since game numbers are determined by unmanageable ecological factors and since fur prices are not related to the supply at the local level, there is no guarantee that a trapper's efforts will be rewarded with economic success. Four possible situations can arise: high fox numbers/high prices; high fox numbers/low prices; low fox numbers/high prices; low fox numbers/low prices. There will be, of course, situations falling into all possible intermediate positions between these axes. The hypothesis I wish to put forward is that: given a non-predictable set of factors such as outlined, together with a lack of understanding of market practices (e.g. holding back scarce goods until market prices increase) but with no lessened need to achieve economic and subsistence goals, then we will find the people operating in the present and extrapolating to the future the conditions and situation that characterized the immediate past. I will examine this throughout the body of the dissertation and attempt to show, among other things, that residence patterns, affiliations (kin and non-kin), the locus of authority, and role differentiations show a response to the shifting, uncertain order.

Solidarity will be described in terms of dyadic pairs. The reasons for this are related to the gradual,
rather than abrupt, transfer of leadership/authority in action between generations. In short this is a piecemeal relinquishing of authority contingent upon satisfactory demonstration of leadership ability. As such it bears little resemblance to political allocation as it is conceived in the more formal conceptual schemes or theories (cf. M. J. Levy, Jr.).

The nature of the empirical material is such that it becomes important to distinguish between overt and covert behaviour in relation to some structures and to some aspects of other structures. The criteria of ideal, actual, and suppositional enter into this aspect of social behaviour. What I am concerned with here is whether or not particular social interactions differ significantly in content, and consequence, between the private and public domains. In this sense certain actions are considered by the participants as being ideally public or private but without any connotations of secrecy. That is, there exists a normative standard for behaviour in each domain or setting. The usefulness of the distinction is most clear when used in reference to the structures of role differentiations and the demonstration of solidarity relationships but can also be seen to have a bearing upon the display of such aspects as religious beliefs and practices.

The distinction between overt and covert patterns can be usefully used in reference to two other concepts; those of eufunctional and dysfunctional aspects or
consequences of action. The paradigm below shows the various combinations:

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<th>eufunctional</th>
<th>dysfunctional</th>
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<tr>
<td>overt (public)</td>
<td>EO</td>
<td>DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>covert (private)</td>
<td>EC</td>
<td>DC</td>
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Eufunctional and overt situations will be found where there is public agreement on action toward the attainment of some commonly held goal, e.g. camp shifts in relation to moves towards better hunting areas. Conversely, public disagreement about this question is overt and dysfunctional if a result is the dispersal of hunters in such a way that available game cannot be efficiently exploited and individual families suffer. Eufunctional and covert situations may be found where the hunter engages in magical practices with the aim of improving his take and in this way achieves a greater degree of confidence. Covert and dysfunctional situations will be found where, for example, despite the commitments felt by the male, and acknowledged publicly, the spouse exerts her will to bring about ends other than the one envisaged by both her husband and his compatriots. These have been only by way of being illustrations and as such must be regarded as loose examples.

Provision is made here for the possibility that some, if not most, actions have both eufunctional and
dysfunctional aspects in operation simultaneously; the im-
portant condition is that these be clearly stipulated where-
ever there might be some doubt as to which aspect is in the
immediate ascendancy.

Accepting that systems of social organization
have sub-structures and functions (relating to the larger
social system) vulnerable to both external and internal
pressures and modifying factors, then we can also accept
that Murdock's statement to the effect that "multiple
factors are nearly always operative" (1949:126) applies in
this case also. Such a multiplicity of effective factors
gives rise to intricately varying forms of social structures'
(cf. T. Parsons, 1964) from which the analyst must select
those elements he feels are significant to the determination
of social organizational forms.

For example, according to Murdock the important
determinants of a kinship system are: rules of descent and
the kin groups resulting from these, forms of marriage and
the consequent family types, and rules of residence (1949:
182). Further, if modifications of one, some, or all of
these principal elements are initiated, as a result of either
internal or external stresses, the strain is first indi-
cated by a change in the rule of residence. The normal
order of change, according to the same author, begins with
a modification of the rule of residence followed by changes
in the family form in a manner consistent with the change in
residence. This, he avers, leads to congruent changes in
the formation and composition of kin groups.

For purposes of my analysis the external (to the indigenous social system) factors of environment and culture contact will be regarded as the major external factors with respect to their effect upon the organizational system in general and the kinship system in particular. These two factors taken together subsume Murdock's list given in his statement that:

It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving impetus to subsequent modifications in the forms of the family. . . . (ibid., p. 202).

Murdock, from his global structural analysis of presumed ideal behaviour, derived among others an Eskimo 'type' of social organization. It is not the purpose of this thesis to attempt to show that his 'type' is notable for its absence among Eskimo groups. His type is an ideal construct and cannot be shown to be 'wrong' by an appeal to varieties of actual phenomena. Further, Murdock provides for the theoretical appearance of various sub-types (pp. 266-7).

The ethnographic literature shows that Eskimo groups everywhere represent varying degrees of departure from the type derived by Murdock. A synchronic view of a number of groups clearly shows that the following variables are involved: descent rules, kin groupings, marriage types, family forms, residence rules, exogamic rules, and kinship
terminologies. Most important is the variation of social organization resulting from the patterning of the listed variables.

It is precisely these problematic areas that have prompted me to adopt the systematic structural-functional approach. Besides being conducive to detailed description, the approach makes it possible to draw comparisons between groups and should ultimately lead to a better understanding of the meanings of the clearly demonstrable variations among the linguistically and culturally related groups of Eskimos (see also Damas, 1965).

Before going on to put forward the major focus of this dissertation I would like to point out that the problem of coping with the time factor, inherent in any structural-functional analysis, arises here also. Attacks on structural-functional schemes and concepts usually take the form of statements concerning the unreliability and sterility of viewing societies in stasis. This anti-structural-functional stand is exemplified by Dahrendorf (1958) who claims, among other things, that the approach "has led contemporary sociology to a loss of problem consciousness . . . ." In an attempt to assuage such antagonists and to obviate the need for lengthy argument I suggest that, although it is probably true that a static view of contemporary social structures of the group is taken, the situation in which these structures operate and are described is largely a result of historical development and the particular succession of events and
conditions leading to the emergence of the current setting. Further, since neither structures nor functions can be fully understood without reference to the setting, I think that the inclusion of the time element in this way is justified and analytically correct.

It should be clearly understood that the current distribution of occupied campsites is a result of a long succession of historical events.

The Clyde people have been in touch with White culture for as long as 150 years as evidenced by the fact that Parry (1827) found them in possession of goods of European manufacture. In the first place contact with Whites and White society took place for the southern population, long before than contact was made with the northern population. As a first result we have two distinct populations that I term the Northern and the Southern. This contact was initially with explorers and whalers but also, although later, with the traders and the missionaries. On the other hand, both groups had had indirect contact through the medium of trade goods long before the actual face to face contacts were made. For the Northern group the contact was through Igloolik and via American whalers while the contact for the Southern group was through Pangnirtung and the Scottish whalers. In the interim both groups maintained their important social contacts with quite different groups.

Although similarity in hunting techniques made it possible for Eskimo males to engage in commercial whale
hunting, the effects on the basic social organization were tremendous. Camps that had been formerly occupied the seasonal round were abandoned and a new life-style entered into; that of the large whaling community lasting the entire season. The fall caribou hunt and the large winter seal-camps were abandoned. Hunting during these periods became exclusively a means of providing fresh meat for the whalers and the whaling community.

Apart from the emergence of two distinct groups as a result of the differential contact there also emerged the development of techniques for handling foreigners and eventually the uncertain economic system as it exists today. Further developments can be seen in the refinement of the traditional partnership system that is explored in Chapter III of the dissertation.

The fieldwork for this dissertation was done in northeast Baffin Island, District of Franklin, Northwest Territories. For federal administrative purposes the settlement, Clyde River, is designated as being in the Igloolik (government spelling) Area of the Frobisher Bay Region. This work was carried out in 1964 and 1965.

Clyde River settlement is located on Latitude 70.25N and longitude 68.30W in Patricia Bay, immediately north of the entrance to Clyde Inlet and about sixty miles northeast (true) of the mouth of the Clyde River which debouches at the head of the inlet of that name.

In relation to the two closest settlements, Clyde
River (hereafter Clyde) is approximately 280 miles south of Pond Inlet (hereafter Pond) and 240 miles north of Broughton Island (hereafter Broughton).

The 244 Eskimos (44 nuclear families) currently trading into Clyde are located in a seasonally and annually variable number of camps along the coast to both north and south. Over the past few years there has been an increasing tendency to occupy those traditional sites closest to the settlement so that many formerly permanent winter and summer sites are now abandoned or only intermittently used.

The southernmost occupied camp from the settlement is 140 miles distant at Tigergan a few miles to the west of Cape Henry Kater and a former location of the now defunct Sabellum Trading Company. The location is mentioned by Boas although at that time the permanent camp seems to have been located on the small island of Anarnitog. The northernmost camp is about 100 miles away at a place called Netsarsuyog on the north shore of Scott Inlet opposite the spectacular Scott Island. This camp was reported by Parry in 1820 as having been "recently occupied." The distance between these farthest camps is about 240 miles. During the winters of 1963-4 and 1964-5 there were, including the camps mentioned and the settlement itself, a total of ten occupied winter camps. To reiterate, it should be kept in mind that the present camps occupied and the occupants of any camp differ from year to year and have altered radically over long periods.
Of the 244 Eskimos in the area there were 51 adult males and 53 adult females available for interviewing. In the course of the nine months' fieldwork period, 47 of the adult males and 41 of the adult females were informally interviewed. The 4 other males showed no cooperation and the other 12 females either showed no cooperation or I decided that it would be imprudent to attempt to hold lengthy interviews with them.

In addition to my facility with the language, which I had attempted to perfect during a three-year stay to the north of the study area, I was more than casually familiar with the general rules of etiquette as recognized by these people. Apart from this I was known by name to many of the men as the person who bred good 'bear-hunting' dogs (indeed many of the men had offspring of my dogs). Also, and importantly, I was very familiar with the geography of the region and with the seasonal cycle of subsistence activities. These factors alone made the fieldwork both easier and, I hope and believe, more accurate than it otherwise would have been.

Data for the dissertation were gathered in the context of participant-observation on my part. Informants were unpaid but especially helpful individuals were given various gifts. The conditions for collecting information were excellent. During my seven years working for the Hudson's Bay Company with Eskimos I became proficient in the use of the language. Since I had spent three of these
years in the northern part of the study area I was competent in that particular dialect. Furthermore, I was known to the adult population both by reputation and by having had past contacts with many of them as a store manager for the trading company. I found no difficulty in explaining my presence and objectives and was accepted into the community with no fuss.

Notes were kept in notebooks for later transcription and, depending upon the nature of the data and the context in which they were given, were either written out immediately or were recorded as soon after the interview as possible. Although some material was taken on tapes, using a transistor type recorder, the bulk of the information was written in either English or Eskimo. In the latter case this was deemed necessary for the protection of the informant and/or the identities of characters mentioned by the informant.

Information about both kinship and non-kinship alliances was taken from adults (older than sixteen) of both sexes and was constantly checked against observed behaviour. Observation was relatively simple since I always occupied a position in a household in any camp I was visiting. Most importantly, owing to my knowledge of the language, I could understand and overhear with impunity.
1. Workers such as R. F. Spencer in Alaska (1959), R. W. Dunning in the northern Bay area (1959 and 1962), and David Damas at various points in the central Arctic (1963), are recognized as having contributed to the reduction of this problem.

2. D. L. Guemple's "Innuit Spouse Exchange" (1962), is an excellent example of the worst kind of comparison drawing, as it does, upon data gathered by variably reliable observers, in different places at different times.

3. In this I am in agreement with the line of thought developed by R. B. Pehrson (1957) in relation to Lapps and other bilateral groups.


5. A cybernetic model might be most applicable to this situation. The problem of devising mathematical scales for the measurements required and the application of these scales to actual social phenomena has not yet been satisfactorily settled.

6. 'Economic' here is being used in its most mundane meaning, that is, as it connotes subsistence activities.

CHAPTER II

A major objective of this chapter is to reach an understanding of the implications of conventional kinship categories and kinship group obligations, both for the individual and for the family, viewing the latter as a kinship sub-structure.

Investigations looking for obvious one-to-one correlations between kinship terminology, actual behaviour, and kinship obligations are bound to fail if they do not take into account the social and economic imperatives. In particular, account should be taken of having possible alternatives for action that relate to kin obligations only secondarily and to individual survival primarily. It is both theoretically and empirically possible that situations can be such that the more feasible alternatives demand choices of action which ignore kin obligations and which can be validated on the simple folk explanation that "sometimes Eskimos do that." This second principle also contains structural elements, which will form the subject matter of Chapter III.

It is within the bounds of the ilagît that is, the kindred, that anthropologists have collected the Eskimo system of kinship terminology. For the Clyde groups this
system shows internal variation relating primarily to the existence of differences between the northern and southern population groups described separately later. The northern system is exactly like that given by Damas for the Iglulik group (1963). The southern terminological system departs in a number of places from that of the northern group. Accompanying these differences are differences in marriage patterns and in the rules governing incestuous relationships.

As stated above, this chapter will be concerned with the Clyde Inlet Eskimo's concepts of his relations with other individuals, as individuals and as groups of individuals. The extent of kinship and quasi-kinship ties throughout the local population and the importance of these in daily discourse and in the ordering of short and long term action convinces me that a description of the ideal kinship system is of importance to any analysis carried out for this group of people. In this sense all references to the kinship system as an ego-oriented system should be regarded as approaching the ideal systems as the various informants conceive of this. The compilation of the terminologies will show that there are a number of discrepant views of the ideal system; hence we have included alternative terms. There are, of course, other explanations for the appearance of alternative terms for relatives.

The heterogeneity of the population and the persistence of the 'home' terminology within extended family
groups are two apparent and plausible reasons for the existence of these alternatives. Similarly, the apparently recent appearance of cross-cousin marriages could conceivably have required that some shifts in the terminology take place. I should like to point out here that the systems as illustrated in the various kinship charts have been 'corrected' by myself to account for cases where terms were anomalous as a result of either multiple kin-ties (of cousin marriage) or as a result of the ubiquitous naming practice which carries the kin-status of the deceased person's name onto the name-sake. Thus where a biological son was termed 'elder brother' then his younger brother is referred to as his 'nephew'. In such cases the individuals were recorded according to their biological status and their sociological status noted separately. Unlike Scheffler (1965), we cannot consider "only terms used in face-to-face interaction by Ego" (p. 69); the complexities of the child-naming situation referred to above prevents this. The terms we will use for analysis are those listed in Tables I and IA (p. 24, 25, 26) and represent the total collection of terms from a number of informants. In collecting the genealogies it was apparent that no single individual was capable of providing a complete list of terms for the system simply for the lack of relatives in one or other category. In this case I went beyond the genealogies in asking for terms for fictitious relatives. This approach however produced such a wide range of discrepancy that I resorted to a matching method and
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.</td>
<td>Atata</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>Anana</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>Aqaq</td>
<td>Father's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Atsaq</td>
<td>Father's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.</td>
<td>Aijaq</td>
<td>Mother's sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>Angaq</td>
<td>Mother's brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.</td>
<td>Angajuq</td>
<td>Older brother (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Older sister (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H.</td>
<td>Nuqaq</td>
<td>Younger brother (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Younger sister (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Naijaq</td>
<td>Sister (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Naijaqsaq</td>
<td>Quasi-sister (cousin) (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J.</td>
<td>Angutiqatiq</td>
<td>Same sex patrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JJ.</td>
<td>Illurivaq</td>
<td>Same sex patrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illuakuluq</td>
<td>Same sex patrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illu</td>
<td>Same sex patrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.</td>
<td>Illu</td>
<td>Same sex cross-cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.</td>
<td>Angnaqattik</td>
<td>Same sex matrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LL.</td>
<td>Illurjukuluq</td>
<td>Same sex matrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illurivak</td>
<td>Same sex matrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illuakuluq</td>
<td>Same sex matrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Illu</td>
<td>Same sex matrilateral cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>Aniq</td>
<td>Brother (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MM.</td>
<td>Aniqsaq</td>
<td>Quasi-brother (cousin) (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.</td>
<td>Itoq</td>
<td>Grandfather - old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.</td>
<td>Ningijuq</td>
<td>Grandmother - old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.</td>
<td>Amuaq</td>
<td>Ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q.</td>
<td>Erneq</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.</td>
<td>Paniq</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>Kangijaq</td>
<td>Brother's child (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>Ojoroq</td>
<td>Sister's child (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.</td>
<td>Erngotaq</td>
<td>Grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Illuliq</td>
<td>Great-grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Angnaq</td>
<td>Sister's child (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Nuvaq</td>
<td>Brother's child (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE IA
AFFINES AND CO-AFFINES

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Nuliaq</td>
<td>Spouse (male spkg)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Ai</td>
<td>Opposite-sex affines on 0 and -1 generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sakiaq</td>
<td>Same-sex affines in 0 and -1 generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Sakkiq</td>
<td>Parent-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ukuaq</td>
<td>All in-marrying females</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ninguaq</td>
<td>All in-marrying males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Nulliq</td>
<td>Co-parent-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Nukaunruq</td>
<td>Younger co-brother/sister-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Angajuraunruq</td>
<td>Older co-brother/sister-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Uin</td>
<td>Spouse (female spkg)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GENERAL TERMS

Aiparjugit | Spouse-exchangers (group) |
Ilagit | Any recognized group of kinsmen |
Omajun | Any form of recognized life |
Ilaka | Any kinsman/woman |
Innuin | Human beings - Eskimos |
Allain | All strangers Eskimo or White |
Kallunan | All Whites |
Ilirjuarit | Non-resident, unnamed kinsman |
Mangarit | Co-resident kinsman but exact relationship unknown |
To'qloarit | Parallel cousin |
fitted together incomplete terminologies. The method is not as inaccurate as it sounds however, since in most cases only two or three relatives were missing from the most complete genealogies.

The very general term, *omajun*, is taken to mean 'life' or 'living' but excludes flora of all descriptions and animals which have little resemblance to familiar life-forms. Included are all forms of human life. At the next lower level of generality the term is used to separate human and non-human forms of life and is specifically used for game animals. At this level also the *omajun* term, when applied to any animal form and has the gloss of 'is he living' i.e. not dead.

At the next lower level of generalization 'human beings', *innuin*, are distinguished from strangers, *allain*. Within each of these categories there are further sub-divisions. *Kallunan* (Whites), for example, are only one kind of *allain* and this category is further sub-divided into a number of *kallunan*.

The term *allain* also connotes "strange" Eskimos. The foregoing has been set out simply to indicate that there is evidence of conscious discrimination of categories and variable usages of words dependent upon the level of generality the individual is talking at. Strangers, *allain*, include local Whites (*kallunan*) and non-resident Eskimos from adjacent areas although the latter are potential members should they migrate into the area. The term presents some difficulties of definition inasmuch as there must be both
probability and possibility for expressly valued interaction. Since the term is used in a number of contexts it is necessary to consider the meanings it has at the various levels of generality. On the other hand, non-resident, non-interacting kin usually only vaguely known, are designated as ilirjuarit. Their personal names and specific relationships with ego are hazy. If restricted to area-resident persons it has the meaning given in the first sentences above. When used referentially about specific individuals it excludes kinsmen who are designated ilagit. It is from among the local and well-known extra-kin group that the individual ideally obtains a spouse and establishes aiparjugit or spouse-exchange relationships. Viewing the latter relationship in terms of the extent of the incest restrictions as expressed by informants in the context of an ideal state it is clear that the existence of restrictions which exclude not only consanguines to the second degree but also to spouses of these serves to seriously limit the possibilities of establishing the kinds of bonds which derive out of spouse-exchange relationships. These types of relationships will be discussed in Chapter III.

The most general term used by Clyde Eskimos for a kinship group is 'ilagit.' This corresponds to what is called in the literature a bilaterally reckoned 'kindred' (Pehrson, Balikci, et al.). A more accurate translation of the term is 'group of kinsmen' and in the first person possessive is 'ilaka' (literally, part of mine). Among the
Clyde Eskimo a number of qualifications are subsumed under the *ilagit* rubric. These qualifications have important connotations for co-residence, leadership, and potential for interaction. Those *ilagit* not co-resident within the larger area and whose names and specific relationships are unknown or forgotten are the *ilirjuarit*. There is no presumption of expectation of social interaction of any kind with this group. A somewhat more familiar group are the *mangarit*. These are named individuals but other than this are as equally distant as the *ilirjuarit*. Neither of the above sub-groups plays a significant part in the *ilagit* structure except as their existence in other communities makes it possible for a Clyde River Eskimo to enter a strange community with some assurance of finding a kinsman who can provide protection and aid should the need arise.

The total array of familiar and unfamiliar kinsmen comprise what has been referred to as the 'extended kindred' while the more familiar, i.e. co-resident, specifically designated kinsmen comprise the 'restricted kindred' (Balikci, 1962).

Although all kin terms are expressible as status terms (Edmonson, p. 46), e.g. *itog, itoga*, "my grandfather" and *itorit* "old men" (plural not dual; see Table III for complete list), the emphasis here will be on those aggregates which field observation has shown to be of central importance to the social organization.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin-Category</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Kin-Category</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<td>Single</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aggregate</td>
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<td>1. itoq</td>
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<td>itoqa</td>
<td>itu'qa</td>
<td>itorit</td>
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<td>2. ningiuq</td>
<td>ningiora</td>
<td>ningiuqaga</td>
<td>niniju'qa</td>
<td>ningijorit</td>
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<td>3. aqaq</td>
<td>aqaga</td>
<td>aqaga</td>
<td>aq'a</td>
<td>agagit</td>
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<td>anga'qa</td>
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<td>5. atcaq</td>
<td>atchaga</td>
<td>atchaga</td>
<td>atcha'qa</td>
<td>atchagit</td>
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<td>6. aijaq</td>
<td>aijaga</td>
<td>aijaga</td>
<td>aija'qa</td>
<td>aijagit</td>
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<td>7. naijaq</td>
<td>naijaga</td>
<td>naijaga</td>
<td>naija'qa</td>
<td>anijarit</td>
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<td>8. aniq</td>
<td>aniga</td>
<td>aniga</td>
<td>ani'qa</td>
<td>anirit</td>
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<td>9. angajuq</td>
<td>angajora</td>
<td>angajuq</td>
<td>anaju'qa</td>
<td>angajrit</td>
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<td>10. nuqaq</td>
<td>nuqara</td>
<td>nuqaga</td>
<td>nuq'a</td>
<td>nugarit</td>
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<td>11. angnaqatiq</td>
<td>angnaqatiqa</td>
<td>angnaqatiqa</td>
<td>angnaqati'qa</td>
<td>angnaqatigit</td>
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<td>12. angutiqariq</td>
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<td>angutiqatiqa</td>
<td>angutiqati'qa</td>
<td>angutiqatigit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>13. illu</td>
<td>illora</td>
<td>illua</td>
<td>illu'qa</td>
<td>illorit</td>
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<td>14. erneq</td>
<td>ernera</td>
<td>erniqa</td>
<td>ernen'ga</td>
<td>ernerit</td>
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<td>15. paniq</td>
<td>paniga</td>
<td>paniqa</td>
<td>pani'ga</td>
<td>panigit</td>
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<td>kangijaqa</td>
<td>kangija'ga</td>
<td>kangijarit</td>
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<td>17. ojoroq</td>
<td>ojoroga</td>
<td>ojoraqa</td>
<td>ojora'qa</td>
<td>ojoragit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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The boundaries of the restricted *ilagit*, like those of the extended *ilagit*, are highly elastic and naturally variable for any individual. The absence of some categories of relatives, for example, FZ, means that all those categories of relatives usually linked to an ego through FZ are completely missing from the catalogue of that particular individual. In view of this kind of disparity it becomes essential to make distinctions between the ideal and actual *ilagit*. Similarly, it is important to bear in mind that no individual interacts with all possible members of his *ilagit* at the same time; thus there is a real distinction between active and potentially active *ilagit*. An important point here is that although an individual might not be actively involved with all potential kinsmen at any one time, their presence in the locale permits easy shifting between segments of the *ilagit*.

The ideal extended *ilagit* includes all known kinsmen resident in the general area who are linked to an individual through either parent. This ideal group takes into account both those members with whom there is an actual and on-going relationship and those members who are likely to be involved at some time, i.e. the potentially active members. The actual *ilagit* is circumscribed by two conditions. First, the existence of kin categories (see above note); if there has been no FZ, (*atsaq*) there will be no FZ children *idlu* nor BZ children, *ojoroq*. Second, co-residence and associated residential cooperation figures
largely in determining the significant segment of the ilagit. A crucial distinguishing point between the ideal and actual ilagit and between the active and potentially active ilagit is that it is only within the bounds of the actual and active segment that leadership and authority can be pinned down and individuals named as nalaktig (the listened to), angayukag (the eldest), or, rarely at Clyde, isumatog (the one who thinks). There is no such figure at the head of the extended ilagit. This latter aggregate derives its form from the presence of a number of member-restricted ilagit, each having an authority figure. These men are all capable of tracing close consanguineal or affinal relationships with each other.

The restricted ilagit is distinguished by having a named leader, deriving from his knowledge, skills and hunting powers, and holding together a co-resident group of consanguineal and affinal kinsmen. These smaller co-resident groups range in size from elementary families to extended families of three generations depth. In most, but not all cases, the restricted ilagit corresponds to the 'camp.' Where it does not have this correspondence, that is, where the camp is a composite grouping, the explanation is that there is a temporary aiparjugit relationship holding between, usually, the heads of two unrelated restricted ilagit (cf. p. 26).

It is not possible to talk about a camp composed of two or more restricted but related ilagit since the
fact of co-residence even on a temporary basis produces what I term a single restricted *ilagit*. Leadership and authority passes to the 'most capable' resident person usually a kinsman, and the two groups merge into one larger though still restricted group. As has been implied it might be most helpful to think of this term in two broad senses: the extended and the restricted *ilagit*.

The extended *ilagit* ideally includes every person to whom any single ego can trace a cognatic realtionship. Since the extent of knowledge of kin is highly variable from individual to individual one can expect to record disparate boundaries for this larger group. This group is in no way linked to a particular region or area. Between the nameable and specifically known members of the restricted *ilagit* and the outside boundary of the extended *ilagit* lies the kin-category of *mangarit*; members of the *ilagit* but whose exact relationship is not known to the informant. The restricted *ilagit*, unlike the extended group, is associated with some region or area. Every member is named and every member's relationship to ego is clearly specifiable. Since co-residence tends to intensify interaction and interdependency it is not surprising that the boundaries of the restricted *ilagit* are clearly drawn. Nor is it surprising that the maximum size of restricted *ilagit* is variable. The smallest restricted *ilagit* are of those individuals who have been fathered by itinerant Whites and have therefore only half the possible number of
relatives available.

Within the boundaries of the restricted ilagit a number of aggregate terms are used. These terms are described below in no particular order of ranking. As shown on Table III in the column devoted to aggregate terminology there is a term which has the gloss 'parent' or, more specifically perhaps, 'those sharing (having) children,' this term is giturnguaqarit. The term appears to be used specifically for those adults, inan, who have assumed the responsibility of parenthood. The term includes adults who have adopted children only as well as those who have biological children. The term is not, to my knowledge, commonly used in a vocative sense but usually in a referential sense.

The aggregate term for offspring, giturnguag, and the aggregate form giturnguarit, with the gloss of 'group of offspring' (siblings) unlike the 'parent' term noted above, is used both referentially and vocatively although the latter usage is relatively rare. This term is never used between siblings but only between parents, or adults, and children. Between siblings the common aggregate terms are naijaqit; anigit; and nukarit. Naijaqit, the group term for sisters of a male speaker includes all those consanguines who are referred to by the sister term naijaq. This category includes all cousins to the second degree of laterality and first degree of removal. Anigit is the corresponding term used by female speakers for a group of
brothers and is extended in exactly the same way and to the same degree as the sister term described above. The same-sex sibling term nukarit has a narrower range of use insofar as it refers specifically to same-sex siblings only. Within these categories a distinction between full; half; step; and adoptive relationships is possible, although not common. This is accomplished by the use of the sag suffix so that step-sisters for example become nuqasarit and step-brothers become aniqsarit. Within these three qualified kin-relationships the half-sibling category is specifically distinct from the other two as indicated by the existence of the term, gatangotigatigit with the gloss of, 'group of half-siblings, same sex as speaker, the opposite-sex half-siblings being referred to as either a full sibling of the opposite sex or as a qualified sibling of the opposite sex,' e.g. aniqsaq.

The three cousin types found in ego's generation are given aggregate terms as indicated in Table I. A second distinction is made which effectively excludes what are known in the literature as cross-cousins. The term, tog'loarit, includes the children of mother's sister and father's brother as a single aggregate unit.
Diagram 1
Cousin Terms
Northern Group

Diagram 2
The Kinship Terminological Systems

Northern Group

Consanguines - Ego's Generation

Diagrams 1 and 2 show the symmetry of distribution and classification of relatives in both ego's and the first ascending generations.

Same-sex siblings are separated on the basis of relative age while opposite-sex siblings are denoted by a single term for either a male or female ego. The sex of ego determines the specific term used for opposite-sex siblings; the sister of a brother is naijaq while the brother of a sister is aniq.

In the case of same-sex siblings the terms used are the same for an ego of either sex. The term angajuq is used for all older same-sex siblings and the term angilaq refers solely to the eldest of a group. The term anginer-kpaq, or alternatively, angayukinerq is used referentially for any particular older sibling. The term nukag denotes any younger same-sex sibling. As in the case of terminology describing older/oldest, a similar set exists for younger/youngest, these are nukag for youngest and nukakinerg for any younger sibling of the same sex.

There are four terms for cousins that emphasize the criteria of generation, sex of relative, sex of speaker, and kind of collaterality.
Opposite-sex cousins, both parallel and cross, are designated by the opposite-sex sibling term, that is, naijaq for a female cousin of a male ego and aniq for a male cousin of a female ego. There is an occasional use of the suffix sag with these terms. This suffix changes the meaning of the term to one with a less positive connotation as, for example, naijaksag, 'the material for a sister' (male speaking). It was observed that this qualifying suffix was used more often with opposite-sex cross-cousins than with opposite-sex parallel-cousins. It should be noted that this particular suffix is not restricted to this situation but is also used variously to designate half-siblings and adopted siblings and cousins as well as quasi-kin generally. 4

Same-sex cousins are clearly distinguished terminologically from same-sex siblings by the use of three terms. Cross-cousins of the same-sex as ego are designated as illu. Patrilateral parallel-cousins of the same sex are designated as angutiqattik. Matrilateral parallel-cousins of the same sex are designated as angnagattik. Etymologically, the cross-cousin term suggests the meaning of 'insiders' (cf. illuliq = those/that are inside). The patrilateral parallel designation has the gloss of, "those who share or have males" and the matrilateral parallel designation has the gloss of, "those who share, or have, females." In both the latter cases the shared males and/or females are presumed to be, contextually at least, siblings.
Consanguineal Terms
Northern Group

Diagram 3
Consanguineal Terms

Northern Group

Diagram 4

Female Ego
Other Consanguines

Diagram 3 (male ego) and Diagram 4 (female ego) show the complete set of consanguineal terms.

Relatives in the first ascending generation are separated from each other on the bases of sex and collateral-ality. The term atata is applied to male parent and the term anana to female parent. There are four terms for aunts and uncles, these are the same for either male or female ego. Father's brother is designated ataq and mother's brother angaq. Father's sister is designated atsag and mother's sister, aijaq. These are primary terms that may be used with the affix 'sag' in the same way as that described for cousins. Generally, when the saq affix is used it applies to cousins of parents or to individuals of that generation whose exact relationship is in doubt.

In the first descending generation a similar terminological separation of lineal from collateral kin is maintained. The terms are the same for either sex ego; a son is erneg and a daughter is paniq. These terms are extended with the saq post-base only to adoptives but is usually dropped in a variably short period of time so that adopted children become terminologically indistinguishable from 'natural' offspring.

In addition to the criteria of lineality and sex of linking relative the sex of ego determines the specific terms used for nieces and nephews. For a male ego the
children of a sister are ojorok. For a female ego the children of a brother are angnag while the children of a sister are nuvag. These terms are extended to the children of cousins as follows: the children of male cousins are designated by the term for the children of a brother and the children of a female cousin are designated by the term for children of a sister. It should be pointed out that this mode accords completely with that described for the Iglulik Eskimos (Damas, 1963) with whom this northern group interacts very closely.

The affinal/consanguineal boundary so important in ego's and the first ascending and descending generations is absent in the second ascending generation. Grandparental terms are itogq for grandfather and ninguig for grandmother, the terms being extended to include in-marrying relatives of this generation. Whereas the previous terms described are 'relative-specific' these two terms are applicable to any aged person, kin or non-kin with kin being denoted by the use of the affix defining possession, e.g. ga thus itoga has the meaning of "my grandfather (old man)."

The term erngotag is used to denote all members of the second descending generation. Similarly, a single asexual term is used for members of both the third ascending and descending generations. The term amau has the gloss of ancestor while the term illulik has the gloss of 'insider' (cf. also the cross-cousin term).
Affines & Co-Affines
Northern Group

Diagram 5
Affines & Co-Affines
Northern Group

Female Ego

Diagram 6
Affines

There are six affinal terms for an ego of either sex. Diagrams 5 and 6 show these for male and female ego. For a male ego spouse is termed *nuliak* and for a female ego spouse is *uin*. The distribution of all other affinal terms is the same for either a male or a female ego. The mutually reciprocal term *ai* is applied to all opposite-sex affines belonging to spouse's own and first descending generations. Same-sex affines in these two generations are termed *sakiaq*. The term for parent-in-law is *sakiq*. All in-marrying females are *uguaq* and all in-marrying males are *ningauq*. As expected, according to this pattern the terms *ukuag* and *ninguaq* are complementary to both the *sakiaq* and *sakiq* terms.

Co-affines

There are three co-affinal terms. The term *nuliq* is used reciprocally between co-parents-in-law. Co-affines married to spouses' older siblings are *angajaungrug* while the term *nukaungrug* is applied to those co-affines married to spouses' younger siblings.

Southern Group

Consanguines - Ego's Generation

The cousin terminology in use among the southern Clyde Inlet group shows great variation both internally and in relation to that used among the northern group. The
Cousin Terms
Southern Group

Male Ego
Diagram 7
Cousin Terms
Southern Group

Diagram 8

Female Ego
terminologies for male and female ego are illustrated in Diagrams 7 and 8. As is shown the terminology for the first ascending generation is the same as that used by the northern group. The greatest variation is found in ego's generation. Diagram 7, male ego, shows that the sister term, naijag is not extended to opposite-sex cousins. The term naijaqsag is extended to all female cousins. Same-sex cross-cousins are termed ilu. Same-sex patrilateral parallel-cousins are ilurivag. The variations applied to this cousin are iluaquluq and ilu. Matrilateral parallel-cousins are ilurjuguluq with the variations, ilurivag, iluaquluq and ilu sometimes replacing ilurjuguluq. Diagram 8 shows the corresponding distribution for a female ego.

Generational Distributions

The distribution of the components over a seven-generation deep genealogical system indicates that the distinction between affinal and cognatic kinsmen holds for every generation with the exception of the G+2 and G+3 generations. From a rational point of view this is not too surprising. The naturally short life expectancy and the high accident rate combine to reduce the possibility of any individual having a living relative in the G+3 generation. Not a single person in the Clyde Inlet area had a living member of this category; neither was there anyone a namesake of a deceased member of that generation. The term, amau, has the general gloss of 'an ancient' with
Age Range of Individuals with Living Grandparents at Clyde River 1965

Diagram 9
Age Distribution of Population at Clyde River 1965

Diagram 10
a very weakly emphasized sense of 'very distant relative.' This connotation is much more weakly developed than that found in the English term 'ancestor.' The term could be collected only by going outside the available actual genealogies and eliciting the term for persons who, if they had been alive, would occupy that particular position relative to ego. A similar procedure had to be followed in attempting to determine the presence or absence of specified behaviour relevant between amau and the complementary illulig category. Again, it appears, the complete absence of such distantly related persons lent itself to the formulation of such vague statements as "one would be respectful to amau because they would be so old and understand a lot of things," "pitserletoq, amaunun, sorkaiman inamariaalukmata kisotuinamig tuqisijun."

In the G+2 generation a distinction is made as to the sex of alter. This is the only distinction between this generation and the G+3 where sex distinctions are terminologically absent. The two terms used in the G+2 generation are itog and ningiuq; these have the gloss of 'old man' and 'old woman' respectively. Usage of these terms is reminiscent of the usage of the amau term for the G+3 generation in that they are applicable to any person who is a contemporary of ego's parents' parents (PP) and assume meaning for kinship relations only when used with a possessive suffix, e.g. itoga (my 'old man'); itoit (your 'old man'); and itonga (his 'old man'). In conversations not centered on kinship, for
example, questions concerning experience and skill, the terms are used in a descriptive sense with undertones of validation for skills and knowledge as a consequence of experience and age. That is to say, an older man (itok or itoaluk) will be attributed knowledge because he is an old man. This general attitude is expressible in terms of 'older persons' without reference to either sex or affinity by the use of the term inaq (pl. inain).

The remarks made on the previous page about the naturally short life expectancy and the high rate of accident applies also to this generation. These conditions can be illustrated in a number of ways. Diagram 9 shows the relative numbers of persons at Clyde River of various age classes having living relatives in the G+2 generation in 1965. The curves show that for those children up to the age of 11 years, 63% have either itog or ningiq relatives; between 11 and 16 years the percentage drops sharply to 28%; no persons over the age of 16 had living relatives in this category. It is assumed that the percentages derived from the Clyde River population are representative for Eskimo groups as a whole. It is also assumed that the relative percentages for the Clyde group are higher than would be similar percentages computed for successively older generations in the past. (This is in accord with the universally increasing life expectancy of populations in general).
In view of the current figures, and bearing in mind the assumptions made, it can readily be deduced that interpersonal interaction between relatives of the complementary categories *itoq-ningiuq* and *erngotaq* are and have been restricted to young pre-adults. The observed behaviour between these categories is of the usually reported permissive and gently joking kind although there is a subtle change through the life of the child.

Children (SS; DS; SD; DD etc.) show an increasingly less respectful attitude toward their *itoq-ningiuq* as they approach and pass puberty. There is little or no possibility for an adult to have interaction, as an adult, with either *itoq* or *ningiuq*. Thus children have no models for behaviour other than that presented by their peers; and for adults, the children's behaviour falls into the limits of the pattern they themselves followed as pre-adults. At any point in the individual's life cycle the *itoq* and *ningiuq* categories play only a minor part in his day-to-day activities. It is true that there are a great many more namesakes derived from the G+2 generation than from more distant generations and that the memory of these individuals is kept alive by this mechanism.

A second method of illustrating the high mortality rate of adults is to be found in the table showing the numbers of persons, male and female, who have or are at present married to their first, second, or third spouse as a result of the death of previous spouses. Since these
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figures are important to the discussion of the GO generation I will leave that for the moment.

The larger number of components relevant for the discrimination of the categories in the G+1 generation can be taken as an indication of the relatively greater significance of these categories for ego. Lineality appears as the single component setting parents off from their siblings and collaterals. The four terms applied to parents' siblings have the generation component in common but are distinguished from each other by the components of sex of alter and sex of the lineal relative linking alter and ego. The male parent term, atata and the female parent term, anana are applied in that form usually only to biological parents. The modified forms atatasag and ananasag are used between step-parent and step-child and between adoptive parent and adopted child.

There is no clear pattern defining the usage of the modified forms; some adopted and some step-children using the unmodified terms. An important factor is the age of the child at either adoption or when acquired by remarriage. In the case of children acquired by either means at a very early age the unmodified forms are fairly consistently used. The opposite is true for children acquired at a rather late age, e.g. in the early adult years. In the case of step-relations children married previous to the parents remarriage tend to continue to use the personal name of the step-parent rather than the modified parent term. A second apparently important factor relates to the presence or
absence of some other kin terms for the adoptive or step-parent. Where such a term existed between the child and the adult it seems that the modified parent term is consistently used. This may be due to the biological specificity of the parent terms and the sociological generality of the modified parent terms. That is, a person who acts as a parent is expected to act can readily be referred to as, for example, atatasag, which has the gloss of 'material for a father' in contradistinction to atata 'biological father.'

Collaterality

The degree of collaterality (or lineality) appears as a component in the GO, G+1 and G+2 generations. As a consequence of this delimitation parents plus offspring form an analytically distinct unit. Terminologically, it is necessary to use a number of terms for a description of the member categories of the group. The term, giturnguarit, although used in the sense of 'a group of siblings' is commonly used with the gloss of 'family', that is, as an inclusive category containing parents plus offspring. The differences in usage apparently relate to the relative age of informants and the degree of involvement with the church. Younger informants would assure me that the meaning of the term was 'family' and show me where it was used this way in the bibles printed in Eskimo language. Older informants on the other hand were generally uncertain as to whether the term meant family or siblings, or either. The term,
giturnguagarit, has the gloss of 'parents' or, perhaps more accurately, 'persons having or sharing children.' Still another aggregate term is used by siblings in reference to same-sex siblings, this is the term nukarit. In reference to parents the term atatkut is used when some relationship between the parents and offspring is evident, e.g. affection between them.

Aggregate terms in general pose problems for componential designation since they are seldom used vocatively and when used referentially are applied in a general way e.g. giturguagarit applies to all persons who share the status of 'having or sharing children' Qiturnguag, on the other hand is commonly used referentially but seldom vocatively, e.g. qiturnguara with the meaning 'my offspring.'

The four collateral terms, akaq, angaq, atsaq, and aijag, have the characteristics of categories of relatives as distinct from the parent terms which were individual-specific. The componential formulation of these terms can be viewed as separating them first into two groups on the bases of the sex of the lineal relative linking them to ego and second into male or female alters. If the link is a male lineal of ego (F, FF, MF) then males are akaq and females atsaq; if the linking lineal relative is female (M, MM, FM) then the males are angaq and the females aijag. There is no inherent connotation of preference for any one of these categories but as will be shown, residence and marriage patterns are such that face-to-face interaction is
more common with father's brothers and is more likely to occur with mother's sisters than with relatives of the other two categories.

**Adoptives and quasi-kin**

Adoption is a fairly common and important method of recruitment into the family and household. Although the literature contains numerous references to cases of adoption among various Eskimo groups, few writers have attempted to relate the practice of adoption to other aspects of Eskimo life. In the main, the earlier literature explains cases of adoption at an individual level and in personal terms, e.g. a desire for offspring in cases where the infertility of one, or both spouses is given as a 'reason' or factor. The more recent publications of note include Spencer's ecological study of the North Alaskan Eskimo groups (1959) and Dunning's analysis of adoption among the Southhampton Island Eskimo (1962). Prior to Dunning's investigation there, Teicher (1953) published an article describing the form and procedures surrounding adoption on Southhampton Island.

Spencer suggests that among the North Alaskan groups adoption served as a means of extending the kinship circle and hence the bonds of social and economic cooperation (1959:87). Dunning has carried this argument somewhat further and argues that:
Where the cases involve kinship claims, especially grandparental claims, it would appear that rather than extending already closely established family bonds, this type of adoption intensifies the social interrelationships of kin by a distribution of surplus or other new-born issue within this 'circle'. This might be seen as filling the gap within the circle which is gradually being opened by the disappearance of a nuclear family group, i.e., that of the grandparent(s) (ibid, p. 165).

I suggest that this argument can apply only to grandparental kinship claims and adoptions which occur under exceptional circumstances. If we accept that the personnel of the Eskimo domestic group usually consists of three generations, it can be seen that only grandparental adoption can transfer the adoptive from the second descending generation to the first descending generation, that is, to the position of collateral kinsman of biological parents. If we are concerned with nuclear family formation and replacement, then we must consider the following aspect of such adoptions. The gap left in the nuclear family complement is thought of as being replaced by existing or potential nuclear families of the next descending generation. The potential nuclear family of an adoptive can be thought of as fulfilling a replacement role only in those situations where the domestic group of the grandparents has lost, for one reason or another, the socially and functionally significant first descending generation.

Both Dunning (ibid.) and Willmott (1961) subscribe to what Dunning terms the demographic hypothesis; he states this as follows:
human fertility and mortality are accommodated to the producing ability of individual family heads. In essence, this represents a partial redistribution of dependents in accord with food-producing (p. 163).

Dunning notes that although his data support the hypothesis, there are cases of adoption which cannot be explained in these terms. For some of those adoptions at Southampton Island which cannot be fitted into either Spencer's kin-extension hypothesis or into the demographic hypothesis, Dunning postulates that a status differential exists and that it is 'expressed in part by the number of dependents which a man can both claim and provide for' (p. 165).

In summary, the literature provides us with three testable hypotheses which relate adoption to other aspects of the social system of Eskimo groups. These hypotheses are:

1. the kin-extension hypothesis
2. the demographic hypothesis
3. the status differential hypothesis

It will be seen (Table IV) that, in general, my Clyde Inlet adoption data fit the demographic hypothesis; that is, the majority of the adoptions there could be described as a consequence of the local production/consumption pattern.

Table IV below shows the relative ages and distributions of sexes of the children in both families at the time of transfer. The table is followed by a few brief comments on each case.
TABLE IV

RELATIVE POSITION OF ADOPTIVE*

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M m m f</td>
<td>M m</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>M m m f m</td>
<td>M m m f</td>
<td>-1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*m - male; M - adoptive
f - female; F - adoptive
age in years

Case 1. The adopting family had several (2?) unsuccessful pregnancies. Neither family has had further children since the adoption.

Case 2. This child was released at the time of his mother's death. The father was remarried and has five children. The adopting family has had no more children.

Case 3. Child taken by the maternal grandmother when her daughter hospitalized.

Case 4. I hesitate to call this an adoption. The girl had no recognized, i.e. terminological relationship with the releasing family. She was the step-daughter of a woman who had remarried after the death of her husband, the girl's father. The adopting family is that of her uncle (FaBr).

Case 5. This boy was taken by his maternal grandmother shortly after birth. The releasing family has had two children since then.

Case 6. This child was released shortly after birth and when the mother was hospitalized. The adopting family has had no children since.

Case 7. The eldest son in the adopting family is seriously hampered by an apparently congenital deformity of the spine.
Case 8. The adopting family here is the same as in Case 7. The initial adoptive died a few years after being transferred and the second adoption was arranged shortly after the death of the boy in Case 7.

Case 9. This boy was released shortly after the death of his father. The adopting family, his FaBr, is providing for the widow.

Obviously the low number of cases inhibits attempts at meaningful generalization for adoption patterns among the Clyde Inlet group; nevertheless, it seems profitable to examine the apparent trends within the frameworks of the existing hypotheses.

Even with the qualification that case number 4 is in some ways anomalous, several trends are apparent. It appears that there is a tendency toward adopting males. Also, it seems that where unforeseeable circumstances, e.g. death of a parent, are not a factor then a child is moved from a larger to a smaller (in numbers) family. Perhaps the most important trend is that relating to the relative position of the adoptive in both families. There are five cases where the released child was the most recently born and three cases where the child was a first born. For the adopting families, there are seven cases where the child represents the terminal member of the family and three cases in which the adoptive is the initial child of the family. Only one of the adopting families has had another child after taking an adoptive. With the exceptions of cases 3 and 4, all transfers of adoptives took place at, or shortly after, birth. A final trend apparent in Table IV shows that all adoptions, with one exception, were arranged and carried
out between related families.

Concerning the apparent trend toward the adoption of male children, my field notes indicate that a high verbal value is placed on male issue. In general, these notes show that subjective statements relate to the ultimate economic dependency of aged parents on the male children of the family. Dunning's data for Southampton Island are in accord with respect to the high value for male issue. For the Southampton Island group, Dunning sees a correlation between the reversal of the ratios of sex of children adopted in 'old families' in the genealogies and in 'current families' (p. 165). Whereas the adoptions in the 'old families' were preponderantly male, the adoptions in the 'current families' are more than seventy percent female. This reversal is attributed to relatively recent changes in the local economic system which permit current families to retain male issue. For these two groups, the Southampton Island and the Clyde Inlet, we have the following situation: Southampton Island, earlier adoption pattern - male adoptions; recent adoption pattern - female adoptions; Clyde Inlet, recent adoption trend - male adoptions.

The economic developments which have affected the Southampton Island group have also been operating on the Clyde Inlet group. These developments relate partly to the change from a hunting to a trapping-hunting economy and partly to an increase in income in the form of Family Allowances, Relief Issues, and Pensions of various kinds. These developments made it not only possible but even more
desirable to acquire and retain all children.

Even if we accept that there has been a consistently higher value placed on male issue for both the Southampton Island and Clyde Inlet groups and that the developments mentioned permit families to retain male issue, I feel that the "why" of adoption has not been fully answered. If the value on male children in Southampton Island and Clyde Inlet is a normative value for the groups, then the acquisition of boys is congruent with the value; but, assuming that the releasing families subscribe to the same normative value, why, and under what circumstances, are male children released? To carry this a step further, if the value placed on female issue has risen, although not to the level of that placed on male issue, as a result of the same economic developments, and if the status differential hypothesis operates on the basis of dependents of either sex; then why are female children released? The increasing cash value for clean sealskins, a specifically female occupation, should, I would think, increase the value of having a maximum number of females in a camp. Furthermore, the incidence of adoption has decreased for Southampton Island (Dunning, R. W., p. 165) and has increased for Clyde Inlet (only two adoptions found in the genealogies). Recent developments have made it possible to retain children of either sex but adoption is still an important factor for both groups mentioned.

In general, Table IV indicates that there is some tendency toward moving children from a larger to a smaller
family. This can be seen to fit the demographic hypothesis. If there are occasions when children in this rigorous environment are considered as liabilities we must ask when and what are the immediate circumstances surrounding the passive or active acceptance of additional children. These questions may be partially answered by considering the trend to adopt children as either a first child (three cases) or as a last child (seven cases). Where the adoptive is a first child, as in case number 1, there may have been indications of sterility of one or both spouses. This was the possibility under consideration by the adopting couple in case number 1. An ultimate consequence of sterility is a childless old-age and such a condition is considered by the people with a great deal of anxiety. Informants indicated that an acceptable (usual?) procedure in these instances was for the husband to enlist the aid of a male, non-kinsman for purposes of impregnating the wife. A child so conceived was considered to be the child of the mother and the apparently sterile husband, and no adoption or quasi-kin terms were used in reference to the child. The biological relationship between the child and its father were completely ignored in economic, jural, and social areas. Failing this, the childless couple attempt to adopt a child. Successful adoption, to anticipate a point, apparently depends upon the favourable coincidence of opposite desires; on the one hand, a desire for a child and on the other hand, a willingness, if not a desire, to release a child. The willingness to
release a child is mediated by a plethora of situational and psychological factors including the conviction of the releasing family that the child is readily replaceable (proven fertility), consideration of the immediate and long-term economic and social gains involved (gifts received, reciprocal obligations incurred, etc.), and recognition of duty to, and rights, of close kinsmen.

For those adoptions which result in the acquisition of a final child, I suggest that there is a conscious recognition of the termination of the wife's child-bearing period. Within the limits set by the environment, this terminal stage does not coincide with the termination of economic and social activity. If we consider the value for male issue as being related to their potential for support in old-age as well as the demonstrated fertility of the younger related nuclear families, it does not seem surprising that adoptions of this nature occur.

The adoption of children at a very early age, within a short time after birth, appears to be related mainly to emotional factors. A common statement was made to the effect that children are non-human between the time of birth and the development of physical mobility and rudimentary speech. In view of this attitude toward infants, it becomes much less emotionally disturbing to part with a child during this period. This attitude may also explain partly the infanticide patterns of the earlier and traditional culture. Infants, it is recorded, were disposed of
at birth. The firmness with which this belief is held is indicated by the degree to which the obviously high mortality rate of adopted infants is ignored.

With one exception (case number 2), all adoptions at Clyde Inlet were made between kin-related families. Before collecting data on adoptions, I elicited the genealogies of every adult (married) male and female in the area. These genealogies indicate that the network of kin and extra-kin (illegit) relationships extends to thirty-nine of the forty-four families on the Clyde Inlet disc list. The remaining five families are recent immigrants. In view of the extent of the kin network among these people, it becomes clear that an explanation of adoption in terms of the kin-extension hypothesis is rather weak. Similarly, unless it can be shown that there are functionally significant and discernable categories of kin within the over-all network, the use of kin-claims as a reason for adoption becomes too vague.

Tables V, VI, and VII, show the kin-relationships of the adoptives to adopting families; the reasons given for releasing a child; and the reasons given for adopting a child.

In those cases where a male parent or both parents are deceased or hospitalized, the decision to release children is made on a purely practical basis, i.e. incapacity to look after the children.
In Table VII, I have five cases for which the reason given for accepting the child was phrased one way or another as a 'kin obligation.' This obligation is related to the parents of the child rather than to the child itself. In short, orphans are taken into a family who are sometimes reluctant but feel obligated.

It can be seen that the kin-extension hypothesis does not, rather cannot, be used to explain adoption trends at Clyde Inlet. The demographic and status differential hypotheses throw light on some, but not all, adoptions in this area. Neither hypotheses is fully satisfactory and in a number of instances the status differential explanation appears as one of the mediating factors influencing the demographic redistribution of personnel. These two hypotheses might be thought of in combination as follows:

**TABLE V**

**KIN RELATIONSHIPS**

Parental generation ............... 6
  to moBr ............... 1
  to mosi ............... 2
  to FaBr ............... 3

Grandparental generation ............... 2
  to momo ............... 2

No relationship ............... 1

9
Human fertility and mortality are accommodated to the producing ability of family heads and are mediated by his immediate economic circumstance and the intensity of his drive for status within the group. A resultant of these factors is reflected in the distribution of children and in variations in total family size, ratio of adoptives to 'own' children and the distribution of sexes among the children.

Even when formulated this way the hypothesis does not account for adoptions that appear to have a basis other than those found in the hypothesis, e.g. emotional explanations being offered.

Besides the problem of formulating testable hypotheses of this nature, there remains the problem of what is meant by 'adoption.' In our own society, the term is enmeshed in a complex socio-psychological framework deriving
from our concepts of the child-parent relationship. Unlike the Clyde Inlet Eskimo, economic necessity and ultimate dependency of the parents upon the child is not a factor (at least not for many). When operating within the limits of a marginal subsistence hunting-trapping economy in which children, especially male children, are regarded as a form of insurance it is imperative that the concept of adoption be related to, and adjusted for, these factors of subsistence. This can only be accomplished by conducting more intensive field studies such as represented by this paper. Such studies should be aimed toward developing a broader view of the operating system. Such a broad ethnographic picture will provide the framework within which the attitudes toward children and the inter-family mobility of children will assume more concrete and analyzable meaning.

The arrival of the infant, whether natural or adopted at birth (the usual and ideal case), is said to be a reason for 'happiness.' Circumstances, as has been pointed out, modify this. If already committed for adoption and taken away immediately, no reference is made to the event; similarly, if it is a stillbirth. If the child is not wanted, that is, if the parents consider that they cannot keep the child, then an appeal is made to relatives to 'help' by accepting the child as one of their own.
The Family

Two major difficulties in defining 'the family' or in applying the usual definitions of the family to the Clyde Eskimo situation should be clarified here. For example, Levy recognizes three kinship structures, as he says:

The three kinship structures are: (1) descent units (those oriented at least in part to biological relatedness but not to sexual intercourse); (2) non-family units oriented at least in part to sexual intercourse (perhaps a very special kind of kinship unit, not necessarily rare but ordinarily probably of very short duration); and (3) family units (1965:4).

His descent unit sub-category above describes the ilagit structure. He defines the family as (his emphasis):

... any membership unit of the kinship structure for which in addition to other orientations, sometimes equally if not more important for the members, the membership of the units and the nature of the solidarity among the members is determined by orientation to the facts of biological relatedness and sexual intercourse (ibid., p. 2-3).

The problem here is related to the inclusion of sexual intercourse as a primary factor for the distinction of the family. As I attempt to make clear (p. 108ff), sexual intercourse is as important for the iligit (extra-kinship) as it is for kinship units but the iligit is in no way reminiscent of any kind of standard kinship grouping. I suggest that a definition of the family should place greater emphasis upon the production of 'legitimate' i.e. natural and adopted offspring than upon sexual intercourse. The production of legitimate offspring certainly requires heterosexual intercourse (parthenogenesis being unknown
among mammals) and to include this phenomenon as a primary requirement appears redundant and not very useful. A more useful general definition of 'family' is to be found in Bohannan; this definition states that:

... a family contains people who are linked by sexual and affinal relationships as well as those linked by descent and collateral relationships ... (1963:124).

Still another difficulty lies at the empirical level. There are two terms in common use at Clyde, 'qiturnguarit' and 'qiturnquagarit.' The first is translatable as 'group of siblings,' the second as 'sharers of offspring.' The two are usually translated as "family" and are regarded as interchangeable and therefore, presumably equivalent. It should be clear that the two are not equivalents and that a 'group of siblings' is a different unit than 'sharers of offspring.'

At the kinship level the individual can make a number of distinctions: a co-resident kinsman; a recognized kinsman; a close (participating) kinsman. These gradations have been described in preceding pages. 'Groups of siblings' are very closely bound, both ideally and actually. Similarly parents sharing offspring are closely bound by the sexuality of the relationship but this relationship is less binding than the consanguineal one. If we insist that, whatever a definition might include, a definition of the 'family' must relate parental and offspring generations so that it reads as, parent(s) plus offspring; then we must also accept that
there is no terminological distinction of 'the family' among the Clyde Eskimos. This is of course not the case; 'families' as structurally operating units do exist and are of crucial importance to the understanding of Clyde Inlet Eskimo 'society.' The major empirical question relates to how the two terms reflect different levels of operation. These distinctions will become clearer as the 'family' is analyzed.

The structure of the family, as a kinship unit, will be described and analyzed in terms of the structure of Role Differentiation among kin categories, using some of the sub-categories suggested by Levy (1952:306-7). Apart from the qualifications made by Levy (footnote 2, p. 300), this particular structure seems the most amenable to empirical observation; people are distributed among the available and necessary roles in society. The fact that this distribution has a number of referent criteria, although introducing a high degree of complexity, permits the observer to make decisions as to the most relevant criteria in use in various societies or groups within a larger society.

The second important factor for the illicit or extra-kinship relationship is, as will be noted, the existence of half-siblings and the concomitant behavioral expectations involved. Half-siblings can be produced as a result of multiple sequential marriage, polygamous family practices or through spouse-exchange relationships. All
three modes are known to the Clyde Inlet Eskimos. Half-siblings produced by any of the three situations are named 'qatangotigatigit' (sharers of a single parent). Again, in disagreement with Guemple's (1962) scheme, there is no terminological distinction made between half-siblings produced in any of the three settings.

Half-siblings are said by the Clyde people to be more fond of each other than full-siblings. Whether or not this is true could not be checked to my entire satisfaction. It certainly appears that half-siblings will go to great lengths to visit each other but they do the same for full, and adopted siblings. There is, of course a great deal of variation in this matter; a young married male informant stated that, of all his siblings, his half-sister was his favourite. There was an added factor involved here and one that comes up occasionally in this area; this is that the acknowledged father of the two had been a White. There are a number of part-White children in the area and these display a clear animosity toward their putative paters.

An important limited factor in the establishment of spouse-exchange relationships lies in the extent, degree, and intensity of the incest regulations.

Broadly speaking, incest (see footnote 1, Chapter II) regulations are expressed in two qualitatively different manifestations of 'avoidance.' The avoidance of close collaterals of opposite-sex, e.g. of sisters by brothers and vice versa and of opposite-sex cousins falls into the pattern described by
Damas as ongayogtok (lit. fondness) and at Clyde often given as nagligiyogtok (lit. to love). Avoidance of certain affines on the other hand fits Damas' pattern of nalaktog, (lit. to listen to, to obey).

The incest restrictions applicable to choice of marriage partners are equally enforced in the spouse-exchange system. Both the northern and southern groups of Clyde Eskimos avoid the establishment of exchange relations with persons of first degree of collaterality, that is, closer than first cousin. Interestingly, the southern group has a number of cross-cousin (matrilateral) marriages while the northern group expressly frown upon that particular arrangement. Also important is the fact that although spouse-exchange relationships are established across the boundaries between the northern and southern groups marriages between persons across the same boundaries are rare.

Camps and households

The largest co-resident groups are camps and households. "Camp" should be taken to mean: that aggregate of kin and non-kin who occupy a given campsite at a given time. A more formal definition would be:

... residential groupings are open, flexible, and highly variable in composition. They have no institutionalized leadership (emphasis mine) and, indeed, no corporate identity. They do not own territory and clear-cut jurally defined modes of affiliation of individuals to residential groupings do not exist ... meaning simply the set of persons who happen to be living
Campsites are generally traditional, or historical, in the sense that they have been occupied continually by the people and their ancestors. The composition of any camp can and does vary from season to season and from year to year. The actual turnover of personnel is illustrated in the diagrams included in this chapter. There are rare occasions when only a single nuclear family is in residence in a campsite. Within a camp the next largest unit is that of the household. Although definitions of household usually imply co-residence under one roof, for example:

The household . . . , is a group of people who live together and form a functioning domestic unit. They may or may not constitute a family, and if they do, it may or may not be a simple nuclear family (Bohannan, 1963:86 et passim).

this does not always apply to the Eskimo situation. Indeed, a number of closely aligned summer tents, each housing a nuclear family (usually related), can be taken as a household. This assertion is based upon the fact that all the hunters from each tent are operating to provide sustenance for everyone in all tents.

The actual occupation of any given campsite is dependent upon a number of factors including season, game conditions, the attitude of the local police, the persuasion of the local school teacher, the attachments to other individuals, both kin and non-kin and so forth.

In the main, winter camps are chosen for their
proximity to good sealing areas and, more recently, for being within easy travelling distance from the settlement. During the winter the major activities are sealing at seal holes or at the floe-edge and trapping (I have already discussed the importance of sealskins and the lack of emphasis on trapping for this group, Chapter II. A great deal of visiting between camps is carried out and, together with the frequent trips to the settlement to trade and collect relief issues, can be considered a major activity. If a move to a summer camp is contemplated this usually takes place in early spring when the weather is warmer but before the snow melts on the sea ice.

Summer camps usually are situated close to good sealing, walrus and narwal hunting with the added advantage of the possibility for walking inland to hunt caribou in the fall. There is much less travelling done during the summer months, mid-July/early September, than is done in the winter. During the summer hunting is carried out by small boat powered by outboard motor but is dependent upon calm weather conditions. During the early summer period a combination of dog-team and small boat hunting is engaged in the hunt for the larger basking seals, the square-flipper and the walrus.

Fall activities are primarily 'preparatory' activities. Caches of food are put up, the women work on preparing skins either for trade or for clothing. If the weather is conducive the move to the winter camp is made
just before freeze-up or as soon as the newly-formed ice will bear a loaded sled.

The composition of households in the camps also varies seasonally and from year to year.

The social unit with which we are concerned with here is that unit which, for any individual, provides the most basic or core-group of socioeconomic importance and which operates as the major primary contact with other larger groups both kin and non-kin.

Membership in either the family or household structure is brought about in a number of ways some of which have been alluded to in previous discussion. The most common and unequivocal membership adheres to those born into the structure. Other modes of recruitment of members are via an aiparjugit situation and the emergence of half-siblingship. Since children born in an aiparjugit relationship are kept by the mother rather than by the imputed spouse-exchanger male, it can be seen that wherever such exchanges take place the criterion of half-siblingship, qatangotigatigit becomes important criterion for inclusion in the resident kinship group.

Camp composition

Four camps have been selected as representative of the ten occupied camps during the 1965 to 1965 period. These will show the range of variation in composition that have been mentioned in other chapters.
Camp Composition at Naksalukuluk

Diagram 11

\[ \text{transfer of #} \]

\[ \text{adoptive or half-sibling} \]
Camp Composition at Supiguyaktuk

ABANDONED

Winter/Summer 1964-1965

Diagram 12
Camp Composition at Pangnirtung

Summer 1964

Winter 1964-1965

Summer 1965
Camp Composition at Ailertalik

Summer 1964

Winter 1964-1965

Summer 1965

Diagram 14
Naksalukuluq

This camp has been occupied by the same extended family for a number of years. During the 1964 fieldwork period, the male contingent consisted of two brothers, their wives and children and one in-marrying male or co-brother-in-law (younger). Authority was relegated to number 6 Peeongeetook (see chart) who was the eldest of the two brothers. During the winter of 1964-1965 a Pond Inlet man died at a camp somewhat to the north at the campsite called Ikpig. Since the widow was an adopted sibling of the wife of number 8 Seevoga, she and her children were taken into the camp at Naksalukuluq. During the winter of 1964-1965 the widow remained in the camp under the care and in the household of number 8 Seevoga and his wife; in the summer of 1965 this widow was married to number 5 Atakahlee so that during the 1965 fieldwork period the camp was under the authority of number 6 Peeongeetook, his brother number 7 Komanil, and contained the two co-brothers-in-law number 5 Atakahlee and number 8 Seevoga.

Supiquyaqtuq

This campsite, like that of Naksalukuluq, is an apparently old and traditional site. W. E. Parry (1820), (see also p. 151-2, Chapter IV) describes this site as being the place where he first went ashore to meet Eskimos.

During the summer of 1965 there were four nuclear families at this site. Three of these formed an extended kin group and a single household while the fourth comprised
a combined nuclear family and household. Authority in the camp lay in number 9 Ahpah. Number 12 Nowya, and number 9 Ahpah had an aiparjugit relationship. During the winter of 1964-1965 the site was completely abandoned. The extended kin-group under the leadership of number 9 Ahpah moved to a site to the southwest, Ailertalig while number 12 Nowya moved south to the campsite called Pangnirtung.

During the summer of 1965 the campsite became relatively densely populated. Number 9 and 11, Ahpah and Johan-assie, formed an extended kin group and a single household. Besides these families there were five other nuclear families residing here. This camp is approximately four miles from the main settlement at Clyde. It should be pointed out that there was a general movement into the sites closest to Clyde as well as into Clyde itself; eighteen nuclear families during the summer of 1964, seventeen during the winter of 1964-1965, and thirteen during the summer of 1965.

Pangnirtung

During the summer of 1964 this site was occupied by a large extended kin-group forming two households. During the winter of 1964-1965 this kin-group was added to by the addition of one more nuclear family, a half-sibling to number twenty. The camp was enlarged during the winter by the addition of an unrelated nuclear family.

During the summer of 1965 a complete change in personnel took place. At that time two extended kin-groups arrived to replace the winter population.
Ailertalig

During the summer of 1964 this campsite was occupied by a single large extended kin-group with one in-marrying male. This same kin-group was joined by another equally large kin-group, so that the camp comprised two households during the winter of 1964-1965. Once again we have a complete change of personnel from winter to summer. During the summer of 1965 there were seven nuclear families belonging to two distinct kin-groups. Household formation assumed the usual aspect of a number of related nuclear families living in very close proximity to each other and all sharing in the common task of food getting and general work preparation.

The variable nature of campsite composition should be clear from the foregoing illustrations. Both homogeneous and heterogeneous camps have been diagramed. The variation in composition through both long and short term periods is a function of a number of variables including game availability, the formation of hunting partnerships, the coalescing of kinship units, especially that of sibling groups and, importantly, the formation of extra-kinship (iligit) relationships.

Inter-personal relationships

Before going on to describe the nature and extent of the inter-personal relationships within the family, following Aberle (1961:164-75), I would like to clarify a
number of issues. These issues relate to a broader distribution of influence and power than is generally alluded to in the various publications on Eskimo social structure. Although many Eskimo groups have been described as being totally egalitarian (cf. Stefansson, Jenness, Birket-Smith, et al.) there is enough evidence to the contrary to warrant a careful examination of the distribution of power/influence. For example, Spencer (1959) in talking about inter-group rivalry says:

> Competition and the competitive sense arose both between communities and between individuals. There was some feeling for community loyalty and some sense of rivalry between villages or local groupings (1959).

More specifically Damas states, for the Iglulik group, that:

> Another principle that is evident in the terminology is the predominance of complementary over self-reciprocal terms. This feature would tend to emphasize the general lack of equality among the various status positions. In contradiction to popular notions of democracy among the Eskimo, there does appear to be a concern with relative position in the interpersonal behaviour of the Igluligmiut (1963:201).

For the Clyde group the differential distribution of power and influence is clearly seen by the Eskimos, themselves. My own observations have led me to assert that, among the Clyde groups, there is a definite hierarchical system of power/influence and behaviour. For example, while talking with a young married father I casually asked him how long he would be staying in the settlement at Clyde. His answer was to the effect that he "did not know since his father had not yet told him what to do next." Similarly,
The Siela System

Relation to Ego  Title Used

- subordinate partners ....
- female in laws ...........
- male in laws ...........
- younger brothers ......
- unmarried sisters .....  
- wife ...................
- children .............
- camp followers .......

Diagram 15
several informants asserted that while it was best that individuals should do as they wished, isumanig, it was often the case that they needed guidance. The justification for this was usually that, "some people have more knowledge and skills than others." Since these and other examples appeared to contradict the ideal operation of individual right to make decisions I queried further and can assert with assurance that within each Clyde group and between certain members of the two groups a clearly defined hierarchical distribution of authority existed. I propose to call this system of distribution the siela system. 6

Referring to Diagram 15, it can be seen that either a pyramidal type relationship holds or that a step-like process could be used to illustrate the framework of the siela system. By taking any ego, male especially, it becomes clear that there is more to this hierarchy than the criterion of sex. For example, no female is angayukaq to any grown male but she will be angayukaq to any younger sisters or female consanguines, affines, and pre-adult children of either sex.

Looking at the life cycle of a first born male ego the following changes take place. First he is siela to his parents but angayukaq to no one. As his parents produce more children he remains siela to his parents but becomes angayukaq to his younger siblings of either sex. Although he is angayukaq to his younger siblings when he marries and goes to take up his bride-service he is, while in the camp
of his wife's consanguineal group, simply *siela*. That is, he has no authority whatsoever. Upon his return to his own consanguineal group he once more has people to whom he is *siela* and to some others, e.g. younger siblings and sisters as well as to in-marrying males, he is *angayukag*. As he acquires children of his own he begins to gather together a number of people to whom he acts as *angayukag* i.e. his wife and children, followed by in-marrying individuals and his younger siblings so long as they camp together. He may, incidentally, acquire other *siela* in the form of orphans and/or mentally defective persons who attach themselves to his group. At this point his term of reference can become *nalaqti*, the one listened to.

Beginning with the most general distribution of authority within and between the northern and southern Clyde groups there is, apart from intra-familial distributions and networks, a generalized system of hierarchical authority that has to do with a complex interaction of kinship and other criteria. It can be seen that relative and absolute ages (and experience) between co-affines or between affines and the consanguineal group into which males and females marry is important. This, obviously relates in turn to residence, that is, to which local group is hosting which marriage partner. A young man meeting the bride-service requirements in the camp of his wife's group assumes a relatively inferior position with respect to her parents, brothers, cousins, uncles, etc. On the other hand, when...
the service period is terminated and the couple return to
the camp of the groom's relatives she assumes a similarly
abject position until she has established some seniority or
acquired greater prestige among the women of that camp.
He, in turn, will most likely have in-marrying males over
which he has power. Again, for example, although two co-
affines might refer to each other as 'younger' and 'older'
co-affine depending upon the relative ages of the same-sex
siblings they had married, the criteria of absolute and
relative age and experience are more closely reckoned with
than the terminological system indicates.

The generality of the hierarchical system can be
exemplified by the simple device of querying about a camp
being approached, "kitkut?" literally, "whose group?" with
the implication of "by who?" Assuming, for example that
there are several dwellings the first answer will be the
name of the recognized leader. As the camp is entered one
can then ask while indicating single dwellings, "kitkut?"
and the name of the head of that family or household will be
given. In this way a complete roster of individuals as well
as the overall 'head' can be elicited. Furthermore, all
those persons not named will be siela. That is, upon being
given the first name all others in the camp are siela while
when in the camp itself the various separate dwellings will
be seen as having a head and the other co-resident members
of each dwelling will be seen as siela.
It is clear that kinship and sex alone do not account for the distribution. For the Clyde region my observations suggest, then, I have decided, that the factors of relative and absolute age as well as kinship were important. In addition any male person could become *nalacti* by the process of acquiring skills to a greater degree than other males in his camp group. Similarly, an *angayukac* that did not either acquire or maintain his skills could, and was, easily replaced.

In conclusion my data and the analysis of the situation support Damas' contention that individuals are concerned with their status in a hierarchical system.

Up till now we have been dealing with the general aspects of authority for the larger system. Analysis of authority in the family reveals a similar pattern of differential influence and the patterning of *siela*.

**Husband-wife or uin-nulliaq**

The conjugal relationships are weakened by the persistence of strong bonds to one's family of orientation and by the fact that either one or other spouse is living in an affinal group.

Although the husband ideally rules the family and his wife is *siela* to him, there are enough cases to show that within the private domain the wife often has influence in decision making. By this I mean that broadly speaking when the caribou season, for example, is under way then the
husband decides to hunt caribou but the exact location of his hunting is decided in conjunction with his wife who might wish him to hunt where she can meet individuals from her own family of orientation. Similarly, during trading it appears that the husband is making the choices of goods to buy but, in most cases, this is only after the fact that his wife and he have arrived at a mutually agreeable understanding of what is to be bought and in what order of priority. Ideally, such decisions between husband and wife take place in private. Publicly the wife acts in a demure fashion insisting that it is up to the husband to decide, isumanig.

In day to day matters each provides for the other. The husband provides meat in the form of fish, seals or whaleskin etc. and the wife provides the tailored clothing that enables the hunter to carry out his daily round of tasks. Without this interchange there could be no permanent conjugal family. At the same time, while fulfilling the demands of the marriage partner each must fulfill the demands of his/her own family of orientation and will do so until it is an impossibility. Since inheritance is to one's own group rather than bilaterally to spouses group the disposition of wealth tends to follow along a unilateral path on both sides.

The marital bond is the weakest of all bonds within the family. Despite the lack of barriers to divorce, few divorces are recorded. The sole case that came to my attention was between a childless woman and her husband.
The male partner was notoriously lazy and the woman after much nagging and cajoling finally asked her father to come and take her away. The separation took place with no fuss between either partner. Contributing to the weakness of the marital bond is the strength of the natal ties held by both partners. These ties are such that in cases where an issue was doubtful it is more than likely that the choice of action taken will be in terms of the natal obligations. Militating against easy divorce is the lack of alternative spouses within the population. In other words, although divorce is a relatively easy matter the problem of finding suitable partners looms large in both cases. Since it is essential that men have women to look after the clothing and so forth and since women need men to provide food it is easy to see how this situation bolsters and upholds the marriage bond. In view of this fact it is not surprising that the families of each partner attempt to bring about a reconciliation before accepting that a separation is inevitable. The causes of divorce are usually the unacceptable behaviour on the part of one of the pair. For example, laziness, lying, 'walking about at night' (the implication here is one of infidelity), and ineptitude at important tasks. The relationship of wife to husband is clear and obvious in the public domain where the wife always gives the impression that the husband made whatever decision is in question. However, in private the wife definitely does have influence in the decision making process.
It is interesting to note that the only equality in decision making is in the case of divorce. In this case either the husband or wife can decide to leave and this decision is binding upon both partners.

**Mother-child or Anana-giturnguaq**

A mother can and usually does discipline her immature children of either sex. Chastisement normally takes the form of scolding, physical punishment is somewhat rare but when it does occur it is often very severe. In the main, boys are treated more benignly by the mother than are girls. Boys for example will walk in front of a group of adults while girls, who are being trained to be shy in company, will usually make their way around the edges of a group.

Upon approaching maturity the sexes separate so to speak and boys will pass into the father's sphere of activities while girls will be more and more under the influence of their mother. In this sense the mother has control over the girls although it is not unknown for her to continue wielding her power over boys up to, and sometimes beyond maturity. In short, the mother is the legitimate authority vis-a-vis the children and the early upbringing of children falls to her.

In the economic sphere of activities a mother has much authority over her children's day-to-day activities. Girl children are expected to fetch water and to help the
mother with all household chores such as getting fuel together and in working hides. Boys are expected to assist in feeding dogs and in the heavier tasks that fall to their mother. Girls are expected to develop skill in sewing and other female-linked jobs. In return a mother expects support in her old age and in fact often refers to this aspect of the relationship.

The ideal, and apparently the actual, relationship between a mother and her children is one of confidence, warm and supportive for either male or female children. This seems to be true to the extent that girls confide in their mothers concerning such important things as lovers, a mother in turn, might admonish a girl child not to get pregnant but beyond that there is little attempt to instill chastity in girl children. Children will often go to their mother for help or advice even after marriage.

**Father-child or Atata-qiturnguag**

A father is a stern figure whose word is law. Although a father might show great affection for infants he is uncommunicative with older immature children. When he gives an order there is no reply but simply a carrying out of the demand. As his girl children approach maturity the father has less and less contact with them and usually transmits his pleasure and displeasure through the mother. Upon questions of marriage the father has the greatest say and usually is in agreement with his wife. The degree to which
the siela relationship holds can be demonstrated by two deviant cases. In the first case the father had been away on an extended hunting trip and came home to find that his son had gone to another camp and brought home a wife. Since this was not the family that the father had wanted to make an alliance with he sent her back to her own camp. In the second case the son had been obdurant and had brought home a girl who neither father nor mother liked but allowed her to stay. At the time of my visit the girl was sitting in one corner of the shack while the parents and I talked. The conversation centered around the 'foolishness' of the son for choosing a woman for her looks rather than for her skills. Meanwhile the girl simply kept on doing what she was doing, scraping sealskins.

It is interesting to note that in one case the norms of behaviour were upheld while in the other case the only recourse left to the parents was one of constant ridicule. In any event the fragile marriage bond was being even further corroded.

Economically speaking, it was important that the father could depend upon his sons for help in the daily acquisition of food. This was carried out by the father allocating several jobs to his sons, i.e. in fishing or in handling the boat while the father hunted. As with the case of the mother, the father expected to be helped by his sons in his old age.
The bond between father and children is one of mutual respect in the case of girls because of the incest taboos and in the case of boys because of the need for partnership in the hunt.

Some examples of the nature of the relationship between parents and offspring seem appropriate here. When a child is given an order to do some task or other, the person, often the father, does not wait for an acquiescent answer but simply assumes that what he has commanded will be obeyed by the recipient of the order. For example, a father will tell his son to untangle the dogs and immediately turn to one of his peers and begin a conversation as to ice conditions or whatever without even looking to see if his son has started doing the job he was given. Similarly in the case of girls behaviour, he will tell his wife what his complaint is and expects that remedial action will be taken. This kind of response indicates again the nature of the siela hierarchy; the giver of an order expects conformity and gets it.

The relationship, then, between father and child is one in which influence and dutiful obedience rank high. Disobedient children are quickly brought into line by threats of withdrawal of support.

**Same-sex siblings or nugarit**

The following description applies to pairs of brothers and pairs of sisters.
An older brother or sister has authority over younger brothers or sisters. Older immature siblings of either sex are required to 'take care' of younger siblings of the same sex. Indeed they are often held responsible for the actions of younger siblings. This is true for either male or female older sibling.

Sisters and brothers help each other in the daily round of tasks with the elder taking the lead and issuing instructions in the absence of the parents. After marriage it is likely that sisters see less of each other than do brothers simply because of the pattern of residence that is in operation. That is, females tend to marry into the camps of their husbands while sons bring their brides home to the father's camp or, as often happens, to the camp of an elder brother of the groom.

The bond between siblings is very strong and emotionally charged, so much so that sisters will often coerce their husbands to make camp or carry out hunting in a vicinity in which they, the sisters, can be together for a short period of time. Brothers have fewer problems in this respect since they tend to make camp together or with the father.

**Brother-sister or Anik-naiyaq**

Brothers ideally command the obedience of sisters regardless of relative age. Pragmatism, as usual, dictates that only older brothers or brothers who have proven
themselves do in fact have authority over unmarried sisters. While the father is living, the authority of the brothers is somewhat ambiguous although an older brother might have some voice in who his sister marries.

Sisters help brothers whenever needed and especially if a brother has lost his wife for one reason or another, e.g. by hospitalization. On the other hand her first obedience is to her father, then, apparently, to her husband and then to her brothers.

The bond between brother and sister is possibly the strongest with the only exception being the bond between brothers or between sisters. The sisters of a brother will assume a good deal of responsibility for the brother if younger and will show marked deference if the brother is older. The incest taboo is strong to the point of making it impossible for a brother and a sister to share the same tent or house together alone. If it has not been possible to avoid being alone one or the other will pretend to be asleep until someone else enters the house. Certainly the nature of the bond is such that no casual conversation takes place between brother and sister. This avoidance is further borne out by the myth in which incestuous relations between a brother and a sister or between a parent and child will result in the death of the female.

**Peer grouping**

Although mentioned in passing in much of the literature (cf. Hughes, 1960 and Honigman, 1965), the
importance of peer grouping has generally been passed over. I would like to stress here that such grouping may play a very important role in the education of Eskimo children. The following seems to be true for a number of groups. Peer groups begin to form as bisexual agglomerates whose primary function appears to be mutual self-entertainment. As the children grow a bit older, in the seven to ten year age group, the sexes tend to separate, girls going together and likewise boys playing together. At about this stage adults will remark that the troupes of young girls are like akigiag, flocks of ptarmigan flitting over the land. Boys are said to be nokapiag, having eye teeth. Girls at the latter end of this period are seldom if ever alone or without a companion similarly with boys. Upon the attainment of puberty girls tend to have selected as bosom mates a few of the girls that she formerly ran about with in her earlier years. The name for a girl at this period is niviarsag, 'one with the making of breasts.' Boys, on the other hand are still referred to as nokapiag. Unlike the groups of boys, which persist through the early puberty period, girls tend to become 'shy' of men. At this stage also a girl will demand a tent of her own. This tent is not called a tuperg but is referred to as a to'kliag or maiden's tent. It is here that most girls experience first homosexuality and later heterosexuality and is considered a normal process in the growing up phase of all young girls. Boys have no equivalent period in adjustment to adult life but make use of the various to'kliag in their sexual exploits.
FOOTNOTES

1. By incestuous and incest I mean that determined by the Eskimos in terms of categories of relatives with whom sexual intercourse is frowned upon and with whom marriage cannot take place. Although categories of forbidden unions differ between the northern and southern group the folk-explanations are the same, viz., that the female partner of an incestuous relationship will surely die.

2. As is the case with the iligit term, the boundaries of the group to which it is used (see also p. 33) is well recognized. At the most general level it can be taken as meaning all kinsmen known to the informant as being a cognatic relative of one sort or another. Not a single informant included his or her spouse or affines in providing the list of their ilagit. Responses to queries concerning the giving of assistance or the reasons for avoiding physical contact between opposite sexed relatives was generally a statement that he/she was ilaga (my relative).

3. A key to these and all other terminological diagrams is provided. Each letter represents a distinct term.
4. The use of the suffix saq is very common and is applied to all 'unworked' material. For example, if a woman has decided that a particular skin is to be used for pants then she will refer to that skin as kargliqsag, the material for pants, rather than as krisiq, hide and certainly not as karglig, pants. Other adjectival usages include probable, possible, and potential.

5. I have omitted any mention of polyandrous family situations simply because these have not been a factor for the local group; plural spouse arrangements have been of a polygynous nature and informants were quite uncertain as to the possible consequences of polyandrous arrangement.

6. The term siela seems to be a loan word from the English 'sailor' and connotes its authoritarian differential system "one who does as he is told." I had previously thought this term to mean 'slave' but after a rather lengthy explanation by a group of informants (together) I was convinced that, although my original interpretation was by itself a valid one it did not approach the extent of usage and meant "subordinate."
CHAPTER III

This chapter presents a descriptive analysis of the structure of contemporary local extra-kinship groupings and aggregates among the Eskimos living in the vicinity of Clyde Inlet. Before proceeding with this description, I would like to comment upon some misconceptions concerning the usage and significance of "group names" among the northeastern Baffin Island Eskimos.

An assumption sometimes underlying the analysis of groups among "primitive" peoples is that if the grouping under discussion has an empirical referent and specified membership criteria, i.e. if it is a formal and concrete structure, then it will also be named. The converse assumption also occurs; if a "name" exists then there must be a discrete group to which it applies. For example, any group of people banded together for purposes of improving say, working conditions, then we, in English, can call it a union. On the other hand it would be very difficult to specify membership in the group named the Mafia, even though all members, unknown but bound by secrecy, are termed Mafiosi. Such assumptions may be appropriate for many societies and many situations but where congruency between a structure and a name is not readily evident there often results a confusion
between what Levy terms analytic and concrete structures (Levy, 1952). Often investigators begin by isolating, describing, and analyzing the concrete structures chosen for study; they then attempt to bring these structural ideas into concordance with a predetermined analytical structural framework of analyses. The problem emerges along two dimensions in the following manner. On the one hand there are unstated insertions of concepts applicable to the study of analytic structures, for example, the economic or the political, which cut across all other structural boundaries such as found in role differentiation or kinship. On the other hand there is an increasingly clear, but again unstated, reification of all amorphous structures such as religion and so forth.

With respect to Eskimos it is easy to accept as implicit that such terms as "innuit," the people, or "nunamiut," the people of the land, or "tageomiut," the people of the sea carry with them some sort of pan-Eskimo solidarity or identification. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Indeed it would be more accurate to describe the general relationship between groups of Eskimos as being basically suspicious if not hostile. A good illustration of this occurred when the school at Yellowknife was built to accommodate Eskimos from both the eastern and western districts. At this school both inland and coastal types
were represented but the major divisive factor was rooted in the dialects spoken, the easterners using 's' sounds and the westerners using 'h' sounds as in siginerq as opposed to higinerq (the sun). On top of this were the introduced divisions, within both eastern and western groups, of religious affiliation, the Roman Catholics versus the Anglicans. In aboriginal times simply knowing which persons belonged to which kinship groups probably sufficed to determine and distinguish between neighbours and strangers. Similarly, many writers have observed, recorded and commented upon the use of vaguely territorial "tribal" names among the Eskimos (Boas, 1888; Rasmussen, 1930a; Mathiassen, 1928; Jenness, 1922; et al.). Such names are purely local in origin and make sense with reference to variables or some characteristics of the source area. Rink, 1894, Boas, 1888, and a few later workers have at least mentioned the peculiarly locational/directional/geographical implications of such "tribal" names. For example, for whatever Eskimo group concerned, the name for all people living to the west of their locality is "wanermiut" or some dialect variant. To the Clyde Eskimo all of southern Baffin Island is the home of the "sikosuitomiut" (literally, the "people of the ice-free places"). Although the modern Clyde Eskimo can specify more narrowly certain areas in southern Baffin Island such as Frobisher Bay he will use that term in a general sense. To the southern Baffin Islanders on the other hand, the term is usually applicable only to people living in Hudson's Straits.
Clyde Inlet Eskimos are referred to by adjacent Eskimo groups and White residents as the "Kangersuapigmiut." Within the area this term is reserved for those people who actually live in or near Patricia Bay (Kangersuapiq) [literally, small (short) inlet] other groups being duly designated by the appropriate camp name. There is no all-embracing "tribal" name in use among the Clyde Eskimos for themselves. A broader usage occurs when discussing the habitual trade centre used; in this case all those Eskimos trading at Clyde settlement (Patricia Bay) are designated by the term, Kangersuapigmiut, but only in the trade-centre sense. The socio-cultural homogeneity inferred by Whites from the term and its seeming use is false.

As shown in the chapter on kinship I noted the existence of two discrete groups within the Clyde community which I called the "northern" and "southern" groups. The iligit structure (see discussion below) is posited as the important factor contributing to the observed cohesion and integration that exists between the two groups. The important factors separating the two groups are: group-endogamous marriage (with rare exceptions), consanguineal kinship affiliations, dialect differences, and geographical origins. Where group-exogamous marriages take place people of the northern group tend toward marriage with the northern or Pond Inlet (occasionally Iglulik) group and, people of the southern group with the Broughton Island and Pangnirtung groups.
Before my arrival in the study area I had assumed, on the basis of past (non-anthropological) experience immediately to the north, that I would be dealing with a homogeneous population called the Kangersuapigmiut. Very soon after I arrived the possibility that this might not be true became evident in the existence of two dialects, one that I was very familiar with and another that I was less familiar with. A closer examination confirmed the existence of two distinct segments or groups, these are the northern and southern groups mentioned and described earlier. Also revealed, through genealogical constructs, were two apparently self-contained networks of kin-ties. This seemed to fit the evidence gathered. On the other hand, as I became more familiar with the kinship networks and as I continued to attempt to place definite boundaries on the various affiliated kindreds there was an increasingly high frequency of the kinship category, katangotigatigit (half-sibling) between the two groups. Since a perusal of the marriage records clearly indicated that marriage between members of the two groups was conspicuously absent I had to look in other directions for an explanation of what seemed to be anomalous kin-ties.

Over and above the existence of these apparently anomalous kin-ties there was a pervasive sense of community as demonstrated by the heterogeneity of the composition of households and camps. Although there were occasional (seasonally variable) instances of camps that were homogeneous
with respect to kinship affiliation the incidence of composite, or heterogeneous camps was relatively great.

A first clue to this puzzle came from an informant when, asking the question, "kisogivigit X," "What is the relationship between you and X?" and the answer was, ilika.\(^4\)

My first reaction was that the informant had mispronounced 'ilaka,' "my kinsman." There were several confusing points. First, if indeed the two persons were kinsmen then an incestuous relationship was occurring since I had good information that the informant had a rather steady sexual relationship with the other person's wife, or, my previous information concerning this aspect was false, or, as I said there had been a mis-pronunciation of the kinship term.

This I checked immediately by repeating the respondent's answer but substituting the kinship, ilaka, for ilika.\(^5\) I was immediately met by a stony silence and the departure of the informant. I then asked others why this had offended him. I was told that I had, knowing as I did the sexual relationship between the other's wife and the informant, greatly offended him by imputing an incestuous relationship.\(^6\)

Integration and community

The importance of the relationship between kinship (ilagit) and extra-kinship (iligit) structure cannot be over-emphasized. This is because although the ilagit or kinship structure serves to hold individuals in an involuntary relationship complete with sets of rights and duties, it
is within the workings of the iligit structure that members of un-related kinship groups are able to pursue activities that would otherwise be impossibly awkward and energy wasting. In short, the operation of the iligit structure has, as one consequence, a community-wide integration unlike the ilagit structure which is restricted to members of extended and restricted kindreds or families.

In this section (Chapter) I want to describe and illustrate the nature of the relationship that holds between the ilagit and the iligit. As has been stated, a major difference between these two systems lies in the spouse-exchange pattern and the emergence of inter-familial bonding across generations through the medium of half-siblings. At the same time there are many similarities between the expected and observed behaviour patterns. For this reason alone the exact nature of the relationships should be considered.

To briefly outline again the kinship system, that is, the ilagit, system I should like to stress that both consanguineal and affinal ties are important. These are subsumed under the rubric of 'iligit.' Within the kinship circle, the ilagit, there are a number of subdivisions which have been explained and interpreted in previous chapters. Two major aspects can be discerned here; first the involuntary aspect of kinship and second the voluntary aspect of partnership. As Bohannan points out, however, all voluntary relationships can become involuntary by one means
or another. I suggest that spouse exchange and the appearance of half-siblings can return a voluntary relationship to an involuntary one. That is to say, although initial agreements are between voluntary individuals the results change the relationship to an involuntary one. This, in itself, could explain some of the anomalies reported by previous workers among Eskimos.

Affiliations with the adjacent groups are always given in terms of consanguinity (including half-siblings as 'consanguines), in terms of "partnerships," i.e. perqatig or, occasionally in affinal terms. Dialect differences are generally minor e.g. tuatog versus amitog for "thin"; panika' versus erngoserg for mug. More importantly, cousin kinship terminology as has been shown is distinctly different between the two groups.

Within each group the pattern of dispersal and arrangements of camps is similar within each group. The same camp sites have been in use indefinitely into the past from Dorset through Thule and into neo-Eskimo (see Chapter IV on historical developments in the area).

Camps, as has been shown (p. 79ff) are generally composed of consanguineally and affinally related nuclear families and correspond closely to what Damas called "the band" (Damas, 1973, et passim). Properly constituted "families," either multiple sequentially monogamous (extended and nuclear) or the now rare polygamous types are of more direct relevance for the structure of the extended and
restricted kindreds, the "ilagit," and have been discussed in relation to those groupings. The point I wish to make here is that, if there are unrelated nuclear families in the camp then there is a high probability that an iligit spouse-exchange arrangement is present. However, judgement should be cautious since it may simply be a case of a travelling group resting before continuing to their final destination, or a family visiting for other reasons, e.g. to arrange a marriage between children.

The most inclusive group term (not a proper name) used at Clyde is "iligit." For definitional purposes of this concrete structure the following is adequate; details will be brought out in the description. The iligit is that community of persons, kin and non-kin (regardless of age and sex) with whom an individual might probably, and certainly possibly, enter into an asymmetrical or symmetrical intermittent but always mutually beneficial, relationship of highly variable duration. Such a relationship is primarily economic, as defined on p. 8, and is cemented by sharing of spouses between non-kin and further bound by the production of half-siblings, thus resulting in the emergence of a kinship relationship between non-related families across adjacent generations. This is not a "pergatiq" (partnership) relationship between two or more men but includes these as subsidiary phenomena.

In short, all persons, kin, quasi-kin, affinal kin, and non-kin with whom an individual has, or might conceivably
have, a demonstrable and amiable relationship are designated *iligit*.

Other problems relating to a tight definition of the meaning of the *iligit* term involve the consideration that although the largest kin-group term, *ilagit*, is subsumed under it, the reverse is not necessarily true. That is to say, if we assume some correlation between a term and the behaviors ideally associated with the term then some of the characteristics of *iligit* behaviour correlate or equate with some of the characteristic behaviour of *ilagit*. But there is little or no reversal. The distribution and application of incest restrictions would appear to bear this out. Among *iligit* not only is supportive action possible and expectable but the added dimension of support and aid in matters pertaining to sexual and sexually derived bonding or obligating partnerships sets this category apart. On the other hand the supportive behaviour expected from *ilagit*, although perhaps more intensely emotionally supportive, stops short of spouse-exchange.

Whereas the *iligit* associations contain the voluntary and contractual aspects of non-kinship groups (Bohannon, p. 156), Clyde Eskimo kinship groups have another primary referent in genealogical connections with the major emphases on consanguineality. This has been pointed out for Eskimo groups in general (Guemple, 1961) and for the Iglulik group (Damas, 1963) in particular. The kinship categories for the extended and restricted kindreds collected for the
H.B. Since an adult might be involved with $N$ partners, the extension of the above linkages to include the total population becomes obvious.
Clyde Inlet Eskimos have been listed in Table IIA.

The diagrams, numbers 16 and 16a, illustrate two most common iligit arrangements. The diagrams depict only two nuclear families but they represent what is usually a larger number.

The symmetrical type illustrated is more common in the western areas according to Spencer, Guemple and other workers while the asymmetrical arrangement is, according to my data, the most common type in northeast Baffin Island.

In the west, this arrangement usually involved inland and coastal groups and was closely related to the need for economic-exchange partners across ecological boundaries (cf. Spencer, 1959:130 et passim). In the area of concern here the situation seems to arise not between ecologically distinct units, but rather between units traditionally occupying variably rich hunting territories and so enables people to utilize areas beyond their own as need arises.

The exact terminology assigned to the arrangements shown and to the members involved are given in Diagrams 16 through 19. For the moment I wish to make the point that the most generally acceptable translation of iligit, from the Eskimo point of view, is "community of neighbours." Although I use this term in the sense of "community" or "neighbourhood," I should point out that this erodes considerable nuance and scope from the term. When illustrating
the meaning of the term, informants would often refer to a ball game played with partners. In this situation there are two levels of meaning; everyone playing can be included as iligit, and at a more specific level, partners who keep and pass the ball exclusively to each other are said to be-iligit. Games observed resulted in the pairing off of male-female partners and their unobtrusive withdrawal as the game wore on, finally leaving only children and unpaired adults playing. (It is interesting to note that both females and males could publically initiate a tryst by throwing the ball to the person they were interested in. Deliberately letting the ball go past was taken as a definite lack of interest in trysting).

The iligit relationship subsumes those of purely kinship type (ilagit) and cuts across the boundaries between the northern and southern groups mentioned above. Limitation of recruitment and membership in the iligit is determined by a number of factors in combination. These are: similar socio-cultural referents, propinquity, adherence to acceptable modes of behaviour (common values), participation in and concern with same or similar economic problems and a common language. Parameters for inclusion/exclusion from this grouping follow along these lines in the following order: residence must be within the geographical range permitting at least intermittent, neutral, or positive social interaction; social interchange and behaviour must comply with locally accepted modes as determined by values held in
common by the general community; economic endeavour and
toncepts of the relative worth of various efforts must have
a common base. In the most general sense the term iligit is
the antithesis of the term "allain," or foreigners. The
latter term, allain, is used as two levels of generalization.
All foreigners are allain but specifically White foreigners
are kallunan and Eskimo foreigners are allain. 10 Eskimo
allain are given a degree of recognition, but without any
sense of solidarity. The recognition is that they are "innuit,"
"people," "human beings," and as such are potential members of
the local iligit if they move into the area. On the other hand,
Whites and others not covered by the innuit term are immutably
"foreigners" regardless of duration of residence, personality,
language skills and so forth and are never referred to as
iligit. This holds even for those Europeans who have mar-
ried and claim children by an Eskimo spouse. 11

Recruitment of iligit members from among the
local population is determined by birth in the area or on
the assumption of local residence for immigrants from other
areas. Eskimos migrating into the area fulfill the quali-
ications of propinquity and socio-cultural similarity.
Should the immigrant's behaviour be different enough to war-
rant comment, and should he fail to adjust to locally
accepted patterns, he will be excluded from the iligit.
That is, he will receive no help in hunting or any other
socio-economic pursuits nor will he be welcome to take part
in other activities such as gambling or ball-playing. Most
important of all, he will be excluded from the communications system that passes along crucial information concerning the local White population, game, ice conditions, etc. In such cases the excluded individual, if a man, will have to make his own visit to, and assessment of, for example, a newly arrived policeman or trader. The iligit members, on the other hand, will be busily visiting the new arrival and each other to trade information vital to the successful manipulation of these important figures. The kind of information relates to the character of the stranger: "does he smile?"; "does he get angry?"; "does he like girls?"; "does he give out lots of relief issues?"; "does he drink alcohol?"; "is he vain?" and like questions. Ultimately, a composite picture is developed and, whether it is accurate or not, it will to a large extent determine the approach the Eskimos take to that person. Since the Clyde Eskimos have an unshakable conviction that each new policeman, trader, teacher, or any other White is totally autocratic and arbitrary in his particular occupation, their concern with his idiosyncracies and the urgency of acquiring information about him can be appreciated. Whether the excluded person is a man or a woman it means simply that he/she will not be included in the gossip-transfer circle and will have only reluctant assistance at childbirth or other life crises. In the case of a woman, the effect of her exclusion will have less serious consequences for the subsistence of her conjugal family. The exclusions I am describing are always with
reference to an individual. Aberrant behaviour, or other unacceptable qualities, on the part of the wife or husband, who may, for example, be White are never casually extrapolated by the group to include the spouse, children or other kin unless they too display similarly deviant patterns. Two cases illustrate this situation.

X, a man living at Clyde River is an involuntary immigrant from a settlement far to the south. His father had been exiled by the authorities some years previously for various offences, including murder, and X had been abandoned by his father at Clyde. Initially the local people had extended assistance, and offers of assistance, to the man to the extent that he had managed to acquire a wife. As it turned out, however, he began to display extremely anti-social behaviour and eventually was left to camp by himself. By 1964 he was totally avoided, perhaps because he was threatening to shoot anyone who came to his camp (actually he had shot at a man in 1963) but more likely because he had ceased completely all hunting activities and was relying upon his twelve-year-old son and the local police for supplies and food. The brothers of his wife, had they not been chary of the local police, would either have killed [oblique assertion] him or taken their sister and her children into their own camp. This woman was given material and other help by brothers and was treated well by the community as a whole. Her oldest son, the twelve-year-old boy, was considered by the local fathers as a "catch" for some daughter since,
even at this early age, he regularly hunted and killed the high-status animals, walrus and polar bear.

The second case concerns a man who appeared to be congenitally simple-minded. At the age of forty-two he had not yet acquired a wife. Although his mental deficiency was not by itself reviled, the incapacity to follow "normal" male pursuits, e.g. hunting and so forth, reduced him to an absolutely subordinate status. According to the local people he was worthless, a liar (a very serious charge) and, in sum a non-member of the group. The man eventually declared himself or was declared, a Roman Catholic and with the help of the missionaries went to Iglulik where he married a mentally retarded girl of the same religion.

I would like to stress here that I am describing events in which exclusion is of individuals and not of groups. In a number of areas in the Canadian Arctic there have been migrations of groups from one area to another, e.g. the Cape Dorset group to Bellot Straits, then to Spence Bay; or, the Repulse Bay groups to Iglulik and to Southampton Island. Although mutual hostility and rejection occurred between the emigrant and indigenous groups, there were enough people involved in the migrating groups to facilitate adequate survival-action and to operate as self-contained iligit which, as group-endogamous marriages took place, became large kinship groups. The intensity of the inter-group distrust and rejection is perhaps reflected in the number of group-endogamous marriages that have taken place within the
migrant groups. At Spence Bay there are a number of "cousin-marriages" and at least one documented case of classificatory brother-sister marriage among the migrant Cape Dorset Eskimos. It is only very recently that any Cape Dorset woman has married a Netsilik man. Prior to this there was either endogamous marriage or an attempt by Dorset individuals to acquire a spouse from Baffin Island. The original home area was preferred but places such as Pangnirtung were acceptable. In the Repulse Bay-Iglulik area cousin marriage is common (see also Damas, 1963).

One important result of individual migration is the extension of iligit ties and relationships across group boundaries, e.g. between the northern and southern groups about Clyde, or between the northern group and Pond Inlet and between the southern group and Broughton Island. It should be understood that although it is possible for a man to suspend an iligit relationship, it is not possible to terminate the association. The reason for this is fairly obvious; since spouse-exchange is used to seal the agreement between the individuals involved the question of paternity of children born during the period the relationship is in existence becomes important. Half-siblings ideally, do not marry and are expected to behave in the same manner toward each other as full-siblings, with respect to incest and behaviour in general. In this way the partner relationships are seen to have consequences for the descending generations by producing kinship relationships which,
Diagram 17

Atarjigit

\[ \begin{align*}
\triangle_1 &= \circ_2 \\
\circ_2 &= \triangle_1
\end{align*} \]
as is usual, are not voluntary relationships.

In the north Baffin area, there are two well-defined circles of migration for individuals. One circle includes Iglulik-Pond Inlet/Arctic Bay-Clyde and the other Broughton Island-Pangnirtung regions. Boas (1884) describes the latter and notes Clyde (Home Bay) as being included in the migration pattern (p. 474). The effect of the historically persistent inter-group migration (and assumption of iligit relationships) by individuals has been to assure almost any North Baffin Eskimo the existence of (a) kinsmen (half-siblings) and offspring, and (b) former iligit partners in these areas. The reappearance of formerly co-resident individuals suffices to create the possibility of reactivating the ties by which they are bound, be it half-siblingship or partnership.

Within this all-embracing network of extra-kin and kin ties the more specific terms used are illustrated in Diagrams 17, 18 and 19 (see also Table VIII). Beginning with the paired adults the males, numbered 1 use the reciprocal term, aiparjuga in both address and reference to each other; similarly, the females, numbered 2, use the same term in the same way. For a third party they are referred to as aiparjugit. Diagram 17 illustrates a symmetrical relationship between two pairs of spouses (the symmetrical type has been chosen for the sake of simplicity); as shown, a single term is used in the relationship and is applicable to each individual of the foursome, this term is aiparjugit and is
used to denote a same-sex partner. The root of the term, aipa, denotes one of a pair (the other one of a pair to be precise) and in the context of the iligit relationship implies commonality of using or sharing. On this basis, i.e. being paired, the term can be translated as "exchange partners." The kin-exclusive nature of the relationship is explicitly recognized and the term aiparjugit is never used either between kinsmen or to describe a partnership between kinsmen.\(^{14}\)

Although the factor of sexuality has been the concern of local missionaries and police, this overemphasis has obscured the existence of other, often more important, considerations associated with this exchange relationship. These have to do with economic or subsistence activities primarily and with the allocation of authority and group solidarity to a lesser extent.\(^{15}\) Some of these factors have been mentioned previously (p. 116ff) but can be amplified and stressed here.

Involvement in an aiparjugit relationship is restricted to married and/or widowed individuals. Unmarried males never enter into these arrangements and although brief romances with married women are fairly common, these kinds of affairs are never long-lasting, are usually kept "secret," and do not have the husband's consent. Similarly (and more commonly), the husband might have an affair with an unmarried female with or without his spouse's consent but here also the relationship is usually of short duration.
Neither of the latter two situations display the expected aiparjugit content with respect to behaviour. Folk explanations of this restriction are given in terms of "awkwardness," akaongitog, or, perhaps better, lack of "rightness." It is asserted by informants that the inclusion of an unmarried person would result in jealousy, singnavogq, between the spouse and the unmarried "rival" (aipa, allak, asiak). When using the explanation of 'awkwardness' the primary referent is to the difficulty of imbuing the relationship with a sense of reciprocity. That is, the unmarried male is expected to (will probably) move into the camp of his wife's group upon marriage and simultaneously shift his focus of concern between them and his own family or household of orientation. In addition, it is unlikely that an unmarried person would have acquired the necessary equipment (dogs, sleds, boats, weapons, etc.) needed in day-to-day activities thus further reducing the possibility of equity in the relationship. An unmarried female, after the bride service period was completed, would most likely migrate with her husband to a camp of his kinsmen resulting in a relationship even more tenuous than the one she had left.

The initiation of an aiparjugit relationship is generally made by males, and occasionally by females, sometimes at the insistence of wives. Same-sex aiparjugit are said to "behave well towards each other," pitsermataq, or to "like" each other, piujugijog. The connotations here are broad and vague but indicate, in a sense, relatively
unlimited assistance and goodwill. The first step taken is that of suggesting and/or coaxing a prospective or desired partner to establish a camp and work group together. The men pool equipment and travel together during hunting, sharing equally all game taken. The women help each other with heavier tasks such as skinning, scraping, and stretching hides, sewing, the care of the children, and lending each other material items as requested. Requests for assistance are almost always couched in causative terms, e.g. "qimergotisaganginama" or, "because I have no dog food"; the expected response from the partner is, "because I have plenty of dog food." An equally important aspect of the relationship is the free transmission of all important gossip and general information. Sexual exchange does not take place until it appears that the economic aspect of the partnership is amenable to both pairs of spouses. Although ideally egalitarian the aiparjugit relationships tend to fall into a pattern of leader/follower with the wife of the male "leader" generally assuming a corresponding role vis-à-vis her opposite.

One of the most powerful figures in the area is a man who has two spouse exchange relationships going simultaneously. Besides this he has a younger brother, married, who camps with him. The relationship existing between this man and his partners is one of dominance/subordination. This man has had spouse exchange relations with approximately eleven men (as far as he could remember) and has numerous
children scattered throughout the area. He killed his first wife "... because she always whined at me!" and was sent into exile for three years. Upon his return he entered into an agreement with a man whose wife he took control over and reduced the ex-husband to the status of 'siela.'

A key to an understanding of the structure of the iligit is the socio-economic need for feasible alternatives and substitutes to kin-based relationships. The need for a man to establish ties outside the kinship group can be understood in various ways. For example, given the availability of supplies in the form of government relief, medical care and so on, there is no apparent need to form these kinds of partnerships; but just as nuclear group exogamy has been institutionalized, the aiparjugit relationship has become (more accurately, is becoming) as much of a relict structure as incest taboos in industrial societies. Putting this differently, in earlier periods a man might have entered into such a partnership in order to ensure economic cooperation, extend cooperative ties in a non-kinship or quasi-kinship manner, and to gain some assurance of the availability of female labour. In the contemporary setting membership in the chain is important primarily for the presentation of a subversive but solid front against the Whites and a guarantee of sympathy and assistance in dealing with these "strangers" in the confusing context of the introduced economy, welfare, relief payments, etc.
Any enduring or significant social relationship must be supported and cemented in some way. Voluntary contracts that are essential for individuals must be transformable into relatively unbreakable non-voluntary contracts by some means. For the iligit at Clyde there are two such important binding factors: spouse-exchange and the production of half-siblings. The etymology of the terminology reflects to some extent the nature of these factors. When questioning male informants as to their relationships with other male non-kin, I received answers to the effect that: "he is not my kinsman (ilaongitog). Persistent querying (and a promise not to divulge the information) generally led to the statement that: "we are halves (of a pair) aiparjuvuq." The situation upon examination disclosed that there are sub-classes of "being halves." These are: general statement--aiparjuqit, the spouse-halves/sharers; then by sex, the nuliagarit that is, men who are sharing women and conversely, uigarit or, women who are sharing men (see Diagram 18). Aiparjuqit as has been shown (p. 122ff) stand in a special relationship to each other. This relationship is of a much more binding nature than the perkatig relationship mentioned earlier (p. 112ff) and discussed by Damas (1963). Whereas the iligit relationship and the aiparjugit relationships are perpetuated in some form through the generations, the perqatiq relationship is a short term contract that can be terminated easily. In short, it is a purely voluntary and non-binding relationship that,
Diagram 18

\[ \begin{array}{c}
1 \\
\triangle \\
3 \\
\end{array} = \begin{array}{c}
2 \\
\bigcirc \\
1 \\
\end{array} \]

Diagram 18a

\[ \begin{array}{c}
2 \\
\triangle \\
1 \\
\end{array} = \begin{array}{c}
1 \\
\bigcirc \\
3 \\
\end{array} \]
if it does not progress to spouse-exchange, can be terminated at will. The system is not left incomplete. There are two more terms used that round out the system of relationships; these are, for the person usually the woman, whose spouse has entered into a relationship involving spouse-exchange by themselves is "paijog" and has the connotation of temporarily "abandoned"; (see Diagram 18, person numbered 2). One woman whose husband has made such an arrangement referred to my own wife to illustrate the meaning, that is, she is, she said that "your wife and I are paijoguvuk (temporarily abandoned) for a while." The important thing here is that although at that time "abandoned," the woman could if she wished initiate or accept a similar arrangement for herself. This fact lies at the base of the "chain-type" explanation of spouse-exchange that I have arrived at for this group. The last term used is that of pergatang, (number 3 in Diagram 3) and refers to any person whose spouse has not entered into an exchange with them. Obviously, if only one of a pair engages in spouse-exchange (generally men) then the terms pergatang/paijok are complementary. This can occur in either the nuliaqarit or uigariit situation. In any event, issues are always katangotigatigit. When a pergatig relationship leads to spouse-exchange then both terms become effective.

Unlike the spouse-exchange systems posited by Guemple (1961), the Clyde system is different from the Alaskan system in being more like a lineal, but complex, chain than a symmetrical, restricted, and reciprocal set of
relationships. Also unlike the scheme presented by Guemple, there are no special terminological referents for children issuing from such relationships. For those Alaskan Eskimos providing the empirical referent to Guemple's model spouse-exchange was apparently very closely linked with the need to establish trading-partners with a view to maintaining such economically based relationships over long periods of time. The opposite situation possibly has had important effects on spouse-exchange relationships among the more nomadic 'hunters of the northeast Baffin Island coast. Here, it was more important to establish spouse-exchange ties with a number of persons not resident in a single large settlement but rather scattered over the available hunting territory.

Guemple's definition of spouse-exchange is as follows (my emphasis):

Common spouse-exchange is initiated when two married couples agree to exchange partners with each other; and the arrangement is made binding when each member has sexual relations with the opposite sexed member of the other couple (1961:1).

There are a number of objections to this definition. It over-emphasizes the sexual aspect of the relationship; it makes no mention of other more important factors that lead to the arrangement in the first place, e.g. the desire for economic cooperation and partnerships; lastly, if accepted as symmetrical, it would exclude asymmetrical unions that are found at Clyde River and other areas to the west.17 The arrangement at Clyde includes widows and widowers; that
is, these people can enter into a spouse-exchange relationship during the period they are spouse-less. When not participating in spouse-exchange the widows and widowers are referred to by the paijoq term. Where, for example, only the husband is sharing the spouse of another husband and his wife is paijoq, the husband is said to be nuliagarit to the husband of the women he is sharing; and she, in turn, is said to have a "pergatang" relationship with him. That is, the uigarit relationship is non-existent. It can be seen that, terminologically at least, all possible relationships between the active partners are recognized by the people involved.

The second important factor for the iligit relationships is, as has been noted, the existence of half-siblings and the concomitant behavioral expectations involved, Diagram 18. Half-siblings can be produced as a result of multiple sequential marriage, polygamous family structure, or through spouse-exchange relationships. All three modes are known to the Clyde Eskimos. Half-siblings produced by any of the three modes listed above are named "katangotigatigit" translated by me as having the meaning, "group having one common parent (either male or female)." Again, in contrast to Guemple's scheme, Clyde Eskimos make no terminological distinctions between half-siblings produced in any of the three ways outlined.

Guemple begins his analysis by asserting that there is a terminological distinction between "real"
siblings; "step" siblings; "adopted" siblings; and "exchange" siblings. He then asserts that there is a further distinction between "step" and "half" siblings as follows:

Step-relatives are persons who share no common biological heritage but whose ties are based solely on the remarriage of one relative of the referent. Half-relatives are those whose heritage is shared by only one parent, but not both (1961:4).

Guemple provides a list of relationship terms with the term for "half-sibling" omitted but does include what he claims is the "exchange" sibling term. The term he used for exchange-sibling he finds in the literature and given as "katanutiga" without translation and without noting that the suffix -ga denotes the speaker as first person singular possessive of an item, singular or plural. Spencer (1959) lists a term "katangutigit" (third person plural), no relationship to speaker, as half-sibling, and Damas (1963) lists the term "gatangugattigit" for the same category (this differs from Spencer's term only in having the possessive infix, kat, "possession" inserted). The half-sibling term used by the Clyde people is exactly the same as those reported for various Canadian and Alaskan Eskimo groups. To reiterate a point already made, among the Clyde Eskimos northern and southern groups included, there is no special terminology that sets apart the half-siblings issuing from spouse-exchange relationships. A review of the literature shows conclusively that this is the general case everywhere and that Guemple's conclusions are incorrect.
The prevalence of spouse-exchange whether as a reciprocal and symmetrical arrangement between two husband/wife pairs or, as is very common in Clyde, asymmetrically between a number of husband/wife pairs, cannot be explained in terms of lust, sexual promiscuity, and so forth. The availability of widows and unmarried girls to all males married and single serves to refute this line of argument. Further, spouse-exchange arrangements are seldom made between a married man and a single man. I am ignoring here the few instances in which the wife takes a single man as a lover.

Rights, privileges, and obligations incumbent upon every person who is involved or has been involved in spouse-exchange relationships are such that the gap between kinship solidarity and community solidarity is bridged. Past spouse-exchange agreements are residual in the production of half-siblings, the katangotigatigit sharers of a common parent. These children are considered to be close kin and as a consequence are not permitted to marry each other. Their kinship relationship to each other serves as a further bond between the unrelated husband/wife pairs. For the generation in which the exchanges take place, the utility of exchange relationships lies in the immediate reciprocal benefits accruing to it. These include mutual aid, cooperation in most spheres of effort, assurance that if a spouse is lost (particularly a wife) there will be an interim assistance of the kind providable only by a spouse
or non-kinswoman. The ideal incest restrictions are such
that a father, brother, or male cousin may neither speak to
nor touch a daughter, sister, or female cousin. Considering
the important role of women in maintaining a household,
e.g. sewing clothing, working hides, etc., one can visualize
the nearly crippling effects of the lack of a woman. Should
a man lose his wife, there is little doubt that his kinsmen
will take care of his children; but over and beyond this,
his exchange partners will be expected to take care of him
until re-marriage. Without such aid, a hunter cannot
function to full capacity and maximum efficiency.

A single case will illustrate this. There was,
during my fieldwork period, a man whose wife was taken south
for treatment for tuberculosis. This man farmed his
children out to relatives and moved to a camp occupied by
potentially active past partners. His clothing and sexual
demands were met unstintingly by the women of the camp he
had moved into upon the departure of his wife. Upon inquiring
into the situation I discovered that the man, in the
past, had had numerous periods of spouse-exchange with the
men of that camp. Whereas his children were guaranteed
help from his own kin he himself was, because of the incest
restrictions, forced into extra-kinship alliances. At the
end of the fieldwork period he was still being 'looked
after' by the partners.

As has been noted, the consequences of the spouse-
exchanges are differently felt at the -1 generation. Kin
bonds are extended tremendously thereby increasing both duties and privileges related to kin ties. Each generation must initiate its own permissible sets of spouse-exchange partners. Simple calculations clearly show that neither immigrant nor locally derived populations could possibly keep up with exchange demands in each generation and still avoid breaking incest restrictions. The answer appears to be that the Clyde Eskimo, like many bilateral groups, take advantage of the hazy boundaries of the kindred to manipulate the extent of the incest taboos. This is an especially crucial factor where the population is very small. The inter-group migrations between settlements is also a crucial factor in the appearance of non-kin.

In conclusion, two factors contributed to the difficulty of examining the illicit structure. First, all eligible adults are not (and probably never were) involved in an on-going socio-economic partnership (with spouse-exchange) at the same time. Many former associations were dormant between the partners at the time the fieldwork was being conducted and the relationship was continued and validated solely through the half-siblings born to the unions. Of the possible numbers of permissible spouse-exchange arrangements, reckoned on the basis of the numbers of unrelated married or widowed adults, only eight were active or had been active during the two fieldwork periods. On the other hand, no single adult male and less than six adult women had ever been at some time, in some place, in a
partnership relationship of the kind described. This then, from the observer's point of view, resulted in a complex mosaic of active, dormant (potentially active), and inactive (between aged persons) kinship and extra-kinship relationships.

The second difficulty related to the reluctance of informants to divulge information, or even ideas, that they knew or assumed would bring the wrath of the missionaries and policemen upon them. Fortunately, after the initial hesitation my assurances and guarantee of anonymity overcame this to a great extent. Following from this, of course, once knowing what to look for, I was able to confirm or reject imputed exchange situations.
### TABLE VIII
SPOUSE-EXCHANGE TERMINOLOGY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>allaq</td>
<td>outsider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aipa</td>
<td>the other one (of a pair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiparjuga</td>
<td>my sharer (first person, possessive of spouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajparjugit</td>
<td>sharers of spouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arvak</td>
<td>half (in this context, half name)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.arvara</td>
<td>my half, i.e. name sharer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asiak</td>
<td>the other one (of many); for example, &quot;another possibility&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iligit</td>
<td>community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katangotiqatigit</td>
<td>sharers of one parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuliaqarit</td>
<td>sharers of wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paiyoq</td>
<td>abandoned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perqatang</td>
<td>person using two spouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perqaticq</td>
<td>companion, friend, partner in hunting, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitsermataq</td>
<td>to &quot;behave properly&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piuyugijoq</td>
<td>to &quot;like&quot; someone (thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uigarit</td>
<td>sharers of husbands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOOTNOTES

1. See also Spencer, 1949:129-130 et passim and Balikci, 1959, passim.

2. In passing, and for what it is worth, it appears that such self-centered orientations are common amongst Eskimos generally and Clyde Eskimos in particular. The mode of measuring distances between self and object always has its beginning with the object and ends at the person. In western terms this is reversed. Perspective of distance apparently follows logically from this orientation; lines, instead of converging into the distance, converge into the position of the view and open up outwardly. Ego and his group are, it seems, the centre of the universe. This is partially borne out by statements as to the relative worth of family members. The answers invariably indicate that, should the situation ever occur, the virile pair of parents ought to survive at the expense, first of older people then children (we can always make new children!). This may be a topic of interest to future researchers.

3. There were, for example, quite different terms for 'cousins.'

4. I knew of the existence of this term in the context of games in which partners, or pairs, were an integral part.
Although I was familiar with the Eskimo impulse to correct errors it was not until I was doing actual fieldwork that the technique of 'being corrected' assumed importance. When faced with doubtful statements, for example about kin relationships, I would go over the material given but would insert 'mistakes' deliberately. These would be corrected by informants thus the information could be checked on the spot.

I discussed the term *iligit* with D. Damas, *pers. comm.*, who tested it in the Bathurst Inlet area. He found that the term exists but could not determine precisely what it meant other than 'friend' or 'neighbour'.

I have been unable to locate a single reference to this term in the literature on Eskimos. Preliminary checking at Frobisher Bay among Eskimos from a number of Eastern Arctic settlements showed that the term is in use generally and in much the same manner as given by the above definition. One possible reason for the absence of the term from the literature is that it sounds very much like the term for "kindred" or "relative," i.e. *ilagit* and since the behavioral demands of the two kinds of relationships have a great deal in common, previous investigators might have missed the distinctions.

I use the term "amiable" deliberately for although an individual might appear to have an "amiable"
relationship with an outsider, e.g. the trader or the policeman, the data gathered from informants and observed by myself indicate quite clearly that the most basic attitude toward Whites is one of carefully concealed and suppressed hostility.

9. I am especially indebted to Alalu, Jacobi, and Simoni for clarifying this 'pairing' situation.

10. The White foreigners can be further specified, e.g. Sikotsimiut (Scottish = Whaler) Niovertikut (Traders) Policikut (Police) but as a determining factor for behaviour, the general form suffices.

11. The exceptions occur during the games described earlier (see p. 115-116) and by confirmed townsmen in places like Frobisher Bay.

12. I say individuals rather than men since quite often the arrangements are a result of decisions made between women.

13. The accepted pattern of deciding paternity is usually left to the mother of the child. This prerogative is seldom if ever disputed.

14. Two other terms are in use in this area that are commonly applied to either kin or non-kin and have the gloss of "partner" or "sharer." These are pergatic, companion, friend, partner, and arvara, "my half" or "name-sharer." Whereas in the aiparjugit and pergatic relationships personal names are used between the individuals the
arvag do not use their common name in address.

15. It should be noted that these statements apply only to the persons involved in the actual partnership and not to the offspring of the pairs. The major commitment of the G-1 generation is in terms of half-siblingship and associated obligations, rights, etc.

16. This does not apply to furs or hides taken for trade although the goods acquired by trading are doled out between the partner's families.

17. In fairness, Guemple alludes to this in his text.

18. One informant, in attempting to describe the rigidity of the incest restrictions between father/daughter and between brother/sister, told me that, "I have obeyed the restriction all my life. I have, so far as I can remember, never spoken to any of my sisters."
The following is a brief discussion of the more obviously relevant ecological and historical factors that have affected the Clyde River area.

There are no data on the social structures and organization of this Eskimo group in the pre-contact period. Also, the reports of the early contact period are either too ambiguous or lack sufficient detail for accurate reconstruction of the then existing social patterns. It is possible, however, to attempt reconstructions about their economy, ecology, demography, and relations between them for which there is some evidence, and from these relationships to draw some general conclusions about the probable social structural patterns. The attached table summarizes what I consider extremely important factors in the development of contemporary Clyde Inlet society.

It cannot easily be denied that the inter-relationships indicated between the three factors isolated in Table 10 are of importance for at least some social structures. Changes such as the addition to, deletion from, or depletion of, components from an established environmental set inevitably result in a subsequent alteration of both social and ecologic relationships. These alterations, in
turn, will have either, or both, qualitative and quantita-
tive effects for structural alternatives and adjustments.
Depending upon the kinds and degree of ecological change,
e.g. quantative or qualitative or both, it is reasonable to
expect that one of the earlier results will pertain to ad-
justments of the human population in either numbers or
distribution. Such adjustments can be thought of in terms
of the maintenance or increase of efficiency in environ-
mental exploitation. The study of hunting groups presents
a myriad of special problems (Service, 1962) relating to
subsistence technology, group composition, division of
labour, and so forth. Lee and Devore (1968) suggest addi-
tional aspects of problems faced by the analyst. The con-
clusions arrived at on a general level by these and other
writers (Murdoch, 1949: Damas, 1963) are aptly applicable
to this study. On the other hand I think that the overall
problem is one of determining what constitutes maximum sub-
sistence efficiency under a variety of conditions. In
short, an examination of the existing ecological state at
any given time in the history of a group is likely to pro-
vide clues about the viability of the group in question,
that is, as to their adaptability or capacity for adjustment
to environmental changes.

Maintenance of prevailing efficiency is a state-
ment of an ideal and static ecologic equilibrium and a
condition that is never maintained for any appreciable
length of time. Ecologic climaxs and static states are
simply interim stages in a successive series of changes and should not be assumed to represent anything more than a temporary condition. Population increase over time on the other hand can be taken as indicative of a general trend toward increasing efficiency; this is especially true of human populations and is a development usually understood as proceeding simultaneously with the increasing maximization of available resources.

In any event, should the distribution of the population undergo shifts as a result of other primary factors then, depending upon the nature of these shifts, it is likely that social inter-relationships will be affected in various ways. Since all concrete structures are, ultimately, derived from patterned social interaction on the part of individuals and groups of individuals, it can be assumed that there will most likely be corresponding and congruent changes in the structures themselves.

It is important for this reconstruction that the reader bear in mind the limitations of the approach taken as well as having a clear idea of the objectives sought. First, it is proposed that given changes in the environmental catalogue as a result of either internal or external factors will result in adjustments of the ecological relationships to the extent that the economy, population patterns (as numbers and demography), exploitation techniques, and ecological balances will adjust to new environmental elements. The introduction of some critical element(s) will
have important effects on the ecological balance; there will be (a) alterations of the economy (subsistence), (b) changes in population dispersal, and (c) adjustments in techniques of exploitation. These are then presumed to have some bearing upon social structures inasmuch as for example, widely scattered isolated nuclear families cannot interact with others of their kind in the same ways in which large conglomerates of individuals settled about core centres can.

Statements concerning the earlier patterns are purely speculative and are made on the basis of observations about early demographic patterns, economic bases, and ecology. Second, it is thought that contemporary Clyde Inlet society will 'make more sense' when viewed along the historical developmental horizons. It should also be borne in mind that the speculative historical reconstruction might or might not have a bearing upon the description of current structures of this group but is included merely as an attempt to provide a degree of perspective for the descriptive analysis of the contemporary situation.

Pre-contact period

Table IX suggests that the widely scattered ruins of Dorset and Thule type and the evidence presented by archaeological materials indicates that whatever the population size, the Thule people were much more widely separated along the coast in smaller seasonal assemblages than the previous Dorset groups. Further, the harpoon types
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>CROSS-CULTURAL AND INTER-GROUP CONTACTS</th>
<th>SUBSISTENCE: RESOURCES AND ACTIVITIES BY SEASON</th>
<th>POPULATION: NUMBERS AND DISPERSION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present - to about 1400 (see Taylor, W. E. 1968)</td>
<td>Adjacent groups</td>
<td>Smaller sea mammals; caribou; fish; birds</td>
<td>Small (150?) migrating groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thule - 1400 - 1800's (see Mathiasen (1923) et al re dating problems)</td>
<td>Adjacent groups Whalers?</td>
<td>Both large and smaller sea mammals; caribou; fish; birds</td>
<td>Small, seasonally mobile groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period preceding 1918</td>
<td>First recorded contacts made with British whalers and explorers.</td>
<td>Winter: sealing at breathing holes.</td>
<td>Large multi-family camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter</td>
<td>Whaling stations erected at Blackhead Island, Kivitok, Durran Harbour, Eric Harbour et.</td>
<td>Spring: sealing at open holes walrus at floe-edge whales in open water fish through ice.</td>
<td>Early dispersal of winter camps followed by regrouping for whaling into summer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td></td>
<td>Summer: whale, walrus in open water birds and eggs from colonies.</td>
<td>Summer whale/walrus camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to 1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fall : caribou fishing at traps sealing through breathing holes</td>
<td>Cooperative multi-and extended family camps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td>Winter: wage labour sealing at breathing holes sealing at floe-edge using rifles.</td>
<td>Increasingly large aggregates about whaling stations. Breakdown of the seasonal migrations and aggregations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spring: wage labour sealing at breathing holes and floe-edge whaling/walrus in open water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Summer: whaling/walrus for companies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fall : wage labour whaling caribou fish at traps birds, eggs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1909 Whalers cease activities and withdraw contact.

1923 Various observers on government explorations note hardships endured by abandoned Eskimos.


As above with addition of U. S. Coast Guard Station and the Federal Day School.

1964 

Little data. Presumed that people attempted to re-institute pre-contact seasonal patterns after five generations of large community living at whaling stations.

Winter: trapping
          scaling at breathing holes

Spring: rifle scaling/walrus at floe-edge.
        Narwal; Beluga

Summer: sealing; Narwal; Beluga; walrus

Fall: 
       
         
       fishing with nets

Other: 

         
       wage labour
         family allowance

Winter: sealing/welfare/trapping

Spring: sealing-holes and floe-edge

Summer: Narwal/walrus/Beluga/seal

Fall: 

         
       sealing on new ice

Other: 

         
       wage labour
         Government subsidies

Further dispersal into isolated nuclear family camps.

Increasing migration to settlements and camps close to settlements.
and other weapons point to a definite orientation towards the sea and to marine mammal hunting.

The evidence of orientation towards the sea and to the habitual capture of the larger whales, 'right' whales (*Balaena mysticetus*) and probably the humpback whale (*Megaptera novaeangliae*) is to be found in the widespread use of various whale bones, particularly ribs, jaws, and certain vertebrae in the construction of the house frames. It is assumed that these large animals of up to fifty or sixty tons could only be taken in a fairly large boat by a crew of six or seven men, or alternatively, by a number of hunters hunting in cooperation from smaller kayaks and cooperating to tow the animal to the beach. At the beach, and there is observed evidence for this; a number of men by utilizing the tides and placing turns about the carcass could roll the animal at each high tide to a point just above high water for ease of butchering. These two points, the large size of the animal and the dispersed nature of single, double, or rarely, triple house sites (see Boas, 1884) suggests that the Thule people probably congregated at different times of the year for whale hunting and probably for other ceremonial and social purposes. The use of smaller harpoon heads for seals and the nature of hunting at seal breathing-holes, i.e. the greater the number of hunters involved the greater the numbers of breathing-holes covered; the more likely the success of the group, probably resulted in winter aggregations of hunters and families either on the
sea-ice or at points on the shore close to good sealing grounds (Damas et al.).

There is some circumstantial evidence for support of the idea that the contemporary Eskimo population are directly descendent from these Thule people, (Boas, Mathiassen, Taylor). Certainly the Home Bay and Cumberland Sound groups were traditionally oriented toward floe-edge hunting of the larger whales (Boas, 1884:440), although the major emphasis throughout the year was then (circa 1840), as now, on seal and caribou. Whatever the absolute size of the aboriginal populations, it is highly unlikely that a kin-group of sufficient numbers would exist for the accomplishment of such hunting endeavors as described. It is much more likely that cooperation between unrelated segments were accomplished. These cooperative efforts could have been in the nature of unrestricted cooperating groups. It is probably safe to assume, further, that food sharing partnerships were more highly formalized as hunting and game-sharing associations possible involving more than one pair of men and including favoured kinsmen.

1818 to 1900

Although exploration and whaling ventures have been carried out in the vicinity of Baffin Bay since Davis (1585) and Bylot and Baffin (1616), the first record of a face-to-face meeting between Europeans and Clyde Eskimos is contained in a report by Parry (1824) and took place as
nearly as can be determined from the description at Supigujaktog on the northeast side of the mouth of Clyde Inlet. Parry reports (p. 275) that he met with the whaler, the Lee, Mr. Williamson, Master, just north of Agnes Monument and was told that some Eskimos had been met "in the inlet named River Clyde in 1818." Parry accordingly sailed into the mouth of the inlet and met seventeen persons living in two tents. There is little doubt that earlier contacts had been made between whalers and the local Eskimos since, for example, Ross (1835) points out that a favourite whaling place over the years was about Agnes Monument (Umyuyak) a small rocky islet two miles off Cape Christian.

It is therefore not surprising that Parry found the people in possession of beads of presumably European manufacture and using an adze-like tool fashioned out of an iron file (Parry, p. 286). Farther into the inlet, in what sounds like Patricia Bay, his men came across two uninhabited 'winter-huts' (p. 286). Coupling these findings with those made by Parry a few days earlier at Netsarsujok in Scott Inlet, it seems safe to assume that these three sites have been in use for a great many generations. Despite the probability of the Supigujaktog people having obtained their beads and files from whalers only a few years earlier, it would not be safe to discount the possibility of these people having acquired such items via the north-south trade routes described so thoroughly by Boas (1884). Whatever the source of European goods, it is clear
that the Clyde Eskimo have had indirect contact with Europeans for a period in excess of 150 years and direct contact for a period not much shorter.

The following summary reconstruction of the immediate pre-contact period is derived from the kinds of evidence described in the preceding pages.

The population was likely small, probably fewer than one hundred, and dispersed in extended family camps between Netsarsujok in the north and Tikergan in the south. There was probably some amiable contact between the northern camps at Netsarsujok, Tupervialuk, and Naksalukulu with the southernmost camps of the Pond Inlet people (Tununermiutan); although this latter group has had its major traditional contacts with the Iglulik people (Mathiasen, 1923; Damas, 1963). In the south, the major contacts would have been with the Kivitok and Broughton Island (Kikertarjuag) people, who, in turn, conducted extensive social and trade interchange with the Cumberland Sound Eskimo groups (Boas, 1884).

Seasonal migrations and aggregations probably brought the dispersed camps together, periodically, in the spring for the large-whale hunt at the floe-edge, and in the winter for winter seal hunting. The end of spring likely brought about a re-dispersal of the families along the coast and down the inlets for caribou hunting and fishing. Two apparent differences from the type Thule culture are seen: there appears to have been an increase
in dog population and a consequent increase in mobility. Boas describes extensive trips by dog-sled between Cumberland Sound and Broughton Island and, from secondary information, trips even further north. Second, there appears to have been an increasing tendency to dependence upon seal and the formation of large composite seal-hunting winter camps. These speculations are based partly upon the described change in house structure, sod and stone karmat covered with walrus or square-flipper hide rather than 'framing of whale-bone and partly upon the evidence for extended sled trips described by Boas.

The available information becomes increasingly more detailed toward the end of the 19th century and reconstructions are probably more accurately drawn. Unfortunately, the area covered by Boas and others is almost entirely restricted to the southern part of my study area. Mathiassen, on the other hand for example, refers to the Pond Inlet area people as "little known Eskimos" (1923:131). The major contributors to the ethnography of the Cumberland Sound region, Boas, Wakeham, and Low restricted their explorations to this southern portion of the Clyde Eskimo country; and Bernier, although he travelled down the coast and even anchored in Patricia Bay makes no mention of the local Eskimos. Nevertheless, it is possible to examine the effects of the culture contacts of that era upon the indigenous Clyde Eskimos.
While Parry was engaged in exploring the coast near Clyde Inlet, Penny established the first permanent whaling shore station in Cumberland Gulf on Blacklead Island in 1820 (Wakeham, p. 75). The permanent shore-based whaling stations were preceded by regular annual contact between whalers and Eskimos at the floe-edge. These meetings were the scene of fairly extensive barter, country produce, e.g. whale produce, hides, etc., in return for tea, tobacco (two original staples), hardtack, and occasionally firearms and ammunition, and liquor. Considering the difficulties and dangers involved in reaching the Baffin Bay whaling grounds from either the northeastern United States or Britain, it can be appreciated that 'wintering' in the area was a logical next step after the discovery of the richness of the game. From these beginnings it was an easy step to the establishment of permanent stations employing a few Whites and as many Eskimo men and their families as cared to work for wages. As Low states about the Cumberland Gulf sixty years later:

The total number of Eskimos reached (by the missionaries) is about five hundred, and they are all connected with, and depend upon, the whaling stations of Blacklead, Kekertan, and Cape Haven (1903:9).

Although American, English, and Scottish whalers hunted these shores and made contacts with the various groups of Eskimos, the intensity and pattern of their relations differed considerably. American whalers never established permanent shore-based stations and employed few
Eskimos on the catcher boats. Their relations consisted mainly of establishing trade/exchange, whale produce for various items and offering seasonal employment as whale catchers. A particularly significant American practice was their custom of leaving the wooden whaleboats behind each season either for safe-keeping or as part payment for the season's work. By the time of Boas' trip into Cumberland Gulf in the late 18th century, the use of skin umiags as whaling vessels was rapidly passing away and the skin umiaq was already becoming a woman's boat although this development was not fully realized until whale-hunting had ceased altogether. The English and Scottish whalers, on the other hand, initiated and developed the use of permanent shore-based stations and the wholesale employment of the Eskimo for whaling during the spring, summer, and fall, and for securing supplies of fresh meat, repairing boats and gear, preparing hides for shipment the following season, and so forth. This developing dependency was carried to the point where, as Low states in 1903, that should the whalers ever run into difficult times and abandon their stations, the Eskimos would be in "dire plight" and that the Canadian government would be required to provide assistance, probably in the form of arms and ammunition (p. 10, 271, et passim). It should be pointed out here that no permanent stations were erected in the immediate vicinity of Clyde Inlet. The southernmost stations were located generally in the Home Bay area at Arctic Harbour, Kivitq, Durban Harbour
and Padloping Island. None of these were ever as large as Blacklead Island and *Kekertan* in Cumberland Sound but they did play an equally significant part in bringing about large-scale population redistributions. The northernmost stations were located at Eric Harbour, a few miles east of the present Pond Inlet settlement, and in 1903 the station at Button Point was established. It is assumed that these fortuitous circumstances of station locations had far-reaching effects on the contemporary population at Clyde 'Inlet.'

Intergroup contact during this early contact period was regular. Traditional travel routes between Clyde, Pond, and Broughton as well as *Pangnirtung* were well established and used. European goods moved along these routes and into the Clyde area via two directions: from the south, from *Pangnirtung* to Padloping Island and Broughton Island and from those places north to Home Bay then Clyde; from the north from Pond Inlet which had strong trade and other ties with *Iglulik* where the American whalers customarily hunted and traded. Besides traded European goods, news of the permanent stations filtered along both routes. The advantages of being associated with these stations and the attraction exerted by the possibility of acquiring highly valued, and then rare, firearms all served to draw the original Clyde Inlet population away from the home territory. It appears that, just as there had been two primary contacts and kin-ties with other groups, the Pond
and the Broughton Island, there were two directions for migration: southward to the Broughton area initially, and after the opening of the station at Button Point, northward. It is assumed here that the direction of migration would be determined primarily upon the existence of kin-ties in the area being moved into. As had been pointed out (p. 153ff), there was a greater likelihood of established kin-ties between the northern Clyde group and the southern Pond group, and also between the southern Clyde group and the northern Broughton group.

1900 to 1923

Whaling as a profitable commercial enterprise began to fail as early as 1860. Whereas the numbers of vessels engaged in the Davis Strait fishery averaged about sixty between 1815 and 1834, (Leslie, p. 458ff), this number diminished steadily through the years and by 1904 only four vessels (steam-sail from Peterhead, Scotland) arrived on the coast, and after 1925 none are reported.

This influx of the whalers had repercussions upon all three indices mentioned above: economy, ecology, and population distribution.

The shift from whaling for their own consumption to whaling as an employee of the commercial enterprises was probably an easy one for the Eskimos and one that had minimal detrimental effects on cooperative partnership. The insistence of the whalers that men employed for whale hunting
remain employed during the off-season and make their homes at the station sites wrought greater damage. Low's (1906) observations led him to say:

The natives have for years looked for assistance to the whalers both on Baffin Island and Hudson Bay. They have quite given up the use of their primitive weapons, and there is no doubt that a withdrawal of the whalers would lead to great hardship and many deaths among these people (Low, 1904: 271).

The assumption of the station-centered mode of life to be continued over four generations resulted in the disruption and abandonment of the traditional seasonal cycle. Winter was spent hunting caribou and seal to supply the station, rather than in seal-hunting for immediate consumption. Supplementary issues of tea, tobacco, and hardtack were to be had from the wintering whalers in return for fresh game. The spring period, formerly spent on the ice after seal and at the floe in community whaling projects, were now spent repairing and readying the gear for the commercial whalers and participating as employees drawing wages in various forms. Similarly, the summer caribou hunts were dropped altogether and the time was used at the station preparing for the fall whale hunt.

The whale herds were depleted to the extent that an International Whaling Commission was set up to determine the extent of the damage. The most important legislation passed by this Body was that forbidding the taking of 'right' whales (Balaens mysticus) and thus putting the final coup de grace to an already dying industry. The consequences of this
for the Eskimo population were twofold: first, the cessation of whaling activities terminated what had, by the time the restrictions were placed, become the "traditional" way of life; second, even had the Eskimos retained the aboriginal techniques of whaling and whale-weaponry together with a desire or ability to put these to use, they would not have been able to do so in view of the depletion of whale stocks and the all-encompassing legislation regarding killing whale. On the other hand, the introduction of firearms made it possible to take seals at the floe-edge, a hitherto relatively unimportant hunting method. This single new element and technique appears to have more or less balanced out the loss of whales to the general economy. The effects of this introduction probably had more serious consequences for the food-sharing partnership associations than for the larger cooperating groups. The former were apparently more directly concerned with a specific goal, food-getting and sharing; while the latter was (and is) of a more diffuse nature embracing food-sharing within a pattern of general cooperation.

Demographic changes during this period were probably drastic; the Clyde area was almost completely deserted for several generations. The same must have been true for other areas although I have not made any special effort to determine this. From the presumed small, strategically dispersed camps the shift was to large heterogeneous aggregations about the whaling stations. With the
disappearance of the support that the whaling stations had provided and the absence of the possibility for a return to "traditional" hunting practices, the Eskimo populations that had depended greatly upon the whalers were, as Low had predicted, in dire circumstances.

The depletion of game smaller than the bowhead and finback whales must also have had a serious effect on the large communities. Intensive sealing and caribou hunting, facilitated by the introduced firearms, lessened the need for economic cooperation and the scarcity of game would probably induce the segmentation of the large populations settled at the whaling stations. Floe-edge seal hunting, now possible with rifles, became important to the subsistence economy. Small whale hunting could be carried out with only one or two men in kayaks. In short, there must have been a return of a modified pre-contact seasonal cycle. Winter sealing and composite camp structure followed by spring fishing either at sapot (fish-traps), using the leister or by net (introduced by the whalers) probably by nuclear families; followed by camp division for caribou hunting by some of the men and summer sealing and walrus by others. Fall caribou skin sewing would then be carried out and the winter pattern assumed once more. Missing from the traditional round of activities was the whale. The depletion of ammunition for the introduced rifles probably caused a return to maukpug (seal-hole) hunting with the harpoon. A few fortunate individuals had acquired the lead, powder and
caps necessary for home production. In general, a great many items that had, over the years, assumed a great deal of importance were then not available.

Concomitant with the speculated changes in residence, there were probably changes in marriage patterns. Without going into the argument about marriage, authority, and final causes, it seems reasonable to assume that pro-pinquity is a crucial factor in the determination of who marries who, whether the marriage system is prescribed or preferred. It is interesting to note that the northern group of this study still adhere rigidly to the practice of non-marriage to cousins (terminologically "sibling of opposite sex"), while the southern group have a number of documented cousin (terminologically not siblings of opposite sex) marriages. It should be pointed out that the northern, or Pond Inlet, group had less intense contact with whalers and for a shorter period of time than did the southern groups. When the whaling communities disbanded, they probably did so in terms of consanguineal and affinal kinship relationship, these being non-voluntary and of greater endurance than non-kinship relationships. If this were the case, then the appearance of cousin marriage in opposition to the ideals expressed could readily have emerged.

1923 to 1945

The next stage of this historical reconstruction begins at the end of the whaling period and the appearance
of the fur trader with the concomitant changes in the three aspects with which we are concerned here. There is much more accurate data for this period than for the previous two and, for the first time, a fair amount of detail concerning social structure is available.

The first accounts of fur traders in the area are, again, restricted to the southern periphery of the study region. Initially these operations were residual parts of the whaling investments. During the declining years of the whale industry, the "shore stations" came to barter more and more for country produce other than whale product. This barter included the white fox pelt as well as the various color varieties. Other furs bought included bear, sealskins, walrus hide (still a much sought after commodity for buffing wheels). A typical such operation was the Sabellum Trading Company located at the former whaling station of Kivitok in the Home Bay area. This became defunct when the last manager, Pitchforth, died there during the winter of 1925. The Hudson's Bay Company at this time had firmly established itself in the Hudson's Straits regions and was looking for fresh, profitable territory for expansion in coincidence with the increasing demand in Europe for the so-called "long-hair furs," e.g. the foxes. Accordingly, the Hudson's Bay Company made a number of preliminary investigations along the northeast Baffin Island coast and built their Pond Inlet post in 1921 and thus replaced the Newfoundlander "free trader," Janes, who had been murdered at Cape
Crawford in 1920. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police established their detachment at Pond in the same year (1921) and the first patrol to "River Clyde" was carried out in 1925 by Constable Fried.

At this time the "metropolis" of the Arctic was at Lake Harbour in the south, and the Hudson's Bay Company had their headquarters there. In 1921 the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg were informed by their chief man in the field that conditions in the Pond [sic] Inlet were ideal for trade and that a post there would be of benefit to both Eskimos and the Company. This report, dated 1921 at Lake Harbour, decried the uneconomical trading practices of the "free-traders," especially their focus on whale products and attempts to induce the Eskimos to remain at the trading post throughout the year and to carry out the trapping activities from the main post. Future developments in the area are anticipated in the report. The natives, the report goes on, should be discouraged from staying at the post and encouraged to "return to the land" and set up camps under the leadership of the "most able men." These camps should not be large and should be located in such a way that the local fox resources can be adequately trapped.

Accordingly plans were laid to build posts at Pangnirtung, Pond Inlet, and Clyde River in 1921. Ice conditions prevented the landing of the building material at Clyde until 1923. During this summer the Hudson's Bay Company landed supplies, building materials, and trade goods
under the charge of a manager with a Labrador Eskimo interpreter and his wife, together with five Eskimo families brought from Lake Harbour. This was a necessary move on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company since there were no people living at Clyde (Patricia Bay) at that time and the fox population was predicted as being large. Knowledge of the numbers of Eskimos along the northeast coast from Cumberland Gulf northward was extremely hazy at that time, although it was known in a general way that there were a 'good many people in the Home Bay area. During the winter of 1925, there were ten "families" of Clyde Eskimos living in the area and five "families" living at Tikerman to the south (for details on the population see appendix).

The situation in 1923 and in the years immediately preceding the opening of the post at Clyde was as follows. The aboriginal population had moved south to the lower Home Bay region and north to the Pond Inlet/Bylot Island. Men like Janes in Pond Inlet; Pitchforth at Kivitok; Munn, Kinnes, and Mutch in the Cumberland Gulf area were attempting to maintain the whaling station pattern of operations with the Eskimos staying at the settlements throughout the year. These operations were marginal at best and changing conditions of the markets precluded their persistence. The entrance of the fur trade introduced a radically different economy and way of life. The establishment of the trade store at Clyde served to provide a feasible alternative for the local Eskimos. During the pre-fur trader period, there
was a slow but steady migration of Eskimos back to the original camp sites from the abandoned whaling stations in the peripheral areas. The people returning from Button Point took up permanent residence in those camps to the north of Clyde Inlet and still maintain important associations with the Pond Inlet group. Those returning from the Home Bay areas took up residence in the camps at Clyde Inlet and the camp sites to the south; this group maintains its most important ties with the Broughton Island Eskimos. Briefly, the two groups achieve discreteness through dialectal speech differences, restricted cross-group marriage, kinship terminological variation and restricted in-group camp formation as well as generally confining themselves to the territories mentioned above with the boundary between them lying at Clyde Inlet.

1945 to 1965

By 1945, a number of changes had taken place in the Clyde vicinity. The economic sector was affected by the introduction of Family Allowances and various kinds of pension payments such as Old Age and Disability pensions. The long-hair fur market, so profitable before, reached an all-time low and foxes were being traded at between two and five dollars per pelt; sealskins were traded at between fifty cents and two dollars and fifty cents. Bearskins were being traded at ten to twenty dollars. As far as trade in 'country produce' was concerned the outlook was gloomy indeed.
Throughout this period fox-fur prices decreased steadily and in 1958 sealskin prices began to increase, eventually reaching a high of about twenty-five dollars per skin. This change in the economy meant that hunters now had a source of income derived directly from daily hunting activity. The upsurge in sealskin prices and the increasing demand for carvings together with the now well-established payment of Family Allowances and Welfare payments brought the over-all income of this group to a new high.

The availability of casual, seasonal labour helped some families but was never enough to completely make families free of the government relief system. In short, if it had not been for the relief and other government monies these people would have been in dire straights indeed. The allocation of the government funds took the form of vouchers and in the beginning, i.e. before the establishment of the R.C.M.P. at Cape Christian, where the Naval base was located, the monies and all bookkeeping were handled by the Pond Inlet detachment.

It was during this early period that the slow migration to camps close to the post at Clyde began to take place. Apart from the attractions offered by the availability of government support there was also the attraction of such things as movies, liquor, and the possibility of profitable alliances between the relatively rich Whites and destitute Eskimo men. In other words, where sex previously
was a fun thing it became possible to have fun and have a take-home pay. The idea of paying for sex was foreign. The most unfortunate aspect of this kind of reciprocity was that although the native peoples entered into these agreements they did so in a manner quite different from that held by the Whites. In other words, it was easy enough for Eskimos to see the advantages of such liaisons but where they expected reciprocity there was none.

The assumption of a trapping-hunting pattern involved a dispersement of the large heterogeneous groupings about the whaling stations and the formation of camps, generally along family or kin lines. Winter became a season almost solely reserved for trapping (although the Hudson's Bay Company had less success with the Clyde Eskimos as trappers than with many other groups; see for example the consistently low intake of fur over the years). An increase in mobility as an adjunct to trapping brought about an increase in the dog population, and of course, an increase in the cost of maintaining the larger teams. Hunting for dog-food and for general subsistence purposes became concentrated in the spring and fall seasons while the summer caribou hunt was reinstated. The increasing dependency upon imported food and materials, noted previously, received added emphasis during this period.

The first permanent establishment at the present Clyde River site was the Hudson's Bay Company fur-trading post opened in 1923. At that time the area was practically
uninhabited and, in order to exploit the local fur potential, the Hudson's Bay Company brought a number of trappers and their families from Lake Harbour and, at a later date, from Frobisher Bay area. Coincidently, and prompted by the establishment of the trading post and the closure of the whaling-trading stations, families formerly from Clyde Inlet region began to return from Pond Inlet (Mitsimatiliq), Kivitok, and Aulitsivik. These returning hunter-trappers supplemented, and eventually replaced, the trappers from 'Southern Baffin Island.

The changes brought about in the economy, ecology, demography, and social organization during this period were at least as drastic as those brought about by either the establishment of whaling stations or the building of a Hudson's Bay Company fur-trading post.

During the preceding period the Hudson's Bay Company personnel constituted the sole influence from outside the area. With the advent of World War II there was an addition made to the White population in the appearance of the Department of Transport radiosond station which was erected in the immediate vicinity of the trading post. A little later, in 1945, the United States Coastguard arrived and built a station at Cape Christian about twelve miles from the settlement. The numbers of personnel varied over time and eventually levelled out at thirty men. With the establishment of this 'foreign' base there arrived the Royal Canadian Mounted Police complete with Family Allowance
vouchers and welfare allotments. Still later in 1960, a single room school and a hostel to accommodate eight was built by the Federal Government and operated by a teacher and his wife.

By 1945, the Clyde Eskimos had become familiar with wage labour, trapping, and welfare payments as well as Family Allowance payments.

Apart from the fluctuations in fur prices and the population cycle of the foxes the situation described briefly, persisted for about 20 years without serious changes in ecology and economy and demography. Although furs were the sole source of income for a good many years, trapping as an activity for this group never assumed the importance nor attained the associative status found, for example, among the Banks Island group in the Western Arctic. In short, the Clyde Inlet Eskimo remained a hunting-oriented rather than a trapping-oriented society. This, and other events precipitated by World War II, have had an important bearing upon the subsequent development of this community.

The first important alteration in the system came during the Second World War when the United States Armed Forces arrived to set up a weather station in the settlement at Clyde during 1944. During World War II the incursion of a larger non-Eskimo population plus the erection of a weather and navigational-aid station operated and manned by personnel of the United States Armed Forces together with the decrease in fur prices pointed up the value of wage-labour
as an alternative source of income. Considering also that Family Allowances and Welfare payments were instituted during the same period, it can be seen how this Eskimo group has been diverted from trapping as an economic pursuit.

Several effects were felt immediately; a number of men were hired as rough carpenters and introduced to the concept of wage earning; the U.S. servicemen were regularly supplied with movies and the local and visiting Eskimos were initiated into the wonderful celluloid world of America; lastly, quasi-organized prostitution and the associated pimping became widespread. This differed from the kinds of relationships set up between either whalers or traders and Eskimo women inasmuch as payment in the form of cash was immediately forthcoming and also no stable relationship developed between the individual serviceman and the men responsible for the women. This situation did not last long however; the U.S. Army turned the station over to the Canadian Department of Transport, Meteorological Division, in 1947, and the U.S. Coast Guard arrived to build their base at Cape Christian twelve miles north.

In 1953, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police established a detachment at Cape Christian about ten miles north of the settlement thus localizing the administration which had previously come under the jurisdiction of the Pond Inlet detachment. Simultaneously, the United States Coast Guard built a LORAN station at Cape Christian and the buildings and equipment at the Clyde River settlement were
turned over to the Canadian Department of Transport who developed this into a six-man upper-air weather station.

Whites in the settlement numbered eight and at Cape Christian, twenty-two. During these periods of activity, a few Eskimo men secured steady employment in the settlement and quite a number managed to obtain part-time wage labour positions. The biggest single boost to the local average income came when Family Allowances and relief issues became available. Initially, these government monies were given out only in the form of prescribed trade items, this being controlled by the R.C.M.P. in cooperation with the local trader. The establishing of an R.C.M.P. detachment at Cape Christian (the area had formerly been visited yearly by patrols from the Pond Inlet detachment), saw another infusion of money in the form of such items as regularly disbursed relief issues etc. A look at the ever-widening gap between monies derived from furs and other sales at the local store show this development quite clearly (see Diagram 20).

The restrictions placed on the utilization of Family Allowance and other government money was rather easily circumvented. The hunter simply took his furs to the store, bought the cherished accordian or whatever, knowing full well that the Family Allowance money would be used to provide the needed ammunition, tea, tobacco, and so forth; and if this were not enough, then a request for relief was made. The system could be rather easily manipulated
and Whites played off against Whites if necessary to obtain the desired ends. Bearing these developments in mind, it becomes clear why some of the farther traditional camp sites were being abandoned and residence shifted closer to the settlement, the major source of supply. Another major change in the economy took place beginning about 1958. The price of sealskins, then about seven dollars for adults and two dollars and fifty cents for yearling skins rose to as much as twenty-five dollars for any undamaged hide. Fox trapping simply could not compete with this turn of events and trapping efforts dropped to such a low that the Hudson's Bay Company post manager could at the end of a recent season air-mail his winter's take of white fox to the Montreal clearing house. There were, however, a number of repercussions from this. The increase in value for seal hides had little or no effect on the normal allocation of time spent by the hunters; second, the hunters had little to do with the numbers of hides made available for the market. Men simply do not handle seal hides after they have removed them from the carcass. It can be seen that the women in any camp had, through the whims of the international fur market, attained a new position of direct economic involvement and importance. Unlike the situation with regard to Family Allowance payments, always made out to the mother of the children, the increase in direct participation through controlling the numbers of seal hides reaching the trade store has created intrafamily tensions. These are not overtly
expressed during the actual trading of the hides in the store, the women insisting upon having an active part in the transactions. This is true generally and exceptions exist; it is true also that some women have always been vociferous in public, especially those women who are past child-bearing age and who have, through the marriage of sons, become the authority figure for a number of daughters-in-law. It is also true that women in general have been, and are, powerful decision makers in private. The important changes I refer to are those involving public behaviour and the allocation of economic authority. In still another area the changes under discussion have had important consequences. The residence assumed by newly-wed couples is becoming a matter of bitter contention. On the one hand the girl's family insist upon following the 'traditional' pattern of bride-service and thus retaining the daughter as an active participant in the domestic economy. On the other hand the groom's parents are equally insistent that the girl come into their camp. These problems are, as usual, settled along lines determined by the relative powers of the two families involved. The current situation is one in which it is no longer taken for granted that the groom will move into the girl's father's camp for some varying period of time before bringing his bride into his own father's household.

Consideration of these and other like adjustments of 'normal' practices, e.g. in the values placed upon the sex of prospective adoptees leads to the proposition advanced
earlier concerning the relationships between local approaches to an economy determined solely outside of the social system under examination. Briefly stated this proposition asserts that: given an economy over which the local producers have little or no control in terms of price or demand and one in which there is a lack of feasible alternatives and resources that are subject to internal fluctuations in quantity and external fluctuations in value then the following conditions will most likely arise: participants at the local level because they have no control over such fluctuations in quantity, value, or market demand, can only assume that the last most recent set of conditions will hold and that future endeavours should be oriented with this in mind. This is not to say that past experiences of the instability of the economy are ignored, indeed the only certainty is that the market will change. The time, direction, and quality of the change remain forever unknown factors.

At Clyde, hunters never hold back skins of any kind in hopes that the price will increase. It might be argued that in such a marginally subsistence economy this would not be possible in any event. However, the people are aware that it is possible to acquire assistance via government funds. They are also familiar with the system of debt used by the local trader (akilikshag). The uncertainty of the market is a cause of concern and a subject of conversation (and, in the case of the few overtly hostile men, a bone of contention). Concepts of 'international
market' and all that is entailed are absent and rejected when posited. Similarly, the concept of 'government' and government funds are reorganized to make more sense at the local level. In the former case the current trader is either the villain or the hero. He, it is firmly believed, sets the price policy as well as determining who gets debt and et cetera. In the second case, the current policemen determines who gets relief, pension money, and even Family Allowance money. In both cases, a change of personnel requires a reassessment of the position and attitudes of the new Whites since each of the important Whites is an arbitrary and autonomous authority in their spheres of influence as pointed out earlier. The replacement of either of these two figures, the trader or the policeman is accompanied by a furious exchange of observational data among the Eskimos. In a short time the new arrivals have been observed, analyzed, and catalogued and appropriate approaches initiated. The fact that these assessments may be quite wrong matters less than the fact that the people adjust their behaviour in the belief that they are correct. Similar short-term adjustments to local manifestations of larger market economy can be posited in the periodic shift of values from son-in-law to daughter-in-law; from seal-hunting for cash to the acquisition of wage-labour; from male adoptives to female adoptives.

An important redistributive factor in the local economy is found in the widespread gambling games that take
place constantly in the area and are a major attraction at the settlement at gathering times like Christmas or whenever a large group have come together to trade at the settlement. The law, as I understand it, does not forbid gambling per se but does forbid the operating of gambling games for profit. The Clyde Eskimo however, believe that the police and/or the local Whites are capable of laying charges for gambling itself, as a result, the games are kept secret from the Whites. After observing and participating in a number of games I took an opportunity to test how successful the people were in keeping the games secret by asking the assembled Whites if the local Eskimo gambled. The answer was a unanimous negative and the longest resident White made a statement to the effect that, "the natives don't even know how to use playing cards for non-gambling games." Between the Eskimos' secrecy (a child will simply present a vacant expression when questioned about the games) and the fact that the gambling games do not involve playing cards seems to have been adequate in maintaining the desired secrecy. The most common game is called, 'kudlig' and uses a top having four sides each with different value. The values range from a high side that takes all, a low side that takes nothing, one side that takes one item, and the last side that takes two items. The sides are engraved; the highest with the image of a seal-oil lamp, the 'kudlig,' zero side is blank, and the other two sides have a single and double line respectively. Anyone may put down a stake
and participate in a game. Some games observed included men, women, and male children. Other games included only men and still others only women. No game observed included juvenile females although informants insisted that they could play if they wished. Stakes were not equated on a dollar-value basis so that in any game a pocket-knife, a box of ammunition, a rifle, cash, and a cigarette lighter could be included. If the spinner had put in the lighter for example and got the single-side he could choose to take the rifle, or the box of ammunition. In the example given the man chose to take the rifle saying that he was overjoyed since he had wanted such a calibre (.270) rifle for a long time. The games are conducted in an atmosphere of hilarity bordering on hysteria. Individuals will be goaded into placing stakes that, in a utilitarian sense, are foolish, e.g. an outboard motor or a canoe both items worth several hundred dollars each. If he succumbs and loses he is derided and made the butt of jokes without apparently, losing his good humour. In some senses the gambling at Clyde is reminiscent of the bidding for items that took place in north Alaska (Spencer, 1959). Items lost in a game are not returnable except through negotiation between the winner and loser. A classic case involved a man who had one canoe and won another in a game (it was the last stake of the game otherwise he probably would not have chosen it). He then negotiated with the loser and returned the canoe for a worn-out outboard motor that had spare parts he wanted.
The establishment of the grade school and hostel in 1963 created three permanent of semi-permanent wage positions: mechanic for the diesel plant, janitor for the school, and with the erection of the sixteen welfare houses, garbage collector (sanitation engineer in governmentese). The dissonance between various government department policies (perhaps the lack of policy) became apparent upon the completion of this school. The Department of Education expounded the advantages of having one's children attend school and initiated the penalty of withdrawal of Family Allowance from those families who did not send their children to school. The local R.C.M.P. however, have, apparently, an unofficial and long standing policy of keeping the Eskimos out of the settlement backed up by threats of refusing assistance to those who refuse to go 'back on the land.' These coercive techniques have done little to create feelings of amiability between Whites and Eskimos in the area and it is not surprising that deeply-rooted hostile attitudes against Whites are firmly entrenched among the population at large.

In summary, recent developments have created the following broad conditions. Fox trapping as the major winter pursuit has been virtually abandoned. More seal-skins are turned into cash at the point where they are suitable for clothing and store-bought substitutes are increasing. The farthest camps are being abandoned and residence is now restricted to ten or fewer camps closer to
the settlement. There is a general increase in dependence upon important goods of all descriptions and an escalating value for wage-labour. Although there is a recognized value of education (schooling) for children and training for adults this is offset to a large degree by the lack of opportunity for the application of acquired skills. Population has spiralled accompanied by the usual disadvantages entailed by poor people. Resumption of the former trapping-hunting mode of life has become increasingly less possible while at the same time alternatives are lacking. An intense distrust of Whites and a grossly distorted concept of the White world makes it practically impossible for cross-cultural understanding. This is particularly true where the Whites have attempted to introduce 'democratic' ideas and notions of the essential equality of individuals. For the Clyde Eskimos individuals are not equal, some men (and women) are superior to others and the exploitation of the less by the more strong is widespread and natural. Similar distorted reinterpretations of the mores of the Whites, including those relating to sex and religion abound. Whites, with their emphasis and insatiable interest (as depicted in magazines, movies, and idea interchange) in female breasts together with their display of temper tantrums and over-all naiveness are taken as proof of their child-like nature. Similarly, the Eskimo versions of the Christian bible and the accommodation of traditional life-crisis practices within the Christian framework could be taken as syncretic
adjustments to things as they seem to be.

A further aspect of contemporary social life that requires mentioning is that of economic allocation. It should be made clear at the start that no attempt is being made to apply traditional western economic theory to this relatively 'primitive' society. The immense problems involved in such endeavours have been illustrated in past works and have been dealt with by more qualified economic specialists from Firth and Mauss through Polanyi and Bohannan to Dalton and Belshaw and needs no further mention at this point.

The structures of economic allocation among families of Clyde Eskimo must be considered in two frames of reference that give rise to a number of problems peculiar to this, and probably other, transitional groups.

In the broadest sense 'economic allocation' in concrete social structures is taken to be:

... the distribution of the goods and services making up the income of the concrete structure concerned and of the goods and efforts making up the output of that structure among the members of that structural unit and other structural units with which it is in contact in these respects (Levy, 1952:330).

The concrete unit is, of course, the kinship unit, family and 'other structural units' with which it is in contact are other families and the co-residential units, households. These latter may or may not coincide with the family as it is used here but, whatever the case may be, are important for the analysis in terms of viewing the dynamic linkage of
the family with society.

The two frames of reference that I see necessary are the traditional and relict reciprocal but restricted exchange system and the fur-trade market system with which trapping is associated but hunting not.

Both Levy (1952:330-1) and Polanyi (1957:48) focus upon the distinction between 'production' and 'consumption.' The former to the point where he considers these as distinct structures with institutionalized modes of allocation. The latter author indicates that, as a progressive view through primitive to industrial types of societies is taken, the concomitant complexities inherent in the two structures are reversed. That is, whereas production in industrial society becomes complex and a fully liquid exchange medium emerges (money), consumption (allocation of goods and services) becomes relatively simple, if unequal. On the other hand, in pre-industrial societies production is relatively simple (avoiding questions of religion and magic) but the allocation of goods and services is often embedded in a complex network of inter-personal relationships. As Firth, Belshaw, and Bohannan have demonstrated, such a simple continuum is not to be found among contemporary societies. The usual case is one in which elements of both polar types exist. The Clyde Eskimo vindicate this qualification; some aspects of the economic allocation fits closely toward one pole while other aspects are more like the opposite pole. This then, is the complex economic
mileau of backdrop against which this analysis is given.

Although the literature on Eskimos abounds with statements to the effect that Eskimo are 'communalistic' and, conversely, 'individualistic'; the resolution of this paradox is to be seen in the levels of action that Eskimos are engaged in and concerned about. As a communal member of a community he is indeed communalistic to the extent that communal members other than family have rights to his time and endeavours but he is individualistic insofar as he has some choice in who he associates with in either kinship or non-kinship terms.

Notions concerning 'self-help' among primitive peoples have been hindered by a lack of explicitness concerning the nature of 'self-help.' Self-help is not possible in most groups without recourse to some 'threat' of larger-group negative reaction. Self-help as a process is important for the Clyde Eskimos but involves the careful manipulation of existing 'troops,' so to speak. These manipulations are difficult and require a serious expenditure of time.

This historical section has been given as a partial explanation of the demography and some aspects of the economic and social organization of the contemporary groups about Clyde.

In sum, it can be seen that the impact of the whalers and traders upon established order was great in both cases. In the case of the whaler contacts, the shift away from the then traditional seasonal cycle and camp dispersal
is clear. In other words, the move into large whaler-dependent settlements served to depopulate vast areas of the eastern coast of Baffin Island. The break-away from seasonal activities also served to bring about changes in the face-to-face contact patterns that had existed between groups of Eskimos. It is presumed that such changes would also have effects upon residence rules concerning newly married couples and probably also had effects on the weaker aspects of kinship organization as well as upon marriage patterns generally.

After several generations, long enough for the whaler pattern to be established and become traditional, the arrival of the traders on the heels of the failing whale-based economy wrought equally drastic changes in the residence and camp composition patterns. Whereas the whalers encouraged the people to stay at the whaling stations the year round the traders were equally adamant and strongly urged the breakup of the large whale-station settlements. Instead of the large conglomerates they insisted upon the utility of the formation of smaller camps scattered along the coast. This had to do with the necessity of stringing traplines over as wide an area as possible in order to maximize the fur take.

This move involved the development of greater mobility than had been the case, i.e. the upkeep of larger dog-teams and, concomitantly, large expenditures of time and effort for dog sustenance.
Whereas, formerly involved with large self-contained units for work the Eskimo now found that he had to rely on himself for travelling, trapping and trading. The relict structures of game-sharing came once again into the fore with formalized seal-sharing partnerships and other equally important exchanges i.e. spouse-exchange as a medium for the maximal exploitation of the environment. It is in these sectors that Willmott's and Honigman's theses are most relevant.

With the advent of Family Allowances and Relief issues the economy took another turn. Where before the credit/debtor system with the trader sufficed, barely, to take care of the needs of individual families the influx of government monies plus wages helped to bring about the latest changes, that of the welfare state. A cursory glance at the table showing the value of furs traded into the store and the amounts spent in buying from the store indicate quite clearly that the government is in effect, if not intent, subsidizing the local trade store. This condition remains today.
TABLE X

TOTAL STORE SALES AND VALUE OF FURS* TRADED AT CLYDE POST
1925-1964 (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Furs</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Furs</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Furs</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Sales</th>
<th>Furs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>1,970</td>
<td>1,179</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>8,040</td>
<td>9,637</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>7,354</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>21,095</td>
<td>1,947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>3,720</td>
<td>3,339</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1,755</td>
<td>2,061</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>11,063</td>
<td>8,906</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>23,932</td>
<td>2,156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>11,432</td>
<td>12,083</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3,029</td>
<td>3,294</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>9,780</td>
<td>5,761</td>
<td>1957</td>
<td>24,523</td>
<td>1,473</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>6,162</td>
<td>4,574</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>5,082</td>
<td>6,613</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>10,224</td>
<td>2,180</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>24,099</td>
<td>3,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>4,453</td>
<td>3,340</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>7,013</td>
<td>7,570</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>10,857</td>
<td>2,520</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>27,990</td>
<td>9,630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>6,342</td>
<td>5,513</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>2,512</td>
<td>2,131</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>10,136</td>
<td>1,569</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>35,026</td>
<td>8,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>10,120</td>
<td>11,552</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>4,096</td>
<td>5,043</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>16,621</td>
<td>5,205</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>53,048</td>
<td>8,276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>6,268</td>
<td>8,047</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>14,166</td>
<td>16,129</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>13,852</td>
<td>2,352</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>63,121</td>
<td>8,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>12,257</td>
<td>14,466</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>13,940</td>
<td>1,504</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>69,919</td>
<td>19,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>4,657</td>
<td>3,787</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>11,322</td>
<td>7,374</td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>16,705</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>72,708</td>
<td>29,488</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Primarily white fox and hair seal.

(1) This, and the tables on pp. 188, 189, 190 have been constructed on data supplied by the Hudson's Bay Co.


### TABLE XI

**POPULATION CLYDE RIVER 1965**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Families living in settlement</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families within 10 - 30 miles</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Families in distant camps</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>46</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Population Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age grade</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 45</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Over 45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 44</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - 17</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 6</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total population ........................................... 244

M = male
F = female
m = married
s = single or widowed
family is taken to mean parent(s) plus married dependents
TABLE XII

POPULATION FIGURES FOR ESKIMOS TRADING AT CLYDE

Numbers of individuals if given, or families (nuclear)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Camp Name</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>f</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Kangetsuuapiq</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tikergan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kivitoq</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Netsarsujoq</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Kivitoq</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tikergan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kangetsuuapiq</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Netsarsujoq</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(excluding settlement)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Netsarsujoq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927-8</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Netsarsujoq</td>
<td>(no data)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 fam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tupervialuq</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pinguarjuk</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tikergan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(numerous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Pond-Home Bay</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39 fam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933-5</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Netsarsujoq</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5 fam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kangetsuuapiq</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6 fam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Otchongajok</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kivitoq</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937-41</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>93</td>
<td></td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>No data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>All camps</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>112</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>All camps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(see Table No. X)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FOOTNOTES

1. By ecology I mean the relationship between environmental units; for example between wolves and caribou or between men and whales.

2. Demography here means the numbers and distributions of human populations.

3. Exploitation is equivalent to maximization of the environment.

4. W. E. Taylor, pers. comm. has looked over the material and diagrams and confirms both Dorset and Thule types.

5. The trade store has been variously known as Clyde River and Clyde Inlet.

6. It has been suggested in the literature and by Professor R. K. N. Crook, pers. comm. that where gambling of this nature takes place one should look for other signs of disorientation. In view of what I have described as 'uncertainty systems' this seems a reasonable possibility; unfortunately my immediate interests while in the field lay in other areas consequently I feel my data inadequate for closer examination of this factor. I suggest, however, that a larger community, such as Frobisher Bay might provide the kind of information that an analysis would require.
CHAPTER V

This has been an exercise in the clarification and interpretation of a particular set of data concerning the actual and ideal behaviour of two groups of Eskimos, those trading into the post at Clyde River (Inlet).

An attempt has been made to show that both kinship and what I term 'extra-kinship' factors have an important bearing upon the understanding of the workings of the larger social system within which individuals and groups of individuals operate.

Within the bounds of the kinship system it was demonstrated that these Eskimos operate in dyadic pairs of relationships, for example the close linkage between niece/nephew terms and aunt/uncle terms. The nature of this close bonding can be further illustrated by an example from the northeastern Alaskan groups (Spencer, 1949). There, the term for father's brother has been dropped in the course of changes in the over-all structure of that kinship system and, as could have been predicted, the corresponding term for brother's son/daughter has also been dropped.

The kinship system, it was posited, is only one system of behaviour and was closely linked with the extra-kinship system and its involvement with spouse-exchange
partnerships. The interchange within and between these two systems cannot be overstressed.

Still another system of information dispersal and social control could be seen in the formation of adult-exclusive peer groups among the unmarried individuals. The importance of this group lies in its ability to assimilate and share information concerning all aspects of day-to-day life as well as to more ephemeral aspects of social life such as religion. Also brought out in the analysis of the data were the existence of a well-defined hierarchical system of status and influence or power. My data concur with those of Damas (1963) in asserting that individuals are indeed concerned with their positions in the hierarchical system.

In brief, the social organization of the Clyde groups consists of clearly defined roles within the kinship structure, within the extra-kinship structure, and between the two systems. The hierarchical system functions to specify who is the legitimate authority figure in various situations. It has also been shown that behaviour varies between public and private domains. It appears that the ideal, normative behaviour is adhered to publically but that in private more informal norms are operating. For example, with respect to decision making within the household where women have a greater part in the decision making process than she indicates in public.

It was shown that there are variable degrees of
solidarity ranging from very high, as between siblings to very low, as between spouses. Solidarity outside of the family, that is between unrelated partners was very high during spouse-exchange situations but considerably less so in the aftermath of such arrangements.

The two distinct groups described in the dissertation as Northern and Southern showed unique bonding across kinship lines through the operation of the *iligit* system (see Chapter III). Putting this more precisely, the *iligit* system operated to tie unrelated families together by producing, on each side, the category of kinsman referred to as *katangotigatigit* (the sharers of one parent). Furthermore since marriages were absent between the two groups and since there were individuals considered as kin from each group the function of the *iligit* can be seen to operate as a tying unrelated individuals and groups in bonds as close as those of the kinship system.

The relationship between the *ilagit* and the *iligit* systems cannot be overstressed as a major factor in lending cohesion and a sense of community for the larger social system. This cohesion is especially crucial for the exchange of information concerning vital relations between the indigenous population and the itinerant White population.

The effects of historical developments in the forming of contemporary Clyde society are relatively clear. The whalers introduced many items into the indigenous economy. This, in turn, altered the ecological relationships
that had existed for the Eskimos. Some examples of these changes related to the use of the rifle which changed the sealing pattern by making it possible to hunt at the floe-edge on a large scale. Maukpak, or seal-hole hunting during the winter diminished accordingly. With the incentive of rifles and the possibility of wage labour the size of camps was reduced as more and more Eskimos attached themselves to the various whaling stations. Over the generations, most of the northeast coast of Baffin Island became economically dependent upon the whalers. This was true to the extent that Low (1923) predicted that should the whalers leave the area the dependent Eskimos would be in dire straights. He further suggested (ibid) that the government would have to enter the area and assume the role of supplier of those goods that the Eskimos needed in order to eke out subsistence.

Within the next decade his gloomy predictions were realized as the whaling operations became more and more sporadic and finally became defunct.

The next major change in the area took place with the establishment of a trading store at Clyde River. When the Hudson's Bay Company arrived they had to import trappers from further south in order to exploit the fur resources and to teach the indigenous few Eskimos the art of trapping commercially. As more people arrived from Home Bay in the south and from Pond Inlet in the north the imported trappers returned to their home settlements. No major changes took
place until the early part of World War II when the radio-
sonde station was built, more Whites arrived, and unearned
income in the form of Family Allowances was introduced. The
next major change was the arrival of the R.C.M.P. and the
construction of a detachment in 1953. This development was
paralleled by the construction of the U.S. Coastguard
station at Cape Christian.

The impact of these two changes were that on the
one hand more unearned income was made available through the
police at Cape Christian and the Americans on the base set
up an entertainment program consisting of movie shows. It
is difficult to decide exactly what impact this latter
development had on the local population but there were, for
example, many more Eskimo children with a rudimentary knowl-
edge of the English language.

The building of a one-room schoolhouse with hostel
accommodation of eight was the last development to take
place. This meant that Eskimo children and adults could
begin to learn along the lines of Dick and Jane. This
development brought to a head a running dispute between the
local police, who wanted the people out of the settlement,
and the school authorities who wanted the children in the
settlement. At the time of the fieldwork this dispute had
not been settled.

In summary, the effects of external factors, some
social but mainly technological and economic, on the social
organization of this native population are clear. For example, there was an increasing tendency for the people to move into the camps closest to the settlement and even into the settlement itself. Also, as indicated on Diagram 20 (p. 173) there was an increasing dependency upon carvings and government monies (in the form of Family Allowances and welfare payments) as a source of income. Furthermore, at the time of the fieldwork there was an incipient, but clearly apparent, breakdown of former life-styles and customs, especially those customs relating to marriage arrangements and residence patterns. Also the advantages of studying a small group over time to discover the effects of such changes should be noted.

Despite the existence of a fairly rigid hierarchical system of authority-obedience the system is adaptable enough to accommodate alternative action. It is this kind of possibility that lends an air of flexibility to the social structure. For example, by insisting that every person should make his own decisions, isumanik, it becomes possible that an individual or a small group such as the family can determine who his angajukak was to be. This permitted camp changes and, of course, a change in the authority figure. Even though it was said to be possible to change affiliations there was always a price to pay in either a real or social sense. By insisting upon making one's own decisions the individual might gain a reputation for fickleness and would be less likely to find partners from among the larger group.
One explanation of this seeming flexibility might be found in the uncertainty of subsistence activities (see also Willmott, 1960). Prices of fur may fluctuate tremendously and the availability of furs from trapping is always at best a chancy business. Thus, in the major aspects of the economic system, the people are faced with not ever knowing what to expect. The most common response to a change in fur prices is that the trader at that time is held to be responsible by the trappers. Not only is the trader seen as being idiosyncratic but so too the other Whites in the settlement not excluding the local police.

From a functional point of view the uncertainty factors can be seen to have both eufunctional and dysfunctional aspects. In terms of having to maximize the environment at any given time and under any given circumstances it can be seen that an opportunistic attitude is likely to be of more use than a cautious attitude. On the other hand since there is no control over important factors, it becomes impossible to predict or plan ahead. This is reflected in the habitual use of the causative suffix in conversation, for example, "gaujumanginama," literally, "because I do not know."

It appears then, that economic uncertainty might create a more flexible social system, especially one in which leadership and authority is gained by individual effort. This in turn suggests the hypothesis that: the more
determinate or secure the economic system then the more inflexible the social structure.

As a general conclusion, it appears that the structural approach, for example as it has been used by Damas (1963) could lend itself very well to the controlled comparative analyses as outlined by Eggan (1954).

Although there have been other studies of the Eskimo in this general vicinity, i.e. Iglulik and Frobisher Bay, I have not attempted to draw comparisons between my material and that of others simply because we were not using the same sets of terms of reference. I might suggest that what we need most at the moment are good solidly based ethnographies such as that put out by Spencer (1959). If this were done then the ethnologists as well as those workers who see the usefulness of the structural approach could begin drawing comparisons. This would help to focus on the regularities of behaviour within and between distinct Eskimo groups. Furthermore, it would enable workers to take a temporal survey of change in many aspects of Eskimo life.

As Damas phrases this:

Our understanding of social and cultural change in the Eskimo region, . . . , will approach completeness only if the picture of contact society and culture is greatly modified (1963:212).
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