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## Matrilineal Kin Groups in Northwestern North America

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### Abstract

*Various theories about the origin of matriliney in the interior of Alaska and the Yukon Territory and on the northern Northwest Coast are reviewed. The nature of these matrilineal exogamous kin groups is compared to that of the bilateral septs or "ancestral families" of southern British Columbia, especially with respect to such functions as regulation of marriage, potlatching, control of property -- including crests, ceremonial prerogatives, and territories, succession to chieftainship, and acquisition of shamanistic power.*

*The matrilineal institutions of the various Indian tribes are discussed, with special emphasis on sib<sup>1</sup> names, crests, and traditions, since these are evidence of complex historical processes. The tribes themselves fall into six groups:*

- (1) The Tsimshian-speakers with a four-phratry system;*
- (2) those influenced by or related to them (northern Carrier, etc.);*
- (3) coastal tribes with Raven-Wolf/Eagle moieties (Haida, Tlingit, Eyak);*
- (4) the interior tribes influenced by them (Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Tagish, Tutchone, Kaska, etc.). In all the above groups the sibs possess crests or are equated with Tlingit sibs or moieties.*

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1 The term *sib* was formerly used by anthropologists to designate a *matrilineal clan or kin group*, while the general term *clan* formerly designated patrilineal kin groups (see Guédon's Introduction to this article). In today's usage, *clan* now designates ALL unilineal kin groups either named or whose members are related to the same ancestor, whether the ancestor is named or not. When the ancestor is named and the kin connections to the ancestor are known, today we speak about a lineage. Since the piece was written in 1971, the author uses to term *sib* to mean *matrilineal clan*.

(5) Athapaskans with moieties and sibs, lacking true crests, and showing no clear evidence of coastal influence (Atna, Tanaina, Upper and Middle Tanana).

(6) Athapaskans with two opposed sibs (moieties) and a third "middle" kin group (Lower Tanana, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Kutchin, Han). This "middle group" that can marry with both of the others, like similar anomalous sibs among the Haida and Tlingit, represents immigrants, not yet fully assimilated.

Lastly, socio-ecological conditions of the western Athapaskans are contrasted with those of their sib-less eastern relatives to suggest how matriliney might have developed. Many of the birds, animals, and fish used for sib names and crests are inland, rather than coastal, and also suggest influences from Siberian, as well as North American shamanism. Although an interior Alaskan origin is suggested for the matrilineal sib-moiety system, the most complex development of matrilineal groups and especially of their crests has taken place on the lower Nass, Skeena, and Stikine rivers, probably under the stimulation of population exchanges between the Tsimshian, Tlingit, Athapaskans, and Kwakiutl speakers. Crests and ceremonial privileges have then been imported into the interior.

## Résumé

Voici un bref aperçu des diverses théories sur l'origine du système matrilineaire chez les peuples amérindiens de l'Alaska intérieur, du territoire du Yukon et de la côte pacifique. Ces groupes de parenté exogames et matri-linéaires sont comparés aux clans bilatéraux ou "familles ancestrales" du sud de la Colombie-Britannique, surtout en regard de fonctions telles que la réglementation des mariages, les potlatches, le contrôle et la disposition des biens -- y compris les blasons et insignes de rang, les prérogatives cérémonielles et l'usage des territoires -- la transmission des titres de chef, et l'acquisition des pouvoirs chamaniques.

Les institutions matrilineaires des divers peuples amérindiens sont analysées d'après les noms des sibs<sup>2</sup>, leurs insignes et blasons, et leurs traditions, tous ces éléments découlant de processus historiques complexes. Les peuples eux-mêmes se divisent en six groupes:

- (1) Les peuples de langue Tsimshian, utilisant un système de quatre phratries;
- (2) les peuples influencés par les Tsimshian ou leur étant apparentés (les Porteur septentrionaux, les Tsetsaut, etc.);

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2 Le terme *sib* était autrefois utilisé par les anthropologues pour désigner un *clan matrilineaire* ou un *groupe de parenté*, tandis que le terme général *clan* désignait autrefois des groupes de parenté patrilineaire (voir l'introduction de Guédon à cet article). Dans l'usage actuel, *clan* désigne désormais TOUS les groupes de parenté unilinéaires nommés ou dont les membres sont liés au même ancêtre, que l'ancêtre soit nommé ou non. Lorsque l'ancêtre est nommé et que les liens de parenté avec l'ancêtre sont connus, on parle aujourd'hui de lignage. Depuis que l'article a été écrit en 1971, l'auteur utilise le terme *sib* pour signifier *clan matrilineaire*.

- (3) *les tribus côtières utilisant un système de deux moitiés (les Haida: Corbeau-Aigle, les Tlingit: Corbeau-Loup, les Eyak);*
- (4) *les tribus intérieures qu'elles ont été influencées (les Tahltan, les Tlingit de l'intérieur, les Tagish, les Tutchoni, les Kaska, etc.). Dans tous les groupes mentionnés ci-dessous, les sibs s'identifient par leurs blasons, ou correspondent aux sibs et moitiés des Tlingit.*
- (5) *Les Athapaskan utilisant un système de moitiés et de sibs sans blasons véritables et ne témoignant pas d'influence côtière précise (les Atna, les Tanaina, les Tanana de la Tanana moyenne et supérieure);*
- (6) *les Athapaskan utilisant un système où, aux deux sibs opposés (moitiés) s'ajoute un troisième groupe de parenté "intermédiaire" (les Tanana de la Tanana inférieure, les Koyukon, les Kuskokwim de la Kuskokwim supérieure, les Kutchin et les Han). Ce "groupe intermédiaire," dont les membres peuvent épouser un membre de l'un ou l'autre des deux autres groupes, comme dans certains sibs Tlingit et Haida dans des conditions d'anomie, pourrait représenter des immigrants non encore pleinement assimilés.*

*Enfin, un contraste est établi entre les conditions socio-écologiques des Athapaskan occidentaux, et celles de leurs parents orientaux non divisés en sibs. Un grand nombre des oiseaux, des animaux et des poissons identifiant les sibs et les blasons fréquentent les régions intérieures plutôt que les côtes, et témoignent, en outre, d'une influence de chamanisme sibérien et amérindien. Bien qu'un tel système matrilineaire à sib-moitié ait eu son origine dans l'Alaska intérieur, les systèmes matrilineaires, et les blasons en particulier, se sont surtout développés le long du cours inférieur des rivières Nass, Skeena et Stikine, probablement en raison du stimulus résultant des échanges de population entre les Tsimshian, les Tlingit, les Athapaskan et les peuples de langue Kwakiutl. Ensuite, les blasons, insignes de rang et privilèges cérémoniels auraient été importés vers l'intérieur.*

## **Introduction**

The existence of matrilineal sibs and/or moieties or phratries among the western Athapaskans of British Columbia, Yukon Territory, and Alaska presents a striking contrast to the absence of any unilinear descent groups among the eastern Athapaskans of the Mackenzie drainage. The western Athapaskans with matrilineal sibs include the Koyukon or Ten'a but not the Ingalik -- the Upper Kuskokwim Indians, the Lower, Middle, and Upper Tanana Indians, the Kutchin, Han, Pelly River, western Kaska, Northern Tutchone, Atna, and Tanaina. The sibs of these "tribes" or "nations" lack crests and names clearly suggestive of the Northwest Coast. Athapaskans with sibs that show Tlingit influences to varying degrees in sib names or in the possession of crests are some of the Southern Tutchone -- probably not the western groups -- and Tahltan. With these we could group the Inland Tlingit and the Tagish, and also the Eyak of the Alaskan Gulf Coast. Athapaskans with sibs and crests that apparently show Tsimshian influences are the Tsetsaut, northern Carrier -- the southern Carrier have crests but no sibs -- and Sekani. Information available to me about the Chilcotin, the southernmost Athapaskan group on the Plateau, is contradictory. The interior Salish-speaking

Kootenay, Lillouet, and Shuswap apparently borrowed some institutions involving crests from the Carrier, but need not be considered further.

Typical of Athapaskan groups without sib organization are the eastern Kaska, Hare, Mountain, Bear Lake, Dogrib, Slave, Beaver, Yellowknife, and Chipewyan. These peoples have loosely organized semi-leaderless kin-linked local bands, and also larger territorial groupings, named for the localities they exploit. In the extreme south, the Sarsi appear as a Plains tribe, while on the extreme west, the Ingalik of the Lower Yukon and Kuskokwim lack sibs and live in communities like those of the adjacent Eskimo, organized about the kashim.

The Eskimo to the north, west, and southwest of the Alaskan Athapaskans have either simple bilateral families or, like the Nunivak Islanders, have what would appear to be incipient patrilineages with features suggestive of "totemism." These are all the more remarkable because residence on Nunivak is matrilineal. The Pacific Eskimo adjacent to the Tanaina, Atna, and Eyak had many features of Northwest Coast culture, such as chiefs with high rank and wealth, slavery, potlatches, and crest-like art forms, but lacked both sibs and crests.

On the northern Northwest Coast, of course, matrilineal sibs are most highly developed. They are organized into moieties among the Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida, and into four phratries among the Tsimshian, although not every Tsimshian "tribe" among the Niska and Gitksan necessarily possesses the full number. The Kwakiutl-speaking Kitimat or Haisla also have a matrilineal system patterned after that of the Tsimshian, but the tribes farther south on the central Northwest Coast (Heiltsuk or Xaihas, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka) had corporate kin groups or septs, aptly termed "ancestral families" by McLlwraith (1948), that functioned as crest-holding units, but which were based upon extended bilateral descent. Still farther south, the Coast Salish possessed somewhat simpler bilateral family institutions. One has to travel far -- to the Crow of Montana or to the Athapaskans and Western Pueblos of the Southwest -- before again encountering matrilineal social organization.

Swanton (1904, 1905a), Sapir (1915b), MacLeod (1924), Olson (1933), Birket-Smith (in Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938), Garfield (1951, 1953), Murdock (1955), McClellan (1964), Inglis (1970), and others have attempted to explain this curious situation. There seems to be no doubt that some of the distribution of matrilineal sibs and/or of the ceremonial privileges they claim is due to borrowing. Thus, Garfield (1951:18) states: "Tribes adjacent to the Tsimshian and Tlingit show clear evidence of having borrowed their distinctive features of kinship structure and functioning, principally as the result of intermarriage." This appears to be true of the northernmost Kwakiutl-speakers and of some of the nearby Athapaskans. But the question still remains: What is the origin of matrilineality in the northwest? How did it develop? Is it a local independent phenomenon, or is it linked to unilineal descent in other regions?

Swanton (1905a:670-671) argued that matrilineality was not archaic, as Morgan had claimed, but rather: "Instead of being primitive, a study of the north Pacific area convinces me that the maternal clan system is itself evolved, for there is every indication that it grew up in the small area at the mouths of

the Nass and Skeena rivers and was spreading northward, southward, and inland at the time these first came to the notice of Europeans." Lowie (1920:176) accepted the thesis that:

By far the majority of the Northern Athapaskan tribes are sibless...However, those Athapaskans in immediate contiguity to the coastal tribes have modelled their organization on their neighbors', borrowing the rule of matrilineal descent.

MacLeod (1924:254-257) argued for a Northwest Coast center for the "mother-sib," from which Carrier, Babine, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, and interior Alaskan Athapaskans derived their matrilineal institutions. This system was "so vital in fact that it was in process of steady diffusion to the sibless people surrounding" (MacLeod 1924:254). MacLeod also points out that the interior Athapaskans have a tripartite sib system and lack crests: "...the Northwest Coast sibs may at one time have been without crest insignia, these latter being a late artistic development perhaps, and conceivably developed even in a sibless group like the Kwakiutl" (MacLeod 1924:257).

In reviewing "The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," Sapir (1915b[1966]) takes the position that both the septs or bilateral family groups of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka, and the matrilineal sibs of the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit were originally local groups, each of which made its exclusive claims to certain prerogatives or crests. These small local groups were later brought together to form the present village communities, consisting of several kin groups. Clans differ from septs "primarily by the restriction of inheritance (Sapir 1915b [1966]:39), but why this should have come about is not suggested, although he notes that exogamy is now at least an attribute of the moiety or phratry, not of the constituent clans.

If we assume, as I believe to be the case, that the clans were originally nothing but village communities, it follows that the present distribution of clans is secondary and due to migrations or movements of part of the clansmen away from the main body of their kinsmen (Sapir 1915b [1966]:41).

Traditions of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian clearly indicate that such movements of clans or subdivisions of these have often taken place. Those who separated would have retained their old crests and privileges held also by the parent group, argued Sapir, but each offshoot would, in time, acquire new ones, not shared with the other branches.

Even more fundamental than clans are, among the northern tribes, the phratries which include them. Their origin also is far from clear. Whether they resulted from the amalgamation of a number of clans into larger units, or whether, on the contrary, the clans within the phratry are to be considered as local off-shoots from it, is often difficult to decide. On the whole, however, the latter alternative seems the more typical one (Sapir 1915b [1966]: 46).

This, he argues, is because the phratric crest is shared by all, or most, of the member clans, and because each community, of necessity, contains representatives of at least two exogamic moieties or phratries. "It is conceivable that the phratries are sociologically reinterpreted forms of originally distinct tribal units," that is, represent a group or groups of aliens incorporated into the main tribe (Sapir 1915b [1966]:47). This explanation is certainly valid for many individual sibs, but probably not for whole moieties or phratries.

The problem still remains, however, whether crests are an integral aspect of the system of sibs and phratries and grew up with them, or whether the exercise of crest privileges represents a secondary function of the descent group, whose earliest and most important function may have been to regulate the reciprocal relations between kinsmen or the exploitation of territorial resources. A third possibility is that the crests, which are now the most precious possessions of these groups, marking the status and identity of their members, were originally primary, and that the different forms of descent groups developed in order to control their inheritance. In any case, we should still have to explain why crest-holding groups are matrilineal and exogamous in the north, but bilateral and endogamous by preference in the south.

When Olson studied forms of American aboriginal social organization in 1933, he attempted to prove a common origin for all New World sib systems, citing such common features as animal names and various aspects of duality or opposition, and came to the conclusion that the principle of unilateral descent had been introduced from the Old World in quite ancient times. Garfield (1953: 59-60) quite properly criticizes his arguments by pointing out that animal names, duality or moiety organization, specific rules of residence or of inheritance, and principles of descent do not necessarily diffuse together, but may come together through secondary association. I might add that while animal names are common among American Indians, they are infrequently used as sib designations on the Northwest Coast. Garfield (1953:61) concludes: "A thorough understanding of matrilineal sibs and moieties of northwest America is not to be gained by a comparative study of similarities between unilateral institutions of this area and others, either in the Americas or in Asia." Rather, a study of dynamic factors is needed.

On the whole, Garfield feels that sibs are probably older than moieties and phratries on the Northwest Coast, and she is inclined to favor the theory advanced by Birket-Smith (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:526-527) that:

Elements of a matrilineal complex have undoubtedly been introduced into the Northwest Coast from Asia. These probably included matrilineal descent with exogamy, totemistic beliefs and property control by the lineage. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to date the diffusion, nor to say with certainty which elements came together or singly. Whatever the facts revealed by further study, it is apparent that the greatest elaboration of the basic ideas was accomplished in the restricted area of southeastern Alaska and the coast of British Columbia south to Rivers Inlet, though matrilineal descent extended only to Gardner Channel (Garfield 1951:19).

As a drawback to this theory of Asiatic origin, she (Garfield 1953:59) has further pointed out that the nearest matrilineal area is far away in Southeast Asia, and if the Northwest Coast was perhaps occupied only in comparatively recent times -- now disputed by recent archaeological evidence -- or, more likely, that the highly specialized sib-moiety/phratry systems of this region are of relatively recent elaboration, then these last cannot be simply the result of diffusion, but must represent the syntheses of elements already present.

Even if diffusion did not introduce the idea of matrilineal sibs from Asia, it could have introduced other elements which were grafted onto these. See traits of what I have called the Circum-Pacific Culture Drift (de Laguna 1947:278-279), particularly the memorial column at the grave, carved with the inherited spirits of the family line, in bird or animal form, which may have been the germ of, or one element of, the idea of crests. In this connection I (1947:91-92) have also cited the resemblance to totem poles of the posts carved with guardian spirits in anthropomorphic or animal and bird form that protect the home of the Goldi shaman. If such Siberian influences were involved, the earliest matrilineal sibs on the coast may have been, as MacLeod suggested, crestless like those of the northwestern Athapaskans. We should, at least, consider this possibility and, above all, not assume that everything about the sib systems of these Athapaskans was derived lock, stock, and barrel from the coast. As Drucker (1963:198) has pointed out:

Although it is often assumed that the matrilineal organization of the Athapascans of the interior (Ten'a, Tanaina, Atna, Loucheux [Kutchin], Tsetsaut, Tahltan, Western Nahane [Kaska], Babine, Chilcotin, Carrier), and of the Eyak, represented coastal influence, the opposite may be true.

This problem cannot be solved until a careful analysis is made of the kinship structures involved and of the functions and prerogatives associated with them.

Two of the recent speculators on the subject, Murdock (1955) and Inglis (1970), agree in recognizing the northern Northwest Coast as the center of elaboration and diffusion of matrilineal institutions to more southerly coastal tribes, but disagree as to the place of origin of matrilineity itself. Murdock has taken the position that the original basic kin systems in North America were bilateral, with Hawaiian type kin terms, limited polygyny, and optional matrilineal or patrilineal residence, and completely lacked unilinear descent groups. All deviations from this fundamental pattern were developed under the influences of local conditions, except for the bilateral nuclear family organization of the Eskimo and the matrilineal structures of the American northwest. Both of these latter forms were, however, Asiatic in origin and were presumably introduced by the ancestors of the present Eskimo and Nadene peoples, respectively, who furthermore represent the last two waves of immigration across Bering Strait.

As Murdock explains (1955:86-87):

The northern Northwest Coast and its hinterland of Athapaskan tribes constitute an area of matrilineal descent. The unusual assumption that this structural system originated on the coast and diffused to the interior Athapaskans appears to me in the highest degree unlikely. The conditions in neither area are of a type ordinarily conducive to the emergence of the matrilineate. It seems preferable to postulate that the ancestors of the Nadene peoples entered the New World with remnants of an old matrilineal organization, and that these were lost by the tribes which migrated eastward but retained by those remaining in the west, that those of the latter who moved from the interior to the coast and became the Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida elaborated their simple original system into the complex forms found there, and that these were borrowed by their Tsimshian and Haisla neighbors.

Among the Athapaskans the matrilineal organization is usually characterized by exogamous moieties rather than sibs or lineages [a position to be discussed], by bride-service rather than a bride-price, by variable residence as often patrilocal as matrilineal, by a complete absence of localized clans and local exogamy, by limited polygyny and independent nuclear families, by Iroquois cousin terminology, and by preferential cross-cousin marriage. On the coast, under the stimulus of more abundant resources, a sedentary mode of life, and an enhancement in the economic importance of the male sex, residence became universally avunculocal, bride-service was replaced by a bride-price, polygyny became more general, local aggregations of males of the same moiety gave rise to extended families and clans, and kinship terms often shifted from the Iroquois to the Crow form, as among the Haida and Tlingit.

East of the continental divide the northern Athapaskans have lost the matrilineate except for traces such as matrilineality among the Beaver and Slave, and exhibit a bilateral organization of Hawaiian type approximating that of the Algonkian Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi, who inhabit a similar environment. With them, on the basis of fragmentary evidence, belong the Beothuk of Newfoundland and the New England Algonkians.

An almost diametrically opposed position is taken by Inglis (1970), who argues that conditions on the Northwest Coast were peculiarly suited to the development of matrilineality and subsequent matrilineity, because the food-gathering activities of women demanded intimate knowledge of local "harvesting" sites for beach foods, berries, roots, etc., and climatic uncertainties favored accumulations of food supplies at established village sites, from which male sea hunters could readily voyage, needing only general seamanship, not local knowledge. The argument is on the whole persuasive, and we are puzzled to understand why all the Northwest Coast peoples did not become matrilineal.

Following in part Drucker's reconstruction of Northwest Coast prehistory, Inglis envisages an original "Eskimoid," fully maritime, sea-mammal hunting people living along the North Pacific coast from Prince William Sound to Vancouver Island. Then came the Nadene ancestors of the Eyak, Haida, and Tlingit, pushing down the rivers to the sea, where they copied the maritime skills of the original shore



dwellers. It is these newcomers who became matrilineal-matrilocal; we do not know what origination was possessed by the earlier inhabitants. Later, the Tsimshian also came from the interior, displacing the Tlingit near the mouth of the Skeena. This they were able to do perhaps because they had acquired and perfected salmon and olachen fishing, and so could seize the best fishing sites. Inglis hazards that these fishing skills developed either on the lower Skeena, or diffused northward from the lower Fraser. River fishing is suggested as a new male activity, thereby explaining the development of avunculocality on the Northwest Coast. Even though Murdock (1955:86) may be vague about the specific conditions leading to this type of residence, I cannot accept Inglis' (1970:157) suggestion that riverine fishing increases male importance. Rather, reliance on fishing harvests, which need far more work and skill to prepare for storage than to catch, would seem to enhance the importance of the skilled female cooperating team who not only process the catch but control the cache. Avunculocality must be ascribed to other causes: warfare, slavery, other substantial forms of wealth, economic control over sons-in-law, political power and ceremonial prerogatives exercised by men. Nor is the distribution of matrilineal institutions among interior or southern peoples to be explained solely on the basis of economically or prestige motivated marriages.

McClellan (1964:7-11) has recently discussed the problem of matriliney among the Pacific drainage Athapaskans, arguing against the generally held notion that it was introduced from the coast, presumably associated with inter-tribal trade in protohistoric and early historic times. Rather, matriliney in the interior, as well as on the northern Northwest Coast, is ancient. Thus, she rejects Steward's thesis that the northern hunters of big game, of economic necessity, had "composite" bands composed of unrelated families before matriliney spread from the coast. Actually, Athapaskan regional bands are not composed of unrelated biological families; rather, they are loose social groupings held together by a network of consanguineal and affinal ties, while similar ties connect the bands in a "tribal" territory. McClellan also rejects Service's theory that the supposedly aboriginal patrilocal-patrilineal bands of the eastern Athapaskans became "composite" as a result of white contact, while the western Athapaskans, by virtue of their access to salmon, were able to adopt many features of Northwest Coast "chiefdoms."

These author, McClellan argues, have over-emphasized and over-simplified the supposed ecological and resultant socio-economic differences between fishing and big game hunting groups, especially since most, or all, Pacific drainage Athapaskans hunt caribou as well as fish. I would add that most authors underestimate the role played by women in hunting, especially in game drives or even in parties of their own (cf. Guédon 1971). Of greater importance, is the widespread custom of bride-service, which results in initial and sometimes prolonged matrilocal residence, although McClellan is careful to point out that this alone is not sufficient to create matrilineal sibs, since they are lacking among the eastern Athapaskans, such as the Slave, Chipewyan, etc., and among the Ingalik, who perhaps lost them under Eskimo influence. Lastly, in considering problems of contact and diffusion between communities, McClellan asks us to examine the nature of the social groups involved. The "simple classification of 'bands'" is too simple. These territorial units come together only seasonally; the most important social units are the smaller kin-based parties at fish or meat camps.

Whatever our final conclusions about the causes of or the antiquity of matriliney in the interior, it does seem likely that protohistoric trade between coast and interior reinforced it by enhancing both sib consciousness and sib ranking at potlatches. Potlatching itself certainly expanded as the new supply of wealth trickled into the interior, first through native middlemen and later directly from the white traders (McClellan 1964:10).

The following pages do not pretend to offer a solution to these various problems, nor is it a distribution study in the ordinary sense. Rather, it is an attempt to draw together what is known about the nature and functioning of northwestern American matrilineal kin groups and about the various prerogatives associated with them and their leaders. Such data are needed for a fresh attack.

### **Matrilineal Tribes of the Northwest Coast**

The tribal groups with matrilineal descent groups are: Haisla (Xaisla), Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, and Eyak. Among the last three peoples the constituent units, sibs, are grouped into exogamous moieties, except that among both Haida and Tlingit there seem to have been local units that did not fit perfectly into either moiety. The Tsimshian have four exogamous phratries, and the Haisla four phratries or major sibs plus two minor lines of which one is now extinct. While exogamy is the rule for these larger units, an improper marriage between their constituent sibs is less heinous than a union involving two sibmates. On the other hand, marriage between cross-cousins is preferred, with the father's line stressed as the "opposite" to one's own. I suspect that the sibs should be regarded as the primary exogamous units, even though groups of sibs have become classed together by common marriage restrictions.

The sibs, or their local branches, own hunting, fishing, and berrying places, and are identified in sentiment with particular localities, either those which they now exploit or places from which their ancestors came. Sibs are commonly named for such localities. Sibs also own crests, that is, the right to display these or to dramatize them at potlatches, in carvings and paintings on houses, totem poles, canoes, and other objects. These houses, poles, canoes, and smaller objects such as feast dishes, spoons, articles of clothing (especially headgear), ceremonial paraphernalia (drums, dance paddles, masks), are apt to have personal names belonging to the kin group, just as do the names and titles of its members. Such names often refer to the crests. Crests are commonly animals, birds, fish, or celestial phenomena, the rights to use which were obtained by the ancestors of the present owners through encounters with Supernaturals. These Beings and the heroic ancestors are sometimes themselves used as crests. The mythical adventures of these ancestors are like the supernatural encounters of shamans with their guardian spirits, so that, as Swanton wrote (1905b:112): "we can hardly doubt that the system [of heraldic crests] was rooted in religion. Indications point to its having developed from the idea of the personal manitou." Garfield (1951:42) also makes the point that the ancestors encountered the supernatural in much the same way that the novice shaman may meet the spirit that gives him power:

The principal elaboration on this basic guardian spirit quest pattern, developed by all the tribes on the northern part of the Northwest Coast area, was in dramatization of the experience, its identification with the lineage, and the use as crests of things the ancestors had heard and seen. The complex of ideas and things became the property of descendants who did not have to go through a supernatural experience again in order to benefit, but needed only to re-enact it by impersonation of the original participants.

Even the so-called secret societies, most highly developed among the Kwakiutl, but present to a lesser extent among the Tsimshian, are based on the same principle: that the right to perform certain dances, granted by a supernatural being to the ancestors of the bilateral septs, is inherited by their descendants, to whom the original spirits continue to appear. Rights to secret society or shamanistic privileges, like the right to display the secular crest in a potlatch, are inherited with or closely associated with "shamanistic" titles, the highest of which, like the highest secular titles, are monopolized by those of noblest birth.

In addition to the heraldic crests, there are others which may be prominent rocks, hills, or streams, usually given anthropomorphic or animal form according to the canons of Northwest Coast art. The display of these crests may serve to assert or reaffirm the territorial claims of the owners. There are also some crests which should more properly be called "crest-objects," such as particular feast dishes, headdresses, dance poles, etc. The tendency to think of crests in the concrete forms in which they are displayed means that any given crest animal, for example, may be rendered in several particular ways, some of which may be claimed by different kin groups, as well as by a single line. This "...tendency to artistic and dramatic representation in turn reacted upon the development of the crest system, a development that was strengthened by the ever-present desire for new privileges and for novel ways of exhibiting the old ones" (Sapir 1915b [1966]:45-46). Other prerogatives of the kin group may be the right to sing certain songs, perform certain dances, or behave in special ways at the potlatch.

While some crests may be common to all branches of the moiety or phratry, in general particular crests are usually restricted to certain subdivisions, such as groups of sibs, individual sibs, or individual lineages or houses. Furthermore, each unit is apt to have its own special way of exhibiting a crest if this is shared with another kin group. From this tendency are derived such specialized crests as Eagle-Covered-With-Abalone or Winter Raven.

Although there may be some general sib, or moiety/phratry crest which any member of the group can utilize, like Raven face painting, this is not true of most. The rights to display the crests tend to be associated with those holding titles, and those with the highest rank, such as the chiefs of sibs or heads of localized branches, will exercise this right by displaying the crests in their own person, or on their own houses, or through their close relatives. Those of lesser rank, the more distant relatives of the chief, descendants in junior lines, have lesser rights, and there may be some who have none and no chance of obtaining any, since rank and its privileges depend not only upon inheritance, but also upon wealth for validation. Thus, only the head of a kin group who has the support of many relatives can command the wealth sufficient to assume important titles and crests for himself, or to bestow

them on his junior relatives. Outside the social system were the slaves, chattels of the nobles, to be given away or destroyed like other property at potlatches when crests were displayed.

Crests, crest-objects, other ceremonial prerogatives, and territories are all alienable -- by sale, as indemnities to settle disputes, through seizure as booty in war or as collateral for an unpaid debt, and as gifts which may be part of the marriage portion given to a noble son-in-law, or given by the latter as part of the bride-price. In such fashion, crests originally associated with one kin group may be transferred to or preempted by another sib, either in the same or in the opposite moiety or in another phratry.

Although crests may be considered by the members of a lineage or sib as their most important property and distinguishing emblem, symbol of their greatness and that of their chief, "The fact that the name of the clan does not as a rule refer to a totem also seems to indicate that the clan may not, to begin with, be organically connected with a particular crest" (Sapir 1915b [1966]:44). Thus, crests are equally associated with the bilateral septs of the central Northwest Coast, while we also have some Athapaskan peoples with matrilineal sibs but without crests. Nor are stories of animal origin or association of ancestors with animals, such as we find among Athapaskans, to be interpreted as necessarily referring to crests. Among the Tlingit, however, who do not claim descent from their crest animals, the living creatures of the species are treated as members of the sibs and moieties that claim them as crests. For example, the Tlingit addresses a bear by the same kin term that he would use to a member of the Teqwedi sib or any other sib that "has the Bear." Members of such Bear sibs are believed to have advantages in bear hunting and, if a member of another sib is injured by a bear when hunting with them, he can claim damages from the Bear's "sibmates." These attitudes are paralleled among some Athapaskans.

On the coast, each kin group, sib, or localized segment of a wider division, has its chief or head, distinguished primarily by his wealth which is obtained through trade monopolies and the contributions of kinsmen and retainers, and which he in turn distributes to his own people or gives away to potlatch guests from other moieties or phratries. In the chief are vested the primary property rights of the group, even though he may not alienate such possessions without their consent. As "owner" of hunting and fishing territories, he may have the authority to open or close the hunting season, to send out hunting parties and receive a share of their catch, or to allocate sites for fishing. The chief is, however, more than an economic and ceremonial leader, for in every case he seems to have some judicial or political authority, at least with respect to members of his own group. He settles disputes among them, defends a kinsman in a quarrel with a member of another group, or, if his man is at fault, punishes him to prevent trouble. Chiefs usually took the initiative in matters of war and peace and in securing allies. However, even though one chief in a town may be outstanding in rank and position, he usually has no authority over other resident chiefs and their people. While sibs among the Haida and Tlingit (and Eyak?) have usually acted as independent political units in feuds, the most savage wars took place between sibs that lived in distant localities; common residence was to some extent a common social bond. Only the Tsimshian, like the Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Southern Kwakiutl, and Northern Nootka, formed true tribal units, in which all the people of a town or tribe

were united under the leading chief. These tribes formed confederacies only among the Coastal Tsimshian, Northern Nootka, and Southern Kwakiutl, where a chief of the confederacy was at the same time chief of his lineage or house group, of his sib or sept, and of his tribe. When chiefs are ranked, their kin groups as a whole are ranked accordingly, even though within each group there are also graded positions.

Succession to chieftainship on the northern Northwest Coast is from older to younger brother, from uncle to sister's son, or even from grandfather to son's son. Failing an heir in the correct line, chieftainship may pass to a relative in a related lineage or house. The most able among the group of potential successors can often be assured, for the title cannot be assumed without validation through a potlatch, or series of potlatches, and the relatives can give or withhold the necessary economic support. Sometimes, however, a less favored candidate, if rich enough, has been known to seize the title against their wishes. Junior members of a chief's line, if they commanded a sufficient following, have moved away to found their own house, or eventually their own sib, in another district. Lastly, shamanism is inherited in the matrilineal line among the Tlingit and Haida, since one of the nephews of a deceased shaman is likely to receive his powers. Thus, the Haida shaman usually reveals his secrets to a nephew before his death, and a nephew always plays the role of shaman at the funeral of his uncle, whether or not he eventually obtains the former's familiars. To do so, he would also have to fast and cleanse himself. When possessed by one of his spirits, the shaman speaks in its language (some are Tlingit or Tsimshian), and is known by its name (Swanton 1905b:38, 53). Swanton does not, however, indicate what spirits belong to specific lines. The same is true of the Tlingit, among whom the chosen or receptive nephew inherits the spirits of the deceased uncle. Although he may manifest his future calling at the funeral, he has to obtain the spirits through repeated quests in the woods. They usually appear to the Tlingit novice in animal form, but are known by personal names, usually non-animal, expressive of their powers. The shaman himself inherits the name of his most powerful spirit. I believe that these spirits, for the Tlingit at least, are the ghosts of the dead that appear in the form of animal, bird, fish, even invertebrate, or anthropomorphic shape, but these do not correspond to the crests of the shaman's sib. Thus the land otter, the form assumed by one who dies of drowning or of exhaustion in the woods, is the most common and powerful shamanistic animal, but is a crest of only two Raven sibs among the Chilkat (Olson 1967:9, 10), and of a minor Raven sib at Kake among the southern Tlingit (Swanton 1908). The assistants of the Tlingit shaman are his own sibmates, but he can treat the sick and bewitched only in another sib, not his own.

Among the Tsimshian, the novice may receive a spirit that has appeared to an ancestor, but while he might go on his own quest, it was more usual for the aspirant to seek instruction from an established shaman. "Usually, the young man's maternal uncle, less often his father, paid the pedagogue. Older shamans also took their own sons, nephews or nieces as assistants and supervised their training" (Garfield 1951:47). In these respects, the Tsimshian followed more closely the practices of the bilaterally organized tribes to the south than those of the matrilineal Tlingit and Haida.

Relationships between the Athapaskans and Northwest Coast peoples should be considered in the light of all these usages, not simply in terms of matriliney per se, or even in similarity of sib names and crests.

## **The Tsimshian and Their Neighbors**

### *The Tsimshian*

There are three dialect groups: Tsimshian proper on the lower Skeena and coast, Niska on the Nass River, and Gitksan on the upper Skeena. These also represent the three major socio-cultural groups of the Tsimshian (Barbeau 1929; Boas 1916; Duff 1959; Garfield 1939, 1951; Sapir 1915a). In addition, there were certain coastal subgroups, now all but extinct. Among the Tsimshian there were from 25 to 30 winter settlements or "tribes", occupied by representatives of four exogamous matrilineal phratries, designated according to their major crests as: Wolf, Eagle, Raven (or Frog-Raven), and Blackfish (or Killerwhale)-Bear-Fireweed. Not all phratries, however, had representatives in every tribe of the Niska or Gitksan.

The Niska had four and the Gitksan seven poorly organized tribes that were independent of each other, although they traded, potlatched, and inter-married with each other. The nine tribes of the lower Skeena that moved to the coast and formed a confederacy still maintained their individual identities and claims to territories up the river. In addition, there were five independent coastal tribes, three of which were mixed with Bella Bella.

Within each phratry, or *ptex*, are branches, united by common myths and common crests. Smaller subgroups are houses, or *walps*, named for their chiefs. Whereas the members may once have lived in a single dwelling, these houses may now be scattered in different villages and even in different tribes. Each house in turn is made up of a number of lineages; these are the significant units, since members often live together in one dwelling or in one village. Lineages within the house are ranked, and lineage names commonly refer to localities, or to the manner of living of the members. Lineages and houses have each their own exclusive crests, privileges, etc.

The tribes are geographical units, named for the location of their main village. The tribal chief is the head of the leading house in his locality, and would be supported by all his tribesmen when giving large potlatches.

While Boas, Garfield, Barbeau, and Drucker (1963) give different names to the subunits, all agree that the phratries are loose aggregations of sibs (i.e., of houses and lineages), some of foreign origin, some local, as is reflected in their legendary histories and in the distribution of their crests. Phratries had no function other than that of exogamy; there was no concept of descent from a common phratric ancestor. The history of the Tsimshian can be understood in terms of the histories of their sibs and crests. Certainly it was the sib-crest system which influenced the adjacent Athapaskans. In the following, the orthography of native names has been simplified.

The phratries are:

1. Lax-gibu', "On the Wolf"
2. Lax-ski'k, "On the Eagle"
3. Ganha'da, usually called Raven. The name has no meaning in Tsimshian, but resembles the Tlingit name of a Raven sib, Ganax'Adi or Ganax'tedi, "People of Ganax'", apparently a Haida place name.
4. GispawadE'wa, untranslatable, but apparently referring to inhabitants of some place. Usually called Blackfish, Killer Whale, or Bear among the Coast Tsimshian and Niska. Identified with Gisrast (Gisxast), "Fireweed," among the Gitksan.

When intermarrying with foreign tribes, these phratries are equated on the basis of their major crests, not their names (Swanton 1905b:112-113; Boas 1916:519-522):

<u>Haida</u>	<u>Tlingit</u>	<u>Tsimshian</u>	<u>Bella Bella</u>
Raven	Wolf (or Eagle)	Wolf and Bear	Eagle and Killer Whale
Eagle (or Gitl'ns)	Raven	Raven and Eagle	Raven

### 1. On the Wolf

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas lists only one sib, called by the phratric name, possessing as crests Wolf, Grizzly Bear, and Crane.

Niska:

- I. At Kincolith, the lowest town, in 1894, Boas listed three clans:
  - (a) Lax-t'ia'qt, "On...?"
  - (b) Git-gige'nix, this seems to be a place name.
  - (c) Git-wul-nake'l, "All in One"

Sapir, however, listed only one clan, called by the phratric name, and possessing White Grizzly, White Bear, and Wolf.

- II. At Kl'tgigE'nix (Gitgige'nix), "People Upstream," Sapir reported only one clan, called by the phratric name, and possessing Prince Black Bear, (inflated) Water Monster, etc.

- III. At Underleaf, still father upstream, there is one sib: Lax-t̓iyo'q̓ł, named for a Flathead village to the south. This had Son-of-Black-Bear and Wolf.
- IV. At Gitlakiamix and Aiyansh, representing the tribe farthest up the Nass, there are three clans:
  - (a) K̓iṣq̓ansn̓ǎ' t, "People of Home of Berry Bushes," with Wolf, Black Bear, etc.
  - (b) K̓iṭw̓iṭ' n̓ä'k̓i'ṭ, "All in One [though in different houses]," with Prince Black Bear, Controllers (a skull mask), Underground People (a wooden figure), Doorkeepers (posts), Platform of Stone.
  - (c) K̓iṭw̓iṭ' Uya'x̓<sup>u</sup>, "People of Hiding Place," with Many Wolves, Foolish Grease Dish, and Roasting a Man.

Gitksan:

Barbeau lists five clans.

- (a) Larhwiyip (Laxwiyip), "Prairie clan," the largest, whose ancestors are said to have been Tahltans who joined Tlingit fugitives (see Ravens, below) and came south with them, one branch going from the upper Nass to the Skeena, while other branches went to the Coast Tsimshian and the Niska. One group in this clan, called "Fugitives," has some Eagle crests.
- (b) Gitrhandakhl clan with three branches.
- (c) Git'anrasrh, "Wild Rice clan" from the Skeena headwaters.
- (d) A second Wild Rice clan. Clans similar to the above are found in the Frog-Raven (3) and Fireweed (4) phratries.
- (e) Kaien (Hrain) Island clan of the coast, originally from the interior.

These Gitksan clans have Wolf in several forms, Grizzly Bear and Black Bear both in several forms, Beaver and Split Beaver, Mountain Lion, Weasel Headdress, Eagle in several forms, Thunderbird or Mountain (Golden) Eagle, Woodpecker, Cormorant, Shadow (of trees), Dragonfly, caterpillar or Split Person, Person with Large, Sharp Nose, etc.

Boas lists as the main crests of this phratry in general: Wolf (various forms), Crane, Winter Grizzly, Bear (various), Crystal Nose.

Most of the sibs within the Wolf phratry seem to have been originally Tahltan from the headwaters of the Skeena. They trace their origin to several brothers who fled after the murder of their uncle to take refuge with the Tlingit at the mouth of the Stikine. Later, some joined the Tongass Tlingit, and eventually some descendants of the latter settled on the Nass and Skeena among the Tsimshian.



## 2. On the Eagle:

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recognized three sibs:

- (a) Gun-hu<sup>o</sup>t, “Runaways” from Alaska, who came around 1740. According to their own traditions they had emigrated from the Copper River country – i.e., Eyak land – after a defeat by a Raven group. On their journey south they destroyed a beaver dam and lodge, and killed the sorrowing beaver, thereby obtaining the Beaver Hat as their major crest. This story reminds us of that told by the Ḡatlylx-Kagwantan, a Wolf sib among the Tlingitized Eyak, to explain the origin of their Beaver crest. McClellan (1954:91) has pointed out that the stories about the Beaver crest, and the fact that it is also claimed by a Raven sib among the Angoon Tlingit, suggest that it had indeed been taken by one sib from another in war.
- (b) Git-lax-wi-yi’a, from the upper Skeena.
- (c) Gitso’x, with Halibut crest, from the Bella Bella.

These sibs have the Eagle, Beaver, and Halibut as their main crests.

Niska:

- I. Kincolith, where Boas recorded the following sibs:
  - i. Gisqap<sup>u</sup>Ena’x, “People Living Among Thorns.”
  - ii. Lax-lo<sup>o</sup>kst, “Bundle of Things.”
  - iii. Gitsa’oq, “In the Bow.”
  - iv. Lax-ts<sup>u</sup>Eme’lix, “On the Beaver.”

Sapir recorded four sibs also, two or three of which are the same as those of Boas. These are:

- (a) K<sup>u</sup>sqap<sup>u</sup>Ana’xt, “People Dwelling Among Thorns,” with Shark with Dorsal Fin, Eagle, Beaver, and Underwater Being as crests.
- (b) Laxlo<sup>u</sup>kct, “Bundle of Things,” with Eagle-Covered-With-Abalone, Supernatural Halibut, Standing Beaver, Prince Cormorant, and Face-Covered-With-Abalone as crests.
- (c) K<sup>u</sup>tlaxwusa’x, “People Living On A Sand Bar,” with the Eagle crest.
- (d) K<sup>u</sup>lcqa’a’kc, “People Living on Water,” with Eagle Garment and Beaver-Eating-Wood crests.

- II. At the second tribe upstream, no representatives of the phratry
- III. At the third tribe upstream, there are two sibs:
  - i. "Bundle of Things," but with Man-of-the-Woods, Shark, Nest House, Wooden Eagle, and Half-Halibut as crests (cf. Kincolith, sib b).
  - ii. K̄l̄ts̄Ē<sup>e</sup>q (cf. Boas sib c at Kincolith and c on the coast), "In the Bow," with Beaver and Eagle.
- IV. Farthest upstream, there are three sibs:
  - i. S̄amlaḫsgí'k, "Real or Foremost Eagle," with Stone Eagle, Underwater Being, etc.
  - ii. Laḫ-ts'Amé'lix, "On the Beaver," with Humpback Whale and Beaver.
  - iii. K̄l̄tqanĒ'qs, "People of Ladders," with White Marten and Gray Squirrel.

Sapir (1915a:20-21) points out that two of these Niska Eagle sibs do not have Eagle as a crest, and so were probably late increments to the phratry. Also the sib "On the Beaver" suggests by the form of its name that it may once have been a phratry.

Gitksan:

The Eagles are represented by only one sib at the southernmost Gitksan village, Kitwanga. This sib Gitanraet (Gitanxaet), "People of Fiddlers Creek," is supposed to be a branch of the group that came from Tlingit country. Because of a feud with the Wolves at Na'a (Port, Chester, Alaska), the Eagles had to flee, but took with them not only their own crests, Fin of Shark, Mother Eagle, Eagle's Egg, etc., but a Bear Headdress and Weasel Headdress of the Wolves. Later they acquired the Supernatural Halibut. On the Skeena River they also obtained the White Marten, Bear, and Beaver. They claim in addition the Squirrel, Dog Salmon, and Split Person, as well as Eagle in many forms.

According to Garfield (1951:21), it would appear that the Eagle phratry is composed of three main divisions: one of Tlingit origin with the Eagle and Beaver; another from the Bella Bella with the Halibut, while some lineages also have the Blackfish; and the third from the Athapaskans of the upper Skeena, presumably with the Marten and Squirrel, and possibly another form of Beaver.

Boas lists as crests of the phratry in general: Eagle, Beaver, Halibut, Devilfish, Hawk, Dogfish, Weasel, Cormorant, Crawfish, Whale, Sea Grizzly, Supernatural Salmon, Whirlpool, Woodpecker, Squirrel, and various monsters and supernaturals. It must be emphasized, however, that these crests are not common property of the various divisions.

### 3. On the Raven, or Frog-Raven, Ganha'da

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recorded three sibs:

- (a) Ḡanha´da, phratric name, with Raven, Scalp with Fins, and Abalone Bow. They probably came from the north.
- (b) Tsunadate, untranslated, but suggests the Tlingit name Tcu´nax, for a river entering Behm Canal, Alaska. They have Starfish, Raven, and Abalone Bow as crests.
- (c) Lax-se<sup>o</sup>la, "On the Ocean," from the Tlingit at Cape Fox, with Bullhead; also have Raven, Starfish, and Frog. The form of the name suggests that of a separate phratry.

Niska:

I. At Kincolith, Boas noted:

- (a) Gid-xq´ado´q.
- (b) "On the Ocean" (cf. Sib c of the Coast Tsimshian).

Sapir, however, recorded only one sib with the phratric name, claiming Starfish, Two-Ravens, Frog, Birdskin Hat, etc., as crests.

II. Farther upstream at K̄itgigE´nix, there was also just the undivided Qana´da, with Raven-Covered-With-Abalone, Sea Lion, Frog, and Mountain Goat Hat.

III. No representatives of the phratry.

IV. Farthest upstream, there is only one undivided sib, with Raven, Frog, and Robin.

Gitksan:

Barbeau (1929:153-154) calls this the Frog-Raven or Larhsail ( Lax-se<sup>o</sup>l) phratry, and lists the following subdivisions:

- (a) 'Neegyamks, descendants of Frog-Woman, apparently from the lower Nass, with some Haida ancestry.
- (b) Naeqt or "Tongue-Licked," a subdivision of the above. Garfield (1951:22) indicates that these are the descendants of a Coast Tsimshian woman who was captured by the Haida, but escaped to the Nass, bringing the crests of her murdered husband.

(c) Nawle's sib, with myths and crests similar to those of the previous sibs, but claiming their origins in Prairie Town, a mythical town in the interior.

(d) Hlengwah's sib, a group with widely distributed branches, apparently of Tlingit ancestry.

(e) Git'anrasrh, Wild Rice sib, of Tsetsaut origin.

(f) Skasewasan, Waterlily sib, from the Carrier of Bulkley River.

(g) Plus other elements already resident on the upper Skeena who allied themselves with the immigrants from the north and west.

Since a number of Gitksan sibs regard the Frog in various forms as their principal crest, Barbeau calls this phratry Frog-Raven, although their own name is apparently a place name or one that may refer to the ocean. "The Raven was a crest and identifying symbol of all lineages of the phratry both for the Tsimshian and for the equivalent phratry in tribes outside Tsimshian territory. No other phratry possessed a single crest with such wide distribution" (Garfield 1951:19-20).

The Gitksan not only have the Frog and Raven, both in a variety of forms, but various forms of the Eagle, Thunderbird, Kingfisher, Otter, White Groundhog, Wolverine, Trout, Starfish, Waterlily, Shadows, Monsters with Salmon-like Nose, Split Person and Whole Person, Bullhead or Sculpin, Frog-Woman, Person-of-Lake, -of-Smokehole, -of-Ladder, and various ancestors.

For the phratry as a whole, but without specifying branches, Boas lists Raven, Bullhead, Frog, Starfish, Sea Lion, Scalp with Fins, Abalone Bow, Dog, Weasel, Giant Grizzly, White Bear, Spring-of-Heaven, and other crests.

#### 4. On the Blackfish or Bear, G<sub>l</sub>spawadE'wa; or Fireweed, Gisrast

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recorded three sibs of the Blackfish or Killerwhale phratry:

(a) Git<sub>l</sub>Em-lax-a'm, from Prairie Town, with Grizzly Bear.

(b) Git-na-gun-a'ks, from China Hat, reportedly with half Bella Bella, with Killer Whale or Blackfish.

(c) Git-ks<sub>l</sub>-sdza, descendants of Gau'o, who married a Sky Being, with Killer Whale or Blackfish.

Boas concludes that there seems to be two divisions of this phratry: one with Grizzly Bear and Killer Whale crests; the other with Grizzly Bear, Fireweed, and Mountain Sheep.

Niska:

- I. At Kincolith, Boas learned of only one branch, Gisq̄aha´st, "Grass People [Fireweed]." Sapir recorded this as K̄isq̄ä´st, "People Living Among Certain Green Bushes." They claimed Moon, Stars, Owl, Two-Men-With-The-Same-Intestines, White Deer, Rainbow, and Thunder.
- II. Not represented.
- III. A single sib with the same name as that at Kincolith, but possessing Prince Killer Whale, Owl, Water Grizzly, Rainbow, and Prince Mountain Goat.
- IV. Farthest upstream, a sib of the same name, but again with different crests: Moon, Grouse, and Wild Goose. They are forbidden to use the Killer Whale.

Gitksan:

The same phratry is here called Gisrast (gisxast), "Fireweed," according to Barbeau, who noted the following clans:

- (a) Sky clan. The most important division here and on the Nass. It is also important among the Haida, Babine, and Carrier of Bulkley River. They trace their origin to Prairie Town, where Skawah (Gau´o) married Rays-of-the-Sun. They are divided into three or four groups that consider themselves distinct.
- (b) Gitkeemelae, also descendants of Skawah; from the upper Nass.
- (c) Third branch of the Sky clan, with Finback Whale and Blackfish as crests.
- (d) Giṭanrash, Wild Rice clan. The phratic status of this clan is very peculiar; it is, indeed, quite unique. It belongs as much to the Wolf as to the Fireweed phratry. Some of its crests (the Grizzly, Cormorant, and Sharp-nose (*Dzarauh-rhlaw*) normally belong to members of the Wolf phratry. They consider themselves related to the Wolves and are called to assist their Wolf Relatives in potlatches. And it seems that they do not intermarry with them (Barbeau 1929:155).
- (e) Family of Weegyēt, that is too small to be a clan, but can be traced to a clan of the Eagle phratry, and so, retains Eagle crests. According to their traditions, the Eagle chief's nephew married his clan-sister and so had to flee. He was adopted as a son-in-law by a Fireweed chief and gave his Eagle crests to his Fireweed children (Barbeau 1929:104).

The crests of this phratry are: Grizzly Bear in several forms, White Otter, Mountain Goat, Thunderbird or Mountain (Golden) Eagle (sometimes carrying groundhogs, as among the Yakutat Tlingit), Eagle, Owl, Grouse, Cormorant, Blackfish, Fireweed (haest), Mountain Fern, Snake, Crabapple, Moon, Stars, Rainbow, Earthquake, Moth or Decayed Corpse or Skulls, Snag-of-Bar (a monster), Winged Person, Sharp-Nose (or long-billed bird), Split Person or Half-Man, Many Skulls, Skawah (the ancestress), etc.

In conclusion, we find that although one version of mythical history would trace all the Tsimshian people from an original home in Prairie Town in the interior, from which the people separated after the Flood, the detailed myths belonging to each sib or localized subdivision are evidence that the Tsimshian as a nation are made up of groups from different places. The complexities of even one settlement are well illustrated by the traditions of the three Wolf and four Frog houses at Kitwancool, a Gitksan village on the upper Skeena with close Niska ties (Duff 1959). Thus, Boas (1916:525) has remarked that Tsimshian legends would indicate that the main body were an inland people, but that the Eagles came from the Haida and Tlingit, the Wolves from the Tahltan, the Ravens from the Tlingit, and part of the G̱ispawaḏ'wa -- presumably those with the Blackfish or Killer Whale -- from the islands north of the Bella Bella.

The elaboration of the sib/phratry and crest system has, I believe, accompanied or resulted from the processes of migrations, amalgamations, and subdivisions by which the modern Tsimshian nation has been formed.

#### *Peoples Influenced by the Tsimshian*

Among the interior groups who have been influenced directly by the Tsimshian are the northern Carrier, especially those bands nearest the Gitksan. From them, elements of the matrilineal crest-holding system spread to the western Sekani, and from the latter to the Chilcotin. The Salish Shuswap in turn were influenced by the Chilcotin. To the north, the Tsetsaut, a now extinct group on Potland Canal, seem to have been originally an Athapaskan group like the Tahltan under Tlingit influence, who later came under the domination of the Tsimshian.

On the coast, the Kwakiutl-speaking Haisla (Xaisla of Douglas and Gardner Channels, comprising the Kitimat and Kitlope tribes) had sibs of Tsimshian origin. These were Eagle, Beaver, Raven Crow (now extinct), Blackfish, and Salmon -- the last only a Kitimat lineage. Still farther south, the Heilstuk (Xaihas) and Bella Bella had divisions named for the Eagle, Raven, Blackfish, and Wolf, which they themselves equated with the Tsimshian phratries, but these lacked strict matrilineal descent and exogamy, so were more like the septs of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka (Drucker 1963:119-121). In the same way, the southern Carrier had crest-holding groups, but these were extended bilateral families, showing strong Bella Coola influence.

In all these cases, the diffusion of coastal ideas seems to have been inspired primarily by the importance of crests, both among the more northern groups who already possessed or adopted matrilineal sib and phratry, and among those with bilateral kin groups. Crests seem to have been

largely the prerogatives of the wealthy, and indeed many were personal property of the chiefs, to be passed on or disposed of as they chose.

#### Northern Carrier

The northwestern Carrier of Bulkley River were in contact with the Kitimat, Gitksan, and Coast Tsimshian who came up the Skeena to trade, and even with the Niska. The phratric organization of this group and of the Babine of Lake Carrier is clearly patterned after that of their coastal neighbors, although many details seem to be their own (Duff 1951; Goldman 1941; Jenness 1943).

"Until very recent times the Carrier Indians have been rapidly borrowing features of social culture from their coastal neighbours" (Duff 1951:28).

These, he indicates, included phratries (more properly sibs), four of which have Gitksan names, and two others with Carrier Athapaskan names. These have crests, titles for nobility and other privileges, inherited in the matrilineal line. The phratries are exogamous and they, or groups of phratries, act as units at potlatches and funerals. The phratric chiefs controlled hunting and trapping grounds, another reason for considering these groups as sibs, not phratries. The chiefs also had personal crests, some of which were the same as the phratric crest. Among the western Carrier of Bulkley River and Babine Lake, the phratries were subdivided into "houses." The Carrier groups farther away at Frazer Lake, Endako River, Cheslatta Lake, Stuart Lake, and Stony Creek had only phratries (sibs), and these were exogamous only within the particular band. "So unstable even were the phratries that today they are almost forgotten, and only resuscitated when members of these [eastern] sub-tribes visit the Bulkley River or Babine Lake" (Jenness 1943:584). It is obvious that among most Carrier groups the so-called phratries functioned primarily to provide chiefs with hereditary titles and crests, and that the full matrilineal exogamous sib-phratry system was not present.

The Carrier of Bulkley River offer an example of the most completely developed system. The following list indicates the equations made between the Carrier phratries and those of the Gitksan, for purposes of intermarriage, visiting and potlatching.

<u>Bulkley Carrier</u>	<u>Gitksan</u>
1. Gitamtanyu (or Tamtanyu)	Laxgibu (Wolf phratry)
2. Gilserhyu (or Jilserhyu)	Laxse'l (Frog-Raven phratry)

Note the resemblance between this Carrier name and that of the Kutchin Jitsa, or Nabesna Tcɫ'ɫcɫɫy.

3. Laksilyu	Laxse'l
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Laksilyu "... is evidently laxse'l, the name given by the Gitksan Indians of Hazelton to the Frog-Raven phratry..." (Jenness 1943:482, note 1)

4. Laksamshu (or Lsamasyu) Gisra'ast (Fireweed phratry)

Laksamshu "... is probably the same as laxsamillix, the Hazelton name of the Beaver clan in the Eagle phratry..." (Jenness 1943: 584)

5. Tsayu ("Beaver People" in Carrier) Laxsamillix (a clan of the Laxski'k or Eagle phratry)

It should be noted that the ending *-yu* or *-shu* means "people" in Carrier, just as *Gi-* means "people" in Tsimshian. In 1865, the Beaver people or Tsayu were so decimated by smallpox that they joined the Laksamshu (4) as a clan.

The houses and crests of the Bulkley Carrier show close correspondence to those of the Gitksan.

1. Gitamtanyu phratry (Wolf)
  - a) Grizzly House, with Grizzly and Wolf as crests
  - b) B1 and B2: House in the Middle of Many, and Anskaski House, with Raven, Fungus, and Weasel.
2. Gilserhyu phratry (Frog-Raven)
  - a) Dark House, with Logs-Carved-Like-Men.
  - b) Thin House, with Three Stars, Frog, Small Owl, Fire, Sidewalk, Totem-pole-in-the-Land-of-the-Dead, Property-Woman's Baby, and Crane
  - c) Birchbark House, with Woodpecker.
3. Laksilyu phratry (Frog-Raven)
  - a) House of Many eyes, with Long-nosed Monster, Mountain Man, Otter
  - b) House on Top of Flat Rock, with Many Small Frogs, Big Man, and Swan.
  - c) House Beside the fire, recently adopted Hudson's Bay Company flag as their crest.
4. Laksamshu phratry (Fireweed)
  - a) A1 and A2: Sun or Moon House, and Twisted House, with Sun or Moon, Whale, Grouse, Weasel Skin with mallard neck skin.
  - b) Owl House, with Owl, Moose, and Sapsucker.
5. Beaver phratry (Beaver sib in Eagle phratry)

Only Beaver House, with Beaver and Eagle.



In some of the other Carrier groups, the following names appear, which may or may not be equivalents of those of Bulkley River.

6. Tso'yezhotenne, or Tsu'yazt tenne or Tsuyaztotin, "Small Spruce Tree People" in Carrier. This group has the Woodpecker as a crest, and is found at Cheslatta Lake and Endako River, apparently taking the place of No. 3, or combining with the latter (Laksilyu), at potlatches. At West Frazer Lake, the Gilserhyu (2) are called by this name, according to Jenness, although this is disputed by Duff.

Some Carrier groups have a phratry, Yiselyu or Yeselyu, which Jenness equates with No. 3.

Among the Babine Lake Carrier, the groups are:

1. Gitamtanyu
2. Gilserhyu
3. Kwakpe'hwotenne, "People of the Fireside" in Carrier, the same as the Laksilyu.
4. Laksamshu
5. Tsayu

At Frazer Lake there are:

1. Tamtanyu, with Grizzly, Black Bear, Entire Weasel, and Leaf as crests
2. Gilserhyu, with Big Frog, Crane, and Small Owl.
3. Laksilyu, with Raven and Big Frog
4. Łsamashu, with Owl, Grouse, Whale, Sun or Moon, and Half Weasel
5. Tsayu, with Beaver and Owl

Duff reports that at Frazer Lake, the remnants of phratry 6 are merged with phratry 3, and that phratries 4 and 5 combine for potlatches.

At Fort Frazer, according to Duff, there are phratries 1, 2, 3 and 6, 4 and 5.

Among the Endako River Carrier, there are:

1. Tam'tanyu. Crests unknown; destroyed by epidemic in early 19th century.
2. Yiselyu, with Frog. One chief adopted it as his personal crest.
3. Łsamashu, with Grouse
4. Tsayu, with Beaver. The chief has Wolverine as his personal crest.
5. Tso'yezhotenne, with Woodpecker.

Among the Cheslatta Lake Carrier, according to Jenness, there are:

1. Tamtanyu, with Grizzly. The chief has Old Grizzly and Wolf as personal crests.
2. Yesilyu, with?
4. Łsamashu, with Grouse. Butterfly? as chief's personal crest.
5. Tsayu, with Beaver. Wolverine as chief's personal crest.
6. Tsu'yaztotenne, with Woodpecker. The chief has Marten and a secret society prerogative as his personal crests, copied from the Gitksan, but the society as a whole was not adopted.

Duff recorded phratries 1, 2, 5, 6 (or 3) here.

The Stuart Lake Carrier, according to Jenness (citing Morice 1892), had:

1. Tam'tenyu (or Eske)
3. Yasilyu
4. Łsarnacyu
5. Tsayu

A Sekani informant of Jenness<sup>1</sup>, who was related by marriage to the Stuart Lake Carrier, gave the name Eske to phratry 1, and added the name Kwanpahotenne. Jenness believes that there had originally been five phratries here, but that they had been amalgamated, as among the Bulkley Carrier.

Lastly, the Stony Creek Carrier, who are made up of Indians from Nulki Lake and Tatchik Lake, have only two phratries:

2. Gilserhyu, with Small Owl. Chiefs' crests are Wolverine and Sturgeon.

3. Yesilyu, with Frog and Crane. Chief's crests are the same.

This latter phratry is the same as Laksilyu, according to Jenness, who reports that the group from Nulki Lake claimed to have been all of phratry 2, while those of Tatchik Lake were originally all of phratry 3. Jenness thinks this would have been impossible, because exogamic marriages would have necessitated representatives of at least two groups. But the males could have been of only one, and the natives' statements seem to fit the concept of localized phratric (sib) hunting grounds.

Furthermore, Duff reports a similar situation for the Burns Lake people, who were formerly all Laksilyu, while Frazer Lake people say they were once all Jilserhyu. This suggests to him how phratries were adopted from the Tsimshian:

The steps by which these subtribes adopted their present phratry system seems fairly clear. A first step was for a local band to take the Tsimshian-derived name of a phratry to the west and equate itself with that phratry....No two adjacent groups took the same phratry name....[The Tsayu and Tsuyaztotin, who had Carrier names] were equated for most purposes with Lsarnasyu and Laksilyu respectively, so that, for example, when Tsayu and Lsarnasyu members found themselves in the same village, they amalgamated to form a single group. Yet they were never regarded as being completely identical (Duff 1951:32).

Since the Tsayu and Tsuyaztotin are found without the equated Tsimshian-derived phratries only in the Cheslatta area, Duff suggests that this was where they originated, although the wide distribution of the Tsayu (Beaver), south to the Algatcho Carrier, would indicate that it is as old as any of the others. The adjacent Kemano-Kitimat also had a Beaver clan, and Jenness had suggested that the Carrier adopted it from them. On the basis of the Tsimshian name for their Beaver clan, suggesting phratric status for that group, I would suggest that the Tsimshian not only took over the Beaver group from the Carrier, but that it was a very ancient sib, or sib name, among the Athapaskans. The Tsuyaztotin are restricted in distribution, and probably recent in origin. The name suggests that of a locality.

Duff also suggests that with the concept of phratries there also came from the west the ideas of rank, crests, matrilineal descent and exogamy. While the last two principles would result in the spreading of phratries and crests through inter-marriage between bands with different affiliations, it would seem, he argues, that phratric exogamy never made a deep impression, although matrilineal descent is well established. However, he notes that all six Carrier phratries were never functioning at any single place.

We can be fairly sure that some form of one-phratry local groups existed among the Carrier as a transitional form, although we can only speculate on their nature. Being derived from the Tsimshian phratries, they probably had crests and other privileges which were transmitted among the nobility in the female line... Probably, however, exogamy was

not a strict rule while the groups remained one-phratry groups, and it never did sink very deep (Duff 1951:34).

The major motive for adoption of Tsimshian customs was to obtain crests, I believe, as Jenness makes clear that every Carrier chief could exhibit or dramatize the sib crest, and some even preempted it as a personal crest. Every noble, that is, every wealthy man had a personal crest, or the exclusive right to wear certain paraphernalia and to act in a certain way at potlatches. Personal crests could be inherited in the maternal line, but they could also be bought and sold, and even invented, provided that they were validated in a potlatch.

Duff goes on to cite the southern Algatcho Carrier as a group who adopted crests, but rejected matriliney and exogamy, so that the crest group was simply "...a local group, whose members lived together as one family in the same village, shared common fishing sites and hunting territory, participated jointly in potlatches, and used as a crest the totemic animal designating the group" (Goldman 1941:399). Descent was bilateral, and so was inheritance of crests, although these required potlatch validation. Some crests were purchased from the chief, or from the upper Carrier, or the Bella Coola. The three crest groups were Beavers (tsayu), Grizzly Bears (cas), and Ravens (datsan, i.e., Crows), while one man called himself a Wolf (yAs). Goldman also mentions Black Bear and Owl as crests.

The upper Carrier phratries and the lower Carrier crest groups were alike in all functions pertaining to territorial rights, funeral reciprocities, crest displays, potlatching, and possession of a chief with some authority or influence in settling disputes and regulating territorial rights; they differed only in that the crest groups of the lower Carrier lacked exogamy and unilateral descent. These people were under Bella Coola influence, which may have begun in the latter part of the 18th century, but later became stronger when land furs had to take the place of sea otter. The lordly Bella Coola undoubtedly had to make marriage arrangements with the lowly Carrier in order to secure their furs, and in this way the latter obtained noble names and crests, but they did not begin potlatching until about 1840, according to Goldman.

The authors cited believe, therefore, that the southern plateau Athapaskans originally lacked sibs, and acquired them only as a result, or by-product, of accepting the crest-privilege system with which they were linked. When influenced primarily by such people as the Bella Coola, who lacked sibs, they could naturally take over crests, rank, and potlatching without the exogamous matrilineal kin group.

#### Western Sekani, Shuswap, and Chilcotin

Only those western Sekani who traded and intermarried with the Gitksan adopted something like weak phratries, but apparently these were neither properly exogamous nor matrilineal in descent (Goldman 1941; Jenness 1932). These groups were called nAtsi, like the crest groups of the southern Carrier, nAtsi being the Carrier word for "crest." The crests themselves are inherited matrilineally and are displayed only by the wealthy and noble. The latter also own personal crests, to be disposed of as the owner wishes.

According to Jenness, the Lower Parsnip River band of the Sekani tried to adopt the phratric system of the Stuart Lake Carrier, but gave it up when they found it to be of no advantage in the fur trade. Now they remember only the Beaver as the strongest phratry. The McLeod Lake Sekani are still classed as Beaver when they go to feasts with the Stuart Lake Carrier. The other two bands, trading at Fort Graham, tried to copy the system of the Babine Lake Carrier and of the Gitksan, but this functions only intermittently at petty feasts. All serious matters, such as control of hunting territories, are in the hands of the bands.

The Chilcotin also seem to have tried to take over a crest system from the Carrier, and in turn the Shuswap (Salish) copied it from them. The so-called "clans" were crest-holding exogamous groups, but with inheritance of rights from both father and mother. The wealthy who exercised these rights formed an endogamous nobility, so that the commoners were virtually excluded from participation in crest displays. Each crest group had an hereditary chief, put its crest on his house, on their main fishing place, and on their graves. Crests were Grizzly Bear, Raven, Wolf Eagle, and Beaver. The system was modern, having spread to the Shuswap about 1850. We can see here the idea of exogamous kin groups, without matriliney, adapted to the principle of bilateral crest-holding septs, but without endogamy.

The whole history of these plateau Athapaskans seems to me more complex than has generally been recognized. It is clear that the recent trend has been to adopt Northwest Coast (Tsimshian or Bella Coola) crests, and when possible to equate local Athapaskan groups with those of their prestigious neighbors. But with these strong motivations at work, why was it not possible for the Carrier of Bulkley River, who lived only a few miles from the nearest Gitksan town, to have copied the system completely? The very existence of five to six sibs or "phratrics" among the upper Carrier is surely proof that these were not derived from the four-phratry system of the Gitksan - remembering, too, that the upper Gitksan had only three. I have the impression that these matrilineal exogamous kin groups may well have been very ancient among the Carrier, and that indeed they may have made important contributions to the Tsimshian system. I would view the lack of sibs farther south on the Plateau as due to loss, perhaps under Bella Coola or Salish influence, with a late attempt perhaps to reintroduce them along with crests.

#### Tsetsaut

The name of these people, Tsetsaut, is the Niska designation, "peoples of the interior," applied to all Athapaskans (Boas 1895). The tribelet is now extinct, but seems to have been linguistically close to the Tahltan. It is reported that they left their winter home on the upper Stikine during a winter of famine, intending to visit their Tlingit friends, the Stikine on Behm canal. Losing their way, they came instead to the west shore of Portland Canal, where they fell under Tsimshian domination. About 1830 they were nearly exterminated by the Sanya Tlingit, and by the Athapaskan Laçuyí'p ("On the Prairie") from the headwaters of the Stikine. The survivors became "slaves" of the Niska "Chief Mountain."

The Tsetsaut had two exogamous matrilineal moieties, Eagle and Wolf, called by Niska Tsimshian names. The Wolf group was considered the equivalent of the Tlingit Teqwedi Wolves among the Sanya. In all respects recorded, their social organization seems to have been very similar to that of the Tlingit.

Emmons (1911:21-23) visited the survivors of the Tsetsaut in 1907 and gives a somewhat different account, which Boas rejects again in 1916. This is to the effect that the Tsetsaut claim to have had three sibs: Raven, extinct in 1907; Eagle, also extinct; and Wolf, the last represented by 7 individuals in 1907. The survivors of the massacre by the Tlingit had settled at the mission at Kincolith in 1885.

### **Northwest Coast Peoples with Moieties**

The Tlingit and Haida are alike in having exogamous matrilineal moieties, subdivided into sibs, and these again into lineages or houses. Note that Drucker (1963:112), and Duff and Kew (1957:42) apply the term "lineage" to the larger group which I call "sib." The Eyak have a similar organization, some features of which were undoubtedly derived from the Tlingit. The Haida seem to have been the most highly organized and perhaps suggest a condition toward which the Tlingit were trending. There were certainly mutual influences between these two, but it is impossible to prove that the Haida have directly influenced any inland group. The Tlingit, on the contrary, have exchanged increments of population with the interior Athapaskans, and even have inland representatives. The Eyak, a non-Athapaskan but Nadene group, apparently have been long resident on the Gulf Coast of Alaska. Dr. Michael E. Krauss estimates that Eyak diverged from a Proto-Athapaskan stock 3500 years ago (personal communication).

#### **Haida**

The Haida are divided into two "sides," called "clans" by Swanton (1905b). These are Raven and Eagle, or G̱ł̱'ns as the latter is known in the north. These are in turn subdivided into "families" (sibs) or local groups, known by the names of their towns or camp sites. Sibs are essentially local groups, occupying one town or area, although sib stories tell how original groups split up and established branches in different localities. Each local sib has its own chief, and its own set of personal names, house and canoe names, and rights to certain crests. The latter are largely representatives of animals, obtained originally from a Supernatural Being, or purchased from another sib. Within each local sib, there are also lineages or "houses," each under its head. Swanton believes that originally each town was inhabited by men of only one sib, plus their married-in wives and children. Adult sons would go to the towns of their maternal uncles, the daughters to the homes of their husbands. Duff and Kew (1957:42) point out that Swanton did not distinguish between permanent winter villages and seasonal camps, or between present settlements and abandoned sites, in his lists of "towns." At present, however, each town or winter village is occupied by several lineages, representing both moieties. The head of the leading lineage is the town chief, called "town master" or "town mother." There is a strong tendency for two lineages, one in each moiety, to intermarry, so that the men of one are called the "fathers" of

the other; the father's sister's daughter is the preferred bride, in order to keep inherited privileges within the same set of people. The fundamental unit is the sib, for it controls territorial rights for fishing, berry picking, and taking flotsam on stretches of beach.

The Haida believe that all Raven sibs are descended from the daughters of Foam-Woman. This is the only case in which all the members of a moiety or phratry are considered the descendants of a single progenitor, and in which the subdivisions can be considered as maximal or minimal lineages. On the other hand, the bilateral septs of the central Northwest Coast are said to be the descendants of ancestral progenitors. There are three major branches of Ravens, which are in turn subdivided into groups called "People of Such-and-Such a Town," or "Those Born at Such-and-Such a place." This scheme forms a well-organized genealogy. The Eagles likewise claim that they were descended from Djila'qons ("Greatest Mountain"), a woman who was brought either from Bentnik Arm in Bella Coola country, or from the Nass River, to become Creek-Woman of a stream on the west arm of Cumshewa Inlet. However, there are also northern Eagles or Gltl'ns (untranslatable), who were not descendants of Djila'qons, or at least who tell conflicting stories about their origin, as well as a third group called StA'stas. Swanton believes that the Eagles form three divisions: (1) the Eagles proper, who trace their origin to the same region as do the Ravens, and who were subdivided into a northern and a southern branch; (2) the Gltl'ns, with a northern origin; and (3) the StA'stas, of foreign extraction, part-Tlingit and part-Tsimshian. Swanton wonders if all of the Eagles were originally foreign, and if the Ravens were the original Haida. Certainly, there is less unity among the Eagles, and the majority of supernatural beings are classed as Ravens.

It should be noted that there was also an anomalous group, the "Pitch Town People," who lived in a wild section of the west coast of Moresby Island. While classed as Ravens, "I am not convinced that they were entirely exogamic" (Swanton 1905b:90). They are said to have been very foolish or barbarous, and so large that they needed two bearskins for a blanket. One wonders whether they may not have been a backward remnant of the original Haida, or a foreign increment, who failed to be entirely assimilated into the sib system. They are now extinct.

The Raven and Eagle are "grandfathers" of their respective moieties, but at Masset the Eagle is replaced by the Butterfly. In theory, the crests of the two moieties are distinct, and each sib has a right to several, but actually a few Raven sibs at Masset have acquired some crests which are on the Eagle side at Skidegate, such as Dogfish and Skate. A man can lend a crest to his son, but the latter is supposed to return it when he marries. According to the story, an Eagle man carved the Moon and gave it to his Raven son as a crest. Note that crest objects, houses, and totem poles, etc., are always carved or made by one's "opposites," for which the latter are paid at a potlatch. Curiously, Raven is a crest of the Eagle moiety, a fact which puzzles the Haida as much as the ethnographer. "Along with other indications, it points to a comparatively recent origin for the crest system" (Swanton 1905b: 112). On the basis of crests the Haida Ravens are equated with the Tlingit Wolves, the Haida Eagles with the Tlingit Ravens.

The crests of the various sibs of the Raven moiety are: Killerwhale (oldest), Moon (from the Tsimshian, used by the highest families), Grizzly Bear, Rainbow, Sea Lion Hat, Thunderbird or Blue Hawk, Clouds (as attire of The-One-in-the-Sea), Dogfish, Wolf, Flicker (on a hat), Raven, Hawk, Tree, Raven-Fin, Sea-Grizzly, Black Bear, Weasel, Owl, Skate, Mountain Goat (from the Tsimshian), Driftwood or Tide-Walker (TcA' maos, often represented as Sea Lion or Blackfish, from the Tsimshian), Child of Property-Woman (GitGA'lgia).

The crests of the various sibs in the Eagle moiety are: Eagle (the oldest), Beaver (from the Tsimshian), Raven Hat and Sculpin (given by the Tsimshian to atone for a guest who died from poisoned clams in Tsimshian country), Frog, Whale, Raven, Halibut, Hummingbird (as hair ornament), Cormorant, Dogfish (given to his child by a Raven man), Heron, Small Club, Dragonfly, Starfish, Copper, Weasel (hair tie), Marten Hat, Skate (also claimed by a Raven sib), Raven-Killer Whale with five fins, and Monster Killer Whale-Wolf.

The most common Raven moiety crests are: Killerwhale, Grizzly Bear, Rainbow, and Tide-Walker; the most common on the Eagle side are: Eagle, Beaver, and Sculpin. The rest of the crests may belong to a single sib only, and, for this reason, Swanton considers them as recent. The Ravens seem to fall into two groups, with either the Grizzly Bear or the Rainbow. Similarly, there are two groups of Eagles, both of which possess the Eagle, Beaver, and Frog, but one has the Sculpin, while the other the Halibut and Cormorant. But the remaining Eagles cannot be clearly grouped.

We might also note that there is a tendency to assign all Beings and animals to one or the other moiety, even if they do not all figure as crests. Thus in one myth, Raven is welcomed as his son by "a man with the aspect of a sea-gull," who lives under the sea (Swanton 1905b:73). This suggests -the opposition between Crow and Seagull among the Atna and Nabesna.

### Tlingit

The Tlingit, like the Haida, are divided into two moieties, the members of which refer to themselves as Ravens (yeł) or Wolves (gūtç), and sometimes as Eagles (tçak) among the northern Tlingit (de Laguna 1960, 1972; Garfield 1947; McClellan 1954; Olson 1967; Swanton 1908). The names for the moieties, when they are remembered, seem to be Tłayinedi ("Sitting Down People"?; or "Underneath People" in the shelter of a log [Olson 1967:13]) for the Ravens, and CAnkuqedi for the Wolves, although this last is more properly the name of a Wolf sib. Olson (1967:14) reports that recently many prefer the designation Kagwantan for the moiety, since it is the name of a powerful Wolf sib.

Excluding the Inland Tlingit in the Yukon Territory, the Alaskan coastal Tlingit may be divided into some 14 to 16 "tribes" (qwan), that form three geographical divisions. The southern group comprises the Tlingit of Sanya (Cape Fox), Tongass Stikine (Wrangell), Henya (and Klawak), Kuiu, and Kake. The northern include the Sumdum, Taku, Auk, Chilkat-Chilkoot, Angoon (Xutsnuwu), Sitka, and Hoonah. On the Gulf Coast of Alaska there were once the communities of Dry Bay, Yakutat, Katliakh-Yakatega, and



Controller Bay; their descendants are now concentrated at Yakutat. These "tribes" were not political units, but rather local groups, each with one or more towns (unusually several winter villages), in which were established sibs (na) of the two moieties. According to Swanton (1908:399), Sumdum had only one established Wolf sib, which may mean that this was not a separate tribe, but only a Taku settlement. Swanton counted about 24 Raven sibs, of which 11 are found only among the southern Tlingit, 10 among the northern, with two important additional sibs in both divisions. Of 21 Wolf sibs, there are 13 among the southern tribes, 5 among the northern, and 3 additional Wolf sibs among both. In addition, one sib, the NexAdi of Sanya, stands apart from both moieties, in that its members can intermarry with both, although they claim Eagle crests like those of the Wolf sibs. According to Olson (1967:33-34) the NexAdi are, in origin, Tsimshian, deny being either Wolf or Raven, and call themselves Eagle. On the Gulf Coast of Alaska, not counting now extinct autochthonous groups considered as sibs, there are 3 Raven sibs, only one of which is restricted to the region, the other two being shared with the northern Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. Of the four Wolf sibs, only one is peculiar to the area.

With some exceptions, sibs are named for localities, either places claimed as their original homes or associated with the migrations of their ancestors. Most sibs are restricted to one tribe, but some larger ones have several branches in several areas. Some of the smaller, localized sibs consider themselves to be branches of the more famous ones. Sibs are, in turn, subdivided into lineages or "houses" (ht). Sometimes a house has become so powerful and numerous that it has established "daughter houses" in the town, or even has become an independent sib. Some former houses are even represented in several tribes (cf., Kagwantan, "People of the Burned Down House").

Sibs, especially the branches established in particular tribes, are the effective social groups. They function as independent political units, in matters of feuds or lawsuits, or in war and peace-making. They also have territorial rights to hunting, fishing, and berrying grounds, which they defend against trespassers. They are, moreover, the units involved in potlatching, although all persons who happen to be present are involved to some extent according to their moiety affiliations. Each major potlatch is given by a single sib in the town, assisted by fellow sibmates from other towns if they can come; local sibs of the same moiety as the principal hosts may also entertain the guests at subsidiary parties. The invited guests always consist of two groups at a big potlatch: a local sib of the opposite moiety, and a sib of the opposite moiety from another tribe. Spouses of guests affiliate themselves with the hosts and hostesses.

The members of the two moieties all make use to some extent of the Raven and Wolf as crests. Individual sibs have their own crests, as do lineages or houses. Claims to the same crest by two groups may be considered as proof of close relationship, i.e., descent from common ancestors; or it may be a cause for bitter feuds. Crests can be alienated through gift, or seizure in war, and perhaps for these reasons a few are found in both moieties. A powerful sib, like the Raven Ganaxtedi of Chilkat, have apparently appropriated crests even from Wolf sibs. Crests are expressed in the form of personal names, house names, house screens or houseposts, canoes, hats (headdresses and helmets), blankets, song leader's poles, drums, feast dishes, pipes, potlatch cries, grave monuments, and petroglyphs. The

most precious mourning songs of the sib often refer to the crest. Most crests are animals, birds, fish (including their dens, nests, spawning places, fins, bones, and so forth), celestial bodies, and features of the landscape (particular rocks, mountains, streams, etc.). It should be noted that most house names refer to crests; others are descriptive only of its construction or location: Sidewise House, Big House, House in the Middle of the Town, Fort House, etc. I am uncertain whether these names should also be classed with crests.

According to Swanton (1908:407),

The Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast 'below Port Simpson'; that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Skeena river. It is said by some that nearly all of the present clans immigrated in this manner, and that most of the 'old Alaskans,' those whom they found in possession, have died out....[Swanton's chief informant at Wrangell mentioned some of these groups by name.] The only point that may have significance is the fact that nearly all so enumerated were of the Raven clan."

Olson (1967:24) denies such a uniformly Tsimshian origin. Swanton goes on to point out that of the 25 clans he listed, many are nothing more than subdivisions of the larger, older ones, and that only 14 are at all prominent. The sibs in the southernmost towns, Tongass and Sanya, are included in this list: the Wolf Teqwedi and Daqławedi, and the Raven ÇanaḅAḅdi and KḱsAḅdi. The Teqwedi and ÇanaḅAḅdi were apparently forced northward by the movement of Haida Kaigani into Prince of Wales Island, and their northernmost branches are found today at Chilkat and Yakutat. As for the peculiar NexAḅdi Eagles of Sanya, who marry with both moieties, they also claim to have come from "below Port Simpson." While Olson (1967:24) accepts them and the Wolf Nastedi sib as "almost certainly Tsimshian in origin," Swanton hazards about the NexAḅdi:

...on the other hand it is possible that their origin is connected with an Athapascan tribe, which formerly occupied the shores of Behm canal and just northward and intermarried with the Tlingit to a considerable extent in ancient times. The remnants of these Athapascans are now living in Kincolith among the Nass Indians (Swanton 1908:409).

Does he refer to the Tsetsaut, or to a group like them?

The Raven KḱsAḅdi also moved northward from Sanya and the Stikine to Sitka. The CAḅkuqedi, of whom the DAḅqestina or Taqestina are said to be a branch, also came from the south where they are still represented. One group went to Chilkat, and thence to the interior and down the Alsek River to the Gulf Coast at Dry Bay, intermarrying with the Raven łuk<sup>W</sup>aḅAḅdi (Tłuk<sup>W</sup>aḅAḅdi, "Quick People") who were Athapascans. Both of these last sibs are, or were until recently, represented in the Yakutat-Dry Bay area.

Other important sibs apparently came down the Nass, Stikine, and Taku from the interior to the coast. These were the Wolf Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi ("Mainland" or "Hemlock People") of Taku, who are considered to be the ancestors of the Daqławedi and Wuckitan. The Daqławedi, especially associated with the Killerwhale crest, have branches in both northern and southern divisions; the Wuckitan ("People of the House Over All") are found only in the north, their original home being at Grouse Fort (a site in Hoonah territory), where the important Wolf sib, Kagwantan, also lived. Although these last two sibs are restricted to the north, they are there established in several tribes, and one branch of the Kagwantan was even represented at Dry Bay. The NanyA'ayi, a very strong Wolf sib at Taku, may also at one time have formed one group with the Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi.

In addition to these movements from the south and from the interior into Tlingit territory, we also have evidence of Tlingit movements northwestward into the Athapaskan area at Dry Bay, and still farther along the Gulf Coast to Yakutat. Here, the older Eyak-speaking sibs, the Raven Stax<sub>A</sub>di and the Wolf Łuxedi or Tłaxayik-Teqwedi, were displaced or absorbed by the Tlingit invaders. In the Yakutat area there were also the Wolf Gałyx-Kagwantan ("Kagwantan of Katliakh") who were originally Eyak-speakers. The fact that this sib, like the now extinct Eyak-speaking Tłaxayik-Teqwedi ("Teqwedi of Yakutat Bay"), have local designations affixed to the names of distinguished Tlingit sibs suggests that they were fitted into the Tlingit system, or named by the Tlingit, only after the latter came to Yakutat -- perhaps in the early 18th century(?). The Yakutat people also received a group of Atna who emigrated from the lower Copper River country near Chitina, via the Tana River and an overland route across Bering Glacier to the coast. They are now the Raven K<sup>W</sup>ackqwan, named for the Humpback Salmon (k<sup>W</sup>ack in Eyak) Stream in Yakutat Bay which they purchased. Although the ending of their name, -qwan, suggests that of a tribe, they are the most important Raven sib in the region. It should, however, be noted that there is some suggestion of endogamy attached to the story of their migration, either contemplated as necessary for their survival, or actually practiced.

The general impression one receives of coastal Tlingit history, as far as one can reconstruct it from their legends, is of constant movement, presumably of small groups, who split off from older houses or sibs to found new homes, or who amalgamated with other small local groups. Here, even more than among the Tsimshian and Haida, one sees that it is impossible to treat the sib-moiety system as a static structure, for the groups are in constant flux. Some branches like the Raven 'Anxakhlttan ("People of the House in the Middle of the Village") of Angoon, for example, claim to be descended from an Angoon Decitan woman who married a Haida, and therefore have some Haida ancestry. The Decitan themselves claim to be a branch of the mighty Çanax<sub>A</sub>di. There is no question but that there have been many Athapaskan increments to the Tlingit, as well as return movements up the rivers into the interior. Some Tlingit groups may also have had Tsimshian origins, although the great admiration of the Tlingit for all things Tsimshian, especially shamanism and art, might make them claim Tsimshian connections when it was not justified.

In order to understand the history and nature of Tlingit social groups, it would be desirable to list all crests according to tribe and sib, which is obviously impossible, both for lack of space and because our knowledge is incomplete, even though much specific data of this kind have already been published by

Swanton (1908) and Olson (1967) for the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. This can only be summarized below. Since the information for Yakutat crests is still unpublished, though fairly full, it is given as an example:

### Raven moiety

1. Tł<sup>U</sup>knax<sup>A</sup>Adi ("Coho Salmon People") have: Raven (yeł), Crane (duł), Whale (yay), Sea Lion (tan), Coho Salmon (tłuk), Frog (xixtc'), Devilfish (naq<sup>W</sup>), Sleep (ta, a bird), Mount Fairweather (Tsałxan), Ocean and Breakers; Boulder ('ic) and Sidewise (tładen) are house names, possibly crests.
2. K<sup>W</sup>ack'q<sup>W</sup>an: Raven, Owl (tisk'<sup>W</sup>), Crow (ts<sup>A</sup>x<sup>W</sup>eł), Seagull (ketł<sup>A</sup>Adi), Crane (disputed with the first sib), Humpback Salmon (k<sup>W</sup>ack) including the stream of the same name, Mount Saint Elias (Wasé-ta-ca), Copper River (ĩq hini, their original home), Fort (nu, as house name).
3. Łukwax<sup>A</sup>Adi of Dry Bay: Raven, Canoe-Prow House (named for a container of animals dragged ashore by Raven), Gateway Knob (k'itc'a) on the Alsek River.

### Wolf moiety

1. a) Teqwedi (Bear House Line): Grizzly Bear (xuts), Killerwhale (kit), Mud Shark (tus'), Eagle (tčak), Petrel (ganuk), Murrelet (tčit), and probably Green Paint Stone (nexin t<sup>E</sup>).  
  
b) Teqwedi (Drum House Line): Golden Eagle (głdjuk, a bird identified by Swanton as "fish hawk," and by Olson as the mythical mother of the Thunderbird, but here clearly the eagle of the interior that eats groundhogs), Wolf (gutc), Thunderbird (xetl), Ahrnklin River ('antłen, "Big Town of Animals").  
  
c) Extinct Tłaxayik-Teqwedi had Eagle and Bear.
2. Kagwantan (Box House Lineage): Eagle, Wolf, Killerwhale, Halibut (tcatt), and Box House (kuk hłt).
3. Ğaylɣ-Kagwantan (from Controller Bay and Yakatega): Eagle, Wolf, Beaver (sėgedi).
4. C<sup>A</sup>nuqedi of Dry Bay: Wolf, Killerwhale, Thunderbird.

The individual Tlingit sibs probably had fewer crests than did their Haida counterparts. When several sibs have the same crest (Raven, Wolf, Killerwhale, etc.) there is a tendency for each to display it in a distinctive way or in a distinctive form. This may lead to subdivisions of a crest (Raven's Nest, Raven's Bones), or to special oratorical allusions to it (rock associated with Petrel). For example the Raven

Decitan at Angoon refer in potlatch oratory to the Halibut Rock of Raven (McClellan 1954:89) and Wolves at Sitka to Killer Whale's Fin Stream near Sitka. Raven guests at a potlatch may refer to such a stream in derision, to be "punished" with too much food by their potlatch hosts, who finally pay them extra for their enforced gluttony (Olson 1967:38, 56).

In the list of crests given below, queries refer to house names which may not be true crests. The tribes where each is represented are given, but not the sibs or houses. An asterisk (\*) indicates crests claimed in both moieties.

### Raven moiety

Raven (almost universal), Raven-at-head-of-Nass (Stikine), Trap for Raven (kata', Auk), Crow (Yakutat, Chilkat), Eagle\* Cane (Stikine, from Haida), Eagle\* Hat and Eagle\* Post (Cow House People of Tongass, from NexA<sub>u</sub>Di), Golden Eagle\* ("Fish Hawk" Angoon?, "Mother of Thunderbird" Tongass), Swan (Sitka, Hoonah), Goose (Chilkat, Sitka, Hoonah), Crane (Yakutat), Owl (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka), Seagull (Yakutat), Petrel\* Hat (Sitka), Puffin (Kuiu), Flicker\*(Angoon?), Black Bear and Brown Bear\* (K!ksA<sub>u</sub>Di of Wrangell), Raven on a Bear\* (Çanaḫtedi of Chilkat and Tongass), Cow or Buffalo (ḫas, Hoonah, Sitka, Tongass, as house name), Mouse Hat (Sitka), Marten (Hanya), Weasel Hat (Hoonah), Land Otter (Chilkat, Chilkoot, Kake), Beaver\* (Angoon), Whale (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Hoonah, Hanya, Tongass), Raven on a Killer Whale\* (Çanaḫtedi of Chilkat), Sea Lion (Yakutat, Sitka, Stikine, Tongass), Humpback Salmon (Yakutat), Coho Salmon (Yakutat, Hoonah, Sitka), Dog Salmon (Angoon, Auk, Tongass), Old Salmon (Kake), Salmon Hole (i'icka, Taku, Klawak), Salmon Nest (yE<sub>n</sub>xun, Angoon), Large Halibut (naḫ "riches," Stikine), Herring (Sitka), Sculpin (Sanya), Devilfish (Yakutat, Hoonah), Starfish (Tongass), Giant Clam\* (used by Çanaḫtedi of Chilkat), Slug or Snail (taḫ, Hoonah), Frog (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Stikine Tongass), Woodworm (Chilkat, Hanya), Sleep Bird (Yakutat, Sitka), Sun\* (Sitka, Stikine -- note that Children-of-the-Sun are spirits of Wolf shamans at Yakutat; although the CAnkuqedi of Chilkat-Chilkoot claim the Sun and the House Lowered by the Sun), Moon (Yakutat), Big Dipper (Auk), Falling Star?" (Kuiu), Boulder?\* (Yakutat), Copper? (Sitka), Clay? (Sitka), Steel? (Sitka, Angoon), Fort?\* (Yakutat, Tongass), Green Paint Hat (Stikine), Young Tree, Shelter of Tree? (Angoon), Bark House (Hanya), Rush House (Stikine), Box and/or Pit House\* (Angoon), House Pulled Ashore by Raven (Dry Bay, Tongass), Ready to Lift House (Hoonah), Eye or Looking Out House (Chilkat), Mother-Basket (Chilkat), Ocean and Breakers (Yakutat; as man, Hoonah), Humpback Salmon Stream (Yakutat), Small streams (K!ak and Tsak, Chilkat), Waterfall south of Dry Bay (Hoonah), Indian River (Sitka), Basket Bay (Angoon), Clear Spring?\* (Angoon), Mt. St. Elias (Yakutat), Mt. Fairweather (Yakutat, Hoonah), Gateway Knob (Dry Bay), Ge'ḫtluk Mt. (Chilkat), mountains (Chilkoot, Hoonah), Mt. back of Taḫ<sup>o</sup> (Stikine), Valley?\* (Chilkat), Monster slain by Łqayak<sup>w\*</sup> (rocks in Taḫ<sup>o</sup> Bay, Stikine), Whale's Blowhole (rocks near Cape Fox, Sanya), Blackskin Hero (Chilkat). And, no doubt, other landmarks and mythical heroes.

### Wolf moiety

Eagle (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Chilkoot, Angoon, and NexA<sub>u</sub>Di of Sanya), Golden Eagle\* (Yakutat), Murrelet (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Angoon, Kuiu), Petrel (Yakutat; rock associated with Petrel at Kuiu), Flicker\* (Tongass, Kuiu), Wolf (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Taku, Stikine, Tongass), Brown or Grizzly Bear

(Yakutat, Hoonah, Chilkat, Sitka, Auk, Angoon, Henya, Tongass, Sanya), White Grizzly Bear (Stikine), Moose (tsisk', Henya), Mountain Goat Hat (Stikine), Marmot Hat (Stikine), Beaver\* (Yakutat, and NexAdi of Sanya), Killer Whale (Yakutat, Chilkat, Auk, Angoon, Sitka, Stikine, Tongass, Sanya), Whale-like killer-whale (Sumdum), Porpoise (Hoonah, Sitka), Mud Shark (tus', Yakutat, Chilkat, Hoonah, Sitka, Auk, Angoon), Shark (q'Atgu, Stikine), Dogfish (Tongass, Stikine), Halibut (tcatl, Sitka, Taku, and NexAdi of Sanya), Shell of Monster Clam\* (yet) and Crab (yic) (NexAdi of Sanya), Butterfly (Chilkat), Thunderbird (Yakutat, Chilkat, Auk, Tongass), Sun\* and House Lowered by the Sun (Chilkat-Chilkoot), Falling Star?\* (Sitka), Boulder?\* (Sitka), Steel? (Angoon, Stikine), Drift Iron? (Sitka), Iron? (Hoonah), Cannon? (Stikine), Fort?\* (Angoon), Red Paint? (Stikine), Yellow Cedar? (Kake), Green Spruce? (Chilkat), Box House\* (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Auk, Stikine), Drum? (Yakutat, Chilkat), Burned Down House (Hoonah, Chilkat), Foam (xetl, Stikine), Ahrnklin River (Yakutat), Killer Whale's Fin Stream (Sitka), Clear Spring?\* (Sitka), Downstream? (Chilkat), Trail Upriver? (Chilkat), Ice, Glacier, Iceberg (Chilkat, Sumdum, Sitka), Cliff? (Stikine), Cliff-Edge? (Sitka), Sand Bluff? (Chilkat), Mt. near Taku (Taku), Mt. Sekutle'h (Stikine), "Gasko" Island (Tongass), Valley\* (as bear's home, Tongass), Hero łqayak<sup>W\*</sup> (Yakutat), Hero Kats' (Sitka, Tongass, NexAdi of Sanya), Ğonaqadet (wealth-bringing water monster, Auk, Henya), and other landmarks and heroes.

These lists show the tendency to assign almost all classes of living creatures as well as cosmic phenomena to one moiety or the other. There seems to be some confusion in the case of Land Otters who are divided into Ravens and Wolves, just like the human beings they rescue or capture, according to Olson (1967:121), but aside from this, the system is remarkably consistent and inclusive. Even when certain crests, associated with one moiety in the north, may be claimed by sibs in the opposite moiety in the south, this seems to cause little confusion, for the groups are too distant to meet. It is only when a local sib appropriates the crest of another, for example, as blood payment, that the original owners make every effort to buy it back.

### Eyak

The Eyak lived once in small settlements all along the Gulf Coast of Alaska from the edge of Prince William Sound in the west to the boundary of the Athapaskan country at Dry Bay (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938; de Laguna 1972). Tlingit from southeastern Alaska, chiefly from Chilkat, Hoonah, and Sitka, were pushing northwestward during the 18th and early 19th centuries, some coming by boat along the coast, others crossing by an interior route up the Chilkat Pass and down the Alsek River to Dry Bay. In this way, Tlingit sibs were introduced into Dry Bay and Yakutat Bay, absorbing the older populations into their own kin groups, or in some cases destroying and enslaving them. Tlingit influence was dominant as far west as Controller Bay all during the 19th century, where the population may be considered as Tlingitized Eyak, except for the Chugach Eskimo who frequented the islands in Controller Bay. Eyak remained as the native language only in the westernmost settlements at the mouth of the Copper River.

According to information obtained in 1930 and 1933, the Eyak had two exogamous matrilineal moieties, known as Raven or Crow People (tcilayu) and Eagle People (gutcgalaqyu). It was denied that these were subdivided into sibs. However, informants also spoke about Wolf People (gotciyu) and Bark

House People. These were said to be two groups of Tlingit who had emigrated from the east after a quarrel over the inheritance of a chief's house, or because there were too many people at Katalla in Controller Bay. The Wolf People were adopted by the Ravens -- probably as children or spouses, not as members of their own moiety, as first supposed -- and similarly, the Bark House People were "adopted" by the Eagles, evidently as their "opposites." The adopted groups preserved their identities and crests, such as house or grave posts, potlatch cries, etc. "The Bark House People (qatʔyad-dAṭax-dAṭagAyu) acquired their name because they were in such a hurry that they built their house of bark -- the familiar explanation for the name of a Raven sib of the southern Tlingit. These two groups evidently came from Kaliakh River, the home of a 'tribal' group near Cape Yakataga, east of Controller Bay."

According to the Yakutat Tlingit (1949-1954), many of whom are related to the Eyak of Kaliakh, Controller Bay, and the Copper River delta, the latter had true sibs. Thus, when the Atna Ravens -- then called Ginexqwan or Łta-hin-qwan, "People of Tana River," a tributary of the Copper River -- emigrated from the Copper River country, one group went on to Yakutat to become the K<sup>W</sup>ackqwan; another group was lost in the fog and went instead to the mouth of the Copper River and settled there. Later, a great Tlingit trader from the Yakutat area married one of their women -- a typical Tlingit ploy to secure gift-giving brothers-in-law among the Athapaskans -- and named her brothers "Çanaṭtedi," after the famous Chilkat sib. Another sib in the Raven moiety among the Eyak was called Quskēdi or Koskedi, with the same name as a former sib in Dry Bay which was also presumably Athapaskan in origin. There were also said to be "ŁukwaṭAdi" among the Eyak, like the Athapaskan Raven sib at Dry Bay.

The Yakutat people, however, mentioned only one Eagle sib among the Eyak. This was the Tcicqedi, especially associated with Katalla at the edge of Controller Bay. These people are said to have been a branch of the Çalyaṭx-Kagwantan, who followed the latter to Katliakh "after the Flood." Finding the best lands already occupied, they were forced to camp on swampy ground, until given territory by their "fathers," the Raven "Çanaṭtedi." Another story also associated the Tcicqedi closely with the Çalyaṭx-Kagwantan and with the original Beaver House and Beaver crest, obtained on Bering River, above Controller Bay. There seem to have been disputes between them over the right to use the Beaver crest. The Tcicqedi had an Eagle House at Katalla.

It should be noted that the name for this sib, Tcic-qedi, is analogous to that of the "Red Paint People" (tcic-yu), a widely distributed sib among the western Athapaskans, and one which is definitely in a moiety opposite to that of the Crows among the Atna.

### **Peoples Influenced by the Tlingit**

The interior groups among whom Tlingit influence can either be seen clearly or suspected are the Tahltan, Kaska, and Tutchone. With these should be grouped the Inland Tlingit, who live like Athapaskans, and the adjacent Tagish, who seem recently to have abandoned their ancient

Athapaskan tongue for Tlingit. I am indebted to McClellan for pages from her work in press, dealing with the Inland Tlingit, Tagish, and Tutchone.

#### Tahltan

The Tahltan are Athapaskans living on the headwaters of the Stikine, and disputing the headwaters of the Nass with the Tsimshian Niska (Emmons 1911). They also hunt on the southern branches of the Taku, and have taken the lower half of Dease Lake from the Kaska. On the other hand, they seem to be dominated by their trade partners, the Stikine Tlingit.

Emmons thinks that the Tahltan were originally "patriarchal," but with a loose organization, and that their matrilineal moieties were borrowed from the coast. These are, however, called by Athapaskan names: Cheskea da, "One Family Raven," and Cheona da, "One Family Wolf." I believe that the English forms given by Emmons are not translations of the Athapaskan names, but rather represent the equivalences made with Tlingit moieties. The term equated with 'wolf,' for example, resembles the name for a species of seagull (tcią) which is applied to that moiety among the Upper Tanana or Nabesna Indians which they equate with the Tutchone Wolf moiety. Most Tahltan sibs are designated by Tlingit sib names. In addition to the moiety crests, the sibs had crests of their own, to which they might give precedence.

Emmons gives the names of the sibs as:

#### Raven moiety

Only one sib, "Karth-ottee family," i.e., Qa'tcAdi.

#### Wolf moiety

1. "Tuck-clar-way-tee family," i.e., Daqławedi
2. "Tal-ar-ko-tin family," TalA-kotin?, Athapaskan
3. "Nan-yi-ee family," i.e., NanyA'ayi

The Raven sib and the two Wolf sibs are all represented among the Stikine Tlingit.

According to Tahltan traditions, the Daqławedi were the progenitors of the Tahltan, who came from the headwaters of the Nass "after the Flood," one group going to the lakes at the head of the Yukon. Later, two women, one from Tagish Lake, the other from the Nass, met near the mouth of the Tahltan River and decided to call each other sisters. They were the ancestresses of the Daqławedi, "Black Sand People." The Tlingit members of the sib, according to Emmons, translate the name as "People from the Interior as Numerous as Grains of Sand." The Tagish woman had a copper staff with which she



marked their village. This story has a definitely Athapaskan flavor. Later their descendants multiplied, and quarreled, one group going down the Stikine, under the ice, to settle at Tongass, Angoon, and Chilkat. At the last locality, they do not have a very high position because of their interior origin and their frequent marriages with adjacent Athapaskans. The sib uses Wolf, Brown (or Grizzly) Bear, Eagle, and Killerwhale as crests.

The Raven QatcAdi were the second sib to reach Tahltan country; some came from the interior, others from the coast. According to one version, their name refers to a stream on Admiralty Island in northern Tlingit territory; according to others, it means "bark" of which their houses were once built. Originally their home was on the headwaters of the Taku, where presumably they met the Daqławedi. A snow slide frightened some of them away. These went down the Stikine and over to Admiralty Island where they acquired their sib name. Later they joined the Tlingit at Kake. After a quarrel, some of them went back up the Stikine and returned to the interior. The Tlingit QatcAdi claim that the interior members of the sib are descended from a runaway slave woman. Another story tells of the abduction of the QatcAdi wife of a Nany.A'y.i chief by a Daqławedi Tahltan chief. The QatcAdi use the Raven and Frog as crests.

The Wolf TalAkotin are of interior origin, descended from a girl of the Liard or Peace River who was married by a QatcAdi man. The name is supposed to refer to "tahlar" (taA?), a rocky point between two rivers. The people are also called "Karkarkwan," (which certainly has the Tlingit ending, -qwan, designating a local tribe), variously translated as "Point, Canyon, or Rabbit People" (gax-kaA-qwan?). They use the Wolf as their crest.

The last addition is the Nany.A'y.i sib, composed of individuals who drifted in from the Stikine and the Taku. They had apparently originated in the interior, and went down the Taku to the coast, where they separated into two groups, one designated as "People of NanyA," a camping place. These people intermarried with the Tlingit on the lower Stikine and became the most powerful sib in that area. When they ascended the river for salmon, they met the Tahltan, whom they married to secure advantages in trading. Other members of the sib are found on the Taku. They use the Wolf as crest, and apparently took over the Brown (Grizzly) Bear, Shark, and Killer Whale from their relatives on the coast, according to Emmons.

Tahltan traditions, as a whole, suggest an original home in the interior, with some small groups going to the coast to intermarry with the Tlingit. Then individuals straggled back up the rivers, bringing the social organization, i.e., specific sib names and crests, and ceremonials of the coast. However, the Athapaskan names assigned to the moieties strongly suggest to me that these antedated Tlingit influence. It is also a typically Athapaskan pattern, as we shall see, to designate strangers from the east as "Wolves," which accounts for the position of the TalAkotin.

Olson (1967:4) reports from a Tlingit informant at Wrangell that the Tahltan had the following clans: "Nanyaayih (Wolf), Daklawedih (Wolf), K!akákwa'n (Wolf), Katca'dih (Raven), Tlkahittan (Raven)." The last was a subdivision of the Katca'dih (QatcAdi), who lived in the same house with the latter, but had

to move out because they were such inveterate gamblers. They built a house of their own and became known as "Gambling House People." The K!akákwa'n (XakA-qwan?) or "On the Point People," Olson reports as the same as the Daqławedi, but are evidently the same as Emmons' TalAkotin or "Karkarkwan." Olson also explains the presence in the interior of the QatcAdi as due to the abduction, not of the wife of a Nany.A'ay.i chief, but of his daughter.

Information gathered by Teit (1912, quoted by Honigmann [1954:87, note 19]) suggests that the Tahltan had a more elaborate organization than that described by Emmons. Thus, Teit reports that they were divided into exogamous moieties, Raven and Wolf, the former being the more important and said to represent the original Tahltan people. Each of these was made up of three sibs, each with their own sib chief and hunting territories. These six chiefs were supposed to form the "governing body of the tribe." The sibs lacked crests and had no traditions of descent from mythological ancestors, whereas it was the moieties that had crests or totems. About 150 (now 200) years ago, a seventh sib, belonging to the Wolf moiety, was introduced through intermarriage with the Tlingit. It is called by its Tlingit name, but lacks recognized territory and a chief. There is an aristocracy of rank and wealth, and a system of potlatching like that of the Tlingit. These observations, if correct, must apply to only one group of Tahltan.

#### Inland Tlingit

The Inland Tlingit of Lakes Atlin and Teslin and the headwaters of the Taku, as well as the closely related Tagish farther west, intrude like a wedge between the Tahltan and Kaska on the east and the Southern Tutchone on the west and northwest (McClellan 1953 and in press). Both Inland Tlingit and Tagish display a sib-moiety-crest system patterned after that of the coastal Tlingit. Their moieties are Wolf (gotc) and Crow (yet), called by the Tlingit names for wolf and raven. The Wolf moiety may also be called by the Athapaskan name, TcAyonE (cf. Tahltan and Upper Tanana). These moieties function as "opposites" in marriage, and in ceremonies centering around life crises, such as birth, puberty, death, in potlatching, feasting, peace-making, etc. The moieties are further subdivided into sibs.

The histories of these groups are complex, involving interior peoples who remained in the interior, interior peoples who moved down the Taku and Stikine, and return movements from the coast, usually after intermarriage with the Tlingit. McClellan notes that claims to personal names and house names by the interior groups may result from the effort of an interior sib to equate itself with one on the coast, and that this may not necessarily mean a relationship. The moieties and sibs are:

#### Wolf moiety

YEnyedi, "White Cedar People," divided into:

- (A) Old YEnyedi of Taku and Teslin (Nesutlin River)
- (B) New YEnyedi of Atlin River, and later of Teslin

## (C) Atlin Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi

Although some Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi of Atlin and Teslin call themselves "C<sub>A</sub>nkuqedi" they do not form a separate group.

### Crow moiety

1. Decitan, "People of the House at the end of the [Beaver] Trail," of Teslin
2. Koq<sup>W</sup>h<sub>I</sub>tan, "Pit House People," of Teslin
3. 'Ickitan, "Salmon Hole House People," of Atlin and Teslin
4. 'Anduguh<sub>I</sub>tan, "Skin House People," of Atlin and Teslin
5. T<sub>l</sub>ayinedi or Çana<sub>x</sub>Adi married into Teslin and Atlin, from Ketchikan via Angoon; also a few T<sub>l</sub>ukwa<sub>x</sub>Adi, "Quick People", Tit<sub>l</sub>h<sub>I</sub>tan, "Dog Salmon House People," and T<sub>l</sub>Ukna<sub>x</sub>Adi, "Coho Salmon People" from the coast.

The Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi derive their name from a house built on the upper Taku. They were originally known as Gravel Fort People (çAq<sub>n</sub>uwu). Later they built Hemlock House (y<sub>E</sub>n h<sub>I</sub>t), but those who stayed behind kept their old name. The Old Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi once owned all of Taku River, and claimed a rock (q<sub>A</sub>tan<sub>A</sub>q' house) at the mouth as a crest. They may have been pushed back up the river by the expanding Tlingit. They crossed the divide to settle on Nisutlin River in Teslin country. Calling themselves the "real Wolves," they claim the Wolf (a stuffed wolf pelt) as a crest, as well as the Killer Whale, for which they are sometimes called "Daq<sub>l</sub>awedi" although the Tagish dispute their right to the latter.

The branch termed New Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi claim that their ancestors were Tlingit who had married into the upper Taku with the Tahltan Qatc<sub>A</sub>di. The latter are equated with the Decitan of the Inland Tlingit and the Tuq'uedi of the Tagish. The New Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi built Big House (h<sub>I</sub>t t<sub>l</sub>en) on the Taku; after a quarrel, some went down the Stikine where they called themselves T<sub>l</sub>Entan, "Big [House] People," and adopted the Groundhog Shirt as a crest. While still living on the Stikine, they built Hemlock House, also claimed by the Old Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi. Some of the Big House Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi went down the Stikine and over to Chilkat. Later, some of those who remained on the upper Taku moved down to Taku Harbor and built Shark House, Steel House, Big House, and In-Between House (y<sub>E</sub>yuwa h<sub>I</sub>t). About the end of the last century, the New Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi moved to Teslin and Atlin, where they claim the Golden Eagle (or "Fish Hawk," g<sub>l</sub>djuk) and Eagle (tçak) as crests. The right to the Wolf is disputed by the Old Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi. Note that the Groundhog crest which was used by the Big House Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi on the Taku is associated by the Tlingit as the prey of the Golden Eagle.

The Atlin Y<sub>E</sub>nyedi seem to represent a group who came from the Taku beginning at the end of the last century.

Some Inland Tlingit YĒnyedi call themselves "CĀnkuqedi," and sometimes claim to be related to members of that sib among the Southern Tutchone. At least they share with the latter several names, including that of St'ĀnqwĒt', the hero who found the Tahltan in 1825-1850(?).

The Raven Decitan claim relationship to the Tlingit sib of that name at Angoon, from which they derive their Beaver crest (Beaver House). They are equated with the Tuq'wedi among the Tagish. In addition, they have a shirt with a special eight-limbed Beaver, an animal seen by their ancestors near Dawson Peaks.

The closely related Pit House People (Koq<sup>W</sup>hĭtan or Kuq<sup>W</sup>hĭtan) tell two stories about their origin. According to one, they originated in the interior but descended the Taku River to the vicinity of Sumdum Glacier, but returned after a fight to Nakina. Here they set up a grave post with Two Heads, a crest now used by this sib at Teslin, as well as the Salmon. According to the other story, they were originally a branch of the ĞanaġĀdi of Angoon, who built the original Pit House for defence. At Angoon, the ancient house of this name is ascribed to the Decitan, a branch of the ĞanaġĀdi, or even more properly to the 'Anġakhĭttan, a subdivision of the Decitan. Apparently a Pit House was built 70 years ago near the head of Taku River. In addition to Two Heads and Salmon, this sib also uses the Big Dipper as a crest.

The Skin House People ('andugu hĭtan) of Atlin are closely related to the Teslin Pit House People, because their ancestors also built a Pit House on the Taku, but finished it off with a skin roof. They may actually be an interior lineage who became amalgamated with the Raven sib from the coast. McClellan notes the tradition recorded by Emmons that the Koskedi (or Ĥaskedi?) were people from "Buffalo River," a tributary of the Pelly, who moved to Alaska and roofed their house with a cowhide obtained from the Russians. It is quite possible that the origin of the name is older and refers to a woodland bison cow; in any case, it suggests an interior origin for the group. On the other hand, Olson (1967:44) states that "xas" is the Chinook Jargon word for "cow." At Atlin, this sib has a "Crow" House, yeġ hĭt, using the Tlingit word for raven.

The Salmon Hole People ('Ickĭtan) of Atlin are sometimes lumped with the Teslin Pit House People, for both use the shirt with Two Heads. The 'Ickĭtan also claim the Frog and Crow. They would appear to have been derived from the 'ckahĭt of the Tlingit ĞanaġĀdi of Taku, yet the few 'Ickĭtan members at Teslin claim that they came from the Pit House People of Angoon, who were formerly called 'Ickĭtan. The interior members of the sib have no named houses of their own, but claim the following houses on the coast: Drift Log House (cf. Salmon Nest or Log Jam House of the Angoon 'Anġakhĭttan), Raven House, Raven's Bones House (cf. Angoon Decitan), and Eight Log House.

### Tagish

The Tagish are originally an Athapaskan-speaking group who have adopted Tlingit as their language (McClellan in press). Their sib traditions link them with the Chilkat-Chilkoot and, via the Inland Tlingit, with the Tlingit of Taku, Auk, and Sumdum, and also with the Tahltan. They are divided into two

moieties, Wolf and Crow, called by the Tlingit names. Each is represented by only one sib, except for those of persons who have married in but are not yet established.

The Wolf sib is the Daq̄awedi, who came from Telegraph Creek on the upper Taku, after the original ancestral group had split. One division went to the coast, acquiring the name "Back of Sand Beach" (dAx "behind," f̄ew "sand") from camping by a sandy beach near Wrangell. Another group went overland to the Pelly and Big Salmon rivers, while the Tagish went to the headwaters of the Yukon. The Tagish claim that their original crest was the Wolf (of Tahltan origin?). Later, according to Emmons, they obtained the Brown (Grizzly) Bear, Eagle, and Killer Whale. Everywhere they went, in the interior and on the coast, they built the Killer Whale House, although the inland Tagish have never seen this sea mammal. The Killer Whale House at Tagish is also known as Wolf House. Tlingit houses also often have two names. The Daq̄awedi and the Ȳenyedi seem to be branches of the same interior people who descended the Stikine and the Taku to the coast, although the Tagish Daq̄awedi now feel themselves quite distinct from the Ȳenyedi of the Inland Tlingit.

The Tagish Crow sib is the Tuq̄wedi, supposedly a branch of the Angoon Decitan and related to the Teslin Decitan, as well as to Raven Tahltan of Telegraph Creek. They say there were once four noble daughters of an Angoon Decitan woman who went up the Taku River, where they separated. One married a Tahltan man, another a Tagish man, the third an Inland Tlingit man of Teslin -- or else her daughter married into Teslin -- and the last married a Pelly Banks man. The Tagish Tuq̄edi claim the Beaver as a crest, and have a Warm House (x̄ai<sup>n</sup> h̄t, probably "Bath House," like the Wolf Bath House at Yakutat, associated with the Beaver), and also an End of the Trail House (decu h̄t). The sib name seems to refer to the designation of a house, Tuq̄<sup>w</sup>a or Tuq̄k<sup>w</sup> h̄t (High or Box House?), of the Angoon Decitan.

#### Tutchone

While both the Northern Tutchone of the Fort Selkirk area and the Southern Tutchone near the headwaters of the Alsek River almost to the Alaskan border have exogamous matrilineal moieties, called Wolf and Crow, only the Southern Tutchone band at Champagne and the sources of the Alsek recognize sibs as important (McClellan, in press). They say that their sib organization came from the coast and was superimposed on their own original moiety system. I would suggest that it was rather the sib names, crests, and titles that they adopted. They recognize themselves as few in numbers, while the coastal Tlingit are so numerous that they can have subdivisions. Farther to the north and west, McClellan found that the Southern Tutchone of Burwash Landing and Aishihik had only hazy ideas about sibs, and would assign the Tlingit sibs of which they had heard to the wrong moiety. This last may not indicate ignorance as much as the fluidity of a system in which the principles of exogamy and duality depend, not primarily on structural stability, but upon the opposition of small units whose alignment may shift from district to district. At Snag there are said to be confusions in marriages, easily accounted for by the movements of different peoples into that area.

The terms for the moieties are:

	Southern Tutchone	Northern Tutchone
Wolf	'agoi (wolf & moiety)  ['agi (wolf), 'agina' (moiety)]	'agunda (moiety only)
Crow	tsúk'i (crow & moiety)  [tsúki' (crow), tsúki'na' (moiety)]	kadjit (moiety only)

The forms in brackets were recorded at Klukshu, on the headwaters of the Alsek, where "Raven People" (yeł-'Adi) was also given as the "Chilkat way" (fieldnotes, McClellan and de Laguna 1954).

At Champagne, the Crow moiety was represented by the Çana $\dot{x}$ tedi, supposed to have come from the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit. They had a Drum House (gau h $\dot{I}$ t) or Copper House, with a chief named "Master of Copper" (t $\dot{I}$ na s'Ati), who had formerly lived at Nuq<sup>W</sup>a'ik on the Alsek. His relatives had titles referring to copper. This sib also claimed the Woodworm crest, like their Chilkat relatives. At Champagne there was also said to have been a Mountain Sheep House, according to Tagish and Inland Tlingit informants, but not mentioned at Champagne itself, possibly because the crest had been seized in settlement of a debt. Were these really an Athapaskan group who had allied themselves with the Tlingit Çana $\dot{x}$ tedi?

In addition, there are a few Decitan married in from the Tagish.

At Champagne, the Wolf moiety is represented by:

1. The Cankukedi, who were either derived from the Chilkat or Alsek River Cankukedi, or had married in from Teslin. Possibly they were really a branch of the Yenyedi, but like the Tlingit Cankukedi, they claim the Thunder(bird) House.
2. The Daq $\dot{f}$ wedi, or QEt $\dot{I}$ Emb $\dot{I}$ t (meaning?), feel themselves to be distinct from the first sib. They formerly lived on the Alsek at Nuq<sup>W</sup>a'ik, and have Butterfly House, like the Daq $\dot{f}$ wedi of Chilkat.

Kaska

Honigmann (1954) recognizes five divisions of the Kaska:

1. Upper Liard (Natitu'a'gotena)
2. Dease River (Ki'stagotena)

3. Nelson (Tse'loná)
4. "Goat" or more properly "Mountain Sheep" (Espá'totena)
5. Frances Lake (Tu'tcgotena).

These are Athapaskans living contiguous to the Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Upper Pelly Indians, and Mackenzie Athapaskans. Most of Honigmann's information was derived from the first two divisions. In general, one can say that all the Kaska had migratory, extended family bands, the headmanship of which depended upon hunting ability, wisdom, and general character. The position might pass to the leader's son, but the group itself was not permanent, since men and their immediate families were free to shift allegiance from an incompetent chief to a better one.

The three western groups of the Upper Liard, Dease River, and Frances Lake were divided into matrilineal moieties, or sides (tsinii), calling themselves Wolves and Crows, respectively, the latter having slightly higher prestige.

There was reciprocity between these divisions in marriage, getting wood, and competing in sports. When they gave a potlatch, the Wolves painted their faces red, and the Crows blue (cf. crest colors among the Stikine Tlingit). The two eastern groups lacked moieties, except that the eastern Kaska spouse of a western Kaska would be assigned to the appropriate opposite division. One man who had come to the Upper Liard from the Espatotena in the east reported that the moieties had been introduced fairly recently by the Tahltan, who simply assigned the Kaska they met to one moiety or the other. This may or may not be correct, for the moiety system of the western Kaska seems similar to that of the Tutchone to the west and of the Pelly River people to the north, so that it may be ancient, even though the Tahltan may have arranged Kaska groups to fit their own.

#### Pelly River Indians

The Indians on the upper Pelly River (Denniston 1966) now comprise (a) descendants of the original Upper Pelly Indians (Knife Indians) who escaped a massacre by natives from the Mackenzie, and (b) their friends, the western Kaska, or Ti-tsho-ti-na, plus other groups. They speak dialects recognized as (1) Liard way, (2) Pelly way, (3) Fort Norman way (Mountain?), and (4) Ross River way, which may be the language of the original Upper Pelly Indians. Liard way and Pelly way are mere variants of Kaska.

Denniston notes that dialects are transmitted matrilineally, just as are moiety membership and rights to hunting territories. All the people of the Pelly River and vicinity are divided into moieties: Crows and Wolves. However, since Mackenzie Indians who cross to the Yukon area to marry are without moieties, they are always classed as Wolves, and may therefore marry only Crows.

The people of the lower Pelly River appear to speak Tutchone, and are the group known as Wood Indians, or Gens de Bois, sometimes classed as Han.

## Summary

It can be seen that as we come to areas where Tlingit influence, if present, is at a minimum, we find only the fundamental division into Crow and Wolf, with sibless strangers who marry in classed as Wolves.

	<u>Moieties</u>	<u>Sibs</u>	<u>Crests</u>
Tahltan	A	T & A	X
Inland Tlingit	T	T	X
Tagish	T	T	X
S. Tutchone of Champagne	A	T	X
Other S. Tutchone	A	?	
N. Tutchone	A		
Kaska	A		colors only
Pelly River	A		

Key: T = Tlingit names A = Athapaskan names
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Is it not possible that the principle of dual division into Wolf and Crow, shared by the Tlingit and these western Canadian Athapaskans, antedated the separation of the coastal and inland Nadéné? In this case, the presence of Wolf groups among the Tsimshian may be ascribed to the absorption of Athapaskans, who were fitted into the local scheme, with the full panoply of names and crests. A similar explanation may apply to the Beaver group, or to the use of Marten, Mountain Sheep, Squirrel, Fireweed, Wild Rice, Waterlily, and other mainland animals and plants as crests, even if these had never previously served as more than designations of crestless local Athapaskan groups.

When we go still farther west among the Atna, Upper Tanana, and Tanaina, we shall find dual organizations and sibs called by Athapaskan names, suggestive of entities which might be, but are not, crests. Still farther away among the Lower Tanana, Kutchin, and Koyukon, some of the same sibs persist, but the dual division is either missing or confused. Among neither the Atna nor the Yukon groups do I detect any important Tlingit influence, and believe that the systems reflect ancient Athapaskan organization. The Atna will be described first, since information on their social organization seems most complete, or is at least most familiar to me.

## The Atna Group

### Atna

The Atna of the Copper River Valley are divided into ten dialectical communities forming three major sociocultural groups (fieldnotes, de Laguna and McClellan 1954, 1958, 1960; de Laguna and Guédon 1968; personal communications from Michael E. Krauss). The three groups of Atna are: the Lower Atna (Mednovski of the Russians), Middle and Western Atna, and Upper Atna (Tatlatáns of Allen 1887). These groups intermarry with each other and with the Tanaina of Cook Inlet and of the Susitna-



Talkeetna area, with the Middle Tanana Indians (Salcha to Goodpaster) and with the Upper Tanana or Nabesna Indians (Healy Lake, Tanacross-Ketchumstuk, Tetlin, Northway, Chisana, and Scottie Creek). Some grandfathers of Atna individuals are reported to have come from Nenana on the lower Tanana and from the Yukon Kutchin. Despite the fact that the total Atna population was probably never over 600, it is, or was, composed of some eight to ten matrilineal sibs (RAlsiln), originally about five in each moiety (nl ta' nEträ ni). These are usually identified as those who call the Crow (saRani) and Seagull (nAlbei) their respective "grandfathers." While Crow is identified with the Creator-Trickster-Transformer, Seagull is only a minor character in one myth. There are no traditions of descent from these birds, and no explanations as to why they are "opposites." One Lower Atna informant, evidently familiar with Eyak and Tlingit moieties, substituted Eagle for Seagull.

Moieties function primarily in dividing individuals into "opposites" who intermarry, help each other at life crises, particularly at death, and who entertain each other at potlatches. It should be noted, however, that the primary giver of a potlatch would belong to the same side as his guests if the potlatch is for his father, his wife, or his child, since guests are always the "opposites" of the person honored. Cross-cousin marriage, phrased by boy or girl as marriage to a spouse among the father's maternal line, means that in ideal cases close paternal and affinal kin belong to the same matrilineal line. Joking relatives, sweethearts, and partners belong to the father's sib. While the principle of duality or opposition between kin groups is stressed, the sibs are actually more significant as units of social organization than are the moieties.

Population loss in modern times has broken down moiety exogamy, so that there are several cases of marriages between sibs "on the same side." These "new style" unions are deplored, but not condemned as are intra-sib marriages, but they do produce confusions in kin terminology and associated behavior, since affinal relatives and paternal ones are not on the same side, and spouses cannot be "opposites" at potlatches. In other cases, population movements have evidently split what was once a single sib into groups that are now felt to be far enough apart to marry. If enough marriages of this kind take place, then the two groups will ultimately be classed as "opposites," meaning that one branch will have shifted its moiety affiliation. Small scale migrations and marriages to "foreign" women who are brought home by their Atna husbands have evidently been going on for a long time, and modern transportation has simply facilitated the process whereby new sibs may be introduced into the community. Since the villages or bands were small, never numbering over 40 or 50 persons, it is easy to see how old sibs could become extinct, or be so reduced in numbers that the survivors would readily merge with newcomers. Alignments would be made on the basis of local marriages that had already taken place. In any community or band we would therefore expect changes in sib composition over time.

Atna sibs tend to be localized, even though the primary social unit has been traditionally the small winter settlement of one or more multi-family dwellings under a "chief." The food supply was under the control of this chief, "resident" or "rich man" in Atna, since he directed the activities of his fellow villagers, most or many of whom were his fellow clansmen. He also commanded the services of slaves and retainers, and directed trading expeditions or monopolized the exchange of native furs for

European manufactures. He played the major role at potlatches, entertaining guests from other bands, and even from foreign tribes. In turn, the chief was responsible for the well-being of his people, seeing that they were fed, and defending them in cases of disputes with members of other groups. While some men in his village belonged to sibs other than his own, the chief acted for them also. His power seems to have been based both upon his wealth and upon the fact that he contracted marriages with as many sibs as possible, including even his own, and was consequently able to call upon all his "brothers-in-law" and his "sons." Succession was not always in the same sib or moiety, since chieftainship depended primarily upon ability and wealth, and we know that sons sometimes succeeded their fathers, yet there seems to have been some sentiment that certain villages, or their chiefs, were or should be associated with certain sibs. It was impossible, however, to find any evidence that hunting territories were controlled by sibs, for they seem to have been open to all residents of the community and any visiting relatives.

It should also be noted that each of the older traditional settlements had its named hill, some nearby landmark that is honored in potlatch songs and oratory as the "grandfather's face" of the village people. This reminds us of the Tlingit landmark crests, though Atna hills belonged to the whole community, not to a sib. Individuals also have a sense of attachment to the places which had been the homes of their maternal "grandmothers." There is also the tendency to think of all the men of a locality as if they belonged to one sib; for strangers, whose affiliations were unknown, this was perhaps natural. One has the impression that in essence Atna sibs were semi-local groups, the ultimate origins of which were theoretically traceable to particular areas. For those that are spread up and down the Copper River valley, or represented also among the Upper Tanana and Cook Inlet peoples, this distribution is explained as due to the movements of individual sib members, women who had married into the different tribes.

While Atna sibs did not possess crests, some stories explain the origins of their names as due to "finding" certain objects that became their distinguishing mark. The association seems usually casual, and there is little or no attempt to dramatize this at potlatches. Moieties might once have been distinguished by the use of crow or seagull feathers in their headdresses, and within the past few years leaders of Atna and Upper Tanana villages have attempted to standardize the colors of their cotton dance costumes according to moiety: black for the Crows, red for the Seagulls. A particular song, rendered by potlatch guests in appreciation of the feast, refers to the gorging by seagulls or crows, as the case may be, but beyond this there is nothing to suggest the exclusively held prerogatives of the Northwest Coast. Heirloom objects, or modern replicas of famous objects, for example a drum, may be exhibited by the hosts at a potlatch and the guests required to respond correctly to riddling oratory about the displayed objects. These, like the "grandfather" hills, belong to the whole village, not to a sib, and like the distinguishing marks in sib origin legends should be regarded as potential crests, not as true crests.

Shamanism tends to be inherited, for the calling may come to any close relative of the deceased shaman who dreams of him performing. Thus, sons or daughters are even more likely than a nephew to receive the dead man's powers, and there is no indication that certain supernaturals are affiliated

with certain sibs, as we find among the Tlingit. Again, as with chieftainship, the position of shaman is attained only through individual achievement, in this case by dreaming of a succession of powerful spirits.

This sketch of Atna social life has been given because it seems to be also characteristic of their neighbors, the Tanaina and the Nabesna or Upper Tanana.

Atna sibs are, or were:

A) Seagull moiety

1. WUdjIcyu, "Caribou People," in all three Atna divisions
2. Tcicyu, "Red Paint People," in all Atna divisions
3. NI'tcIcyu, "They paint their faces in stripes," or referring to strips (bI'tci's) of cooked caribou meat. This name may be a dialectical variant of the first two, probably of the second, or belong to a separate sib. It is represented now by only three individuals among the Middle and Upper Atna.
4. KI'la'yu, or TcI'la'yu, or KI'kE'lyu, "Salmon Tail People," formerly among the Upper Atna.
5. Dengl'gl' koxtänA, "Canyonberry People." Probably the same as NI'gE'kulänA', "Canyonberry Place People," or "Cliff Place People." Probably the same as TcUNRaxtänA', "Canyonberry People." These different names may have belonged to local groups that became equated or amalgamated. Formerly among the Middle and Western Atna.
6. Qwäxyu or Qwakiyu, "Snowbird People." This may be another name for group 5. Extinct among the Atna, it is commonly mentioned by informants who hazard that representatives live among northern or northwestern tribes.

B) Crow moiety

1. Dİtsi'Iİtsina, or Gİtsi'Iİtsina, "They came out of Wood Canyon" on the lower Copper River. Now among the Lower Atna only; formerly also among the Middle Atna.
2. NAİtsina, short for naRaİtsina, "They came down [from the Sky]." Represented throughout Atna territory. Their name is sometimes used as a moiety designation.
3. Dikāgiyu, or Dixāgiyu, or Dixāgi, "Fireweed Cotton People." Among the Lower Atna.
4. 'AİtsEİtnei, or 'AİtsEİtney, "Single-minded People," "People who are never beaten in war," "People who marry their own relatives." Among the Middle and Upper Atna.

5. TAltsina, short for tuRAltsina, "They came out of the water." Among Middle and Western Atna, and to a lesser extent among the Upper Atna.

Sib origin stories link all the tribes on the Seagull side, some informants claiming that they were originally a single group that came up the Copper River from the coast and later split, each division taking their present names from things they found: Sib A2 from red paint for the face, Sib A4 from a fish tail for a hat, Sib A6 from a snowbird feather for the nose, Sib A5 from canyon berries for beads. Stories of universal coastal origin may be questioned, in the light of the great admiration felt by the modern Atna for the Tlingit, dating from contacts during the present century. According to one version, the finders were sisters, although informants differ as to whether they were originally called WUdjlcyu (A1), because they used caribou skins for betting, or NI'tclcyu (A3), or Tcicyu (A2).

The most common version is that the Caribou people (A1) were descended from a good-looking individual (man, or woman, or baby of either sex), who was found by a hunter among a herd of caribou somewhere to the northwest in the hunting grounds near Tangle Lakes. This individual was not the offspring of caribou, but was simply left behind when the herd ran away. Some say it was a Tcicyu (A2) man who was living with and caring for the herd. Like the caribou, this sib claims to be good-looking, clean, gentle, and also high class.

The Canyonberry People (A5) are so called because they walked into the berries, or ate them, or are descended from a man found among the bushes. One informant associated the "Cliff Place People" with enemies from lower Cook Inlet, and denied that they formed a sib. Others, who recognize the people of this name as a sib, ascribed their origin either to the west, or said that they had come up the Copper River, and that the names (tsUNRAX, both for a place and for canyonberry; and nIgE' kulän, "cliff place"), referred to localities in Lower Atna country where they formerly lived. NIgE' is also said to be the Cook Inlet word for "canyonberry."

"The Tcicyu (A2) have the Bear. They were really mean long time ago [like the bear] ... They come from the Bear." The same is said of the NI'tclcyu (A3). Both "got the bear head. They are kind of fat people like bears -- bad people." One informant said that only the NI'tclcyu had the Bear, relating this to the story of the woman who married a bear, a subject about which people are loath to speak, perhaps because we were asking in the summertime, which is not the correct season for telling myths. It is said that the NI'tclcyu have whiter skins than the Tcicyu.

It would also appear that the Tcicyu (and/or NI'tclcyu) were a poor ragged people, putting up fish at Taral in Lower Atna country, when the Ditsi'Iltsina (B1) came up the Copper River. The latter destroyed their fish racks, apparently from spite. In revenge, the Tcicyu enslaved the newcomers, but the latter summoned their relatives, the NAltsina (B2), who came down from the sky, and defeated the Tcicyu. The latter are now considered rather low class by both WUdjlcyu (A1) and NAltsina (B2). One informant said that the Tcicyu also "have the Pigeon Hawk" (gI'sa' or kltsa'), without explaining further.

Two or three Tcicyu sisters left Copper River, going toward Knik Arm of Cook Inlet. On this journey, one found red paint, another and her baby turned to stone forming a prominent landmark near the source of the Matanuska River, while the third married at Knik, thus accounting for the Tcicyu on Cook Inlet. Another story tells how one Tcicyu woman, angered or shamed because her father, or husband, had given a fine spoon to her sister, or co-wife, left Lower Atna country and went either over the glaciers to the coast (cf. the Eyak Tcicqedi), or over Skolai Pass to the Upper Tanana. The same story is told at Tetlin (McKenna 1959:125), and it also reminds us of the motivation for the K<sup>W</sup>ackq̄wan migration from the Lower Atna area to Yakutat.

To explain the origin of the Crow sibs, it is said that there were three sisters on the coast, the oldest of whom was the ancestress of the D̄itsi'̄ltsina (B1) who came up the Copper River. The second married a Star-Husband and was ancestress of the N̄altsina, (B2); the third was ancestress of the Tlingit, or of a Tlingit sib. The mother of these girls was said by one informant to have been the Seal (qaseiR̄itai or ka 's̄ĀRifai'), or connected with the Seal in some way.

After their release from the Tcicyu, the D̄itsi'̄ltsina continued north to Middle Atna country, where they met the 'ĀltsĒtnei (B4) who were coming down from the north. These groups adopted each other as brothers and sisters, a common occurrence in Athapaskan sib origin tales. The 'ĀltsĒtnei gave the D̄itsi'̄ltsina a bear skull cap and a bear claw necklace, receiving in return a marten cap and wooden cap with visor (cā'a), ornamented with porcupine quills and paint. Could the last have been the Tlingit headdress with wooden mask front, sea lion whiskers and flicker feathers, called cAki'̄Āt?

According to some, the N̄altsina (B2) landed from the sky, not down river at Taral, but at Tazlina Lake in Middle Atna country. Nearly all were shamans; indeed, it has been suggested that they introduced shamanism. They claim to be the head sib in their moiety, and to be very wealthy, aristocratic, and also to be feared because they like to fight.

The Dix̄agiyu (B3) originated on the coast, but opinions vary as to whether they came up the river with the D̄itsi'̄ltsina, or descended from the sky with the N̄altsina. They owe their name to the fact that when the two other sibs put feathers on their heads, the Dix̄agiyu used fireweed cotton, and so are called "Fireweed Cotton People." The association with fireweed and with a sky origin reminds us of the Gitksan phratry, Gistrast, even though the story of marriage with the Rays-of-the-Sun is not the Star-Husband tale, but one told by the C̄ankuqedi and other Tlingit Wolf sibs about a widow who married her daughter to the Sun. At any event, some informants claim that the Dix̄agiyu have "no grandpa, no roots (wuq̄Ēdz̄A)," and that they try to kill everyone. This sib split, one group remaining on the Copper River, the other going (over Skolai Pass?) to the Upper Tanana (cf. McKenna 1959:123 for the same story told at Tetlin).

The 'ĀltsĒtnei (B4) came originally from Midway Lake, in Upper Tanana country. They "always win the war," and boast that they are so feared that their enemies never seek revenge. Nor do they have to pay blood money. They themselves feel that they are the warrior protectors of the Atna, especially

against Chugach Eskimo raids. When they danced, they are said to have worn a grizzly bear skull, minus the mandible, and when they met the D<sub>I</sub>t<sub>s</sub>i' Iltsina (B1) they gave this to their new friends. Some say that they traded the bear cap for the netted cap of the NAltsina (B2).

According to one elaborate account heard among the Upper Atna, there were really three groups of 'Altsetnei:

- (a) The real 'Altsetnei from Midway Lake, who made friends with the Atna Crow sibs, and who are now represented at Tetlin and Tanacross on the Upper Tanana, and among the Upper and Middle Atna. They are associated with a plant called "water eyes."
- (b) The Middle (tani'dzE) 'Altsetnei who came from Fairbanks, and assisted the first group when the latter were lost. These two groups, a and b, now intermarry. The Fairbanks people "use" the marten tail. "We come from the Marten. He is our chief." It would appear that the middle group, b, can also marry the third group, c (cf. McKennan 1959:125).
- (c) The Northway 'Altsetnei, or Nä'za' (or Nä'dza), whose grandma came from Canada. They "use" the fox tail. At one time they fought the Midway Lake group (a), and, in this fight, nearly exterminated their friends, the Fairbanks group (b). These people would appear to be the Canadians, miscalled "Wolves," whom McKennan reports were recently established at Northway (1959:124, "Nisu"; Guédon 1971: "Ne'su").

Descendants of a marriage between groups (a) and (b) are now living among the Upper Atna. This is the first reference to the "Middle People," so important a designation among the Kutchin and Koyukon.

The TAltsina (B5) who came from Cook Inlet are said to be derived from the Sea Otter (qa'ya'ci), and therefore claim to have the most beautiful black hair. When the Red Paint People (Tcicyu, Sib A2) first came to Cook Inlet, their youths saw some lovely TAltsina girls swimming. When they stole their beautiful dresses, decorated with dentalia, the girls surrendered themselves. Some informants, however, say that the TAltsina "have" the Killer Whale (tE'tsA' or tE'dzai), or the Land Otter (t'oxtei, or wU'ziyE'), while still others say that they "have no grandpa." The place of origin of the sib is specified as Kenai or Kalgin Island in Cook Inlet.

There are now two branches of this sib: (a) the main body who moved eastward to the middle Copper River, and (b) those who went north up the Susitna into the mountains, where they became known as "Mountain People" (dRllai koxtänA'), or as "Mountain Squirrel People" (tcllls RAntEnA'), or "They came out of the Squirrel (tcllls 'ltsina), either because they descended from squirrels (?), or, as is usually said, because they had caps of mountain squirrel fur. This last group is found in the extreme northwesternmost Atna community, with a few representatives among the Middle Atna on the Copper River. Those of group (b) among the Middle Atna are also called TEnRoxtänA' or TEnRaftänA' (referring to ice), to distinguish them from the ordinary TAltsina (group a).

## Tanaina

The Tanaina of Cook Inlet are closely related to the Atna, as their sibs indicate. Both von Wrangell (1839) and Osgood (1937) have given us lists of these which clearly show the shifts in sibs between 1839 and 1931-1932.

According to von Wrangell (1839), Raven created two women, from whom the sibs in each moiety are descended. He gives no names for the moieties, nor does Osgood. The latter (1937:128) further specifies that they possessed no distinguishing crests, and von Wrangell reports that even without visible insignia to indicate sib or moiety membership, a Kenai "Raven" is accepted as belonging to the equivalent group among the Atna, Eyak, Tlingit, and more distant Athapaskans (Galzane). Osgood was unable to compile a definitive list of sibs, for while he recorded ten sib names for one moiety and five for the other, no single informant could remember more than six or seven of the total. Furthermore, neither author specifies in what divisions of the Tanaina the particular sibs are represented, although we would assume that von Wrangell's list refers particularly to the groups at Kenai, site of the main Russian post. Osgood's informants came from all parts of Tanaina country, and their parents had often belonged to still other settlements, so that his information represents a composite picture. Apparently his informant at Kachemak Bay, on the lower east shore of Cook Inlet, gave most data.

Osgood designates the two moieties as A and B, and compares his list of sibs with those recorded by von Wrangell. I have simplified and transliterated the phonetics of both, referring to the Russian original. These moieties correspond in the main to the Atna Seagull (A) and Crow (B) divisions, although there is no exact matching of sibs.

### Moiety A

#### Von Wrangell (1839)

1. Tcixyei, from a color
2. Nuxci, fallen from the sky
6. Kali, from a fish tail
7. Kaxgiya, from the cry of a raven

#### Osgood (1937)

1. Tcicyi (čišyi), refers to red ochre
2. Noxci (noxši), meaning unknown
3. Nitcicyi (ničišyi), meaning unknown
4. Q'atłaxtana (q'axaxdana), refers to the right rear corner of house, or to people who must tell the truth
5. Q'agali, refers to a salmon tail
6. Qali, refers to a salmon tail
7. Q'aqyi, refers to a raven

8. Tcinclaxotana (cinslaxodana), refers to a raven

9. DegeNgatłoxтана (degezgałoxdana),  
meaning unknown

10. YosdeRe RAłtsina (yosd ʔe ʔalcina), meaning  
unknown

11. Tłaxтана, from a braided grass mat

12. Montoxтана, from the rear corner of the  
house

It can be seen that four sibs are the same on both lists, that Osgood recorded six names that do not correspond to von Wrangell's list, while the former had two that do not appear on Osgood's. However, one of Osgood's informants was convinced that A3 and A4 were the same. While A5 and A6 are certainly duplicates, I am less convinced that A7 and AS should be lumped or that they refer to Raven.

According to an Upper Inlet informant, sibs A1, A3, and A6 were the original groups, descended from three sisters who came from the direction of Copper River. The first found red ochre, from which the name Tcicyi (Atna A2, Tcicyu) was derived. Another (A6) found a salmon tail, hence the name Q'agali (Atna A4, Kł'la'yu or Kł'kE'lyu). The Tanaina seem to have the same difficulty in explaining the origin of the name Nitcicyi (A3), as the Atna in deciphering the meaning of Nł'tcłcyu (A3).

It is further clear that Tanaina A7 (Kaxgiya) is the same as Atna A6 (Qwäxyu or Qwakiyu), referring to the Snowbird (snow bunting), not the Raven. One of Osgood's informants thought that this sib was descended from a grand-daughter of a woman in sib A3.

#### Moiety B

##### Von Wrangell (1839)

2. Tultsina, from willingness to bathe in cold  
water in autumn

3. Tsaltana, refers to a mountain on Kenai  
Peninsula

6. Katłuxtana, fond of stringing beads

##### Osgood (1937)

1. Noltcina (nołčina), refers to a sky origin

2. Toltcina (tołčina), refers to a sea origin

3. Całtana (całdana), refers to a mountain origin

4. Degagiyi, refers to a cotton-like plant

5. Yogotch nARAłtcina (yogočknoʔołčina)



7. Cculaxtana, referring to a trickster like Raven, who created the land and people, but always cheated them

8. Nutcixgi, referring to the same mountain as B3

It is clear that Osgood's Noltcina (B1) are the same as the Atna NAltsina (B2), and the origins of both are associated with the Star-Husband myth. According to the Tanaina version, after the Noltcina chief (North Star) and the Tcicyi (A2) chief had married each other's sisters, the Noltcina settled around Copper River. If they came from the sky, I suppose they might be thought to have descended at some mountain, perhaps the one near Skilak Lake on Kenai Peninsula (cf. sibs B3 and B8). It should be noted that some Atna say that the NAltsina landed near Tazlina Lake, west of the Copper River, and Osgood's informant at Tyonek, "who seems to know most about moiety organization," linked Caftana (B3) and the Noltcina (B1). One man said B3 was the same as A1.

Osgood's yogočnoyolčina (B5, Yogotck nARAItcina) looks like the designation of a special branch of the Noltcina, as I have suggested in my transliteration.

Osgood suggests that von Wrangell's Nutcixgi (B8) may be the same as Osgood's Nitcicyi (A3), but the first may just as well be an expanded form of Nuxci or Noxci (A2), and this in turn be the same as Noltcina (B1), since both sibs A2 and B1 had a sky origin. However, Nutcixgi (B8) may be the equivalent of the Atna WUdjicyu (A1), though associated with the "wrong" moiety on Cook Inlet.

If B1, B3, B8, and A2 are all branches or local variants of one Sky sib (Tanaina B1, Atna B2), we would have to explain why Noxci (Tanaina A2) is in the other moiety. One of Osgood's informants said that the Noxci (A2) were the descendants of a union between Tcicyi (A1) and Noltcina (B1), but we are not told which was the mother's sib.

To explain the seemingly anomalous position of Tanaina sibs A2 and B8 from the Atna point of view, if they are the equivalents of Atna sibs B2 and A1, respectively, I would suggest that subdivisions of a sib, on going into a new country where they have no close relatives, may easily marry into the "wrong" moiety, as well as acquire variant designations.

However, the Noxci A2, according to a Kenai informant, were the first sib, and all others in Moiety A were derived from them. They were originally a brother and sister who had escaped from the Chugach Eskimo in the east, and had settled at Skilak Lake. One of their children was born in the right rear corner of the house (sib A4). If this account, which says nothing about a sky origin, is accepted, then the Noxci might well be the equivalent of the Atna A1, WUdjicyu, for the latter are sometimes mentioned as the original Seagull sib, even though there is no Tanaina story mentioning association with the caribou. Is van Wrangell's sib A11, Tlaxtana, associated with a braided mat, related to Osgood's sib A4, Qatlaxtana? Note that the endings are the same. And are Montoxtana (sib A12) also

children of sib A2 who were born in another rear corner of the house? The fact that back corners are specified for both sibs A4 and A12 supports the story of an incestuous or irregular union. The "brother and sister" of the Noxci story need not be considered as true siblings, or even as sibmates, but might be members of two sibs which were classed in different moieties in their original (Atna?) home, but which the Tanaina felt belonged to the same moiety.

The Noltcina (sib B1) are said to have brought in the Degagiya (sib B4). Although the latter are associated with the cottony *Dryas octopetala*, or White Mountain Avens, they are clearly the same as the Atna sib B3 or "Fireweed Cotton People."

Von Wrangell's sib B6, Katluxtana, who are fond of stringing beads, seem to correspond to sibs A4, Qatfaxtana, and A9, DegeNgatloxtana, in the opposite moiety. If Osgood is correct in equating sibs B6 and A9, and if I in turn may equate these with sib A4, then it would seem that we are dealing with variants of the Atna sib A5, Dengl'gl' koxtänA or TcUNRaxtänA', who strung canyonberries as beads and seem to have been a western sib.

Lastly, Tanaina sib B2, the bathers in cold water, are certainly the same as the Atna sib B11, TAltsina, who came from Cook Inlet. Tanaina informants say that the first of this sib were found below Tyonek by a Fishtail (sib A5) man, or that they came from the sea in boats. Sometimes they are said to be three-foot high men in skin boats, which suggests an Atna version that would derive them from the Eskimo of Kodiak Island.

Von Wrangell's sib B7, Cculaxtana (C'culaxtana, Ctcuľaxtana?, variously transliterated as Schischlaxtana by Baer 1839, šdolaxdana by Osgood, and Shshulakhtana by Vanstone), Osgood believes corresponds to his Tcinclaxotana (sib A8) because both would appear to refer to a raven or raven-like trickster. If so, we would expect to find them both in Moiety B, corresponding to the Atna Crow side. Is it possible that the name refers to the small slate gray Dipper or Water Ouzel, *Cinclus mexicanus unicolor*, termed "Crow's nephew," and named Skuľtsä'x or Qoľtsax by the Atna and TcA'qoľtsit at Tetlin?

#### Upper Tanana or Nabesna

The Indians of the upper Tanana River valley include, going downstream, the five bands originally designated as the Upper Tanana Indians by McKennan (1959): Scottie Creek near the Canadian border, upper Chisana and upper Nabesna rivers (extinct), Northway on the lower Nabesna, Last Tetling (extinct), and Tetlin. To them should also be added the residents of Dot Lake and Tanacross, formerly from Lake Mansfield and Kechumstuk and from George Creek and Healy Lake (McKennan 1969a, b). These groups form the people called Nabesnatánas by Allen (1887), from the name they gave to the upper Tanana River, and for brevity can be called Nabesna here, since they are all very similar in customs and are united through intermarriages (McKennan 1959, 1969a, 1969b, and fieldnotes 1962; Heinrich 1957; de Laguna and McClellan, fieldnotes 1960; de Laguna and Guedon, fieldnotes 1968; Guédon 1971). There are, however, some differences in minor usages and in the particular sibs represented in each community, just as was characteristic of the various Atna communities. Like the

Atna, the Nabesna have two moieties, Seagull and Crow. In addition, there is one Crow sib from the Copper River who have married with both sides and who, according to Guédon, seem to be affiliating themselves more and more with the Seagulls. There are also some individuals from the Middle Tanana and increments from Canada.

Information from Tetlin dates from 1929-30, 1937, 1956, and 1968-70, recording change through time. In 1929-30, McKennan noted that there were two exogamous matrilineal "phratries," divided into clans. He used the term phratry because tradition mentioned a third group, already then extinct, which had married into both sides. Despite recurrent anomalies of this kind, the organization is essentially dual. The "Wolf" or Seagull moiety (A) and the Crow moiety (B) are equated with the Seagull of the Atna and Wolf of the Southern Tutchone, and with the Crow of the Atna and Tutchone.

#### Moiety A

McKannan	Heinrich	Guédon and de Laguna
Wolf or Tcion	Wolf (Tikaanyu) & Seagull (Baxqaie)	Seagull (Biq'ai or Tci'a) or Wolf (Thik'a'kiyu)
1. Tcizu, red ochre	1. Ciisyu	1. Tcizyu or Tcisyu, red painting
	2. Caan	2. Tci'a, Bonaparte's Gull
3. Nitchelyu, fish back	3. Tcelyu, fish tail	3. Tciticelyu, fish tail
		4. Biq'ai, Herring Gull
	5. Utsixyu, caribou	5. Udjiciyu, Caribou People, extinct
		6. Kii'kyu, snow bird, extinct
		7. Gi'yAnl' or Ti'ciaan, Golden Eagle, Bald Eagle

McKannan notes association of this moiety with Seagull, Caribou (A5), and Bear (A1 among Atna). The Atna word for Seagull (nAlbei) and the Tetlin words for the two species of Seagull (tci'a and biq'ai) are used to designate the whole moiety, or may be employed by individuals to indicate their affiliation, but it is doubtful if these are the names of actual sibs at Tetlin (A2, A4). Furthermore, while informants mentioned Fish Tail (A3), Caribou (A5), Snow Bird (A6), and Eagle (A7), these do not really seem to be represented at Tetlin. Rather, we can recognize two main groups, Tcizyu (from red paint, tcic, A1), who

came from Copper River, and the Tcítcelyu (A3, fish tail) from Canada, where Eagle or Fort Yukon are sometimes specified. They are probably the same as the Nitchelyu of McKennan, and by some are associated with blue paint. The "Red Paint People" and the "Salmon Tail People" were the only sibs of this moiety reported by Rainey at Tetlin in 1937 (letter to McKennan, 26/3/37).

Heinrich (1957) distinguishes between a Wolf Tikaanyu group from the northern Yukon drainage, and a Tcelyu or Caan group from the south, the Red Paint People (A1) coming from Anchorage, and the Caribou People (A5) from Lake Louise in the Western Atna area. De Laguna was told that Tcía (or Tcīya<sup>n</sup>) was simply the local name for the Tcisyu (A1) from the Copper River, the latter term being preferred by recent Atna immigrants to Tetlin.

McKennan recorded the Nitchelyu (A3) as being at Tanacross, and while our informants placed the Eagles (A7) at Northway, they did not know where the Snow Bird sib (A6) was, although this was listed.

#### Moiety B

McKennan	Heinrich	Guédon and de Laguna
Raven (Neltcin)	Amalgamated Naltsiin (Naltsiin Ditaandye)	Crow (taatsa' or da'ts' <u>A</u> <sup>n</sup> )
1. Neltcin	1. Real Neltsiin	1. Naltsina, N <u>l</u> tsin
		2. Ditsi'iltsina
3. Thakagiyu	3. Tagaxyu (down)	3. Dik'agiyu (Tc'k'ayu, Dik'aayu, or Dik'agi, fireweed seed)
4. Atzan'ne	4. Ałatdindei (fearless)	4. Altset'dendei, or 'Alts' <u>E</u> td <u>E</u> ndei
5. Nisu (at Northway)	5. Niisáa (cliffs or gorges)	5. Ne'su, or Ni's'aał
	6. Taltsin (divide-crossers)	6. Taltsina (extinct)
		7. Tzoga (marten)

McKennan notes an association of this moiety with the Otter (cf. A6), and with the Swan. According to the version he recorded, the Neltcin (B1) came up the Copper River to the Tanana, where some remained, while others went on down the river. Those who came first were oppressed by the dominant Tcion (Moiety A). Then the Thikagiyu (B3) came from the sky like or with downy feathers -- like the downy seeds of the fireweed or cottonwood, according to Guédon's informants -- and allied

themselves with the Neltcin. There seems to be no question but that this event took place in the lower Copper River country, even though the Atna give credit to the nAltsina as being the rescuers from the sky, while they see the Dik'agiyu as only associated with them in a sky origin. Our modern Tetlin informants also report that the nAltsina came from the sky, calling them "Star People," say they journeyed up the Copper River, and then spread all over Alaska. The Dik'agiyu at Tetlin say also: "We came from the Star," landing on the Copper River and thence coming to Tetlin.

Rainey in 1937 (letter to McKennan 26/3/37) identifies the Naltsi'n (B1) as "Wolverine People of Copper River," and also as "Raven People." The igalyu<sup>h</sup> (B3) were described as "straight people," and identified with the cottonwood (with cottonwood down?).

As recent immigrants to the Upper Tanana, the Dik'agiyu (B3) are considered "far enough away" to be able to marry into their own moiety, while still claiming the Crow. They and the Naltsina are the two most numerous sibs at Tetlin, so perforce many marriages take place between them, as well as between the Dik'agiyu and other Crow sibs. While there were some marriages in the past with Seagull sibs, at present the Dik'agiyu do not marry them and in fact have become practically assimilated with the Seagulls as part of their exogamous moiety. According to Guédon's careful analysis, there are no approved marriages between any other sibs in the Crow moiety (i.e., among B1, 2, 4, or 5), and no recorded marriages within the Seagull moiety.

A similar situation exists at Northway, where the Dik'agiyu and Ne'su (B5) are the most numerous sibs, and also at Tanacross where the Dik'agiyu and 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei (B4) are the most numerous. Here at Tanacross an informant said: "Old time Crow marry NAlbei [seagull], and Crow could marry Crow," presumably referring to marriages of Dik'agiyu with 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei. While NAltsin (B1) also married 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei at Tanacross this was evidently irregular, for they had to potlatch to the opposite moiety, not to each other.

The 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei (B4), according to Tetlin informants, were originally sticks or stumps, or pointed spruce trees ('Ał), growing out of the island in Midway Lake, from which the NAltsin rescued them, because they had no water craft. McKennan (1959:124-125) was told a similar story of their origin, and that they were trouble-makers. Those now among the Upper Tanana are supposed to have descended from one woman who survived a massacre. Rainey (letter to McKennan 26/3/37) identified their name as "one people," and reported similar traditions.

There is only one Dłtsi'łtsina (B2) family at Tetlin, but it is clear that they immigrated from the Copper River. At Tetlin it is said that their name refers to intra-sib marriages, which indeed have occurred among them.

The original Ne'su (B5) was a baby that floated down a river in a rabbit-skin raft or cradle and was hooked ashore by the NAltsina. The river was apparently one that ran north into the Tanana or Yukon (White River?) in Canada. This sib is primarily established at Scottie Creek and Northway but there are now a few individuals married into Tetlin. In 1929-30, McKennan encountered them as "a third

phratry," who had recently come but were being identified with the "Neltsin phratry," implying that they were still inter-marrying with both moieties. At the present time, they seem to be thoroughly integrated with the Crow moiety; however, since they came from Canada, where all people are supposed to be Wolves, this sib is sometimes erroneously called "Wolf." Their name, rendered as Ni's'Al by a Northway informant, means "All tear up," referring to their pants which were torn because they had come from so far away. "He's NAltsina all right, but little bit different. Pretty near the same, but come from Canada side....Pretty near he got the Crow." This group is associated with the Fox Tail.

The TAltsin or Taltsina (B6), "divide-crossers" according to Heinrich, are said to have come from the Yukon to the Tanana, then went to the Copper River and back to the Tanana, although there are now none among the Nabesna. Informants mention this group, sometimes uncertainly, as Copper River allies of the NAltsin. Guédon was told that there were formerly members of this sib among the Middle Tanana at Saleha and Big Delta.

McKenna (1959:125) also mentions the Marten clan as a third group, "almost a cousin to them all," which was absorbed by the Neltcin (B7, Tzoga). This means that they originally inter-married with both moieties. At Tanacross I was told that the Marten (ts'u'gE' or tzo'ga) People were "a kind of 'AftsEtdEdei, who had come from Tu'tfa on the lower Tanana, i.e., Tutlut, at the confluence of the Toklat-Kantishna River with the Tanana. They were called Marten People because of their wealth in marten furs. Therefore, the 'AftsEtdEdei at Tanacross claim that they "have" both the Crow and the Marten.

The Marten People are probably the same as those whom the Upper Atna called 'Middle 'AftsEtnei' (Atna sib B4 b), just as they called the Nā'za' (or Ne'su) the "Northway 'AftsEtnei" (sib B4 c).

At Northway, the sibs represented are:

Moiety A

Wolf (Tlqani), Tciya

2. Tciya

4. Biqai (if indeed distinct)

5. Gl'yanl' (reported here by Tanacross informants, but not verified)

Moiety B

Crow (Da'ts'A)

1. NAltsin

3. Dikayu, or Dixagi, or Tcikayu

4. 'AftsEtdEdei

5. Ne.su or Ni's'Al

At Tanacross and Dot Lake many of the same sibs are represented, although the Seagull moiety (NAlbei, Biq̄ai, Tc̄iȳa) is usually called Tc̄a'z, Tc̄a'zEn, or Tc̄iaaz, which seems to be also the name of its principle sib. I am indebted to McKennan for notes taken from three Tanacross informants in 1962, as well as for information recorded by Rainey in 1937. It should be noted that their informants did not assign sibs to moieties, although this was done by those consulted by myself and McClellan in 1960 and by Guédon in 1969-70.

#### Moiety A: Seagull

1. Tcicyu, "red paint", mentioned only to us. Tcizu (McKannan), "red paint"; according to one informant, came across the ocean at Anchorage, with skin painted red. Tsésyu<sup>h</sup> (Rainey), "too strong people," from the lower Tanana. We were also given the name, NIntcicyu, "red paint all over," as another name.
2. Tc̄a'z, Tc̄a'zEn, or Tc̄iaaz. Tciadz (McKannan), or even Tcion, "Wolf," or "Middle," who come in the "middle of the river."
3. Tc̄l'tcElyu, "salmon tail," "the real Tc̄a'zEn," according to our informants. Tcetcélu<sup>h</sup> (Rainey); and Tc̄l'tcElyu (McKannan), "fish tail," light complexion, associated with Goodpaster.
4. (Not mentioned.)
5. Wuts̄jsyu or WAdjicyu, "Caribou People," represented by one old man in 1960. "Caribou People" (McKannan), descended from a baby girl found in the middle of a big caribou drive.

#### Moiety B: NAltsin or Crow (Dats̄A')

1. NAltsin, Naltsin (Rainey), or NEltsin (McKannan). Rainey was told that this was a "new name for the Altsadene," (B4), and one of McKannan's informants referred to the Neltsin as "Caribou Tail."
2. DItsi' Iltsina, mentioned to us only in 1960.
3. Dikagi, Dikagiyu; or Tsigágiyu<sup>h</sup> (Rainey; from Kechumstuk); of DIkagiiU or DIgakIyu (McKannan). McKannan's informants variously identified the name with "cotton" or "down"; or even with "fire," or "carrying fire." One man said they came from the Copper River and were "almost the same as Tcizyu, red paint." Another reported that they had floated down from the sky in the Cordova area, near the mouth of the Copper River.

4. 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei. McKennan's informants variously rendered this as Atsidende or Aθsıtd'Inde, "one-way people," from Midway Lake, light in complexion, or as Atz'Untt'İne, "Bear Head," with dark complexion; and as Atsıtd'İnd'É.
5. Two of McKennan's informants mentioned the Niso or Nisau, but apparently not as residents as Tanacross. The first said that the sib was represented by a small boy in a rabbit skin robe, rescued by the Caribou Tail People (B1), from the river in the Scottie Creek – Northway area. The other specified that the Nisau had been saved from a raft on the Yukon by Sib B4.
6. Both our informants and those of Rainey mentioned the T'Altsina, or Taltsin, but with the statement that there were none in the area.

According to a Tanacross informant, "Blackbird" (Water Ouzel), Crow's nephew, found a house in which he heard the sounds of people dancing, but all he could see around the fire were a caribou tail, red paint (ts'a), blue paint (ts'ı'tf'É'gi'), a fish tail, and fireweed. When Old Crow kicked them, Wuts'ısyu (A5) came out of the caribou tail, Tc'ı'tc'Élyu (A3) came from the salmon tail, Tcicyu (A1) came from the red paint, and N'Altsin (B1), 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei (B4), and Dikagi (B3) came out of the blue paint. The last is an obvious slip by the narrator, for he forgot to mention what came from the fireweed – B3.

The Tc'a'z or Tc'a'z'Én are closely related to the Atna Tcicyu (A1). They are said to be called D'ı'tc'ı (fish tail) by the Yukon people, and Djos by the Canadians at Snag, Kluane Lake and Whitehorse. According to one account they came from the Yukon above Dawson, or from the east. Another version says that they came from the ocean, and met the N'İntcicyu or Tcicyu (A1) on the upper Nabesna. The Tcicyu traded their bow and arrow for the fish tail of the Tc'a'z'Én; thereby the peoples became one.

The Tc'a'z'Én are said to have been a great nation, formerly rich and in consequence died fast, for only the poor live long. This disaster may be connected with the fact that one woman of that sib tortured her father's dog with fire; he returned as a handsome man and married her as a punishment. The Tc'a'z'Én came from the east, met the 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei (B4), and went on to the Copper River. Here the Tc'a'z'Én found the poor Tcicyu (A1), whom they helped, only to be enslaved by the latter, along with the 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei. They called for help and the N'Altsin (B1) came down from the sky to their rescue, and married them. The Tc'a'z'Én had a woven hat, or an Eskimo hat with a picture, while the N'Altsin are said to have had a bear hat with teeth, and they exchanged these.

The usual story of the origin of the Caribou People (A5) was mentioned with the warning that it was taboo to tell it in the summer.

Some informants mention the 'Ałts'Étd'Éndei (B4), N'Altsin (B1), and D'ıtsi'İłtsina as coming from Midway Lake, although the usual myth limits this origin to sib B4. The Ałts'Étd'Éndei met the T'Altsina (B6) down on the Copper River, and exchanged hats as a sign of friendship. The T'Altsina also



exchanged hats with the NAltsina, receiving the latter's bear head. One informant mentioned the upper Nabesna as the place where all the sibs met and intermarried.

Some interesting associations with animals were mentioned at Tanacross: NAltsin got the Bear," and therefore "is best to hunt the bear. He's got the power [meanness] of the bear." "Tca'zE or Tcl'tcElyu are low people. They have the Seagull, nAlbei. When we were kids, if NAltsin killed nAlbei [a seagull], Tcl'tcElyu had to fight NAltsin – scratch his face all over." 'AltsEtdEndei, NAltsin, and Ditsi'ltsina got the Crow, da'tsa. They don't want to kill crow; that's his own people....If Tcl'tcElyu kill crow, NAltsin got to fight." " Wutsslyu got caribou. That's all."

Some of these attitudes are similar to those of the Tlingit toward the sib crest animals: ravens, eagles, frogs, wolves, and bears.

#### Middle Tanana Indians

McKenna (1969a:338) terms Middle or Transitional Tanana Indians those groups that formerly occupied the Goodpaster and Salcha rivers, an area now abandoned. However, informants he interviewed at Tanacross and Dot Lake in 1962 gave him some information about sibs in this area. Again there is no indication of moieties, although I have assigned designations to these sibs corresponding to their equivalents on the upper river.

At Goodpaster, according to one informant, the Tcazum (A2) are the same as the Tcitcelyu (A3), and are also the same as the Canadian "Wolves." They are dark colored. They came up the Yukon and then up the Tanana River, and traded their grass hats for the grizzly bear hats of the A'tzltdlnde (B4). The Tclzu (A1) came from the Valdez area, i.e., up from the Copper River. They were always low class, and never acted or spoke correctly. They were very poor, so the A'tzltdlnde helped them until they became strong enough to turn on the latter. There were also the  $\Theta$ iqakiyu, "Eagles," on the Tanana (B3), who had come from the sky. The A'tzltdlnde (B4) were light in complexion.

A second informant listed six sibs in three pairs, but it is not clear whether he intended to mean that those paired were equivalents. These are:

NEltcin (B1), light colored, and Tclzu (A2).

Atzandine (B4), dark colored, and Dikogiyu (B3), light colored, cotton from the sky.

Tcetcelyu (A3) light colored, and Tca\thetaa (AZ), also light colored. The latter, not A3, is called "fish tail."

At Salcha, a similar grouping of sibs was reported:

Nelchln or Nelc\thetaln (B1) and Tcisu (A1) -- "almost the same. Caribou Head."

Tciĕlyu (A3) and Teatzun (A2) – “almost the same. Fish Tail.”

Atzitdinné (B4), "Bear."

Still another informant reported that Old Chief Henry of Tanacross, whose mother's family came originally from Salcha, belonged to a sib that was quite different from any of these, called Dĕnjĕgit tak hotĕn. This reminds us of the various "middle" groups already encountered, and which are ubiquitous on the Yukon.

### The Yukon Group

McKenna (1969b:98-99) has pointed out that as we move from band to band we are really passing along a "cultural continuum," and that, in particular, one cannot make any sharp divisions among the Tanana River Indians, except to distinguish those at the mouth from their neighbors on the lower Tanana. Nevertheless, in considering sib organization, I find it perhaps more helpful to class the Lower Tanana Indians with those on the Yukon, rather than with their Middle Tanana relatives.

The "tribes" of the Yukon (Kutchin, Han, Koyukon), Lower Tanana, and Upper Kuskokwim, are noted for an organization apparently based upon three exogamous matrilineal sibs. As will be seen in the following analyses, the division is essentially a moiety one, with a "middle group" derived primarily from strangers who have married into the community but have not yet become assimilated to one moiety or the other, just as is the case with the Dikāgiyu among the Nabesna, and the former "Middle 'Altsĕtnei" or Marten People. The specific identity of the "Middle group" seems to vary from tribe to tribe, when we have sufficient information to identify it. Sometimes informants give additional names, apparently those of sibs among their neighbors, but which are "almost the same" as their own.

#### Lower Tanana Indians

The Lower Tanana Indians, according to McKenna (1969a:338-339), comprise those bands living along the river and its tributaries from the Chena (Fairbanks) almost to the mouth, including Wood, Nenana, Minto, and Tolovana. But the natives farthest downstream, including those of the Kantishna River-Lake Minchumina, Baker Creek, Cosna River drainages, like the people of Tanana on the Yukon at the confluence of the Tanana, are Koyukon. McKenna would place the Koyukon-Kutchin boundary at the Ramparts on the Yukon some forty miles above the mouth of the Tanana. I am indebted to McKenna for fieldnotes (1962) concerning sibs on the lower Tanana.

When I was at Nenana in 1935, I was told that there were three "families," and that the Indians still "marry out of the family." These sibs were:

1. BltsĭtUxtana, "caribou"
2. Tcĭtcalyu, "fish tail"

3. Tsixyu, "middle," but obviously the Red Paint People

One can see that from the point of view of the Atna and Nabesna, all three sibs would belong to the same Seagull moiety.

In 1960, a Tanacross informant said that at Nenana and Minto there were "three of four different tribes," and named:

1. BA'dzi<sup>X</sup> tE' xotana, "Caribou People," from caribou, bAdzix
2. Tcł'tcälyu
3. Xotani'ł Raltci'tnA', "Middle People. There are lots at Anchorage."

One of McKennan's informants at Minto specified that there were three sibs derived from a three-part division of a fish, but did not name them. In the old days, wars were fought only between different sibs, living in different villages. Other informants emphasized that there were three major matrilineal sibs, distinguished by slightly different customs and distinctive face paint.

Residence was matrilineal. The sibs named were:

1. BUtzik totana, Utzi hotana, BetzIktitana, or Batsik tana, "Caribou Horn," or "Caribou People," who had come over the hills from the Yukon, perhaps from the Kuskokwim. They were the "top clan," and wore a red stripe on each cheek and a feather in the hair.
2. TcitElyu, TcitcElyu, "Fish Tail." They had come up the river. One informant equated them with the Jitsa sib of the Chandalar Kutchin.
3. NUltcina, Nultsina, or NElsina, "Rabbit Tail." They came from the Cordova area.

Instead of No. 1, an informant mentioned the Tsahokotana, "Beaver clan, almost same as Caribou," who had come from downriver. He also substituted TciOyU, "Red Paint," for No. 2. Another man listed Nos. 1 and 2, but then mentioned the TAnnejIkhotana, "Middle People," who are related to "both sides," and are similar to the Nultsina.

Thus, it would seem that at Minto the Nultsina or "Rabbit Tail" have taken the "middle position" which was occupied by the Red Paint People at Nenana.

*Koyukon or Ten'a*

Writing in 1906, Father Jette (1906:402) observed that the Ten'a above Nulato, i.e., the Koyukon, "sometimes say that they are divided into sub-tribes or clans called medzihterotana [Caribou], tonitserotana [Middle], and noletsina [NAltsina]; but today these distinctions mean nothing. I have

found no one who could explain them and only a few who even knew about them." He further suggested that when Petroff alluded to the presence of clans in 1880 that they were then still in existence, but had subsequently disappeared. Father Jette's failure to learn more about these sibs, for which I have inserted the equivalents in brackets, is extraordinary, since I heard about them as late as 1935, and McKennan learned about them when he was stationed on the middle Yukon during World War II. That I did not learn more is because I was then engaged in an archaeological survey (de Laguna 1947). McKennan has again generously shared his information with me.

At Tanana Mission, on the Yukon opposite the mouth of the Tanana, I was told in 1935 that there were three exogamous "families." There were:

1. BitsictAxot'ana, "Caribou People"
2. NoltsEna, translated as "Maggot People," probably incorrectly.
3. TonI'dz RaltsItf'na, obviously meaning "middle sib," although referred to as "Fish Tail People."

In 1962 Kennan's informants at Tanana told him that the same sibs were found here as on the middle and lower Tanana River. They were:

1. "Caribou Horn"
2. Neltcina, who probably came here from Cook Inlet, via McGrath as hazarded by one informant who equated them with "Middle People." Another thinks the "Middle People" came from Tanana.
3. Tcitcelyu

In 1935, a woman at Ruby and informants at Lowden, both places on the middle Yukon below the Nowitna and above the Koyukuk, gave the following names of sibs:

1. Bitsictuxt'ana, "Caribou People," from the north, high class
2. NoItsina or NuItsina, Black Bear People, people from the other side, the poor man's side.
3. TonItsQisitf'na, "Middle of the River People," or "Middle People." Also identified as Brown Bear People or Fish People.

The Ruby informant referred to these sibs as "families," One Lowden informant implied that they were exogamous, mentioning a Fish man married to a Caribou woman, but said that down the river the groups were not exogamous.

At nearby Galena, during the war, McKennan recorded three sibs:

1. Metsl̥gtohotana, "Caribou People," lighter colored
2. N̥l̥t̥cinatohotana, "Other people, Brown Bear People"
3. Tonitsanultcila, "Middle of the River People." The informants believe they came from a fish.

At Koyukuk itself, in 1935, the sibs were:

1. B̥Ḁts̥l̥x̥to̥xt̥ana, "Caribou People"
2. Nal̥tsina, "Black Bear or Copper People"
3. Tonidza R̥al̥tsit̥l̥na, "From-out-of-the-Water People, or Marten People."

Andrew Pilot, a shaman at Koyukuk Station, told the following story through an interpreter:

There were warring tribes. They all came together one time and the three headmen from the three groups of people met. They wanted to decide what to call each other, and to make peace.

They asked the first man, a Black Bear man, "What do you want to be called?"

He said: "I did not come from on top of the ground. I came from underground, and in coming through the ground I passed copper and all different minerals, so I want to be called 'Copper,' Nal̥tsina."

"Well, you have to prove that you came from underground. What do you have to prove it?"

So he brought a sack with a piece of copper in it to prove it.

They asked the second, the one that came sunwise, what he wanted to be called. He was Marten man.

He said: "Well, I have come over a long stretch of water. I swam part of the way, and I came by boat part of the way, so I want to be called 'From-out-of-the-Water People.'"

"Well, give us proof that you have covered a great body of water."

So he brought out a string of dentalium shells. So his people were called Tonidza R̥al̥tsit̥l̥na.

The third man said that he came from the caribou country, far away, so they called his tribe "From-among-the-Caribou People,"

BAtslxtoxtana. He was a Caribou man.

When I wrote about these sibs in 1947, I indicated that teams consisting of members of the three sibs from different villages on the lower Koyukuk and middle Yukon used to meet for

...something like a debating contest...The challengers made a speech full of obscure allusions to clan [village?] insignia -- a painted paddle was mentioned in describing a particular occasion -- and the opposing team had to guess the meaning of the particular allusion and counter it with a speech of their own. It is probable that such large gatherings took place in a kashim, but of course we have no evidence that a kashim or meeting house was built on the Yukon above the Koyukuk until modern times (de Laguna 1947:102).

It is now clear that the "debating contests" refer to the riddling speeches which are characteristic of potlatches, at least among the Atna and Nabesna, who use such occasions to exhibit to their guests some treasured object associated with their history, or to display objects symbolic of a misunderstanding or quarrel with their guests which they want the latter to resolve. It is the village chiefs who make such speeches, and only an "educated man," one who has relatives in the hosts' town to teach him its history, can hope to win such contests.

McKenna reports that at Nulato, on the Yukon below the Koyukuk, there were also three sibs:

1. Caribou People, good people, lighter colored
2. Neltcina, Bear People, bad people
3. Middle People (otherwise not identified)

We also note that members of the four bands of Koyukuk River Indians were also divided into three exogamous matrilineal sibs that assisted each other's members at funerals, for which they were entertained by the deceased's sibmates at a potlatch, and that provided hospitality and protection for their own sibmates when the latter came from other localities. These sibs are:

1. Bijé-ta hotana, "people who live among the caribou."
2. Nulchina, or "iron" people. A. Clark suggests that the association is likely to have been with bear or copper. They are now the most important sib.
3. Tonitza alchilla, "in the middle of the water," reported to have the most friends, and formerly the most important because they were associated with dentalia. They are also known as the Gitliná, "dentalium people."

Clark also indicates that in recent times the two uppermost bands on the Koyukuk have friendly ties with the uppermost Yukon River Koyukon, particularly with those from Steven's Village, which at present has a mixed Koyukon-Kutchin population. Before contact, however, a good deal of internecine raiding occurred between the Koyukuk River people and the Kutchin. Here, the same sibs are found. For example, Catharine McClellan interviewed a man from Steven's Village who said that his people had come from the Chandalar River and called themselves Yuqonx<sup>W</sup>otäna (McClellan: personal communication). While he himself had been born at Steven's Village, his father had come from Bettles on the Koyukuk and his wife was a Tanana River woman, daughter of a man from Old Crow (Chandalar Kutchin). The group at Steven's Village is obviously mixed, and may be considered as much Koyukon as Kutchin. McClellan's informant explained that his people had matrilineal sibs, although he thought of them as geographical groups, and named them:

1. BA'djlc' tA x<sup>W</sup>otäna, Caribou People
2. NA'tci'na' x<sup>W</sup>otäna, "Multipliers"
3. Toni'dz'A RAItsi.b! x<sup>W</sup>otäna, "Middle Race."

#### *McGrath or Upper Kuskokwim Indians*

The Indians of the upper Kuskokwim River, formerly supposed to be Ingalik, are now shown by Hosley to be more closely related to the Koyukon of the lower Tanana and to the Tanaina of Cook Inlet. They have a matrilineal, matrilineal sib organization, and a "Normal Iroquois" kinship system, as defined by Murdock (Hosley 1968, letters 26/1/63 to McKennan and 23/7/71 to myself; McKennan 1969b). Hosley has unfortunately given these people the name "Kolchan," which is simply the Athapaskan word for "alien" or "stranger," applied to many groups and therefore not a specific "tribal" or regional designation. They call themselves "Tenaynah," however, an equally confusing variant of "Tanaina" (Cook Inlet).

The Upper Kuskokwim Indians apparently recognize four sib names, although only three of these groups are found among them. These are:

1. St'chelayu, "Fish [Tail?] People," somehow associated with the lower Kuskokwim and Innoko Rivers.
2. Medzishthütanah, "Caribou People," or "people who live in caribou country."
3. Tonay'tlil'tsitna, "middle kind," or "People in the Middle."

Hosley believes that the Upper Kuskokwim Indians originally had a moiety system, based upon the first two sibs. The third group represents "a category of convenience for the offspring of 'wrong' marriages and marriages to clans/ moieties not part of the Kolchan's original system" (Hosley, letter of 31/7/71). The latter seems to me to be the more correct explanation, and suggests that the "wrong" marriages were those with one or more foreign groups, with different moiety affiliations in their homeland. The process of shifting moiety affiliation when married into McGrath would explain how, according to Hosley's informants, there was a system whereby the offspring of the "Middle People" [or the "Middle People" themselves?] would eventually be assigned to the proper moieties.

4. Nalchina were mentioned by some of the McGrath Indians, but were felt to belong to the people of Lake Minchumina and Birch Creek, in the drainage of the lower Tanana.

### *Kutchin*

The Kutchin are grouped into some eight divisions (Osgood 1934, 1936b):

1. Mackenzie Flats or Arctic Red River, Nakotcho-kutchin
2. Peel River, Tatlit-kutchin
3. Upper Porcupine, Tukkuth-kutchin (extinct)
4. Crow River, Middle Porcupine or "Rat" River, Vunta-kutchin
5. Black River, Tranjik-kutchin
6. Yukon Flats, Kutcha-kutchin
7. Chandalar River, Gens du large, Natsit-kutchin
8. Birch Creek, Tennuth-kutchin (extinct)

With the possible exception of the first group who live on the Mackenzie Flats, all information on groups 2 through 7 would indicate that they possessed three exogamous sibs. Presumably the Birch Creek (8) Kutchin did also, since they lived between the Chandalar and Yukon Flats Kutchin and the Koyukuk Indians who had matrilineal sibs.

Kirby (1864:418) is the first to mention the sibs:

1. Chit-sa, who are aristocratic and wealthy
2. Nate-sa, in the middle class



3. Tanges-at-sa, who are the poorest and lowest

These groups are matrilineal and exogamous, and the marriage rule "has had a most beneficial effect in allaying the deadly feuds formerly so frequent among them." The example he gives, however, is of two chiefs debating politely, each deploring his own inferiority, especially the chief of the group that admitted to a murder. In this way, amity was restored. One also gathers that the sibs were involved in funeral potlatching, for the "nearest relatives" of the deceased give a feast to his "friends," presumably to his paternal and affinal relatives. While we need not believe that peace was actually established through intermarriage of warring tribes, the institution of sib exogamy is commonly supposed by Athapaskans to achieve this effect, and potlatches were occasions on which sibs could settle disputes.

Jones (1866:326) only speaks of three "castes," formerly exogamous, as:

1. Tcit-che-ah
2. Nat-sah-i
3. Tenge-rat-sey

Hardisty (1866:315) also lists the three sibs, but adds that the natives give conflicting accounts of the origin of the three "castes." "Some say that it was so from the beginning; others that it originated when all fowls, animals, and fish were people -- the fish were Chitsah, the birds Tain-gees-ah-tsa, and the animals Nat-singh; some say that it refers to the country occupied by the three great nations who are supposed to have composed the whole family of man; while the other, and, I think, most correct opinion, is that it refers to color, for the words are applicable." Thus, we have the following:

1. Chitsah, bright (ah-tsa), from tsa, the sun, bright, shining. Live a good deal on fish; originated from fish.
2. Nat-singh, dark, black (ah-zingh). Live on reindeer; originated from animals. They are also associated with the Chandalar area of the Na-tsik-koo-chin, or Nah-tsingh.
3. Tain-gees-ah-tsa, neither dark nor fair, from middle (tain-gees). Live on fish and moose.

Now, according to Hardisty, amalgamation is changing the color differences, as well as preventing feuds between the groups, since a man wants to be at peace with his sons -- who would, of course, belong to his wife's kin group. Even though there cannot be differences in complexion, we have seen that the notion that there are physical, or even psychological, differences between sibs is typically Athapaskan.

For the Chandalar Kutchin, McKennan (1965:60-61) also records three sibs, linked together by reciprocities in marriage and funerals.

1. JitsAi, who had a servile role, were supposed to be smallest in stature, and lightest in skin color, though some informants denied the last.
2. NAtsAi, who were wealthy and important.
3. TEnjErAtsAi, "between two sides." Intermediate in stature and color.

This third sib seems to have been added later to a moiety system, although some informants said that the children of endogamous marriages in either of the other sibs were assigned to the third, while others, correctly, I think, denied this.

One myth ascribes the origin of the sibs from a fish: NAtsAi (2) from the head; TEnjErAtsAi (3) from the middle; and JitsAi (1) from the tail. Another explains the origin through migrations: JitsAi (1) came from a region called KuhEli, reported as between Cook Inlet and the Kuskokwim, and crossed the lower Tanana to reach the Chandalar area. The name of this region is clearly that of the "Fish Tail" sib, Ki'kElyu. NAtsAi (2) came to the Chandalar from the Kobuk hills of the Brooks Range, crossing the territory of the "Dihai Kutchin." TEnjErAtsAi (3) may have come up the Yukon from the territory of the Koyukon.

The JitsAi were formerly the most numerous, but now the NAtsAi are. There never were many TEnjErAtsAi, it is said, although most marriages were endogamous. This would discredit the explanation that this third sib was made up of children of endogamous marriages in the other two; at any rate, it was also matrilineal.

Working among the same people (Netsi Kutchin of Chandalar River), Hadleigh-West (1963:26) recorded four names for sibs:

1. Jit sya
2. Nat sai<sup>n</sup>
3. Ten jir at sya
4. Tse nilt sai<sup>n</sup>

He believed, however, that only the first two were true kinship units, while the third and fourth were said to be "names applied to children of intra-sib marriages." They were not sibs, "but rather terms

applied to offspring of 'wrong' marriages. Of the two terms, Tse nilt sai<sup>n</sup> was the more derogatory" (Hadleigh-West 1963:26-27). He felt that the system was really a moiety one.

For the Vunta Kutchin of Crow River, Osgood (1936b:122-123) reports three exogamous matrilineal sibs:

1. Tc|t tc| a, "those under the other fellow," who supposedly have darker skins.
2. Non tsal| |, first among the clans, with a light skin.
3. TEn djE Ra tsi a, "those in the middle," whose skin is supposed to be intermediate in color. No chiefs are drawn from this group, only from the first two. They are supposed to have "relatives on both sides."

As part of the system of reciprocity between sibs, we note that a hunter of sib 1 gives his game to a man of sib 2, and the reverse, for distribution at a feast. If game is given to a man of sib 3, there is no feast, or only a small one.

For the Vunta Kutchin, Leechman (1954:27, 32) lists the "phratries" as:

1. Jitsa (servants)
2. Nasich, who are the highest.
3. Tangeratsa, lowest of all.

According to Leechman, the first two sibs, in the old days, formed two exogamous moieties, while the third sib is said to have been made up of descendants of irregular marriages between members of the same sib; yet, or except for this, descent is matrilineal. The two main sibs are now almost without functions, since "the old rule of exogamy is often disregarded now, and the children of parents of the same phratries, either Nasich or Jitsa, are technically Tangeratsa." The same is said to be the case of a child adopted by a mother in the wrong sib. "A Tangeratsa could marry either a Nasich or a Jitsa, and here again the children would belong to the mother's phratry." We should note that at public gatherings, the "... phratries talk against each other." This is apparently "cross phratry joking," but the Tangeratsa were not permitted to take part in such oratory or joking. At present, at least, the sibs have nothing to do with funerals.

Balikci (1963:62-63) writes about the Vunta or Crow River Kutchin as follows:

Osgood described the functioning in traditional times of a three clan system. These were non-localized matrilineal sibs. Reconstructing sib organization, I found only two named and ideally exogamous moieties, the third segment grouping descendants of endogamous

marriages. These moieties had leaders within the band district. Besides regulating marriages, moieties were important in the organization of potlatches (similar to the Tlingit festivities) and war parties.

Referring to leaders, he adds:

The Vunta Kutchin had a succession of polygynous tribal chiefs, economic leaders (owners of the caribou surrounds), moiety chiefs, war captains and religious leaders or shamans who acted on behalf of the whole community in crisis periods.

The data Balikci collected on marriage and extramarital relations prove clearly the demoralized condition of the Vunta Kutchin. My impression is, that unless genealogical evidence can be cited establishing the actual assignment of children of intra-sib unions to the "middle" group (3), the statements of Vunta Kutchin informants about the sib system cannot be trusted to explain how it really worked in the past. The statements about moiety endogamy probably refer to the addition of the third sib which was really allied to one of the resident moieties in theory, but which was allowed to marry with both because it was composed of strangers, without actual relatives in either. The explanation given by modern informants sounds like a "folk" explanation for something they do not understand. Among the Atna, for example, where the principles of sib and moiety exogamy are thoroughly understood, though not always practiced, the children of an irregular union always belong to the sib of the mother. The same is true among the Nabesna of the upper Tanana.

McKenna's informants at Circle (1965:61), who were presumably Yukon Flats Kutchin, made the following equations of Kutchin sibs with those of other groups:

1. Jitsa = Seagull or J<sub>l</sub>tsil of the Han; J<sub>l</sub>tcilyu of Healy River (Upper Tanana); Wolf or Agundené of the Northern Tutchone.
2. Natsai = Crow or N<sub>l</sub>tsin of the Han, Healy River and other upper Tanana groups; Andit or Crow of the Tutchone.
3. T<sub>l</sub>enjeratsai = no equivalent

Osgood (1936b) and Slobodin (1962) give us further information about the Peel River Kutchin, who were also neighbors of the Han and Tutchone. Osgood lists the sibs as:

1. Tcitic ya nut, Wolf, associated with servant
2. Na'ts sa<sub>l</sub>' , Crow, associated with rich man
3. T<sub>l</sub>enji Ra ts<sub>l</sub>a, associated with the idea of "a friend on each side," that is, being "in the middle." But it is considered as being inferior to the other two.

While the name of the first sib suggests that of the "red paint" (tcic) sibs among the Atna, Tanaina, and Nabesna, the Kutchin word for red paint is sa<sub>l</sub>' (the ending of the name for the second sib), and red paint is associated with wealth. Nevertheless sib 1 is clearly the etymological equivalent of Tcicyu in the Seagull Moiety A, just as sib 2 is equivalent to NAltsina in Crow Moiety B. Osgood believes that the associations of these Peel River Kutchin sibs with "crow" and "wolf" are recent, due to contacts with Athapaskans who reflect Tlingit influence. While the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is permitted between any two, there is definitely the idea of duality.

I have at times, during my conversation with members of the Peel River Kutchin tribe, felt that there is a bilateral division of clans among them -- that is, two clans more closely related in contrast to the third. The idea does not seem altogether strange to informants but under examination no proofs are forthcoming to support this view (Osgood 1936b:107).

Slobodin (1962:44-45) also noted among the Peel River Kutchin the presence of three sibs, ranked as "upper," "lower," and "middle." According to the natives, the upper is the chiefly one and the middle one is so insignificant that it is almost a moiety system. Chiefs have, however, come from all three sibs, and the middle one is now second in size. The physical and psychological characteristics traditionally associated with the sibs are only subjects for joking. Slobodin furthermore felt that the sibs were recent institutions, functioning primarily in relation to the more western tribes from whom they were copied, that they were becoming obsolete, but were reinforced by the revival of potlatching during the boom days of the Gold Rush. Even here, alignment was often on a band basis, rather than on sib lines, and poor young people from eastern bands would be treated as guests, no matter who gave the potlatch. The last practice was not uncommon a generation ago on the upper Tanana when strange young men visited them from the Copper River. In contrast to the eastern Kutchin, the western Kutchin, Han, and Tutchone seem to have been recognizing an increasing importance of sibs, as other forms of social organization disintegrated. Slobodin (1962:45, note 1) comments on the disgusted reaction of a Peel River informant when visiting the Southern Tutchone, for "As soon as these people meet you, they ask, 'Are you a Wolf or a Crow?'"

### *Han*

Cornelius Osgood has very kindly supplied me with some proofs for his forthcoming work on the Han.

When he was at Moosehide in 1932, a Peel River Kutchin man was able to give him information about the Han, who had three exogamous matrilineal sibs, which he named as:

1. Its yA, people who act funny
2. NAt l, proud people
3. TA nzl RA tsA, middle people

He denied that the "Whitehorse" terms for Wolf and Crow applied to these sibs. Nevertheless, it would appear to me that his sib 1 corresponds to an Atna or Nabesna Seagull sib, either the Red Paint or the Caribou People, while sib 2 is the Crow NAtsina.

Osgood's two informants at Eagle gave the names:

1. Či čel
2. NA tsin, sometimes called "Crow."
3. TAn zl RA tsll, or TA ndu A tsll, "middle;" or E gUn yA.

These two men, while giving somewhat different terms for the third sib, specified that the sibs were divided into moieties, although they could not agree as to whether sib 1 or sib 2 stood alone. How could either, if sib 3 is really a "middle" one, marrying both? At any rate, sibs 1 and 2 had married. I believe that this sib 1 corresponds to the Atna or Nabesna Fish Tail sib of the Seagull moiety; sib 2 is clearly the Crow NAtsina. The last name for sib 3 ( E gUn yA) suggests the Tutchone name for the Wolf moiety; as strangers, these "Wolves" would be treated as "middle people."

The Han moieties potlatched to each other after a death, and were distinguished by the way they wore feathers in their hair: sib 2 wearing theirs on the right side of the head; sib 1 in the middle of the front or back of the head. Sibmates offered each other protection and hospitality when travelling.

Osgood adds that 30 years later a Dawson informant told Slobodin that the Han had three exogamous moieties:

1. KE kut'in, meaning "low"
2. NA tsAl, a higher people; tsAl means "red paint."
3. A gon d<sup>y</sup>A (untranslated) were "on the other side."

This last term is obviously the same as the Northern Tutchone name for the "Wolf" moiety. The same informant also contrasted NA tsAl (2) and Ezan. Are these last the same as McKennan's Atzan'ne, sib B4 of the Upper Tanana?

Sib 2, evidently the equivalent of Naltsina, would be "Crow," and therefore opposite to sib 3 A gon d<sup>y</sup>A as "Wolf," but not to Atzan'ne or 'AtsEtdEndei (B4) who would be also "Crow" on the Upper Tanana. Possibly there were several foreign sibs among the Han, from both the Northern Tutchone and the Upper Tanana, aligned with one local sib or the other, or serving as "middle people." I do not know

what would be the equivalent of sib 1, KE kut'In, unless possibly they are the mysterious Snow Bird sib, Kii'kyu, mentioned at Tetlin as an extinct Seagull group.

### *Summary*

To summarize the sibs represented among the Lower Tanana, Upper Kuskokwim, Koyukuk, and Yukon tribes, we have:

#### Lower Tanana, Nenana

Caribou  
Fish Tail  
Red Paint as middle

#### Minto

Caribou, and/or Beaver  
Fish Tail, and/or Red Paint  
Naltsina as middle

#### Koyukon: Tanana Mission

Caribou  
Naltsina (Maggot?)  
Fish Tail as middle

#### Ruby-Lowden-Galena

Caribou, high class, light colored  
Naltsina (Black or Brown?) Bear, poor  
Fish, as middle (of river)

#### Koyukuk Station

Caribou  
Naltsina, Black Bear, or Copper  
Marten, Out-of-the-water (cf. Atna B6), dentalia, as middle

#### Nulato

Caribou, light colored, good  
Naltsina, Bear, bad  
Middle people

#### Upper Koyukuk (Koyukuk River)

Caribou  
Naltsina, iron, bear or copper  
Dentalium people, as middle (of water)

Steven's Village

Caribou  
Naltsina, or "Multipliers"  
Middle People

Upper Kuskokwim, McGrath

Caribou  
Fish Tail Middle People  
And? Naltsina

Among the Kutchin it is difficult from an etymological point of view to tell whether their sib 1 is Fish Tail or Red Paint. Nevertheless, when equations are made, this sib is correlated with the Seagulls of the Nabesna and the Wolves of the Tutchone; just as sib 2 is classed as Crow.

Kutchin, 1864

(Red Paint-Fish Tail) highest class  
Naltsina, middle class  
Middle people, lowest and poorest

Kutchin, 1866

(Fish) bright color, from fish  
Naltsina, dark, from animals  
From birds, as middle

Chandalar Kutchin

Fish Tail, servile, shortest and lightest in color  
Naltsina, wealthy, darkest and tallest, from fish head  
Middle, from middle of fish

Vunta Kutchin

(Fish Tail-Red Paint), dark, servants  
Naltsina, light, aristocratic  
Middle, intermediate in color, lowest class

Peel River Kutchin

(Red Paint-Fish Tail), low class, (Wolf)  
Naltsina, rich, (Crow)  
Middle People

Han

(Red Paint or Caribou?), or Fish Tail, or KE kut 'In, "low"  
Naltsina, rich (Crow)



Middle, or "Wolf" in N. Tutchone, (and / or ezan)

Thus, we see how the social positions of the sibs shift, as well as the identities of the groups represented in the different settlements.

Despite the oft-cited and apparent tripartite appearance of this form of social organization, I believe that a fundamental principle of duality underlies it, just as it does the sib systems of the Atna-Tanaina-Nabesna group and that of the Tutchone-Tagish-Tahltan, but among the Yukon River peoples the intermarriages between small local groups have not only produced extensive equations of sibs across socio-linguistic boundaries, but have also introduced anomalous "middle" groups, the identity of which shifts from place to place, and presumably also through time as they become absorbed by one side or the other and new strangers marry into the band.

McKenna informs me that the late Valery Chernetsov of Moscow wrote to him (2/8/66) reporting the existence of a two-clan or patrilineal moiety system in the eastern Urals, with equation of the clans among the various tribes of Ob-Ugrians (Vogul and Ostyak), and Samoyed (Nenetz, Selkup, Enetz, and Woodland Samoyed). The system has apparently spread across the language barrier to the Ket (so-called Yenisei-Ostyak). The Woodland Samoyed, as well as the eastern Nenetz-Samoyed, also have a third intermediate clan, not equated with those of other tribes. Such third clans are called "out-of-clan-marriage-groups." Evidently dynamic factors, similar to those that produced the "middle groups" among the Alaskan Athapaskans, have been at work among the distant patrilineal Samoyed.

## Conclusion

The dynamics of the northwestern American sib-moiety/phratic systems can better be understood when seen against the background of a sibless society. As an example of Athapaskan social organization without sibs, we may turn to the Hare of the Mackenzie drainage (Sue 1964). Here relatives are reckoned bilaterally, kindred are "ego-centered," and people live in small extended family camps. Nevertheless, the stress on cross-cousin marriage effectively divides relatives into two opposed groups as far as the individual is concerned. Even though the Hare seldom practice what they preach and more often than not fail to marry a cross-cousin (June Helm, personal communication), the system operates as if they did. Thus, to a Hare man, his mother's brother and father's sister's husband are potential fathers-in-law and called by a single term, while his father's sister and mother's brother's wife are potential mothers-in-law, again grouped under one term. Their daughters, other than his actual wife, are his joking relatives, as are his sisters-in-law, while their sons, like his brothers-in-law, are treated with reserve. Parallel cousins are classed with siblings, and behavior between those of opposite sex is characterized by reserve and aloofness. The Hare also distinguish between primary kin (parents, full siblings, children, and spouse) and "relatives," who include grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, and cousins. It is members of this more distant group who bury one's primary kin.

Sue has shown that for a man, those with whom he is most intimate, most apt to share a camp, to rely upon or to help, are his male relatives related through males. Similarly, sisters are closer to each other than are brother and sister, and a woman's closest relatives are women related to her through the female line, even when these include such distant cousins as descendants of her mother's mother's mother's sisters.

A consistent grouping together of such male patrilineal relatives, through inheritance of common property, perhaps the exclusive right to exploit the same terrain or to utilize the same inherited magico-religious powers, might have produced conditions propitious for the transformation of these male kinsmen into patrilineages. But this obviously has not taken place. Similarly, common residence of sisters, mothers and daughters, as would be and is required by extended bride-service, or again by inherited property in the hands of women, perhaps caches of preserved foods, could form the basis for the development of matrilineage.

These lines are, in any case, so closely related as to be exogamous. The social groups are small and scattered, and since strangers are viewed with suspicion, it is the cross-cousin in another camp who is both far enough away to be marriageable and yet close enough to be trusted. Reciprocal relations that are established between those who are kin linked through marriage, such as mutual services at life crises, e.g. care of the newborn, naming, puberty, childbirth or couvade, sickness, and death, if consistently carried out by cross relatives, would create that fundamental duality, essential to a moiety system. For in any situation of this kind there would inevitably be two sides in collaboration and opposition. Then, as members of other families are included, as they would be in such social events, these would tend to be drawn into two parties at the feasts, as hosts or givers, and as guests or receivers. This reciprocity is essential, also, to any sib system.

I do not know whether the eastern Athapaskans are to be considered as those who never developed sibs or moieties, or whether they are peoples who have lost such exogamous units. But I believe that matrilineal exogamous kin groups are ancient in the west. It would seem to take very little to transform the social organization of a people like the Hare from one based on bilateral kindreds to one of interlocking and reciprocating unilineages.

Such factors as cross-cousin marriage, extended bride-service to a father-in-law who is terminologically a "mother's brother," resulting in more or less lengthy matrilocal and avunculocal residence, the choice of same sex cross-cousins or siblings-in-law as hunting or trading partners, the control by women of important caches of food, the deep affection and respect felt by men for their mothers noted by Guédon at Tetlin, could all be effective in creating or preserving matrilineal kin groups.

Obviously something is present in the west which is not found east of the continental divide. Perhaps it is the variety of ecological resources within the territories of related bands among the western Athapaskans as contrasted with the relative uniformity to the east. Western Athapaskan economy is based upon the ability to exploit all the available micro-environments in the short distances that

separate lake, river, marsh, and mountain, and the social organization is adjusted to facilitate the movement of individual families, not only within the territory of their own band, but to caribou fences, sheep licks, or fishing places in any area where they can join a relative. McClellan (1964:9) has pointed out that the institution of matrilineal bride-service has the advantage of acquainting the hunter with at least one other area than the one in which he grew up. A sib system which permits the equation of lineages across band or even dialectical "tribal" boundaries is, however, an ideal way of insuring the presence of kinsmen and partners wherever one travels and thereby widens the possible areas a hunter can exploit.

Among the western Athapaskans, it is not the band, but the small local segment that has become the sib (or the localized section of the sib) because exogamous marriages with neighbors are necessary and profitable. Such groups are known for their places of residence or for the residence of their leader; they may be named for the kinds of animals or other resources most characteristic of their homes, or for some characteristic feature of clothing or other possessions. These groups, in any given region, become aligned into moieties because of the consistency with which their members contract unions. But the sibs themselves, as bodies of kinsmen, remain fundamental to the social system. At any given time, in any given place, for any given married couple and their kin, the dual arrangement of opposites is established. But the moiety system remains fluid, because it is in essence a way of arranging individuals, and is not, as we too conveniently say or are inclined to think, a fundamental super-group that is subdivided into sibs. Therefore, because sibs die out or are fanned through fission, because they can shift their alignments as members move to new areas, we have "middle" groups, or sibs retaining names which suggest that they once belonged to the "other side," but are here "wrongly" affiliated. Here a purely "structural analysis" would be deceptive.

From the names and characteristics ascribed traditionally to these sibs have arisen the crests and other features made possible by the wealth of the coast. But the elaboration of sib ceremonialism on the Northwest Coast has blinded both interior peoples and ethnologists into accepting the crest system as the most important feature which indicates the place of origin and direction of diffusion of the entire complex system. Crests and other prerogatives to be validated by lavish giving could only have developed on the well-to-do coast, and the interior Indians, conscious of their poverty and lack of sophistication, have adopted these crest-prerogatives as far as they could, anxious to claim relationship with their superior neighbors. In turn, the emigration of interior groups to the Eyak, Tlingit, and Tsimshian has stimulated the elaboration of crests and sibs among these peoples as they absorbed the newcomers. So it is at the mouths of the great rivers coming from the interior that we find the most complete results of this process.

But this does not mean that the matrilineal kin groups originated on the Taku, Skeena, and Nass. Indeed, the pattern of exogamous matrilineages seems so widespread and takes such characteristically inland forms in the interior, that it would appear to be ancient, antedating the earlier migration of the Nadene Tlingit and Haida to their coastal homes, or the appearance of the alien Tsimshian in the northwest. Whereas the Tlingit and Haida have preserved what must have been the old dual arrangement, the very confusions produced by migrations and minglings on the Nass and

Skeena have been responsible for creating the Tsimshian four-phratry system. This probably once involved more than four exogamous units, if such groups as On-the-Beaver, On-the-Ocean, and Fireweed, for example, were originally distinct from On-the-Wolf, On-the-Eagle, Raven, Bear, Killerwhale, etc. Indeed, the Carrier multiple sib system suggests this pattern.

The names of crests symbolic of many of the groups also argue their interior origin. Thus, the Golden Eagle of the mountains became the Fish Hawk or mysterious Mother of the Thunderbird among the southern Tlingit unfamiliar with this eagle. The white-headed Bald Eagle of the coast naturally replaced the white Seagull so conspicuous along inland rivers. And Raven himself is only the Little Old Crow of the Athapaskans, made great. It can hardly be a coincidence that this "grandfather" of so many kin groups, this famous Trickster-Transformer of mythology, is no longer to be considered an immigrant from northeastern Asia to the Northwest Coast, from which news of his exploits have filtered to the interior and to the Eskimo. Rather, as Chowning (1962) has demonstrated, he is an invention of the Athapaskans. Thus the Wolf and the Raven (or Crow), like Bear, Beaver, Marten, Seagull, Fireweed, and the matrilineal groups for which they serve as designations, were not born on the Northwest Coast, but in the heartland of the western Athapaskans.

The origins of these symbols or crests are ascribed to the supernatural adventures of the ancestors, similar to those which endow a shaman with his powers. Even though the ancestors who found the baby among the caribou or encountered the bear or put the fireweed in their hair are not specified as shamans, it must be remembered that for the Athapaskans almost every old person is considered to be something of a shaman. The importance of birds as crests suggests Siberian analogies. Not only are birds the familiars of the Siberian shaman, but his costume transforms the man into a bird. Important also as guardian spirits are the bear, the reindeer, and the fish (Michael 1963). It may be no coincidence that these creatures are almost universally associated with the most important matrilineal kin groups among the Athapaskans of Alaska and the Yukon.

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