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THE STRUCTURE OF IGLULIGMIUT LOCAL GROUPINGS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Eskimo is one of the most written about groups in the world. Aside from the popular accounts of Eskimo life, ethnographers have produced a wide-ranging body of data. Principal areas of concern have been folklore, material culture and, more recently, cultural change, with interest in features of Eskimo social life remaining largely peripheral. Though subordinate to these other interests, concern with social customs in the American Arctic has had a long history and, consequently, there is a sizable volume of material now available.

Morgan's<sup>1</sup> presentation of kinship terminologies collected in the Arctic by whalers was an important beginning of anthropological interest in Eskimo social life, even though he did not attempt to relate these kinship facts to the social life itself. Instead, he used the terminologies in his broad scheme of the worldwide distribution of kinship systems.

In his pioneering ethnography, The Central Eskimo (1888), Boas,<sup>2</sup> though not particularly concerned with social customs, did make some important observations about them. Most significant is

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<sup>1</sup>Lewis Henry Morgan, Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family (Washington: Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, 1871).

<sup>2</sup>Franz Boas, The Central Eskimo (Washington: Bureau of American Ethnology, Sixth Annual Report, 1888).

his statement that: "The social order of the Eskimo is entirely founded on the ties of consanguinity and affinity between the individual families."<sup>1</sup> Beyond this general statement, however, there was no attempt on his part to explore the area of kinship, even to the extent of recording terminologies.

Another early ethnographer was Holm<sup>2</sup> whose report of field work among the Angmagssalik Eskimo included certain demographic data that is useful to the sociologically oriented anthropologist--the sort of data that was too often lacking in the work of later field researchers.

The first important social theorist to work with Eskimo data was Mauss who evolved a theory of Eskimo social life that was related to the seasonal fluctuations in the density of human aggregations which brought about the existence of two distinct entities; the summer society and the winter society.

During the first quarter of the present century a series of field studies provided the bases for ethnographic accounts that were to shape thinking about the Eskimo for a period that reached until the past five years. These accounts included Stefansson,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 578.

<sup>2</sup>G. Holm, "Ethnological Sketch of the Angmagssalik Eskimos," The Ammassalik Eskimo, ed. William Thalbitzer ("Meddelelser om Gronland," Bind XXXIX; Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1914).

<sup>3</sup>Vilhjalmur Stefansson, The Stefansson-Anderson Expedition (Vol. XIV, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History; New York: Museum of Natural History, 1914).

Jenness,<sup>1</sup> Mathiassen,<sup>2</sup> Rasmussen,<sup>3</sup> and Birket-Smith.<sup>4</sup> Aside from rebuttals of Mauss, which were at times based on misunderstandings regarding his sociological orientation, these reports contained little theorizing in the area of social life. Sociological data were usually treated as plainly descriptive and were presented in the categorized fashion that was used in the handling of linguistic or material cultural facts.

Spier's<sup>5</sup> classification of "Eskimo type" kinship terminology which emphasized a cousin system identical with our own, represented a return to the interests of Morgan and laid the foundations for further theorizing on Eskimo kinship structure and social organization. Linton,<sup>6</sup> in this context, put the Eskimo with ourselves at one end of a scale as "devotees of conjugal organization"

<sup>1</sup>Diamond Jenness, The Life of the Copper Eskimo (Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, Vol. XII; Ottawa: Acland, 1922).

<sup>2</sup>Therkel Mathiassen, Material Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. VI; Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, 1928).

<sup>3</sup>Knud Rasmussen, People of the Polar North (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1908); idem, The Netsilik Eskimo: Social Life and Spiritual Culture (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. VIII; Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, 1931); idem, Intellectual Culture of the Copper Eskimos (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. IX; Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, 1932).

<sup>4</sup>Kaj Birket-Smith, Ethnography of the Egedesminde District (Meddelelser om Grønland, Vol. LXVI; Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1924). Idem, The Caribou Eskimo (Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. III; Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1929).

<sup>5</sup>Leslie Spier, "The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America," University of Washington Publications in Anthropology, I (1925), 69-88.

<sup>6</sup>Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1936).

as opposed to the Nayar who were seen as exclusively "consanguineal" in their family organization. These two stereotypes of Linton (prominence of the "conjugal" or nuclear family) and Spier (a term common to all cousins, but separate from siblings) were to play important roles in thinking about Eskimo social life, especially since that particular cousin system has been associated with an emphasis on the nuclear family.<sup>1</sup>

Murdock's<sup>2</sup> interests were broader than those of Spier or Linton, for, on the basis of Jenness's and Holm's work, he sought to define a particular type of social organization that was to apply elsewhere in the world. He outlined that "type" as follows:

By definition, the Eskimo type includes all societies with Eskimo cousin terminology and no exogamous unilinear kin groups. In addition, as theory leads us to expect, it is characterized by monogamy, independent nuclear families, lineal terms for aunts and nieces, the bilateral kin groups as kindreds and demes, though these may often be unreported.<sup>3</sup>

After surveying the literature on social organization from thirteen Eskimo societies Valentine<sup>4</sup> found enough homogeneity throughout for all to be classed within Murdock's "type." His most crucial criterion was the absence of unilinear descent groups.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Gertrude E. Dole, "The Classification of Yankee Nomenclature in the Light of Evolution in Kinship," Essays in the Science of Culture, ed. Gertrude E. Dole and Robert L. Caniero (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960), pp. 162-78.

<sup>2</sup>George Peter Murdock, Social Structure (New York: Macmillan, 1949).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>4</sup>Charles A. Valentine, "Toward a Definition of Eskimo Social Organization" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1952).

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 162-63.

Subsequent writers, however, have stressed diversity rather than unity in the social life of Eskimo regions. Sperry<sup>1</sup> found three distinct cousin terminologies to be represented in the literature. He saw each as corresponding to a separate ecological zone. Giddings,<sup>2</sup> using Lantis'<sup>3</sup> Nunivak Island material, together with other data from the Alaska-Bering Sea area, indicated divergences from Murdock's "type" in kinship terminology, incest regulations, and residence patterns.

More recently, there has been a return to the field and a badly needed body of new data is beginning to appear on the basis of a number of ethnographers' efforts. Spencer,<sup>4</sup> Hughes,<sup>5</sup> and Heinrich,<sup>6</sup> have made the most important contributions to our understanding of Eskimo social life in the Western area. Hughes, though dealing with a broad body of social and cultural data in the perspective of change, did provide important information on the social

<sup>1</sup>John Sperry, "Eskimo Kinship" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1952).

<sup>2</sup>James L. Giddings, Jr., "Observations on the 'Eskimo Type' of Kinship and Social Structure," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, I (December, 1952), 5-10.

<sup>3</sup>Margaret Lantis, The Social Culture of the Nunivak Eskimo (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. XXXV, No. 2; Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1946).

<sup>4</sup>Robert F. Spencer, The North Alaskan Eskimo: A Study in Ecology and Society (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 171; Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1959), "Eskimo Polyandry and Social Organization" (Proceedings of the Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958), pp. 539-44.

<sup>5</sup>Charles Campbell Hughes, "An Eskimo Deviant from the 'Eskimo Type' of Social Organization," American Anthropologist, LX (December, 1958), 1140-47. Idem, An Eskimo Village in the Modern World (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960).

<sup>6</sup>Albert Heinrich, "An Outline of the Kinship Systems of the Bering Straits Eskimos" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Education, University of Alaska, 1955). Idem, "Structural Features of Northwestern Alaskan Kinship," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XVI (1960), 110-26.

system of the St. Lawrence Island Eskimo. Of special significance was his analysis of the occurrence of unilineal tendencies and localized clans, the latter which he believed to have evolved from "social units which anciently were similar to the Eskimo bands we presently find in the Central and Eastern regions, upon which the 'Eskimo type' of social organization has been based."<sup>1</sup> Spencer also found many resemblances to the then conceived picture of Central and Eastern groups in his study of the North Alaskan Eskimo. His chief contribution to our understanding of Eskimo social practices came in the analysis of pseudo- or quasi-kinship institutions and in his conclusion that only minor social differences could be found between the coastal and inland dwelling groups. Heinrich,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand, using data collected from the same regions found terminological differences between the kinship systems of the Eskimo who lived in permanent winter villages at the coast and the more nomadic inland dwellers. Another important contribution by Heinrich was his exposition of the natqua concept which defined the range of most effective kinship alliances in the Alaskan groups that he had studied.<sup>3</sup> Chance<sup>4</sup> also worked in the Western Eskimo area but concentrated his analysis on the highly acculturated Barter Island group and their problems of adaptation to a wage labor economy and was only marginally concerned with aboriginal social practices.

<sup>1</sup>Hughes, American Anthropologist, LX, 1147.

<sup>2</sup>Heinrich, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XVI, 113.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Norman A. Chance, "Culture Change and Integration: An Eskimo Example," American Anthropologist, LXII (December, 1960), 1028-44.

A rebirth of interest in the Central and Eastern Eskimo was largely a product of the research programs of the Canadian Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources and of the National Museum of Canada. A number of brief field visits by anthropologists were sponsored by these agencies and the results of some of these studies had appeared in print at the time of this writing. Willmott<sup>1</sup> concerned himself with collecting a body of data covering many phases of culture and society in the Port Harrison region of Quebec. This account included some description of the social customs and some observations of group composition and leadership patterns. Willmott also compared the local terminological system and other features of social life with Murdock's conceptualization of the "Eskimo type" social organization and found both correspondences and divergences.<sup>2</sup> Van den Steenhoven's<sup>3</sup> report on the legal norms of the Pelly Bay Netsilik is important to us because of the data that is presented on leadership patterns, group composition, and on distribution methods--information that had previously been almost entirely lacking from the Central regions. Van Stone's and Oswalt's<sup>4</sup> report from Eskimo Point was mostly concerned with problems of administration regarding the Caribou Eskimo.

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<sup>1</sup>William E. Willmott, The Eskimo Community at Port Harrison, P.Q. (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Center, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-81.

<sup>3</sup>Geert Van den Steenhoven, Legal Concepts Among the Netsilik Eskimos of Pelly Bay, N.W.T. (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Center, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1959).

<sup>4</sup>James W. Van Stone and Wendall Oswalt, The Caribou Eskimos of Eskimo Point (Ottawa: Northern Research Center, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1960).



Of greater theoretical interest here is the work of Balikci<sup>1</sup> who sought out generalizations concerning differing directions of cultural and social change in several Central and Eastern Eskimo groups. Cross-areal comparison of the same sort as Balikci's more restricted studies was undertaken by Van Stone and Oswalt<sup>2</sup> in their treatment of material from two Alaskan communities and from Eskimo Point.

We have available, then, a growing body of knowledge about the Eskimo, some of which overlaps our interest here in social life. On the other hand, there has been little work done on the detailed analysis of society after the methods developed by British social anthropologists and adapted to the study of American Indian tribes by scholars on this side of the ocean.<sup>3</sup> Firth succinctly outlines the work of the social anthropologist:

To extract regularities from unfamiliar, obscure bodies of experience and express them as more general principles or tendencies of familiar kind is one way of defining, rather abstractly, the aim of social anthropology.<sup>4</sup>

It is in the light of this search for regularity that we will here consider data collected in the Iglulik region of Arctic Canada between August, 1960, and August, 1961.

<sup>1</sup>Asen Balikci, "Two Attempts at Community Organization Among the Eastern Hudson Bay Eskimos," Anthropologica, n.s., I (1959), 122-35. Idem, "Some Acculturative Trends Among Eastern Canadian Eskimos," Anthropologica, n.s., II (1960), 139-53.

<sup>2</sup>James W. Van Stone and Wendall Oswalt, "Three Eskimo Communities," Anthropological Papers of the University of Alaska, IX (December, 1960), 12-56.

<sup>3</sup>Social Anthropology of the North American Tribes, ed. Fred Eggan (enlarged edition; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

<sup>4</sup>Raymond Firth, Elements of Social Organization (London: Watts and Co., 1951), p. 6.

To be sure, the social anthropological or structural-functional orientation has been subject to criticism. Murdock<sup>1</sup> finds its scope to be too narrow and adjudges the British social anthropologists "sociologists." Kroeber,<sup>2</sup> too, is dissatisfied with their approach, since in his eyes it assumes a primacy of social life over other phases of culture as the legitimate concern of investigation. We acknowledge the basically sociological character of a great deal of the material that is best handled by the structural-functional approach but we do not assume the priority of the study of society, or specifically, of social structure over other areas of interest that anthropologists usually treat. Our reason for presenting a social anthropological study of the Igluligmiut lies, first, is the general neglect of the social sphere in ethnographies on the Eskimo. Secondly, it seems likely that a large part of the general ethnographic data that is available from our field study at Iglulik can be most systematically treated in the social anthropological tradition, for, as Eggan says, "The structural point of view makes possible a superior organization and interpretation of the cultural data and good monographs may well be related to this point of view."<sup>3</sup>

Because of considerations of general utility in social anthropological analysis as well as for reasons of focusing on problems that are of particular significance within the Eskimo area

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<sup>1</sup>George Peter Murdock, "British Social Anthropology," American Anthropologist, LIII (October-December, 1951), 456-73.

<sup>2</sup>A.L. Kroeber, Anthropology (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948), p. 267.

<sup>3</sup>Fred Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Method and Results," in Eggan, p. 745.

several aspects of the data gathered at Iglulik would seem to require treatment.

A great deal of interest in social anthropology has centered on kinship. Certainly studies carried out by scholars interested in this aspect of social life have strongly borne out that the connections of kin form bases for a large part of the social activity in preliterate societies. Indeed, Eggan says: "in some cases the kinship system represents practically the total social structure of the group."<sup>1</sup> This view of primitive social structure finds support in the Eskimo area in Boas' assertion mentioned above but still awaits greater affirmation in detailed study. The work so far done with Eskimo kinship (principally by Heinrich)<sup>2</sup> is suggestive of the fruitfulness of this emphasis in arriving at a general understanding of Eskimo social structure. Indeed, we will attempt to show that, on the basis of our field experience, the kinship structure provides the most pervasive means of ordering behavior in the Iglulik area. Accordingly, it seems appropriate that we should begin our discussion of the sociological material at hand with an analysis of the kinship terminology and the associated behavioral norms. This section will outline a large part of what is expected in the society and will provide useful tools for attacking the three major problems that will follow.

The first of these is the analysis of the composition of local groups in terms of kinship and non-kinship factors. Much social anthropological concern has related to the makeup of groups. The reason for this emphasis is evident from the following:

---

<sup>1</sup>Fred Eggan, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho Kinship System," ibid., p. 40.

<sup>2</sup>Heinrich, "An Outline of the Kinship Systems . . ." and Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XVI.

Individuals living in proximity are by this very fact welded into some form of unity; they are bound to come into frequent contact and to be faced with a variety of common tasks and problems of life; so that among them the awareness of belonging together, mutual familiarity and mutual adjustment of behavior will tend to arise spontaneously.<sup>1</sup>

It is apparent that if we wish to study the interaction of persons we must have knowledge of the sorts of alignments that are available for potential interaction. The study of group composition will take us a long way into the delineation of such alignments. This type of analysis is especially important in the case of Eskimo studies, both because of the almost total lack of published data of this nature and because of the contradictory interpretations of material in the areas of residence and group makeup that have been presented without the support of such evidence.

On the level of the primary forms of local affiliations the nuclear family has been posited as a diagnostic Eskimo social feature. Linton's commentary on the "conjugal" family of the Eskimo seems to rest on the account of the Smith Sound people by Rasmussen<sup>2</sup> as that is the only Eskimo ethnography that is cited in The Study of Man. Murdock's interpretations regarding that unit are based on Jenness<sup>3</sup> and Holm.<sup>4</sup> Though Jenness's evidence seems to point strongly toward the nucleation of family units, Holm's data is ambiguous enough to beg our further inquiry into the limits of the extended family. Weyer, after a survey of the literature on household composition, notes: "To summarize, the size of the Eskimo household varies

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<sup>1</sup>S.F. Nadel, The Foundations of Social Anthropology (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), p. 153.

<sup>2</sup>Rasmussen, People of the Polar North.

<sup>3</sup>Jenness, p. 77.

<sup>4</sup>Holm, pp. 35-38.

widely, but in its typical form consists of two or more families."<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the makeup of the supra-family ties, we have references from Boas,<sup>2</sup> Jenness,<sup>3</sup> Mathiassen,<sup>4</sup> and Willmott,<sup>5</sup> among others that kinship connections are, indeed, important in these larger aggregations but there is little specific detail given regarding the sorts of ties that are in effect in such groups. The extent of unilaterality or bilaterality, or of compositeness, has not been explored adequately enough to permit generalization.

In view of this confusion and lack of data within the Eskimo area, and also because we feel that the methodological utility of the analysis of group composition has not, in general, been fully exploited by anthropologists, our discussion of the Igluligmiut group structure will be somewhat more detailed than has typified either the ethnographic accounts of the Eskimo or the social anthropological analyses of other peoples.

Our second main problem is to consider the local groupings in time dimension. Much discussion has of late centered about the limitations of the synchronic approach to social structural studies.<sup>6</sup> More and more social anthropologists have begun to see what other branches of the study of man have long assumed: "some of our best insights into the nature of society and culture come

<sup>1</sup>Edward Moffatt Weyer, Jr., The Eskimos: Their Environment and Folkways (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932).

<sup>2</sup>Boas, p. 578.

<sup>3</sup>Jenness, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 209.

<sup>5</sup>Willmott, p. 144.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. Meyer Fortes, "Time and Social Structure," Social Structure: Studies Presented to A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, ed. Meyer Fortes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949), pp. 54-84; Julian H. Steward, Theory of Culture Change (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1955).

from seeing social structures and cultural patterns over time."<sup>1</sup> The time perspective would seem to be of special importance in the case of the study of Eskimo social groupings if we may judge from the prominent place that references to individual and group relocations have had in ethnographic accounts.

A foremost concern with regard to time in the Eskimo area has been the interest shown in the seasonal economic cycle.<sup>2</sup> Mauss,<sup>3</sup> in fact, has tried to interpret these economic cycles in terms of changes in the character of social life. Other excursions have been made into this realm of association but seldom are there specific details given by Eskimologists concerning actual changes in personnel in groups that are connected with the year's cycle.

Another feature of Eskimo society that has been emphasized is the general fluidity of individual and group location over time that is not connected with the seasonal cycle. Mathiassen<sup>4</sup> devotes space to the discussion of the mobility of individuals over a wide area and of their knowledge of a large geographical universe. Jenness<sup>5</sup> and Stefansson<sup>6</sup> also discuss the wide-ranging character of Eskimo movements and the fluid nature of the composition of

<sup>1</sup>Fred Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Method and Results," in Eggan, p. 500.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Boas, Mathiassen, The Material Culture, Rasmussen, The Netsilik Eskimo, Holm, and Willmott.

<sup>3</sup>Marcel Mauss and M.H. Beuchat, "Essai sur les variations saisonnières des Sociétés Eskimo," L'Année Sociologique (1904-1905).

<sup>4</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, pp. 21-22.

<sup>5</sup>Jenness, pp. 32-43.

<sup>6</sup>Vilhjalmur Stefansson, "Prehistoric and Present Commerce Along the Arctic Coast Eskimos," Geological Survey of Canada, Museum Bulletin, VI (1914), 1-29.

villages from year to year and over shorter periods. From these accounts and those regarding the seasonal character of aggregations it would seem that a consideration of the structure of local groups that does not consider variation over time would, indeed, be one-sided and superficial. The principal aim of this approach to the data will be to test the generalizations derived from the preceding synchronic analysis of group composition in terms of their applicability over longer and shorter stretches of time.

The analysis developed to this point will have been based largely on the framework of the kinship system and will have dealt with the description of the sorts of kinship affiliations that are important in aligning personnel in the local groupings. Local groupings themselves are comprised either in entirety or by segments of units that form the basis for action. We will move nearer a dynamic picture of Igluligmiut social life when we consider the structure and operation of cooperative networks and the diffusion of authority within them with respect to phases of the social life which require cooperation and leadership. It seems appropriate that the realm of economics should be the focus of our discussion of group activity in view of the interest that structurally oriented anthropologists have shown in that area. Firth says of this concern:

The anthropologist is interested in the structure and organization of economic activity for two reasons; most social relations have an economic coefficient; many social relations are primarily concerned with economic values.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, the value that the Eskimo themselves give to economic matters seems to make the examination of cooperation and leadership

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<sup>1</sup>Firth, p. 122.

patterns, which develop on the basis of cooperation and distribution in the area of subsistence, especially in order. The unique adaptiveness of the economic pursuits of the Eskimo has been subject to much study,<sup>1</sup> but much remains to be done in the area of the study of the sociological concomitants of economics in the American Arctic.

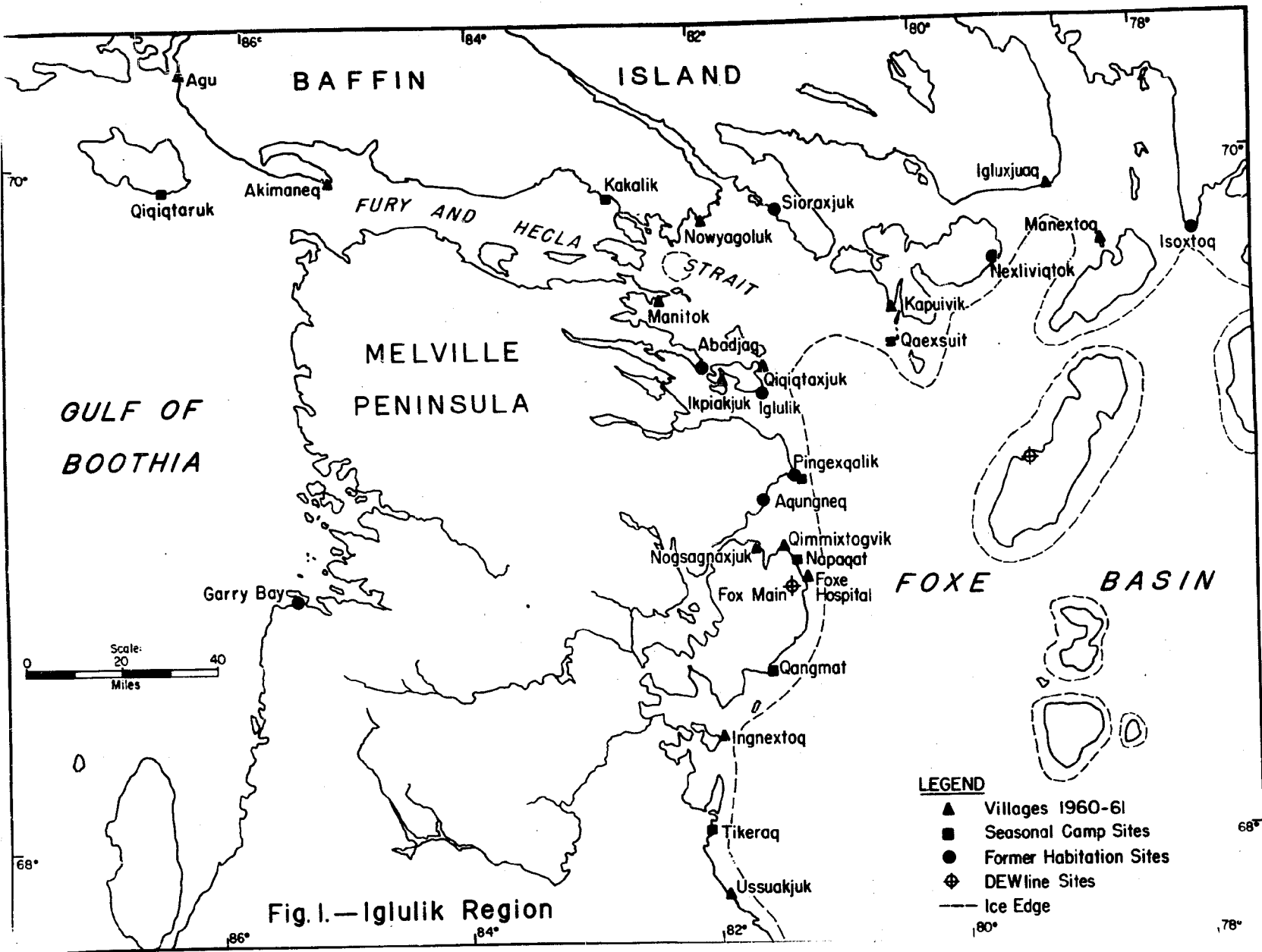
After the treatment of these main approaches to Igluligmiut society an attempt will be made to organize the material so presented in terms of various concepts and problems of social anthropology. The purpose of this summary section is aimed toward testing the usefulness of these concepts in the setting that we have used and to better organize our conclusions about the Igluligmiut society so that they can be used for purposes of wider Eskimo comparisons.

Throughout the body of the thesis we will be concerned principally with the Igluligmiut groups as they appeared in the year 1960-61. On the other hand we hope to gain greater comparative utility for our discussion through a consideration, as we go along, of the extent and character of contact-produced changes in the aspects of social life that we are considering. In order to obtain a clear picture of the economic and cultural changes that are responsible for the latter, and also to provide a physical and cultural backdrop for the more specialized sociological concern, a historical-descriptive section will precede the main analyses that have been outlined above.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Weyer, Kaj Birket-Smith, The Eskimos (rev.; London: Methuen, 1959).





## CHAPTER II

### THE COUNTRY AND HISTORY OF THE IGLULIGMIUT

The term Igluligmiut stems from the reference of other Eskimo to the groups of people that dwell in the area centered on the island of Iglulik (or "Igloolik" as it is sometimes listed on charts).<sup>1</sup> To the people in that general area the term applies only to those who inhabited the former village site at the southeast corner of that island.<sup>2</sup> The boundaries of the country of the Igluligmiut (in the broader sense, as we will be using the designation in this thesis) have been indicated as, in the south, "the stretch of coast between C. Wilson and C. Jermain which is uninhabitable as open water stretches right into the country in winter, whereas in summer the coast is often blockaded by drift-ice" and in the north by the watershed in the interior of Cockburn Land.<sup>3</sup> We might add to this description that to the southeast the range of the Igluligmiut extends to about Piling.

The physiography of the region so enclosed is divided chiefly into two zones--the "Southampton-Melville upland" comprised of "crystalline rocks" with elevations to 1,000 and 3,000 feet, and

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<sup>1</sup>We will follow the convention of Mathiassen in using "Iglulik" throughout this paper. The settlement on Turton Bay which is indicated as Igloolik on charts will here be referred to by its Eskimo name Ikpiakjuk.

<sup>2</sup>See the discussion of the Eskimo uses of the -miut post-base in Birket-Smith, The Eskimos, pp. 233-34.

<sup>3</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 21.

the "Foxe Basin Lowlands" which include the eastern third of Melville Peninsula and the islands at the north end of the basin as well as the Baffin Island shore to the eastward. These lowlands are generally less than 300 feet in elevation and composed mostly of "flat-lying Paleozoic limestone."<sup>1</sup> The glaciations have played an important role in shaping the land in this region. Sim<sup>2</sup> estimates that the total depression of land from the weight of the last ice advance in the north Melville Peninsula region as having been about 1,100 feet, of which about 450 feet have been regained through isotasy. The entire portion of the peninsula east of Hall Lake was submerged, along with the islands in the basin, the Steensby Inlet region, and both shores of Fury and Hecla Strait. This area pretty well coincides with the region of Igluligmiut wanderings. The limestone lowland gives support to several forms of plant life<sup>3</sup> but only the heather cassiope tetragona, is of direct use to the Eskimo. On the other hand, enough vegetation is present to have once supported large numbers of Barren Ground Caribou.<sup>4</sup> This animal is of importance to the Igluligmiut both for the meat, which

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<sup>1</sup>Y.O. Fortier, "The Arctic Archipelago," Geology and Economic Minerals of Canada, ed. C.H. Stockwell (Ottawa: Geological Survey, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, 1957), pp. 393-442.

<sup>2</sup>Victor W. Sim, "Patterns Resulting from Glacier Movements North of Foxe Basin, N.W.T.," Arctic, I (1958), 157-65.

<sup>3</sup>Nicholas Polunin, Botany of the Canadian Eastern Arctic, Part III, Vegetation and Ecology (Ottawa: Canada Department of Mines and Resources, National Museum of Canada Bulletin No. 104, Biological Series No. 32, 1948), pp. 63-64, 178-84.

<sup>4</sup>Rudolph Martin Anderson, Catalogue of Canadian Recent Mammals (Canada Department of Mines and Resources Bulletin No. 102, Biological Series No. 31; Ottawa: 1946), and T.H. Manning, "Notes on the Coastal District of the Eastern Barren Grounds and Melville Peninsula from Igloodik to Cape Fullerton," Canadian Geographical Journal, XXVI (February, 1943), 84-105.

is considered the greatest of delicacies, and for the skins which provide them with warm winter clothing. Today there are scattered remnants of caribou in the interior of Melville Peninsula and on Baffin Island, especially around Steensby Inlet, where they are most abundant in winter, and at Baird Peninsula, which is the best summer hunting ground today. Wolves seem to occur in conjunction with the caribou in the latter places. The only other land animal of consequence to the Eskimo is the arctic fox which also appears on sea ice and provides an important source of income.

Sea mammals are of great importance to the larder of the Igluligmiut. Walrus are the most prominent source of food for the people and their dogs alike. Apparently the large oyster beds in the region have been responsible for the long-termed and continued abundance of that animal in the north Foxe Basin region. The walrus occurs in greatest numbers at Ussuakjuk and at South Ooglit Island (near Qangmat) in the south and at the Calthorpe Islands and on the west shore of Rowley Island in the north. In the central part of the Igluligmiut domain that animal is most abundant seaward from Pingexqalik. Formerly the range of the walrus was more extensive and they were to be found closer to shore at Iglulik Point and as far west as Abadjaq.<sup>1</sup> The location of the chief settlements of the Igluligmiut has always been associated with the occurrence of walrus. Both the common ringed seal and the larger bearded seal, or square flipper, are found in the area. The fat of the former is especially valuable for fuel but that animal is not as numerous, in general, as in other Eskimo areas. The best

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<sup>1</sup>Graham Rowley, "The Dorset Culture of the Eastern Arctic," American Anthropologist, XLIII (January-March, 1940), 491.

places for seals are in the region of Agu Bay, the narrows of the strait at Ormandy Island, and off Sioraxjuk Peninsula. The beluga whale appears in small numbers in Foxe Basin and the narwhal seems to be returning to the area.

In climate the regions under consideration are "Arctic-continental" with high relative humidity, low precipitation, and cold winters and cool summers.<sup>1</sup> Mathiassen says, concerning the winds: "During a greater part of the year a north and north-west wind blows; the direction of the wind is only more variable in summer. Violent gales are rare; but on the other hand, complete calm is also rare. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

The following list of monthly Fahrenheit means taken at Hall Lake is fairly representative for the region:<sup>3</sup>

January . . . . .	-19
February. . . . .	-22
March . . . . .	-15
April . . . . .	- 8
May . . . . .	18
June. . . . .	32
July. . . . .	43
August. . . . .	40
September . . . . .	32
October . . . . .	17
November. . . . .	-10
December. . . . .	-18
Annual. . . . .	8

The condition of the sea ice plays an important role in

<sup>1</sup>Pilot of Arctic Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Hydrographic Service, 1959), I, 121-32, and H.D. Wilson, "The Major Factors of Arctic Climate," Geology of the Arctic, Vol. II (Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Arctic Geology, ed., Gilbert O. Raasch; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 915-30.

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>M.K. Thomas, "A Summary of Temperature in the Canadian Arctic," Geology of the Arctic, Vol. II, ed. Gilbert O. Raasch (Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Arctic Geology; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 4-54.

the subsistence pursuits and the traveling of the Igluligmiut. Figure 1 shows the approximate maximum of the landfast ice in winter. This maximum expansion from the shoreline seems to occur in April and recession begins in May, though the actual breakup of ice in sheltered bays is delayed until late July or early August. (In 1961 Turton Bay, Iglulik Island and Skeoch Bay on Jens Munk Island were free of landfast ice on July 21, which date is rather earlier than usual. The sea commences to freeze sometime in October. In 1960 Turton Bay and Skeoch Bay were frozen over on October 25, this being the latest date on record.) Ice was still moving in Fury and Hecla Strait between Jens Munk and Iglulik Islands on December 21, 1960, but this, again, is late. Open current holes in the ice occur at the narrows of the strait all winter long.

The widespread occurrence of ruins attests that the Iglulik area has been a center of habitation for many years. Meldgaard's<sup>1</sup> radio-carbon date of 3700  $\pm$  300 years indicates the oldest trace of culture yet to be found thereabouts. Three distinct culture sequences are indicated by Meldgaard:<sup>2</sup> (1) Pre Dorset (Meldgaard calls this the Sarqaq) which is represented by microliths and by stone tent rings. This sequence ranges in age from 1800 B.C. to 800 B.C. in this region, and shows affinities with Asiatic and Alaskan assemblages from an earlier period. (2) Dorset, which

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<sup>1</sup>Jorgen Meldgaard, "Prehistoric Culture Sequences in the Eastern Arctic as Elucidated by Stratified Sites at Igloolik," Man and Cultures, ed. F.C. Wallace, Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, September 1-9, 1956 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960), p. 590.

<sup>2</sup>Jorgen Meldgaard, "Origin and Evolution of Eskimo Culture, in the Eastern Arctic," Canadian Geographical Journal, IX (February, 1960), 64-75.

Meldgaard sees as finding traces of Eastern Woodland similarities. The period of this culture in the Iglulik area dates from the end of the Sarqaq period until after 1300 A.D. when it blends with Thule. Dorset is here represented by flint tools and by square, semi-subterranean houses. Meldgaard<sup>1</sup> and Roussilier<sup>2</sup> trace the origin of Tunit legends to the bearers of the Dorset culture.

(3) Thule, which entered the region about 1300 A.D. and is represented by whalebone houses and slate and bone tools. Its bearers seem to be the direct ancestors of the modern inhabitants of the Iglulik region, though there are traces of Dorset influences that persist into the present.<sup>3</sup>

It is the Thule culture that chiefly interests us here. Mathiassen, who named and first defined that culture, describes it as follows:

It presents to us a people, living in permanent winter houses by the coast, in conical tents in the summer, hunting the whale, the walrus, the seal, the bear, and the caribou, trapping foxes, catching birds and salmon, all by means of a highly developed implement technique. . . . It is an Eskimo culture which in many respects is richer and more developed than that met with among the present day Central Eskimos. The Thule culture is by no means a primitive culture.<sup>4</sup>

Thule remains are to be found at a number of places about the Iglulik region. Pingexqalik, Qaexsuit, in the Calthorpes,

<sup>1</sup>Meldgaard, "Prehistoric Culture Sequences," in Wallace, pp. 597-99.

<sup>2</sup>Guy Marie Rousseliere, O.M.I., "The 'Tunit' According to Igluligmiut Traditions," Eskimo, XXXV (1955), 14-19.

<sup>3</sup>Meldgaard, Canadian Geographical Journal, LX, 70.

<sup>4</sup>Therkel Mathiassen, The Thule Culture and Its Position Within the Eskimo Culture, Archeaology of the Central Eskimos II, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24 (Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel, 1927), IV, 6.

Iglulik Point, and Fox Main have the largest collections of these ruins. The use of whalebone for rafters of these houses is evident to the casual observer, and Mathiassen<sup>1</sup> assumes the presence of earth rooves on the basis of fill deposits. He is careful to distinguish the completely earthen houses, which he traces to Thule, from the skin-roofed dwellings called qangmat which are a more recent house type. Perhaps this distinction is, however, overdrawn<sup>2</sup> as may be his general sharp separation of Thule from modern Eskimo.

Mathiassen's analysis of the material culture of the Thule culture with an eye toward modern comparisons reveals that the closest modern representatives of that culture are the Point Barrow Eskimo, the Greenland groups next, with an apparent gap in Thule traits in the modern Central Eskimo groups.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, he found the Iglulik Eskimo to show a much less marked transition from the earlier period than did other Central Eskimo. Chief among the traits shared by Thule and the Igluligmiut is the great dependence on large sea mammals and the use of permanent or semi-permanent houses for at least part of the winter.

The first accounts of the Igluligmiut<sup>4</sup> stem from Parry's unsuccessful attempt to navigate Fury and Hecla Strait and his enforced wintering at Turton Bay in 1822-23. One of the recurrent

<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>2</sup>T.H. Manning, "Eskimo Stone Houses in Foxe Basin," Arctic, III (1950), 111.

<sup>3</sup>Mathiassen, The Thule Culture, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup>William Edward Parry, Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific, 1821-22-23 (New York: E. Duycinck, 1824), and G.F. Lyon, The Journal of Captain G.F. Lyon (London: John Murray, 1824).



observations that set off these accounts from other early reports about the Eskimo is the mention of periodical but frequent overeating on the part of the natives. Although occasional short-termed food shortages are reported, for the most part these Eskimo enjoyed a high level of subsistence. In fact, Parry<sup>1</sup> relates most of their physical ailments to the after effects of overeating.

The large number of walrus to be found in the area seem to be responsible for this plenty, though the means at hand for hunting this animal were not too efficient. In the summer walrus were hunted from kayaks, usually by pairs or groups of men. This was a dangerous sport and, undoubtedly, not always successful. In the winter the animal was hunted through the new-forming ice as today. Such hunts require special conditions of wind (easterly) which do not often occur at that season. Seals were hunted in winter at breathing holes by the waiting or maulexpok method, in the spring by the utoq or crawling method, and in the summer from kayaks. Caribou were hunted mainly in the summer and autumn with the use of bows and arrows, often with the aid of inuksut or man-like rows of stones used as decoys.

Parry<sup>2</sup> mentions whale hunting at Repulse Bay and adjudges it to be the animal that the Eskimo are least equipped for hunting. The kayak was the only watercraft known at either Repulse or Iglulik so it would seem from Parry's description of hunting with the kayak that the pursuit of whales could not often have been successful. This source makes no mention of whale hunting at Iglulik but there was then much use made of whalebone, including rafters for the "demi-huts" or qangmat, material for household utensils, and for sledge

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<sup>1</sup>Parry, p. 213.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 509.

runners. The scarcity of wood made such bone products necessary. In view of the difficulties of hunting the whale with the kayak it seems likely that most of the bone in use around Iglulik came from the bodies of stranded whales, and had been accumulated over many years.

The pursuit of the above named animals had an effect upon the seasonal movements of the people. In September a large number gathered at Iglulik, many of whom moved into the *qangmat* while the hunting of the walrus was carried on. Throughout the fall and into the first half of winter large populations lived there on the stores of the summer and early autumn walrus catch. Between mid-December and the beginning of February they moved in small groups onto the ice where two snowhouse villages grew during that time. There and at Pingexqalik seals were secured by the maulexpok method and walrus taken at the ice edge in favorable winds. By the end of April further splitting of the villages occurred and utoq sealing became the chief occupation, with pairs of hunters being the normal party. The greatest dispersal and movement of people occurred in the summer when some of them wandered inland after caribou and others stayed at points on the shore and pursued seal and walrus with kayaks.<sup>1</sup>

The life of the people at the time of Parry's visit revealed a number of features that show links with widespread Eskimo practices. Among these were the occurrence of spouse-exchange, drum dances, extensive adoption and the influence of the shaman. The abandonment of the ill is mentioned but there is no discussion of infanticide. Parry<sup>2</sup> notes that the number of natives at Winter Island and at Iglulik totaled 219, which number included 69 men,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 450; Lyon, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup>Parry, p. 408.

77 women, and 73 children. This census shows that there are about two adults to every child in the population. Such a ratio would seem to reflect the low fecundity of the females as attested by Parry but, in addition, there may be grounds for the suspicion of infanticide. The nearly equal sex ratio in adults would seem to indicate that neither sex was singled out in this practice, if, indeed, it did occur.

With regard to the main areas of population, though Iglulik Point was the most important rendezvous, Lyon<sup>1</sup> names three other sites of habitation on Iglulik Island, though these were populated seasonally. Amitsoq was evidently another wintering spot. The Ooglit Islands and Pingexqalik were also important late winter sites. The Piling people seemed to be rather set off from the Igluligmiut and Boas considers them a separate group that roamed as far as Nettelling Lake in southern Baffin Island.<sup>2</sup>

Aside from the movements within the area, the Igluligmiut contacts with neighbors to the north (Pond Inlet and Admiralty Inlet Eskimo) and to the south (Repulse Bay people) were frequent. Indeed, Manning<sup>3</sup> surmises that in the south indirect contact with the trading sloop of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fullerton Harbor accounted for the presence of iron implements at Iglulik at the time of Parry's visit.<sup>4</sup> Record of knowledge of whalers at Pond Inlet was already noted as well, but the Igluligmiut had no

The picture of the culture that emerges from these descrip-

<sup>1</sup>Lyon, pp. 447-49.

<sup>2</sup>Boas, p. 444.

<sup>3</sup>Manning, Canadian Geographical Journal, XXVI, 101.

<sup>4</sup>Parry, pp. 503-504.

tions of Parry and Lyon represent a Central Eskimo culture modified by the ingredient of large numbers of walrus which made possible a somewhat higher level of subsistence than was available for groups further west. Probably connected to this factor was the collection of a large number of people in one spot to live off the summer's catch for up to four months of the year. Many of these people lived in the semi-permanent dwellings, the gangmat, which was not used among other central Eskimo groups. The Igluligmiut seem to represent a culture intermediate between the more permanent winter villages of the Point Barrow people and the much more nomadic Netsilik Eskimo or Copper Eskimo. The material culture in the area suffers a certain impoverishment because of the lack of wood. No rivers leading from wooded areas feed the shores of the Igluligmiut domain and the ocean currents flow southward from Fury and Hecla Strait along Melville Peninsula.<sup>1</sup> The lack of wood probably accounts for the absence of the umiak in this area. That artifact would have enhanced the economic level of the Igluligmiut and made the contrast with other central groups even more marked. The caribou was probably less important for the Igluligmiut than for groups further west because a good part of the summer was devoted to hunting sea mammals, a practice not found among such groups as the Copper Eskimo or Netsilik Eskimo.

Hall visited the Iglulik region in 1867 and again in 1868. At those times he noted villages at the Ooglits, Iglulik, and Term Island.<sup>2</sup> He counted a village of 23 snow houses off Iglulik Point.

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<sup>1</sup>Pilot of Arctic Canada, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>J.E. Nourse, Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition Made by Charles F. Hall (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879).

Since his visits were brief and the only account available regarding them is one written after his death and after the loss of notes, it is of little value in our account. Nourse's book did mention the wintering of ships at Depot Island and at Repulse Bay which indicates frequent direct contact with natives of those localities (and probably indirect as well) through inter-tribal trade by the Igluligmiut. Even though there is no record of whalers operating in the Iglulik region<sup>1</sup> a certain amount of trade goods made its way into the area. Since in later years as well as during the nineteenth century there seems to have been much travel between the areas of Pond Inlet, Repulse Bay, and Iglulik<sup>2</sup> it is likely that the racial intermixture that is found today in the region had roots in this period. The introduction of the Scottish reels into the country had an immediate effect so that by 1900 the native dances were completely supplanted.<sup>3</sup>

Trading posts were established at Fullerton Harbor, and at Pond Inlet in 1903, at Chesterfield in 1912, and at Repulse Bay in 1921. At Repulse Bay the whaleboat introduced by the whalers, but also later provided by the traders, greatly facilitated walrus and whale hunting among the Aivilligmiut of Repulse Bay and Southampton Island. At Iglulik, on the other hand, none of these wooden craft were in evidence at the time of Mathiassen's visits in 1922 and 1923. Rather, the Igluligmiut used a wooden framed but skin shelled craft modeled after the whaleboat, but of much smaller size.<sup>4</sup> The latter seemed to have little effect on the

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<sup>1</sup>Manning, Canadian Geographical Journal, XXVI, 105.

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 228.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

economy, however, though older informants indicate that they were somewhat better than the kayak (which by 1922 had virtually disappeared from Iglulik) in the walrus hunt. The introduction of the rifle early in the twentieth century was important, for caribou hunting then became a much more productive enterprise. However, because of the inaccessibility of Iglulik from the traders, as well as, perhaps, the little emphasis put on fox trapping in that era, ammunition shortages were frequent. One of my leading informants recalls that in years when there were plenty of shells his family lived through the winter on stores of caribou meat killed in the summer and early fall. This was usually in the Piling or the Grant-Suttee Bay regions. In other years when shells were few the economy was based more on the walrus and the seal which could be secured with harpoons.

Boas<sup>1</sup> outlined the seasonal cycle of economics activities on the basis of data from Parry and Hall. This follows closely the resume that we have given above. Mathiassen's account of the seasonal cycle is based on informant testimony and checks closely with our own information based on the same sort of sources. For the latter half of the nineteenth and the first twenty years of the twentieth century the following description seems applicable:

The spring was spent at Iglulik, Qeqerjuk on the northeast end of Iglulik Island and on the ice north of it, hunting utoq seal. Before the ice broke up they carried a part of the blubber to Qupersortuaq, on the mainland south of Iglulik, Alarnang and Pingerqalik, and later, when the ice had quite disappeared, from Arversiorvik, a little way inside Pingexqalik. In September the old men went to the island hunting, whilst the young men went caribou hunting, partly on the mainland within Richard's Bay and Hooper Inlet and round Hall's Lake, partly on the north side of Fury and Hecla Strait. When the ice formed and the hair of the caribou became long to be suitable for clothing skins,

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<sup>1</sup>Boas, p. 444.

the skins were taken to Apatdleq, where the sewing of caribou skins took place. About the new year they assembled at the two winter settlements, Iglulik and Pingexqalik, and hunted the walrus from the ice edge and seals at breathing holes.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting feature of this description is the splitting of the groups in summer, the older men remaining at the sea shore and the younger roaming inland after the caribou. This split is not seen among other Central Eskimo groups. It attests to the relatively greater importance of sea mammals over the caribou in the Iglulik region. In other regions a taboo extended against hunting the sea animals in summer usually split the cycle rather neatly between an inland and a coastal phase.<sup>2</sup> Certain aspects of the seasonal split in the economic life seemed to have survived in this area from the widespread Eskimo traditions regarding sea animals and land animals. Some of my older informants remember when caribou skins were sewn only on land, and they also noted the taboos against using the same pot for cooking seal and caribou meat. In addition, the tradition of the tug-of-war between those born in the season when tents are used (the aggiaxjuk or "squaw ducks") and those born in the season when the snowhouse or gangmat are used (the axqixjeq or ptarmigan) is known, although the nature of the outcome with regard to seasonal length reported by Boas<sup>3</sup> is not remembered.

Manning<sup>4</sup> feels that there was only a slight reduction of population between the visits of Parry and Mathiassen. The latter's own census shows 504 for the area of the "Iglulik Eskimo"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 35-36, and Jenness, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup>Boas, p. 605.

<sup>4</sup>Manning, Canadian Geographical Journal, XXVI, 103.

<sup>5</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, pp. 15-21.

includes the Igluligmiut, the peoples of Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay and Repulse Bay regions) whereas Manning estimates from Parry's and Lyons' accounts that 540 inhabited the same general area in 1621-23. Mathiassen, himself thought that the population had become much reduced by his time, mostly on account of diseases brought by the whalers. It is indeed difficult to judge the completeness of Parry's census whereas this writer has found Mathiassen's to be extremely accurate for the Igluligmiut themselves. Parry's account indicates that most of the Igluligmiut wintered in the vicinity of his ships at Iglulik Island, 1822-23. Indeed no one was living at Amitsoq when that point was visited in the summer of 1822. The total around the ship when it wintered at Turton Bay was given as 155.<sup>1</sup> This number compares well with the total of 146 Igluligmiut proper counted by Mathiassen.<sup>2</sup> The population structure seems to be about the same over this 100 year span, for the ratio of adults to children noted by Parry for the Winter Island and Iglulik people combined was 2/1 and Mathiassen's data shows 1.8/1. The ratio of men to women is also similar in these populations, women being superior in number in both censuses, the ratios being 1.11/1 for the earlier and 1.09/1 for the later census. The slight predominance of females might be attributed to the more hazardous occupations of the males. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that female infanticide was widely practiced. Mathiassen remarks, as did Parry, on the low number of births and indicates that about half of those born die (apparently while they are still infants).<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of a form of Christianity in 1920 by

<sup>1</sup>Parry, p. 492.

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 21.



Umiq, a Pond Inlet native, took hold fast and the shamans were supplanted very quickly. Sometime thereafter the practice of spouse exchange, too, was said to have been abandoned by the Igluligmiut. This observer has some evidence that spouse-trading still goes on, though not for long periods as in the past. The line between spouse exchange and trial marriage is narrow.

Mathiassen says of these practices:

The marriage state is not very stable. Exchanging wives and divorce followed by a new marriage, are common and are looked upon as natural occurrences; when a couple separate the children belong to the mother, and therefore marriages in which there are children, especially sons, are more stable than childless marriages. But even then marriage may be too much for these people; with smiles and much head-shaking they told me, for example, of a young man who was about to exchange his fourth wife.<sup>1</sup>

According to my informants this exchanging of spouses on a trial marriage basis was done early in marriage in many or most cases. This picture of brittle marriage is a contrast to the situation today where there is no divorce and spouse exchange is not acknowledged. The increased stability of the marriage state seems to result from missionary influence but evidently came after contact with the white Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries visiting the Iglulik area, beginning about 1930. The native religious leader, Umiq, himself practiced spouse exchange,<sup>2</sup> evidently finding no contradiction between this practice and the form of Christianity that he brought to Iglulik.

By 1930 the whaleboat had made its appearance in the country. The purchase of these craft was made possible through the fox and bearskin trade. Some idea of the purchasing power of the Eskimo at the time that the wooden boat was introduced into

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 211.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 235.

the area can be seen from the following:<sup>1</sup>

<u>Average Fox Prices</u>	<u>Boat Prices in Same Period</u>
1924 . . . . \$13	Complete without motor
1925 . . . . \$15	\$1,200
1926 . . . . \$14	Complete with motor
1927 . . . . \$14	\$1,800

Thus about 85 furs would be needed to purchase a sailing boat (the only type known in this area at that time). Since other needs as rifles and ammunition would have to be supplied by fur profits and since even after the establishment of a post at Iglulik the fur take continued small, it is likely that several men saved for several years to make possible a whaleboat purchase.<sup>2</sup>

In the early 1930's there were only three or four of these craft in the region but they had already made an impact on the economy. At that time the population became largely concentrated in two main winter villages at Aqungneq and Abadjaq. These villages had a new mode of construction, a gangmat which was usually rectangular rather than round, walled with sod and roofed with skin and, sometimes, canvas. Informant recall data puts the construction of the gangmat at Aqungneq at 1931 and Rowley<sup>3</sup> dates the houses built at Abadjaq at 1933. These structures became the chief form of winter dwelling until about 1959. To be sure, until the present day the snowhouse, lined with canvas (earlier, skin), is used at newly established camps or temporary trapping outposts,

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<sup>1</sup>This information was made available through the courtesy of Mr. P.A.C. Nichols, Manager, Arctic Division Hudson's Bay Co.

<sup>2</sup>Polar bear have always been rare in this area and could not account for much of the fur trade profits of the Igluligmiut.

<sup>3</sup>Rowley, p. 491.

and, of course, the low-roofed snow house is still the shelter used while traveling in the wintertime.

Some of my informants relate the adoption of the rectangular qangmat to the increased availability of wood. The older sort of qangmat built in the ruins of Thule houses, they say, was unsuitable for long winter habitation because the roofs were not strong enough to hold the weight of snow that accumulated at the sides and on top of those shelters. It is likely that the prestige value of having a "modern" house in the style introduced at Pond Inlet by white men<sup>1</sup> was important as well. Indeed, today great importance is placed on the size, modernness, and style of the house that a man owns. These reasons were both probably secondary to the use of the whaleboat. The boats made possible larger catches of walrus than had ever before been known in the area, so that people congregated in places where a boat was owned and the winter villages, now of the more permanent sort were built so that there would be easy access to the caches of walrus meat.

Along with the introduction of the whaleboat, the rifle and the trap came changes in the seasonal economic cycle. A chief informant has related to me the seasonal cyclic picture for Aqungneq for the early 1930's. During the autumn and early winter the people lived on stores of walrus meat accumulated from the summer boat hunts, supplemented by seals killed by the maulexpok method. This resource was needed more for the fat, which was burned as fuel, than for meat. Another wintertime activity was fox trapping. In March when the stores from the summer were nearly exhausted the group moved into snow houses on the Ooglit Islands from where they

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<sup>1</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 140.

hunted walrus when the wind was favorable and shot seals at the ice edge. This new method of sealing became more popular than the maulexpok method as ammunition supplies became more available.<sup>1</sup> When bullets were scarce, however, the maulexpok technique still played an important role. Later in the spring the people moved back into their gangmat briefly from where they hunted the seal by the utoq method on Foster Bay. During the late spring and the summer tents were pitched, usually at Qimmixtogvik from where first utoq sealing and then the walrus hunts from boats proceeded. Late in summer and during September the young men with their families hunted caribou inland around Hall Lake or on Baffin Island.<sup>2</sup>

The group at Abadjaq followed a similar cycle. When the winter stores became low the group relocated to Iglulik Point to the ice edge. During the spring they moved their snow house and later tent camps back into Hooper inlet as the ice receded. The summer was spent at Abadjaq since in those days walrus were plentiful there. The abadjaq group began to be converted to Catholicism in 1929 when a group of them contacted a Roman Catholic missionary at Pond Inlet. From 1931 onward an Oblate Father was resident first at Abadjaq and after 1937 at Ikpiakjuk. Today 40 per cent of the Igluligmiut are Catholic while the remainder are Anglican. We have noted that his latter faith was introduced by Umiq in 1920 but in subsequent years, visits from the Canon who usually lived at Pond Inlet, helped keep alive and undoubtedly somewhat sophisticated Anglicanism in the region.

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<sup>1</sup>This parallels the situation of change in hunting techniques at Pelly Bay. Balikci, Anthropologica, II, 43.

<sup>2</sup>Those who hunted on Baffin Island crossed the strait some time in June or early July, returning in the fall when it was frozen again.

By 1936 the walrus had all but disappeared from the Repulse Bay region and most of those from that region who had not already moved to Southampton Island now migrated to the Iglulik region.<sup>1</sup> Until 1939, when a post was established at Ikpiakjuk, the Igluligmiut traded at both Pond Inlet and at Repulse Bay. Since the supply ship failed to reach the post between 1940 and 1943 it was abandoned from the latter date until 1947. This meant that long trips were necessary in order to trade fox furs for valuable store goods, as in previous years. The ice conditions that prevented easy access by sea have undoubtedly played an important part in the gradualness of acculturative changes in the area.

Though the people did not have ready access to the goods of civilization in the 1930's and 1940's they were probably going through the stage of their greatest economic well-being from the standpoint of meat production. This period spanned the years during which the whaleboat had greatly improved the success in the hunt, while at the same time walrus had continued to occur in great numbers and their range still extended close to shore. Although the population had doubled, largely through immigration, this improved exploitative situation enabled them to all subsist well in the region. The number of dogs that an Eskimo is able to support is often an important gauge to prosperity since feed for dogs in most Eskimo communities is a larger item than human food. Some natives say that the number of dogs that were used in the area was formerly greater than today. Indeed, Manning<sup>2</sup> estimates for the late thirties that the average number of dogs per team for

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<sup>1</sup>Manning, Canadian Geographical Journal, XXVI, 101-102.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 102.

the Iglulik region was 15 and that some teams had as many as 30. Today the average for the region is 11 and the maximum about 16. In comparing these figures as a guage of economic decline in the region we must use caution. Formerly good wooden sledges were few and it is possible that many of the young men, who would today have teams and sledges of their own, perhaps had dogs but no material for sledge building and thus ran their animals with those of their fathers. In such a case the number of dogs in a team would not necessarily reflect the total number of animals in the region.

Around 1940 the population spread to a number of new sites of habitation. Manning indicates that this may have been due to the encouragement of the trader to scatter the population to better exploit the fur resources.<sup>1</sup> The Eskimos themselves relate the more dispersed settlement to the emphasis on trapping, but it seems to us that other factors were equally important. For one thing, we must refer to the continued rather poor development of the trapping industry that has persisted in the region and the relation of many settlements primarily to areas of good sealing and walrus hunting at that time, as today. The two main settlements and third area of long-termed settlement (at Steensby Inlet) all remained about the same size (below 100 persons, with 80 being the likely maximum at that time). The swelling local population, mostly brought about by immigration, was absorbed by the establishment of new village sites. Several families moved up from Repulse Bay in 1939, one going to Arctic Bay and the other becoming thereafter associated with the Jens Munk Island region. Another group moved up from Chesterfield at about the same time and, after a short sojourn at

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

Jens Munk became identified with Manitok. A third group moved down from Arctic Bay in the late 1930's and shared the whaleboat of another family at Gifford Fjord.

The acquisition of whaleboats by some families gave them enough independence to break off from the larger aggregations which may have reached their optimum size for the best exploitation of local game resources. In this connection one group moved from Aqungneq after getting a boat from Repulse Bay and since that time has resided near Kapuivik on Jens Munk Island. The village of Igluxjuaq was established about 1945 under similar circumstances of acquiring a boat.

The tendency to multiply the sites of residence continued into the 1940's. After that period the fox trade may have become a greater factor in this dispersal because the trading post was re-established in 1947 and since that time has been yearly supplied by ship, except in 1957 when an airlift was necessary. Outpost winter trapping camps were instituted in a couple of cases but most generally the combined factors of fox plentitude and the abundance of seals or walrus determined choice in locality for new sites with the edge going definitely to the considerations of food resources. About 1950 more whaleboats, now equipped with engines, entered the region and supported the trend begun earlier toward independence of families. Other migrants entered the area and attached themselves to relatives who had boats and were located near good hunting places. Added to these continuing factors in group dispersal was the blossoming of the indigenous population. Of the 283 persons listed in the 1949 census<sup>1</sup> 99 were immigrants since 1922 and the other 184

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<sup>1</sup>This census was taken by Father Trebaol of the Mission St. Etienne at Igloolik (Ikpiakjuk) in June 1949.

were the modern representatives of about 100 of the 146 Igluligmiut of that year, the remainder having moved out without leaving issue in the region. The increase in the indigenous (from 1922) population represents a near doubling. The distribution of persons according to age levels changed, as well, during the period between 1922 and 1949. Whereas in the earlier census the ratio of adults to children had been 1.82/1 in the later it became 0.81/1. Although the somewhat later age at marriage in 1949 affects these figures (since married or single status is our criterion for separating adults and children), the increased infant survival rate was undoubtedly more important. During the period that the whalers visited the Repulse Bay and Pond Inlet regions contacts with whites were rather frequent, but after that period and until the late 1930's (when a small ship made an annual visit) one resident priest and a half dozen explorers were the only Europeans that the Igluligmiut were regularly in contact with, except for the two or three they might meet on their trading journeys. Even later, up until the establishment of the DEWline sites in 1955-56, only the yearly Hudson's Bay Company's ship broke that pattern of white contact. This isolation may have inhibited the spread of contagious diseases. At the same time, the presence of the missionary, and later, the trader as well, with skills and medicines not known to the natives were probably the most important factors in the population increase.

The institution of the family allotment system provided an important source of income with which to buy the increasing amount of goods that were becoming necessities. The fox trade, on the other hand, probably leveled off sometime in the early fifties. According to Mr. W.G. Calder, who has been the Hudson's Bay Manager



since 1951, the rate of fur production depends now more on the number of animals that are in the area, and their hunger for bait, rather than any steady trend toward increased activity on the part of the trappers. The Hudson's Bay Company<sup>1</sup> provides the following figures for comparison for the year 1955/56, a year in which the fox cycle reached its peak in both the western and central areas of Arctic Canada:

<u>Iglulik</u>	<u>Holman Island</u>
2,772 white fox	3,942 white fox
\$9 average price paid	\$9 average price paid
87 trappers	26 trappers

These figures show a graphic contrast in production between Iglulik and Holman Island (in Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island). At Iglulik the average catch is 26 per trapper and at Holman 152 per trapper. In cash income \$234 to \$1,368. The averages denote the different economic emphases. At Holman Island the men who are, by and large, migrants from the Mackenzie River region, devote all of the period from November 15 to April 15 to trapping fox. A large number of seals and fish are stored in the spring and summer and this comprises the protein portion of the diet the year around. In addition, certainly a larger part of the Holman Islander's food is purchased from the store than is the case at Iglulik. One man from that place with whom I talked at Edmonton, told me that he had many, many traps and that throughout the fox season he returned to the settlement only to get supplies and a fresh team of dogs. He kept two of the latter, one always in use, and the other resting.

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<sup>1</sup>This information was made available through the courtesy of Mr. P.A.C. Nichols, Manager, Arctic Division Hudson's Bay Co., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Among the Igluligmiut trapping is a much more casual affair. During the fox season seals and walrus are hunted and the total time devoted to these activities is far greater than that devoted to trapping. About once in two weeks the trapper visits his line, spending no more than three days in the process. Much time is spent in leisure, as well, during the winter season. Individual differences in fox take vary widely ranging from 3 to over 150 per annum but all in all, the Igluligmiut can be characterized to this day as being meat, rather than fur hunters. The importance of the walrus and seal to that group and the need to spend a great deal of time in their pursuit can be appreciated when we realize that these animals are still the chief source of food for the over 500 persons and the 700 dogs in the region, very little in the way of foodstuffs being purchased from the store.

In the same year as that cited for fox production figures (1955-56) the Fox Main DEWline site was built near Hall Point. Since then a few local natives were employed there until at the present time there are about ten persons among the Igluligmiut who work at Fox Main and other sites on a full-time basis. Other men from the area help as stevedores at the "sea lift" each summer at Fox Main. This work lasts about two weeks and pays each of the 20 men employed about \$150. A number of the Igluligmiut men engage in a similar occupation unloading the Hudson's Bay Company ship each September but this work nets each man only about \$25.

Contact with DEWline personnel has been limited because of the mutual linguistic difficulties. A very small trade in carving takes place but only a couple of the men in the area could be called carving specialists. The dump at Fox Main has proved a

mecca to the Igluligmiut and has brought about a minor revolution in material culture. Wood is the most valuable loot, but glass, cots, and other metal articles are considered to be priceless as well. In 1958 or 1959 a group of barracks was torn down and the cast off plywood from these buildings has effected a beginning of a new phase in architecture. The sod or peat and canvas qangmat that had become the chief winter dwelling after replacing the snow-house about 1930 are now being supplanted by large plywood structures. Some of these are banked with peat or are of double-walled construction with grass being used as insulator. Many of these were built for their prestige value and to resemble white man's styles rather than for practicality. The high and long structures with squared corners can but inadequately be heated by the soapstone seal oil lamps that are still the only heating device used by most of the Igluligmiut.

By the late fifties Ikpiakjuk (Igloolik) began to emerge as a village of major status. The availability of plywood probably fostered construction there, for formerly there were no permanent native dwellings on that spot, perhaps due to the lack of good sod for qangmat. Those who came to live in the settlement on the west shore of Turton Bay were either the families of pensioners or of those who were employed at the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1959 a native ecclesiastic came down from Pond Inlet with his rather large extended family and built a small house that is now used as the Anglican Church and rectory.

Beginning in 1955 a number of children were annually flown to Chesterfield Inlet for schooling and in 1959 a number of buildings, including a school, were built by the Department of Northern

Affairs and National Resources. The first session was held at the Igloolik school in 1960-61. Students came mostly from Ikpiakjuk itself but a number of others from the outlying camps boarded there, as well. A greater number of children from the other villages will probably be accommodated in the future since a hostel was to be built in 1961-62. In the first year of the school a total of about 70 children were attending school either at Chesterfield or at Ikpikajuk. Some whites in the region feel that educating young Igluligmiut will conspire against the success of the hunting economy as it exists today. Will the boys who are now going to school be interested in the pursuits of their fathers, or will they seek the uncertain labor markets outside the North or in other parts of the North? Certainly prospects for local wage employment do not look bright unless government sponsored industries are developed. Today the hunt is still at the focus of economic activity, and the yearly cycle is closely involved with the sort of hunting situations that are most favorable at each season. The seasonal economic cycle shows some significant correspondences with that of the pre-contact period and is modified chiefly in terms of the prolonged sedentary residence during the year.

Briefly, this is the cycle of economic activities in the early 1960's: From mid-July until mid-October the major walrus hunting takes place. Based at tent camps near the best walrus grounds the Eskimo range widely in their boats to wherever there is an abundance of drift ice. On the ice pans walrus and the large bearded seals are secured while they bask in the sun. From mid-August to mid-September a number of young men relocate with their families to the caribou lands on Baffin Island, traveling

by boat. This activity splits the walrus hunt into a summer and an autumn phase. Elsewhere the hunt is continuous throughout the period named. Much depends upon the success of the July and August walrus catch and on the need for fur clothing in a particular year.

Sealing from the ice edge and occasional walrus hunts far out on the new-forming ice, when the wind is easterly, are the chief meat-getting pursuits of the late autumn and winter months.

Maulexpok sealing is a common practice only at Agu Bay where there is no open water easily accessible. Excursions to the caribou lands by groups of two to four hunters are frequent, as well, during that period, the long-haired hides are used for mattresses; the meat that is brought back is quickly devoured in communal feasts. The trapping season lasts from November 15 to April 15, but, as we have indicated above, less time is spent in this pursuit than in hunting during that period.

From late April until the breakup of the sea ice in late July utog sealing is the chief occupation, though this is the season for visiting and for more lengthy excursions to the caribou lands as well. In general the sea hunting aspect of the economy undergoes a diminished phase in May during the season of visiting and travel, whereas in June and early July sealing by the crawling method reaches its peak and large amounts of fat are stored for the coming winter. In addition, the young seal is sought after at that time for its valuable skin.

There is still a great deal of cultural value and personal joy and pride attached to the hunting life. As long as the herds of walrus do not shrink markedly or the population expansion does not outstrip production of the animal, the sea-mammal based economy

will continue to flourish at Iglulik and the associated settlement patterns and yearly round of economic activities will prevail.

In summary, the processes of change in the Iglulik area have followed a gradual course with no traumatic adjustment problems being so far encountered. Probably largely because of the great number of walrus that have apparently always abounded in this area a near continuous population has been supported around Iglulik for many hundreds of years. In the modern era this resource made possible a period of subsistence on summer stores during which semi-permanent dwellings were inhabited, though at other times of the year nomadism prevailed. Accordingly, the recent aboriginal culture represented a less complete transition from the Thule culture phase than did that of other Central Eskimo groups. The greatest limitation imposed by the environmental situation at Iglulik was the almost total absence of wood. The absence of the umiak which is associated with this shortage stood in the way of a more successful exploitation of the large sea mammals than was present and probably accounted for a lesser period of sedentariness and the lack of a highly developed boat crew organization such as that which characterized the Point Barrow culture.

Throughout the nineteenth century changes were produced slowly through contact with whalers. Iron tools, the substitution of dance forms, and racial intermixture were the chief marks that were left by that phase of contact. After trading stations were established in adjacent regions a larger number of European goods was made available, most important of which was the rifle which greatly facilitated hunting. However, the isolation at Iglulik due to the ice conditions and general geographical situation kept

the region from being exposed to strong acculturative pressures for a longer period than was the case with most Arctic areas.

The introduction of Christianity had some effect on the intellectual and social life of the people in that shamanism and wife exchange were both either stamped out or carried on in a highly attenuated fashion.

After the whaleboat was introduced about 1930 the stores from summer hunts were large enough to extend the period of residence at one site throughout the winter. Permanent type housing supplanted the autumn gangmat and snowhouses during that period of sedentariness. As more boats became available, the population increased, and the fox trade grew, more habitation sites became regularly inhabited. When a trading post was established in the region there was no marked tendency to cluster around that site. Instead, the meat-hunting economy flourished and the villages continued to be located at spots most favorable to hunting sea mammals. Wage labor played a minor role in local economy but the government allotment and pension system provided a significant supplement to the fox trade as sources of cash income. Emphasis on trapping itself leveled off after about 1950 and this pursuit continued to play a subordinate role to meat hunting.

Improved health conditions and immigration from less well endowed regions accounted for population increase. This trend became accelerated rapidly after the establishment of a hospital and air services to the outside world.

Rather than being responsible for a gradual abandonment of the hunting economy as has been the case in other Eskimo regions, culture contact has made possible a new level of prosperity at

Iglulik. Given a region of abundant resources and a rather inadequate technology for exploiting them and then add important technological features, a substantial increase in productivity would seem to follow. At Iglulik, the introduction of the rifle and the whaleboat have produced such a situation. If the animal resources continue to be sufficient to support the rapidly expanding population this florescence in local economy should continue. Indeed, from a somewhat modified Central Eskimo economy the Igluligmiut have undergone a process of change that parallels, in reverse fashion, that seen in the central regions in late prehistoric times. The level of subsistence, degree of sedentariness, and seasonal cycle are all related to an economy based on hunting large sea mammals that we see today at Iglulik, closely resembles the classic Neoeskimo or Thule culture phase from which the more marginal Central Eskimo culture seems to have stemmed. Although the elaboration of social life around the locus of the boat has not reached the level seen in the closest modern representative of Thule at Point Barrow, the boat does play an important part in structuring economic relationships at Iglulik. Much of the social interaction that is associated with crew membership is here organized in terms of traditional social practices developed before the advent of that artifact. Discussion of this aspect of the process of change and continuity in the Iglulik area, as well as of other social features has been omitted here so that they can be treated in sociological perspective in the forthcoming sections.



## CHAPTER III

### KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR

The analysis of social systems in preliterate societies often begins with a consideration of the kinship structure. Experience has led anthropologists to expect a correlation between terminologically prescribed statuses and the actual behavior that pertains between individuals. The kinship structure forms a framework within which a great deal of social interaction takes place. This approach to the study of social life has not been widely followed in Eskimo studies and warrants our examination on that ground alone. In addition, we will try to demonstrate in later sections that group composition, individual relocations, and the network of authority and cooperation have important elements that seek explanation in kinship terms. Accordingly, the consideration of the Igluligmiut terminology and associated behavior patterns that will comprise this chapter will be an important phase of our analysis. This discussion will provide a large part of the screen of the ideal upon which the actual structure will be portrayed. The expected and traditional in social interaction will, to a large extent, find their loci in the outlines of the terminological-behavioral system.

A series of accompanying charts indicate the principal Iglulik consanguineal and affinal terminological networks. We will discuss the functional significance of the terminologies in another

section. Here our discussion will be confined to descriptive comments.

Figure 2 shows the classification of consanguines on Ego's generation. It can be noted that within the sibling group (together called nukariit) the older siblings of Ego are set off from the younger, though this distinction seems to be optional in the cases of opposite sex siblings. The terms for older and younger sibling are the same for both male and female Ego but not so for male Ego's sisters or female Ego's brothers.

The cousin terminology forms a rather complex system. It can be seen that a sharp distinction is made between male and female cousins. For male Ego female cousins are classed, for the most part, with sister though two variations have been noted by the writer. The first of these is the addition of the saq affix which is used in a variety of contexts in the Igluligmiut terminology. For kinship purposes this affix usually means "half," "adoptive," or "quasi" and has the gloss of "what will become" or "material for" when used in other contexts. For female Ego male cousins are classed with brothers with, again, the occasional affixation of saq. A second alternative is the combined form as for instance idlo-naiyak for male Ego's female cross cousin or idlo-anik for female Ego's male cross cousin. The use of these alternatives for cousin terms seem to have a familial rather than a sub-regional distribution, though even closely related individuals will use them differently or optionally. Occasionally, the diminutive anikkuluk and naiyakkuluk usages that are applied to younger siblings will be used, as well, with younger cross-sexed cousins, though this practice occurs very infrequently. Indeed, the

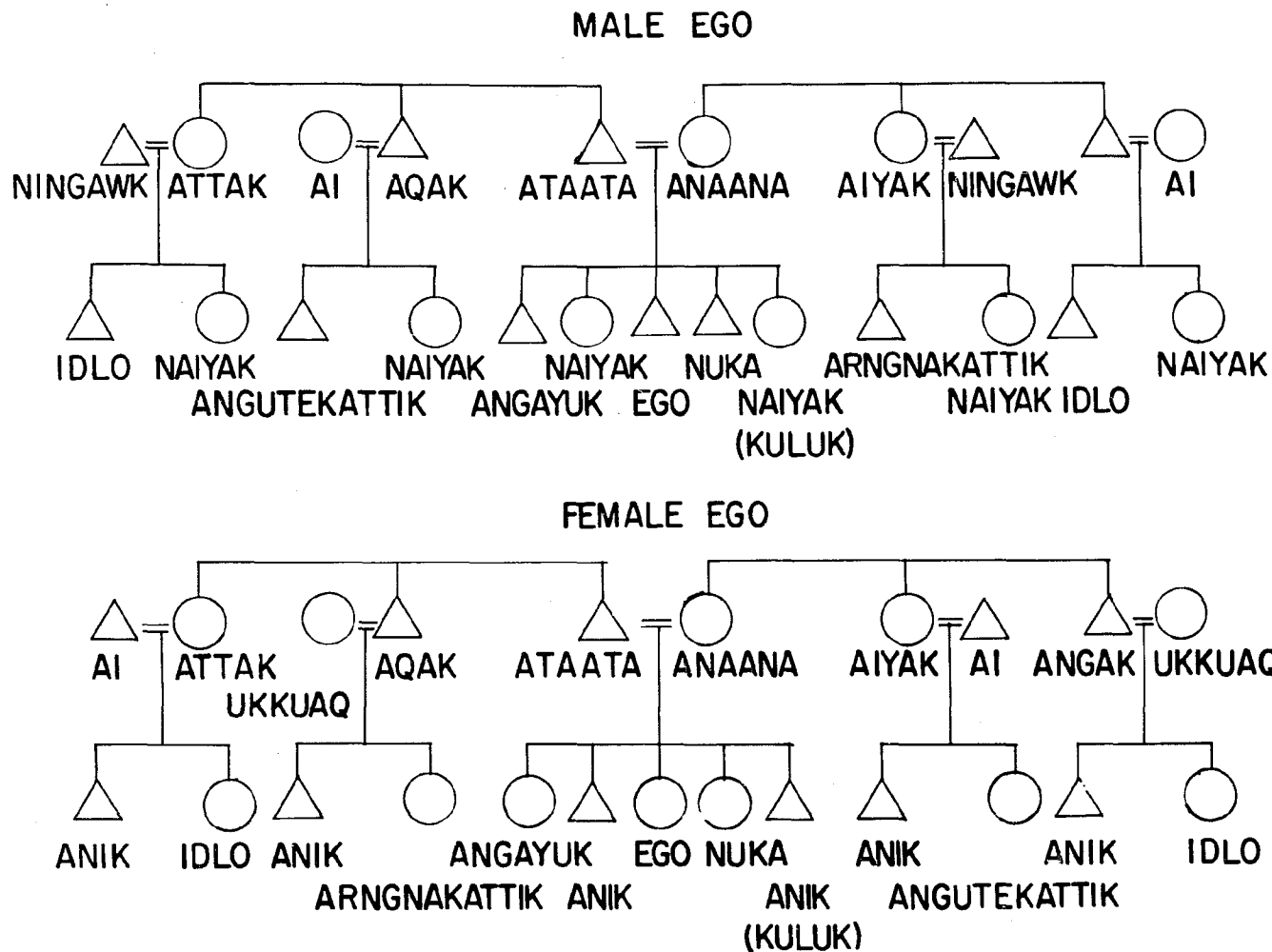


FIG. 2 - IGLULIGMIUT COUSIN SYSTEM

Errata

For male Ego mother's brother is angak as with female Ego. The terms 'angutekattik' and 'arngnakattik' should be transposed in the system of female Ego, that is, daughter of aqak should be angutekattik and daughter of aiyak should be arngnakattik.

diminutive form has only elective usage for cross sexed siblings. Cousins of the same sex are set off clearly from siblings and, in addition, are separated into three categories according to parental affiliation. It should be noted that the cross cousin categories are combined. Tax comments on this terminological pattern as follows:

The reason for this is not so difficult to see, provided that one thinks of the cross-lines as reciprocal. The common type of kinship chart in use--the "ego" chart--sets the cross-lines on different sides of the paper; the people who work with the charts often think in the same manner. But in a sense there is no such thing as a father's sister's son, on the one hand, and a mother's brother's son, on the other; rather, if A is father's sister's son to B, then B is mother's brother's son to A, just as parallel cousins are siblings to one another (note: equating of parallel cousins with siblings is not the case at Iglulik). So viewed, the merging of the cross-lines means simply the adoption of reciprocal behavior as applied to cross-cousins who, in these systems, have no reason for treating one another except mutually the same.<sup>1</sup>

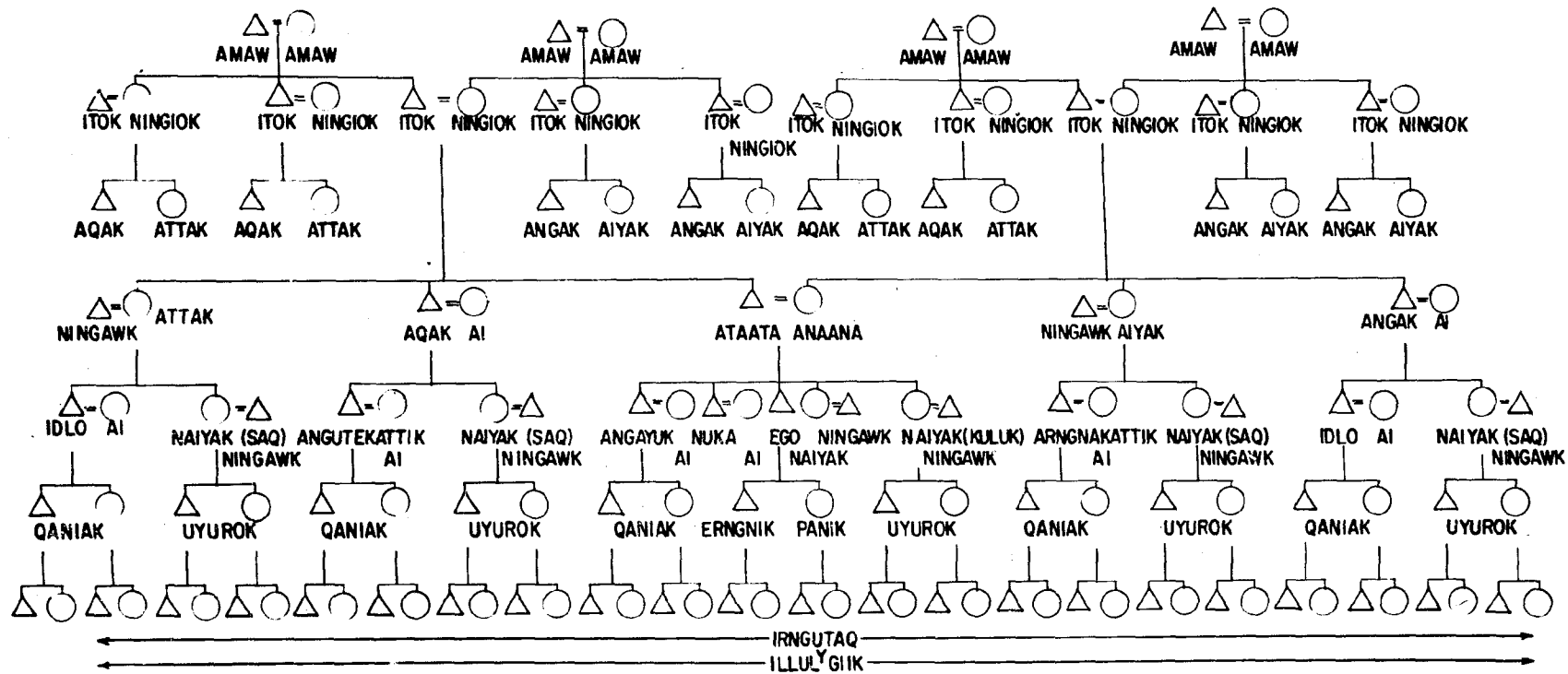
Indeed, the Igluligmiut refer to angutekattigiit (pairs of male parallel cousins) as "the children of two brothers," arngnakattigiit (pairs of female parallel cousins) as "the children of two sisters," and idloriit (pairs of cross cousins) as "the children of a brother and a sister." This third classification is visualized in the manner indicated by Tax with the locus in the first ascending generation rather than in Ego.

Cousin terms are extended to the children of parent's cousins with the suffixation of saq.

Figures 3 and 4 show more complete consanguineal charts for male and female Egos. Turning to the first ascending generation the charts show four uncle-aunt terms. These are identical for either male or female Egos. Parent's cousins are accorded aunt

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<sup>1</sup>Sol Tax, "Some Problems of Social Organization," in Eggen, p. 25.



ALL IN-MARRYING FEMALES IN DESCENDING GENERATIONS  
UKKUAQ

FIG. 3.—IGLULIGMIUT CONSANGUINES  
MALE EGO

ALL IN-MARRYING MALES IN DESCENDING GENERATIONS  
NINGAWK



and uncle terms according to the same pattern. That is, father's brother and father's male cousin are both designated as agak, mother's sister and mother's female cousin are both designated as aiyak, etc. In the first descending generation we see a continuation of the separation of the lineal from the collateral relatives that we noted in Ego's generation. There is an extension of nephew-niece terms to cousins' children though son and daughter terms are separate from these. Consanguines in this generation are classed according to the sex of the linking relative in Ego's generation. Thus the children of male Ego's male siblings or male cousins are all ganiak and the children of female siblings or female cousins are all uyurok. For female Ego the children of male siblings or male cousins are angngak and the children of female siblings or female cousins are nuwak.

The terminology of the first ascending and the first descending generations are to be understood in terms of each other. The dyads formed between Ego and individual members of the first ascending generation and between Ego and individual members of the first descending generation are the keys. In soliciting kinship information the writer noted that the Eskimo referred to agak-ganiak, attak-angngak, aiyak-nuwak, and angak-uyurok dualities. The correspondence of the four aunt and uncle terms with four nephew terms (taking into account the nephew-niece terms of both male and female Ego) can thus be seen to represent a basic consistency within the system. To anyone that male Ego calls agak he is always ganiak. To anyone he calls attak he is angngak. The female Ego--aunt- and uncle-niece dualities follow the same invariant pattern. The system of dualities is extended outward

to parent's cousins and conversely to the children of cousins. This feature is a product of the extension of aunt and uncle terms to parent's cousins and of nephew and niece terms to the children of Ego's cousins.

The second ascending generation shows the extension of consanguineal grandparental terms to affinals. The preferred terms itok and ningiok (which also mean "old man" and "old woman") alternate with ataatasiaq and anaanasiaq. There is no differentiation in grandparental terms according to the sex of Ego. We can also note the overriding of the consanguineal--affinal boundary. The second descending generation of consanguines is also referred to by the same term (irngutaq) by both male and female Egos. There is a distinction made on this generation between consanguines and affines as is true throughout most of the terminological system. It can also be noted that there is no differentiation of grandchildren according to their sex.

Members of the third ascending and third descending generations have but one term each for all consanguines of both male and female Egos. The amaw term which is used on the great grandparental generation is extended to include affines, whereas the counterpart term on the great grandchild generation, illulygiik, applies only to consanguines.

Included on Figures 3 and 4 are affines who marry into Ego's consanguineal group. This group of affines shows a strong tendency toward overriding generations. This is especially true of the in-marrying individuals of the same sex as Ego. The terms ningawk used by male Ego and ukkuaq used by female Ego include all in-marrying like-sexed affinals in all generations except second and



third ascending. In-marrying affines who are of opposite sex to Ego are, on the other hand, split according to whether or not they are below Ego's generation, in which case ningawk and ukkuag are used by both Egos, or on or above Ego's generation in which cases ai is used. Formerly the terms sakkikpak and ukkuaxpak were used to indicate affines marrying into grandchild's and great grandchild's generations, though these terms seem to have passed from use some years ago (these two terms are the only examples if disappearance or change in elements of the terminology that could be traced to contact pressures, if indeed, that is the reason for their disuse at present). It should be noted that there are no terms for the siblings or the parents of any of these in-marrying relatives so far discussed.

Figures 5 and 6 represent those relatives affined through Ego's spouse. An overriding of generations is again evident. The terms sakkiaq and ai are used in both Ego's and descending generations. This usage is, of course, complementary to the use of ningawk and ukkuag that is noted above. According to this pattern when male Ego marries into spouse's consanguineal group he is ningawk to most males in that group and he calls those persons sakkiaq. To most of the females in that group he is ai which is a self-reciprocal term. When female Ego marries into spouses' consanguineal group she is ukkuag to most females in that group, and again, ai to most of the males, as they are to her. The exception to this complementation is in the ascending generations where sakkik or sakkikpa replace sakkiaq as reciprocals of ningawk and ukkuag and the ai terms are not in currency between opposite sexed members of the parent-in-law child-in-law network. It will

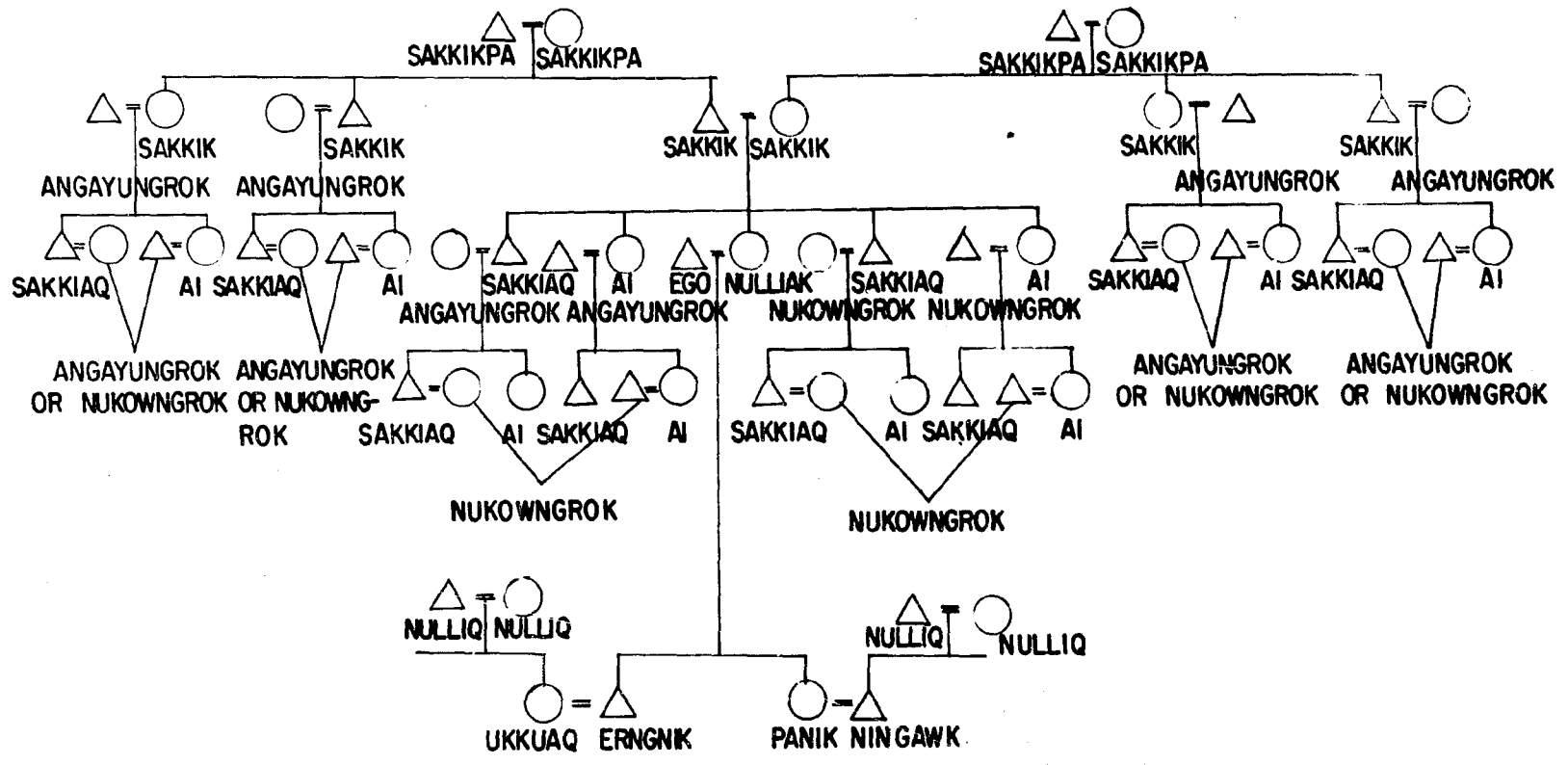


FIG. 5.-IGLULIGMIUT AFFINES  
MALE EGO

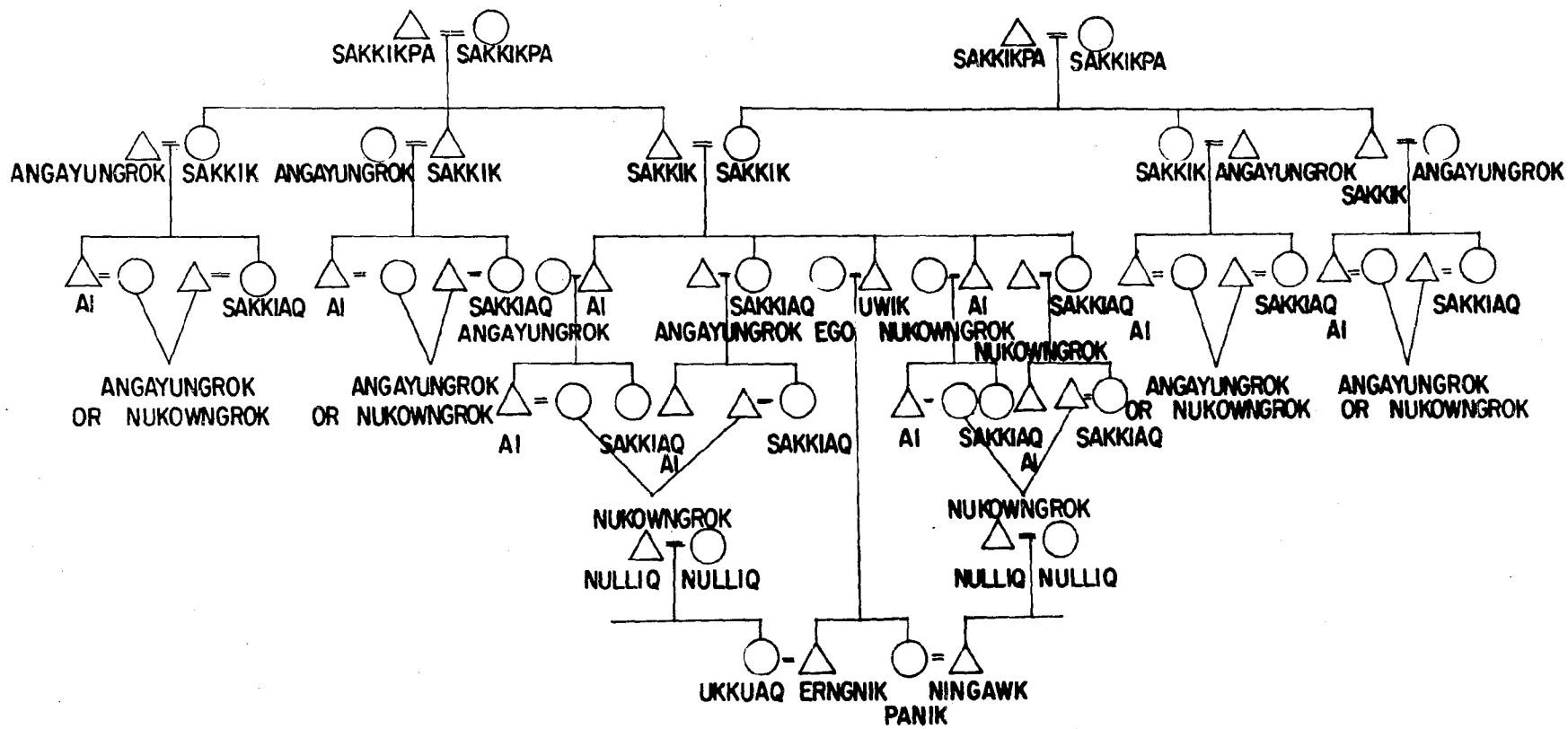


FIG. 6.-IGLULIGMIUT AFFINES  
FEMALE EGO

be noted that sakkik, sakkiag, and ai terms are extended to include collaterals on spouses' parental and spouses' own generations. This extension generally ends at the first cousin and aunt-uncle level, however, and is not extended to wife's parent's (or husband's parents) cousins and their offspring as is the terminology in the consanguineal system.

Ego is associated with another group of relatives who are affinally linked with him. These relatives are those who marry spouse's consanguines. As indicated in Figures 5 and 6 Ego calls those who marry spouse's younger siblings or younger cousins nukowngrok (a modification of the "older sibling same sex" term). Those who marry spouse's older siblings or older cousins are called angayungrok (a modification of the "younger sibling same sex" term), by Ego with the reciprocal nukowngrok being then applied to him by those persons. Neither the relative ages of the in-marrying individuals themselves nor sex distinctions are involved in this system of classification, only the relative ages of the consanguineally related spouses are considered. Extended across generations the "generational age" of the spouse is the criterion of classification. For example, those persons marrying into spouses' parental generation are angayungrok to Ego and those marrying into spouse's first descending generation are nukowngrok to Ego.

Besides the actual kinship system, that is, the network established by ties of blood and marriage, the Igluligmiut have two quasi-kinship systems.<sup>1</sup> One of these is the adoptive system

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<sup>1</sup>The conceptualization of the spouse exchange situation and adoption as quasi-kinship systems was developed by Dr. Robert F. Spencer ("Eskimo Polyandry and Social Organization," Proceedings of Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists

shown in Figure 7. Only arngaksaq and angutikksaq differ in root from normal consanguineal and affinal terms. Otherwise the normal root is used with the addition of the postbase saq. Adoptive terminology seems to be extended wide including affinals of the adoptee's foster family as well as a wide range of consanguines of that group. The saq postbase has a number of uses in Igluligmiut terminology. We have noted that all second cousins and, occasionally, opposite sexed first cousins use this postbase reciprocally. With regard to adoption and similar phenomena saq usage subsumes, half, step, and foster statuses. In addition to the saq form adoptives are at times referred to as "tiguax son" or "tiguax daughter" or whatever the relationship.

Figure 8 shows another terminological subsystem, the spouse exchange network of terms. Inquiry into the terminological as well as the behavioral aspects of spouse exchange met with great resistance (probably due to the long-termed missionary suppression of this practice) so that our information on this system is incomplete and, no doubt, has inaccuracies. The diagram symbolizes that exchange involves either male or female Ego into a relationship with a quasi-spouse and also one (of different character) with that person's actual spouse. After the convention of Heinrich<sup>1</sup> the four individuals involved can be designated, for male Ego, as Ego 1 (our numbers), wife 2, co-husband 3, and exchange wife 4. For female

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[Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1958], p. 543, and The North Alaskan Eskimo [Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 171; Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1959], pp. 84-92, 95).

<sup>1</sup>Heinrich, "An Outline of the Kinship Systems. . . , pp. 136-39.

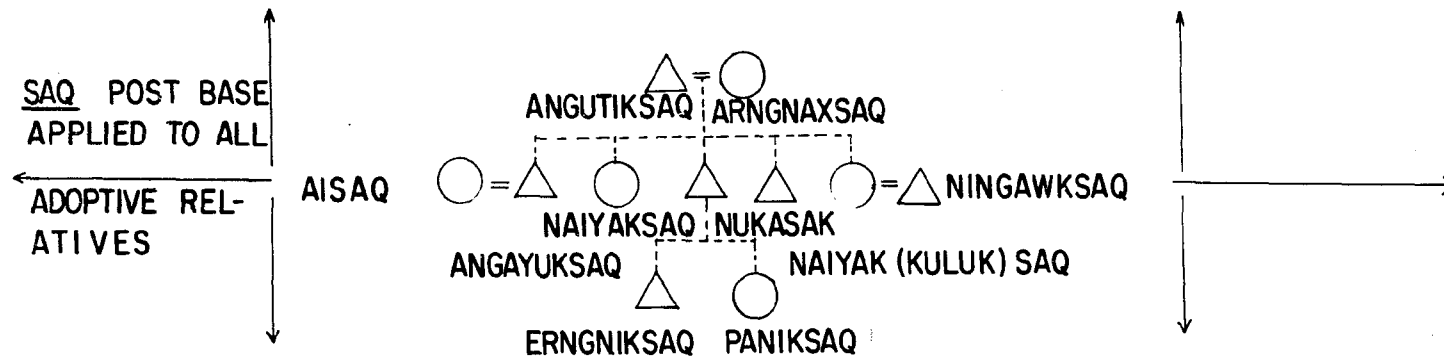


FIG. 7.—ADOPTIVE TERMINOLOGY

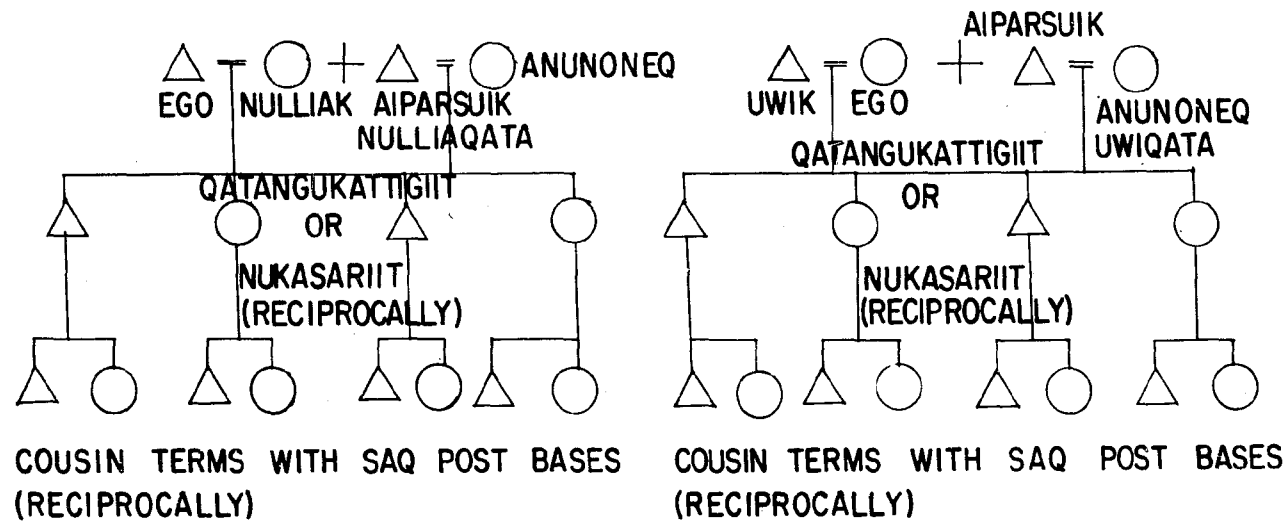


FIG. 8.—SPOUSE EXCHANGE TERMINOLOGY

Ego they are Ego 1, husband 2, co-wife 3, and exchange husband 4. The terms for these categories are as follows: for male Ego, wife-nulliak, co-husband-nulliaqata (together nulliakattegiit), or aiparsuik, and exchange wife-anunoneq. For female Ego, husband-uwik, co-wife-anunoneq or uwigata (together, uwicatigiit), and exchange husband-aiparsuik.<sup>1</sup> Unpublished material from Mr. Albert Heinrich cited by Guemple<sup>2</sup> confirms the co-wife and co-husband terms that are used here but adds uisa as exchange husband and nuliasua as exchange terms. On the other hand, there is no indication that Heinrich noted the terms aiparsuik and anunoneq as did Birket-Smith and myself. I have no knowledge of the exchange husband and exchange wife terms reported by Mr. Heinrich but I will bow to his information because of the incompleteness of my own.

There is, evidently, no terminological involvement of the siblings or parents of the exchange participants, nor of any of the collateral persons. On the first descending generation the combined siblings (those who stem from a period when exchanging was in effect) are together called nukasariit or qatangukattigiit. In the succeeding generations cousin terms are used reciprocally, modified by the addition of the sag postbase. This practice seems to follow from the near siblingship of their parents. My information is incomplete on the number of generations that this quasi-cousinship is maintained in the terminology, but incest regula-

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<sup>1</sup>This is a reversal of Birket-Smith's interpretation of the exchange or alternate husband and wife terms (aiparsuik and anunoneq) (Five Hundred Eskimo Words, Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition, 1921-24, Vol. III [Copenhagen: Glydenalske Boghandel, 1928] p.48) for Melville Peninsula and casts doubt on my material.

<sup>2</sup>D.L. Guemple, Iniut Spouse Exchange (Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago), pp. 78, 85.

tions seem to extend to the grandchildren of the members of the original exchange pairings. I lack data regarding terms that Ego would use for members of the descending generations, when he (or she) is a member of the exchange arrangement, or for the ascending generations when Ego is an offspring or descendant of the exchange. It seems likely that the saq postbase is added so that much of the spouse exchange terminological system is indistinguishable from the adoptive network of terms.

It seems likely that, as in the Copper Eskimo region,<sup>1</sup> the practice of spouse exchange took several forms and it is uncertain that all were of a highly structured nature involving terminological involvements. This concomitant of the exchange relationship is clear, however, in the cases of long-termed exchanges which are described for the Iglulik region<sup>2</sup> as lasting usually a year. Such cases as these were probably quite rare. Indeed, Mathiassen mentions only one case for the Igluligmiut.<sup>3</sup> This instance is well-remembered in the region as is the only other such case that was uncovered in my historical investigation.

Other quasi- or pseudo- practices that are widespread throughout the Eskimo area seem to have had little currency in the Iglulik region, at least since about 1900. The institution of fellowship in dancing that is noted by several sources<sup>4</sup> could perhaps be gleaned from the accounts of Lyon<sup>5</sup> and Mathiassen<sup>6</sup> though we

<sup>1</sup>Jenness, pp. 84-85.

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 211, 235.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Jenness, p. 87, Birket-Smith, The Caribou Eskimo, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup>Lyon, pp. 247-48. <sup>6</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, pp. 227-28.



have no data from our older informants that would indicate that any association that developed in dancing involved any sort of partnership outside that circumstance or that any terminological outgrowths were in evidence.

Neither the seal-flipper association noted by Jenness<sup>1</sup> for the Copper Eskimo or the high development of the partition of the seal as a social phenomenon, as described by Van de Velde,<sup>2</sup> seem to have occurred around Iglulik.

Trading partnerships reported from the Point Barrow area by Spencer<sup>3</sup> have no history in the Iglulik region and seem, indeed, a local development built around the inland-coastal economic split in the Northern Alaskan area.

One quasi-kinship term that was formerly used around Iglulik was inowhohawiit. This term designated a partnership between heads of unrelated families who shared a residential locality and seems to have been the basis for a cooperative bond during the period of co-residence, though details are lacking.

Another extension of kinship is designated by the term kittuwangakattegiit or "those who share children." This term is used to designate persons who are otherwise unrelated and who share offspring one way or another through adoption.

In concluding this discussion of Igluligmiut terminology it might be well to briefly compare our findings with some of the idealized Eskimo kinship system "types" that have appeared in the

<sup>1</sup>Jenness, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup>Frans Van de Velde, O.M.I., "Rules for Sharing the Seal, Amongst the Arviligjuarmiut," Eskimo, XL (1956), 3-6.

<sup>3</sup>Spencer, Proceedings of the Thirty-Second International Congress of Americanists, p. 543.

literature. Murdock<sup>1</sup> has characterized "lineal terms for aunts and nieces" as a diagnostic feature of "Eskimo type" kinship terminology. Dole<sup>2</sup> has pointed out that this characterization of "lineal" probably stemmed from the use of inadequate data and the apparent extension of the cousin terminological pattern to the first ascending generation (an application of the "principle of uniform ascent").<sup>3</sup> The terms in question (aunt and niece) conform in the Iglulik region to Dole's<sup>4</sup> characterization of Eskimo aunt and niece terms as being "bifurcate collateral" in pattern.

Another feature that is regarded by Murdock,<sup>5</sup> as well as by Dole<sup>6</sup> and Spier<sup>7</sup> as characterizing "Eskimo type" systems is the classing of all cousins into a single category, a category which is separate from those used for any of the siblings.<sup>8</sup> Our discussion of the rather complex cousin system that appears at Iglulik indicates that that pattern clearly does not occur in that region. Indeed, the growing body of data<sup>9</sup> now becoming available regarding

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<sup>1</sup>Murdock, Social Structure, p. 227.      <sup>2</sup>Dole, pp. 170-71.

<sup>3</sup>Tax, "Some Problems of Social Organization," in Eggan, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup>Dole, pp. 169-71.      <sup>5</sup>Murdock, Social Structure, pp. 223, 227.

<sup>6</sup>Dole, p. 168.      <sup>7</sup>Spier, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup>It should be noted, however, that Professor Murdock allows for variation in his definition of the "Eskimo type" cousins system, which is characterized as follows: "FaSiDa and MoBrDa called by the same terms as parallel cousins but terminologically differentiated from sisters; the terms for the two cross-cousins are usually but not always the same." Murdock, Social Structure, p. 223.

<sup>9</sup>Sources surveyed for information on Eskimo terminologies include the following: Lantis; Hughes, American Anthropologist, Vol. LX, and idem, An Eskimo Village in the Modern World; Heinrich, "An Outline of the Kinship Systems. . .," and idem, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XVI; Spencer, The North Alaskan Eskimo; Robert C. and Lois A. Dailey, The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet: A Preliminary Report (Ottawa: Northern Co-ordination and Research Center, Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961). Willmott; Graburn, personal interview, 1962, and data gathered by myself in the field and at hospitals in Brandon and Ninette, Manitoba and Edmonton, Alberta.

Eskimo terminologies indicates that it is likely that the cousin pattern described by Spier, Murdock, and Dole never occurs in the American Arctic. The closest approach to that pattern is the practice of combining the terms for cousins of the same sex as Ego into a common category. This pattern differs from the traditionally conceived "Eskimo type" cousin system, however, in that cousins of opposite sex from Ego have separate classification from those of the same sex as Ego. In considering the data dealing with Eskimo cousin systems that now represent a large number of groups, it can be noted that rather than being an important diagnostic of Eskimo kinship structure the cousin categories are perhaps the most variable of all terminological features in the American Arctic.

Perhaps too much attention has been paid the terminological aspects of kinship by anthropologists at the expense of the study of the behavioral content of kinship statuses. Eggan says of this emphasis:

A kinship system consists of all the social usages--or patterns of behavior--between relatives in a given community and therefore includes the linguistic usages or terminology. These relations originate in the domestic family but are largely socially determined, the kinship system, provides rules of behavior which are consistent and which result in a minimum of conflict. The terminology represents one means of organizing these social relations between kindred. From this point of view the social usages, rather than the terminology, represent the most important aspect of the kinship system, and the traditional emphasis on the terms of relationship is not justified.<sup>1</sup>

The study of kinship in the Eskimo area has unfortunately fallen prey to the weighting of emphasis on the terminological aspects of the systems. Important exceptions to the neglect of the behavioral phases of kinship are the work of Hughes,<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup>Eggan, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho Kinship System," in Eggan, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup>Hughes, American Anthropologist, Vol. LX, and An Eskimo Village.

Heinrich.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the field worker intent upon gathering data regarding behavioral norms travels a path that is strewn with thorns. This writer was made acutely aware of some of these thorns in his field situation among the Igluligmiut. Settlement situations were of such a nature that seldom were relatives who showed much collateral distance among themselves gathered together so that I could observe their interaction. In addition, linguistic difficulties intruded at all times. Only at the end of my period of residence in the Iglulik region did my language comprehension reach the level where I could actually understand much of the conversation between relatives beyond the recognition of the seemingly ubiquitous use of kin terms in address and reference. Besides these difficulties in observation, inquiry into the norms of kinship behavior was also frustrated by linguistic difficulties since the conceptualization of the abstract ideas regarding feelings toward kinsmen were particularly difficult to frame. In spite of these difficulties, in the course of the year spent in the field, inquiry and observation produced a fair body of data concerning behavioral norms and also some conception of the extent to which these norms operated in actual situations.

One way of classifying kinship behavior between categories of relatives is by means of a respect-to-rough-joking series<sup>2</sup> or a most formal-to-most-intimate arrangement of categories.<sup>3</sup> These approaches are not particularly apt in the case of the Igluligmiut

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<sup>1</sup>Heinrich, "An Outline of the Kinship Systems . . . ," and Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. XVI.

<sup>2</sup>Eggan, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho Kinship System," in Eggan, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup>J. Gilbert McAllister, "Kiowa-Apache Social Organization," in Eggan, p. 136.

behavioral system, however, because joking and a sort of familiarity abound throughout most of the system and this behavior does not seem to be arranged in any hierarchical order. There seems to be no "joking cousin" relationship as reported by Heinrich<sup>1</sup> from Alaska. The only institutionalized joking relationship that I was able to discover is that pertaining between pairs of non-related or remotely related individuals called mangariik. The joking in this relationship seems to take a rough form and when the partners are separated by long distances jokes are sent by mail (these are written in the Eskimo syllabary) carried by dog team. Avoidance and respect relationships are, on the other hand, sometimes carefully prescribed between classes of relatives. There is a deepened respect relationship between brother and sister after about the age of puberty that is also in effect between opposite sexed cousins, though to an attenuated extent. Brother and sister, when adults, seldom address one another and generally will not appear alone in a house together. Avoidance and respect reach their greatest development between ai or opposite sexed in-laws. Formerly, those in that category were idlexjuariik or those relatives who could not mention the name of each other, and had to be addressed through a third person. This pattern seems to have largely broken down, but the respect relationship is still marked. There seems to exist an asymmetrical respect relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law and between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. That is, the parent-in-law need not reciprocate the respect given him by those affines named. Between the father-in-law, however, the respect

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<sup>1</sup>Heinrich, "An Outline of the Kinship Systems. . . .," p. 101.

relationship is symmetrical. Thus among the relatives who we would expect a great deal of contact in the household situation certain respect regulations can be seen to operate in regulating daily contact situations and in militating against the conflicts inherent to such circumstances.

Appraisal of the system as a conceptually consistent arrangement of behavioral norms was not forthcoming until the investigator realized the frequency of the use of the terms ungayok or "affection" and nalaxtok or "obedience" in the natives' description of the status relationships. Conceived in terms of these two concepts much of the system becomes understandable, for within the realm of nalaxtok the dominance-subordinance relationships are arranged and within the confines of ungayok the cooperative bonds show their degrees of closeness.

Ungayok is especially important in understanding the cousin system of the Igluligmiut. We have noted above that there is a terminological identification of opposite sexed cousins with opposite sexed siblings. Behaviorally there is an extension of the avoidance relationship that we have indicated as existing between brother and sister to opposite sexed cousins. This is in actual practice somewhat attenuated in the case of collaterals and some informants indicate that there is a greater electiveness involved in the behavioral realm among opposite sexed cousins than among opposite sexed siblings. Even though relations between anik and naiyak are marked by avoidance there is a close bond between them and ungayok characterizes the reserve that is evident. Between cousins of the same sex the more complex "three cousin" system has a logic in terms of ungayok. To Male Ego males in his generation

have brother or brother-like relationships. A complementary situation occurs for female Ego with her sister and sister-like relationship to females in her generation. The three sorts of cousins of the same sex are ranked hierarchically with regard to affectional closeness according to the principle of the solidarity of the sexes. For male Ego male parallel cousins as the sons of two brothers form the closest sort of brother-like bond outside the actual sibling group. Most distant of the three cousins for male Ego is the female parallel cousin. The logic of that arrangement is that the female parallel cousins are related to one another through parents who are both opposite in sex to either of the cousins. Intermediate in affectional closeness are the cross cousins. This is still consistent with the principle of the solidarity of the sexes for in that case one of the connecting relatives is of the same sex as the cousins in question and one is of opposite sex. A complementary picture obtains for female Ego. Since the female parallel cousins are related through two females this is the strongest sort of cousin bond, the most sister-like outside the actual sibling group. The male parallel cousin is the "weak" cousin with regard to closeness on the same principle and the idlo or cross cousin is intermediate.

The terminology of the first ascending and descending generations have been explained in terms of each other and, just so can the behavioral correlates be understood. Here again the principle of the solidarity of the sexes operates through the connecting relatives. The children of brothers and of male cousins are more son-and-daughter-like to male Ego than those of sisters and female cousins. The opposite is true of female Ego as the children of

sisters and female cousins are closer with regard to affection than the children of brothers and male cousins. As outlined above avuncular-nephotic relationships are conceived of in terms of dualities as for instance aqak-qaniaq. Collaterals in the first ascending generation can be conceived as being surrogate mothers and surrogate fathers. Following the principle of the solidarity of sexes again for male Ego aqak is closer to Ego than angak because he is related through father (i.e., the complement of the Ego-qaniaq situation) whereas angak is related through mother. The situation is reversed for female Ego for whom angak is more father-like than aqak. Among the aunts attak is a closer mother-surrogate for male Ego than is aiyak for again the latter is related through father or same sex (with Ego) relative. For female Ego aiyak is closer than attak according to the same principle.

In terms of ungayok and the principle of the solidarity of the sexes, then, three generations of the Igluligmiut consanguineal system can be plotted in hierarchical order. Using the values 1 to 4 as close-to-distant with regard to affection Table 1 indicates the organization of cousin-sibling and avuncular-nephotic dyads.

In the remaining ascending and descending generations the principle of sex solidarity does not operate. It should be noted, however, that itok or ningiok-irngnutaq are closer sorts of relationships than amaw-illulyegik. The grandchild-grandparent tie shows a pattern common among primitive peoples, one of indulgence and affection mingled with informality and joking not found on the parental level. The relationship between Ego and father (and the fatherlike figures aqak and angak) is tinged with respect though



TABLE 1  
HIERARCHIES OF AFFECTIONAL CLOSENESS

<u>In Ego's Generation</u>	
<u>Male Ego</u>	<u>Female Ego</u>
1. <u>angayuk</u> or <u>nuka</u> (brother)	1. <u>angayok</u> or <u>nuka</u> (sister)
2. <u>angutekattik</u>	2. <u>arngnakattik</u>
3. <u>idlo</u>	3. <u>idlo</u>
4. <u>arngnakattik</u>	4. <u>angutekattik</u>
All females <u>naiyak</u>	All males <u>anik</u>
<u>Adjacent Generations</u>	
<u>Male Ego</u>	<u>Female Ego</u>
1. <u>ataata-erngnik</u> (father-son)	1. <u>ataana-panik</u> (father-daughter)
2. <u>aqak-qaniak</u>	2. <u>angak-uyurok</u>
3. <u>angak-uyurok</u>	3. <u>aqak-qaniak</u>
1. <u>anaana-erngnik</u> (mother-son)	1. <u>anaana-panik</u> (mother-daughter)
2. <u>attak-angngak</u>	2. <u>aiyak-nuwak</u>
3. <u>aiyak-nuwak</u>	3. <u>attak-angngak</u>

informality often prevails. The father-son and mother-daughter bonds are the most solid of actual bonds in the actual social life of the people. The same sexed offspring is gradually and carefully introduced to the pursuits of his adult role and encouraged to gradually assume full status in adult male or female life. A fuller exposition of this relationship is, however, connected to the discussion of nalaxtok or obedience, the other key concept in the Igluligmiut system.

In the sibling group age and sex both figure in determining the dominance-subordination hierarchy. Thus for male Ego the older brother is terminologically distinguished from the younger and obedience is along the lines of age as is the case with females

who show a complementary terminology. Between males and females, however, the female should obey the male sibling regardless of age differences. In actuality, this operates only when both brother and sister are mature. Girls often play a surrogate mother role for younger brothers, carrying them about in hoods, etc., as they do for younger sisters as well. The age and sex principles thus outlined seem also to operate, though in attenuated form, for cousins, paralleling terminological lumping of cross-sexed cousins with cross-sexed siblings. The parent-child relationship can also be partly understood in terms of obedience, though as noted above, deep affectionate factors soften these ties, making them bonds of great closeness and cooperation as well as being strongly oriented toward leadership and followership. It should be noted, however, that there is at times a tendency for old and ailing men to relinquish much of the practical leadership function to sons, especially in matters of decision concerning the hunt, though usually deep respect relationships pertain, which are at times in marked contrast to the scorn shown by an Eskimo to the old and feeble who are not related to himself.

The quintessence of nalaxtok is seen to operate between affinally linked persons. Concerning those marrying into Ego's kin group, the terminology bears out the dominance and solidarity of the consanguineal group. Thus ningawk for male Ego and ukkuag for female Ego are definitely subordinate regardless of relative age differences and regardless of generational differences with Ego. The correspondence of this relationship can be seen in Ego's relationship with wife's or husband's consanguines. In the ascending generation the sakkik or parent-in-law is to be obeyed and, as

mentioned earlier, certain respect relationships are involved. Involved also for the male is the practice of a year's bride service which is given sakkik or, in his absence, sakkiag. As the common root indicates, the latter seems to be a sort of surrogate sakkik. Sakkiag extends downward as well as collaterally among Ego's spouses' consanguines, complementing the picture of the ningawk among Ego's consanguines' spouses. The spouses of Ego's spouse's consanguines form with Ego a "quasi-sibling" group. As indicated in the descriptive section above, one's status is determined in terms of the age and generational differences of spouse's consanguines. A cooperative association pertains between those in these positions and the subordination-dominance pattern revolves around the apparent age distinctions as among siblings. There is, curiously, no actual age distinction here, however. In general, this group of relatives seems to conform closely to a sibling-like arrangement in which the authority is evident but more subtly expressed than between directly affinally related persons such as ningawk-sakkiag and ukkuaq-sakkiag.

The behavioral correlates to the adoptive and spouse exchange relationships sometimes are identical with that of consanguines. In the case of adoptives, if the child is adopted in infancy, treatment and behavior seems in general to be largely assimilated into the pattern accorded natural offspring. Though a complete treatment of the problems of adoption is perhaps not material here it should be pointed out that this practice is carried out with related and with unrelated children as well. The common practice of the adoption of grandchildren (most often of non-resident daughter's children) combines a servant's role for the adoptee with one that shows a

formalization of the widespread affectionate relationship that appears between alternate generations among primitive peoples. The blending of utilitarian and affectionate factors is intricate in this case. In the instance of the adoption of non-relatives, the child's status might be somewhat lower but if the child is adopted in infancy, and especially if the foster parents have few other children, there is most often a near complete assimilation of the adoptee into the behavioral network of the natural members. Orphans who are adopted later in life, however, normally do not receive the affection of natural children and in some cases adopted nephews and nieces are separated from them behaviorally as well as terminologically though when reared in the same household the adoptive sibling term is usually used.

As for the spouse exchange relationship, no examples of this could be found, for the Igluligmiut deny its present-day occurrence. Indirectly, however, the third generation of such a relationship has been observed and there the general cousin behavior seemed to prevail though the saq suffix implies a slightly more distant relationship.

Eskimo behavioral patterns are, to some extent, upset by the practice of naming newborn children after recently deceased individuals, usually relatives. Stefansson<sup>1</sup> has suggested an assimilation of behavioral concomitants to terminological identifications of that sort. Indeed, he seeks to explain much of the indulgence shown Eskimo children in these terms.

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<sup>1</sup>Vilhjalmur Stefansson, My Life with the Eskimo (London: and New York: Macmillan, 1913), pp. 495-500.

Willmott also mentions the "identity of name" in the Port Harrison area, where there is an extension of terminological designation to non-relatives who bear relatives' names, for example:

At the Inukpak camp a boy whose younger brother's name is Simiuni calls another younger boy nukak, younger brother, because this boy's name is also Simiuni. Similarly, three brothers refer to a six-year-old girl as anaak, mother, because both she and their mother are named Luisa.<sup>1</sup>

The investigator made some effort to explore the behavioral concomitants of the naming practices among the Igluligmiut without, however, experiencing much success. Though in general behavior toward children was found to be as indulgent as the literature had led me to suspect, there did not seem to be special consideration shown children who had been named for close relatives such as father or grandfather. The belief that the soul, as well as the name, of the dead relative passed to the infant was denied by some informants, probably because this idea conflicts with Christian teaching. The term abbariik was used to designate two who shared a name--but more especially to the deceased and his living counterpart. There does not seem to exist any particular sort of bond between living people sharing the same name, as far as I was able to determine.

Whether or not the father should obey a son named after the latter's grandfather was a matter of some deliberation. It was finally decided that, in general, while the son had not yet attained adulthood he should obey the father, but that after that age was reached the father should obey the son, though this directive

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<sup>1</sup>Willmott, p. 86.

may apply only to aged fathers and may in those cases also apply to all fathers and sons.

It seems likely that the practice of behaving toward one named for a deceased relative in the manner indicated by terminological equivalence is either dying or had not been widely practiced in the Iglulik area. The investigation of this matter is extremely difficult if the investigator does not possess an adequate enough language mastery to understand conversation among relatives in ordinary daily interaction. On this basis it is entirely possible that my information is incomplete in these matters.

Igluligmiut terminological categories thus display the property of being understood in terms of several principles. Some categories carry with them respect and even avoidance directives for Ego, whereas, in general, joking pervades the relationships among those at other places in the system. It does not seem profitable to consider degrees of familiarity and respect as the key to the understanding of a large number of categories. Rather, as we have indicated, many of the relationships can be considered in terms of relative affectional closeness coupled with the principle of the extension of surrogate roles from lineal to collateral relatives. In other words, collateral relatives in the parental generation show relatively greater and lesser mother-like and father-like roles for Ego, those collaterals in Ego's generation assume sister-like and brother-like roles, and in the descending generation son- and daughter-like roles. The principle involved in determining the relative closeness to Ego (or stated another way, the degree of identification with lineal relatives), has been shown to be the solidarity of the sexes. These statements concern

chiefly consanguines for both male and female Ego.

Another class of feelings that pertains among relatives are those characterized by obedience and command. Among consanguines this system is determined by age hierarchy and generational differences. Between Ego and affines it is determined by the locus of authority falling within the blood group. Thus Ego has a large measure of authority over those same-sexed affines marrying into his consanguineal group. At the same time he is largely subordinate to spouse's consanguines.

The terminological and behavioral data which we have discussed give a picture of the several kinds of kin groups with which Ego is associated. First, there are Ego's consanguines which, as we have noted above, comprise a largely symmetrical bilateral group with Ego at the center. The scope of consanguineal relations has fuzzy limits but, in general, seems to extend to the second cousins, in our sense of the term. That is father's cousins and their offspring seem to fall within the generally recognized circle of consanguineal kin.

There are, in addition to this consanguineal group, three sorts of kin which Ego connects with through affinal ties. The first of these is that of males and females who marry the consanguines of Ego. For male Ego these are ningawk in cases of in-marrying males and ai or ukkuag in cases of in-marrying females. The limit of this circle of relatives is more closely circumscribed by terminology, for there are usually no terms for the siblings and parents of these in-marrying persons. The only exceptions are the parents of Ego's children's spouses who are nulliq to him (or her). At the same time, these immediate relatives of in-marrying individuals

are vaguely regarded as being some sort of very distant kin--  
ungasixtok--or "distant" is the term used in describing such connections.

The second group that Ego is attached to by affinal ties is that of the consanguineal group of his (or her) spouse. His connections here seem to extend through the cousins, aunts and uncles and nephews and nieces of spouse, not to spouse's second cousins. Lineally they extend to the direct grandparents of spouse. These relatives are designated as ai, sakkiag, sakkik, and sakkikpa.

The third group created by affinal is comprised of those males and females who marry the consanguines of spouse. These are the angayungrok and nukowngrok statuses with respect to Ego. The range of this group is identical with that of the second since it corresponds to the spouses of the individuals of that group. Every ai or sakkiag is espoused to an angayungrok or nukowngrok from Ego's vantage point. The two groups thus complement one another and reaffirm their entities as groups. The siblings or other consanguines of angayungrok and nukowngrok are not considered relatives.

The regulation of marriage among the Igluligmiut is closely interwoven with the limits of the terminological system. Ego should not marry anyone for whom he (or she) has a kin term. There are, to be sure, borderline cases. For instance, there is some contradiction regarding marriage eligibility between foster siblings. I have inquired about cases of marriage in such cases and have found that relatives have condoned such a union but others do not. In general my older informants who were not related to anyone who had practiced such a union were adamant that it should not be allowed



and that those who violated the regulation were issumakittok or "simple minded."

Regarding marriage of the offspring of the spouse-exchange relationship there is also some contradiction, but mostly uncertainty. These reactions coupled with those of general resistance toward any questioning in the area of spouse exchange leave us frustrated in interpreting the situation. On the succeeding two generations, however, there is more certainty and marriage is definitely not allowed among these persons.

Violations to the directives against marriage of relatives occur within the Catholic segment of the population. Papal dispensation has been extended for cousin marriage for Catholic Igluligmiut. There is, however, evidence to show that another factor other than the desired religious endogamy is important in accounting for this practice. We shall discuss this factor presently.

With regard to actual incest regulation, or the control of sexual relations among kin our information is lacking but there is evidently a looser regulation in that area than is found in actual marriage control.

In considering the sorts of kin groups that Ego is associated with and the closely allied marriage regulations, we touch on the problem of the "kindred" which concept is usually considered a key one in the analysis of bilateral societies. Goodenough<sup>1</sup> has discussed the two general uses that the term has had in the literature. One regards a "lateral" linkage where Ego is allied with

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<sup>1</sup>Ward Goodenough, "A Problem in Malayo-Polynesian Social Organization," American Anthropologist, LVII (February, 1955), 71-83.

"a group of persons who have a relative in common regardless of whether kinship is traced through men or women."<sup>1</sup> This sort of kindred is, according to Goodenough, ephemeral with vague limits. The other sort of kindred implies a "lineal" emphasis and includes "people who have an ancestor in common."<sup>2</sup> Goodenough sees this type as being either unrestricted in membership as was the case with the "lateral" kindred or restricted by certain qualifications such as common residence.

The Igluligmiut like all other peoples can be said to have a kindred in the first sense. In passing we might qualify Goodenough's statement regarding its unlimited nature by saying that it could be restricted to all of Ego's consanguines, or it could include one, two, or all three of the affinal groups in the case of the Igluligmiut. Actually the concept of illageit seems to conform to the Igluligmiut "kindred." The illageit are those relatives whose positions are terminologically defined with respect to Ego. This designation then conforms to the scope of marriage regulation and includes all the terminologically defined affines as well as the consanguines. We have seen that this designation by term has vague limits in the consanguineal network (though it seems to end at second degree collaterals) but is sharply defined in the case of affines.

The second use of "kindred" indicated by Goodenough, that emphasizing the lineal dimension, has a limited application among the Igluligmiut. In the case of the descendants of one man, Ituksaxjuaq there seems to exist such a unit. This polygamous man led a large group of offspring (this case will be discussed with respect to residential problems in the next chapter), most of whom,

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

in turn, headed large families. Two of Ituksaxjuaq's sisters were married to the same man. This represented an incestuous situation according to the Igluligmiut marriage directives. One of the Ituksaxjuaq's sons married a cousin in about 1923, and after 1930 a number of other marriages between relatives occurred within his family. About 1929 some of his children were converted to Catholicism<sup>1</sup> on a visit to Pond Inlet. Thereafter others adopted that faith, especially after the priest moved to their village at Abadjaq. Ituksaxjuaq was one of the last in his family to be baptized. This happened about 1940.

Ituksaxjuaq was a man of great influence among the Igluligmiut and in fact he was called the "king" by whites who lived in or visited the region. His second wife was likewise referred to as the "queen." Indeed, a royal family sort of group feeling developed within the group of their offspring and their progeny. Among the Catholics in the area (this now includes a number of later converts, but more especially, immigrants) marriage alliances with this group are thought to be especially desirable. One rather anomalous marriage took place between a seventeen-year-old boy and a thirty-eight-year-old widowed daughter of the "king," in this connection.

Ituksaxjuaq had been dead only thirteen years and his "queen" twelve, when I visited the region in 1960, so it is too early to judge the persistence of this "kindred." The limits are vague but membership is clearly bilateral with spouses of both men

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<sup>1</sup>Information about the early history of Catholicism in the Iglulik region comes from the records of the Mission St. Etienne at Igloolik (Ikpiakjuk). Perusal of these documents was made possible by the kindness of Father Louis Fournier O.M.I.

and women included. The character of this inclusion is rather problematical, however. We have seen that in-marrying individuals have subordinate positions with regard to their spouses' consanguines. Whether or not the sharing of a locality is important in the affirmation of status within the "kindred" is uncertain. The descendants, even male descendants alone, no longer have long-termed residential unity over the year's cycle, though a large number frequently hunt together from boats in summer at Pingexqalik. Others, however, spend the summer season in Fury and Hecla Strait.

It is difficult to assess the traditional vs. contact elements in the appearance of this lineal "kindred." We have no knowledge of another group of kin holding so firmly in mind their descent from a prominent ancestor or having such a highly developed in-group sentiment. It seems probable that certain acculturative factors were prominent in bringing about the emergence of this "kindred."

Doubtless the abnormally large (for the early contact period) number of offspring to reach adulthood in one family has been an important factor in the ascendancy of Ituksaxjuaq and his descendants as a "kindred" in the sense used here. Personalities of the "king" and his "queen" were also important in establishing family status. The in-marrying tendency which began early but became emphasized under religious-acculturative influences has helped to solidify the group as a genealogical unity. The religious separation of the "kindred" from most of the other Igluligmiut serves, as well, to maintain their distinctness, though indeed, the motives for being converted to Catholicism were probably originally connected with the already strong feeling of group uniqueness.

Justification for such a detailed presentation of terminology

and behavioral norms as has been undertaken would be lacking if we failed to find some general correspondence between ideal and actual behavior. Indeed, at times the testimony of the Igluligmiut themselves would seem to conspire against the hope that much correlation could be found between the two universes. The word "illani" or "sometimes" entered heavily into the discussion of kinship behavior with these Eskimo. They are indeed aware of the difference between ideal and actual in kinship behavior. The electiveness of behavioral directives applied to the various categories is noted in discussions of this sort. For instance, in checking information taken down regarding behavior of a man toward a female cousin, the informant indicated that "sometimes, if both agreed" an avoidance relationship would prevail. This electiveness parallels to some extent Heinrich's<sup>1</sup> conceptualization of the natqua system in Alaska. The circle of "nonoptative" statues which Heinrich speaks of does not seem to be set off at Iglulik and there is no term to define such a group. There is present a rather fluid system of allegiance or non-allegiance to norms of behavior. The writer, however, believes that there is perhaps a greater conformity to norms of kinship behavior than the Eskimos are themselves willing to admit. An example of this could be seen in the village where I spent the longest stays during my field program. There, one of my informants, after indicating the prescribed behavioral norms between him and his close male relatives in the village, and, as well, the patterns that should prevail among them, laughingly remarked that of course he and his close relatives did not follow such a system closely. He expressed the often repeated sentiment of the Igluligmiut that

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<sup>1</sup>Heinrich, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XVI, 111.

the general feelings of good-naturedness should be maintained in contacts between relatives, no matter what dominance-subordinance hierarchy should be called for; that the latter should be secondary to the joking and warmth that should prevail in cooperative enterprise. Actual observations in the course of hunts, boat launchings, and journeys, convinced the writer, however, that the ningawk-sakkiag and angayungrok-nukowngrok roles were followed rather closely in the execution of cooperative activity and were constantly reinforced through verbal reference, kin terms being more frequently used than names.

In subsequent chapters we will seek to evaluate the role of kinship in the social relations of the Igluligmiut, and we will strive to keep kinship relations in proper perspective with behavior that contradicts kinship directives and behavior that ignores such directives; to be alert to any possible systems that might make kinship-irrelevant behavior understandable in larger perspective.

## CHAPTER IV

### KINSHIP AND GROUP COMPOSITION

This section will focus on the examination of the kinship composition of Igluligmiut local groups. Our analysis will proceed after the method of Pehrson<sup>1</sup> in the use of charts based on kinship connections among members. These documents will serve to reveal a large part of the personnel alignment component of Igluligmiut social life.

In keeping with our stated intention of setting our discussion in historical perspective we shall begin with a brief consideration of group structure at earlier periods in the area. Mathiassen<sup>2</sup> has provided census data showing the location of individuals in the winter of 1921-22. Through the use of genealogies collected around Iglulik in 1960-61, we are able to construct Figure 9, which indicates the kinship connections among members of each of the five sites of habitation given in the Mathiassen census.

Turning to the first of these, the group at Iglulik Point, we can see that a large number was aggregated there at the time of Mathiassen's visit. The central feature of this group is the prominence of the kin of 1, the individual mentioned in the last section.

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Pehrson, "The Bilateral Network of Social Relations in Konkama Lapp District," International Journal of American Linguistics, Vol. XXII (1957).

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, pp. 15-20.

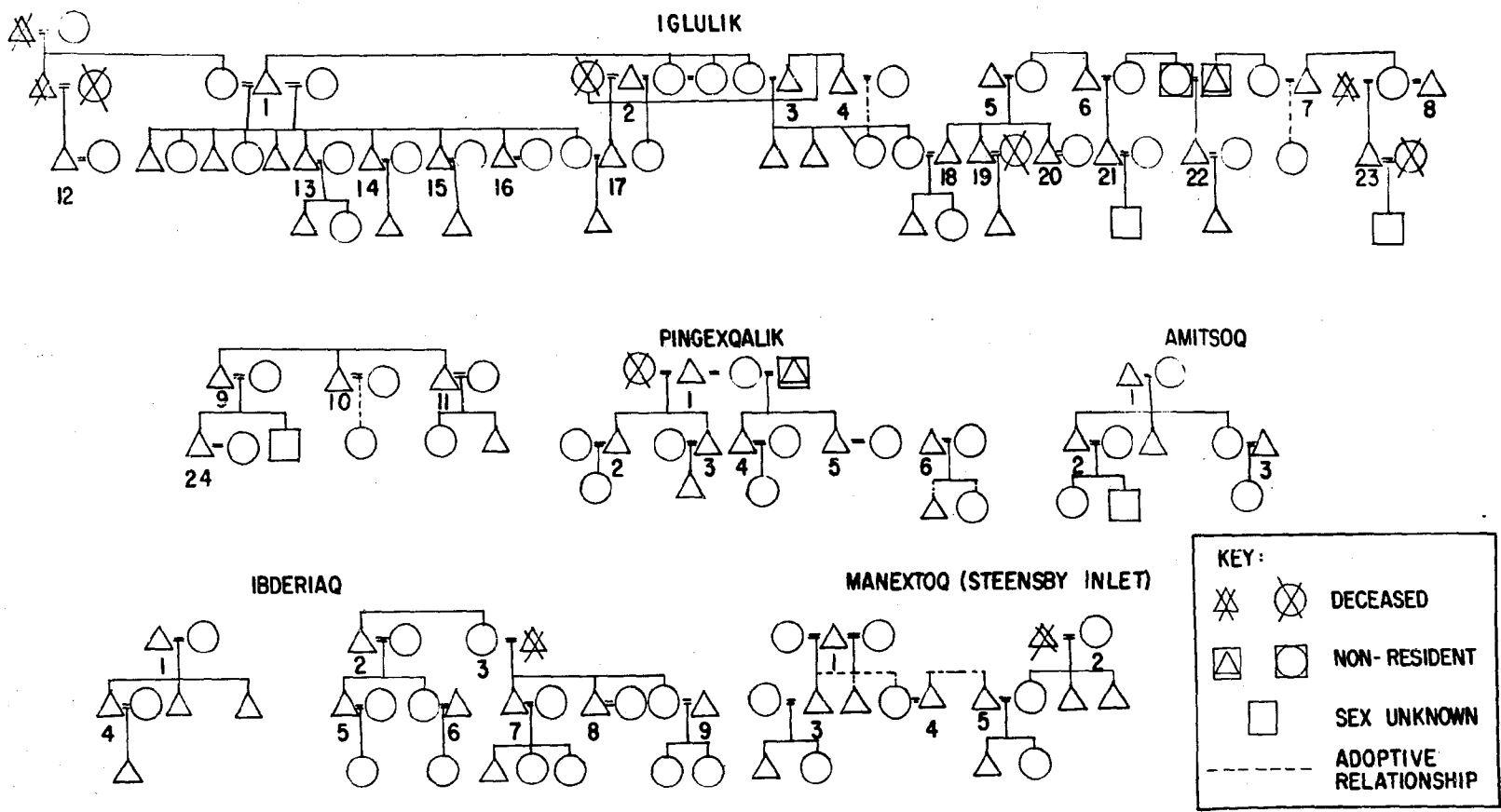


FIG. 9.—IGLULIGMIUT, LOCAL GROUPINGS, 1921-22 (WINTER)



Not only has he two wives and a large group of offspring but the marriages of three sisters play important roles in holding the group together genealogically. Thus we can see the beginnings of the long horizontal bond that connects most of the village. Individual 2 is attached affinally to 1's group in two ways. First, he is married to two of the latter's sisters which creates a ningawk-sakkiag relationship and second, 2's son is married to a daughter of 1 making them nulliriit. Also ningawk to 1 is 3 again through marriage to 1's sister; sakkiag to 1 is 12. With the addition of the widowed mother-in-law and all offspring of the nuclear family heads named, a total of 37 of the other 74 persons at Iglulik fall within the terminological network (kindred) of 1. Other connections across the chart are established mostly on the basis of sibling and affinal ties, the main kin segments being joined on either of two generational levels. For instance, the siblings 3 and 4 are joined to the sibling bond of 5 and 6 through marriage of the first descending generation. Person 6 and family are joined to 22 affinally as a wife's nephew. Person 7 is linked with 22 in turn in a ningawk-sakkiag relationship, and with 8 and 23 as well through his sister. The three brothers, 9, 10, and 11, are not attached to the main group. These members were recent immigrants from Pond Inlet on the occasion of 24 killing a white man at that place.

This group has features that suggest the Lapp band structure as indicated by Pehrson (1957), in that the sibling and marriage bonds seem to be the chief ties holding the group together. Except for the three brothers from Pond Inlet and their immediate families the group can be considered bilateral rather than composite

in structure. Within the closer knit units we see a number of father-son alliances and a few father-in-law-son-in-law links. On the first descending generation the virilocal situations would seem to outnumber the uxori-local, though some cases, as 17 and 18, are ambiguous and in terms of group composition must be considered bi-local. The fact that this group is held together by a number of direct affinal ties indicates that there was no great avoidance of local group endogamy. In this connection it should be noted that the large group as represented on the chart was a residential unity for no longer than four months of the year. The points of schism, as inferred from informant recall data, splits some of these direct affinal ties, and the cases of local endogamy become fewer. Kinship endogamy is indicated in the cases of both 1 and 2 as noted above. These are the only cases here. Historical data shows 2 to be completely isolated on his own and ascending generations, so it is likely that he sought strong identification with a genealogically prominent man to the extent of violating the local incest regulations by marrying two sisters. These regulations have (as set up in chapter iii) been definitely established as traditional in the area. Though the largest number of people were gathered at Iglulik at the time of Mathiassen's arrival, in some years there was a splitting of personnel so that about half of the group wintered at Pingexqalik. In 1922, however, only a small group resided there.

The Pingexqalik group was comprised of a large close-knit kin group and a detached nuclear group. The structure of kin ties shows that a strong pseudo-virilocal group was organized about a senior couple with a sibling and half-sibling bond connecting those on the descending generation. The isolated nuclear group

finds its closest links with the Iglulik village. Aside from this segment we see a continuance of the virilocal bond in structuring close-knit kin groups.

Since the two villages at Iglulik and at Pingexqalik were at times joined into one and at other times split more equally in number, a combined chart, Figure 10, is included. This chart shows that in the largest aggregation the kin bonds have increased and the whole is quite closely connected across the board. The large Pingexqalik kin group headed by 1<sup>P</sup> links with 6's family and with 7's by direct affinal ties on the first descending generation, as it does with 1. The other segment is connected afinally with 1. Of the combined number of village members in the largest possible aggregation, 1 finds 44 of 91 persons attached to him within the boundaries of his terminological-behavioral network.

The group at Amitsoq is a close-knit-kin-based group with a virilocally attached son and a uxori locally attached son-in-law, comprising, in effect, a symmetrically bilateral aggregation.

At Ibderiaq a slightly more complex pattern of group composition can be noted. Two principal kin units are represented. The first consists of a man, wife, one married son, and two more who are of marriageable age (determined through genealogical investigation), but still single. The head of this group and all its members are unconnected with the other main segment of the village. The wives of the men in this group are from Repulse Bay and Pingexqalik, and there has been no attempt to relate to either of their consanguineal groups in the alignments presented. The other segment of this village is a well-connected group of kin with the major link between sub-segments in a brother and widowed sister tie.

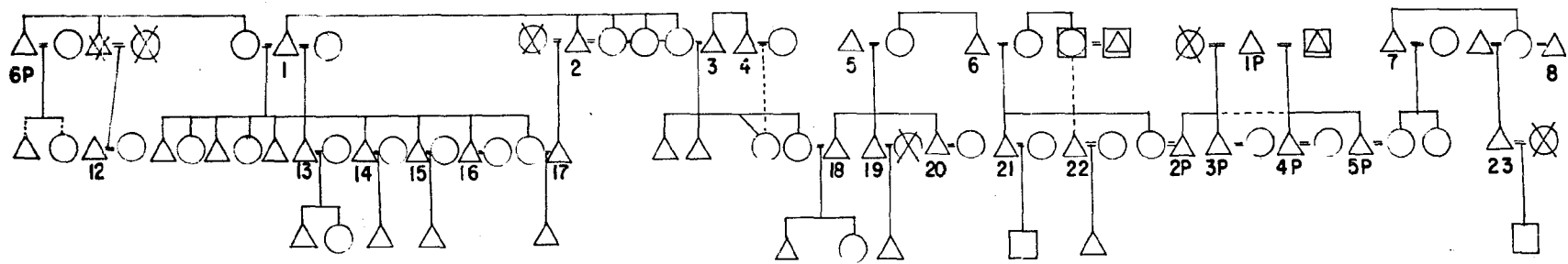


FIG. 10.— IGLULIK AND PINGEXQALIK, 1921-22

On the descending level we see again an almost equal division between virilocal and uxori-local residence. Indeed this village shows both bilateral and composite characteristics. A further study of genealogies reveals that two of 2's sons were not co-resident here, both seeking wives in other districts. In addition, an older brother of 7 and 8 resided with his spouse's consanguines at Repulse Bay at this time. This latter union was the only cousin marriage arrangement seen in the population of 1921-22 and the only other case of marriage of a relative outside of the cases mentioned at Iglulik. Mathiassen<sup>1</sup> mentions the instances of the brothers of 2 residing in other regions, one at Pond Inlet and the other Repulse Bay and the wide ranging movements of the three brothers over the years as an example of the nomadic condition of life. This example also shows that the sibling tie, which in its solidarity we have seen to be an important unifying force both here and at Iglulik, could in its splitting symptomize the more atomistic aspects of Igluligmiut society.

The final village of the 1921-22 census, that at Steensby Inlet, had been a much larger aggregation earlier that winter, according to an older informant who was a member of the group. The number had been greater due to the immigration from Pond Inlet of a group, part of whom lived then at Iglulik, the rest remaining around Manetoq, making up the group in question. The most notable tie in this group is the connection of the main unit headed by 1 to a peripheral element headed by the widow 2 through the apparently uxori-local attachments of the adoptive sibling bond of 4 and 5. Indeed adoption can be seen to play an important part in the structure of this group with five members standing in adoptive relationships with immediates.

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<sup>1</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, pp. 21-22.

In assessing these groups, the over-all impression would seem to be one of variability. There is great variation in village size ranging from 10 to 74 members. We find resident situations that seem to be virilocal, uxorilocal, bilocal, and neolocal. Group and kin exogamy and endogamy are all represented, elements of bilaterality and of compositeness are noted in wider connections within villages. At first glance patterns seem to be absent. On closer examination, however, generalizations, though they may be of qualified nature, seem possible.

One of these regards residence. Virilocality seems to be ascendent. Nineteen married males reside in the same village with their fathers, while seven share village residence with fathers-in-law (some of these were serving the year's bride service). There are three cases of bilocality conceived in terms of village co-residence. The concept of neolocality is a rather difficult one to apply. It is true that our charts show lack of connection among certain local units of consanguineal or affinal kin but in most cases these situations represent arrangements that have taken place long after marriage and probably, as well, after the death of father or father-in-law. Actually, there seems to be no real precedent for recently married couples to set up residence in a village other than that of either's parents.

Another rather firm pattern can be seen to operate in the regulation of marriage according to the incest taboos that have been defined in accordance with terminological usage in the last chapter. As far as the genealogies permit (and they usually include relatives as far removed as first cousins for the top generations included on our charts), only one marriage out of the fifty-six

represented in the area is in violation of these restrictions. We noted another such case at Repulse Bay, however.

The question of group endogamy or exogamy is not so easily resolved because of the fluctuating composition of the larger aggregations. We have several examples of important links being created by marriage within the local group but since such "bilocal" cases have been shown to be in the minority, we must assume the predominance of exogamy. Later in this summary we will point out the seasonal factor involved in these apparently endogamous situations.

Another important structural feature that was present was the residential solidarity of the sibling group in a large number of cases. The brother and brother, brother and sister, and less frequently, the sister and sister ties formed important links within and between principal kin groups in every village. On the other hand, we cited several cases where split male sibling groups characterize the atomism in kin distribution that is sometimes present when we consider the whole area. It is to be expected that, since group exogamy is seen to be a prominent feature and virilocal residence and regional exogamy are also indicated, female siblings, as well as brothers and sisters, would most often be separated from one another. We have noted exceptions to these tendencies as important to group unity in the larger villages, but in general, we can find a great deal of scatter of residence in those categories. With male siblings, since they usually reside with their fathers, we might be led to expect a greater solidarity within that group. The following data are available to clarify that situation:

TABLE 2  
MALE SIBLING GROUPS, 1921-22\*

Father Living		Mother Living, Father Dead		Both Parents Dead		Totals	
Living with Another Brother	Living Alone	Living with Another Brother	Living Alone	With	Alone	With	Alone
9	2	5	3	8	8	22	13

\*Shows the number of male siblings living with (in same vil-  
lage) another male sibling.

These figures are understandable in terms of the expected age level of each of these categories and also the extent of economic independence that each age and status classification level represents. When both parents are dead the offspring have often reached the point in life where they have married sons and sons-in-law co-resident. At such times the move to more promising regions might easily be undertaken. The symmetrical bi-modal distribution of brothers in this later group reflects the two tendencies that we have noted above. That is, both the cohesion and the atomization that is characterized by sibling group distribution. On the whole the ratio of 22-13 would seem to indicate that sibling groups add more than they detract from the kinship unity of the local group. The sibling group ties that connect similar close-knit kin units such as the father-son and father-in-law-son-in-law combinations may be unilateral but equally as often, at least in the large group at Iglulik they are brother and sister ties and, together with marriage links on descending generations (bilocal



situations), supply the major bilateral ingredients that can be found in the 1921-22 groups.

The splitting of sibling groups, on the other hand, no doubt contributes to some extent to the compositeness that is present in the larger aggregations. Still, the main break in kinship connections in the Iglulik group is that between a male sibling group and the rest of the village; the failure of affinal ties to develop being more responsible for the compositeness in this case than any splitting of the sibling group. Genealogical isolation accounts for some of the compositeness. In other words, no affinal or consanguineal ties are available to exploit for purposes of residence in some cases. On the whole the significance of the breaks in kin connection on our charts can be seen in better perspective when we consider that both the large aggregation at Iglulik and the smaller one at Ibderiaq were seasonal gatherings capitalizing on the propinquity of the maulexpok season. Our supplementary information shows that at other times of the year splits along kin lines occurred as smaller aggregations became the pattern. In these smaller bands the compositeness that was evident in the winter encampments disappears. In addition, much of the bilaterality also vanishes since the linking of groups on the top generational level by means of the brother and sister tie seems, in most cases, to have been also a seasonal affair.

The mobility of individuals and groups of various sizes in and out of the Iglulik region and alternate accretion and fission that took place within that region complicates our picture of group composition in the early contact society. The patterns and problems that are connected with this aspect of the early groups will

be treated in greater detail in the next chapter.

A census taken in June, 1949, by the Roman Catholic mission at Iglulik gives us a picture of the Igluligmiut population at another stage in history. Figures 11 and 12 show the kinship connections within each of the eleven villages that were inhabited at that time. At that time of the year (June) there is evident some temporary locations that have been accounted for in the inquiry. In general, however, the groups as given constitute the largest aggregations that came together during the year. The population shows distribution among two large and nine smaller groups.

Looking first at the latter, we see that in seven of the villages composition is restricted to close-knit units such as father and son, and/or sin-in-law and father-in-law, and the sibling tie. In these villages the virilocal residential situation prevails over the uxorilocal 11 to 5. In the case of Manitok, the June group structure is skewed by the absence of the father and two sons who normally reside there in winter but were visiting at this time. With the addition of these members (1 and 2) the ratio becomes 13-5 in favor of the virilocal situation for the small villages.

Two of the smaller aggregations are more compositely organized. At Ikpakjuk (Igloolik) the local structure relates to acculturative factors as each of the families have representatives working at either the Hudson's Bay Company or at the Roman Catholic mission. Sioraxjuk is comprised of three kin segments that are not connected across the chart. Two of these units (1, 2, and 6, 7) are migrants from Repulse Bay and have no kin in the Iglulik area, except for 2's affines who were at times attached in this

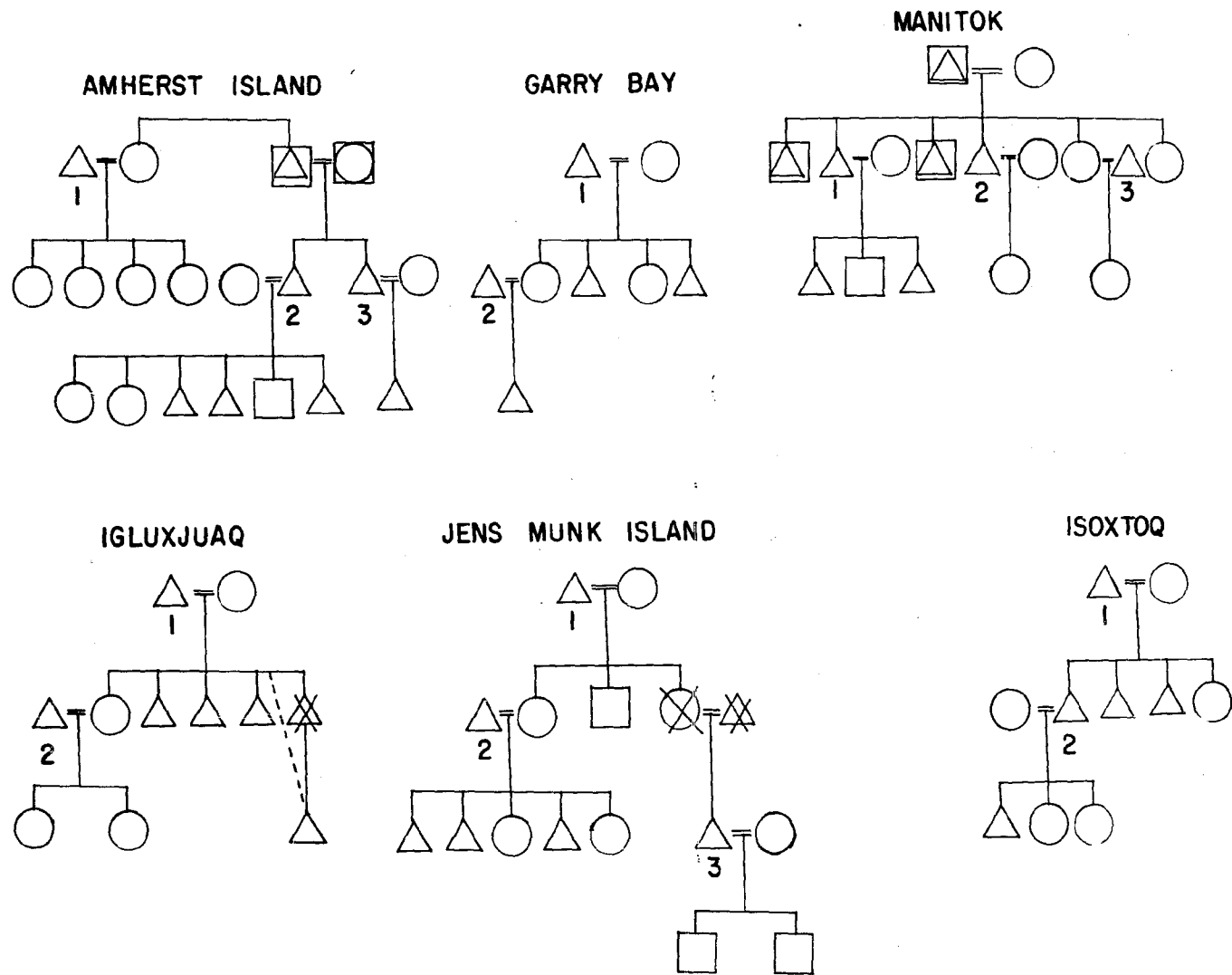


FIG. II. — IGLULIGMIUT LOCAL GROUPINGS, JUNE, 1949

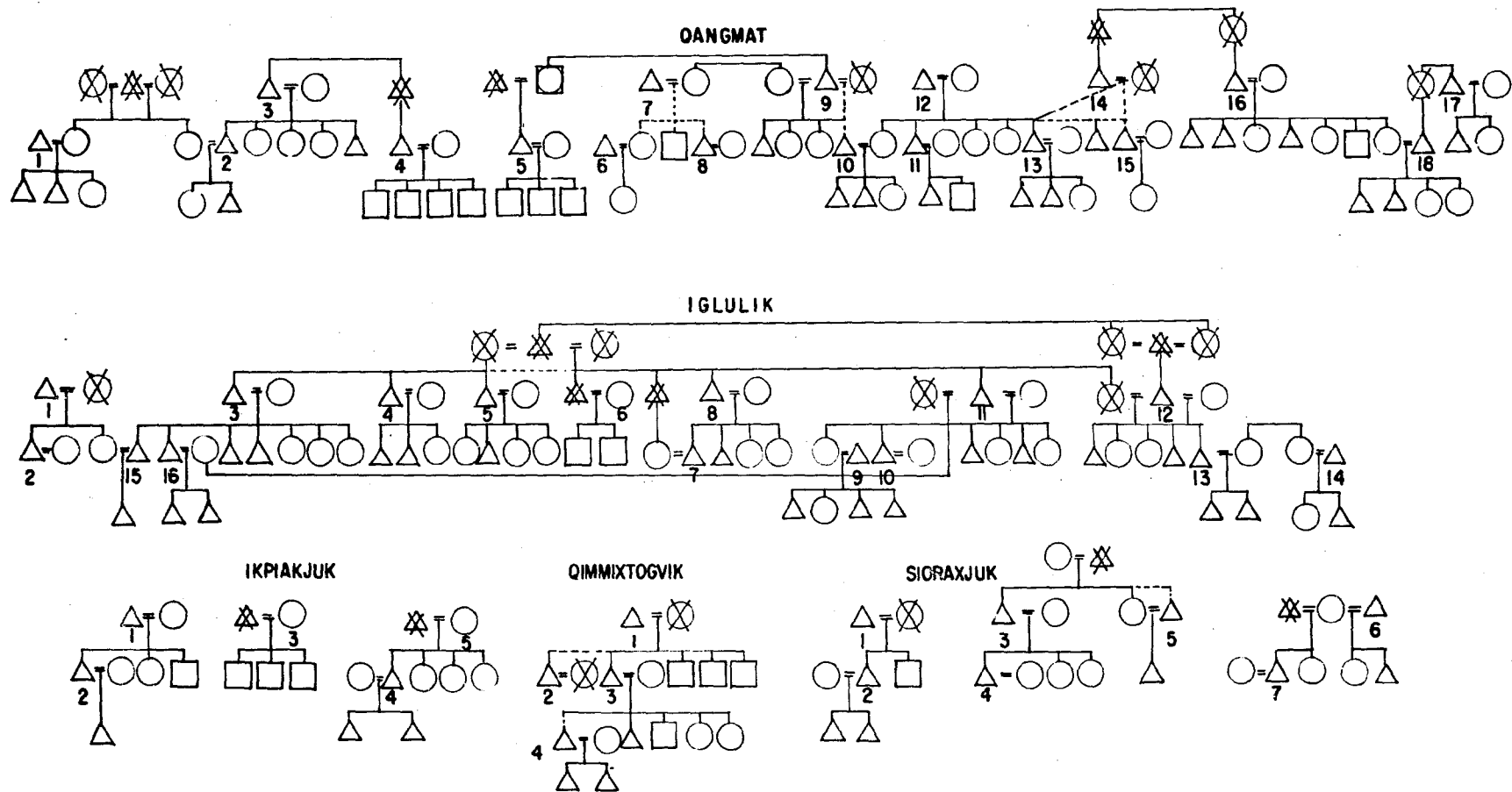


FIG.12 — IGLULIGMIUT LOCAL GROUPINGS, 1949 (JUNE) II

group. The third segment had resided at this site for a number of years and represented the remnants of a larger close-knit unit of father and three sons and one daughter and spouses and offspring. After the death of the father earlier in the year, two of 3's brothers emigrated from the region, one to Arctic Bay and the other to Pond Inlet.

The large group at Iglulik shows a persistence of the same sort of bonds that held together the 1921-22 group, that is, extensive sibling bond is the important link between a number of close-knit units comprised of father-son and/or father-in-law and son-in-law. Indeed this is the same "kindred" of Ituksaxjuaq that served the same purpose in the earlier aggregation, but here the connections of most importance have shifted downward one generation. Four brothers, the widow of another, and the widower of a deceased sister, comprise almost all of the top generation in the village. Person 12 retains the tradition of connection with Ituksaxjuaq's "kindred," even though at this point connection through his father and through his first wife are obliterated by deaths. His eldest son, married to another daughter of the "king" forms another link but in this census was not co-resident with his father. Persons 1 and 2 are normally at Manitok, and are visiting or temporarily attached in a uxori-local fashion, a common practice in the region. Person 9 also has an uxori-local attachment which was to last many years, due apparently to his total lack of consanguineals in the Iglulik region. Person 14 is also attached to the group by indirect uxori-local ties, this too was a visiting situation since 14 usually lived at ~~at~~ ~~mat~~ with his father. We also see another tie with an older sister in the village. The remainder of the nuclear family

heads attach to the group in the normal patrilocal fashion and make up the core.

The other large village at this time, Qangmat, shows a greater multiplicity of kinds of ties than were present at Iglulik. Several items are worthy of comment here. The frequency of adoptive ties and their importance in unifying the group is one. The extension of the only sizable sibling group in the village (persons 11, 13, and 15, and the wife of 10) is accomplished through this medium. Other close-knit father and son or father-in-law and son-in-law units are also made up through adoption. Though sibling ties occur on the top generational, the cousin and uncle-nephew bonds are more important in holding this and the descending generation together. The connections between members in the lower generation show only one case of direct matrilocality, though two vaguely uxorilocal situations, as well, are involved. On that generational level virilocality is slightly dominant 6 to 4. The close-knit kin groups are, for the most part, small, and indeed in the absence of actual household data the limits of such units are fuzzy. Bilaterality rather than compositeness characterizes this group as there is only one genealogical break in the group of 83 persons.

The structure of the Qangmat aggregation seems to show the imprint of three factors: (1) the splitting of the male sibling group. This has happened in five cases. Much of the fragmentation of this village can be accounted to this factor. (2) The structure of the population in the Igluligmiut region is portrayed in this group. Even in 1949 most of the families are on the small side. Infant survival is still on a low level compared to the rates seen

in more favored climes and cultures. In the ascending generations early age at death in adult years doubtlessly affects the extent of genealogical isolation that is evident. In this particular group the adult-to-child ratio is only 0.81 as it is for the entire 1949 population. This is a substantial increase over the 1922 ratio but still small families are the rule, the large offspring unit of Ituksuxjuaq being almost as much of an anomaly in 1949 as it was in 1922. (3) Immigration has accounted for about 60 per cent of the population of the Qnagmat group and only six of the eighteen family heads are in the male line of descent from members of the 1922 groups in the Iglulik region. The wide-ranging spread of family ties throughout the Pond Inlet-Arctic Bay-Iglulik-Repulse Bay area, brought about largely by the long-termed practice of limited regional exogamy, was an important factor in the existence of kinship ties in the Qangmat group. Since genealogical ties were available in the locality, immigrant units were able to attach to the group as they entered the country, in terms of kinship connections, rather than setting up independent villages, or joining forces with this or other villages without this important basis for affiliation. Without this interregional network of kinship ties such aggregations as that at Qangmat in 1949 may well have been composite rather than bilaterally kin-based.

The 1949 Igluligmiut groups can be seen to have the following characteristics: The population has increased to about double the 1922 figure. Rather than larger aggregations occurring as a result of this increase, a number of new village sites were occupied. Optimum group size seems to be below 100 members in the area, for in 1922 there was one village of seventy-four members and four

smaller local aggregations. In 1949 there was one large village of eighty-two members and another of sixty-eight and nine others ranging in size from ten to twenty-five. As in 1922 a number of outlying small groups who typically show very close-knit kinship composition comprise about half of the regional population. In all villages in both periods kinship connections are pervasive with few totally unattached nuclear family units appearing. Some breaks do occur but they are not numerous enough to warrant the appraisal of the Igluligmiut groups in either period as conglomerate accretions of unrelated persons. The Iglulik Point group continues to be dominated by a large kin group. Indeed it is the "kindred" of Ituksaxjuaq which has shifted the unifying sibling connections to the lower (in terms of the 1922 group) generation. In 1949 the Iglulik village shows fewer units peripheral to this main core though the population is nearly equal to the earlier (68 to 74 persons). In the other large group (at Qangmat) a greater variety of kinship bonds are noted. Factors of population structure, immigration, and the splitting of male sibling groups figure strongly in the composition of this village. The status of the male sibling bond in the 1949 population was as follows:

TABLE 3

## MALE SIBLING GROUPS, 1949

Father Living		Mother Only Living		Both Dead		Totals	
Together	Apart	Together	Apart	Together	Apart	Together	Apart
11	9	0	2	4	5	15	16



These figures show some distortion because of known visiting individuals appearing in the census away from their normal residential situations because of the season. With this factor in mind the first category "male siblings with father still living" becomes 13 together and 7 apart. This group shows most contrast with the 1922 figures (p. 95) where there are indicated 9 together and only 2 apart in that age bracket. The less cohesive trend in this category can perhaps be explained in terms of acculturative changes. Among the eight cases of isolated siblings two are alone (the other three are separated from brothers because of adoption), because of an employment situation at Ikpuakjuk, and three are involved in an outpost camp arrangement. The establishment of a camp near the western end of the Fury and Hecla Strait seems related both to the acquisition of whaleboats in substantial number within the Ituksaxjuaq "kindred" and the increased importance of the fox trade.

Kin endogamy is becoming more prominent in the Iguligmiut groups since there are now four marriages between relatives (all within the Ituksaxjuaq "kindred") and a fifth borderline case where adoptive brother and sister married. Still these are in the decided minority and the entire Iguligmiut population must be said to be kin exogamous. We have shown that the frequent occurrence over the years of regional exogamy is an important structuring feature at the 1949 Qangmat village. Local exogamy would seem to be strong as well at that period for there is only one clear-cut case of bilocal residence in the population. Less direct affiliations with affines in addition to usually primary links with consanguineals do exist, however, giving groups their bilateral character. Although

year to year shifts in individual locations still occur, as well as wholesale movement of entire groups from one village site to another, the increased permanency of villages throughout the year makes the concept of local exogamy more meaningful at the time of the 1949 census than in 1922.

The locally exogamous unions that were being made during the years just prior to the later census showed about the same ratio of virilocal over uxori-local situations. In the second generation of marriages we find that there were 24-10-1 respectively virilocal, uxori-local, and bilocal residential situations. This breakdown shows that 67 per cent of such alliances were virilocal as compared to 65 per cent in the 1922 population.

With these summary analyses of 1922 and 1949 groupings as background we move to the consideration of the local aggregations in the Iglulik area as we found them in the years 1960 and 1961. This discussion will be developed in greater detail than the preceding as there is available for today's groups a great deal more supplementary information and the examination of this additional data will reveal a large part of Igluligmiut social life that was shut off from us in the earlier inquiry.

In this earlier discussion we evolved some generalizations that will affect our appraisal of the 1960-61 groupings. One of these is the predominance of virilocal over other sorts of residence. Indeed, this sort of residential alignment has the backing of local sentiment and is considered by the Eskimo around Iglulik as the ideal arrangement. In fact, some of my informants acknowledged the need to explain other sorts of alignments as due to special circumstances. Closely related to this ideal residence setup is the

strong bond between father and son, which is acted out in the daily interaction situations. Another highly valued sort of alliance is that among brothers. We saw that the male sibling bond played a dichotomous role in group composition in the 1922 and 1949 groups. One feature of this bond was frequent splitting after the death of the father. This situation is appraised by the Igluligmiut with much headshaking in most cases when differences of personality seem to be involved, though economic reasons are noted in others. In either case the normal or ideal situation is acknowledged to be the residential solidarity of this group.

The infrequency of marriage of relatives as defined in the terminological system of the Igluligmiut, was another feature of the earlier populations. Violations of marriage taboos are not regarded with real alarm, rather violators are regarded as issumakittok, or "foolish," akin to folk attitudes in our country regarding the practice. Regional or local endogamy had no such traditional sentiments attached, though the pattern of local exogamy seemed to be developing by 1949.

The early groups showed strong tendencies for people who were related to one another to be co-resident in the village situation. Sentiment, too, favors all-relative village organization. Outside the immediate close-knit parental and children based units there seems to have been no preference for either consanguineal or affinal association in groups. This situation seems consistent with the bilateral structure of the terminological system.

On the basis of traditional sentiment and because of their occurrence in the earlier groupings we can expect the following to occur in the 1960-61 groups: Virilocal residence, the solidarity

of the male sibling group (though we shall expect more than a few violations of this on the basis of early group composition data), upholding of marriage taboos, and the preference for kinship connection as a principle upon which local groups are built.

Our procedure in the ensuing analysis will be to appraise the situation of nuclear family heads in each of the villages with these directives as guideposts. We will attempt to explain anomalies to the patterns that have emerged from the study of the earlier groups and from discussions with Igluligmiut concerning ideal forms. In the process of our discussion a number of tangential problems will emerge, the examination of which should facilitate our understanding of the contemporary social life as a whole.

Figure 1 shows the locations of the winter villages of the Igluligmiut as they appeared when I visited them in January-May, 1961. Some of the names have been encountered in our earlier discussion but other villages came into being after 1949. One of these is the first that will be considered, Nowyagoluk. Figure 13 shows the kinship composition of that village. It can be seen that this group represents a bilateral situation, similar to some groups that we encountered in our discussion of earlier aggregations. Since the uxori-local residence alignment is contrary to ideal and because we have found in the analysis preceding that it is also numerically inferior to virilocality let us examine the situation of 3. This individual is a member of a split male sibling group. A younger brother is living in an uxori-local situation like 3 (see later discussion on Kapuivik) and an older brother is attached in another village though rather remote affinal ties (see later discussion on Ingnextoq). The lack of residential solidarity in this sibling

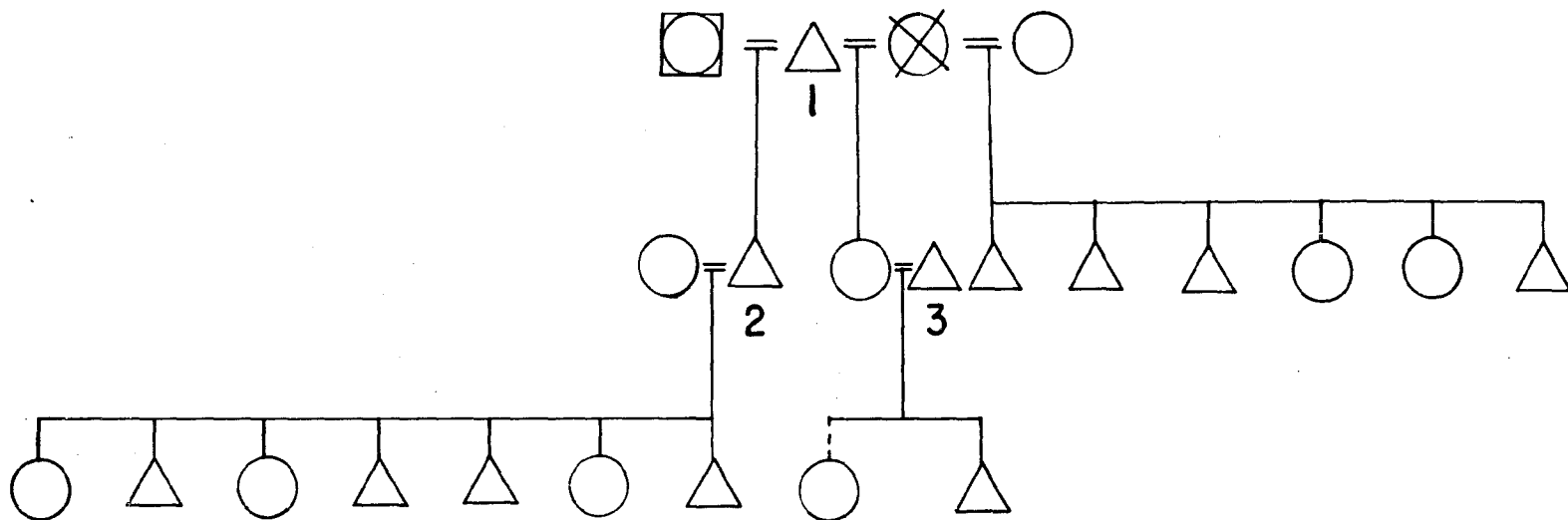


FIG. 13 — NOWYAGOLUK

group seems to be due to several reasons. For one thing there are two male and two female members of the direct parental generation involved, which creates half sibling relationships between 3 and his younger brother on the one hand and the older brother on the other. Subsequent husbands of the mother of the first two inhabited different localities which kept the offspring generation from identifying strongly with one particular village. In addition, both of these men were migrants from Repulse Bay. Above and beyond these situational factors none of the three men shows any leadership ability, they are all poor hunters, especially with regard to the fox. The dependency on affines seems above all to be a reflection of this factor.

There are several other features of interest in this group. Two females are crossed out on the chart. These are examples of death in early adulthood which reflects the hazardous health situation that has prevailed in the region. The first wife of 1 was divorced. This practice was common when this occurred about 1923 but later has become prohibited by religion. After death and divorce of earlier wives 1 took a spouse of about fifteen years younger than himself, a not uncommon practice in the area. The youthfulness of his unmarried offspring (range, infant to 14 years), shows the formation of a second family paralleling in age the children of his oldest son 2. The size of offspring groups of 1 and 2 reflects the much higher rate of infant survival than was evident in the groups that we have heretofore examined. This is an important trend in the 1960-61 population. We might expect association of 1 and consequently the whole group with some relative on his generation. All of his brothers are dead and he has sisters that have

married out to Arctic Bay. This village relocates yearly from Nowyagoluk in late winter. At that time 1 joins the group of his father-in-law, 2 and 3 move to Ikpiakjuk where 3's mother and half-brother live.

The next group chart, Figure 14, shows the aggregation at Igluxjuaq which presents a similar picture of bilaterality. Here the spouse of the senior male 1 is deceased, and he has not remarried, which indicates that the career of this village is rather more advanced than the one at Nowyagoluk, in that the members are further along in the family cycle. Indeed the two older daughters of 3 are of marriageable age (16 and 17 years). The entire parental generation of 3, the uxori-local individual, is deceased, but we might expect him to show residential association with his brother. In this case, however, the sibling bond was broken by adoption in infancy. It will be seen, as our analysis proceeds, that the child feels greater loyalty to adopted and even affinal relatives than to the natural consanguineal kin.

The senior male 1 has a younger brother living at Ikpiakjuk. This man is now blind and is at that place mainly because of the pension that is administered there. On the other hand these brothers have been separated throughout much if not most of their adult lives. There seem to be more than economic reasons for this separation for other Eskimo say that for many years these have "disagreed." The pattern of movements of the younger brother indicate frequent shifts and, until the recent years of old age, he associated only for short periods with any aggregation of people in the region.

Another split sibling situation is manifest in the second

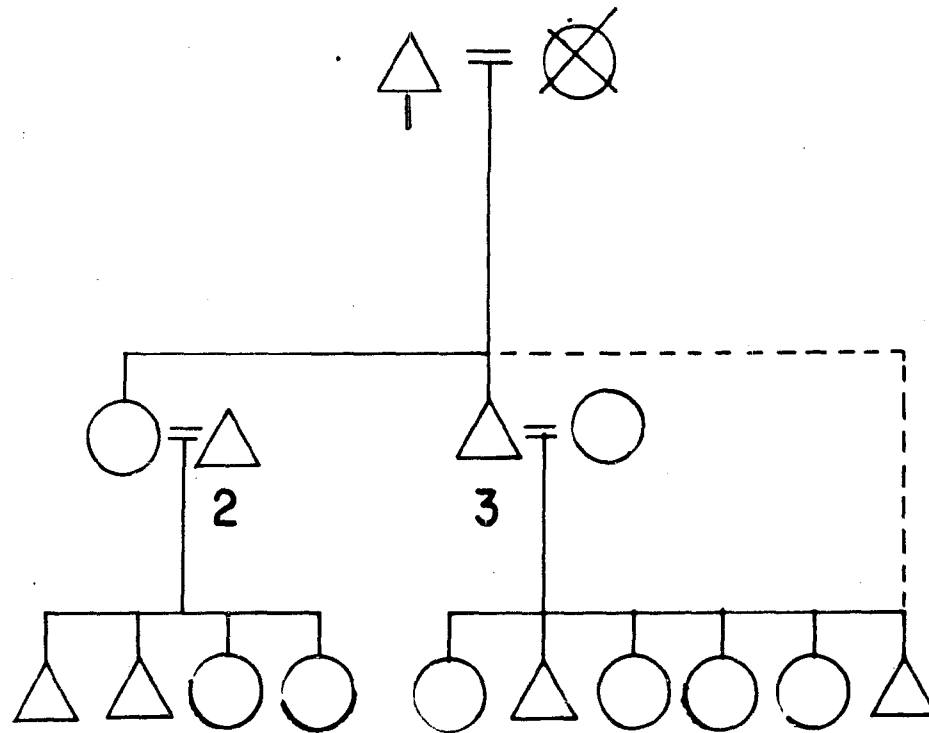


FIG. 14 - IGLUXJUAQ



generation of the Igluxjuaq group. The oldest son of 1 now resides at Ikpiakjuk as the Anglican deacon. This man split from his father and brother in 1945 to go to his wife's consanguines in Pond Inlet. The motives for this original move are understandable. Visiting spouse's consanguine is a common pattern and if the distance is far and if there is economic benefit in the situation for the son-in-law he may stay for a year. If the father is living he returns after that time in most cases, however. The man in question remained out of the Iglulik area for fifteen years, in this case, returning to the region to set up a church after having received informal religious training at Pond. The situation is, indeed, difficult to evaluate, though the religious-acculturative factor probably figured heavily. Another son of 1 has been separated from the others since infancy by adoption. At present he works on a DEWline site, living with his foster mother. In this situation it seems likely that the loyalty to the foster parents and also foster brother (who also works on the DEWline) is a more important factor than the wage labor arrangement because he has lived with the adoptive group long before the radar stations were built.

The next chart, that of the kinship relationships at Manextoq shows a shift in leadership from the recently deceased father to the younger generation. Another uxorilocal situation is present. In this case individual 4 was orphaned early and the sibling group that he was adopted into contained no male members. He might have chosen to associate residentially with the husbands of either of two foster sisters and indeed this would have put him in the favorable position of sakkiag over the ningawk or in-marrying male in those cases whereas at Manextoq the situation is reversed.

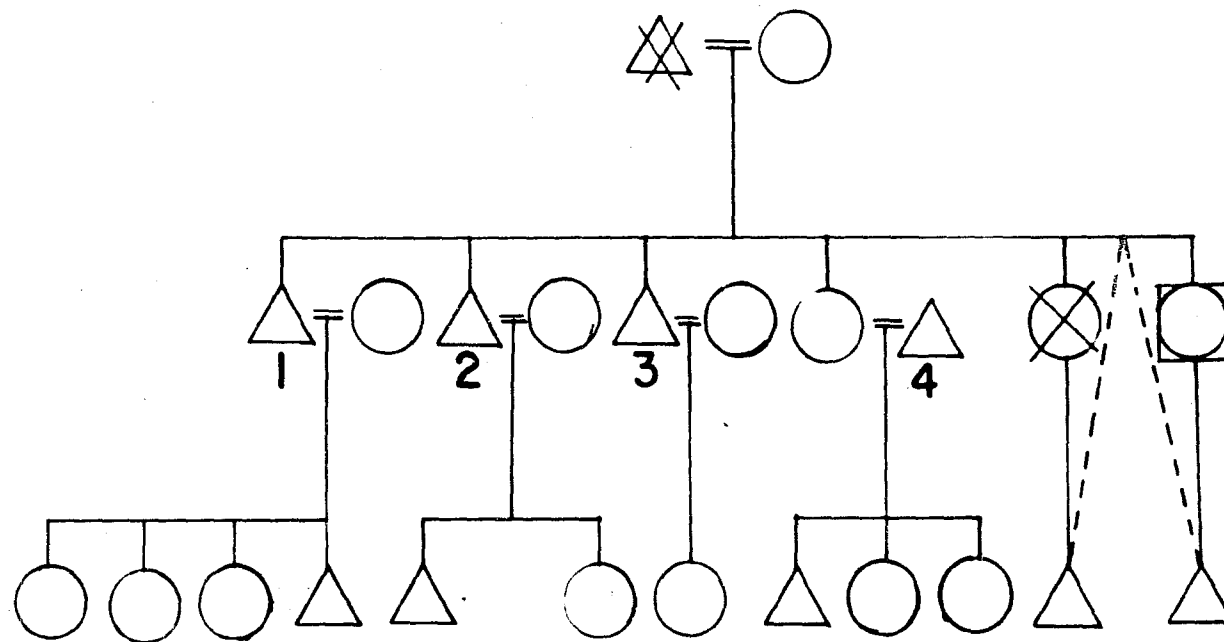


FIG. 15 - MANEXTOQ

Such situations of alignment bear watching as we proceed.

The Manextoq group shows a strong solidarity of the male sibling group with all three adult brothers remaining together. It is rumored, however, that 3 resents the leadership of 2 and that a split would be imminent after the death of the mother. In this group there are two cases of adoption of grandchildren showing, again, the occurrence of this widespread practice.

The next village Manitok, shown in Figure 16 is, again, comprised of a strong sibling group as the unifying ingredient. The father of this sibling unit is still living but is about eighty years of age and lives under care at Chesterfield Inlet. A third brother sometimes lives with this group as well. Since his wife has been away to the hospital he moves about much during the year. His trap lines run a long way into the interior of the Peninsula and he occasionally works at the mission at Ikpiakjuk. This village represents a further stage in the cycle that these small and close-knit villages show. That is, the sons of the sibling group have married and brought their brides to the village after a period of bride service. A third is now serving his year working for the father-in-law.

The uxorilocal individual is an immigrant from Eskimo Point and has been isolated from his consanguines for about fifteen years. He has no other relatives in the Iglulik area so his attachment here seems to be the most logical alignment available to him, though his separation from his brothers is not explained.

The next chart, that of Nogsagnaxjuk shows expansion on the grandson generation, as at Manitok, but here, for the first time, we encounter a great grandparental generation. This situation

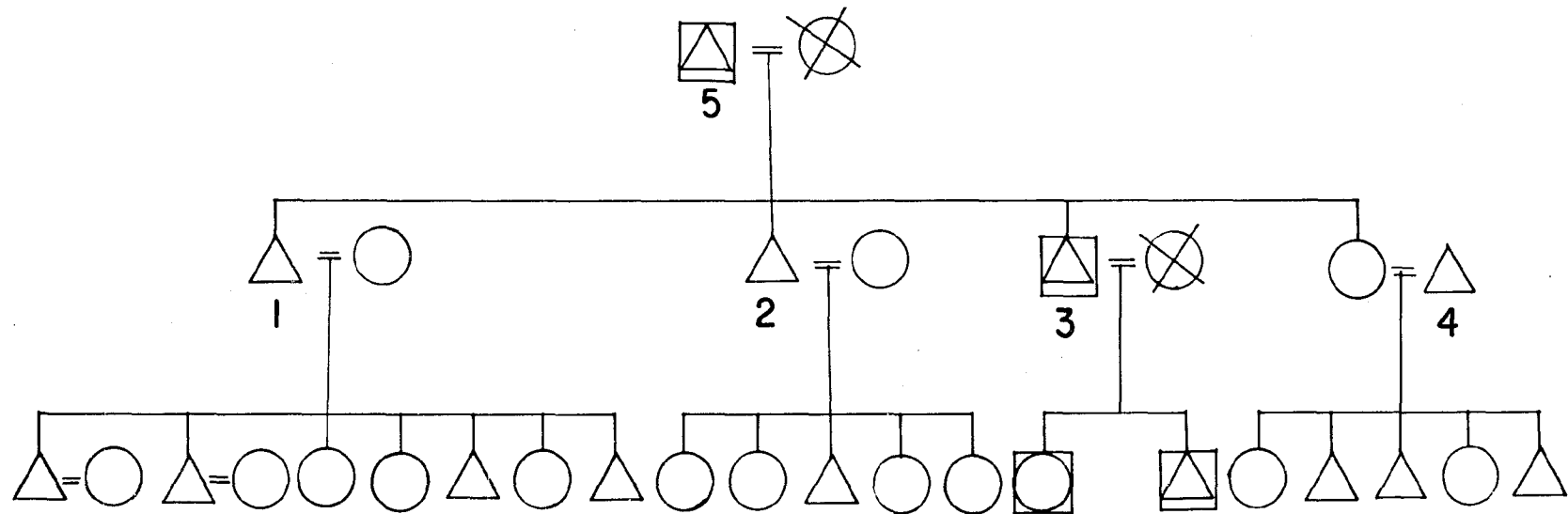


FIG. 16.-MANITOK

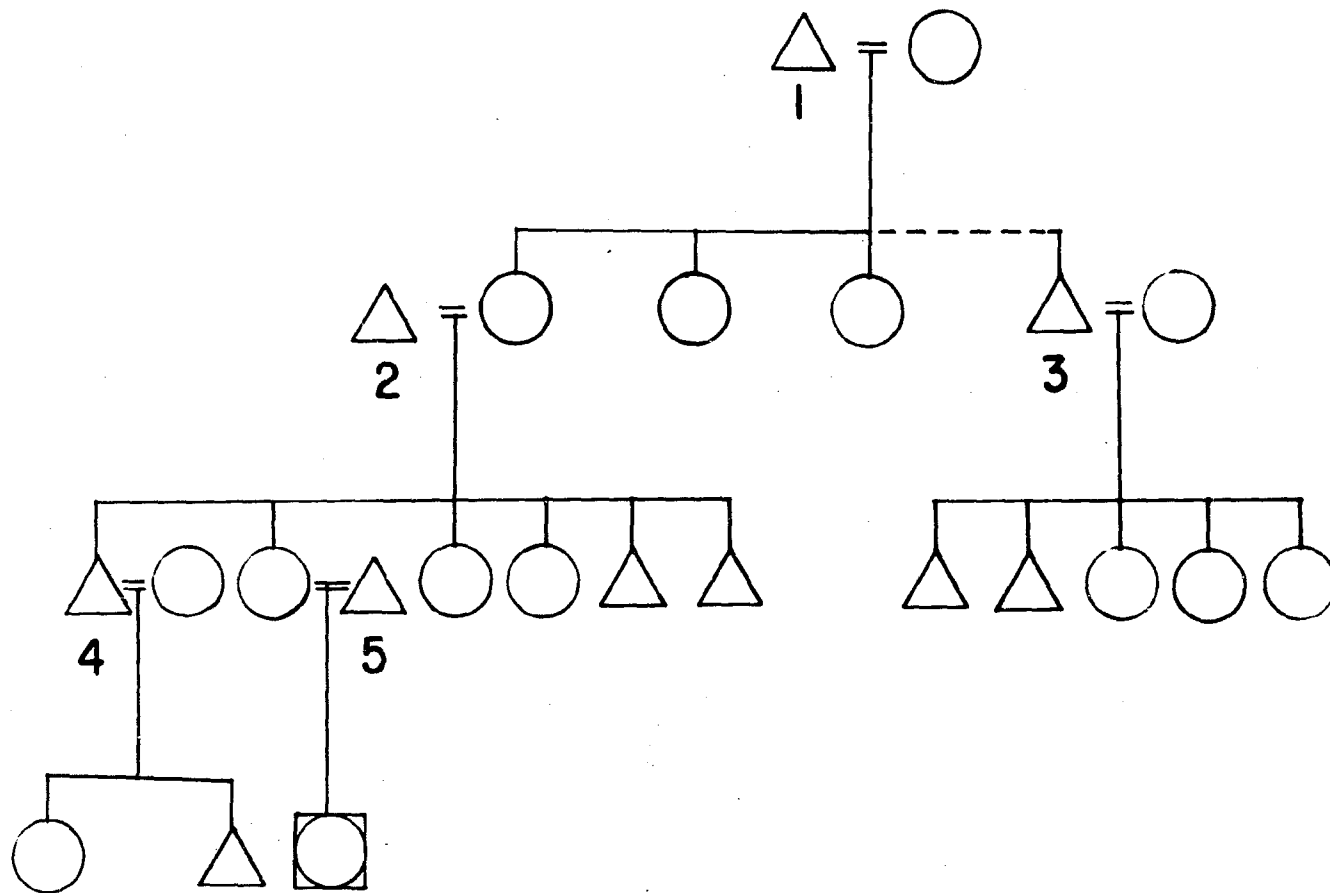
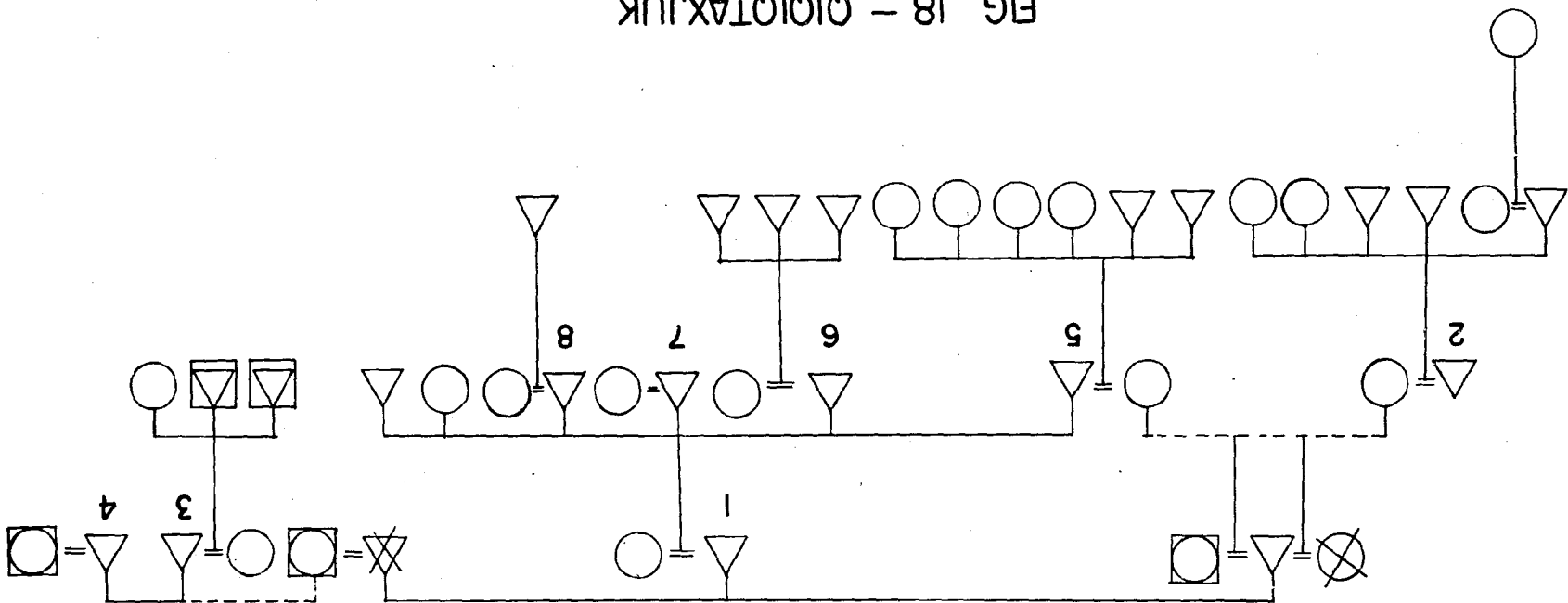


FIG. 17 — NOGSAGNAXJUK

is not common among the Igluligmiut with their rather short life expectancy. The old couple, person 1 and his wife had only one son who lived to adulthood. The adoption of 3 was a move toward building up the manpower of the descending generation. When the natural son died five or six years ago and agreement was made with the older brother of 2 to have the latter move to the village of his father-in-law to help the situation. This individual has, as well, another brother in the area with whom he associates at certain seasons. The uxori-local individual in 2's group is working out his bride service.

At Qiqiqtaxjuk (Figure 18) the primary bonds holding together the three main segments are brought about by a sibling bond on the top generation. The structure of the group shows more complexity than those we have encountered so far. The tie between 1 and 2, for example, rather than being a primary father-in-law and son-in-law bond is a classificatory one. Person 2 was adopted out in infancy from Pond Inlet and had no brothers in the adoptive group. His only natural brother is also dead. This man is actually married to his ganiaksaq since the mother of his father-in-law was his foster father's sister. This relationship borders on incest in the Igluligmiut system. Other relative marriages in this group are those of 6 and 7 who have married first cousins. The sibling bond of 5, 6, 7, and 8 reside here with their father in the normal virilocal situation. Earlier in the winter and during the previous fall and summer the two older brothers had a sealing and trapping camp at Kakalik but were forced to abandon it because of poor hunting in the winter.

FIG. 18 - QIQIQTAXJUK



A rather distant sort of relationship pertains between the brothers 3 and 4 and the rest of the group. Indeed they fall out of the terminological network of 1 or, indeed, of the entire group. The reason for exploiting this flimsy sort of tie is that 4 has entered the region seeking a bride and was accompanied by his brother, and family. Person 4, however, in waiting for the birth of the bride's (illegitimate?) child stayed with his brother rather than at Qiqiqtaxjuk with the spouse's people at Ikpiakjuk, during much of the year that they were around Iglulik. In the spring, 1961, the two brothers and the (then) two families returned to Pond Inlet. This residence situation indicates a common pattern where, in the early part of marriage because of incompatibility between either the immediate members of the union or the family of either, members are often spatially separated.

The sibling group 3 and 4 might have located to the camp of a sister at Nowyagoluk, but either because some proximity with the new in-laws was thought desirable or because of the poor reputation the Nowyagolugmiut had as hunters, or even because this sort of affinal tie is not often exploited in residence, they chose to remain at Qiqiqtaxjuk.

This village has at its core the same sort of prominent unit that comprised the whole of the other villages so far considered, that is, a group made up of fathers and sons (though in other cases sons-in-law were present). It is different from the others because of the addition of two other family units that are more remote in their connection than the purely "matrilocal" situations that had previously been encountered as being the only links anomalous



to virilocality that prevailed. This village also reflects a tendency to separate the sibling group in order to exploit a larger area for purposes of the fox trade. The failure of the winter camp to support itself put an end to the experiment which was in its third year. It will be noted that the brothers returned to Qiqiqtaxjuk because there were better game possibilities there than at Kakalik so we cannot account for the abortive split in terms of over-taxed food resources at Qiqiqtaxjuk, though this is probably a seasonal matter, since plenty of seals had been secured at Kakalik in summer and autumn to supply the then current needs.

Since the kin connection among the three villages are rather intricate I have included them on one chart (Figure 19) with the numbering a single continuous series. Akimaneq is the smallest of all Igluligmiut villages being comprised of a simple nuclear family, complicated only by step relationships as diagrammed. Offspring of the same woman 1 which are, as well, by an earlier union, comprise the sibling group which heads the Agu group. The "matrilocal" individual signifies an important factor in the accretion of people in the Agu region. He is an immigrant arrived from Arctic Bay which is also the origin place of both of the husbands that 1 has had and of other individuals at Qiqiqtaxjuk. The chief motive for leaving Arctic Bay is clearly an economic one. The absence of smooth ice for sealing is given as the main reason that so many have left that place for the Iglulik region. Actually the general dearth of this animal and the total absence of walrus and caribou for many years from the Arctic Bay-Admiralty Inlet area probably are more pertinent to the situation. The uxori-local individual in question has a father still living and could as well

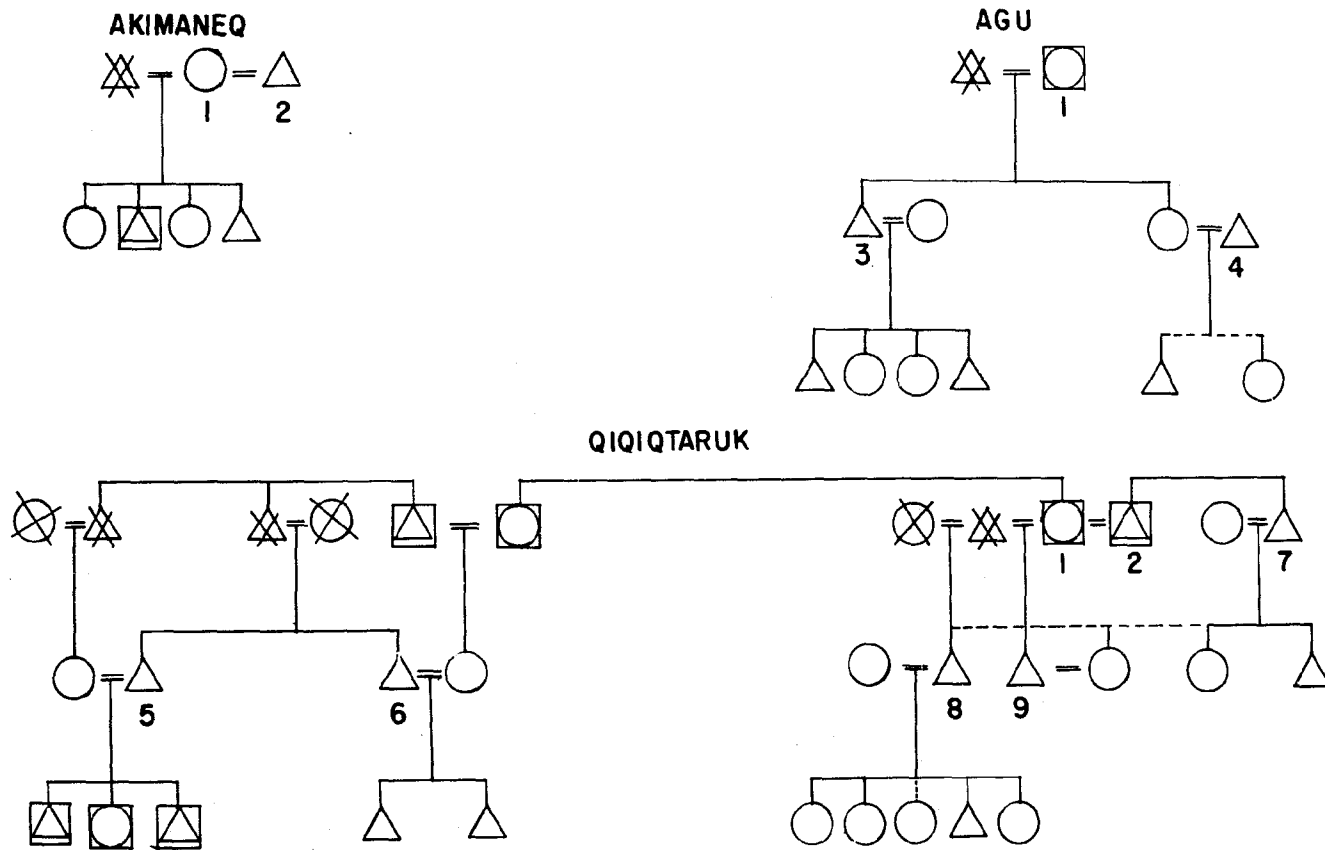


FIG. 19.—AGU BAY REGION

be located in a virilocal situation except for these economic reasons. He alternates his residence between the two places as does a younger brother of 3 who was at the time of my visit staying for a time with his affines at Arctic Bay.

It can be noted that the villages at Agu and Akimaneq are rather smaller than would be likely to be considered optimum for hunting. This is especially true when we realize that through the winter food-getting activities are restricted almost entirely to maulexpok sealing where a large number of hunters is normally required. The Agu area is, however, well stocked in this animal so that pairs of hunters, which in the case of the three villages at Agu, are usually man and wife, are usually sufficient.

It is difficult to understand the reasons for separation of the Agu and Akimaneq villages in view of the economic advantages that would result from a larger number of hunters being together. Perhaps the general plenty in the region allows a scattering of personnel for purposes of fox trapping. On the other hand, there seems to be a structural reason involved as well. There would seem to be a likely point of friction between the second husband of 1 and her son 3 who had attained manhood when 2 married his widowed mother. In addition 2 is noted for being something of a "loner" in that he has been largely separated from his two brothers who migrated after him from Arctic Bay.

The third village in the region of Agu in March 1961 was the snowhouse encampment on Crown Prince Frederick Island (Qiqiqtaruk). This group displays the most composite, fragmentary make-up of any so far encountered. Practically any of the men in the group could have found relatives of closer order than those present with which

to associate in residence. The sibling group of 5 and 6 are the closest pair and since 5's wife is in the hospital and his children boarded out at Ikpiakjuk he shares the snowhouse of his brother and family. Their attachment to the present group is a rather nebulous one, at least by our conceptions of distance. In the Igluligmiut terminological-behavioral network Person 9 is sakkiag to 5 and 6 and the extended brother-in-law term applies here. Person 2 is terminologically a father-in-law though he is not co-resident. There is no kin connection between this sibling pair and 8 or 7. This pair have a brother at Ikpiakjuk and affinal-consanguineal relatives both at that village and at Qiqiqtaxjuk, Nogsagnaxjuk, and Qimmixtogvik, all of whom are closer relatives than anyone in the Qiqiqtaruk group. It will be noted that both of these brothers have married cousins, a practice becoming common among the descendants of Ituksaxjuaq as these are. Person 7 could also be co-resident with his brother 2 at Akimaneq or with another brother at Ingnextoq. This split sibling group has been commented upon by the Eskimo as showing a kind of habitual mutual disagreement. They have never occupied the same villages for long since they entered the Iglulik region 20 or 25 years before my visit.

Person 8 is connected by kinship with only 9 of the nuclear family heads. His half-brother 9 was working out his bride service for 7 at that time, though he previously lived either at Akimaneq or at Agu, as did 8 earlier in the winter.

All in all, this group represents a collection of people, all of whom we might expect to find elsewhere. An understanding of their locations in this group is not possible in terms of

kinship factors alone. Rather, this village is principally a trapping outpost that, however, supports itself on the seals and polar bear that are found in the locality. It is located for three or four months in some years and with varying membership at that place because it is a region where polar bear are to be frequently encountered. Not only is the meat and skin of that animal valuable but the bear is followed by fox who live on the leavings of seal at places of kill. The present inhabitants are either basically Agu people or as in the cases of 5 and 6 associated for a long time with the Fury and Hecla Strait region. The presence of fox and seal and bear brought these people together for less than four months in the winter of 1961, so it represents the most transitory of the villages whose structure we will analyze. Members of this aggregation are some of the most footloose of the modern Igluligmiut. Only one of the family heads, 8, has a permanent winter dwelling and that was first built in the summer of 1960. All other Igluligmiut families aside from these have more than merely the snowhouse for winter dwellings.

The next charts (Figures 20 and 21) show a cluster of local associations only one of which properly constitutes a village. The hospital camp is interesting in that although this group became established as a result of the acculturative factor of the hospital being established at that place and the opportunities of wage labor at Fox Main DEWline station, the essential structure of the village still has a very strong kinship basis. Person 1 is employed as charwoman at the Foxe Hospital while her grown sons 3 and 4, have steady employment at the DEWline site. In addition, 5 is employed less regularly either at the Kenting Aviation barracks, the site,

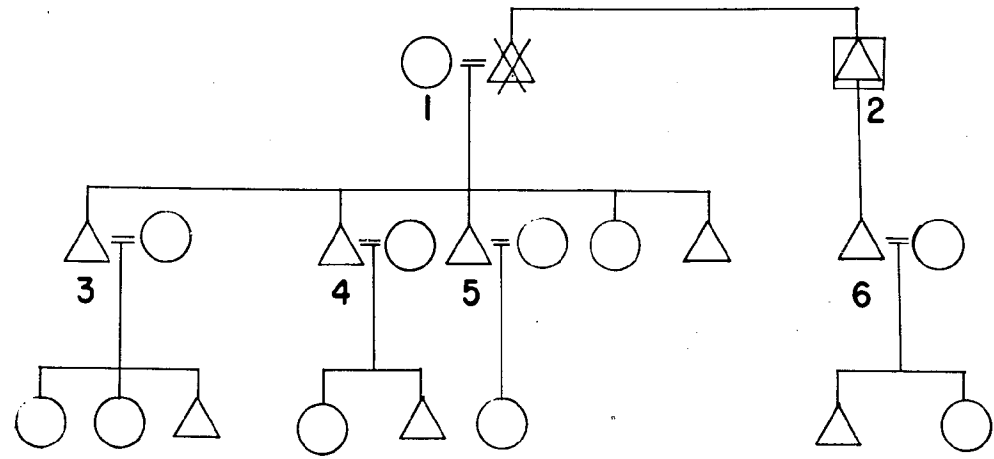


FIG. 20. - FOXE HOSPITAL CAMP

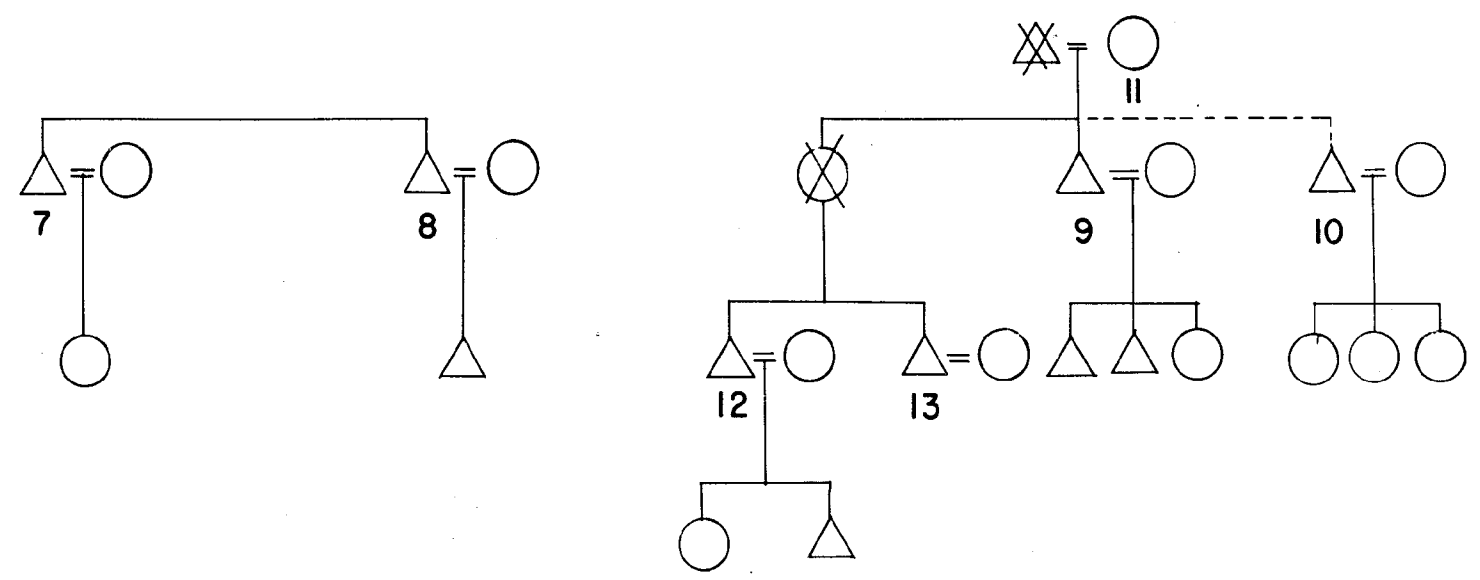


FIG. 21- DEWLINe SITES

or sometimes on local construction. Person 3 has his house actually on the base about two miles away but frequent visiting with his mother and brothers helps to keep this unit together, though at times 3 is employed at sites other than Fox Main. Person 6 is employed as interpreter and general handy man at Foxe Hospital. Again there is a kinship connection since he is the nephew of 1's husband or ai to 1. His father lives at Qimmixtogvik which is only six miles from this hospital camp. During the winter there is frequent contact, in fact, almost daily he makes trips to the camp, at times carrying the mail from the hospital to the site. The location of 6 is due probably more to his linguistic ability than to any long-termed association of his family group with the immediate area. This young man spent an extended time in the hospital in western Canada during his boyhood and is the only adult (outside of those employed at the sites) in the Iglulik region who speaks good English. The location of 1 and the sibling group 3, 4, and 5 is related to the career of their father who was one of the first Eskimo in the area to become somewhat of a scavenger around the white men. He died close by the Fox Main area while it was being established in 1956 and his wife and sons have remained in the general area ever since.

Figure 21 shows the families of the men who work at sites to the east of Fox Main on the DEWline. These families are split because of the limited needs for help at each of these small stations, but again it is important to note the kinship connections that exist among the members. The siblings 7 and 8 are immigrants from Repulse Bay who entered the Iglulik area some years before with their father who subsequently died. They have no relatives

in the area, except for affines since 7 married an Igluligmiutat. The others who work at the DEWline sites, 9, 10, 12, and 13, also are a close-knit relative group. Their deceased father-grandfather was associated with the Qimmixtogvik and Pingexqalik region for years so that his descendants have not removed far from the ancestral locality in finding work at the sites. Here again we see the adoption of wage labor in the context of kinship. Although this group is separated into several segments because of the limited local needs at each DEWline station for native workers, their recruitment has been influenced by kinship factors and the principles of group composition revolving around virilocality and the solidarity of the sibling bond are perpetuated.

The next chart, that for the village Ingnextoq, also shows a prominent sibling group at its core. This unit is bilateral, however, with the members 1, 2, 3, and 5 forming the nucleus of the village organization with 9, 10, and 11 and 12 more loosely attached or actually unattached to this sibling unit. The uxori-local individual 4 has his residence divided during the year between this village and Qimmixtogvik where an older brother lives. As an in-marrying male he would, in theory, enjoy a less favorable place here than at the more northerly camp. Perhaps the less crowded housing situation at Ingnextoq accounted for his presence there at this time. The economic advantages seem to be about equal at the two camps. Person 6 is a member of a sibling group all of whose male members have died and the females are scattered from Southampton Island to Jens Munk. He has several cousins in the Iglulik region but he typifies the more usual alignment in a situation where the choice is between close affinals and collateral consanguines in



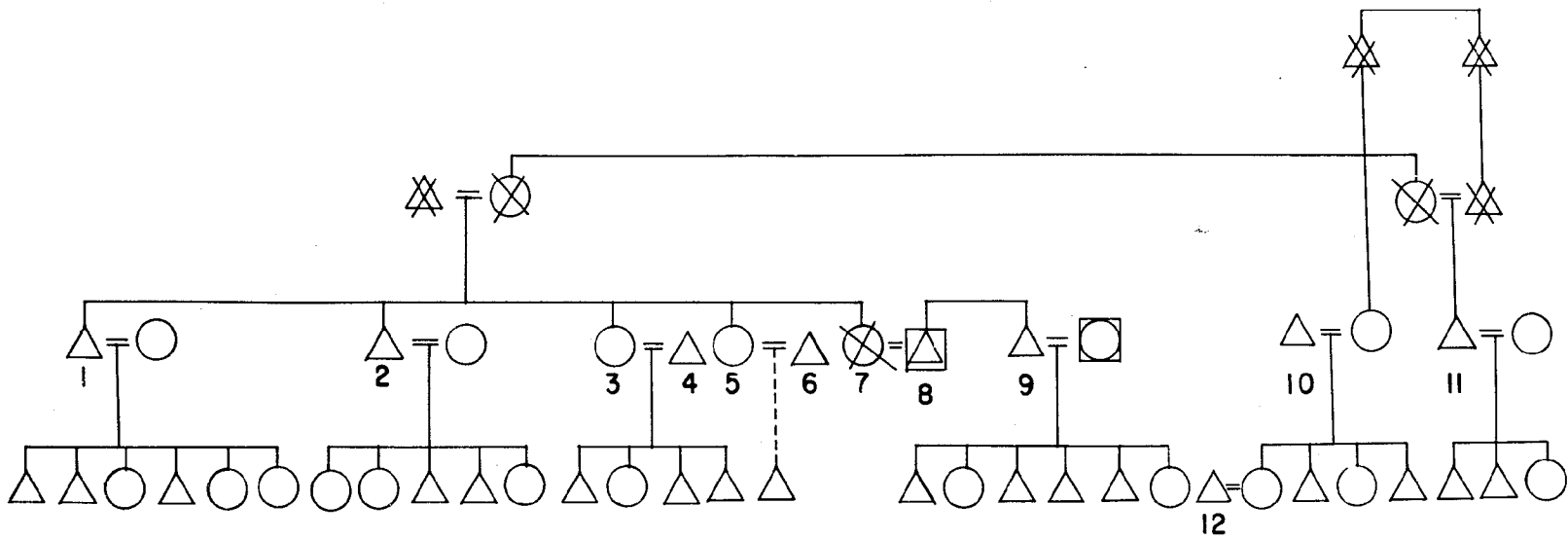


FIG. 22.— INGNEXTOQ

residential situation at least. One such cousin tie is, however, exploited between 11 and the main sibling group. Indeed this residential alignment seems rather closer than the preceding connections this man had established. Earlier he had lived at Agu with unrelated people while owning a whaleboat. The obsolescence of the boat seems to have been related to his moving from that reason, though personal factors seemed also to have been involved. This man, after a psychotic attack following the death of his wife, relocated to Kapuivik where he lived in the house of a relative designated as idlosaq or "cousin once removed" in our system. He could possibly have resided with a brother at Igluxjuaq, but as noted above, this sibling bond had been early broken by adoption.

The connection of 9 with the main sibling group is of a very indirect sort. The former wife of an older brother (now in the Agu region) belonged to this group. The older brother spends most of the year away from the Ingnextoq region but usually comes back in summer to his boat. Person 9 is an example of an association of a man with rather distant affines after the death of the connecting relative. Doubtless sentiments of brotherhood built on sharing the same locality with the others in the village have strengthened his identification with Ingnextoq. The split sibling group of 9 and two older brothers has been attributed largely to personal factors. Person 9 has no other affinal or consanguineal relatives in the Iglulik area.

Person 10 is very closely attached in this group, having no connection with the main sibling unit, and only an affinal relationship with 11 who as we have seen resided here less than one year. He too belongs to a split sibling group (see discussion of

Nowyagoluk). Formerly he lived at a village for a time where he was connected to the most influential man both through a younger brother (the leader's son-in-law) and through his and the leader's wife being sisters. One of the reasons for his being here rather than in one of three other villages where brothers or half-brothers lived is because he owns the engine of a boat that is used here, though another man owns the hull. A young man 12 married to 10's daughter was working bride service when I visited this village in February 1961, but he left to take up residence with his grandfather at Igluxjuaq in the spring, when the year's service was finished.

The next village that we will consider is the neighboring Ussuakjuk. A rather complex system of relationships is evident there, because of the interaction of factors of death in the ascending generation, the small size of male sibling groups, and the splitting of sibling groups related to adoption and immigration. The oldest male 1 is attached to the group loosely through the marriage of his foster son. He has no surviving consanguineals in his generation, as is true of his second wife, who at the time of my visit was outside at a hospital. He had only adoptive children before marrying the present wife and his natural children have not yet married and thus do not present other sorts of alliances for 1. His natural points of attachment then appear to be with either of his adoptive sons being 2 or another at Ingnextoq. At any rate even though he is the senior member of the group he is peripherally attached rather than at the center as was the case with older members in the villages so far concerned. This relates, as we have just seen, to his peculiar genealogical isolation. Person 2

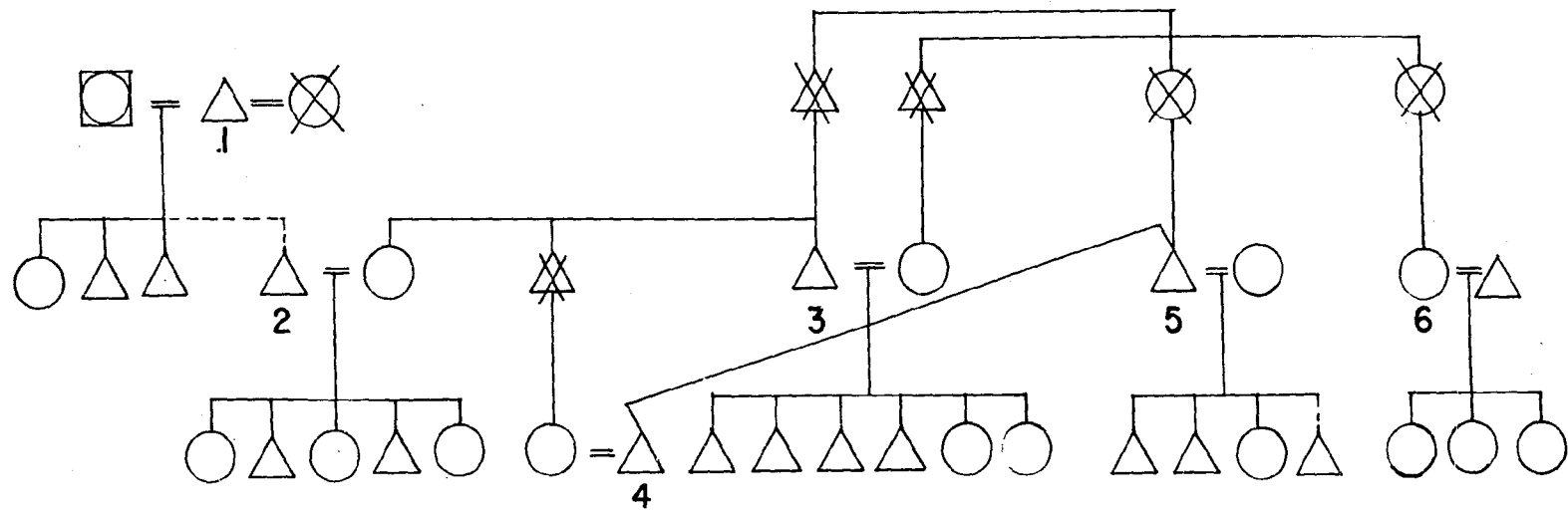


FIG. 23 - USSUAKJUK

identifies with the group through his marriage to the sister of 3 who is group leader. This man might have connected with the adoptive brother at Ingnextoq but personal and economic factors seem to be here involved. The advantage of associating with 3 who is the strongest leader in the Iglulik area and with the better location with respect to walrus, caribou, and fox seem to be determinant in his residence at Ussuakjuk. This village, indeed, is a cluster of affinal and adoptive relatives around 3 the central figure in kinship and in local economic organization. Person 5 is a cross cousin by adoption but the lifelong association in the same village has led this relationship to develop into a near sibling bond. Person 4's connection to the group is two-fold. He is a brother of 5, though they were separated by adoption and a classificatory son-in-law of 3. The tie of 4 and 5 is interesting in that it is one of the few cases where brothers previously split by adoption join forces later in life. Person 4's residence in the area is probably related more to economic advantage and by the affinal link with the issumataq or leader than with this brother. The young man entered the region from Admiralty Inlet several years ago in order to find a wife. His continued residence is no doubt related to the better hunting that is available in this region. The natural sibling group of 4 and 5 is split quite wide with other male members living at Pond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Ussuakjuk and Churchill. Person 6 seems more loosely attached to 3 than do these others, but according to the Igluligmiut terminological system, 6 is equivalent to angaynnrok-nukownrok which is the same as the spouses of two sisters. In the local system 2 and 4 are related to 3 alike as ningawk or "in-marrying male."

Person 6 separated from his father and younger brother at Pond Inlet to enter the region for economic reasons. He has no closer ties in the Iglulik region.

The most significant figure of this group, 3, comes from a rather depleted sibling group with one brother having died several years ago and the sisters scattered over a wide area living with their husbands' consanguines. He has a cousin here and several working on the DEWline as well as an uncle at Nogsagnaxjuk. Uncle and nephew bonds sometimes play an important role in structuring groups, but in this case, 3 founded a new village at Ussuakjuk as an attempt to exploit a new area and in addition, he preferred the traditional life of the hunter to that of the wage laborer which his cousins adopted. Indeed this personal factor of preference for traditional life ways has somewhat split the formerly close relationship between 3 and 5, since the latter finds occasional employment at Fox Main. Person 5 is in a rather central position in this village in that he is related to three of the four other men.

The chart of Qimmixtogvik shows two essentially genealogically integrated segments without links between them. We can perceive that a number of kinds of kinship bonds are involved. The upper half of the chart shows the linking of two sibling groups. The sister and brother link we see here, 1's wife and 3, is of only about a year's duration. Since 1 has led a rather roaming existence in the past his association at Qimmixtogvik would seem to be of a rather temporary nature as well. On the other hand, his chief motives for locating here are related to his son's employment at the Foxe Hospital and to his wife's ill health, which also makes proximity to that place desirable. He has brothers at Nogsagnaxjuk and

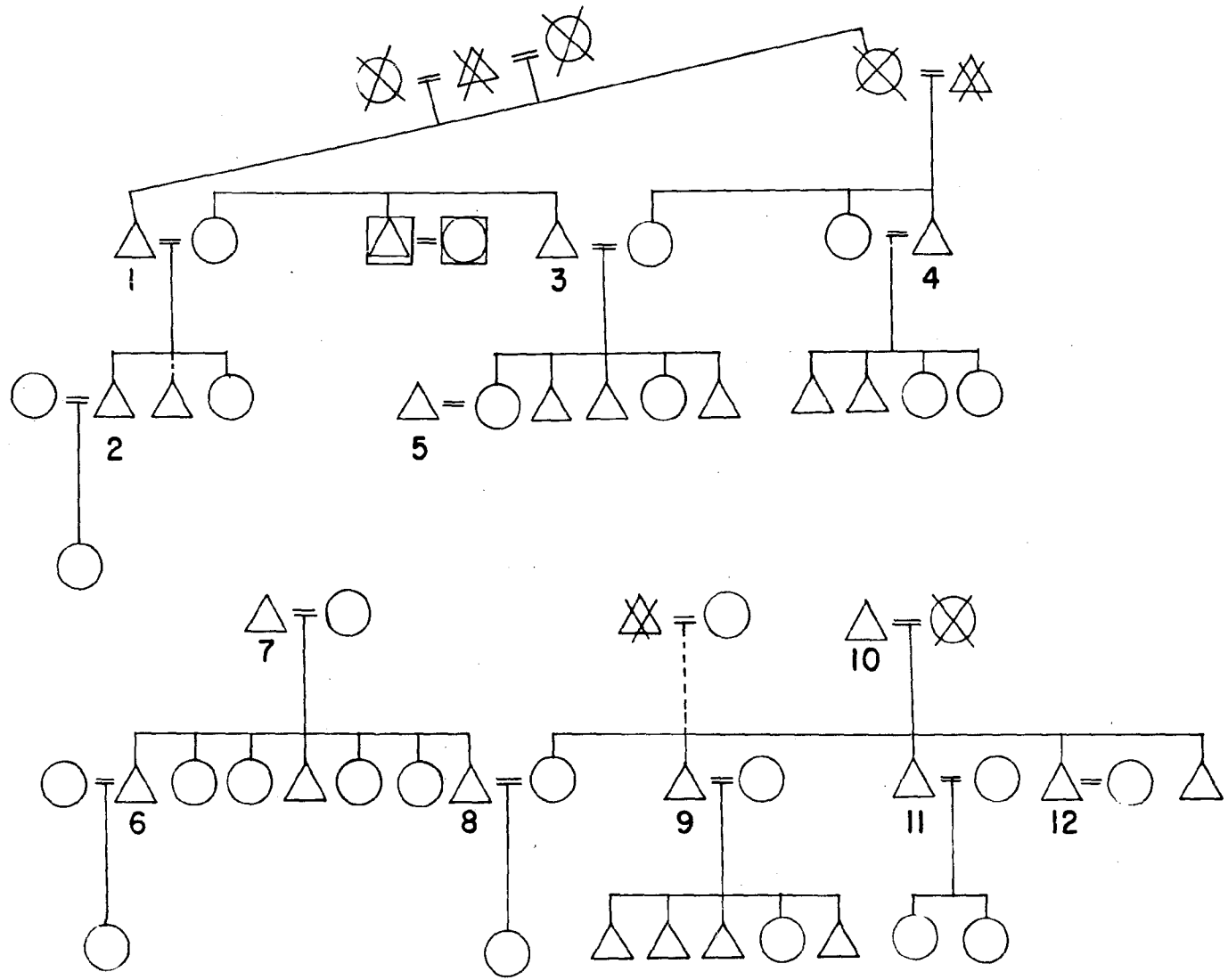


FIG. 24.- QIMMIXTOGVIK

at Qiqiqtaxjuk with whom he shares the summer walrus hunt but he has most often in the past ten or twelve years lived apart from them. His son 2 shows the expected virilocal connection.

Person 3 is 1's sakkiag and has resided at Qimmixtogvik for some time. The dotted figure indicates the younger brother who lived here until January and then returned in the spring. This man had a young man serving the customary year's labor for the father-in-law living in his house when I visited there in February 1961. Person 4 is attached to the group in two ways. First, through the sibblingship of his and 3's spouse he stands in angayungrok-nukownrok relationship. Secondly, he stands in an uyoroksaq-angaksag relationship with 1. Person 4 is one of the minority cases where an adult son is separated from a still living father. Rumor has it that this is a result of personal friction between 4's father and his wife. The family whaleboat is kept at Qimmixtogvik and the younger son joins 4 in the summer walrus hunt at Napaqat, but lives at Ikpiakjuk most of the year.

The other segment of the village is comprised of more conventional close-knit kin units. Person 7 and son live in the normal sort of virilocal arrangement but the situation of 8 is rather ambiguous. Though he lives in the same village as his father he is actually sharing a dwelling with the father-in-law, probably because of housing facilities being more suitable at the latter place. This is the first case that we have encountered in the 1960-61 groups where there is a village-endogamous union. This union is also anomalous in that it is the first interreligious marriage as well. This link is, in spite of crossing the religious lines, and the ignoring of whatever benefit there might arise from a locally



exogamous tie, important to 7 and his family. This man is genealogically isolated except for a father-in-law at Ikpiakjuk who is blind and living there on a pension. Person 7 does not own a whaleboat and by linking with the family of 10 he is able to have access to one during the summer walrus hunts. Person 10 is also cut off from relatives on his own generational level through deaths but he has an important group of sons in his household or located close by in the village. Person 9, his oldest son, dwelt in a separate house in the village but actually was a part of the compound of 10. This young man had been adopted out to 13 and her husband in infancy and rejoined his father's village only after the death of his foster father. It seems likely that the lack of kinship bonds in the Steensby Inlet group where he had resided earlier had something to do with his relocation to this place which involved re-establishing ties with his natural father. The advantage of being close to the Fox Main dump probably was also instrumental in his location at this place though this can be said of the entire group. These people are well-to-do by Igluligmiut standards since they possess plywood houses heated with wood-burning stoves which are far superior to the seal oil lamps used in most of the other villages. In addition, wood, glass, canvas, and an amazing amount of other goods are collected from the dump. In addition to these material benefits the people of Qimmixtogvik have access to health facilities at the hospital as well.

The next village, Kapuivik, though a large aggregation, shows a complete connection by kinship across the board. Actually the group is effectively divided into an upper and a lower village as indicated by the broken vertical lines. The significance of

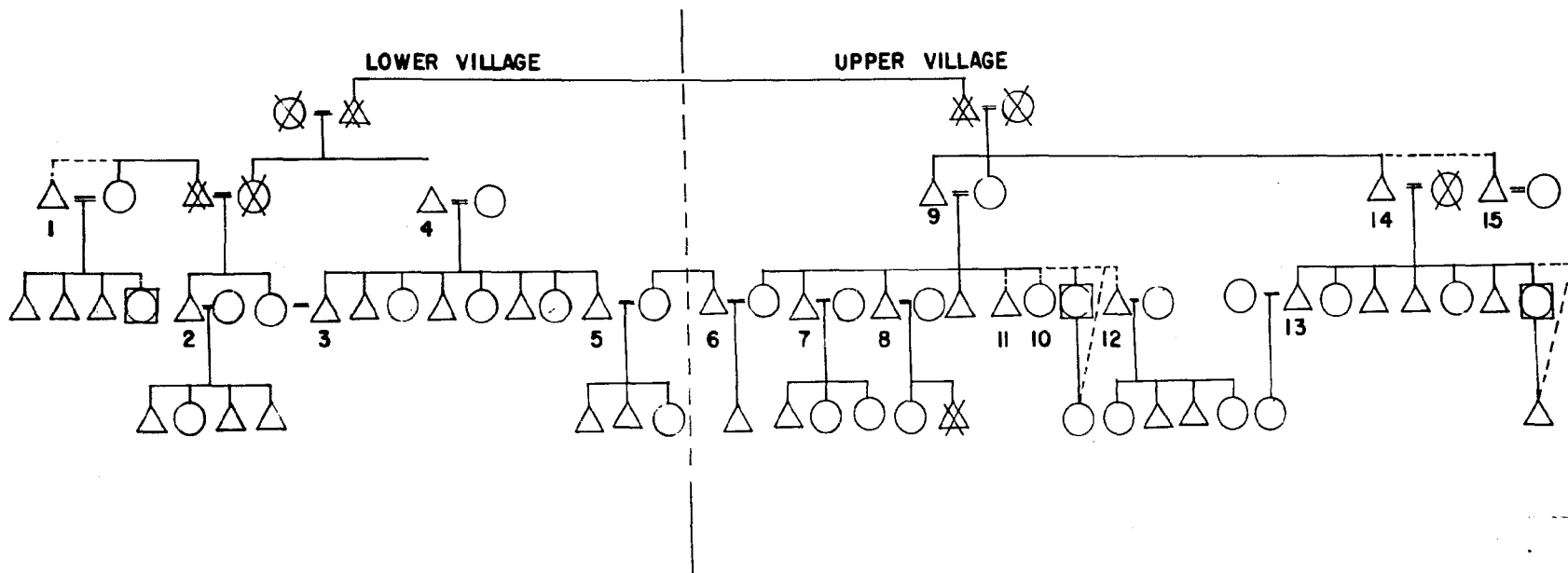


FIG. 25.— KAPUIVIK

this division will be shown when we discuss the authority and cooperative networks as given in chapter vi. Turning to the individual alignment situations, persons 1 and 2 have been previously co-resident for a number of years at another village. Usually these two and their families spend the winter at Sioraxjuk and the summers with the Kapuivik group or occasionally with the Qiqiqtaxjuk people. In 1960-61 the ice conditions around Sioraxjuk seemed to prohibit good sealing and the two nuclear families wintered at Kapuivik. Person 2's parents have been deceased for some years and he has no brothers with which to relate but he lived for a time with his father-in-law at Pond Inlet. When the latter moved to Resolute on Cornwallis Island and 2 was not allowed to join he returned to the Iglulik region. Person 1 was adopted out early to the grandfather of 2 and later married the aunt of 2. Since that time the two have formed a close unit, except for the brief period that 2 spent at Pond. The alliance with a sister's affinal group is one of three available to 2 since he has two other married sisters in the Iglulik area. The proximity of Kapuivik to Sioraxjuk and the good summer walrus hunting there makes it a logical place for 1 and 2 to winter in the light of adverse conditions at the latter place. The ownership of a whaleboat by 2 will be seen to be an important factor in local economic organization.

Person 2's link with the upper village is especially interesting in that it was not revealed to me until the last weeks that I spent in the village. This was probably because the behavioral concomitants were ignored in the actual life situation. According to Igluligmiut classification of affinals and consanguineals 9's wife and 2 are in a aiyak-nuwak relation to one another while that

implies that 9 is ningawk or subordinate in-marrying male to 2. A number of factors that will be gone into later will show that the behavioral correlates of this terminology are not binding and the residential alignment as well, can hardly be said to be dependent upon that link. Person 4 heads a normal virilocal situation with both grown sons living with him and a married daughter away at Ikpiakjuk. This individual emigrated from Repulse Bay about 1938 with his father-in-law who resided with 4 until the former's death in 1945. This small group was usually isolated and the history of 4's movements in the area show a number of relocations around the Jens Munk and Calthorpe Islands region. For the past four years, however, he has been firmly established at Kapuivik. An indirect linkage is affected with the upper village through the marriage of his younger married son to 6's sister. However there is no kinship term covering the relationships of either 3 or 4 to 6 which indicates the remoteness of connection here. Another sort of connection with the upper village is present between 4 and 9. Person 10 was originally an orphaned distant relative of 4 who had been adopted by the latter but, according to testimony of several informants, because of the larger number of children 10 was subsequently given in adoption to 9 in exchange for certain amounts of meat that are periodically given by 4 and 5 to 9 to compensate for keep. In addition, and more pertinent, 11 was given at birth to 9 by 4 which process of adoption makes these men kittuwangakategeit or "those who share children." This pseudo-kinship connection involves no ceremonial gift exchange but, ideally, should draw the two closer together.

Moving to the upper village person 9 heads a large kin group

comprised of two married sons and a son-in-law. The son-in-law is a member of a split sibling unit that has been discussed under Nowyagoluk and Ingnextoq. He joined the Kapuivik group on his marriage in 1951 and except for one winter has remained there. The disadvantages that might be his lot due to being the in-marrying male are probably compensated for by the general level of prosperity that he enjoys because of his residence at Kapuivik which is accessible both to the walrus and to the good trapping and caribou lands on Baffin Island. Another large segment is that headed by 14. The son 13 and nephew-adopted brother 15 and unmarried son 16 (one of the best hunters in the village despite his youth--age 17) form a close-knit unit. The sibling bond of 9, 14, and 15 comprises a continuation of the strong virilocal unity which persists from an earlier generation when their father-step-father and his brother were co-resident for many years. The location of 13, too, is in the normal virilocal context.

Person 12 is shown as the adoptive son of 9 but this adoption occurred after the death of 9's father who had previously adopted him in infancy. Person 12 was about 15 years old when the second adoption took place. This sort of adoption usually does not imply very close ties. Indeed 12 is something of a drifter who spends about an equal amount of time with his wife's consanguineals at Manextoq as at Kapuivik. He seldom relates to his natural consanguines though in the summer of 1961 he was co-resident with them at the hospital camp while he was laboring there.

The final village to be considered is the settlement at Iglulik called by the natives Ikpiakjuk. This is the largest residential locality inhabited by Igluligmiut and, as we noted in

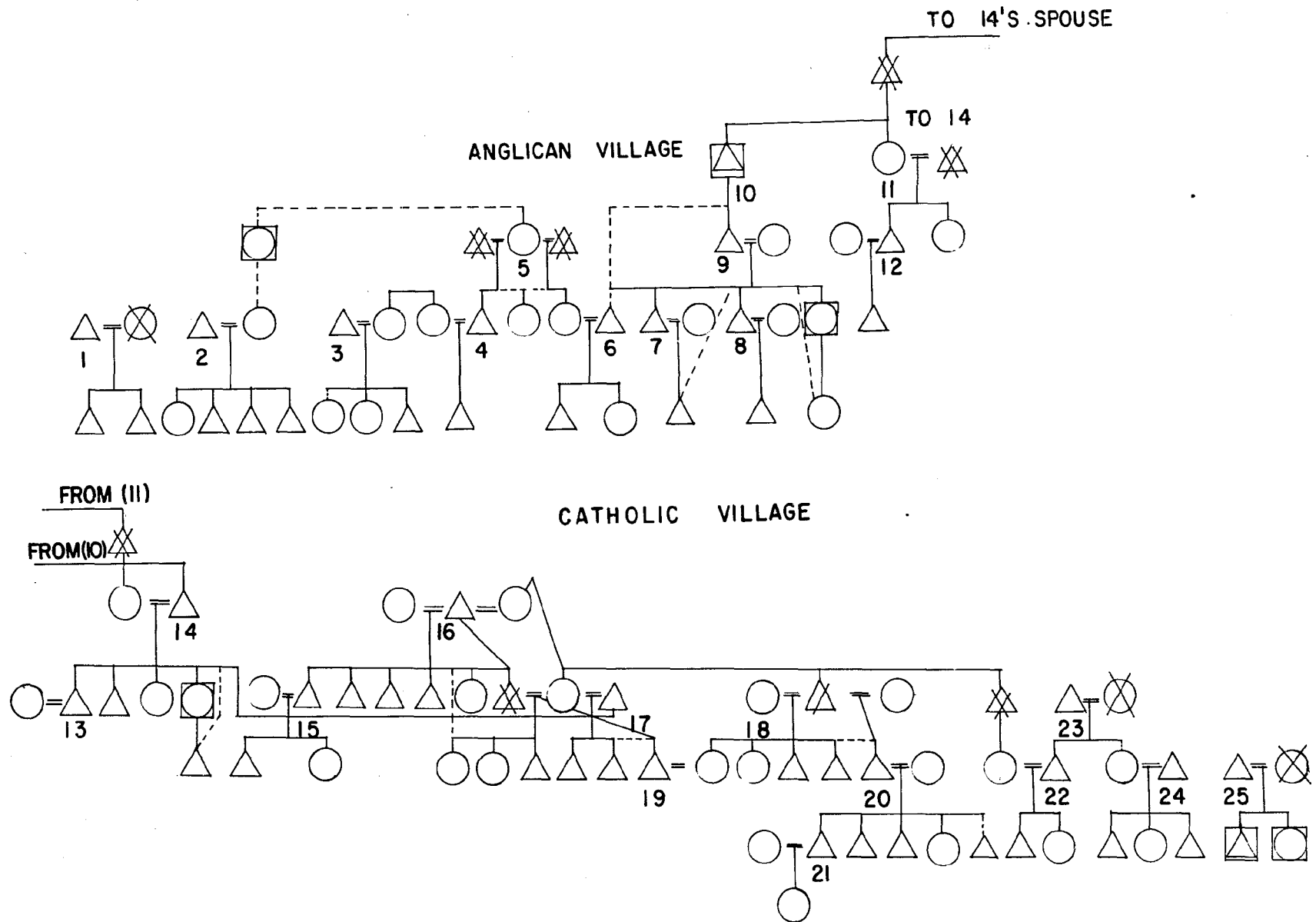


FIG. 26.— IKPIAKJUK

chapter ii, acculturative factors play prominent roles in the location of a number of group members. The village is split spatially into an Anglican and a Roman Catholic segment. Between these are the Hudson's Bay Company establishments. The Anglican section is a group of shacks at the south end of the village clustered close to the Anglican church and the Department of Northern Affairs buildings while the Catholic segment is situated about three hundred yards to the north, close to the Catholic mission.

Beginning on the chart with the Anglican village, Person 1 is quite isolated from his consanguines not only in the Iglulik area but also in the Pelly Bay region from which he came about fifteen years ago. The 1949 census found him at Qangmat residing with his wife's foster father. Some time before the death of the latter, however, he became employed at the Hudson's Bay Company at Iglulik and established independent residence building the first Eskimo wooden house at that place. For some time, then, his residence has been neolocal. The natural parents of his wife and her surviving male siblings are all in the Repulse Bay region and the woman's allegiances have been with the adoptive relatives ever since babyhood. The foster mother and foster brother sometimes visit here for prolonged periods but generally reside at Qimmixtogvik. Person 2 shows another isolated situation which is here again clearly neolocal. This man immigrated with father and brother into the area from Repulse Bay about 1940. He was married shortly afterwards to an Igluligmiutat. After residences at Kapuivik, Murray Maxwell Bay, and Sioraxjuk which spanned the period in which both his older brother and his father died, 2 lived with affinal relatives at Nowyagoluk and later with his father-in-law at Nogsagnaxjuk. His

appearance later at Ikpiakjuk might signify a weakening of affinal bonds after the death of his wife but also seems to reflect the general aimlessness of widowed men for a period after the wife's death. This man was actually unable to tell me why he has relocated here. One reason may be the access to a house which would have been deserted had he not occupied it in the winter of 1960-61. Another might be the proximity to the school where his two sons were in attendance.

Person 3 was also a resident for a time at Nowyagoluk, living there with his father-in-law. He is another migrant from Repulse Bay via Admiralty Inlet. He managed to secure work as janitor for the school and now resides in one of the new DNA native residences. He is in angayungrok-nukowngrok relationship with 4 who is the best hunter in the Anglican village. This man's mother, 5, works as housekeeper at the HBC manager's house and the son has occasional employment for the company as well. Person 5's son-in-law 6 is the native clerk at the store. The location of 3 at this place is due mostly to the job situation. His father is dead and his one brother is now at Frobisher Bay. Person 4 shows the normal virilocal situation. He has a brother who was adopted out to a family at Arctic Bay. Person 5's third and last husband died at Ikpiakjuk after previously living at Qangmat. Her continued residence here seems to be clearly associated with the work at the manager's house. Her consanguines are at Repulse Bay. There is an aunt-niece link between her and 1's wife though this tie was established by the adoption of 1's wife.

The largest close-knit kin unit in the Anglican village is that of the native pastor 9 and his three married sons, 6, 7,



and 8. The oldest son 6 had been adopted out to the grandfather but joined his father and younger brothers returning from Pond Inlet as they passed through Igluxjuaq on the way to Ikpiakjuk in 1959. This young man has been employed since that time as clerk at the HBC store. Person 8 became employed for the Department of Northern Affairs in the winter of 1960-61 and provided with lodging. Since 6 also has private lodgings only the middle brother 7 is co-resident with the father as far as common dwelling is concerned. This large virilocally oriented segment has a link with the Catholic village through the sibling bond of 10 and 14. This tie is a rather tenuous one in actuality, for not only is there the religious separation between these units but the brothers in question have for much of their adult life lived apart (see discussion on Igluxjuaq). On the other hand we will later note a cooperative arrangement that was worked out between these segments.

Another rather loose link between the two village segments is that between the parallel cousins 11 and 24's spouse. Both of these women are migrants into the region, following their husbands. The widow 11's third husband entered the Iglulik area about 1940 and later lived at Arctic Bay and then at Sioraxjuk. For a brief time after the death of this man she lived with two married sons at Nowyagoluk, but after a stay at the hospital outside she was given an allotment for her arthritic condition and a special styro-foam house was built for her at Ikpiakjuk. This residence separates her from her two grown sons and one grown son-in-law but they in turn are divided as well. Her youngest son and wife share the house in customary virilocal fashion.

Returning to 14 and the Catholic village, we see a strong

virilocal situation which is somewhat obscured in our diagram by the necessity to show wider connections with other principal kin groups in that section of the village. The newly-wed son, 13, is actually separated from his wife who spends much time with her father at Qimmixtogvik which reflects another example of the tenuousness of arranged marriage during the first months and years, especially before the birth of the first child. The other married son, 17, is another case of an atypical intravillage marriage situation. This is the marriage of the middle-aged widow and youth discussed on page 82. It can be seen that this marriage is an important one in effecting the kinship unification of the Catholic village as well as the nonresidential "kindred" affiliation that it makes possible. At Ikpiakjuk this marriage makes 17 the nukownrok of 18, the ningawk of 19, and 20 and the angayuangrok of 21, though many of the intervening relatives are deceased. Another important group is the close-knit in group of 16. Formerly he was linked to this same significant unit (Ituksaxjuaq's "kindred") by his son's marriage to 17's spouse. However, both of these ties have been broken by death of linking members. Aside from these connections, 16 is rather isolated consanguineally, having no living brothers and sisters, though two cousin ties are possible in the area. His associations with the large kin group of the "king" is kept alive, however, by the marriage of a daughter to a surviving son of the founder of the "kindred," though this couple resides at Qiqiqtaxjuk. The important sibling group made up of the children of Ituksaxjuaq is attached to six other nuclear family units. The widow 18 was formerly married to one of the sons of Ituksaxjuaq. An alternate alliance for her could have been

with a sister at Manitok but it seems that associations of that sort rarely occur among the Igluligmiut when a close tie through married offspring is available. The recent marriage of her daughter to the son of her former husband's sister links her more closely to the "kindred" of Ituksaxjuaq. This union comprises another of the marriages of relatives that are becoming common in that unit. Proximity to the school for her children and to the trading post for her allotments directly influence her decision to reside in Ikpiakjuk.

Person 20 is also a grandson of the "king" and thus has several attachments in the Catholic village. He is the oldest of three brothers, the others have been considered under our discussion of the village at Qiqiqtaruk. Formerly he lived in the western part of Fury and Hecla Strait with the brothers who still are associated with that region. The proximity to the walrus grounds and the possession of two boats in this sibling group are doubtlessly important in the splitting of this brother from the group residentially and economically. Person 20 has also had much ill health of late and spends a great deal of time at the hospital. His mobility is probably somewhat restricted through the region because of his large family who are attending schools at Chesterfield and at Iglulik. His son, person 21, is in the normal patrilocal situation with his father.

The remaining close-knit kin unit consisting of the nuclear families of 22, 23, and 24, is also attached to the dominant sibling bond of Ituksaxjuaq's children. Person 23 immigrated from Chesterfield accompanying the Catholic missionaries as he has been employed by them for some time, a job now taken by his son, 22.

This man married a daughter of a now deceased member of the sibling group that we have found to be so important in linking the Catholic village. The son-in-law is a migrant to Ikpiakjuk from Arctic Bay, breaking off from his father and brother, probably for the economic advantages offered by the Iglulik region.

Person 25 lived in a storehouse of the mission during part of the winter. He had helped in the building of the new church (completed autumn, 1960), and seemed more often to be associated at Ikpiakjuk than at his family home at Manitoq since becoming a widower several years ago. His two unmarried children are away at school in Chesterfield most of the year and he ranges widely over the north end of Melville Peninsula following his trap line during much of the winter. In the summer he joins an Ikpiakjuk boat crew though he has no kin connections there.

This review of the Ikpiakjuk has indicated that one of the chief motivations for locating there is the wage labor situation that is available, or because of retirement, though on a small scale. Some group members may have broken away from closer kin ties than were available at this place in order to take advantage of that situation, but this is a rare occurrence. Individuals who are located at Ikpiakjuk usually have exploited one of two or several alternate ties that show approximate equality or have chosen the stronger tie, or are quite isolated genealogically. The importance of kinship is still very apparent. A large number of persons are linked through virilocal sorts of attachments, though some uxori-local attachments are evident as well. A sibling bond, in this case the members of which are deceased, is here as at other Igluligmiut villages, an important unifying force. The absence of solidarity of

the sibling tie, on the other hand accounts for much of the bilaterality and for the small size of important close-knit kin units. On the whole, this village more than any other heretofore considered has been influenced in its composition by acculturative factors but it is, nevertheless, important to note that many kin connections exist among the people that live there.

This review of the 1960-61 groups in the Iglulik area might well be compared with the assessments of earlier aggregations that we have developed in the first pages of this chapter. The most significant contrast between 1922 and 1961 societies lies in the expanding population. The groups recorded in Mathiassen's census totaled 146 persons while the 1961 census<sup>1</sup> showed 514. Part of the increase can be attributed to the rather extensive immigration. Thus of the 107 family heads in the latter census, only 63 are descendants of the 1921-22 Igluligmiut group. On the other hand, these 63 nuclear families made up of 294 members represent an increase of almost triple the number of their direct ancestors (31 heads and a total of 108 members) in the earlier group. Most of this population expansion is reflected in the lower age groups today. In 1922 the average nuclear family was 3.1 persons while today it is 4.4, and the adult to child ratio has changed from the earlier 1.81/1 to the present 0.78/1.

As in the case of the 1922-1949 time span this increased population did not manifest itself in larger aggregations of people. The largest village of the 1922 groups numbered 74 and in 1949 there was one village of 82 and another of 68 persons. In 1960-61 Ikpiakjuk had a population of 87 and Kapuivik 64, representing the largest collections of people at that time. The expansion was

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<sup>1</sup>This census data was compiled and made available to me by Father Louis Fournier O.M.I., Mission St. Etienne, Iglulik, N.W.T.

evident, however, in the increasing number of sites that were occupied over the years. In 1922 there were 5 inhabited localities, in 1949 there were 11, and in 1961, 14.

Throughout the forty year period that is covered by our group composition data we saw that in most groups there was a continuous, or near continuous connection of kin within, the ties being of multiple sorts. Accordingly, "bilaterality" rather than "compositeness" is their chief characterizing feature. In the two earlier populations we saw how a prominent "kindred" dominated group structure at Iglulik (though in intervening years this unit lived mostly at Abadjaq) was anomalous in the extent of the ties that were created by its wide range of relatives. This important kin group had split between a number of localities but descendants of the important sibling group that formed its heart still made up the unifying thread of kinship in the Ikpiakjuk group. Throughout the years, however, the smaller groups of kin have been held together by a variety of ties that give a rather less regular appearance to village structure when we move to aggregations that extend above the simple close-knit kin group. Throughout the importance of the sibling bond in both the unification and the fragmentation that we see in the Igluligmiut groups has been acknowledged. The figures for male sibling solidarity for the 1960-61 population are as follows:

TABLE 4  
MALE SIBLING GROUPS, 1960-61

Father Living		Mother Living Father Dead		Both Parents Dead		Totals	
Living with Brother	Living Alone	Living with Brother	Living Alone	With	Alone	With	Alone
20	11	7	5	15	17	43	30

Comparing these figures with the 1922 ( page 95) and 1949 (page 103) censuses we see again that the solidarity is greatest while the father is still living and, again, after the death of both parents only about half the members of male sibling groups are living with a brother.

The number of marriages with a relative has increased over the years from 1 in 1922 to 4 in 1949 to 6 in 1961, with three other borderline adoptive cases in the last population.

The concept of local exogamy has strengthened over the years with the increased permanency of winter villages. Only three cases of intravillage marriage are present. Religious endogamy has been as strictly enforced.

Virilocality has continued to prevail over uxorilocality, the 1961 proportion being 76 per cent as opposed to the 65 per cent and 67 per cent figures for the 1922 and 1949 populations, respectively.

These brief comparisons show that a great deal of continuity has prevailed over the years in the "on the chart" appearance of group composition. Though population increases, wage labor situations, and a major florescence of the hunting economy with attendant increase of sedentariness, have characterized recent years at Iglulik, the village size, and the sorts of alignments that we find within have remained very much the same.

With this assurance of the largely traditional nature of the Igluligmiut groupings as I saw them in 1960-61 a closer examination of the recurrent questions that arose through our discussion of these groups seems in order. Some of these problems are: the reasons behind the frequent splitting of male sibling groups, the

effects of marriage customs on local group composition, questions concerning hierarchy in the sorts of alignments that are exploited in individual location, and the role of non-kinship factors in these locations. Along with these specific questions that we will cover later in this section, certain patterns emerged during our analysis that early influenced our appraisal of group composition. Basic among these was the growing conviction that the composition of Igluligmiut groups was closely tied up with the system of kinship connections. Since this conviction is crucial to the justification of the approach that we have become more and more committed to in our analysis, its validation is important to our further inquiry. In order to appraise the strength of kinship factors in group composition it may be well to first assess the relative importance of the several sorts of nonkinship considerations that we found to operate in the location of individuals within groups.

With regard to the early contact period, we have indicated in chapter iii the lack of a high development of quasi- or pseudo-kinship institutions. The spouse exchange relationship and the inowhohawiiit arrangement comprised the inventory of types in the Iglulik area.

In both cases of formalized spouse exchange that we have documented for the region the men who were involved were, at points in their careers, co-resident in the same villages. However, this co-residence was not maintained long in either case. Exchange continued to take place afterwards, evidently at periods of one year and the practice required considerable travel on the part of one or the other men in order to be consummated. In view of the spatial separation that prevailed at times between members of the spouse



exchange arrangement that practice cannot be said to be primarily a response to a lack of kinship unity within groups, though at times it may have served such functions. In cases of offspring and later generations formed by the spouse exchange relationship it may well have served as the basis for links between members of a village. There was in the summer of 1961 such a tie existing between two members at Kapuivik. The infrequency of this formalized sort of spouse exchange relationship, however, makes it unlikely that it ever formed an important basis for personal alignments within groups throughout the modern period.

The inowhohawit situation is by definition a residential arrangement. Rather than being the basis for personal location, as we have assumed the kinship bonds to be it was merely an adaptation in terms of the propinquity of unrelated village segments, a characterization in pseudo-kinship terms of the composite situation when it arose.

One of the chief causes of compositeness when it occurred, and an important ingredient in the complex of the multiple forms of bilateral links that was involved in the larger villages, has been the factor of immigration, and its corollary, emigration. Movement both in and out of the Ingluligmiut territory has been going on for a long time. Parry<sup>1</sup> noted frequent contacts to the north and south, as does Mathiassen.<sup>2</sup> Fragmentation of kin groups result from movement out of the area of members, while immigration of other individuals brings about situations of greater conglomeration than would have been created by purely indigenous populations. Many of the shifts in the more recent period result from the depletion of game

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<sup>1</sup>Parry, pp. 248, 436.

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 21.

resources in areas neighboring on Iglulik and environs. The attraction to the latter area is most consistently related to the abundance of walrus, though the movement of the Arctic Bay people into the Agu Bay region cannot be understood in those terms, but rather with regard to the relative abundance of the principal resource of both regions, the seal. At least two individuals, on the other hand, entered the region seeking wives, and either because of the improved economic conditions, or due to their genealogical isolation in the homeland, have established themselves independently or, more frequently, become attached to affinal relatives in the Iglulik region.

Within the region itself there has occurred a certain amount of "hiving off" or breaking away from the family home and establishing new camps or joining forces with others already established. As Redfield<sup>1</sup> has noted this hiving process to be a result of both "ecological factors and factors arising out of the strains within social structure. . . ." One ecological factor related to hiving may simply have been that of a habitation site becoming overpopulated for the local resources. It is probably significant that the largest village sizes of each of the three census periods was about the same, and the expanded population was absorbed in the establishment of new sites as indicated above, rather than being reflected in an increase in maximum size of larger villages. The fox trade has been shown to have had some effect on the distribution of population and on the compositeness of at least one village. Another ecological factor is the presence of a whaleboat in a certain locality. In recent years those families not possessing a boat have been at a decided disadvantage. Several large kin groups have attached themselves at particular localities mainly because of the access to

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<sup>1</sup>Robert Redfield, The Little Community (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 29.

boats that is present at those places. The attraction of wage labor at Ikpiakjuk, the hospital camp and on the DEWline.

Factors related to "strains within the social structure" are harder to pin down but are most certainly present. The process of individual withdrawal in the face of personal conflict has been a traditional means of resolving friction between or among group members. This observer, in inquiring about motives for personal relocations, frequently encountered irritated and evasive answers. Referral to other informants concerning these situations often revealed the presence of personal frictions in such cases. Other motives can hardly be accounted as either ecological or strains within the social structure. The apparent lack of life direction by widowers is a case in point. Men in that category seem to roam about the region, spending a year at one place, a few months at another, and, in general, appear at places where kinship factors do not seem responsible for their locations. Other individuals just seem to have the vagabond spirit and their affiliations or lack of affiliations defy understanding in terms of pattern.

In assessing the importance of these factors in personal location as opposed to kinship considerations it may be well to note the observations of Barnes, who speaking specifically of residence after marriage notes "nevertheless, one possibility we have to consider is that a couple decide to live neolocally not because their kin ties are weak but because they are strong, the couple wishes to escape from them."<sup>1</sup>

At this point we are left with not only a number of basically nonkinship factors in group composition and with the possibility

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<sup>1</sup>J.A. Barnes, "Marriage and Residential Continuity," American Anthropologist, LXII (October, 1960), 859.

that kinship relations may have divisive as well as cohesive effects. Do these considerations, indeed, invalidate our assumptions about the efficacy of kinship bonds in structuring groups in the Iglulik area? We think that the total body of evidence denies such a conclusion.

In the first place, many if not most of the location motives that we have discussed are intertwined with kinship factors in the specific residential situations that we encountered in our examination of the groups. For instance, the immigration situations are largely absorbed within the web of interregional kinship ties brought about by years of exchange migration and by tendencies toward regionally exogamous marriage. Much of the relocation that takes place within and without the region finds points of schism in personnel along the lines of kinship aggregations larger than the nuclear family. Brother, or father and son (or sons) are common units of emigration or of hiving. Fox trapping outposts though they may represent a breaking off from larger kin-based units are usually made up of brothers or of brothers-in-law. We have seen that personal locations related to wage labor situations are organized within a kinship context.

More important than these considerations regarding the detachment of other motives from kinship factors is the actual minority of highly anomalous situations of alignment when considered from the frame of kinship. In examining over 100 nuclear family alignments in our analysis we found that only three or four do not have some sort of direct link with some other such unit in the localities considered. Most villages in the Igluligmiut territory have shown pervasive links of kinship connections over the years

and the isolated elements which do inject the element of composite-ness are most often representatives of genealogically impoverished kin groups and usually have no residence alternatives based on kinship. Whatever divisive effects proximity to kin might have, the pervasiveness of kinship bonds within groups shows that most often withdrawal from a locality that is based on such frictions is absolved in the establishment of alliances in other localities where alternate kin ties are available.

As we proceeded in our analysis of the groupings in the earlier part of this chapter we found it difficult to avoid assumptions regarding units within the villages that are based on kinship. The term "nuclear family" was used in the sense of a man and wife and unmarried offspring which usually represented the largest indivisible social unit. Above that level we have designated "close-knit kin groups." This term has been chosen because of its neutrality and lack of definiteness as compared to "extended family." This latter entity implies a sort of integration that is not demonstrated simply by connecting diamonds and circles on charts. Since there has been so much confusion regarding the use of "nuclear" and "extended" family in Eskimo studies and since we will seek to demonstrate that these sorts of organization play important roles in the structure of Igluligmiut local groups some space will here be devoted to the examination of these concepts with regard to the Igluligmiut.

In the introduction we discussed the role that the concept of the nuclear or conjugal family has played in the history of concern with Eskimo social life. Indeed, the close cooperative bond that pertains between man and wife in all Eskimo groups is easily

observed by the most casual visitor. Around Iglulik, at least, the man and wife relationship is often characterized by a close affectionate relationship as well and today the abolition of divorce has made this tie the most permanent association that we find throughout the lifetime of the individual.

The concept of the extended family has not had as general an appreciation by Eskimologists, especially with regard to central and eastern areas. Perhaps we should begin our discussion with some definitions that are fairly well accepted in anthropology. Murdock in speaking of "composite forms of the family" says:

Clusters of two, three, or more are united into larger familial groups which commonly reside together and maintain closer ties with one another than with other families in the community. Physically, such composite family groups usually form a household, marked by joint occupancy, either of a single large dwelling, or a cluster of adjacent huts, or of a well-defined compound. Socially, the nuclear families thus associated are almost invariably linked to one another not only by the bond of common residence but also through close kinship ties. Unrelated or distantly related families, to be sure, occasionally form a common household, but this is not the usual practice in any of the societies studied.

The two principal types of composite families have already been briefly noted. The polygamous family it will be recalled, consists of several nuclear families linked through a common spouse. The extended family includes two or more nuclear families united by consanguineal kinship bonds such<sup>1</sup> as those between parent and child or between two siblings.

Historical data confirms the antiquity of the practice of sharing of households by nuclear families. Lyon<sup>2</sup> indicates that the gangmat at Iglulik were occupied by a large number of persons and Parry<sup>3</sup> indicates that the most common form of the snow house was comprised of multiple domes opening on an enclosed archway and sharing a common entrance. Mathiassen<sup>4</sup> indicates that the usual form of

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<sup>1</sup>Murdock, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Lyon, p. 280.

<sup>3</sup>Parry, p. 500.

<sup>4</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 125.

single domed snowhouses was meant for occupancy by "two families." He also describes larger compounds of domes, especially the ones at Ibderiaq.<sup>1</sup> More recently, in correspondence, he has confirmed the close kin ties that usually pertained between groups sharing the same household: "As to the snowhouses, it was my impression that they often were quite large and contained two or more families which were in some way related to each other, mostly parents and children."<sup>2</sup> This testimony corroborates informant recall material regarding the frequency of shared dwellings and the usual close links of kinship among the occupants.

The two chief criteria of Murdock regarding the composite forms of the family, close kin ties and common residence, find ready application in the Iglulik area. In our visits to the Igluligmiut villages in 1960-61 we found that there were 31 dwellings that housed composite families and 25 houses that were occupied by single nuclear families. This proportion is more meaningful, however, when it is pointed out that of the 103 nuclear family units so represented 78 lived in composite family situations defined in these terms. In all cases close kin bonds prevailed among the fellow residents of each dwelling, though a few of the bonds found within would not conform precisely to those defined by Murdock as characterizing the extended family. On the other hand, it seems fitting to use this term regarding such units because of the basic kinship nature of the ties within and, of course, the close residential proximity of the constituent units. (The disappearance of polygamy from the area eliminates from our consideration the other main type of composite family that is listed by Murdock.) Sharing of dwellings is regulated to a large extent by the number of children in relation to house size. The size of the house is

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 126-27, n.

<sup>2</sup>Mathiassen, personal correspondence, 1962.

determined both by considerations of materials and heating facilities and by the number of persons that the builder wishes to accommodate. In cases of overcrowding of a single dwelling we are likely to find that a father and grown sons, for example, may occupy a cluster of houses in a village. If residential unity is extended to include such situations a much larger number of aggregations would be grouped as extended families than the above figures indicate. This criterion might, however, involve a judgment as to just how close together the dwellings must be to be included as a co-residential compound. Another characteristic of extended family units is the sharing of cooking or of meals within that group. This is certainly difficult to apply here even to nuclear families that share the same dwelling. There is great looseness in meal routine among the Igluligmiut. At times, even though each woman in a house has her own lamp and cooking utensils, those dwelling together may all eat together. More often each woman cooks for her immediate group and except when the men of the house leave together or arrive together each segment has its meals alone.

It seems fitting to us on the basis of observations among the Igluligmiut to supplement the criterion of residential unity and close kin ties with that of common economic bonds. The organization of hunting parties among the men of the household is usually in the hands of the oldest male member, if he is still relatively active. The hunting party may include members outside the household unit but is seldom comprised of a single member and often finds its focus in a sibling or father and son tie. Just as often, however, there appears a temporary division of labor within the extended family in the plans for each day or few days. Thus one



son may fetch walrus meat from the cache, while a second may be visiting his trap lines, and a third may perhaps be working at repairing sledges. A son-in-law may be hunting seals with others from another household and the father preparing fox skins for trade. All this activity is regulated, in most cases, by the oldest male in the male line.

The division of meat within the village may rest on larger units than the extended family but never on smaller segments. Deer hides used for clothing are also distributed within this context. The profits from foxes and family allotments are shared by the members of the extended family as well. So the sharing of food, division of labor, and the basic sort of authority diffusion all rest within the close knit-kin unit.

If we apply this third criterion to our assessment of the extended family not more than a dozen of the 103 Igluligmiut nuclear family units outside the DEWline can be regarded as independent units.

Important as the extended family is in the spatial distribution of people it is not wise to underrate the significance of the nuclear family among the Igluligmiut. In addition to the previously mentioned close bond between husband and wife, and the usual separate maintenance of a lamp and cooking chores by each married woman in the household, there are other activities carried out separately within the nuclear family. Preparation of skins for clothing, and the actual tailoring is usually, but not always, carried on at that level. The assistance of the husband by the wife in departure and return from the hunt (which includes rounding up and harnessing the dogs, and loading and unloading the sledge), is another example.

Most of the child care is controlled within the nuclear family, though at times younger girls may carry their niece or nephew about in the hood. The separateness of each nuclear family is emphasized by the practice of the adoption of young children, usually grandchildren, by older women and men. Child-rearing and household routine is organized around the child-parent unity that such a pair actually portrays. The subtle interplay of affectionate and servile roles that are played by the child in this connection fastens him or her to the older person just as surely as if they were parent and child. It is more than a mere artifact that the census compiled by the mission at Iglulik indicates such groupings of aged individual or couple and adopted child as nuclear family units. Even though the grandparent may share the same dwelling with the mother and father of the adopted child there is no doubt as to the primary allegiance of the child to the grandparent. The degree of separateness of nuclear family units that we have just described makes appropriate Murdock's comment regarding the importance of the "constituent nuclear families" of an extended family: "These constituent units he says "always retain at least some distinctiveness as cooperative economic units and regularly bear the primary burden of child care, education, and socialization, in addition to which they maintain their unique sexual and reproductive functions."<sup>1</sup>

As our analysis of the groups progressed we found ourselves relying heavily on the concept of the father and son tie in its residential aspect-virilocality. It became increasingly apparent that this was the most frequent sort of bond that was to be found uniting nuclear family units into immediately larger aggregations.

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<sup>1</sup>Murdock, p. 40.

Observational material supports the residential data in indicating that the father-son relationship is the keystone of these latter aggregations which have now been identified as extended families. The organization of the work force, the diffusion of leadership downward to the sons and sons-in-law is the normal and, usually, smoothly functioning pattern when these members live in close proximity to one another. At times leadership in matters pertaining to the hunt passes from the father in old age but his advice is usually sought in other matters.

The next most frequent type of link that binds together the extended family is the brother and brother tie. The male sibling tie does not show the strength of the father and son connection even though it represents the natural course of succession in the virilocal orientation of the Igluligmiut society. Observational material seems to indicate that the diffusion of authority across the generational level does not have as high a rate of success as it does from ascending to descending generation in the same context of the virilocal extended family.

With regard to residence we earlier indicated at several places in our discussion the importance of the male sibling bond in unifying local groups. On the other hand, we also indicated that much of the fragmentation in units now recognized as the extended family resulted from the splitting of the male sibling group. When male sibling groups showed residential solidarity there appeared a greater uniformity and regularity in the composition of the local group whether the village was basically composed of such a unit or if it formed a part of a larger aggregation of similarly constructed units. Split sibling groups, on the other hand, conspire

against the aggregation of large groups of kindred in a locality and the emergence of strong unilineal tendencies, and inhibit the possible occurrence of "localized lineage" or "localized clan"<sup>1</sup> structures that have appeared in the Bering Sea area. From this it can be seen that both the degree of regularity and the extent of atomism that occurs in the distribution of kindred in the Iglulik area are intimately linked to the condition of the male sibling groups. It is frequently at the level of the male sibling group that splitting of kindred associated with emigration and its local equivalent, hiving, occurs. In discussing these two processes we noted both economic and personality factors were involved. Both seem applicable to the splitting of sibling groups. Indeed, the spreading of personnel to better exploit the area takes place at this level. Though the trapping camps at Kakalik and Qiqiqtaruk had male sibling bonds as an important ingredient (the former was based entirely on this tie) the establishment of these trapping outposts implied as well as splitting of these brothers from others. The term issumakattigenituk, or "they disagree," is often used in explaining the separate residential locations of brothers. This disagreement seems often to revolve about the matter of authority on the horizontal level which, as we have indicated, seems to generally be a weaker sort of network than the vertical.

Another factor involved in the splitting of sibling groups is the failure of a clear leader to emerge in certain families. We have a prominent case of this in the 1960-61 groups where the three brothers are all attached uxori locally because of this factor. The adoption out in infancy of one or more brothers is one of the most

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<sup>1</sup>Steward, p. 153.

frequent causes of split sibling groups. The adoptee almost always establishes a closer bond with the foster family than with the natural family.

Most often the splits (at least those that have not occurred in childhood) happen after the age of forty when the father is deceased and the constituent members of the male sibling group have begun to head extended families of their own. The disappearance of the cohesive influence of the parental generation, and the economic and emotional independence that has developed through maturity and through the emergence of the new extended family organization, makes the time ripe for a break, whether the motives be economic or personal.

Although the virilocal situation comprises about three-quarters of the connections within the extended family the number of uxori-local situations is great enough to deserve attention in our examination of that group. Uxori-local individuals seem to fall mainly into three classes: (1) Those engaged in bride service, in which case we are actually dealing with Murdock's<sup>1</sup> matri-patri-local type, (2) Migrants from Arctic Bay or other regions who were largely motivated to attach to affines because of the superior economic opportunities in the Iglulik region; (3) Genealogically isolated individuals, especially in the sense of having no surviving brothers or father. In addition, there is a scattering of other cases such as that of the three brothers of a split sibling group mentioned above and one or two others that defy explanation.

The structure of the extended family, then, revolves mainly about the father and his sons with fewer, but still significant.

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<sup>1</sup>Murdock, p. 17.

numbers of sons-in-law. The exceptions beyond this are very few. There is one extended family unit made up of adoptive cousins and their wives and offspring but these men have been in close contact with one another since early childhood and have established a near-sibling relationship. One of these member's brother resides in the same village in a rather aberrant situation with an angayunrok-nukowngrok tie being exploited. These brothers had been separated since childhood, however.

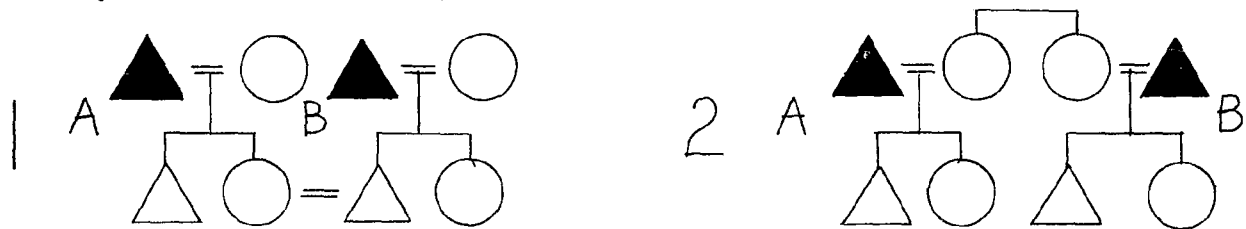
The couple of cases of residence in the same village with father and father-in-law that we encountered in the group analysis can be resolved in terms of primary loyalty or affiliation on the bases of the extended family organization that is present.

The slim minority of independent nuclear families would be even smaller if we threw out the genealogical criterion and relied only on the close cooperative one in defining the extended family, for few of these have failed to establish a close partnership with some more distant relative than is usually considered to be implied by the term "extended family."

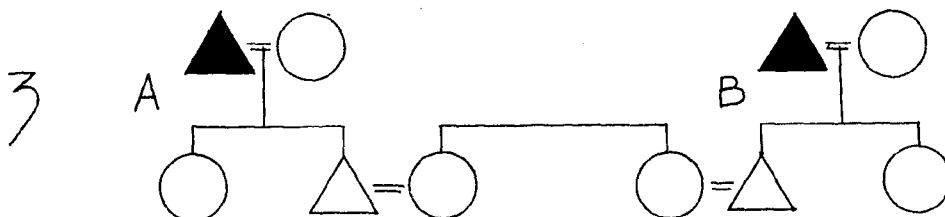
Having thus explored the nature of the extended family we have described the total kinship structure of about half of our villages represented in the 1960-61 population. These villages are isolated collections of people that have a high degree of independence from the other villages regardless of kinship ties outside. The economic independence of many of these villages has been fostered by the introduction of the whaleboat and the rifle with an attendant shift away from dependence on maulexpok sealing as the main winter occupation, an occupation which usually requires a large number of hunters.

As we move to larger aggregations we found a greater complexity of ties occasioned by the propinquity of a number of extended and nuclear family units. The ties that pertain between the constituent segments of the larger villages are much more variable than those that unify the extended family.

It should be noted with regard to these intra-village links that simply because we are able to connect groups across a chart does not mean that all individuals within the group are related to one another. For one thing, in a settlement comprised of three or four extended families we could show such a continuous string of attachments but the members of non-contiguous families would fall outside the terminological-behavioral networks of others, not directly attached. Examples will clarify this sort of situation:



In examples 1 and 2, individuals A and B are within each other's terminological scope. The first case represents a village endogamous marriage situation. This is a relationship that shows firm genealogical connection for the two family heads are nulliq to one another, a relationship which carries with the terminological reciprocity a general air of emotional and, in cases of co-residence, economic reciprocity. Example 2 occurs somewhat more frequently than 1, and persons A and B also fall within the scope of each other's Illageit. In this case they are angayungrok-nukowngrok.



Example 3 shows that when the angayungrok-nukowngrok link is the basis for the tie between families those on the ascending generation level fall outside the terminological network of each other. This example shows the advantages of the direct as opposed to the indirect linking of two families. Unfortunately, there are forces in operation which conspire against the formation of direct links between extended or independent nuclear families.

About the best way for consanguineal ties to exist between extended families is for the continued co-residence of brothers and cousins to exist for several generations with virilocal residence being the rule. The frequent splitting of consanguineal groups at the sibling level when the members have developed extended families of their own, often prevents this sort of arrangement from transpiring. This brings us to a consideration of the ways family units can be connected affinally. Any consideration of such links necessarily involves us in a further examination of Igluligmiut marriage practices. In the early part of this chapter we indicated that regional exogamy was practiced to some extent, that relative marriage was forbidden and usually the taboos were effective, that religious endogamy was almost universal, and that strong tendencies toward local exogamy seemed to have developed in connection with the increased permanency of winter villages. Bringing these practices up to date let us consider the pattern of Igluligmiut marriage over the past fifteen years. Only two examples of village endogamous marriage are present out of the thirty-three consummated during that period. Several factors seem involved in the operation of this practice which is not prescribed by tradition. In cases of the smaller, close-knit villages there are usually no eligible



marriage partners available in accordance with the incest regulations. Though relative marriages are allowable within the Catholic segment of the population due to dispensation, and in fact do occur here, this practice is practically unknown in the Anglican segment. Many other situations cannot be explained on those terms alone. In the larger villages there are often ample opportunities for endogamous marriages to be arranged without violating restrictions against relative unions. Table 5 shows a number of possible links that could have been effected between the families of the men who are, respectively, the leaders of the upper and the lower village at Kapuivik. None of these possibilities was exploited. Though

TABLE 5

POSSIBLE MARRIAGE ALLIANCES BETWEEN  
LEADING FAMILIES AT KAPUIVIK

Qayakjuaq's Family			Piuwaktuk's Family		
Sex	Name	Birth Date	Sex	Name	Birth Date
(M)	Issigaitok	1936	(F)	Malliki	1933
(M)	Nangmalik	1939	(M)	Pitaluk	1935
(F)	Naktak	1942	(M)	Qownak*	1937
			(F)	Uwingut	1941

\*Actual spouse born 1942.

possible matches between younger members of these families have been spoken of, no formal arrangements have been made. Some of the individuals listed married outside of the Iglulik region but most linked families within the area but at a number of different villages. Piuwaktuk has married daughters at Kapuivik (though this represented an uxori-local individual not a fellow villager at the

time of the marriage), and at Manexotq. One of his sons married a girl from Repulse Bay and the other from Ikpiakjuk. Qayakjuaq's daughters-in-law came from Sioraxjuk and Nowyagoluk originally, even though they now form links with siblings now in the village. The third head of a large family has daughters at Igluxjuaq and Ikpiakjuk and a now deceased son-in-law at Manextoq.

There seems to be a definite advantage to marriage that is village exogamous but within the Iglulik area. Alliances between families in other villages assure travelers a place to sleep indefinitely and also usually to procure dog and man food. It is especially important to have a kinship link at Ikpiakjuk because of the frequent trading trips that are made there from all villages throughout the year. Perhaps we might relate the reluctance of the natives to use snowhouses in such situations to the increased importance of village exogamy, though this seems to be carrying our argument too far. The exchange of food gifts between villages sometimes helps to solidify these connections and may at times relieve certain kinds of local food shortages. For instance, Piuwaktuk at Kapuivik often exchanges walrus meat for caribou meat with his son-in-law at Manextoq thus easing shortages of the kind that are common to each village. Temporary personnel shifts of varying duration that are connected to economic matters are also facilitated by village exogamous marriage. When in late winter of 1961 the cold caused the waters to steam daily at the sealing place at the narrows of Fury and Hecla Strait, Aggiak relocated from his home at Manitok first to Qiqiqtaxjuk and his wife's consanguines, and later to Nogsagnaxjuk where his son was serving bride service with an uncle of his wife. These moves eased the

economic crisis at Manitoq to some extent and enabled the man and his family to take advantage of the better hunting situations and the large stores of walrus that were available at the other villages.

Weighed against these advantages of village exogamy are the rather prominent disadvantages when viewed in terms of the potential ties that could be exploited between families if endogamy instead were practiced. The practice of direct endogamy between members of large families within villages as happened at Qimmixtogvik would establish a unity in which all the members of the families in question, including their heads, would fall within each other's terminological-behavioral network. It could be argued that bonds inherent to local association are to be considered as important or more important to the smooth functioning of the cooperative network in each village than kinship directives. Consequently, since cooperation is outlined and effectively carried out in the context of locality the need for kinship links within the local aggregation where they do not exist is obviated, making local endogamy unnecessary. Appraisal of this hypothesis must await discussion of the cooperative and leadership structure to be undertaken in a later section.

Another situation that, in addition to the splitting of sibling groups and the practice of local exogamy, conspires against the establishment of direct links among member extended families in local groups is related to population structure. There are only 28 men over the age of forty in a total population of 514 persons. This represents the age level at which we expect to find men established at the heads of extended families. The

genealogical isolation that this population picture implies brings about disconnectedness among members of the top generation and indicates one of the important factors in the frequent lack of links within a village at that level.

Kinship bonds that exist within villages seem less pervasive when we indicate the indirect nature of many of them with reference to the effective range of the terminological-behavioral network. But this chapter is not concerned primarily with the operational aspects of kinship in groups. Rather we have sought to demonstrate that kinship is important in determining the location of individuals, in nuclear and extended families and of the latter in larger aggregations.

Our discussion of the kinship ties that are found within Igluligmiut villages would naturally seem to lead to an attempt at classifying them according to type. Such classification might serve to reduce the results of much of our discussion into constructs that could be useful for purposes of comparison with the work of other anthropologists.

The early contact groups fluctuated a great deal in size over the year's period (this will be developed in greater detail in the next chapter). In general, however, the largest aggregations during the winter resemble closely the larger winter villages of today in kinship composition. The smaller winter groups and the summer groups of the earlier period, on the other hand, are basically identical in structure with the smaller villages of today. On the other hand, the increased sedentariness of later aggregations seems to beg the designation "village" rather than "band" which might be more applicable to the more nomadic groups before 1930.

Taking the time periods together it seems fair to characterize the two sorts of groupings mentioned above in the following manner: (1) Close-knit small aggregations of essentially extended family organization with strong virilocal emphasis. (2) Larger aggregations comprised of constituent units of type (1) that are interconnected by a wide variety of bilateral ties. In both cases independent nuclear families confused somewhat these neat generalizations but such cases are in a distinct minority.

Let us match our types of Igluligmiut groups with the constructs of other anthropologists who sought to classify local groupings of hunting or pastoral peoples. Steward has relied heavily on ecological explanations in discussing the evolution of "patrilineal bands" and "composite bands." Eggan<sup>1</sup> has developed the concept of the "bilateral band held together by cross cousin marriage." The same author, using Plains Indian data,<sup>2</sup> and Pehrson using material from the Konkama Lapps have dealt with "the bilateral band of society emphasizing generation and the sibling band."

Steward's concept of the "patrilineal band" seems to have some rough applicability to our "close-knit small aggregations" in that virilocality and group exogamy are important ingredients in group structure. On the other hand, our aggregations of that type average about twenty rather than fifty persons as given by Steward, and it is doubtful, with the high rate of uxori-locality that is

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<sup>1</sup>Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Methods and Results," in Eggan, p. 521.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 549.

present, that the concept of lineality is applicable. His concept of the "composite group" is defined as follows:

The term "composite" is used in contrast to the term "uni-lineal"--patrilineal or matrilineal--to designate certain primitive societies which consist of many unrelated nuclear or biological families. These are integrated to form villages or bands of hunters, fishers, gathers, and simple farmers on the basis of constant association and cooperation rather than of actual or alleged kinship.<sup>1</sup>

Rather than being aggregations of nuclear families our groups (pertains especially to the larger villages here) are aggregations of extended families. Instead of being unrelated in our groups the constituent units are linked by bilateral ties.

Hardly less applicable to the situation of the Igluligmiut groups is the construct of the "bilateral band held together by cross cousin marriage" since relative marriage is largely forbidden and where it occurs it is not always cross cousins that are linked, and usually the unions are village-exogamous, as well.

Eggan<sup>2</sup> has noted a number of sub-types of a basic generational and bilateral social structure on the Plains. A general similarity can be noted with the Igluligmiut group structure in that: "This structure is "horizontal" or generational in character and has little depth."<sup>3</sup> On the level of the extended family this writer emphasizes the importance of matrilocal residence or the sibling bond as organizing principles. We have seen that virilocal or patrilocal residence characterizes the Igluligmiut extended family and that while the sibling bond played an important

<sup>1</sup>Steward, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Eggan, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho Kinship Systems," in Eggan, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup>Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Methods and Results," in Eggan, p. 518.

role in this entity we have many exceptions where this bond was broken. Speaking still of the Plains area, Eggan describes the larger aggregations: "The bilateral or composite band organization, centered around a chief and his close relatives, may change in composition, according to various circumstances, economic or political."<sup>1</sup> Our larger aggregations have been shown to be largely bilateral with some degree of compositeness. The appraisal of the changes in composition and the problems of leadership and economics and politics must await later discussion.

A study similar to ours was carried out among the Konkama Lapps by Robert Pehrson. That society was also seen to be generational and bilateral in character. In the case of the Lapp society, however, the emphasis on the sibling bond was highly developed. Pehrson characterizes the band composition as follows: "The Konkama band's genealogical structure emerges from the conjugal affiliation of peripheral sibling groups to the dominant sibling group,"<sup>2</sup> but at the same time concedes, "I do not contend that every Lapp always lives with his siblings."<sup>3</sup> We have noted splitting of the sibling group as a frequent occurrence among the Igluligmiut but we have also acknowledged the importance of the sibling tie in groups in those cases where there was solidarity evident on that level. So, in some sense, we might say that a basic similarity prevails. On the other hand, the primary groups within the Igluligmiut villages cannot be properly called sibling groups in a regular enough fashion to justify judgment of similarity with the Lapp data. We have indicated that in residential alignment and in the diffusion of authority the father-son bond

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Pehrson, p. 92.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

seems to be far stronger than the sibling bond around Iglulik. One of the basic differences between the Igluligmiut groups and those of the Konkama Lapps is that the Eskimo aggregations are clusters of extended families usually based on the father and son or father-in-law and son-in-law tie while, in the other case, Pehrson has noted the elementary or nuclear family to be the basic social structural unit within the band.<sup>1</sup> Further instead of the "conjugal affiliation" of peripheral to dominant sibling groups being the means of holding the group together, among the Igluligmiut we have seen that affiliations are accomplished by a number of both consanguineal and affinal ties between patri-centered extended family units.

These comparisons have shown only a rough sort of correspondence with group composition constructs of other anthropologists. Indeed, we may have only begun to discover a wide variety of types of group composition, each of which begs explanation on the basis of particular ecological or historical factors.

This chapter began with a review of the general characteristics of the kinship composition of local groupings as they appeared in 1921-22 and 1949. This discussion gave a base line and indicated something of the extent and direction of change and the degree of continuity that was to be found in the groups from the early contact period onward. A more detailed analysis of the local groups as they existed in the winter of 1960-61 was carried out with an eye toward alternative alignments available to individuals in terms of kinship connections. This examination of group charts gave rise to a number of questions which required

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 94-95.



exploration if we were to have a clearer picture of Igluligmiut social life.

First among these we treated the nonkinship factors in local group composition and found that while they were significant, the pervasiveness of kinship ties in these groups led us to press forward in our examination of local groupings in kinship perspective. Starting this examination from the simplest constituents of the local aggregations we found that the nuclear family retained a number of important functions but was largely submerged economically and residentially in the extended family. This latter unit emerges as the most significant spatial entity in the Igluligmiut groupings. The means of combining nuclear families into extended families was explored and the virilocal father-and-son tie was seen to be the most frequent basis for constructing the larger sort of family aggregation. The sibling bond of males was also seen as important as the continuant of the virilocal principle after the death of the family head. The rather large number of uxorilocally attached nuclear families in the extended aggregations were examined on the backdrop of the ideally preferred and numerically superior virilocal situations. Next the study of the sort of ties that connect the extended families and occasional independent nuclear families within villages was initiated. Intimately involved were discussions of group exogamy and the phenomenon of the splitting of the male sibling groups, both of which factors conspired against the development of the strongest sorts of bonds within the villages. A rather wide variety of kinship bonds was discovered to exist among the constituent families in the larger villages. An attempt was made to appraise the relative strength

of these. Finally, we classified the villages according to two main types: (1) Small close-knit villages of extended family structure with strong virilocal trends and (2) larger villages made up of such smaller groups connected together by a number of different sorts of affinal and consanguineal ties. These characterizations were matched against the constructs of other anthropologists and revealed correspondences and dissidences with the latter.

## CHAPTER V

### TEMPORAL ASPECTS OF GROUP COMPOSITION

The discussions of the preceding chapter have been based on charts of local groups which portray the kinship composition of those groups as they appeared at points in time. The generalizations that emerged regarding group structure are based on the assumption that the pictures of groups so presented are representative of the sorts of alignments that would repeatedly occur at the various sites of habitation. True, we have made reference to more or less temporary fluctuations in group size and composition and to the effects of migration and hiving on the development of local groupings. In addition, we found that reference to alternatively exploited residence situations was necessary to clarify points concerning patterns of residence. This necessity to refer to temporal features in group structure is indicative of the degree of fluctuation in group composition over longer and shorter periods. Even though we have noted an increased sedentariness in the Iglulik region in recent years, fluctuation in the size and composition of local groups is still occurring. Indeed, shifts in personnel in each of the villages and the establishment of new villages are so much a part of Igluligmiut social life that failure to apply a time dimensional frame to the examination of groups deprives us of insight into many important aspects of group composition and, inevitably, of the social structure. Accordingly, the description of Igluligmiut groups

that has preceded must be supplemented by temporal approaches.

In this chapter we will use several approaches to the temporal aspects of group composition. These approaches will be directed toward validating, elucidating, or modifying the generalizations that have been developed in the preceding chapter. Our discussion will include (1) an analysis of changes in group composition over the year's cycle. Concerned with longer periods of time will be: (2) an examination of the role of the individual life cycle in structuring groups, (3) an exploration of the changing character of links inside the extended family, (4) a treatment of the changes and continuities over time in the ties that bind extended family units within the local group.

In chapter 11 we outlined the seasonal cycle at various stages in Igluligmiut history. We did not, however, dwell on the sociological significance of these cycles in terms of the effect of economic changes on group composition. Using the sources cited in chapter 11, supplemented by data extracted from native informants, the following picture emerges. In the early contact period, which is largely confined to the pre-1930 era, large aggregations showing bilateral kinship character assembled for purposes of maulexpok sealing and walrus hunting at the ice edge some time in December or January. These large aggregations of bilaterally linked extended families remained together usually until some time in spring when the utoq sealing season began. Both the walrus hunts at the ice edge and the maulexpok method of sealing, according to informants, were best carried out by large numbers of men, while the utoq or crawling method of sealing could be engaged in by one or two men with greater prospects of success. From the spring

months onward into August or September the typical group seemed to revolve principally around the extended family. The groups that appeared during those seasons did fluctuate in size above that level but, as closely as the picture can be reconstructed, spring and summer groups usually were tighter organizations of kin than those typifying the winter aggregations. Pairs of extended families or one such unit and affinally or consanguineally related nuclear families seemed to be the normal unit for that part of the year. In August or September a split occurred between youths (probably men under thirty) and older men. While the younger men roamed inland after the caribou in groups that usually were comprised of two or three brothers, brothers-in-law, or cousins, the older men formed alliances and hunted together from kayaks or in later times, small open boats. These latter associations sometimes transcended kin ties as often the relatives that would connect these in the larger winter villages were absent inland. This split lasted about two months in aboriginal times though later when the rifle made caribou hunting more efficient it may occasionally have lasted longer. After about 1903 when trading posts were established in adjacent areas numbers of people would make long excursions in the spring months of April, May, and June to trade, thus disrupting to some extent the structures of the groups at that time. Sometimes these excursions were made up of detached nuclear families but it seems that more often extended family units or at least brothers, were involved, while those too old to make long journeys stayed with other relatives.

By the early 1930's the larger bilaterally organized villages that formerly characterized the winter aggregations pre-

dominated over a longer part of the year's cycle. The Aqungneq group stayed essentially the same probably into May at which time trading trips to Pond Inlet or Repulse Bay and caribou hunts inland by the younger members of the village caused a temporary splitting of the group. The utoq sealing of spring was carried out from the permanent dwellings on shore though later a move was made into tents. There seemed to be no marked tendency toward group fission during this activity, however. The Abadjaq group lived in snow houses at Iglulik from perhaps late March until the utoq season was advanced (May) at which time some hunted on the ice north of Iglulik Island and others hunted deer inland or on Baffin Island or went on trading journeys. By July the larger aggregations of winter were largely restored and the combined manpower of each village engaged in the pursuit of walrus with whaleboat. In September young men again went inland for caribou, this time for clothing skins, accompanied again by wives and some children. After that the larger winter aggregations prevailed again.

As more and more whaleboats were procured longer periods of subsistence on summer stores (though additional seals were always needed during the winter for fuel) increased, walrus meat from one summer lasting into the next in some cases. Later when a trading post was established at Ikpiakjuk (Igloolik) the long trips to Pond and Repulse were largely obviated. The period of continuous occupation of the sites of winter villages extended to nine to ten months, in the most recent period. This can be compared to periods of about four months in the early contact period and about six months in the early 1930's.

These brief pictures of the earlier periods have repre-

sented abstractions from a body of data that lacks the sort of detail that was our basis for group analysis in the preceding chapter. As we move to the groups of today (1960-61) we have available a more detailed collection of material for analysis, material that enables us to arrive at generalizations with greater assurance than was possible for the preceding discussion.

Although Igluligmiut groups have become somewhat more stable in composition over the years time, in recent decades, the stability could very easily be overrated. Indeed, this observer found that no sooner had he left a village where he had been collecting genealogical data than news would come of a relocation of some member for some motive or other implying varying degrees of permanence to the relocation.

During most of the period from mid-September 1960 until August 1961 the writer was in close contact with the people of Kapuivik. For the months of August and early September 1960, and for months during the following winter when I was away visiting other villages, inquiry with village members has produced linking material of good reliability so that a fairly complete picture of the fluctuations in group composition can be presented for the year's period of from August 1, 1960 to August 1, 1961. The first chart (Figure 27) shows that on August 1, 1960 (or thereabouts) the Kapuivigmiut were split into three groups but they were all located within six miles of one another. The group at Qaexsuit was finishing the walrus hunt that had begun about mid-July and had with them two of the three whale boats owned by the villagers. This group was comprised of two closely linked kin units, that of 2 and 1, and families, and that of 9, and sons.

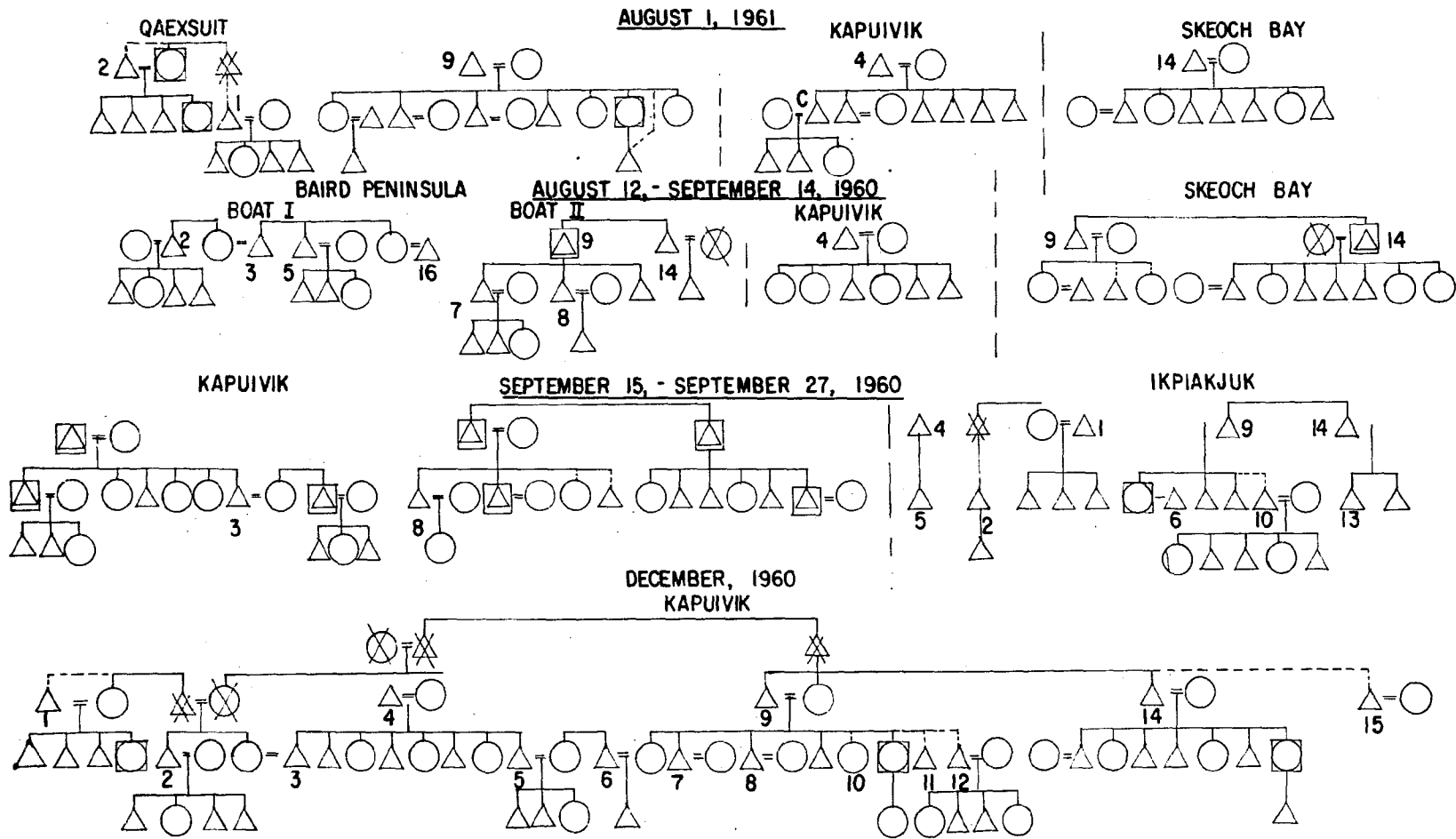


FIG. 27.— THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF KAPUIVIK OVER THE SEASONAL CYCLE I



Meanwhile, the extended family of 4 was living at Kapuivik where it began to build a new house. Person 14's group was fishing with nets in Skeoch Bay where Arctic chard were usually present in large numbers at that time of the year.

After August 12 the young men led by 14 began the annual caribou hunt at Baird Peninsula. Today, as in days of old, the Eskimo depend on the furs of the animal killed at this season for clothing. We can see that the crews of the two boats that took part in the excursion to the hunting lands were organized along kinship lines. The remaining personnel remained split into two tent camps and the men were mainly engaged in building four new houses at this period. In addition, fish were caught with nets. At Ikpiakjuk were the peripherally attached 12 who we noted earlier often moved about the countryside at random and 11 who awaited the arrival of his wife who had been absent for a year at the hospital in Hamilton, Ontario.

During late August and early September the men who had remained behind from the hunt formed the crew for the remaining boat and accompanied Professor Malaurie of the Sorbonne on a tour of other villages. The caribou hunters returned to Kapuivik on September 14 and by September 15 all of the Kapuivik men except two had assembled at Ikpiakjuk for the annual unloading of the Hudson's Bay Company ship. Meanwhile, these men and the women and children had moved into the houses at the Cape Elwyn camp.

The group shown for December is identical with the one that was used for analysis in the preceding chapter and it represents the aggregation of Eskimos at Kapuivik which showed the greatest duration as a co-resident group. Individual 15 and wife

joined the group in December after being away visiting his mother and brothers in the Agu Bay region. This group stood pat until late in February when increased hours of daylight facilitated traveling. In the next diagram person 14 had left the group with two small sons for an extended stay in the Longstaff Bluff-Piling area. The ostensible purpose for this trip was to hunt bear especially for skin. On the other hand, seal and caribou were also hunted for food by this man during his trip. Contact was made with DEWline personnel at Longstaff Bluff and he reports that gifts or traded items from that source helped him much. Two additions had been made, as well, by late February or early March. Person 16 had been asked to leave Ikpiakjuk where he had lived with his mother in order that he join in regular hunting, such as he had failed to do at the other place. Person 17 was one of the Nowyagoluk group that had deserted that camp after the hard times that had been their lot in January and early February. These additions can be seen to fit well into the kinship frame at Kapuivik. Also removed from the village in February were the nuclear families of 3 and 15 who established a trapping and sealing camp on the eastern shore of Steensby Inlet at that time. The men involved in this shift were not related but at times formed a close cooperative bond. This sort of arrangement seems related to the minor sort of division of labor that exists within the extended family that has been discussed earlier.

By May 8, 1961 the village had been reduced to its smallest population of the year. The death of 1's spouse in April left a permanent gap in the population. Three of the five babies that had been born during the winter had died as well. Person 3 had returned with his wife and baby from the trapping camp but he had

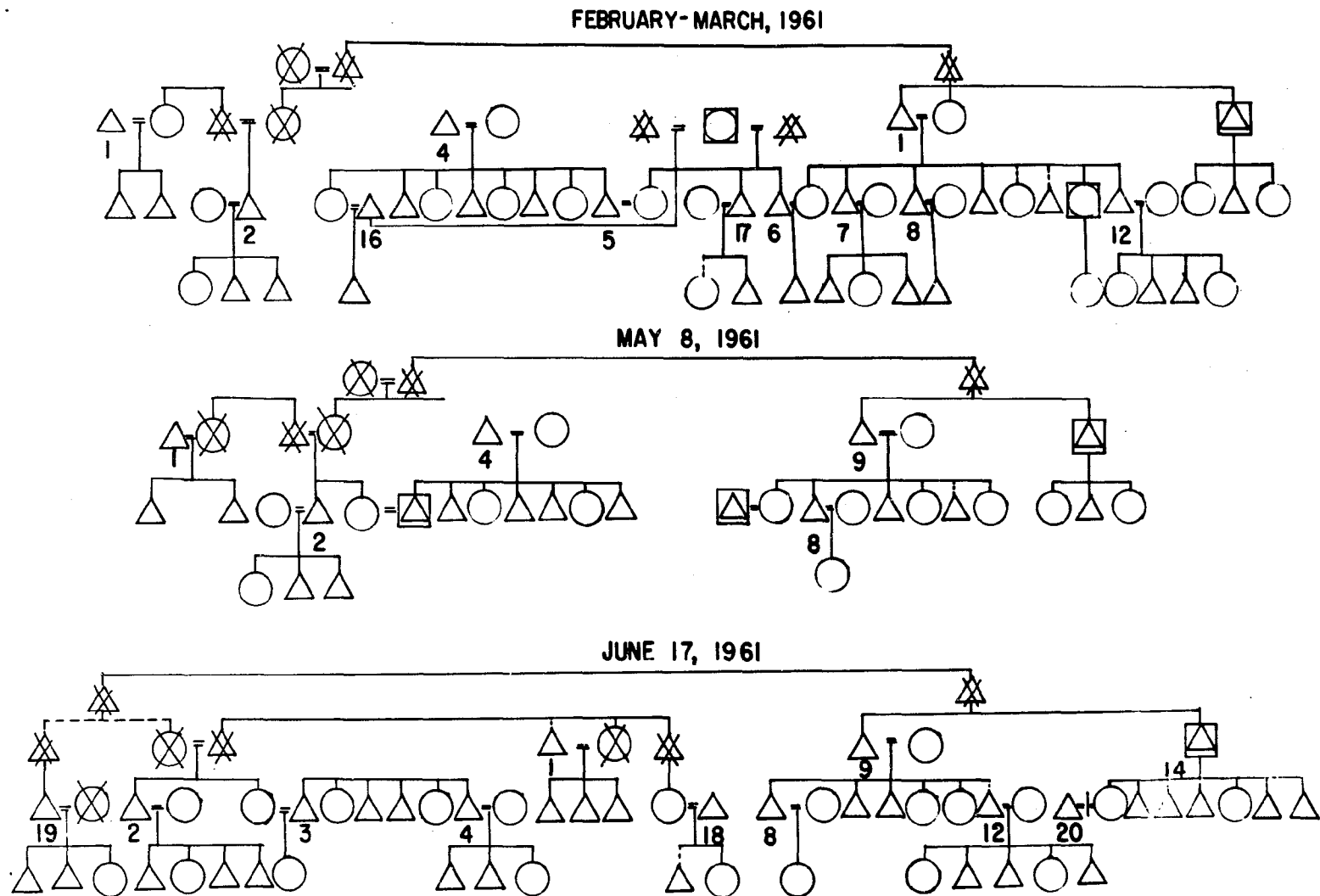


FIG. 28.— THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF KAPUIVIK OVER THE SEASONAL CYCLE II

left again without his family to fetch meat with 2 from the summer caribou cache at Baird Peninsula. Person 5 had taken his wife for an extended stay at the hospital since she was suffering from pleurisy. Person 6 and the son of 14 had gone to Longstaff Bluff to meet the long absent 14, with the added motive of getting deer. Person 7 accompanied 5 and 15 on the cache journey taking his wife on the trip. Wives and children were becoming more and more involved in the moves at this time because the weather was warm and the sunlight lasted twenty-four hours each day at this period. Other extended sealing trips to the ice edge or to the open water at the end of Sioraxjuk Peninsula were also carried out. Many travelers passed through Kapuivik at this season, most of them on the way to the caribou lands around Steensby Inlet. The period from late April to the first part of May is, because of the ideal traveling conditions, the time when local groups are most fragmented, when there are many people on the trail and fewer in their home villages. At times during the month of May there were as few as three men in the village at Kapuivik for several days time.

By June 17 most of the travelers had returned. The hunters were engaged in utoq sealing on the ice in several directions from Kapuivik. This is the period of most extensive sealing and sometimes the men were gone from the village for as long as three days while pursuing the adult seal with white screens or killing its young, whose fur is valuable at this season, at the aglos. By this time the group's number had been augmented by the addition of three men, two with families. Person 18 and family joined the group coming from Pond Inlet to help with the children of the widower 1, and later to join the wintering party of 1 and 2 and

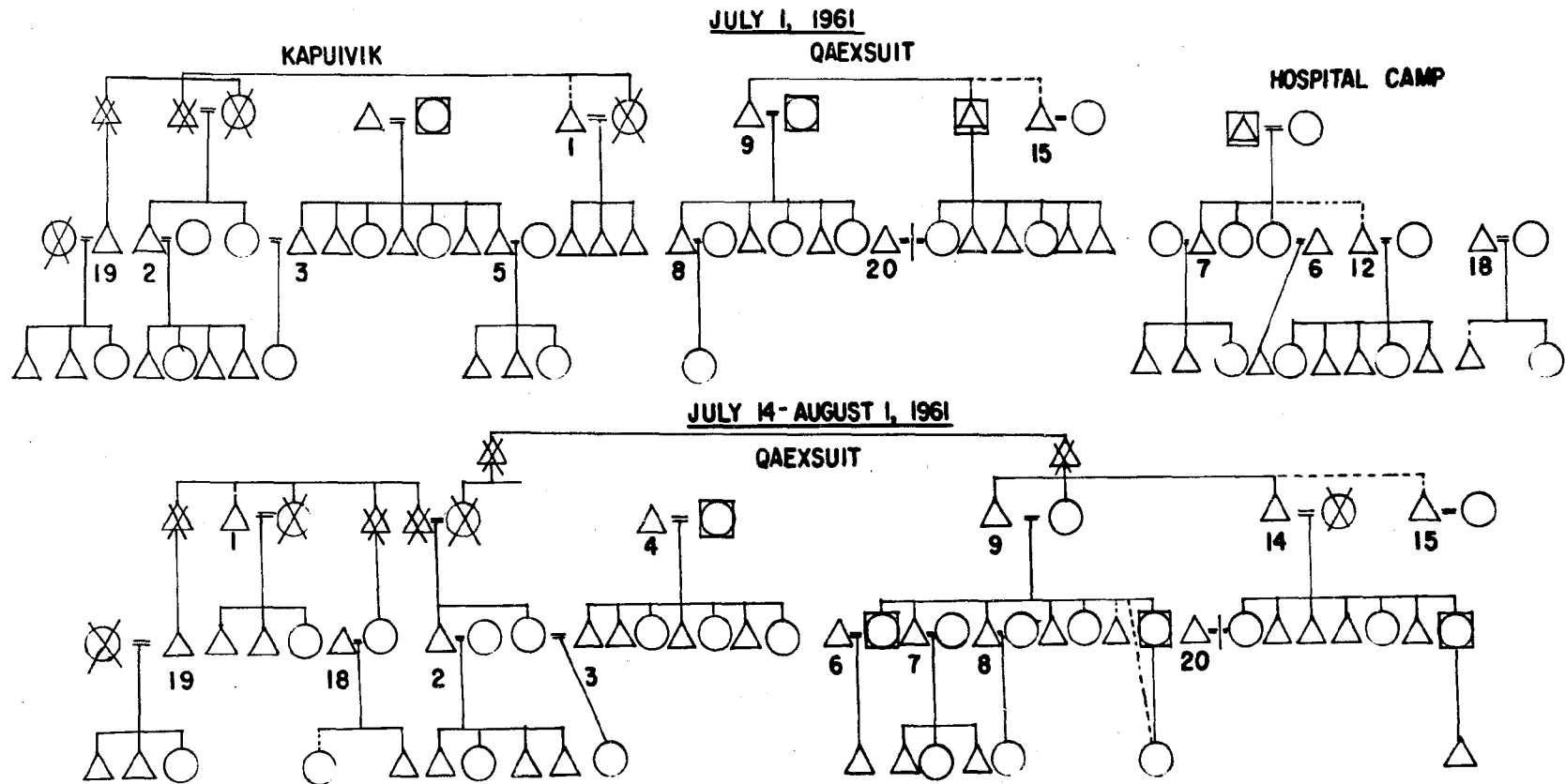


FIG. 29.—THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF KAPUIVIK OVER THE SEASONAL CYCLE III.

families at Sioraxjuk. Person 20, from the same region, came seeking the wife and began an extended courtship period in the house of 3. Person 19, widower since winter, had left the village where he had experienced a psychotic episode after this death which included his shooting some of his own dogs. After that time he had lived for a time at the hospital camp and then visited his brother at Igluxjuaq (where he apparently was not wanted) before settling more permanently with his idlosaq 2 at Kapuivik. This represented his only relative other than the brother (who had been separated from him in infancy) in the Iglulik area. Much of this man's movements in the spring of 1961 must be considered within the context of the psychology of the widower as discussed in chapter iv, though in this case individual psychotic tendencies complicated the picture. Person 12 had returned to the group briefly after having spent the early spring with his affines at Manuxtoq. Later he had been to Foxe hospital camp where he had helped in building houses. His return at this time was effected in order to secure some possessions before returning more permanently to the hospital camp. Person 14 had finally returned from Baffin Island after an absence of over three months but by this time had left again, this time to Fox Main to fetch a son from the hospital and to gather wood from the dump.

By July 1 the village was split into three camps as shown. Those at Kapuivik were hunting seals at the rapidly receding ice edge while the segment at Qaexsuit had moved their boats by sledge to that place in anticipation of the break-up. A number of the large bearded seal were killed near there by this group. Meanwhile Kapuivik had contributed a large part of its number to the now

sizable camp at the hospital. Person 12's family was there because of employment, as mentioned above, but the others had relocated because of health reasons. **Scabies**, and pulmonary diseases were the commonest complaints of these people. Person 15 and his wife had returned from there in late May before the main influx to the hospital had begun.

In the first week of July those who had remained at Kapuivik now moved to Qaexsuit. At that time, also, 5 and family, and his sixteen-year-old brother removed to the north shore of Murray Maxwell Bay. His plans were to fish and hunt caribou and seal in that area until the trapping season began. He would then rennovate a deserted gangmat in that region to be used as a trapping outpost. It seemed likely that a large part of his winter supply of dog and human food would derive from his father's share of the walrus caches that would grow at Qaexsuit during the summer of 1961. By July 11, the ice had broken away from the island enough so that the boats could be launched without too much difficulty. Two of them made a trip to the hospital to fetch the people at the hospital camp. After their return July 14 the group was again near full strength for the first time since late winter. Missing were only 12 and his family, who gave indication of spending the winter at the hospital camp, and the wife of 6, who was detained for a time at the hospital while awaiting the birth of a child, and also 5, who was now at Murray Maxwell Bay.

At the time of my departure from Qaexsuit on August 1, 1961, plans for the coming year included the annual caribou hunt and probably a visit by a large number of men to Ikpiakjuk for labor and trade. After the autumn walrus phase Persons 1, 2, 18,

and possibly 19 would probably remove to Sioraxjuk to establish a winter trapping and sealing camp. The winter population of Kapuivik would then be reduced from about 60 of the previous year to about 40. Otherwise the local population would probably be comprised of the same persons.

This examination of the year at Kapuivik shows a number of group changes and fluctuations in population. We have seen how individuals and nuclear family units break away from extended families for a variety of reasons and eventually return. The long period of continued residence during the late autumn and winter is, indeed, the period when the greater number of people are aggregated at Kapuivik. The spring season of travel ushers in a number of relocations and is the period when the village shows a decided dearth of members. Indeed, at one point Kapuivik had only 29 members, less than half of the peak winter figure. Later in spring the group began to approach its full winter strength again during the utoq sealing phase. For a brief month from mid-July to mid-August the village had regained practically its total winter population with the addition of several immigrant members. Finally a split, largely between the younger and older men, obtained as of old, during the late summer caribou hunt.

The situation at Kapuivik was in some ways typical of the seasonal changes that took place in group composition at other villages and, on the other hand, there were local variations from these patterns.

The village charts that were examined in the preceding chapter represented, in most cases, the associations that showed greatest duration during the course of the year spent in the field.



The two advance camps at Kakalik (which was not diagrammed because of its dissolution before my winter journeys began) and Qiqiqtaruk, which lasted as the unit so presented on the charts for only three months, are exceptions. In addition, Nowyagoluk collapsed as a village due to food shortage in early February, the remnants splitting and finding alliances in three villages. Smaller scale individual locations also took place as in the cases outlined at Kapuivik. Except for these instances the sites of occupation indicated as winter villages and the group composition at each remained virtually intact from some time in September until late April. Excursions for fox and for caribou took place at almost any time during that period but these did not involve movement of families. The visits to fox lines were individual affairs which lasted one to three days and the caribou hunts for slightly longer periods and usually involved two hunters. There was little visiting between the villages during the cold months, though frequent trips to the trading post at Ikpiakjuk were made by the men. The period of the freezing of the sea in October through December was one of isolation for the groups in more remote places as ice conditions prevented communication with Ikpiakjuk by sledge.

The period of accelerated travel in April, May, and early June characterized the entire region. Several parties traveled between Iglulik and Arctic Bay and between Iglulik and Pond Inlet at that time. Caribou hunting took parties across the peninsula to Garry Bay, southward along the coast toward Cape Wilson, and especially all around Steensby Inlet on Baffin Island. The spring was also the season for visiting. The most frequent pattern of visiting revolved around the return of daughters to their

consanguines, accompanied, of course, by the husband-son-in-law. Sea hunting receded into the background at this period though some seals were shot at the ice edge and others secured by the utoq method.

Villages showed their most depleted populations of the year as well as the most conglomerate composition during these spring months. Since the weather was now warmer (usually above zero) and there was no darkness, traveling conditions were ideal and women and children usually were included in the traveling parties. The removal of whole nuclear families from the village resulted in the weakening of the extended family as a residential unit and obliterated some of the ties between these units for a time. At this time many of the villages were made up of older couples, and a few women and children who had not been taken along on hunts or visits, and at times, visitors from other sites. The hospital camp swelled not only through the influx from Kapuivik but from most other villages as well. The warm weather allowed many sick to travel who had formerly been confined to their villages.

Sometime in June most of the people of each village (except those confined still at the hospital) returned to the winter camps and local groups were at or near their peak populations with the sorts of composition that had characterized the winter groupings largely reaffirmed. One notable exception was that a group of men from the Agu region remained at Garry Bay from early spring throughout most of the summer. At that time (June), in all places, a period of extensive sealing ensued. The young seals were hunted for their fur and the larger by the utoq method for meat and fat. This phase lasted until breakup (about July 21) but before that

time, the sealing had begun to be carried out at the summer tent camps which in some cases were established at sites more accessible to the good walrus hunting areas. Normally in late June the Kapuivik group moves to Qaexsuit with boats in preparation for the summer walrus season. A number of the Ikpiakjuk people and the entire village at Qiqiqtaxjuk normally relocate to Pingexqalik. The villages of Nogsaynaxjuk and Qimmixtogvik combine with other Ikpiakjugmiut at Napaqat. In the south the Ingnextoq natives move to Qangmat and the Ussuakjugmiut establish a tent camp at Tikeraq, keeping largely the same personnel that was present in the winter villages. At other places the smaller villages generally stayed close to their winter sites. The Nowyagolugmiut returned to their home to catch chard, the Manitogmiut hunted seals and narwhal from their small boat, and the Igluxjuagmiut and Manextogmiut hunted walrus and seal at the mouth of Steensby Inlet.

The early summer period was then the time of aggregations equal to the largest groupings of winter. Indeed, combined groups at Pingexqalik and Napaqat represented larger groupings than characterized the winter groups from which they drew members (with the single exception of perhaps Ikpiakjuk).

The caribou hunt of late August and early September is not always represented by every village. Whether or not most of the men in a village engage in caribou hunting at that time or continue to hunt walrus from boats throughout that period depends largely on the need for winter furs at the village, or more exactly, for the extended families involved, and on how successful the early summer walrus hunts happened to have been. In most cases the

season is cut short by the arrival of the ship at Ikpiakjuk September 15-20, though the Ussuakjugmiut normally do not let this interfere with their early autumn plans. In cases where the caribou hunt occurs there is something paralleling the traditional youth and age split of personnel in the villages, the older men and others that remain behind usually moving into the winter houses about September 1. The summer tent villages usually split up at any rate about that time and the return to winter villages is pretty general though walrus hunting continues from boats that now go some distance further to secure the animal unless there is a great deal of drift ice close at hand upon which the walrus bask.

After the return from unloading the ship at Ikpiakjuk the autumn walrus hunt is resumed until freeze-up curtails that practice. From then on the winter groupings prevail, with allowances for year-to-year personnel changes.

In general, then, in the modern Igluligmiut society the winter groupings are a representative cross section of the associations that have most permanency during the course of a year, the periods of extensive travel in spring, and the caribou hunts (which are by no means an annual affair for each village) of late summer being the chief periods of description from the winter association patterns.

What can the discussion of the shifts in composition in the early and present day groups that are related to the yearly cycle add to the clarification of the problems that were treated in the preceding chapter? For one thing we can state that whatever generalizations we make about the winter aggregations covered more and more of the total picture as the increased sedentariness

in the region gave these aggregations greater permanence over the year's time. One of the generalizations concerned the crystallization of the practice of village exogamy. Though in the earlier periods we doubted the utility of this concept because of the fluctuation of the composition of groups over longer and shorter periods. Examination of the seasonal cycle of fluctuations in group composition in the more recent period, on the other hand, reaffirms our earlier stated thesis that a firm association of groups with particular localities for most of a year now exists in most places in the area. Thus the concept of local exogamy, or for that matter, endogamy, becomes one of utility.

One of the central problem areas of this thesis is that revolving about the role of kinship factors in group composition. How does the detailed analysis of the seasonal fluctuations in group composition add to or clarify the generalizations made regarding kinship factors in this area? Throughout most of the year we have seen that our generalizations can stand pat because the composition of the groups themselves remained set, for the most part. Relocations were mostly those of single trappers or pairs of caribou hunters, or trading trips.. All of these were of short duration and involved no relocation of nuclear or extended family units so that the basic kinship composition of the groups remained unchanged. The only major exceptions being three small villages which were abandoned in midwinter either because of food shortage or because trapping proved less successful than had been anticipated and a two nuclear family relocation to a trapping camp for about two months. The absorption of personnel from the villages that were abandoned was accomplished within the context of

kinship, as alternative ties were exploited at that time. During the early contact period the greater fluctuation throughout the year seems to have been largely accommodated within this frame as well, if we can rely on the statements of informants. The extended family was the basic unit of association throughout most of the year though in the large winter villages wider ties were exploited, just as they are in the large aggregations of today. Chief periods of fragmentation of these units in the earlier period, as today, are the spring traveling season and the late summer caribou hunt. Perhaps more frequently in the past than today the relocations that occurred during the spring season involved entire extended families. Today with permanent dwellings less mobile members can more easily be left behind. With the increased importance of the spring period for caribou hunting, however, a splitting of the extended family more often occurred in that season. This splitting temporarily weakened that unit as a residential entity, and with it the virilocal pattern of alignment. The removal of the younger men in spring and fall during the caribou hunts took away nuclear units that linked extended families as well and we can say that during these periods the aggregations that remained revealed their most composite character. At times the practice of visiting the parents-in-law which activity seems to be an annual occurrence, reaffirmed uxori-local bonds and thus temporarily upsets the generalizations that we made about virilocality for these brief periods. This is not so highly patterned, however, so that at any given time a clear trend toward uxori-locality can be seen.

The presence of the hospital coupled with perhaps higher

incidences of certain diseases in recent years has made relocation to the hospital a large scale affair each spring and few if any extended families do not have at least one member moved to that place in the spring months. This movement usually involves nuclear families and takes place in a very unselective fashion which process further disrupts the structure of the larger familial units during the spring season.

Though hunting parties often or usually disrupt the residential solidarity of extended family units, the parties themselves are frequently organized within the frame of kinship. The summer caribou hunts which in the north move by boat are divided into parties based on kinship as evidenced at Kapuivik (Figure 27). The spring hunting parties are often, as well, comprised of the nuclear families of brothers or cousins. At other times two more distantly related or unrelated men join forces at such times. Even this arrangement can be partly understood in terms of kinship. One brother may depart on the hunt to seek the fur and the highly preferred meat of the caribou while another remains at home to hunt seal to supply the fuel needs for the remainder of the extended family unit. Accordingly, even though the residential unity of the larger family group is temporarily disrupted the economic solidarity of the unit is thereby enhanced.

In the earlier section we saw that immigrants were usually absorbed in the local kinship network because of the links that were quickly established or had been earlier established through interregional exogamy. We saw examples of both in our review of the changes in composition at Kapuivik. Two or three other interregional moves involved visiting the home of spouse's parents and

took place over periods of a year or were accomplished during the course of one spring.

Another sort of relocation that is not necessarily connected with any particular season was the apparently random movement of widowers or men whose wives were at hospitals in the southern provinces. Sometimes these movements were regulated, to some extent, by kinship considerations, as in the case of the man who became attached at Kapuivik after a psychotic episode following his wife's death. His new choice of place of residence was influenced by kinship links. On the other hand, the three month's excursion to Longstaff Bluff and Piling by another widower caused a fragmentation of his extended family unit, was a solitary enterprise (except for two young sons who accompanied him), and involved no kinship associations with regard to place of destination.

We have indicated that during the summer walrus hunts the normal aggregations of winter again prevailed in most cases. At Napaqat, Pingexqalik, and at Tikeraq, however, groupings occurred at that period that were supravillage in composition. In the case of Napaqat it involved a reaffirmation of a male sibling bond, but in general the group was rather composite. At Pingeqalik the summer aggregation (in 1960 at least) involved the reunion of the large sibling group and sons that comprise the "kindred" of Ituksaxjuaq. At Tikeraq the summer grouping also included an expansion of kin ties. At the time of the summer walrus hunt, then, kinship reached even greater importance as the organizing agent in group composition, in some cases more so than in winter, for some kin groups that are separated at all other times renew ties briefly in July and August.



If we return briefly to the typology of Igluligmiut villages that we developed earlier we can see that today as well as in aboriginal times the locus of alignment types shifted from the close-knit kin group or extended family sort of aggregation to the large bilaterally organized village. These are the Type 1 and Type 2 aggregations, respectively, as developed in the preceding chapter. In the earlier period, this dual division referred mostly to a temporal situation with Type 2 prevailing in winter and Type 1 at most other times of the year though occasional isolated bands of Type 1 did occur in winter and the aggregations at other seasons seemed to have been really quite variable at times. In the modern era, however, the classification referred to spatial distributions to a greater extent and these two types of aggregations kept their essential character nine or ten months of the year.

The assignment of greater importance to temporal distribution of village types in the earlier period as opposed to spatial in the modern is related, first, to the increased permanency of settlement and, second, to the increased year-round independence of smaller close-knit units. Both of these factors seem intimately related to improved technology, especially to the use of the rifle and the whaleboat. Our two-fold classification of village type falls short of total coverage of Igluligmiut village composition mainly in its ignoring the period of greater compositeness that occurred in spring and early autumn or later summer at all time levels.

In chapter iv we touched on rules of residence and their effects on the kinship composition of villages. Since Fortes'

analysis of Ashanti residence situations<sup>1</sup> there have been several studies that have sought to emphasize the superficiality of a purely diachronic view of residential affiliations. It seems fitting therefore that our analysis that operated with only the spatial dimension should be supplemented by an approach that takes into account the temporal aspects of residence.

Table 6 indicates the patterns of residential alignment that occur throughout the life cycle of the individual male and female Igluligmiutat. This table is based on the population structure as it appeared in the 1961 census and is organized according to the genealogical data that was collected by the writer. It will be noted that, in both cases, before the age of fifteen, residence is fairly evenly distributed among the extended family of the paternal grandfather, the father's nuclear, and the father's extended families. These figures represent the various stages in the life of the parents at which the individual can be born. He (or she) may be one of the first children of an older offspring and be brought up in close proximity with the grandparents or he may be born later in his father's life, at the stage when he is living independently before the establishment of his own extended family, or he may be one of the children born after the father already has grown and married sons and daughters. Since Eskimo women bear children rather late and since often widowers marry younger women in most cases this latter sort of situation is not at all uncommon. From the ages of 15 to 20 almost all of the girls and many of the boys marry. Because of the three cases of bride service in our population there is a distribution largely between residence with father and with father-in-law in the case of males.

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<sup>1</sup>Fortes, "Time and Social Structure," in Fortes.

TABLE 6  
 IGLULIQMIUT RESIDENCE PATTERNS, WINTER, 1960-61

Age	Paternal Grndftr's Ext. Fam.	Maternal Grndftr's Ext. Fam.	Father's Nuclear Family	Father's Extended Family	F-i-l's Extended Family	Brothers Co- Resident	Own Nuclear Family	Own Extended Family	Other
MALES									
0-10	23	4	29	17	0	4	0	0	6
10-15	8	0	11	8	0	4	0	0	9
15-20	2	1	1	8	3	2	0	0	1
20-30	0	0	0	25	3	2	5	0	6
30-40	0	0	0	5	3	2	15	2	2
40-50	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	7	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0
Over 60	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
FEMALES									
0-10	36	2	29	17	0	3	0	0	3
10-15	2	1	12	12	1	2	0	0	2
15-20	1	0	2	8	6	0	1	0	1
20-30	0	0	0	4	19	1	5	2	5
30-40	0	0	0	3	5	2	10	4	0
40-50	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	9	0
50-60	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0
Over 60	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1

After twenty the complementation of the residential patterns of the two sexes is more clearly seen for the man is clearly aligned in the family of the father and the woman in the house of the father-in-law. It is during this period that the ideally prescribed virilocal situation is most clearly realized. From age thirty to age forty a period of transition prevails with a number of residential alignments being shown. This is the stage when the ascending generation has usually died off and the individual chooses whether to live alone (if there is indeed a choice), or with siblings, or to establish some other sort of alliance. This is a period in which a variety of ties, including uxori-local ones, are exploited. After the age of forty the shift to heading one's own extended family in the overwhelming majority of cases, indicates the ascendancy of the generation of Ego's offspring and the re-establishment of strong intrafamily ties which seem to weaken in the thirty to forty stage, either because of the splitting of sibling bonds, or because of the genealogical isolation of many individuals on the level of Ego's generation.

In order to indicate that this appraisal of the cycle of domestic associations based on contemporary age-residence distribution is not merely an artifact of statistical manipulation but has reality in individual cases, we will follow the career of household associations of a leading informant. The informant gave data concerning movements and associations from early childhood (beginning in about 1910) to the present time.<sup>1</sup> We do not claim detailed accuracy for the information we are about to present. It is not to be assumed that the informant can cite the place of his location during a particular year. Neither do we accept without reservation the detailed sequence of associations, especially those

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<sup>1</sup>The relocation data of this life history was originally prepared by the native for Professor Malaurie of the Sorbonne.

without the range of the extended family, nevertheless over periods of five and ten year spans we are able to construct from the material that is available to indicate general trends that will be the subject of our discussion.

Following the career of 5, who was born in 1907, we begin in 1919 and see him in the first diagram associated with the sibling groups of his father and paternal uncle. Since 3 and 4 are childless, 7, the younger sister of 5 has been adopted by the latter couple. The next diagram which represents the situation in 1924 shows two changes in the composition of this unit that are due to life cycle events. These are person 5's taking a wife into the group while person 7 has married out of the group. Thereafter 5 and his sister were always residentially separated from one another. In 1923 person 9 was adopted by 3 and 4 at the age of one.

By 1932 person 5 had lost his first wife and remarried. A child had been born to this couple but he and another infant died shortly. About that time person 6 marries, though he is only fourteen or fifteen years of age. By this time the group is beginning to show a development on the lower generational level that has begun to strain the limits of the extended family as a close residential unit. Indeed, the next year (about 1933) Persons 1 and 3, the heads of the segments within the group, separate, following a common pattern of splitting of siblings after about the age of forty.

The younger brother, 3, had died by 1939 and his adopted son 9, who was now about seventeen, was taken into the household of 1. The families of 5 and 6 have expanded rapidly despite the deaths of several infants.

The 1944 group shows several significant changes. First,

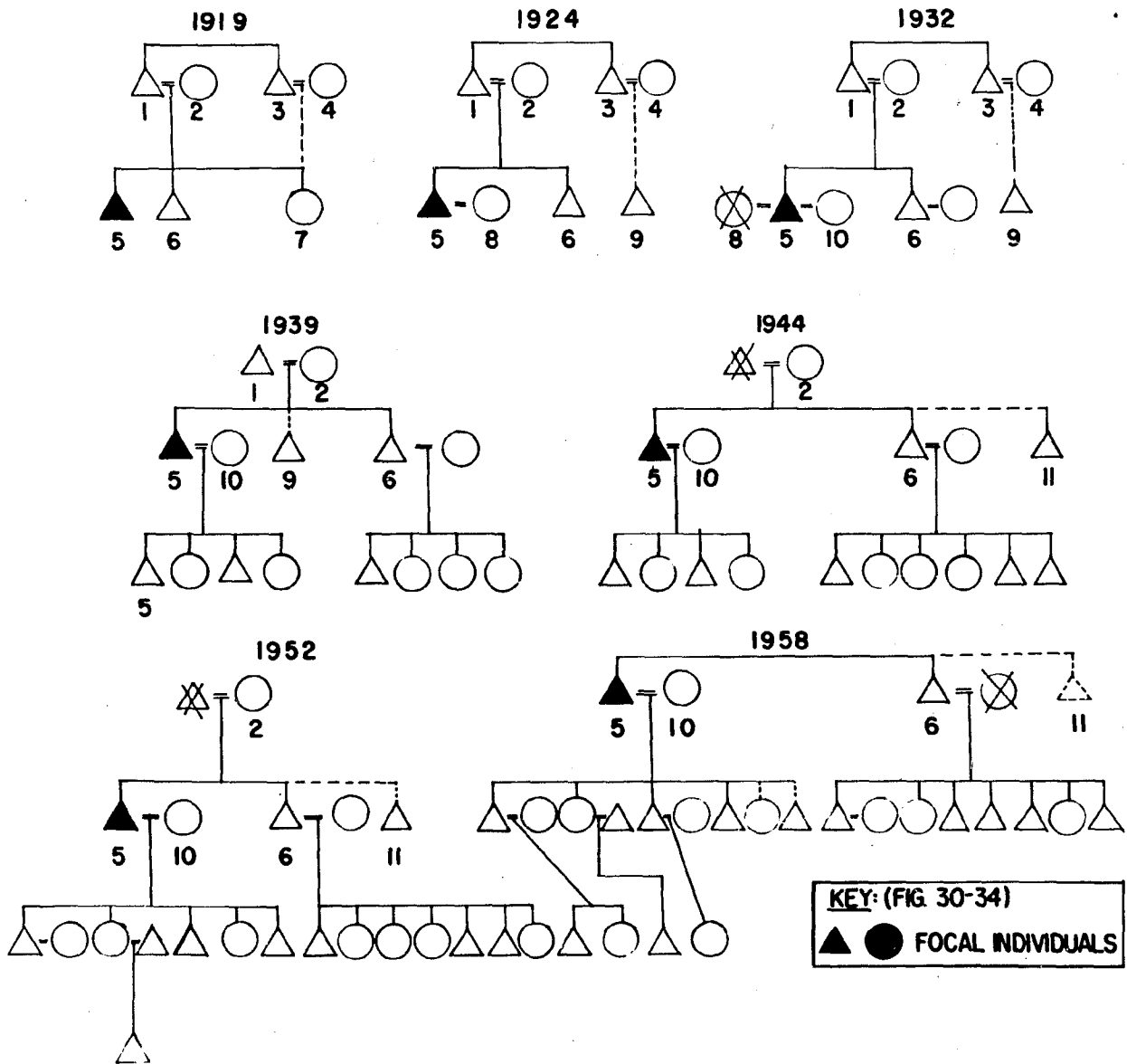


FIG. 30.— AN IGLULIGMIUTAT'S ASSOCIATIONS 1919-58

person 9 has married out and is living with his wife's consanguineals in a period extended for three years beyond the normal bride service term. Meanwhile, group leadership has recently shifted from 1 on his death to 5 in the normal line of succession. About the same time a temporary winter residential split occurred between 5 and 6. Person 6 has allied with an unrelated man from the Manextoq group. This split was effective only during the winter period and may either have been related to a trapping motive or to the superior sealing at the site where 6 now was located. Of course, personal factors may also have been involved here. The site chosen, Neqlivixtok, was close enough to the stores of walrus at Qaexsuit so that trips were made to secure the meat which had been killed the summer before just as was the case at Kapuivik.

In the 1952 group we see an expansion of the descending generation through affinal ties and the beginning of another generation. Thus 5 has reached another important stage in that he has become head of his own bilocal extended family. The other unit in the kin group is made up of his brother and family and mother with an adopted son (really a nephew of 5 and 6). After the death of the mother in the early 1950's we see the full development of two fairly discrete extended families headed by 5 and 6.

This account of one individual's group associations from 1919 until 1958 is important in two ways. First, it graphically illustrates the domestic associations that our table indicates for the current population in the conversion of an age pyramid into a hypothetical sequential series of alignments. We can see where the informant was, as a boy, first a member of his father's nuclear family (though in this case knowledge of the group structure shows

that the brothers really formed an extended family unit with 3 as leader). Afterwards, he married and formed his own nuclear family within the context of his father's extended family. Later the younger brother married and further expanded this unit. Almost simultaneous with that expansion was the split of the father and his younger brother. These men were in their forties at that time and thus reflect a pattern portrayed on our tables. Separation for a period from the younger brother with temporary ascension of the informant's independent nuclear family and the later re-emergence of the sibling bond as a residential unit conforms to two of the major associations types shown on our chart for the 30-40 age bracket: "Own nuclear family," and "Brothers co-resident." In his forties our informant became the head of his own extended family with a vertical orientation as opposed to the horizontal tie represented in the "Brothers co-resident situation." This later tie remained in effect, however, until the second brother's son also married and a new extended family unit also emerged. At the end of the period covered, these siblings were in a complementary situation to that of their father and uncle at the same period in the elders' lives. This distribution of split or solid sibling groups at that age level has been handled elsewhere in the paper.

This review also shows the effects of the life cycle events of birth, adoption, marriage, and death on the shape of the extended family units that our informant was associated with during the period covered. Following his associations we can see the shift of locus from horizontal to vertical and back during the lifetime of the close-knit units to which he belonged. In the beginning, the heads were brothers and the emphasis was horizontal,



then, briefly it was divided between these dimensions when some of the older brothers married. The vertical emphasis was evident when the brothers split. After the death of the father the locus again shifted to the sibling level for a time. After the brothers developed extended families of their own a new vertical ingredient was added to the structure of the group. Since these brothers remained in the same village together, however, the shift back to the vertical was not complete.

The next series of charts shows the wider associations within villages made by the kin group under consideration at several stages during the past forty years. We have affixed Roman numerals to other family units that were associated in each of the representative years. There are, no doubt, other associations that occurred over the years but perhaps these examples will serve to show the general pattern of intravillage connections that occur over time in this case.

We can see that there were no connections, genealogically speaking, between the group central to our concern and co-resident nuclear and extended families from the 1924 picture until 1958-59. Several factors seem to be involved. First, the genealogical isolation of the top generation of the group was almost complete with affinal ties with the large group at Iglulik the only possible ones that could be exploited in the area. Evidently, independence of the brothers from the large aggregation at Iglulik Point was rather complete since, according to my informant, only three winters were spent at that place after 1910. Second, all the marriages on the first descending generation were of the village exogamous variety. In other words, virilocality prevailed over uxorilocality. After

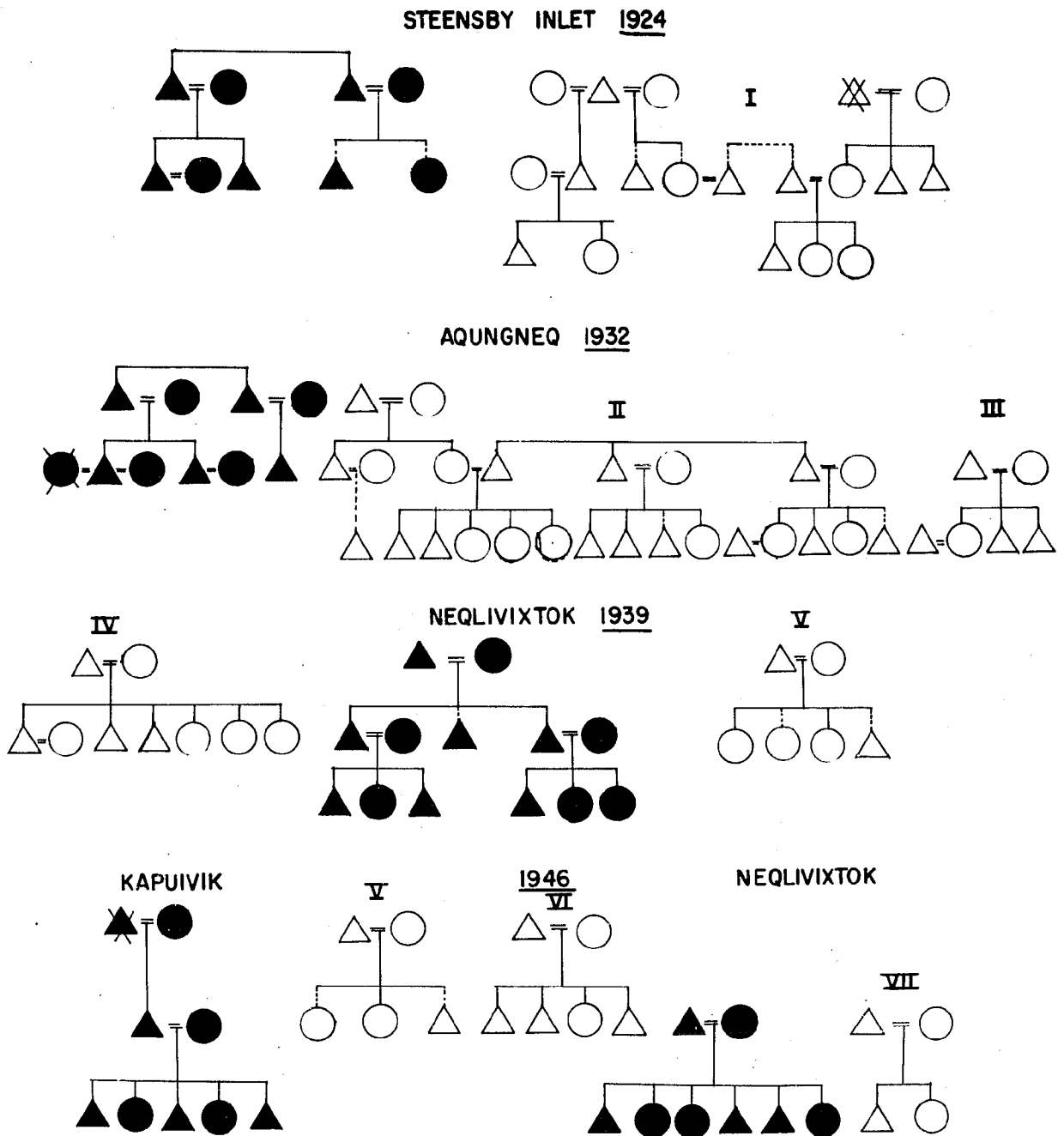


FIG. 31.—EXTERNAL ASSOCIATIONS OVER TIME. GROUP I  
1924-46.

the move to the Jens Munk region which is associated with the acquisition of a whaleboat, the family group evidently sought complete independence from affinal ties, which, as we have seen, were the only sort available. A third reason for the isolation of the group with which we are concerned was the fact that until the early 1950's there were no offspring mature enough to marry and to present the possibility of ties with co-resident groups. A great succession of family groups is found to have resided at one time or another with this group until the picture became somewhat more standardized, after 1958. In two cases alliances were made with rather large connected units (I and II) but in the others smaller more isolated groups were involved. Most of these showed not only local but regional isolation as well. For instance, groups IV and V were migrants, one from Arctic Bay and the other from Chesterfield Inlet. Group VI represents a split sibling situation. The leader of this group was one of the more footloose Igluligmiut and was involved in a number of residential alignments after breaking with his brother in early manhood. The appearance of Group VII on the scene is related to a temporary alliance with the younger brother of our group for trapping purposes. These groups were briefly joined by marriage in 1959 until the death of one of the members. At that time these segments were separated and the marriages were exogamous (with regard to village residence) at that time.

On Table 7 the movements of another individual who now also lives at Kapuivik are shown. Without a doubt the exact sequence of moves over this period of time is not completely accurate but a general impression of the character of association with other

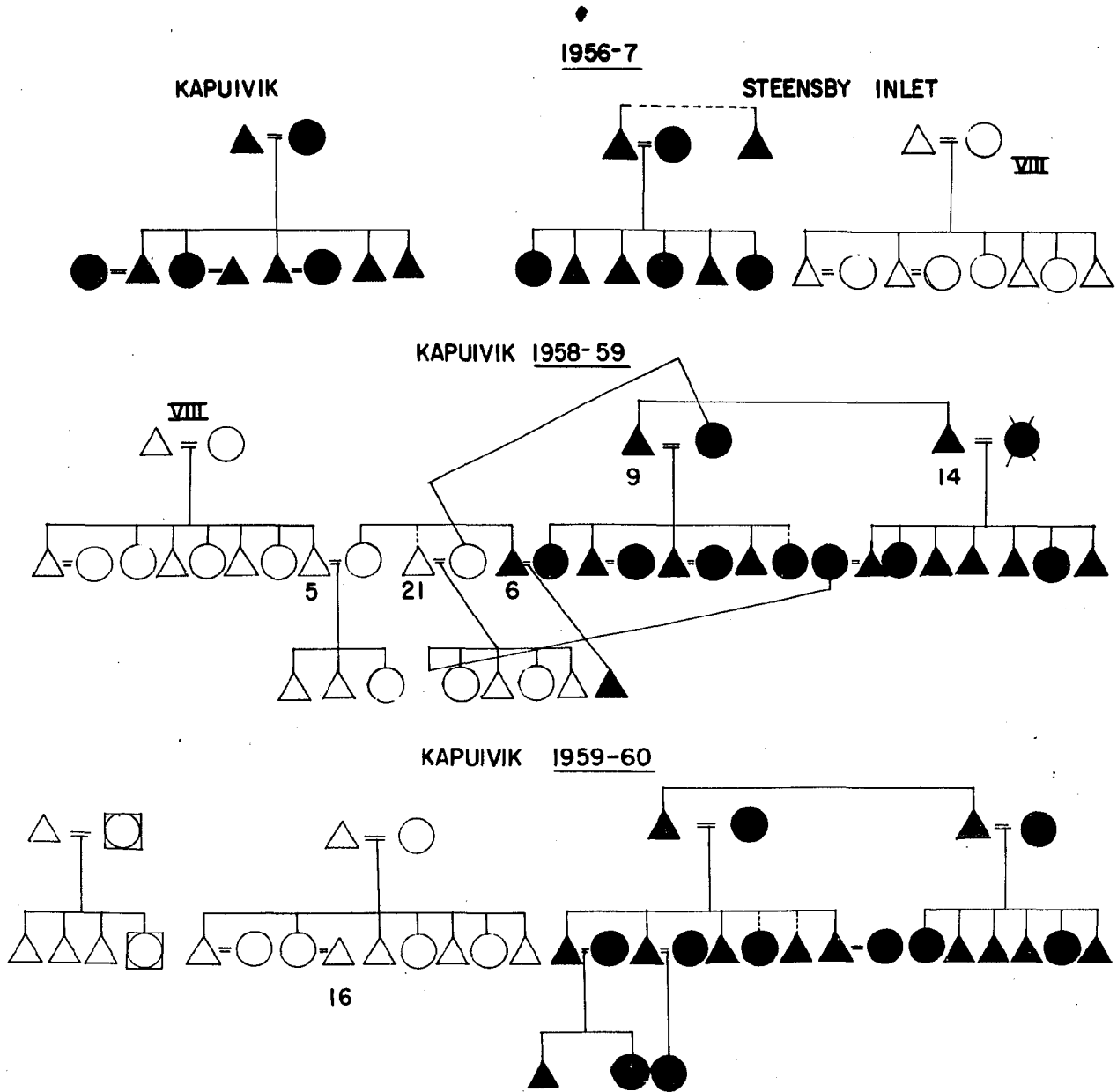


FIG. 32.— EXTERNAL ASSOCIATIONS OVER TIME, GROUP I 1956-60

TABLE 7

## MOVEMENTS OF AN IGLULIGMIUTAT 1935-61

1935	Spring, left Repulse Bay area.
1935-36	Wintered at Cape Wilson
1936-37	Wintered near Qangmat Point.
1937-38	Wintered at Aqungneq.
1938	Spring, trip to Arctic Bay, returned through Iglulik to south.
1938-39	Wintered at Hooper Inlet.
1939-40	Wintered at Cape Wilson.
1940	Spring, traveled to Iglulik.
1940-41	Wintered at Bernier Bay.
1941-42	Wintered at Aqungneq.
1942-44	Wintered near Cape Koniq, Jens Munk Island.
1944-47	Wintered on Jens Munk Island, 8 miles NW of Kapuivik.
1947-48	Wintered near Piling. Spring 1948 moved to Qiqiqtaxjuk.
1948-49	Wintered at Kapuivik, Jens Munk Island.
1949-51	Wintered on Jens Munk Island, 8 miles NW of Kapuivik.
1951-54	Wintered north shore of Murray Maxwell Bay.
1954-55	Wintered at Kapuivik.
1955-56	Wintered at Sioraxjuk.
1956-57	Wintered east shore of Steensby Inlet.
1957-61	Wintered at Kapuivik.

groups, or, more accurately, of the struggles for independence that this individual showed is outlined. Immigration to the Iglulik area from Repulse Bay was in the company of his father-in-law. That man's whaleboat provided the basis for group economic life and when the boat became obsolete, after the death of the owner, the group in question became dependent upon the other family groups in the Jens Munk region, specifically the large descent group that we have been following. For a time Group VIII (this man's family) helped in the summer hunt, sharing part of the catch, but lived apart during the winter months. It is difficult to determine whether this dependence was on a regular year to year basis that was arranged by agreement or that the late winter

period of meat shortages drew this group back to dependency. At any rate by 1957 the group was residentially allied with the others at Kapuivik for the year round. This group has almost complete consanguineal isolation in the Iglulik region. An indirect affinal connection with the core group at Kapuivik came about when the older son 5 joined the group with his wife who is a sister of person 6. It should be noted that this did not constitute a village-endogamous marriage because the siblings who form the link both married into the village. Instead of an effective link being formed between the principal kin groups through endogamy (we have discussed the possible marriage alliances that could have taken place between these groups in the preceding chapter) it was accomplished by a more indirect means mainly because of a uxori-local exception to the dominant virilocal residence.

The 1958-59 group shows a rather complex system of interlocking with the addition of 21 to the group. He possessed terminologically defined relationships with individuals 9 and 11 as well as more direct relations with 6 and 5. The occurrence of an endogamous marriage within the village helped for a time to hold it together in a more complete fashion than is usually seen in Igluligmiut groupings. The next year this unity was broken by several relocations. First, at the death of the late husband of the mother of 6 and 5's wife the two men joined the mother at Nowyagoluk. The presence of son and son-in-law at that village was especially important that year because another son, 16, resided with 4 at that time serving bride service.

In the summer of 1959 person 21 left the village for some undetermined reason. Some say that a lowered position with regard

to food distribution was given this man. Perhaps more important was the fact that he owned the motor of a boat that was being used at Ingnextoq. His daughter had participated in the only intravillage marriage that we have or will encounter among the Kapuivigmiut and when 21 left, the son-in-law accompanied him, ostensibly to serve some sort of delayed bride service.

The winter of 1959-60 then represents a return to the disconnectedness of previous years. Significant to the kin group of 4 was the addition of 1 at this time, for he brought a boat into the village and, for a time enabled 4 to be relatively independent of 4 and 14 who until now had controlled the major economic phase of the year the walrus hunt of summer and fall.

In 1960 the return of 5 and 6 and the arrival of 2 resulted in the situation shown in the final diagram. The extended families and nuclear families of the village now show a continuous chain of connections across the board. It should be noted that this has been effected without the operation of village endogamy. Person 2's position in the network provides a link that connects the nuclear family of 1 and the extended family of 4. His sister had previously been a member of the latter group and his movement into the village brought about a situation that looks on the chart to be village-endogamous in nature. The other link between the segments of 4 and 9 was likewise brought about without intravillage marriage as noted above. It seems almost as if ties were established within the village in spite of the strenuous efforts to avoid them, if we take into account the importance of endogamy in village genealogical solidarity, and the failure to capitalize upon this type of connection when opportunity was present. It might be well to note again

that though this village showed continuous connection across the board many individuals fell outside of the terminological-behavioral networks of many others, and we must reserve judgment as to the efficacy of kinship bonds of more distant type until the next chapter.

In summarizing the history of the fluctuating connections that occurred over time between a kin group that has been our central concern and others, we find that throughout most of the history of the group in question genealogical ties with these other groups were tenuous or, more often, nonexistent. Only within the past several years have there been genealogical alliances with the co-resident groups. It should be noted that as nearly as we can reconstruct the earlier group associations through cross-checking with various informants, those associations that pertained with unrelated groups were of short duration. Part of the reason for this lies in the greater nomadism of the people in pre- and early-whaleboat eras. On the other hand, if we try to generalize that there is a connection between the looseness of genealogical ties within a village and the duration of co-residence, our case is not very strong. We did not have a sufficient period of time available in this village to judge the efficacy of closer kinship bonds in determining duration of co-residency. To be sure we can indicate a rather strong solidarity of the extended family units, and, in this instance, between such units connected by sibling ties, but outside that level, the case is not strong. The addition of 2 who provided an important extension of kinship ties presents really an emergency sort of arrangement related to the ice conditions, as we have discussed earlier in this chapter. The continued residence of



4's group in the region of Kapuivik is strongly related to his not owning a whaleboat and as we will see in the next chapter to the exploitation of the indirect kinship tie with the other village segments.

The absence of village endogamy is graphically illustrated again as an important force conspiring against kin-based residential unity. Meanwhile the group itself has expanded through the process of the maturing of offspring and their marriages and the birth of children until it has reached a population level equal to some of the smaller villages. This process has been delayed somewhat by the long period of hospital residence of 14's eldest son and his consequently delayed marriage, and also by the suicide of the prospective husband of his eldest daughter. The establishment of loose affinal ties with the other large kin group VIII has been brought about by the marriage into the village of a sibling pair. Their respective entrances into the village were, however, separated by seven years. The adoptive relationship that pertains between 1 and 2 may have some value in linking these families but certainly not of the sort that might have prevailed if direct affinal ties had been involved.

Throughout its history our main group has kept out of affinal kin connections possible through marriages of sisters on the (now) parental generation. The group has, in addition, shown a high degree of unity of the male sibling group which has helped toward developing a larger aggregation of kin in one spot than is typical in the Igluligmiut villages of today. The continued co-residence of 9 and 14 may in this case be related to the way that 14's group has lagged behind in the expansion of numbers, especially in the

maturing of hunters to help support the large number of younger children. Their whaleboat was manned by nephews of 9 and peripheral members because of the shortage of manpower in the household, and therefore this extended family was still dependent on 9 during the walrus season. Added to this factor may be questions of individual compatibility and the productivity of the locality. Perhaps the maintenance of the male sibling bond in this case can be related more to the richness of resources in the Kapuivik region as compared to alternative sites than to the other factors named.

The consideration of the career of one local aggregation of close kin with respect to associations of co-residence with other such units might perhaps give us a one-sided picture of the nature of such associations over time unless matched against other data. For that reason we offer two more cases of careers of similar units over the years. The presentation of these careers should also serve to clarify our earlier consideration of the question of ties within the extended family, as well.

Figure 33 shows pictures of the descendants of Merqotuin both with respect to internal composition and external association changes at four stages in history. The 1922, 1949, and 1960-61 diagrams are based on the censuses that we have discussed earlier. The 1932 picture is less reliable in that it was based on informant recall, albeit double-checked.

On the 1922 picture the internal composition of the group shows a sibling and half-sibling bond connecting four married men each of whom share one member of the ascending generation with one or the other of the sibling group. Externally only an unattached (kinshipwise) nuclear family is involved. Earlier we have noted the

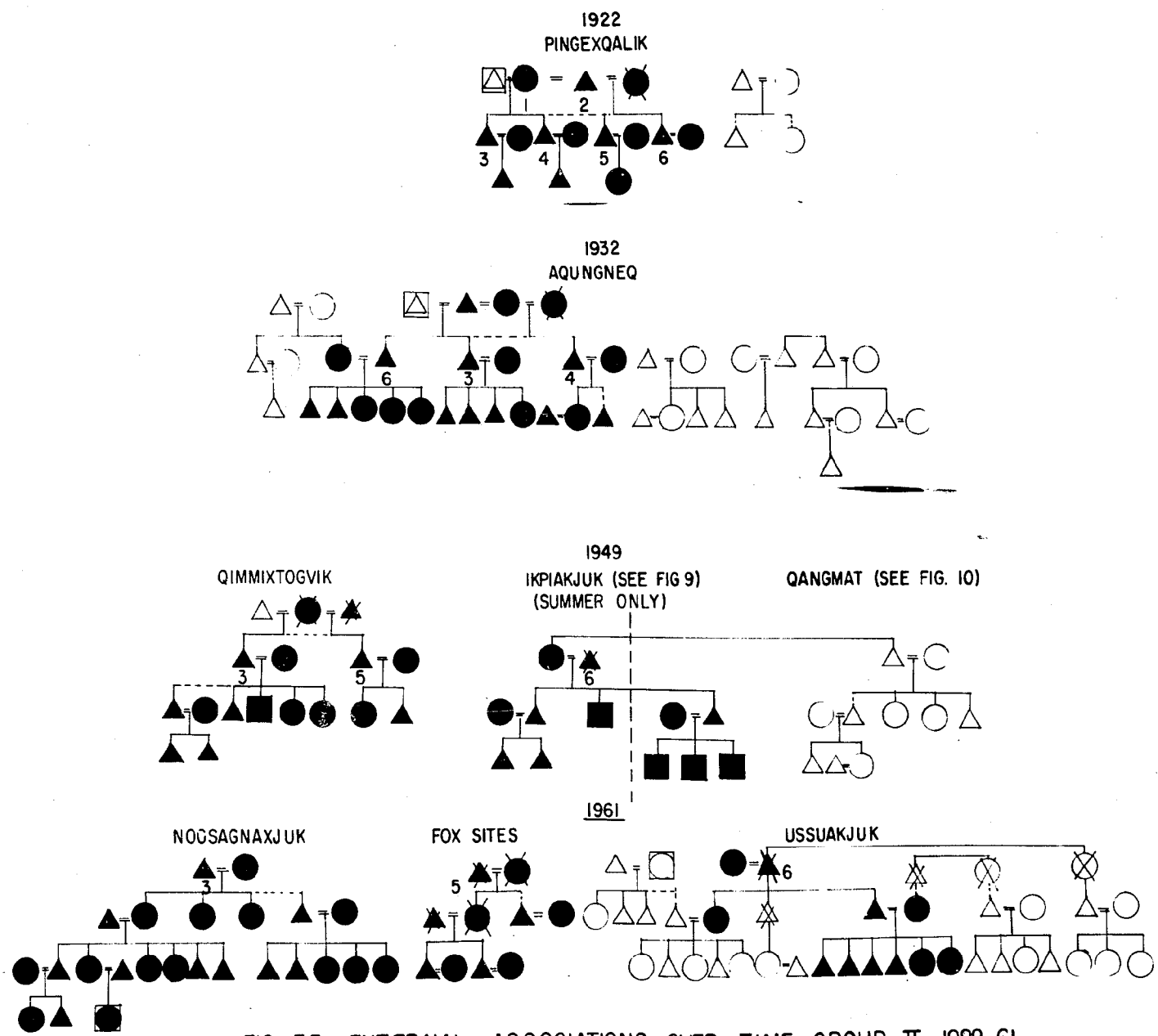


FIG. 33.- EXTERNAL ASSOCIATIONS OVER TIME, GROUP II, 1922-61

short-termed nature of this association and the frequent occurrence of larger groupings at the Pingexqalik village in some winters. Evidently, as nearly as we can judge from the recall data, there was no great consistency or duration to these alternate associations. By 1932, however, the period of more permanent villages had come and we might expect a longer-termed sort of association with other groups. Indeed, we see connection with three other extended family groups at that time. One of these is connected by a direct affinal tie forming the most solid sort of link possible between extended family units. It should be noted that this was a later accretion after the basic male sibling bond tie of the 1922 picture. It does not represent a village-endogamous situation. What it does represent is one of the few cases in which a man and married son join the group of the son-in-laws consanguines in a residential alignment. The other groups are unattached to each other. As for the internal composition, we note that one of the brothers has left the group. This individual moved to Arctic Bay about 1930 for some undetermined reason. Otherwise we note the expansion of the second descending generation.

About 1940 persons 1 and 2 died, after which time the village at Aqungneq was abandoned. Early in the 1940's, person 4 died and thereafter his wife and offspring were usually residentially separated from the remaining brothers 3 and 5. It can be noted in the 1949 picture that the true father of 3 has joined his son, a rather unusual occurrence showing a case where the woman divorced and took her sons but one of the sons was later joined by the original husband.

The 1961 diagram shows a further splitting of the offspring

of each of the brothers, only one of the latter being still alive. This picture also shows the importance of the uxori-local ties in the cases of both 5's and 4's offspring generation. We can also note the persistence of the cross sex sibling tie between the spouse of 6 and her brother that was evident in both the 1932 and the 1949 diagrams. The diagram shows the sons of 5 to comprise a residentially solid group though we have earlier indicated how they are split within the DEWline system according to the local needs for Eskimo personnel.

In comparing this sequence of diagrams with those given for the Kapuivik group previously considered (the descendants of Inuaq and Qownak) we see in the first place that the group history begins at a different stage in the cycle of intrafamilial associations. Whereas in the other case the sibling tie formed the top generation and gave a horizontal emphasis to group organization, in this instance the father-son and step-father and step-son ties gave a strong element of vertical emphasis to the structure. The history of the splitting of the sibling-step sibling bond is intimately involved with the course of later internal associations. This began before the death of the senior male and became emphasized after that death. Perhaps the contrast in the relative solidarity of the male sibling group at Kapuivik and environs with this splitting is in part associated with the largeness of the sibling bond in the latter case. The fact that it was split by the step relationships could have entered into the case as well although we do see that step siblings 3 and 5 remained together until after the death of the former.

The shift to the sibling tie and thus the horizontal level

was quickly superseded by a return to the vertical emphasis with the splitting of the original sibling group and the establishment of the new extended families. If the cycle were to repeat itself in a manner similar to that seen at Kapuivik we would expect to see another return to the horizontal dimension as the second generation (the original sibling group) became depleted by deaths. Actually the picture is one of less expansion on this horizontal level because of two factors: (1) the small number of male members on that generation makes this impossible in the cases of 3's and 6's groups. (2) The acculturative situation with respect to the DEWline employment situation prevents co-residence of 5's sons and offspring, though as we noted in the preceding chapter, recruitment of personnel was organized along the lines of kinship, especially with the preservation of the sibling tie.

On the other hand, we do see a horizontal emphasis of another variety, bilateralism, based on the practice of uxorilocal residence in two cases. These cases illustrate clearly the function of distributing manpower in extended family units that this sort of residence situation can promote. The substitution of sons-in-law or brothers-in-law for sons and brothers in cases of depleted male sibling groups helps extended family units to develop and survive in cases where nucleation would otherwise have occurred.

Turning to the external associations of this group, in general it seems that relationships with non-related groups are short lived, though here our information is not the best. We can only judge for the rather long intervals that are available in the three censuses and one reconstructive picture. On the other hand, we have noted a very long-termed association between extended family

units that was based on the residential solidarity of a cross-sex sibling tie. The first of these situations seems to parallel that seen in the group previously discussed, whereas we had examples of the efficacy of the brother-sister tie only at the end of our time sequence in the other case, and could not judge the duration of this sort of tie.

We note again the absence of village endogamy and the effects exogamy on this level has on extra-familial associations, though again we note the later merging of affinally attached groups that give the appearance of endogamy. Again such connections have importance in village residential solidarity. Though we have noted the importance of several uxorilocal situations in the make-up of the village, we must not overlook the fact that on the two lower generations discussed the tendency is much stronger for virilocality in terms of the female siblings marriage practices. This too follows the pattern seen in the group discussed earlier in the chapter.

Figure 34 shows the group of Ituksaxjuaq that we have referred to at several points earlier in the paper at several stages in its history. The 1922 diagram is a repetition of the one that was discussed in chapter iv. This shows the group that we are concerned with as comprising an important part of the Iglulik village, and showing close connection with much of it. The large sibling group ranges in age from seven to the middle twenties. The 1932 diagram is built on informant recall data and shows the identical aggregation of people as comprising the kin group that we are discussing with the addition of several young women who have married into the group in the normal virilocal pattern. External associations show a continuation of co-

residence with Group II. Group I had been at Pingexqalik in 1922 though closer kin associations had been available at Iglulik, we have discussed this case in chapter iv, concerning the likely impermanence of the former alliance. Person 2 died in 1944 and shortly afterwards his offspring and their families moved to Aqungneq. The 1950 picture shows an increased splitting of the sibling group, with four sites being represented by members of the original kin group or descendants. By 1961 the splitting is more marked with only Ikpiakjuk showing representatives of more than one of the siblings' families. By this time each of the three surviving brothers and the surviving daughter had developed extended family groups of their own. External associations are represented in part for the Ikpiakjuk group because of space limitation but, as we have indicated earlier, the offspring of the main sibling group and people affinally related in various ways to that group form the backbone of the Catholic community there. At Nogsagnaxjuk person 8 is involved in the uxori-local situation that we have discussed while at Qiqiqtaxjuk the large extended family of 4 comprises nearly the entire group. The association of the son-in-law of 12 has had association with 4 of a duration of over fifteen years. In addition Group II association continues at Iglulik and has lasted over forty years. Other connections outside the group, at Nogsagnarjuk, at Iglulik, and at Qimmixtogvik are of short-lived variety. The practice of relative marriage has strengthened the internal composition of the groups at Qiqiqtaxjuk and at Ikpiakjuk.

The chief contrast between the group just discussed and the other two that have been examined is the large size. We will



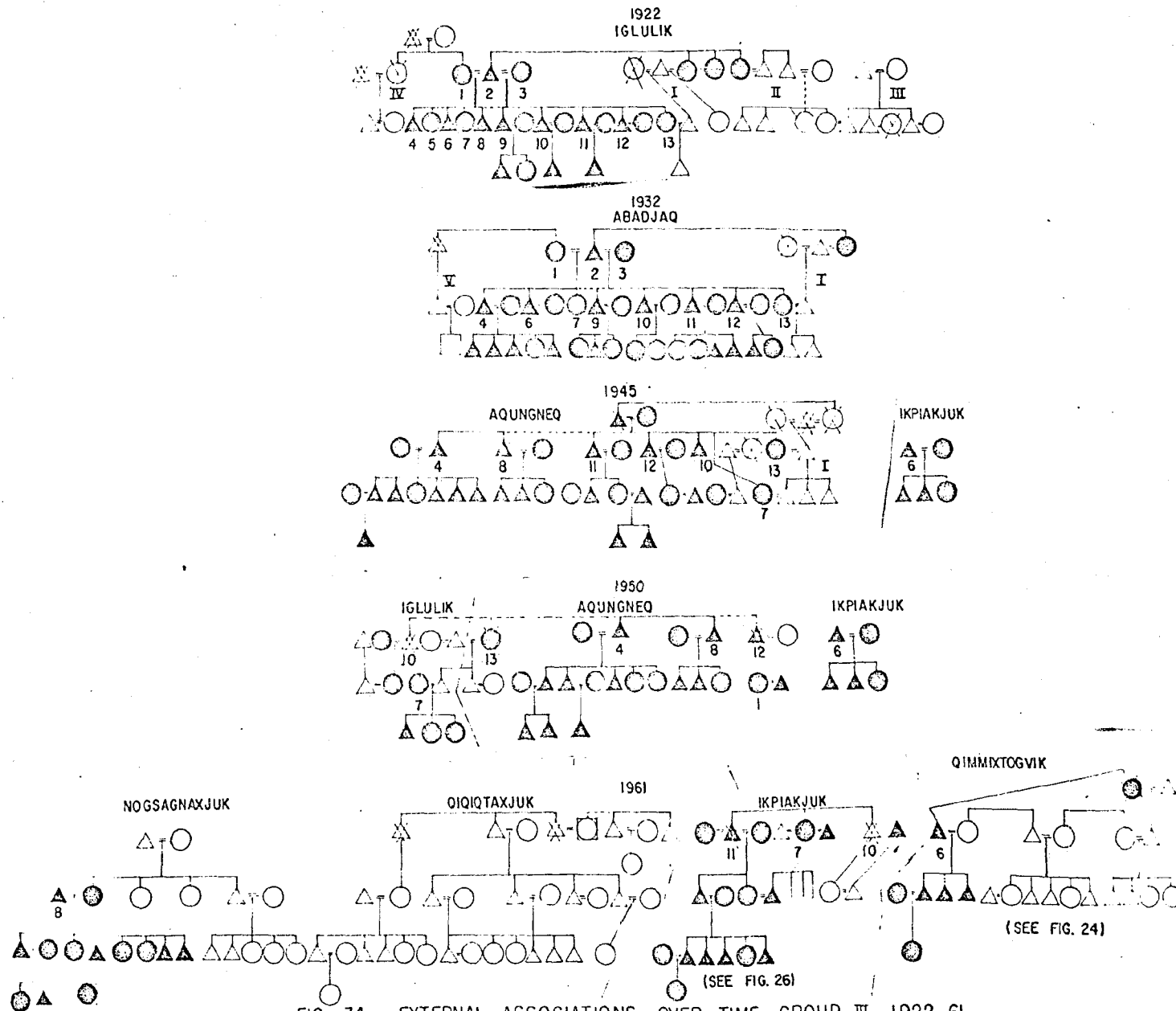


FIG. 34—EXTERNAL ASSOCIATIONS OVER TIME GROUP III 1922-61

discuss the importance of the large number of offspring in Ituksaxjuaq's rise to prominence in the area of economic decisions in the next chapter. Here the implications with regard to residential alignment with other groups is borne out. The stage at which we began our analysis was somewhere between the stages represented as the start of our analysis in the other cases examined above, in that part of the second generation has married and the third generation is beginning to form.

The vertical emphasis that ties father to son continued until the father died, by which time of course the horizontal expansion on the offspring generation was complete. The dominance of the horizontal bond gradually broke up over a period of ten or more years until by 1961 the vertical emphasis of father and son is again ascendant over the horizontal. The horizontal expansion on the third generation was then well under way with the marriages of these persons. None of these sibling bonds had, however, begun to rival the large offspring group of Ituksaxjuaq. It may be well to mention here again that although the residential separation of the descendants of this patriarch was well developed in the winter villages nearly the entire group combined for the summer walrus hunt at Pingexqalik as recently as 1960. All in all, the sibling group that was seen first in the 1922 diagram showed a greater persistence over the years than has that of the Pingexqalik group for that year. The practice of relative marriage among the descendants has strengthened the internal composition of local groups at Ikpiakjuk and Qiqiqtaxjuq. As in the other cases discussed, viril-locality prevails over uxori-locality at all stages of the history of this group.

As far as external associations are concerned we have, as in the second case, seen the persistence of a tie with an affinally linked group over a long period. This is in contrast to the first group which had no local external associations that lasted for more than three or four years. The genealogical isolation with respect to other of the affinally attached groups in the second and third cases, was probably an important factor in their continued co-residence with the main groups we are concerned with in our analysis.

The large size of the "kindred" of Ituksaxjuaq gave it a central place in the villages where it located first as a unit and later in segments. As the lower generations expanded the unit became in effect the village, with a minority of peripheral units attaching themselves through affinal ties. The original associations shown in the 1922 group were not all of long-termed variety. Indeed, only the descendants of Group II that we have discussed above were persistently related with the group under consideration until very recently. Until about 1950 residential unity was so great in this group, and the number of external associations so few in local aggregations, that this aspect of the composition of groups was decidedly secondary in the villages that were shared by the descendants of Ituksaxjuaq. More recently the Ikpiakuk group began to show a number of external associations, most of which were cemented by affinal ties among the constituent extended families of the Catholic villages. These gave promise of having substantial duration in the future. The acculturative factor of proximity to the trading post is involved in the promised persistence of these associations. At Nogsagnarjuk a uxori-local tie with one of the brothers and his father-in-law promises to endure until the death of the latter.

Since our stated aims in this chapter are "validating, elucidating, or modifying generalizations" about Igluligmiut group composition that developed in chapter iv, it may be well to consider the results of our recent excursion into time dimension in this light.

In chapter iv we classified Igluligmiut groups according to type and noted the general applicability of these types to the census data of 1922 and 1949 as well as to the more recent material. It was pointed out in the present chapter that these group pictures represent only small points in time. On the other hand, in our examination of the effects of the seasonal cycle on village composition, we found that in each case the data previously used presented a fair representation of the sorts of aggregations that had longest duration on a yearly basis. Our examination of changes in the seasonal cycle also indicated that the winter groupings represented more and more the sorts of aggregation that we would be likely to encounter at any time in the area.

In chapter iv we sought a workable definition of the extended family, noted the importance of this unit in residential situations, and indicated that a division of labor was at times to be seen within this type aggregation. In this section we showed the persistence of the extended family in group composition both over the shorter period covered by the seasonal cycle and over longer stretches of time. In addition, we indicated that periodical splitting of this group could be understood in terms of economic solidarity within the extended family when understood in terms of division of labor.

In the earlier section we also discussed the sorts of bonds

that pertained within the extended family. Our seasonal life cycle and biographical (individual and group) data showed the significance of variations in family shape at different stages in its cyclic development. The father-son bond had been hypothesized earlier as showing greater strength in unifying the local kin-based group than had the male sibling bond. Here the kin group histories that we discussed largely bore this out. The significance of the sorts of attachments that are realized in a patterned sequence within the individual's lifetime as revealed in personal biography, was substantiated by material from group histories. The alternating focus of personnel distribution on horizontal and vertical axes was seen to represent the changing alignment situations in these kin groups.

In the preceding chapter the predominance of virilocality in the composition of the extended families was noted along with the rather frequent occurrence of uxorilocality. The factors behind the latter form of residence were also examined. In this chapter the prevalence of virilocality was documented and the significance of the alternate sort of alignment (uxorilocality) was begun to be appreciated, in that kin group histories showed the substitutive function that uxorilocality fulfilled when sons-in-law helped make up descending generations in lieu of nonexistent sons. The importance of such affinal ties that would emanate from the expansion of groups through exploiting these uxorilocal residence situations was shown with positive and negative examples.

With regard to the inter-family links, in the earlier section we noted that, in general, there was a great variability in the sorts of ties that were present. We also noted the rather

tenuous nature of many such ties between families. In addition, we characterized most local groups as showing wide-ranging bilaterality rather than pronounced disconnectedness among the constituent extended (and occasional independent nuclear) families. In this chapter the temporal approach revealed that most of the non-kin based links were of short-lived nature as compared to those based on tighter sorts of bonds. Within the closer-knit kin groups there was evidenced the hiving process when the family histories were reviewed. This process had earlier been inferred from the distribution of sibling groups in each of the censuses that were analyzed in chapter iv.

In the preceding chapter we indicated some of the social advantages and disadvantages of local exogamy in the Iglulik area and gave evidence from the synchronic data that we were using at that point that this practice conspired against local residential cohesiveness. In this section we found supportive evidence in the fluctuation in kin group associations that resulted from the failure of direct connections to develop between or among extended family groups. These fluctuations might have been less prominent if locally endogamous marriage had been practiced.

One of our central concerns throughout the paper has continued to be an extended appraisal of the efficacy of kinship bonds in group composition. In this chapter we found, first, that over the year's cycle the location and relocation of individuals and families could in greatest part be understood in kinship perspective. When viewed over longer periods, kinship factors are still seen to be important but modification is needed of any simplistic hypothesis that would see only the closest available ties as being exploited.

## CHAPTER VI

### NETWORKS OF COOPERATION AND AUTHORITY IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

So far we have sought generalizations regarding principles involved in the location and relocation of individuals within the various social entities that we encountered in our analysis. We have not dealt at any length with the organization of activities that are to be associated with the groupings themselves. This chapter represents an attempt to indicate how the potential alliances that have been outlined above operate in the organization of the major economic activities that make up the important area of decisions and cooperation for the Igluligmiut. In doing so, we will be continually aware of the ideal alignment potentials that we have presented in our examination of the kinship composition of the villages but, at the same time, we shall take into account other factors which have parts in shaping the organization of economic activities.

Our picture of cooperation and leadership in economic matters for the early period must depend on a few references from Mathiassen and, beyond that, entirely on the informant recall data. This gives us a less favorable position than we had for our analysis of group composition where census data provided a solid basis for our interpretations.

Cooperation in the pre-contact and early contact periods is said to have been organized largely on the basis of locality. Thus in the winter period the men of the large village formed a cooperative unit in the maulexpok sealing and in walrus hunting from the ice edge. In the spring during the utoq sealing season the smaller aggregations which seemed to have been close-knit kin groups comprised the cooperative unit, though actual hunting was carried out by one or two men in each party.

In the late ~~summer~~-early autumn period the older men joined in pairs or small groups and pooled their efforts in the walrus and seal hunting from kayaks. The young men, in groups of two or three, usually brothers or brothers-in-law, formed the cooperative unit in the autumn caribou hunt.

With regard to distribution, older informants indicate that it was regulated on the village-wide level, as well. Thus we would expect, in most cases, the distributive network to coincide with the cooperative system. One exception to such congruence can be seen in the late summer-early autumn phase of the cycle when sharing of skins seems to have been within the extended family while the caribou hunting units were comprised of segments of this entity. In addition, all the extended families represented in the sea hunting half of the personnel split shared in the walrus and seal caught at that season.

We encounter some difficulty appraising distribution when we consider the autumn groups. Though the stores gathered during the summer were shared, as we have indicated, it is possible that in some years these stores lasted into the period when the large maulexpok villages appeared. Inquiries into the sharing practices



at this time are met with uncertain answers indicating possible variability at that season in the distribution practices.

The problem of investigating sharing practices is an exceedingly difficult one with regard even to the present day society. Add to that difficulty the problems inherent to reconstructive studies and a proper appreciation of the difficulties involved in assessing early contact distribution practices is gained. There is evidently a great cultural value residing in generosity. Accordingly, I have found that on first inquiry the Igluligmiut will designate the largest local unit as being coterminous with the distributive network. This designation is often made with assurances of the general spirit of communalism that is present in the economic life of the village in question. Only after repeated and varied questioning approaches and after observation of actual food sharing practices does the true picture of usually greater complexity emerge. This factor will play an important role in our examination of food-sharing practices in the analysis of the contemporary picture that will follow. Here we can merely note the further limitation that this factor of cultural value places on our understanding of earlier distribution practices. It seems likely, on the basis of this tendency, that food division practices were often carried out on sub-village levels, even in the early contact period, despite informant testimony to the contrary.

With regard to the authority system involved in hunting and food distribution Mathiassen's comments regarding the issumaitoq (issumataq) are worthy of note:

Within each settlement, which as a rule comprises a few families, often connected by kinship, there is as a rule an older man who enjoys the respect of the others and who decides

when a move is to be made to another hunting center, when a hunt is to be started, how the spoils are to be divided, when the dogs are to be fed, etc. He is called *isumaitoq*, "he who thinks." It is not always the oldest man, but as a rule an elderly man who is a clever hunter or, as head of a large family, exercises great authority. He cannot be called a chief; there is no obligation to follow his counsel; but they do so in most cases, partly because they rely upon his experience, partly because it pays to be on good terms with this man. At Itibjeriang, Ingnertoq and Iglulik older men were *isumaitoqa*; on Southampton Island Audlanaq, who was only thirty-five years old, had attained that dignity by his skill.<sup>1</sup>

Among the qualities that Mathiassen lists as being important for the issumataq to possess, one is somewhat more tangible than the others and can perhaps be analyzed in the light of the census data that we are given for the 1922 groups. That quality is being in a position of heading a large family. Due perhaps to that reason more than to any other, leadership in the large winter village at Iglulik rested in the hands of Ituksaxjuaq. We have earlier indicated the abnormally large kin group that he headed at that time, including two wives. Indeed, the ability to support two wives might speak for the hunting ability of that man. On the other hand, the older sons were by the time of the census able to contribute to the general support of the large unit so it is difficult to separate the two. The first child of the second wife was born in 1912 at which time two sons of the first wife were already nineteen and eighteen years of age and definitely at the age when they would be expected to contribute as much as the father to the family livelihood.

At Pingexqalik Merqotuinn led a group that was also rather extensive in size by Igluligmiut standards and this man seemed to be usually designated the issumataq at that place even when the

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<sup>1</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, p. 209.

village size was considerably larger than that shown in the 1922 census.

Kadlutsiaq was the leader at Steensby Inlet. He represented another polygamous case but also he was the head of the largest kin unit at that place, with son and son-in-law co-resident. At Ibderiaq there were, as we have shown, two sizable kin groups which at some seasons became separate local entities. Nevertheless, the head of the larger unit was again considered to be the issumataq.

It would doubtless be possible to overrate the importance of being in a strong genealogical position at the head of a large extended family unit as being a crucial factor in ascendancy to the position of issumataq. Ability in the hunt, leadership qualities, and relative age do doubtless play important roles as well. On the other hand, this brief survey should be a tribute to the strength of kinship factors in the determination of leadership in the local groupings of early contact Iglulimiut society.

As we move to the contemporary period acculturative factors may be expected to occur which would be likely to affect the cooperative-authority structure. One of those was the gradual abandonment of maulexpok sealing after the introduction of the rifle with the substitution of ice edge sealing which required fewer hunters. No longer was there the large seasonal fluctuation in group size that had been the case in the earlier times when the larger aggregations of winter had been associated with the maulexpok practice. Accordingly, the cooperative and sharing networks did not show a corresponding seasonal fluctuation.

Another technological innovation besides that of the

rifle that had a great effect on the seasonal economic cycle was that of the whaleboat. Since the crew of the whaleboat often comprised a sub-village unit we have the emergence of a cooperative entity on a new level in the summer season. We might also expect to find the sharing of summer caches to be influenced by the emergence of the crew as a cooperative unit. The leadership patterns could, too, be conceivably altered by this change.

The increased importance of fox trapping probably had its effect as well. The tendency toward sharing fox profits within the extended family that has been noted probably tended to emphasize the separateness of this unit as an economic entity. Other sources of cash income also were absorbed into this pattern of sharing and probably fortified this separateness. Religious differences that developed between the Catholic and Anglican elements might also be conjectured as causing schisms within villages that could extend to the economic realm.

With these general comments regarding recent trends in Igluligmiut economic life we move to a more detailed examination of cooperative and authority networks in particular contemporary villages.

Much of this chapter will deal with the cooperative structure of Kapuivik because our best data is available from that village. Figure 35 shows the village conceived in terms of three levels of cooperative organization. The first division is split along the lines of the extended family in each case except one. This is the basis level of economic organization except for the few functions which, as we have discussed earlier, are in the domain of the constituent nuclear families. The figure /2/

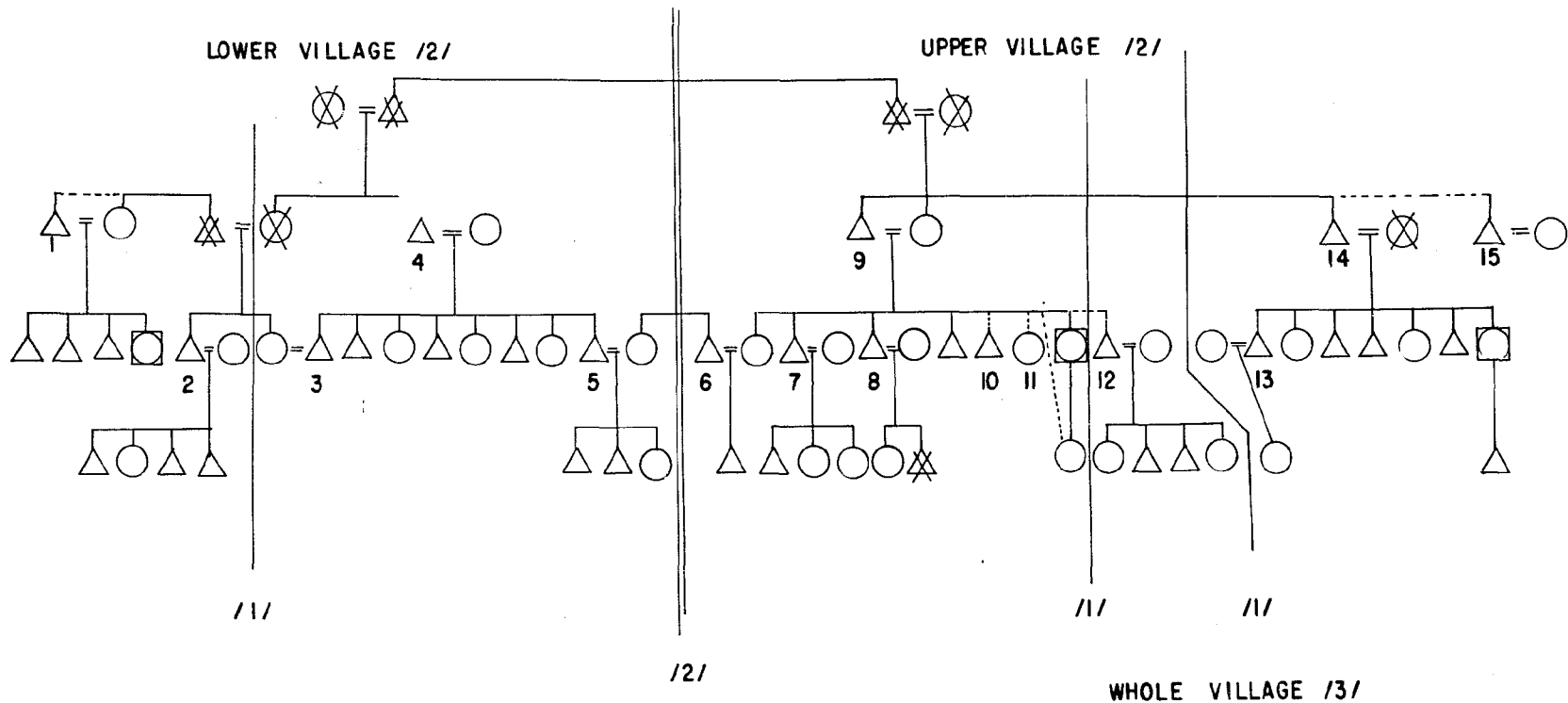


FIG. 35.- KAPUIVIK: LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

represents the division into the "upper" and "lower" village that we have noted in our discussion of group composition. This division serves to set off another level of cooperative organization. Finally /3/ represents the entire village which, as we shall illustrate, comprises an economic unity for some other purposes.

Considering, first, /1/ which separates mainly the extended families, little discussion is here required since we have dealt with the economic functions of this unity in an earlier section. Briefly, the sharing of fox profits and allotment monies, and caribou skins. In addition, in actual practice most of the seals killed throughout the year were shared within this entity. It seems that in this village, at least, when each of these /1/ segments had plenty of seal meat and fat, sharing was not expected to take place; on the other hand, when differential success in the hunt was experienced, sharing occurred on the, larger, /3/ scale. Earlier we indicated, as well, the sort of crude division of labor that at times existed in the extended family. One son may join others from another such unit in a seal hunt, while another would tend his trap lines on that day and a third work on his sledge, etc. The economic realm of the nuclear family was secondary to these and operated mostly on the level of man-woman division of labor. The work of women is dealt with only fleetingly here but was definitely circumscribed to a greater degree within the smaller familial unit.

We do have one case at Kapuivik where the nuclear family of 1 showed a higher degree of independency in that it was not thoroughly absorbed in an extended family unit. His genealogical position is closest to the group of 9 and 14, but he is, neverthe-

less loosely attached to these. He had been adopted early in infancy by the uncle of 9 and 14 and was fifteen years old when that man died. Person 11 was adopted into the family of 9 at that time and is sometimes designated as erngniksaq or "adopted son" by 9. The status of such readopted children is low and it is evident that he has never been completely absorbed into the family of 9. This man has lived alternately at Kapuivik with his adoptive-consanguineal relatives, with his blood relatives, and, as frequently as attaching to either of these, with his wife's consanguines at Manextoq. This shifting of residence is perhaps related to his dissatisfaction with his status position in Kapuivik but more likely is a reflection of his general shiftless nature. He took some part in the walrus hunt of the summer of July 1960 but moved to Ikpiakjuk when the other younger men departed for the caribou lands. He took part in the autumn walrus hunt of that year, as well, though he alternated his crew association among the three boats of the village. In the summer of 1961 he worked for a white man at the hospital camp. Undoubtedly these frequent moves, coupled with his rather loose genealogical connection with the group and his lack of ability as a hunter or trapper all conspire against his being tightly integrated into the cooperative units of either the upper or lower village or with any extended family group. This man was known as akudlegpa or "the one in-between" referring to both his physical location in the village and to his place in the cooperative network. He seemed to get his dog food from the caches of the upper village during the winter of 1960-61 but this was doled out to him with considerable condescension.

The next level of cooperation was that bounded by the

line /2/ in the diagram. The split of the village into two parts was an important feature of the social structure of Kapuivik. The intensity of this split requires some comment and explanation. There was a definite spatial separation among the houses of the two village segments at Kapuivik with a gap of about 200 yards between the two closely clustered compounds of houses. This spatial separation is carried over into the summer encampment after the move to Qaexsuit where the tents were split into two groups on either shore of the small island, the separation here being about 300 yards. There was tension evident between the members of the two factions and indeed periods when the only contact between the men of the two segments transpired at the prayer meetings on Sunday morning. Visits to the house or tent of the anthropologist were usually influenced by this split. Whenever a senior member of one segment entered his house and found a senior member of the other segment present, one or the other left after a few tense moments of forced civility and casualness.

There are probably several factors involved in the splitting of the village which has spatial, sentimental, and economic aspects. In an earlier chapter we indicated that 4's movements throughout the region had been moves based on a desire for independence and that his was only partly successful in that he had for some years been dependent on 9 and 14 and their whaleboats for winter dog and man food. After the appearance of 1 with the boat owned by 2 the seeds for a split that was to show greater success were sown. He was now independent from the brothers who had previously controlled his economic destiny, or at least, so it seemed. That he was able to attain some measure of personal



control over the others in the new boat crew will shortly be developed. Here we note merely that the residential separateness of 4 from 9 and 14 within the village had deep roots in the past and seems to be related to factors both situational and personal.

Although we connect the entire village in one continuous network of kinship ties on the chart we must note that the actual relationship of 4 with 9 and 14 is tenuous indeed in these terms. The two latter persons do not fall within the terminological-behavioral scope of 4 even though 4 and 9 have effective between them the tie through adopted children. In kinship perspective, then, we might easily expect a split at the point it occurs in the village.

Whatever the reasons for the factional split in the village at Kapuivik there are certain economic and social effects of the split that are our immediate concern in this discussion. Principally, the village segments functioned as economic entities when related to the activities of the whaleboat. Though there were two boats in the upper village, crew membership was generally fluid between the two with respect to personnel from the upper village. Part of the reason for this was that 14's extended family group usually had below the minimum number of men available for the operation of their boat in a walrus hunt. The brothers 9 and 14 also seemed to be close and formed a strong economic bond. Originally, the boat now usually commanded by 14 was owned by 9 who gave it to the latter on acquisition of the larger craft from Arctic Bay in 1949. The lower village, on the other hand, was dependent on one boat despite having a population almost equal to that of the upper village. The activities of the whaleboat crews

included the summer walrus hunt, the late summer caribou hunt, and the autumn walrus hunt. These three periods comprised the most important phases of the economic cycle for the bulk of the walrus were killed in these periods. (My count shows 23 walrus killed in October 1950, 13 killed from October to July 1960-61, and 84 killed in July, 1961.) Approximately 200 caribou were killed in August and September of 1960, according to native testimony (information secured through individual game counts which must be treated with caution). That hunt provided clothing for the winter. Though the skins were generally distributed within the extended family occasionally distribution occurred within the segment, for instance when a great inequality of success in the hunt was experienced. The crews of the boats shared the meat of the animal during the hunt as well. More important from the standpoint of the staple foodstuff, was the organization of the walrus hunts and the distribution of the meat secured during these hunts.

The division of meat from the walrus hunts from whaleboats was along the lines of the upper and lower village split and thus did not conform exactly to the whaleboat crews. The two boats of the upper village had a common group of caches while the other boat, representing the lower village had another group. Winter trips to the caches were carried out in terms of this division. The intensity of attitudes regarding private possession of stores by these factions can be seen in the following incident. In the spring of 1962 the walrus stores of the lower village became depleted while the upper village still had untapped caches. Rather than borrow meat from the upper village and thus place themselves in a position of debt to the other segment they fought to keep their dogs fed through strenuous efforts to catch seals by the utoq method.

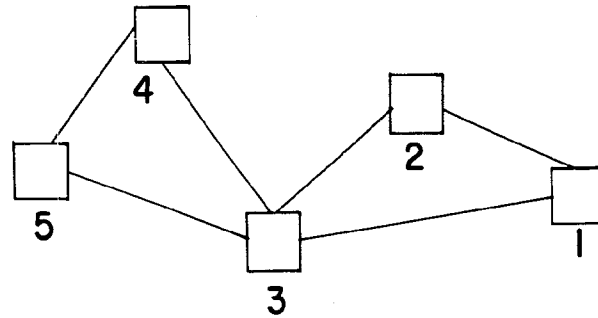
This attempt was only partly successful and their animals missed many a meal in the spring of 1961. In fact, the anthropologist had planned to hire a sledge from the lower village for a trip to another village but was told that that would be possible only if the seal hunts of the next days would be particularly successful.

The two village segments, then, provided the chief distribution and cooperative units for the periods of greatest meat production, the walrus hunts of July and October and the caribou hunt of August and September. The separate caches of walrus meat, especially, provided the backbone of economy for the village.

Within the two major segments of the village was an organization or network within which authority diffused and cooperation was insured. One of the most important ingredients in this network was the system of behavior prescribed by kinship directives. Figure 36 shows the network of authority as indicated by kinship considerations for the upper and the lower villages. These charts represent ideal behavioral relationships among the members of the respective segments in terms of the nalaxtok-ungayok directives outlined in chapter iii.

Turning first to the lower village at Kapuivik, we see that 2 has two ningawt or in-marrying males who are ideally subordinate to him. This means that these two, 1 and 3, are connected to one another by the angayungrok-nukowngrok bond. This is shown on the chart by a slightly sloping line indicating the dominance of 1 over 3 on this basis. Other authority directives show the ascendancy of 4 over his sons 3 and 5 with a slope between the latter again showing the dominance pattern according to age differences. The two main extended family groups indicated in Figure 35

LOWER VILLAGE



UPPER VILLAGE

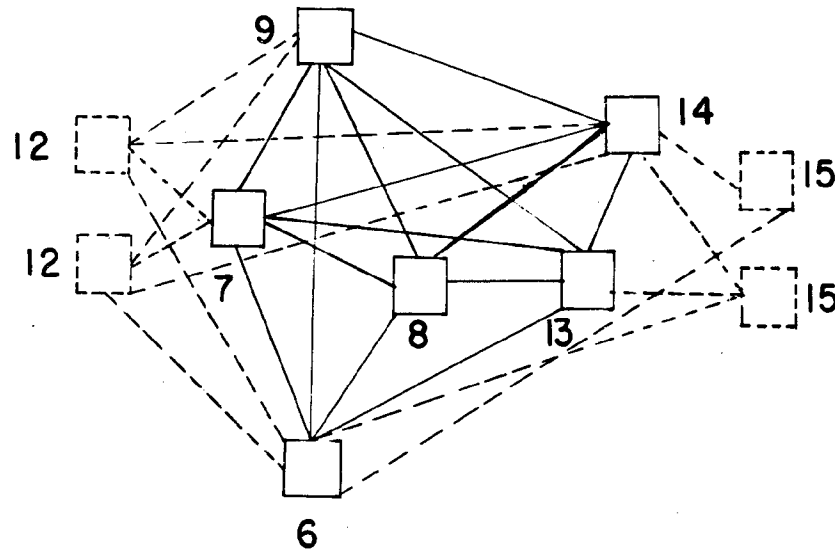


FIG. 36. - KAPUIVIK: AUTHORITY NETWORK-IDEAL

by 1/1 are connected by the marriage of 3 to 2's sister, but as we have indicated earlier, 1 and 2 do not fall within the terminological-behavioral network of 4. The unity of the lower village in terms of purely kinship criteria is then really a rather loose one when we consider that the heads of the constituent extended families fall without each other's kindred.

In the upper village, 9 is in a firm position of leadership on the basis of kinship position with direct kinship ties with everyone in that segment and, in addition, dominance over the heads of each of the nuclear families, including younger brother, younger adoptive brother, nephew, son-in-law, adoptive son, and natural sons. The ideal authority structure pertaining among the subordinate members of the segment are rather complex since the uncle-nephew tie overlaps the father-son tie in a series of crisscrosses. The position of 15 is perhaps confused because he is both the nephew (uyorok) of 9 and 14 the adoptive younger brother of these persons. We shall discuss the behavioral concomitants of this man's position later.

Besides the intra-segmental connections there are two ties based on kinship between the upper and lower village at Kapuivik. The first of these is the sibling bond of 6 and 5's wife. These siblings are attached to the upper village in one case and the lower in the other by marriage. This sort of tie does not, however, as we have shown earlier, involve many members of either extended family. Most important, as we have noted above, it does not involve the family heads 4 and 9 in each other's kindred.

We discovered another link between the upper and lower

villages shortly before leaving in late July or after over seven months residence in the village. This involves the adoptive second cousin relationship between 2's mother and 9's wife. This sort of tie seems to be rather tenuous if we think of it in terms of our own terminological system, but in the Eskimo system persons 2 and 9 are sakkiag-ningawk to one another. As was noted in chapter iii this relationship carries with it a definite dominance-subordinance behavioral directive.

A number of the men in the village are encompassed in each other's terminological-behavioral networks. The upper village forms a close-knit group every member of which finds a prescribed way of behaving according to his position in the kinship network which encompasses the entire segment. In the lower villages the mutual involvement in each other's kindreds is not so pervasive. Accordingly, if the diffusion of authority within that segment were to depend entirely upon the kinship directives the unified effort of the entire lower village could not take place in the cases it does. Clearly, other factors must play a part in the organization of activities in that segment. In addition, we might expect that even within ordained kinship behavioral networks exceptional activity would appear confounding to some extent the ideal.

In order to gain an understanding of the interaction of kinship and nonkinship factors that are involved in the diffusion of authority and the unity of cooperating groups in Kapuivik, it will be in order to consider some of the more important dyads that we find there in terms of the ideally prescribed and actually functioning sorts of relationships that pertain.

In the lower village a particularly interesting situation occurs. Leaders of the two extended family units, 2 and 4, are not involved in an overlapping behavioral-terminological network. Leadership in the segment is thus in question when authority is considered purely in terms of kinship factors. There are, in addition to these directives, other factors which can be seen to govern the determination of leadership. One of these is the matter of age differences. Age distinctions within the terminological network are, of course, very important, and we could expect them to operate outside this network as well. In the case under consideration 4 is twelve years older than 13 and would rate a superordinate position in the group. In addition, the large size of his family, which includes two grown sons and another of sixteen years puts him in a position of family strength not available to 2. This advantage was, to an extent, overcome with the addition of two relatives of 2 into the segment in the summer of 1961 (see Figure 27). In addition, persons 3 and 1 are in positions of subordination to 2 on the basis of kinship ties. Perhaps the primacy of residence in the Kapuivik area that 4 enjoyed would tend to put him in a stronger position. In view of the historical importance that we have accorded the whaleboat in Igluligmiut society we would expect that any or all of 4's claims to leadership that we have considered would be overruled by 2's ownership of a boat. Such is not the case, however, for in the reality of this situation leadership in most economic matters in the lower village clearly rests on the shoulders of 4. The observer has seen how, in the whaleboat, 4 commands the others and there is usually little hesitation in the obedience of his orders. The owner 2 usually serves as engineer

while normally 4 handles the steering and management of sails.

Person 2 shows deference to 4 on other occasions as well. Person 4 has several times ordered 2 from the writer's house so that the former could engage in a private chat with me, and at other times sent 2 to fetch tools while he was working with something about the place. Person 4 shows little concern for any challenge that 2 might make for ascendancy in the authority system of the lower village. He is concerned greatly with his prestige rating as compared with 9 and 14, however.

In our opinion, the positioning of leadership in the lower village can be accounted for chiefly by personality differences between these two men. On very short acquaintance one can see the personality contrasts displayed by these men. Person 4 is proud and he ridicules 2 who he regards, not without cause, as being irresponsible as a child. He is not an especially ambitious or skillful hunter whereas 2 is both ambitious and reasonably successful. Person 4's ambitions for leadership take another form than pride in achievements as a hunter. He makes the outward signs of being important--swaggering, shouting at others in his deep rough voice, and making a great show of dignity when visited in his house or tent. When Professor Malaurie visited the village in May, 1961, during the absence of the observer and person 9, leader of the upper village, he visited the house of 4 and was encountered by such a show of importance. Person 4 continually asserted, "I am the issumataq" and prodded his wife to affirm this boast.

Person 2, on the other hand, is one of the few really obsequious Igluligmiut that I knew. His self-effacing tendencies were revealed in exchange situations where he was more easily



satisfied than others with whatever was offered and really made the observer believe that when he offered an article as a gift it was really meant to be a gift, not an exchange article. He is continually being cheated in transactions with other Eskimos. For instance, he traded a sewing machine worth \$29 for two dogs, which if healthy specimens are priced at \$10 each. Shortly one of these dogs died and the other was for a long time too weak to be of much use to him. This man is also noted for his carelessness with dogs. They often run off while he is camped on trapping or sealing trips. In addition, he was said to have left a large number of traps inherited from his father (formerly the foremost trapper in the region) in the country when he left for Pond Inlet. Another example of his absentmindedness was his forgetting about a walrus meat cache in the spring of 1961 when the lower village segment was lacking in meat for dog food. This cache was rediscovered in July 1961, after the summer's hunt had begun. The apparent lack of decisiveness and management that he shows in his personal affairs probably plays an important part in the ascendancy of 4 in the lower village. Person 4's position is more solid also because of the ready acceptance of his authority by 2 who seems incapable of asserting any objection to the former's directives.

Despite the importance of the personality differences between these men in determining their relationships in the economic realm certain structural forces began to work in 2's favor in the summer of 1961. The addition of two men, 18 and 19, combined with 1 and 2 now gave 2 enough manpower to handle his boat during the hunts. Whereas formerly 2 had been dependent upon 4's family for help there was at that time a surplus of men available. Indeed,

person 3, the younger grown son of 4, was now enlisted into the crew of 9 and at times 14 as a measure of distributing manpower in the village. Also related to this surplus of men in the lower village with relation to the one whaleboat was the establishment of a separate summer camp at Murray Maxwell Bay by person 5. With these changes in personnel 4 was no longer in the position of genealogical strength over 2 that he formerly enjoyed, though when 4 joined with the relatives of 2 in hunts or other uses of the boat his personal dominance seemed to have been realized in that situation.

In this connection person 2's discussions with the observer regarding his proposed move back to the Sioraxjuk site revealed certain conflicts. Although the region around Sioraxjuk provided much better sealing and better access to fox country than did that around Kapuivik he felt that he would have to spend the early autumn season with the Kapuivigmiut in order to ensure the catch of enough walrus to supply the needs of the entire lower village. Although he now had achieved independence from 4 in terms of ability to operate his own whaleboat he still felt obligation, probably on the basis of the relationship of dominance and subordination that had developed between these men, to see that the family of 4 was provided for. Person 2 expressed his relationship to 4 as "sometimes Qayakjuaq 4 is issumataq and sometimes not." In the end, 2 decided that it might be possible to secure enough walrus in the early days of August to obviate the autumn walrus hunt and allow him to move with his little kin group to Sioraxjuk in late September where they could start laying up a store of seal whose fat would be needed for fuel in the coming winter. In view

of the inordinate amount of time spent transporting the anthropologist, and later, a school teacher in the boat and also a considerable period spent around the Fox Main dump, it seemed very unlikely that such a number of walrus would be secured in the period indicated. Indeed, in view of these people's naivete regarding count, it seems that only by rough guesswork do they generally know when enough has been stored.

Although the determination of ultimate leadership within the lower village was not set by kinship directives, such directives did have definite bearing on the cooperation within the segment. The relatives of 2 formed a web of ningawk-sakiaq and angayngrok-nukownrok and idlo dyads and the division of labor and the execution of orders diffused through that system of behavioral directives. In addition, the sons of 4 formed a tight group with definite kin-based structuring of work. The older son and father stayed at home in the coldest weather while the youngest son tended the trap lines or hunted caribou. This pattern is not typical of extended family situations in the Iglulik area but in this case the claim to leisure or exemption from unpleasant tasks seemed to be absorbed into the traditionally prescribed kinship status differences.

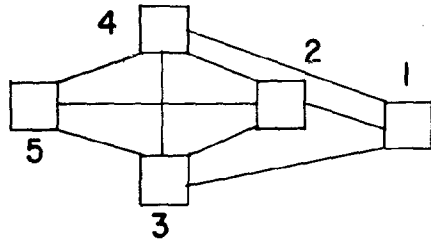
An interesting extension of kinship terminology and behavior can be seen in the relationship of 2 and 3. These men, though falling outside each other's kindred, call each other arngnakattik. As noted in chapter iii this category is the most distant (for male) cousin designation. This particular extension seems especially appropriate since these men are close in age and form part of a larger cooperative unit, with only the age distinc-

tion seemingly affecting the relationships authority structure. Person 2 and 3 are in actuality as well as, after this means of extension, ideally on a basis of approximate equality.

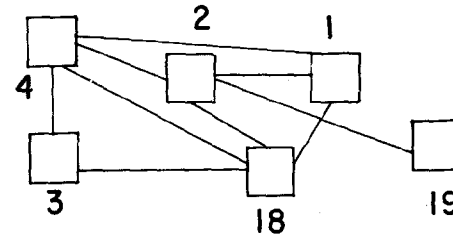
This discussion of the actual situation of authority and cooperative structure in the lower village indicates the necessity for modifying Figure 36 which portrays the ideal in these networks. Accordingly, Figure 37 shows the leadership network as I observed it in operation, first for the lower village in the winter of 1960-61, second, for the lower village in the summer of 1961, and finally, for the upper village for the entire year. Turning to the first of these diagrams we note several changes from Figure 36. For one thing, a more or less total leader is evident in the situations where whole segment cooperation is needed. Accordingly, we have lines connecting 4 with all the other male members of the segment, these lines are, in addition, sloped downward to indicate the ascendancy of 4 in every case. We see a persistence of the relationships between 2 and his ningawk 3. In the case of 2 and 1, however, we have indicated virtual equality. This relationship calls for the dominance of 2 if we rely on the ningawk-sakiaq directives. On the other hand, it was pointed out to me that 1 was an adoptive brother of 2's father and thus 2's agaksaq. This relationship would alternatively reverse the alignment. In actuality these men are very close and a situation of near equality pertains. The age of 1 somewhat offsets the boat ownership of 2 though if the new camp were set up at Sioraxjuk it seems likely that 2 would be designated issumataq, thus the slight slope in the line connecting the two. The relationship between 1 and 3 seems to follow the vocally reaffirmed angayungrok-nukowngrok dyad, indicating slight ascendancy of 1 over 3. We note the joining of 2 and 5 on a nearly horizontal level

LOWER VILLAGE

(a) WINTER 1960-61



(b) SUMMER 1961



UPPER VILLAGE

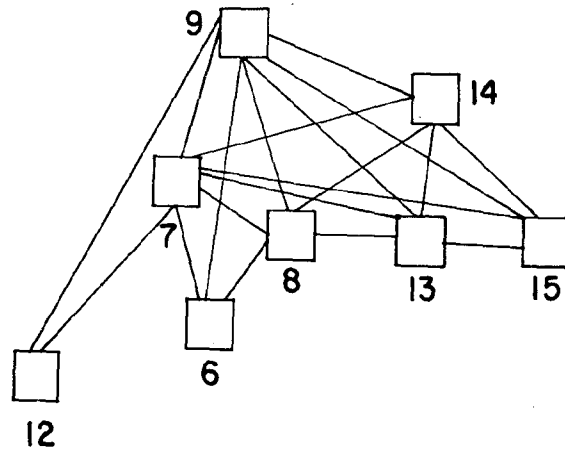


FIG. 37 -KAPUIVIK : AUTHORITY NETWORK -ACTUAL

indicating the pseudo cousinship that we have discussed.

In the second diagram which represents the picture of lower village authority structure in the summer of 1961, we see a strengthening of 2's position due to the addition of 18 and 19 to the group. We also see the weakening of 4's authority indicated by the more gently sloping lines to the other men of the segment. One of his sons is missing from the group as well.

Turning to the upper village we have seen that the kinship basis for the alignment of personnel involves all members. The leader 9 is head of the segment on traditional grounds and his authority is seldom disputed. Several relationships do, however, require some discussion. The ningawk-sakkik between 6 and 9 seems to operate though with some subtlety. Person 6 shares in the distributive network of the upper village and more specifically with that of person 9. On the other hand, there seems to be a notable distance between 6 and the sons of 9. For instance, in hunts comprising two or three men he is seldom the companion of 7 or 8. These men prefer cousins as hunting companions. Most of 6's activities are solitary during the winter, or in companionship with 9. This writer was impressed as to the role of the consanguineal as opposed to the affinal relatives of 9 on several instances regarding division of labor in the walrus hunts. On one occasion on arriving back with the crew of the lower village we were greeted at the beach by 6, 20 (the prospective son-in-law of 14), and 5, who had been loaned to the crew of 9 as noted above. These men helped us to land the boat and later when I walked to the other camp to witness the unloading of their boats I found that 9, 14, and their sons (except 7) were all sleeping, while the unloading

of walrus from the boats was being directed by 7 and carried out by the three who had greeted us at the beach earlier. This pattern was repeated several times during the summer hunt, with leadership of unloading and caching being alternately undertaken by 7 or 8.

The ideal position of 11 is somewhat confused because of his late adoption by 9 but it is evident in the actual authority structure that no one is subordinate to him in either the upper village alone or in the entire village. The actual position of 15 seems to be more closely related to his age and generational position than to his adoptive status as younger brother of 9 and 14 despite the designation of this man as nukasaq. Thus he usually forms part of a cooperative unit with 7 on a basis which seems to be equal. There seems, in fact, to be little diffusion of authority along the more nearly horizontal lines that are shown on the chart as representing the connections among men in the descending generation. The exception that was noticed by this observer was that 7, the oldest son of the oldest son sometimes acts as boat captain for the father's boat crew and otherwise seems to show some measure of authority over the others. Person 9 who spent much of the year under observation outside at the tuberculosis sanitarium seemed to show little influence even though he is the older son of 14. His deafness and general poor health have restricted his activities to the extent that his seventeen year old unmarried brother is more highly respected, principally because of his hunting ability, though he has no authority over his older brother.

The closest thing to a struggle for power that can be seen

in the upper village is the relationship between the brothers 9 and 14. This sibling group has been split residentially at more than one time in the history of their kin group. Each summer, however, they hunted walrus together and shared a common group of caches. Indeed the actual number of years that these brothers have been separated even in winter seems to have been on the order of two or three. There is undoubtedly jealousy on the part of the younger brother toward the prominence of 9. This individual is very conscious of the number of seals caught each day by each group and was quick to point out to the writer, days in which he and his son got more than the combined or individual efforts of 9 and his sons. It is difficult to judge the state of compatibility between 9 and 14 but whatever its character, it would have been difficult for 14 to have broken away from his brother at this point because of the poor ratio of manpower-to-mouths-to-feed that prevailed in his family, and the need to enlist some of his brother's family as crew members. The situation was alleviated somewhat in the summer of 1961 with the appearance of a suitor of his daughter. (Even in early August when the writer left, the group this young man had not yet been accepted by the girl though it was said that the approval of 14 had been given.)

The lines of authority in the upper village are then almost exactly as they had been diagrammed on the chart, showing the ideal pattern for that group, thus indicating the efficacy of kinship considerations in determining the cooperative and authority structure of this segment.

With the analysis of the cooperative and authority networks of the extended families and the village segments thus given, what



sorts of economic activity and what sorts of leadership are extended over the entire village? The most important activity that the village segment revealed itself as the primary unit to be concerned was the summer and autumn walrus hunts. There was evidence, however, that village-wide aspects entered into this activity as well. Upon returning from fetching the people who had been at the hospital camp July 14, 9 decreed that the walrus hunt should begin immediately and within hours all three craft were at sea again. During the hunts the two boats of the upper village usually stayed together and the more powerful of the two usually towed the other back from the hunting area. There seemed to be no open rivalry in these hunts, such as racing for a herd of animals that was spotted by both. Once I saw all three boats combine in the capture of a large herd but usually the lower village's (actually in summer the west camp) boat separated from the others. Before each hunt 9 would ascend the lookout hill, and view the sea and weather conditions and none of the boats would leave until he decided that conditions were right for a hunt. It seemed to this observer that this activity on the part of 9 was more a vehicle for asserting his authority than actually fulfilling a badly needed practical function. At any rate, he was seen to have some authority in the hunts even though the actual hunting operations, food division and storing took place on a segmental level. An area of cross-segmental effort and, in this case, division practices as well, was witnessed during a walrus hunt through the newly formed ice in November 1960. I noted that though the two walrus taken that day were killed by the hunting party from the upper village, the distribution was regulated according to the whole village. Each segment took the

meat from one animal and divided it further between the sledges of the hunters to divide hauling labors as well. Through inquiry I learned that seals and walrus killed on the ice were thus supposed to be distributed. In manner of fact the seals were not treated with so close a supervision unless one segment was lacking in fuel. The actual overseeing of distribution in the case described above fell to 9 but subsequently, in other hunts where 9 was not a member of the party, the division was undertaken in a democratic and informal manner. In the case of the autumn hunt that has been described discussion was carried out at the lookout hill on Qaexsuit among the men as to whether the ice was thick enough to enter upon but the final decision rested on 9's opinion. Other winter walrus hunts were, as well, organized on a village-wide basis though at other times members of one segment alone were represented. The distribution of walrus meat was in either case village-wide according to my reports and observations.

Another instance of community-wide organization of economic affairs was the management of the transportation of the two anthropologists in September 1960. Professor Malaurie wished to go to Fox and I to Kapuivik. The boats of the upper village had brought all the men except two from Kapuivik for the unloading of the Hudson Bay Company ship and for the last trading session until after the straits had frozen. The arrangement that was made had 9 and 14 accompanying Professor Malauris to Fox Main and put 4 in charge of 14's boat transporting me to Kapuivik. The crews of each boat were split about equally in composition with members from each of the two segments, though it should be noted that at that time the schism at Kapuivik was not well marked. Payment for

transportation was shared evidently by the brothers 9 and 14 in this case though reports were contradictory. In other cases where transportation was needed by me, there was considerable rivalry regarding who should be chosen and it became readily evident that sharing of the profits from such ventures was not on a village-wide basis, and as nearly as could be determined it was within the extended family.

In the spring of 1961 a support party was organized from members of the lower village by 9 who supplied dog food for the operation. Throughout the spring travel season much of the movement seemed regulated by this man but this instance was perhaps the only case where cross-segmental organization was executed. The exhaustion of the meat supplies of the lower village doubtless played a part in the ability of 9 to direct this operation though it is not known that any pay other than the dog food that was to be used was given.

Another sort of village-wide distribution took place after caribou kills in the winter months. Persons 9, 14, or 4 would invite the entire village to feasts which lasted several hours and much of the meat that had been secured by the family of the man giving the feast was consumed. Other village-wide feasts centered around maktak or the "cork" which is found under the skin of the beluga. These two foods were the major delicacies of the Eskimo and village-wide sharing under circumstances of consumption rather than food storing were enjoyed after successful beluga and caribou hunts.

The outline of all-village kinship connections shown on Figure 38 indicates a couple of possible links between the two

segments but these links and the behavioral patterns they imply bear little resemblance to the actual organization of activities on a village-wide basis. The relationship between persons 5 and 6 is a case in point. Though the sibling bond between 5's wife and 6 provides an important link between the upper and lower village, at least on the chart, and the kinship behavioral norms call for a well-marked dominance--subordination relationship between the two men involved, this situation seems seldom if ever to be operative. Even though village-wide participation has been noted to take place in certain activities, 5 and 6 are seldom in a position of direct contact with one another in these cases. For instance, on the hunts on the sea ice in winter though the entire manpower of the village may participate, there is normally a budding according to the segments in the hunting parties. Even where this division does not take place the diffusion of authority was seen to pass from the influential men 2, 4, 9, and 14, to the others who are immediately associated. Diffusion of orders between the segments in intersegmental hunts seems solely to pass through 9, except where this man is not present. In those cases the decisions seem to materialize on a very informal basis, as we have noted is the case with respect to food distribution.

The other link, that between 2 and 9, calls for the latter to be subordinate to the former on the basis of the sakkiag-ningawk behavioral prescription. In this case the authority of 9 is too strongly established on the basis of primacy of residence at Kapuivik, actual ownership of two boats (one of which is much larger and more powerful than 2's), position at the head of a large kin group in the village, and, above all, personality

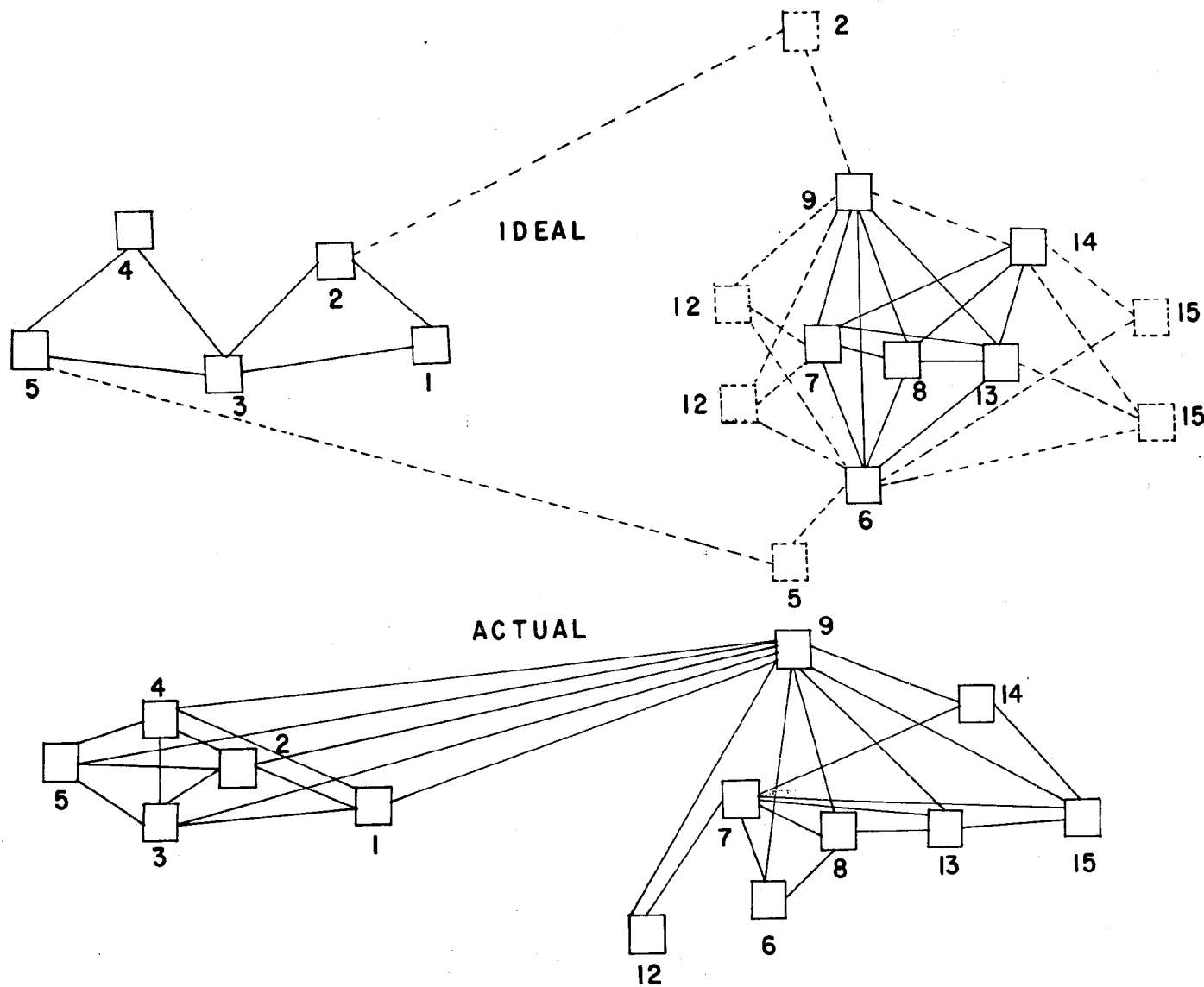


FIG. 38. — KAPUIVIK: INTRA-VILLAGE AUTHORITY NETWORK

qualities that are more suitable to leadership, so that the kinship directives that ideally should operate are invalidated. This is probably the only case that can be cited in the village where a relationship as defined by kinship is actually reversed, though there may be several as 5 and 6 where the intensity of the directive is diminished by infrequent contact.

Figure 38 shows, then, the actual structuring of authority on a village-wide basis at Kapuivik. About all the intersegmental authority diffusion that takes place is, as has been indicated in the foregoing, that passing from 9 to all other members shown by the connecting lines. Other sorts of inter-segmental diffusion cannot be said to occur frequently enough or with enough consistency to be diagrammed. Age and generational differences would seem to be more important than other factors in such cases of decision-making that would fall outside those diagrammed.

The emergence of 9 as the issumataq at Kapuivik is probably due to several factors, some of which have been outlined above with respect to this man's ascendancy over 2, despite kinship directives to the contrary. Much of his authority in its weaker, as well as stronger aspects, can be understood within the frame of kinship. His position at the head of the large kin-lined segment of the village in such a way that he is in direct authority over all other members of that section undoubtedly explains, to a great extent, the efficiency with which that segment is run and the infrequent challenging of his authority. That part of the village over which he does not exercise such a control is not so firmly within his control. His decisions are ignored at times in this section, especially in matters of not great economic concern to the

village as a whole. The limitation of 9's range of kinship connections is probably as much as any other single factor responsible for the splitting of the village both spatially with regard to dwelling location and sentimentally with regard to feelings of closeness among the members of each subdivision.

The advantage connected to being at the head of a large extended family and having much to say about the activities of another, which is the position of 9, rests mostly on the economic influence that resides in this control. Within his own extended family unit the two grown sons and one son-in-law supply 9 with fox profits that puts his unit, under his authority, in a strong position with regard to trading power. His ownership of the two boats of the upper village and the final authority that is his with regard to distribution of the meat caught through their use insures his control over large amounts of walrus meat which commodity forms the basis of the diet of man and dogs. Persons 9 and 14 have had the longest period of residence at the site of the family heads at Kapuivik. The situation of leadership was established at that time and any who wished to join forces with 9 was required to do so on a subordinate basis. Person 9's claim to the issumataq title is strengthened, no doubt, by personal qualities. The man has a quiet dignity that is apparent in a gathering of the men of the village. His opinion is heeded in discussions but there is an undertone of tension, indicating that perhaps there is an element of resentment involved as well. Indeed, 9's aloof manner and general aristocratic demeanor seems to be a source of resentment to some. Person 9 is, in addition, the religious (Anglican) leader of the community. There is little doubt in the

mind of this observer that this man is possessed of a high level of intelligence, especially in contrast to 4 who seems incredibly naive in economic matters. For instance, the latter has for several years tried to persuade the Hudson's Bay Company manager to sell him a boat priced at \$2,700 with a credit of about \$300. Another difference in the positions of 9 and 4 with regard to their claims for leadership in the village is the comparative productivity of the personnel of each family. In 9's group his two grown sons are top trappers while 9 himself, a younger son and 6 contribute smaller numbers of furs to the family pool. In 4's group only the younger married son really traps persistently during the winter. Person 4 has admitted to me that he and his older son do not like to face the cold winds that are the lot of the trapper in the Iglulik area.

With all these factors favoring 9's ascendancy to the issumataq title there seems to be little basis for 4's claim to leadership. Indeed, the tangible rewards for being the issumataq seem rather small. The efforts of 4 to be recognized as issumataq seem to be related to pride that is probably reinforced by his position in the individual life cycle. Person 4 has reached a place in life where a man traditionally commanded a great deal of respect merely through age and being at the head of an extended family unit. We have indicated that formerly the band corresponded to this unit for much of the year, and leadership rested usually in the father or oldest male. We have indicated the relativity of the issumataq term and at times it seems to have been used on the level of the extended family. Seen in that light 4's position could be interpreted as revealing an acculturative conflict.



Though traditionally he would be a man of some importance, his lack of a whaleboat, which has superseded some of the traditional bases for leadership, keeps him from either setting up his extended family as a successful independent unit or of reaching a real prominence at Kapuivik. Actually it seems to this observer unlikely that this traditional-acculturative conflict really accounts for his impasse. It strikes us that the intangible area of a need for prestige, which is a human quality to be seen among Eskimo as among other people, must be held responsible. This man's especially strong drive for recognition is so strong that he ignores the objective realities of his lack of a whaleboat and his slim chances of ever acquiring one on the basis of his family's productivity, and his general resultant dependence on 9 and 14, in putting forth his claim to leadership in the village.

This survey of the cooperative network and leadership structure of Kapuivik as I found it in the year 1960-61 has revealed several important features. We found that there were three chief levels of cooperation and three levels of authority diffusion. These were, simultaneously, the extended family, the village segment, and the entire village. Within the scope of the extended family we found a rather close-knit cooperative unity with the minimum of dispute concerning leadership or placement of individuals within the authority network. The organization of fox trapping, seal hunting, the distribution of meat from seal, caribou, and small game fell within this unit. Leadership was vested in the ranking male in age or in one case in keeping kinship behavioral norms on an affinal-consanguineal basis. The nuclear family, except in one case, had little autonomy in economic

activities beyond household activities. The division of the village into factions was important in the organization of the summer and autumn walrus hunts and the late summer caribou hunt. Cooperation and the distribution of the products of these hunts revolved around this split in the village. These are crucially important areas of the economic life of the Kapuivigmiut because most of the meat supply is acquired during the walrus hunts from boats and the autumn caribou hunts provide the winter clothing. Leadership in the economic activities of the upper village was clearly outlined by kinship directives and was followed closely in the actual organization of affairs. In the lower village, on the other hand, ultimate leadership was not prescribed under terminological-behavioral terms, and was decided on the basis of family strength and personality factors and, in the final analysis, was in a rather perilous position at the conclusion of the writer's visit.

Village-wide organization was seen to operate in one instance of a transportation arrangement, in some walrus hunts on the winter ice, and in the recruitment of a support party. Distribution of walrus and some seals killed in the winter, was a village-wide affair. Other food-sharing was seen to exist on a whole village basis in the communal feasts. In addition gifts of bear meat, caribou, and other favorite meats were exchanged at times across the factional lines. Leadership in village-wide matters fell into the hands of the individual who headed the upper village though his kinship connection did not carry over effectively into the lower village. His position of dominance was determined, rather, on the basis of family strength, ownership of two boats, possibly priority of residence, and personality qualities.

His sphere of economic influence extended over the communal hunts of winter and the distribution of their products, and occasional other village-wide activities. In addition, his decisions regarding the advisability of beginning the walrus hunt carried weight though the actual operation of the hunt and the distributions of its products was on the basis of crew and segmental organization.

This picture of economic organization for one village reveals characteristics which have not been associated with our picture of traditional Central Eskimo distribution practices. Indeed, some of these characteristics can be traced to unique acculturative changes. Before we embark on a further discussion of the significance of these features it would be well to assess the typicality of the Kapuivik picture for the entire Iglulik area. Unfortunately, it is not so easy to analyze the cooperative and authority patterns that are associated with economics as it was the purely residential material. It is necessary to spend an extended period in a village to accurately gauge the relationship between ideal and actual in the economic life of the villagers concerned. We are not in the position of having spent sufficient time in the other villages to have a picture of economic organization that is based on personal observation, as is the case for Kapuivik. In most cases we must rely on interview material, which at times is little more than gossip. We are rather better off in our examination of the situation at Ikpiakjuk because of information from Father Louis Fournier,<sup>1</sup> who has been a resident at that village for eight years. In addition, a total of ten weeks was spent there by the observer, though most of this

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Fournier, personal interview, August 3, 1961 and personal correspondence, February 14, 1962.

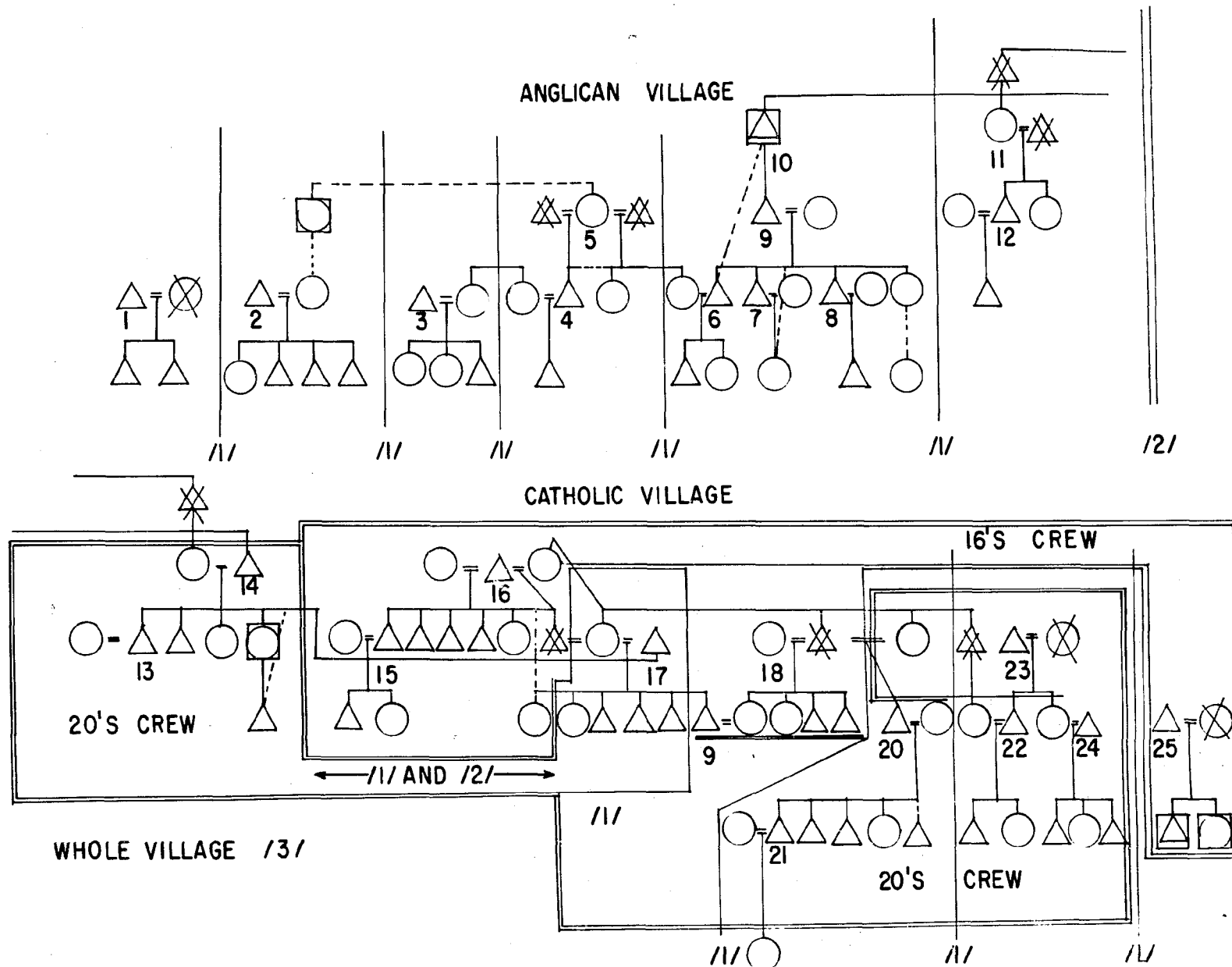


FIG. 39.—IKPIAKJUK. LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

total was broken into short stays of a week or two.

As at Kapuivik we can see three principal levels of economic organization at Ikpiakjuk. These are indicated on Figure 39 as: /1/ The extended and in some cases the nuclear family, /2/ the whaleboat crew, /3/ the village whole.

Regarding the economic functions of the distribution unit of narrowest scope /1/ these are largely as outlined for the Kapuivik situation. These units are important in the distribution of profits from the fox trade, pensions, wage labor, family allotments and, usually, caribou skins. Leadership in economic matters seems to rest on the shoulders of the oldest male in each case though in the cases of the widows 1 and 5 their influence is probably strong in economic matters, especially since they both have cash incomes which are an important source of family revenue. Indeed, cash income of several sorts plays a more important role in the economics of Ikpiakjuk than it does at Kapuivik. Persons 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8 are engaged in employment at either the Hudson's Bay Company or with the Department of Northern Affairs establishments. Person 22 is occasionally employed by the Roman Catholic mission and individuals 11, 14, and spouse, 5, and 18 receive special pensions or allotments above the children's allotment that each nuclear family receives.

Although cash income sources have had added development at Ikpiakjuk, they have little effect on the organization of basic food-getting and distribution patterns. Main items that are purchased at the store are rifles, ammunition, canoes, motors, gasoline, tobacco, and in the area of food products only flour and sugar for the most part. Meat still forms the staple of the

Igluligmiut diet and the network of activities surrounding hunting and the distribution of the catch is still intimately related to subsistence.

The acquisition and distribution of meat supplies falls on the higher levels of economic organization. Lines /2/ indicate the division of the village into whaleboat crews for the summer of 1960.<sup>1</sup> The family of 16, including son 15 and an older son who lives in the winter at Qimmixtogvik used their whaleboat based at Napaqat along with an unrelated man from Manitoq and Ikpiakjuk who 25 spent much time at Ikpiakjuk as well. Person 20 led another crew comprised of his son 21 and 17 and 13. In addition 22 and 24 also from the Catholic village, belonged to the same unit or umiakattigit; this boat was based at Pingexqalik.

The rest of the village had access to the Hudson's Bay Company boat. The more active members of the crew were 8 and 4, though 2 and 6 also contributed, though they were employed in wage labor. Person 9 though the leader in the Anglican village did not participate in the hunt because of obligations as the deacon. This crew operated out of Ikpiakjuk.

The leadership involved in the gathering and distribution of meat on this level is first of all related to the boat captain or umealiq. Persons 20 and 15 headed the crews of their boats while the leadership was not so clearly defined among the young men who used the Hudson's Bay Company boat. In the case of the latter crew permission for use of the boat and a certain amount of regulation of the hunt from the shore as well as the establishment of general policy regarding distribution centered in the local

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Fournier, O.M.I., personal interview, August 3, 1961.

manager of the store. Supervision of storage and specific doling out of meat from the cache was under the direction of 9, however. The two umealiq concerned with the Catholic village directed the hunt and 20 also seems to have supervised distribution of the meat while to a lesser extent the older son of 16 directed this phase of the economic life with the word of 16 having great weight in such matters despite his distance from the scene of the hunt or the cache, since the cache is located at Napaqat as well.

The next level of cooperation is that of the village whole. As at Kapuivik much of the hunting on sea ice in winter is a village-wide enterprise. Friendships cutting across religious and family lines often comprise pairings in the seal hunts at the ice edge while the walrus hunts involve a large number of men from both sections of the village and, at times, the men of Qiqiqtaxjuk, as well. Sharing of the products of the winter hunts including seal, walrus, and caribou proceeds usually on a village-wide basis. Father Fournier feels that in the case of Ikpiakjuk there is no hard-set rule regarding this practice but that it depends upon the harmony that prevails among the families as to whether or not the distribution of winter products proceeds on that basis (1962). There is no division of these products according to religious separation. The spatial division of Ikpiakjuk into Catholic and Anglican segments does have some economic implications but there does not seem to be the sharp factional separation seen at Kapuivik between the two segments. Though the boat crews do not overlap religious lines at Ikpiakjuk, this is perhaps just as much a product of the employment structure, since the Anglican village supplies employees to the Hudson's Bay Company. There are several important friendships

that cross cut religious lines such as: 6 and 22, 22 and 4, 9 and 20, and 21 and 8.<sup>1</sup> At times such pairs form hunting parties and certain exchanges of goods, as well, take place, but these usually revolve about the products of the winter hunts. It is likely, as well, that acute shortages are relieved through the medium of such friendships.

Earlier we indicated that kinship ties existed between the religious segments as well. An example of a cooperative enterprise that overlapped the religious division in favor of kinship considerations was that concerning the transportation of 9's boat from Pond Inlet in May, 1961. The sons and brother of 9 brought the boat overland while the sons of 14 met them at Igluxjuaq and hauled the engine down from that point thereby lightening the load of the others.

Because of these instances of overriding the religious split and because the boat crew division takes care of the phase of the yearly cycle that sets the Anglican group apart economically, and also because there are crew divisions implying two distributional networks within the Catholic village, we have omitted the religious split as another level of cooperation and distribution.

With regard to village-wide influence, there is no native who can properly be called issumataq for the entire village. Person 9 guides the spiritual destiny of the Anglican village and has some influence in food distribution as well as heading a large family group. Person 16 is certainly the most influential man in

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<sup>1</sup>Louis Fournier, O.M.I., personal correspondence, February 14, 1962.



the Catholic village and undoubtedly his judgments in areas other than economics carries over into the other segment as well. He is one of the older men and regarded as possessing superior judgment. His influence is felt in matters of adoption, naming children, and marriage<sup>1</sup> but it is not possible to say that he has the economic control over the entire village, or even over the Catholic part of it, that the leader at Kapuivik possesses. As a matter of fact, it appears that acculturative influences interfere with the operation or formation of native-centered authority patterns. Formerly the Hudson's Bay Company man was designated as the issumataq by the Eskimo but now the Northern Service Officer of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources carries that title. Certainly the control of family allotment and pension monies plays an important part in the transfer of that title. The evident wealth of the governmental agency also helps to indicate their representative as the top man at Ikpiakjuk. The decision-making powers of that man, such as his ability to ship people out to the hospital, to dole out emergency supplies, and in a number of other areas of economic and social concern, are factors contributing to his influence. The history of the development of the settlement at Ikpiakjuk centers around the location of church, post, and more recently the school. Although we have shown that much of the residential location here can be understood in terms of kinship, the acculturative motives have been indicated as strong, resulting in a larger aggregation of people than elsewhere in the Igluligmiut region. Accordingly, the collection of people that has gathered there cannot be considered a "natural" one. Perhaps the leadership

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

situation that has developed can be attributed, in part, to this factor as well as those of the eminence of the white men at the settlement.

In the southern Igluligmiut area are two villages, Ingnextoq and Ussuakjuk, which present interesting economic networks. As in the villages previously considered, walrus and seal, and perhaps to a lesser extent, caribou, killed in winter are shared throughout the village. Leadership at Ingnextoq is rather ill-defined on this level, though Person 1 (see Figure 40) claims to be top dog. Other information (which comes largely from Mr. Daniel Perey,<sup>1</sup> Eskimo Research Board, Canada) indicates that the leader at Ussuakjuk, 3, has considerable authority over the other village as well. His position of leadership in the southernmost Igluligmiut village is firmly entrenched, supported by kinship and personal qualifications, but the latter alone are indicated as important in his extra-village influence.

Figure 40 shows the probable separation of cooperative units on the primary scale, shown by figure /1/. The information on Ingnextoq is largely guess work based on contradictory material, whereas at Ussuakjuk the picture is clearer. The division at that village corresponds to the actual residential situation as well as the networks within fox profits and family allotments are shared. As such we have in actuality two extended and one independent nuclear family. In these units the leadership seems to be invested in 2, 3, and of course 6, respectively. Person 2 is in angayungrok-nukownyrok relationship with 4 and thus has terminologically defined basis for ascendancy. Person 1, his foster father has had toes

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Perey, personal correspondence, January 12, 1962.

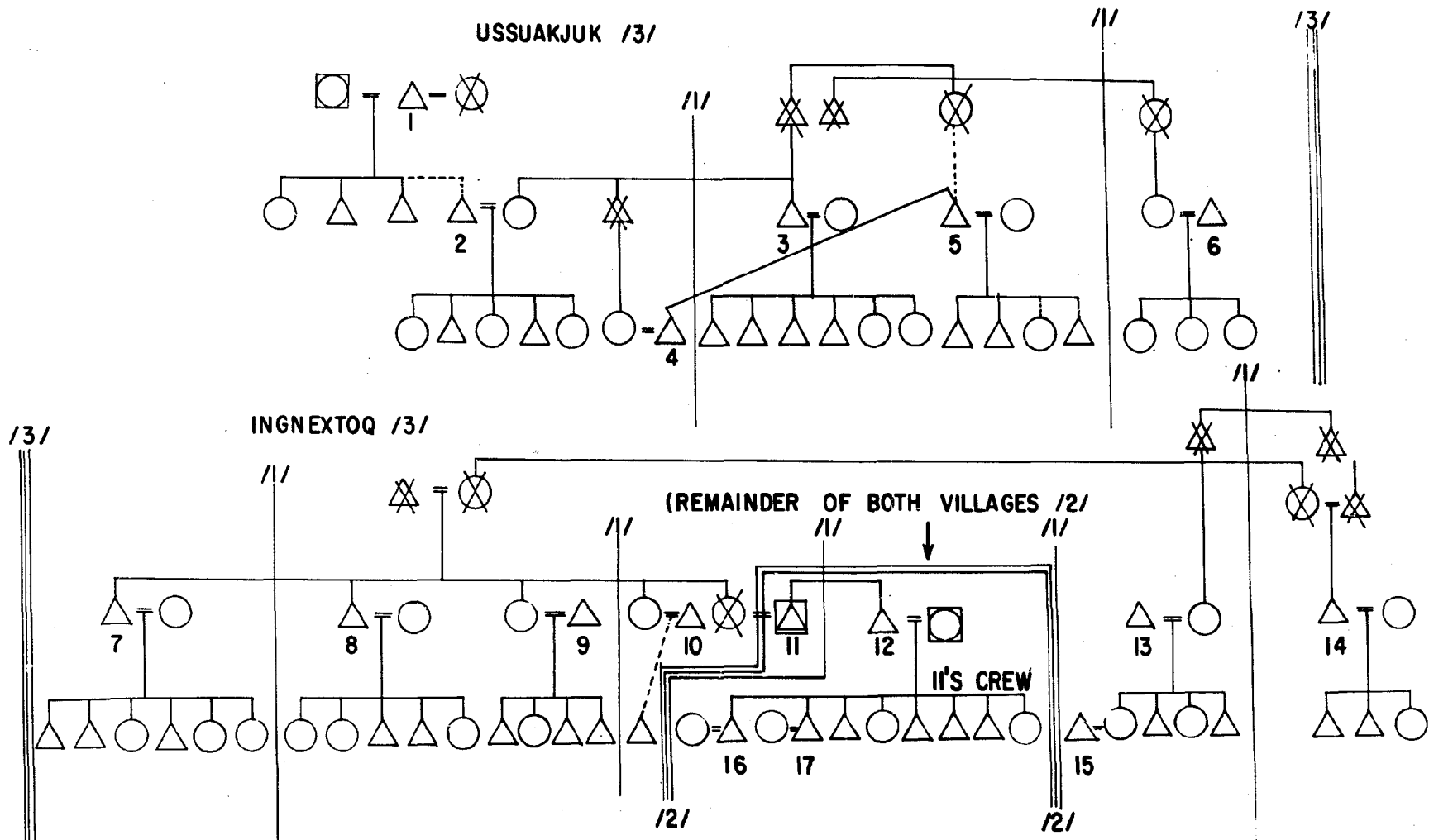


FIG. 40. — USSUAKJUK-INGNEXTOQ: LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

amputated from frost-bite and is sixty-five years old and quite deaf and in general, has the lowest status in the village despite his age. This man has never had influence in the Iglulik area, has never had a large number of kin gathered about him, and has no great reputation as a hunter so that his physical decline probably emphasized his low status in the Iglulik area. Persons 3 and 5 are cousins through adoption but 3 is older and comes about his leadership naturally through personal qualities and success as a hunter and trapper. As indicated above, this leadership extends far beyond the household of which he is member.

In the summer season the Ussuakjuk people are located at Tikeraq at the base of Amitsoq Peninsula. The boat owned by 3 is operated jointly by himself, 2, 4, and 6. In the summer of 1961 when Mr. Perey<sup>1</sup> was living at Tikeraq, persons 7 and 13 brought 5's boat down from Ingnextoq and these three men formed her crew. The engine of this boat is owned by 7. In 1957, 7 and 10 joined 5 in the operation of his boat. In either case the total group formed a close cooperative network and the catches of both crews were merged. Ultimate authority in the combined crews was 3, though Mr. Perey<sup>1</sup> is not certain as to his dominance over 7. Thus we have another example of the merging of crews into one distributive unit as was the case between brothers at Kapuivik. The caches at Tikeraq are visited during the winter by members of this combine from Ingnextoq and Ussuakjuk, as I was able to witness in February of 1961.

Part of Ingnextoq seems thus to be annually drawn into a close cooperative-sharing network with Ussuakjuk during the

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

important summer walrus hunt. The others at Ingnextoq, mainly 12 and his two sons, combine with 11, who normally resides in winter in the Agu region, to form a crew which operates 11's whaleboat from Qangmat during both the summer and autumn walrus hunts. Mr. Perey feels that authority is fairly well distributed between the brothers 11 and 12, but we would suspect that ownership of the boat and greater age of 11 would give him ultimate say.

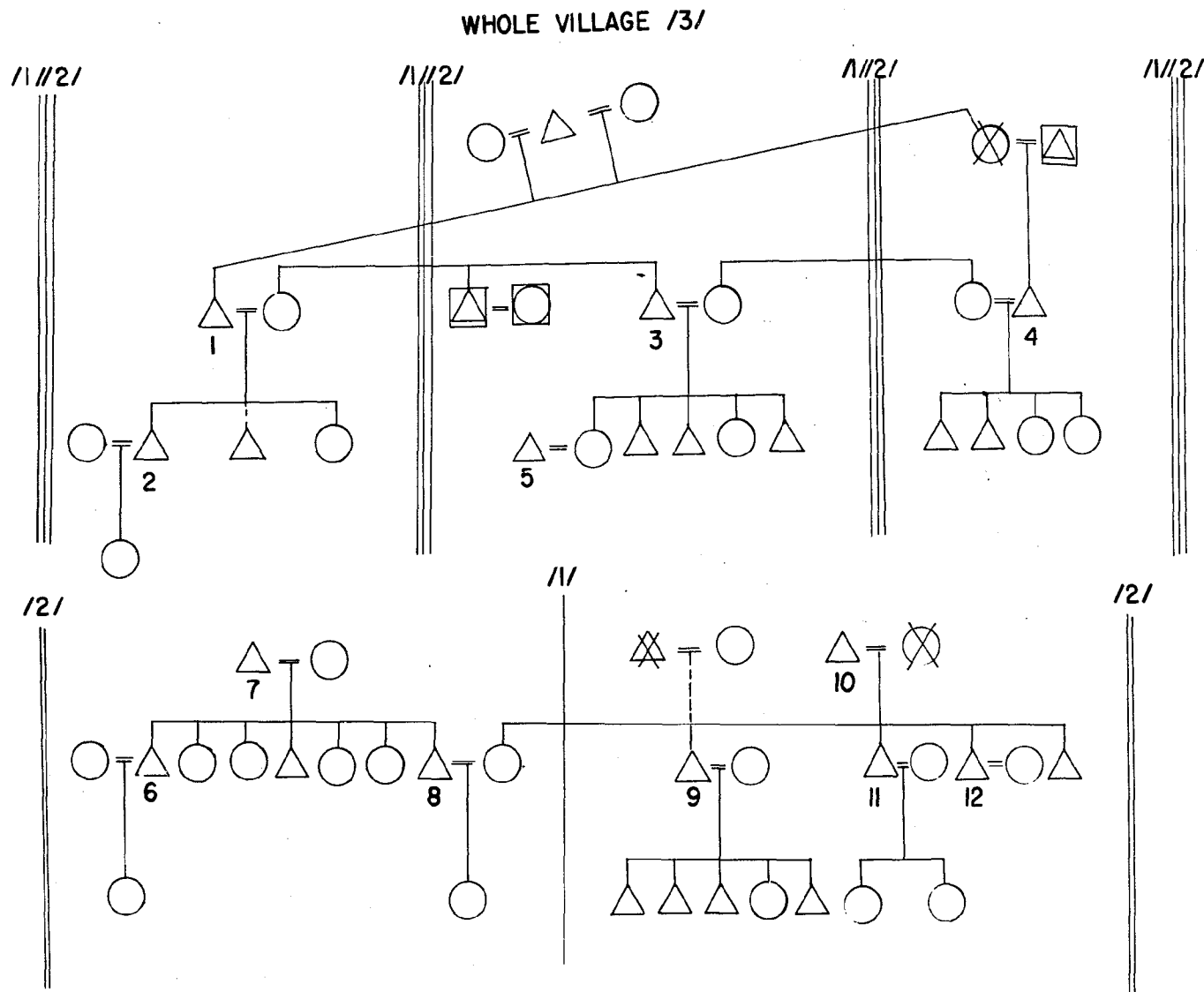
In September and early October the Ussuakjugmiut hunt walrus at their home site whereas the Ingnextogmiut hunt at Qangmat. The organization of caribou hunts in the late summer and early fall do not seem to be as regular as at Kapuivik, or for that matter, Ikpiakjuk. Some members of each village go into the interior of the peninsula at that season, but a number of others work at unloading ships at Foxe Main or, to a greater extent, concentrate on the walrus.

The cooperative-authority structure of these villages is interesting in that one level of cooperation /2/ includes all of one village and a large section of another. Though the symbol /2/ is used to indicate this on Figure 40 because it represents the unit based on the distribution of the summer walrus meat as it did at Ikpiakjuk and Kapuivik, it actually transcends level /3/, the whole village, in size. The ascendancy of one man's authority over a supra village level is also connected to this arrangement as well. We can note by the chart that the combination of manpower that transcends village limits is partly organized within the kinship network but boat-engine ownership which lies outside this scope in the case of 5 and 7 is another factor. On the other hand the split in crew composition at Ingnextoq is pretty well along

kinship lines and the organization of the crew of 3's boat also circumscribes a kin unit with 3 at the center and connected to the others. Persons 2 and 4 are ningawt to him and person 6 nukowngrok.

At Qimmixtogvik the three levels of economics are again indicated by /1/, /2/, and /3/ on the accompanying, Figure 41, chart. The primary division /1/ here refers to four extended family and one independent nuclear family units. We have included 13 in the extended family of 1, his father, even though his actual domicile is six miles away, because of the almost daily contact between these two and because of the close economic unity they form. Authority within level /1/ units is clearly outlined by kinship directives with 1, 3, 7, and 10 being heads of extended and 4 of nuclear families.

Level /2/ which has most often in other villages whose economic structure has been analyzed above conforms to the divisions of the summer walrus catch, involves some complexity at this village. The extended families of 7 and 10 join to form the crew of 10's boat while the other units, headed by 1, 3, and 4, all belong to extra-village crews. Person 1 and son 2 usually hunt with the crew of 1's older brother's boat which is stationed at Pingexqalik and form part of a sharing network under the leadership of this latter individual. Person 3 and his brother, 14, are usually together in the summer months and they manage a canoe and share the catch between them. (We have indicated that person 14 spends part of the winter here and part at Ingnextoq.) The son-in-law of 3, person 5, usually works as a member of his father's crew which operated out of Pingexqalik in 1960 and around Amherst Island



**FIG. 41: QIMMIXTOGVIK: LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION**

in 1961. Person 4 captained his father's boat along with his brother and another man from Ikpiakjuk.

The organization of boat crews at Qimmixtogvik was disrupted somewhat in the summer of 1961 when persons 14, 11, and 4 were employed in construction work at Foxe Hospital camp and 16 worked on the DEWline and persons 1 and 9 were sent outside with tuberculosis. As a result, 4's boat was laid up, and 10's boat was operated by the elderly men 10 and 7, and teen-aged boys.

Division /3/ again refers to the village whole and comprises the level of cooperation and distribution during the winter months with regard to seal and walrus at least. In this village as at Ikpiakjuk the whole village includes both Catholic and Anglican elements and since on level /2/ as well (the combination of 7's and 10's families as a crew) the religious distinction is ignored, it must be inferred that here the separation according to faith does not have a serious effect on the cooperative-distributive network. Hunting parties that go onto the ice during the winter months are sometimes organized along family or religious lines but at other times cut across these. This is especially the case when conditions are favorable for walrus hunting and larger parties are formed.

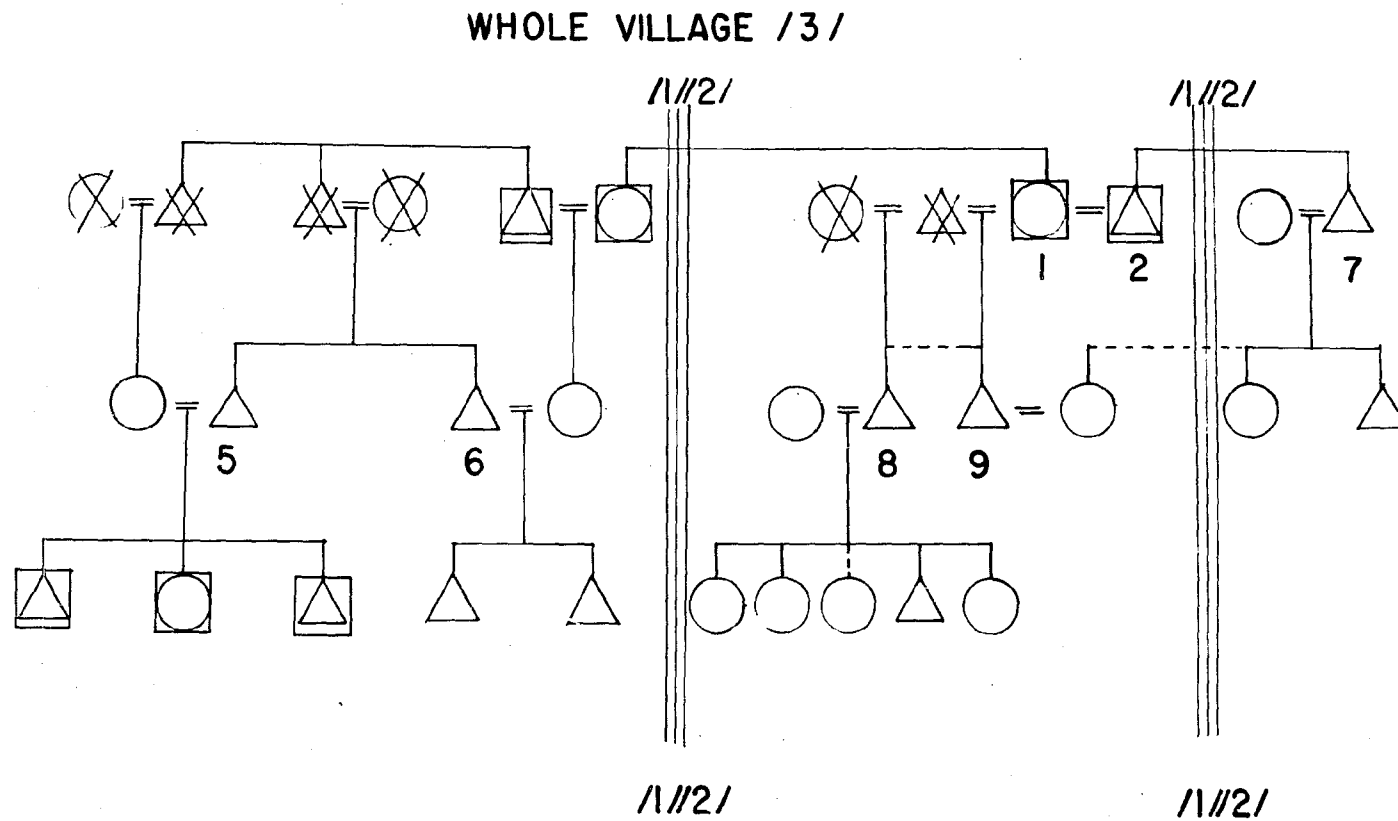
With regard to leadership we have indicated that on level /1/ authority in economic matters is clearly determined by kinship directives. On level /2/ person 10 as owner of the whaleboat and as head of a larger extended family unit seems to have some authority over 7. Person 4 is the umealiq of his boat, though his father's decisions regarding food division are heeded as noted under our discussion of Ikpiakjuk. Person 3 holds an ascendant



position to 14 on the basis of kinship directives though we have no knowledge of how this works in actual practice. Person /1/ is subordinate to his older brother, at least in the ideal, though I have no information concerning the actual situation. There is no issumataq at this village and divisions of spoils on a village-wide level seems to proceed on a democratic basis, as nearly as I could observe during my short stays at that village. The effectiveness of the village-wide organization of economic activities would seem to depend more on the friendship or hostility between the constituent families than on any built-in authority structure encompassing the whole.

The aggregation of people that I found on Crown Prince Frederick Island (see Figure 42) in March of 1961 functioned, during the three months of its existence, as a unit in sharing the meat of seals and polar bear that were killed during that time. The hunting parties were adapted in their organization to the maulexpok method of sealing that was practiced there. Man and wife formed the hunting teams in the cases of 8, 9, and 7 and spouses, while 5 and 6 formed another such unit. Distribution of meat on a village-wide level did not proceed under a carefully prescribed set of rules, rather, temporary shortages are adjusted in an informal way, one segment to another.

Regarding the leadership on this level there would seem to be a very democratic sort of arrangement in effect. The kinship directives do not indicate any clear basis for ultimate authority and as far as I was able to observe this was the actual state of affairs, though much more observational data would be needed to verify this.



**FIG. 42 - QIQTARUK: LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION**

In the case of this village, Qiqiqtaruk, the level /1/ and level /2/ as we have been using these concepts seem to coincide as indicated on the chart. There are, in effect, two extended and one independent nuclear family within which fox profits, and other sources of income are shared and which, as well, are residential units. Leadership in the cases of the two extended families are determined according to terminological-behavioral directives with 5 ideally dominant over 6 because of an age distinction, and 7 over 9 because of the behavioral prescriptions inherent to the father-in-law-son-in-law relationship. Each of these segments so outlined forms a part of a summer cache distribution system which have members outside the group that we have indicated for Qiqiqtaru. This situation is consistent with the short-termed and conglomerate nature of this aggregation.

The villages whose networks of cooperation and authority we have discussed are all of the type 2 or larger, bilaterally organized, sort. In addition to these groupings there are those of type 1, or small, close-knit, extended family variety. These villages are almost without exception comprised of groups of people related to each other in such a way that all fell within the terminological-behavioral networks of all others. Under these circumstances the web of kinship outlined the sort of behavior that is to be directed toward every other member of the community. Authority and cooperation in economic as well as in other matters was thus blue-printed. It must not be inferred that such cooperation and authority diffusion was always followed without disagreement nor that, in fact, the prescribed channels were always followed to the letter in every case of decision and activity. Discontentments were, of

course, present. It is unlikely, however, that before internal frictions developed to an unbearable extent, the technique of withdrawal to new sites of habitation was practiced by members of these groups. In general, there probably is a rather smooth operation of economic pursuits within these units, but much is dependent upon the abilities of the constituent members and, as well, to the resources of the locality, as to whether the unit is economically successful or harmoniously integrated.

In almost all cases of the extended family type of village, all three levels of cooperation and authority diffusion are co-terminous. It is true that private property is known. Each man, for instance, has his own dogs and sledge and weapons, but the ultimate source of income from which these items derive is usually pooled within the village as a whole. The leadership of the group normally resided in the oldest man in the direct male line of descent; there were, however, some exceptions to this rule.

At Manextoq the authority structure is disturbed from the ideally prescribed according to kinship directives in that the second rather than the eldest son is designated as issumataq. The natives say that long before his death in the winter of 1959-60 the father of the sibling group there (see Figure 11) indicated his successor to be the second son. The eldest son has been deaf for many years, is rather a mediocre hunter, and is generally thought of as being rather stupid (perhaps because of his deafness) by the other Eskimo.

Another case that departs from the ideal in authority structure is the one at Nogsagnaxjuk. Here, after the death of the only natural son of the oldest man, an agreement was made for a son-in-

law, then in his forties, to join the group in order to create a more solid productive unit. The men of the village then were: the old man who now could not hunt because of crippledness associated with toe amputation, an adoptive son, the aforementioned son-in-law, and his married son. During the year 1960-61, a young man worked out his bride service there as well.

By the time the individual in question joined the village he had reached an age where he would expect to wield some authority and though the old man was officially called issumataq, it was generally known that decisions regarding economic matters were largely determined by the son-in-law. This man operated the village's whaleboat which, however, in 1961 became obsolete. After that a large canoe with outboard motor was purchased for use in the walrus hunts. The son-in-law's position in the village rested on his joining the village already in middle age with a son who had reached adulthood. Furthermore, he had entered the village on the request of the old man. The son-in-law was also an offspring of Ituksaxjuaq. All of these factors together insured his entering the village without assuming the subordinate status that kinship directives prescribe.

Our review of the situations of cooperation, distribution, and leadership in economics in the various villages of the Iglulik area has revealed a variety of forms. In some villages we found that the organization of summer walrus hunts were extra-village in scope, in others, entirely within one village. In some cases, religious considerations seemed important in defining the limits of cooperative networks, in others they seemed to be immaterial. At some places the extended family level of economic organization was

congruent with the village level. In some cases village leadership was split, in others it appeared to be nonexistent; in one case it included all of one village and extended to a part of another. At one village we had a strong rivalry for leadership in economic and other matters, elsewhere no such strong development of factionalism was evident. In some cases leadership was mostly determined by kinship connection, in others family wealth or the ownership of a whaleboat or even personality factors were seen as being responsible for the emergence of an issumataq. Leaders were found to be strong and weak. The extended family was indicated as the primary economic unit in many cases but there were instances of independent nuclear families operating as the basic unit. Indeed there is a bewildering variety of phenomena confronting the anthropologist who seeks generalizations concerning the organization of economic activities. We dealt in some detail with the economic network of one village, Kapuivik, as our data was most complete from that place. Faced with this seemingly disordered state of affairs for the society as a whole, we might ask at this point just how much our more intimate knowledge of the Kapuivik situation contributes to the over-all understanding of economic organization in the Iglulik area.

The factional situation that we see at Kapuivik is not, certainly, typical to all the area. The spatial separation that takes place there seems to be of another sort than is in effect at Iglulik. In the former case antagonism between the leaders of extended family units based on rivalry over leadership in the village whole resulted in the splitting of the village residentially and sentimentally. At Ikpiakjuk a religious-employment

situation is responsible for a similar residential-economic split. In other villages religious differences have not accounted alone for such separation of personnel as in this case but, on the other hand, we might find the seeds for the sort of struggle that is going on in Kapuivik in other places if there were more intimate knowledge available concerning the daily life. Certainly jealousy and strivings for prestige play a prominent part in Igluligmiut psychology and seem likely to give rise to the sort of factionalism we find at Kapuivik and to a lesser extent at Ikpiakjuk. Since we find this splitting of personnel in the two largest villages we might conjecture that perhaps the loose forms of organization of community action that are present are insufficient to hold together effectively as a community aggregations beyond, say, 50 persons. In making such a conjecture we would, however, be going beyond the focus on economics that has been our concern in this chapter.

What we do find at Kapuivik that will help our understanding of the other villages, are several other features. One of these is the emergence of the extended family as the basic cooperative unit, the importance of the whaleboat in structuring the accumulation and storage of meat resources, and the village-wide sharing of game killed on the ice in winter. The importance of kinship in the establishment of cooperative-distributive structures and the designation of leadership and the diffusion of authority within, are other patterns seen at Kapuivik which we find to be general. We can also note at that village the importance of personality factors in determining leadership when kinship directives are absent or inoperative. This pattern, too, can be seen to operate elsewhere in the region. The insight that we gained by detailed examination of

these features at Kapuivik will perhaps be to our advantage in trying to understand the total picture of Igluligmiut economic organization.

With these important patterns as our guideposts let us see what sort of generalizations can be made about the organization of economic activities for the whole region. In the first place, several general levels of cooperation and distribution have been outlined in our examination of the economic life in modern Igluligmiut villages. These have been indicated as effectively incorporating most of the cooperative and distributive activities in the villages.

The first of these levels is that of the extended family. As well as being the principal residential unity, this entity almost always comprised the minimum distributive unit. Wage income from all sources is usually shared within the extended family. The extended family has been viewed here as a close-knit unity in which behavioral directives outline the bonds of cooperation and the hierarchy of authority in a traditionally prescribed way. In several villages relatively isolated nuclear families performed the tasks and have the distributive scope of the extended family. Such arrangements have the disadvantage that differential success in the pursuits, especially trapping that contribute to the support of the unit are not compensated for nuclear family by nuclear family.

The limits of the extended family are defined in terms of kinship and physical proximity. In one case we presented as a primary level cooperative-sharing unit a residentially split group. In another case, at Ussuakjuk, we indicated as extended family economic units households whose kin ties within were of a loose sort. These marginal cases do not, however, seriously disrupt the aptness



of the two-criteria definition of this unit.

The unity of this group as a cooperative mechanism needs special analysis when we consider the make-up of hunting parties. These often cross-cut extended families even when comprised of only two men. This phenomenon seems to be a product of division of labor among the men of the extended family in order to simultaneously get done jobs of different sorts within the context of that group as a cooperative unit. Trapping and wage labor usually operate on the individual level whereas seal or caribou hunts may be organized within the unit or overlap it as above. The whale-boat crew may at times be coterminous with extended family and in these and other cases the extended family may be coterminous with the village itself. How well the traditionally prescribed patterns of the diffusion of authority and bonds of cooperative nature operate in creating an efficient economic unit within the extended family depends largely on the success of kinship directives in smoothing out personal differences and on the productiveness of the men in the unit.

Another level of cooperation and sharing that is universal in the Iglulik area is that of the village whole. Everywhere, at least in the ideal, game killed on the winter ice is shared by this largest local aggregation. There is some evidence to indicate that in actual practice village-wide sharing failed to materialize because of hostilities among the constituent families. In some places whole village sharing was not highly systematized and was enforced only when a definite shortage exists in one part of the village. Elsewhere a more formal division of the catch is made after the hunt.

The winter phase of the economic cycle is important in most places for the fox trade and for securing seals for fuel for lamps to heat the qangmat and plywood houses. The need for fresh food from the flesh of walrus, seal, and caribou is usually secondary to the above except when summer walrus hunts are not successful or in regions where the seal is the backbone of the economy.

The winter pattern of village-wide sharing has obvious survival value since the differential luck, skill and ambitions of the village hunters is thereby balanced out preventing shortages in the houses of the less successful. Since seal hunting is usually carried out by small groups or singly this factor of differential success is especially prominent in that area. The need for fat for the lamps is immediate and ever-present throughout the cold months of the year. In most places the fat stored from the spring utoq hunting phase does not last long into the winter.

On this economic level proximity prevails over kinship as the defining of the unit. Hunting parties may or may not have representatives from each constituent family of the village. Regardless of the kinship composition of the group that acquires game during the winter, division of the spoils is ideally made on a village-wide basis. On the other hand, it is likely that the kinship ties among the constituent nuclear and extended families provide important bases for cooperation and distribution within the village. The summer tent camps at Pingexqalik, Napaqat, Qangmat, and Tikeraq all have crews that are made up of personnel from more than one winter village. Only at Qaexsuit are all the crews made up of men from one winter village. There are cases where unattached (kinshipwise) members are present in crews but these are invariably

instances where such members are genealogically isolated from anyone owning a boat. On the other hand, just as in residence alignment, alternative associations are sometimes available with regard to the organization of boat crews. Sometimes the exploitation of one or the other alternative does not proceed according to the closeness-distance axis of the terminological-behavioral system and qualifying conditions such as most equitable distribution of manpower and the cordiality that exists between family heads are involved.

The overriding of village bonds in the formation of the crews is important because the distribution of meat caught in the boat hunts is distributed according to crew in most cases. Thus a village may be split into separate distributive systems as based on the summer caches and in some cases members of two or more winter villages may make trips to a common cache during the winter for man and dog food.

There are at least two cases where two crews are combined to form a minimal distributive unit regarding the products of the summer hunt. In the case at Kapuivik a village segment is comprised of two extended families, headed by brothers, each of which operates a boat. The imbalance of manpower between these units requires the transferring of personnel from one extended family to the other in order to make up an effective crew.

Aside from these extremes in levels of cooperation and distribution we have in the cases of the larger villages a third network. Most consistently, the third network revolved about the walrus hunts of summer and fall which were conducted from boats. The make-up of boat crews and the storage and division of the

products of the hunt were intimately connected with this level. Confusion in classification comes regarding the separation or combination of manpower into crews on a sub-village, a village, or a supra-village level and the separation or combination of the crews themselves into cooperative sharing units. Since the meat that is secured, stored, and distributed by the whaleboat crews provides the primary source of food in all but three or four of the fourteen Igluligmiut villages, it is important that we examine closely the sort of organization that revolves about this unit.

Recruitment into the umiakattigiit or boat crew depends on either kinship, or locality, or both. The extended family is, as we have noted above, often the core or even the totality of the boat crew. Each extended family and, certainly, each independent nuclear families do not own whaleboats, however. Three possibilities are open to family groups in a position of non-ownership. First, they can move to a good sealing area and try to subsist principally on that resource. Second, they can join the crew of a neighbor's (nunakattik) boat. Third, they can join relatives outside their home village for the summer and fall walrus hunting phase of the seasonal cycle. Of the three, the last seems to be the solution more often adopted, though all three are used. We might say, then, that kinship has a slight edge over local considerations in the accretion of members of summer crews. In addition, actual ownership of both boats by the older of the two family heads and the reliance of the smaller boat, which is a sailboat, on the larger for towing when the wind conditions are not favorable, makes the two form a closer unit during the actual operation of the hunt than is typical of other boats in most of the summer villages. Perhaps the closer

integration of manpower and of cooperation during the hunt that these crews show is intimately related to the extension of the sharing network to include both crews.

The other case of an extra-crew sharing network, regarding the products of the summer hunt, involves villagers from Ussuakjuk and Ingnextoq. At Ussuakjuk two boats are owned by members, the engine of one of these is, however, owned by a man from Ingnextoq. This second boat has as captain the owner from Ingnextoq but a crew comprised of Ingnextogmiut. This arrangement seems to be related to the unbalanced manpower-to-boat ratio between the two villages as well as to the kinship connections that exist between the members of this second crew though they are not complete. Since the two boat owners share a household and are united on the primary level of cooperation and sharing it would seem that this close relationship precludes the splitting of caches on the basis of crew division.

At other places, though we have indicated overriding of village boundaries in the make-up of crews, as in the above case, there seems to be no pattern of combining caches among crews.

Each of these levels of socio-economic interaction normally has an associated system of leadership and authority diffusion. At the primary level, leadership in the extended family ideally rests on the oldest man in the male line, although we have noted several exceptions to this pattern related to the elimination from leadership of obviously unqualified persons. Regulation of activity within has been indicated as passing through channels of diffusion based on kinship directives.

The organization of the whaleboat crew revolves about the

umealiq or captain. This man is usually the owner, and if the boat has been family property for some years, he is also the oldest active male or otherwise family leader. In some cases, the authority of this man is exercised only in the actual hunt and the storage of the meat. The caches are often visited without his participation by members of the crew. At other times the umealiq may also be the village issumataq. The three levels of authority are usually combined in one man, if he is physically active, in the small close-knit villages. Elsewhere there may be two or three umealiq in one village.

Diffusion of command during the operation of the boat in the hunt seems to normally proceed along the lines indicated by kinship behavioral norms though these may be difficult to discern in face of the apparently informal manner in which things get done. In crews comprised of membership that cuts across kin lines the situation is more complicated, though in general, my observations at Kapuivik, indicate that the outsiders to the group owning the boat usually have subordinate roles.

Though leadership on the level of the extended family is outlined by kinship principles that are usually followed, and the leadership in the boat is determined by a combination of ownership and kinship position, above those levels it is left pretty much in dispute in the larger villages. Since economic matters are material for many of the decisions that village leaders must make, it seems fitting to explore at this point the characteristics that determine leadership on that level, when, indeed, it does occur.

In our discussion of the authority system at Kapuivik

we indicated that one sort of leadership impasse was settled, at least temporarily, on the basis of one member possessing a more aggressive personality and being at the head of a larger group of kinsmen than another man who owned a boat. We also indicated that the position of the now ascendant individual had become precarious when his rival had collected about him kindred enough to successfully man his boat. In this situation we see in operation several of the important ingredients for claim to leadership on a village level as well as on the sub-village level that this case illustrates. These are, position at head of a large group of kin, ownership of a boat, and personality factors.

The village-wide leader at Kapuivik seems to possess all these prerequisites, though attitudes about the third of these seemed to have been in dispute in the region. Another factor in his favor was that not only did he head a large kin group but those who were most directly under his authority (sons and sons-in-law) were a very productive collection of hunters and trappers and the wealth of his family depended to a great extent on their success in the hunt and on the traplines.

Details from other villages concerning leadership are probably too insufficient to give more than suggestive information concerning the determination of leadership. The distribution of meat during the winter on the village-wide scale seems to be carried out in a democratic way with perhaps the family leaders becoming involved in discussion over the matter. Indeed, in three of the five large villages there is no over-all issumataq. We know little about disputes for leadership outside of the situation at Kapuivik, but it is likely that they occur. It also seems likely

that at times split village situations such as at that village occur elsewhere. A more common means of settlement of inter-village strife seems to be withdrawal to other places of residence.

At Ikpiakjuk natives leadership patterns have been weakened by the presence of whites and perhaps as well by the religious split. The native pastor probably has the greatest influence of the natives in the Anglican section in economic as well as spiritual matters. In the Catholic section we have noted an influential leader as well. This man's position seems to be related as much to personal qualities as to age and position at head of a large family. There are larger family groupings in the village than the one he heads. He no longer hunts and there is some question as to whether his ascendancy as a man of importance is related to his success as a hunter. On the other hand, the native pastor was formerly noted as a clever hunter, and in addition he leads the largest family unit in the village with three grown sons co-resident. Neither of these men is, however, as we have noted, known as the issumataq at Ikpiakjuk, that designation being applied to the white governmental officer.

At Qimmixtogvik there again is no over-all leader, indeed leadership does not seem to have developed above the level of the boat crew, which as we have seen split the village into five segments. Perhaps this segmentation by crew as well as the rather atypical sorts of kinship ties and the one major break in kin connections within the village conspire against the development of village-wide leadership. In addition, the two men who lead sizable extended family units are neither held in high regard by the natives, the one because of his frequent links with white men in



servile roles, and the other because of his lack of energy.

A unique example of leadership is seen in the southern villages where one man can be practically regarded as issumataq over both. Only one extended family unit among the regular winter members of these villages is not involved in the sharing network that the issumataq directs. This man is also said to be subordinate, however, to the leader of the two villages. How can we explain this man's dominance over these aggregations? First, we have indicated that his control of the two whaleboats which account for a large part of the winter stores of both villages. In addition, this man is usually first or second in number of foxes caught in the Iglulik area each year. This gives him a strong economic position, especially since he shares fox profits with the cousin who is also a good trapper. The man is also the religious leader in the community, but usually that job goes with being issumataq. He has gathered about him at Ussuakjuk a group of rather active young men to which he is connected through kin ties, and the sorts of ties that put him in a terminologically prescribed position of authority. His ties with Ingnextoq, on the other hand, put him in a subordinate position, since he is an in-marrying male in terms of the dominant sibling group at that place. This factor may, indeed, account for the division of personnel between the two villages that we see. On the other hand, it does not prevent his ascendancy in terms of extra-village leadership. This man was only thirty-five years old in 1961 and does not have the advantage of great age over the other members of the Ussuakjuk-Ingnextoq aggregations.

These factors would seem rather enough to establish the

man as issumataq but they do not explain the success with which he organizes activities and the general good feeling that prevails among the members of these villages toward him. Personality factors alone account for these characteristics of the Ussuakjuk-Ingnextoq economic network. Both the personality of the leader and the compatibility of the personnel with him and among themselves are involved. Mention of the importance of personality in the determination of leadership and the smooth operation of a distributive-cooperative network reminds us of our brief discussion of personalities at Kapuivik. We noted that leadership in that village fell into the hands of the irascible and domineering Qayakjuaq and the haughty, and rather niggardly Piuwaktuk. Neither of these men were quite secure in their domains, however. Arngnaxjuaq is, on the other hand, soft spoken, kind, wise, and generous, and much more effective in winning the acceptance of his fellow villagers and even those from without.

It is difficult to give primacy to any one attribute as a determinant of ascendancy to leadership on the highest level (village or supra-village). Certainly, kinship connections are important but they are never enough to alone insure prominence on a supra-familial level. Family size and wealth are also important ingredients, especially with regard to economic leadership. Age plays a part too but it has been shown to be a not crucial prerequisite to claim to the issumataq title. Personality factors, both on the part of the leader and with regard to the personnel in a village, seem capable of determining whether an authority network is a weak and diffuse organization or a vital, integrated one. In the absence of other factors that would clearly indicate which of

two or several men should be ascendant in a local situation personality factors stand out strongly in determining the eventual leader.

Of all factors, the traditionally posited qualification for leadership among the Eskimo--ability in the hunt--seems to be actually secondary to these previously named. Leadership in the extended family often resides in man retired or semi-retired from the hunt. Ability to organize large scale dispersal of personnel, as for instance, in the walrus hunts from boats, is, however, a valuable trait. Leadership on the higher levels, moreover, may be affected by the relative success or failure in the hunt that is shown by the total hunting force of the kin group immediate to a claimant for village-wide leadership. As far as individual success in the hunt is concerned, however, we must remember that these Eskimo are not count-oriented and have little conception of the total number of seals or caribou, or even fox produced by a single hunter, for more than a few days running. (This observer has gotten estimates of from three to six from different members of a crew, regarding the catch of walrus in a hunt only two days old.)

At this point it may be well to analyze the contemporary sharing and distribution networks in terms of their development from traditional forms.

Viewed in historical perspective we could conceive of the three levels of cooperation and distribution as being formerly more closely identified each with a major phase of the seasonal economic cycle, and today a telescoping of these phases, in terms of distribution at least, has occurred, creating a great deal more

simultaneousness to their operation. Accordingly, the whaleboat crew as an important economic unit can be seen to find seeds in the small groups of kayakers that hunted walrus together in summer and fall. Their families together formed units comparable in size, and probably, as well, kinship composition to those of the crews of today and they shared their caches until they were exhausted, probably about the New Year. The large winter villages depended on current catches and division corresponded to the whole village unit as it does today during the winter period with regard to game killed at that season. Today, however, since the stores from the summer hunts last through the winter we have the simultaneous operation of these two levels as distributional units.

Our temporal-to-spatial reduction of economic levels does not so neatly portray the situation of the primary sharing level, the extended family, however. In the preceding chapter we have indicated that it was likely that this unit was the local group during the spring utoq season but we also indicated that our evidence was weak. It seems likely that the extended family retained certain basic economic functions throughout the year and that the major change that can be identified over the years with the primary level of cooperation and distribution has been the taking over of cash income distribution within that unit. An increased emphasis on the importance and separateness of that unit in the realm of economics has thereby resulted.

Leadership patterns have been somewhat modified by the emergence of the umealiq as a type. Traditional criteria of determining leadership within the extended family and on the village level are still in force, revolving about kinship and age con-

siderations, family strength, and personality. Modification on these levels is related to the introduction of the fox trade and the whaleboat and the inequalities in prosperity that they brought about.

The degree of standardization that can be seen on the basis of the three main sorts of distribution systems does not, however, fully explain the whole story of economic organization for we have seen a number of adaptations of each of these systems. The picture of leadership in economic matters, and especially on a village-wide basis, is indeed erratic. Part of the variability in the economic systems from village to village can indeed be explained in terms of the different structures of residential alignment that we find from village to village. The contrast in economic organization between the close-knit small village and the larger bilaterally organized village, for instance, parallels the contrast in residential structure. Though we have noted that acculturative changes related to the introduction of the fox trade and other cash income and the whaleboat could be said to add to the complexity and the variability of the economic system, it can be noted that the reorganization and complication of the system has taken place within the rather orderly frames of locality and kinship which have been traditional.

Even though we do cite such additional factors which tend to perhaps reduce the extent of randomness and variability to the economic network as we see it today, a certain amount of randomness and flexibility is still there. It is likely that this is to be understood in terms of the absence of any traditional forms of social structure transcending the extended family as being persist-

ent cooperative authority structures. There is no development of "localized lineages" or "localized clans"<sup>1</sup> that are often found in societies that show the degree of sedentariness that has now been achieved in the Iglulik area. We have indicated, as well, in chapter iii that there is not the sort of development of pseudo- or quasi-kinship institutions that are found, for instance, in northern Alaska.<sup>2</sup> In a society with a minimum of traditional structural forms, where the overlapping kindred is the only group above the extended family that is essentially a kin group, and the local groupings may be made up of disconnected or loosely connected kin membership, where behavioral directives outlined on the basis of kinship are not rigid, there is a large area for the individual personality to intrude in the structuring of village economic activity. The character of leadership is, to a large extent, determined by the personality of the issumataq. The issumataq may have an important influence on the character of the local cooperative-distributive unit as well. The character of the unit is also influenced not only by the kinship network, that may or may not tightly enclose all of its members, but also by the compatibility and the productivity of these members. Although the organization of economic activities in the Igluligmiut villages is strongly affected by such personal and random factors as these, it can usually be understood within the broader limits of the structural forms that we have outlined in this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup>Steward, pp. 137, 153.

<sup>2</sup>Spencer, The North Alaskan Eskimo, pp. 63, 74, 84-92.

## CHAPTER VII

### STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

Our stated purpose in this thesis has been to describe Igluligmiut social groupings in terms of social structural analysis. In doing so we have sought out the regular, the recurrent, the organized aspects of the positional phase of the society. It is time to ask the question: Have the results justified the approach, can we indeed understand a large part of the social life of the Igluligmiut in terms of social structure, or are the exceptions to patterned behavior more apparent than the patterns themselves? It seems fitting that our summary of the conclusions of the foregoing sections should be presented in terms of this question.

In this appraisal of the results of the body of the paper we need tools in the form of concepts to clarify the characterization of the regularity on the one hand and anomalies on the other. The term "social structure" has been most consistently connected with the former characteristics. Several usages have been given this term.<sup>1</sup> All have in common the emphasis on order, on constancy, typicality, and expressibility in norms. It is chiefly in the definition of the units that are seen as making up the

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Redfield, pp. 33-51, and S.F. Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 2-6.

social structure and the degree of attachment to reality that social structure must have that the controversies occur.<sup>1</sup> For purposes of convenience and clarity and consistency we will herein adopt the definition of Eggan:

We can separate conceptually the groups of individuals who have adjusted their mutual interests sufficiently to cooperate in satisfying their social and personal needs, and identify the social relations which develop through recurring social interaction. These relationships of individuals and groups make up the social structure: the network of continuing social relations which gives organization and stability to social life.<sup>2</sup>

Our use of this conception of social structure will include both the idealized or expected as framed in the minds of members of the society and the actual forms that social relations take. Those of the actual forms that meet our criteria of continuance, stability, and normativeness are, then, to be considered "structural" in character. What then of those relationships that do not fit these criteria? Indeed, it is probably true that so much attention has been paid to the orderly by social anthropologists that the disorderly has been largely ignored and a term complementary to structure is not in wide usage. Perhaps Nadel's<sup>3</sup> use of "variance" is as apt as any in describing that behavior which departs from the normative. This departure may be of minor magnitude and fall within a range that we might consider as structure or, "If the variance is unlimited, if there is no routine guiding people's options so that these have a random scatter, then we can extract no orderliness or structure from the situation so characterized."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., pp. 150-51.

<sup>2</sup>Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Method and Results," in Eggan, pp. 491-92.

<sup>3</sup>Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure, pp. 134-41.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 138.



Conceived in these terms our task is to appraise the "variances" in Igluligmiut society with a view toward assessing how much of them can be subsumed under structure.

Keeping these definitions in mind let us review the results of the analyses of the preceding chapters. Our analysis of the kinship system of the Igluligmiut was presented as an important basis for the ideals of social behavior. The individual is accorded a place with reference to kindred. One might argue that such location with reference to potential persons is not "social structure" properly speaking since this concept normally applies to groups not to potentialities. On the other hand if we wish to include the ideal as well as the actual in our definition this system of prescribed status must have its place. Within the confines of the kinship system, behavioral prescriptions are outlined for the individual so that he has a guide in his interactions with a significant percentage of the people with which we expect him to associate. The system itself can be seen to have a consistency and a logical ordering of relationships. There is a symmetry in much of the bilaterality that pervades the system, and a systematic complementation of many statuses between male and female Ego. There is a consistent adherence to generation among consanguineals and a sharp separation of consanguines from affines. Much of the behavioral data shows pattern or structure as well. The concepts of nalaxtok and ungayok were seen to subsume much of the content of dyadic situations. Perhaps because it represents much that is ideal in behavioral directives and positional alignments, the kinship system--terminology and behavioral prescriptions--show a very high order of regularity. As might be expected, the actual contents

of these statuses and relations is somewhat diluted in their adherence to the structural system that they stem from.

Using the system of kinship alignment as an important guide to our analysis of group composition we found that indeed, in the broader sense, kinship factors were important in the location of individuals in the local groupings. We found that the virilocal emphasis in the extended family was strong, both in the aboriginal and modern culture. Uxorilocal individuals were seen in most cases to be genealogically isolated with respect to affines in the area. The structure of the population, however, decreed that these latter situations comprised a rather significant minority, enough to lend a certain element of bilaterality to the structure of the extended family. The constancy of the virilocally-slanted extended family is highlighted by its demonstrable continuance from the early contact period. This unit was consistently found to be the major building block in the groups of today and yesterday in the Iglulik area. Indeed some villages (about half) were seen to be nothing other than large extended families with virilocal emphasis in most cases.

Very important in the development of the extended family and to solidarity beyond that level within the village was the frequent residential unity of the sibling group. This gave direct connection on a horizontal level among the major kin groups within a village. On the other hand, about equally as frequent as sibling unity are examples of split sibling bonds. Are we to consider this tendency as well to be a structural feature? To clarify this point let us borrow a definition from Firth to expand or elaborate on our use of "social structure." He says that the social structure

is that part of social relations or alignment "as seems to be of critical importance for the behavior of members of the society, so that if such relations were not in operation, the society could not be said to exist in that form."<sup>1</sup> Since Igluligmiut society has as an important characteristic the frequent failure of large groups of kin to be associated with a locality, any widespread and consistent phenomenon that works toward creating this tendency, we feel, should be included in the social structure if it is itself patterned. Other factors contributing toward this tendency are less regular, less patterned, than the tendency toward split sibling groups, and would thus fall outside our conception of social structure.

When we moved to the aggregations of people that comprised the larger villages we usually found a wide-ranging web of relationships but most of the members of the local group could be connected on paper in such a way as to show a fairly continuous series of consanguineal and affinal ties. The wide-ranging sort of bilaterality that we found in the larger village aggregations seems to defy definition in patterned ways and is thus difficult to subsume under a structural principle of much preciseness. We are able, instead, to make only such highly abstract statements as "the ties among the constituent families of the larger village are bilateral in nature." Often the sorts of kin connections within the village existed only on paper, especially those ties between or among heads of the important extended families. Many of these men fell outside of each other's terminological-behavioral networks. One reason for the looseness in ties between major family

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<sup>1</sup>Firth, p. 39.

units was the practice of kin exogamy which prevented the sort of multiplication of bonds within the local group as, for instance, can be found in bands whose organization is based on cross-cousin marriage. Virilocal residence when applied to the village level also conspired against the kin solidarity of the groups since the female members were usually removed from the home village and offered no points of adhesion for new family units to attach.

These features of kindred exogamy and the movement of young women out of the home village must certainly be accorded places in our conception of Igluligmiut society as social structure.

The independent nuclear family, though numerically subordinate to the extended family, did appear in many of the group pictures that were examined. At times this former unit was connected to other units by kinship ties of various sorts as was the case with the extended families, but at other times genealogical isolation separated family units in the local groups. In such cases we must seek non-kinship factors in their location at the particular places where they occur. In appraisal of kinship factors in group composition, however, we may note that although the efficacy of specific factors weakened as we encompassed the larger aggregations in our analysis, in the broader perspective kinship was an essential element in the structure of every group, aboriginal or modern. Kinship factors, in fact, provide the most pervasive of organized alignment tendencies and a great deal of what is orderly about group composition is related to the operation of the kinship system in the location of individuals. There are, however, other factors outside the realm of kinship that account for the appearance of individuals and families in the places they do.

One of these has to do with the emergence of the local group as a more pronounced residential entity. The most clear-cut expression of this is the development of local exogamy. We have indicated that there is no ideally prescribed rule here and that, indeed, in aboriginal times the concept would have had little utility with the movement of people in and out of localities, so widely practiced as it was. With the increased permanency of villages, however, a local exogamy has developed that shows a narrow range of variance. This practice is, then, to be added to that of the splitting of sibling groups, virilocal residence, and kindred exogamy as a factor in the fragmentation of the local group (since out-marrying prevents the multiplication of close ties within). With these others it must also be regarded as a structural principle.

Another factor which influences the location of people is the occurrence of religious endogamy which practice also has few exceptions. This marriage regulation restricts the location of Catholics, in particular, to a few localities and brings about a segmentation of at least one community on residential grounds. This too should be added to our list of structural features for the modern period.

Other non-kinship factors in group composition are difficult to adjudge as to whether or not they should be accorded structural status. The case of the whaleboat crew is one in point. Most villages are situated near spots where walrus can be obtained, or at least are located within range of the caches that are built on the bases of the summer and autumn walrus hunts. In addition, the near necessity of being associated with a whaleboat has accounted

for the location of a number of people in the villages where they occur. On the other hand, most extended families of much size own whaleboats and the interaction of kinship and non-kinship factors involved in the composition of crews becomes quite complex at times. We have noted that more often than not extra-village (winter village, that is) aggregations of kindred form the crews at the summer camps. In such cases we see the interaction of whaleboat ownership and principles of kinship in the temporary location of individuals. The winter location of many of these individuals is not so narrowly defined on the basis of proximity to the boat as some men travel as far as forty-five miles in winter from their home to the site of the summer cache. Perhaps it would be wiser to suspend judgment as to the structural status of whaleboat ownership until other criteria than location alone are considered.

The proximity of wage labor opportunities has also been seen to influence the location of individuals in groups. Thus we saw that many of the families at Ikpiakjuk had a member who was employed at one of the installations run by white men. In addition, residence at the hospital camp and at the DEWline sites are to be understood in connection with wage labor opportunities. In assessing the stature of this factor we must note that, in the first place, most of the people that are so employed have been long associated with the regions at hand. The group at Ikpiakjuk is made up of people who have resided in the Iglulik Island region though it is only recently that building materials have been available for construction by the natives at that place. On the other hand, we have also pointed out that kinship factors are, in many cases, intertwined with acculturative motives for location at these places.

Accordingly we find mother-and-son, and brother-and-brother combinations at these places. Altogether not many of the Igluligmiut had by 1961 been influenced in their location by these acculturative factors, though there seemed to be indication that more would be in the future. At this point we become aware of the need to decide just how many persons must be involved in such situations in order for them to be considered structural. Since the majority of people locate themselves in accordance with principles of kinship and perhaps are influenced in their locations by the whale-boat, and since these locations are to be understood in terms of a hunting economy that is largely traditional, it might be fitting to regard acculturative factors in location as emergent structural features. Redfield says of such features: "We might regard them as parts of the growing edge of the social structure, the cambium of the tree of social life. They foreshadow a social structure not yet in being."<sup>1</sup>

We concluded our discussion of the composition of groups with an attempt to classify them under types. Our statements regarding the two main types that we found represented simplification and streamlining of the data that was available in order to arrive at manageable generalizations. This simplification and streamlining are important processes in structural analysis. The validity of our structural generalizations that these types represent rests on the degree to which they can encompass the variance that we have been able to illustrate in the make-up of the villages of the Igluligmiut.

The next discussion (chapter v) revolved around the

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<sup>1</sup>Redfield, p. 44.

temporal aspects of group composition problems handled in chapter iv. Our job in the appraisal of group composition over time in terms of structure is mainly to assess the degree of constancy or repetitiveness in the tendencies that we set up as structural features in their synchronic consideration, since constancy and repetitiveness are important diagnostic criteria of structural features.

We began in our temporal considerations of group composition with the location of persons in groups over the seasonal economic cycle. Our data from the early contact period gave the outlines for an economy that was split between part of the season that was devoted to maulexpok sealing, another phase to utoq sealing, and summer and autumn periods featuring a splitting of activities between the pursuit of caribou and walrus hunting from kayaks. Certain sorts of social units were associated with the economic pursuits of each of these periods. The winter maulexpok phase saw the largest aggregations of people. During this phase a wide variety of bilateral kin ties were exploited. For most of the rest of the year smaller aggregations of people of close-knit kin variety predominated. Part of the time these were based on the extended family and at other times aggregations were of larger scope, but still considerably smaller than the winter villages.

These basic sorts of groupings and the seasons that they are related to represent generalizations of the earlier visitors and older informants and necessarily represent a boiling down of a number of sorts of situations. In other words, they represent a norm or mode and do not describe the whole range of variance. We cannot apply controls of the sort that first hand observation



makes available to us but certain demographic data that is available seems, in general, to confirm these formulations. We can, then, conceive of these fluctuations in terms of pattern or structure only with the reservations that are in keeping with the nature of our methods of investigation. The variance around norms does seem to have been rather wide in the early period, regarding the patterning of seasonal fluctuations in group composition, but to characterize them as random and thus out of the realm of structure seems unjustified.

As our mirror of observation comes closer to the modern period, and our checks and controls become better, we can make more accurate statements regarding seasonal fluctuations in group composition. The chief changes from the aboriginal or early contact period are associated with the introduction of the rifle, the whaleboat, and the permanent winter dwellings which together resulted in an increased sedentariness. This sedentariness expressed itself in the occupation of winter villages from nine to ten months of the year. The winter village then became more truly representative of the year-round aggregations. Accordingly, the structural principles that have evolved from the examination of the winter groupings have a rather solid basis with regard to their applicability as typical pictures of Igluligmiut group associations. Still we must make statements about seasonal fluctuations. How can these be conceived in terms of structure? The splitting of groups along the line of youth and age in August and September has traditional roots but perhaps is not persistent enough in recurrence in a large enough number of the modern Igluligmiut groups to be considered as a structural feature. Perhaps the recurrent

appearance of whaleboat crew-based summer villages strengthens somewhat the claim for structural status that we have previously considered. The period of increased travel and relocation that comes in late spring brings about more anomalous social aggregations than at other periods, for instance the camp at the hospital. On the other hand the reaffirmation of affinal ties at that time seems to recur with enough frequency and pattern within the general structural frame of kinship to be regarded as a structural principle, though it too should probably be regarded as a borderline case.

We explored other ways in which groups changed in composition over time. One of these concerned the life cycle associations of individuals. This cycle followed a regular pattern though at stages bimodal sorts of distributions were to be noted. In general anomalous individuals with regard to locations in sorts of groups at different age levels were rarities. This understanding of the individual life cycle makes our view of a local group at any given time more understandable in terms of structure, for we see the limitations imposed on structure in terms of stages in individual life cycles that member individuals have reached. Individual histories indicate the changes in composition that the nuclear and extended families undergo over time and here too, a high degree of patterning is to be noted. That is, the history of these units can for the most part be understood in terms of structural principles.

We noted as well, relocations that took place in the lifetime of individuals or families. Some sorts of these seemed to operate in patterned and repetitive ways. Bride service, subse-

quent relocation in virilocal terms, and the budding of expanding kin groups usually at the sibling level, can be said to show enough of these features of pattern and repetition to be considered structural. Other motives for relocation such as those that result from disputes or immigration from less well-endowed regions or subregions seem to less easily be subsumed under structure.

Further investigations of the associations of the extended family within local groupings over time helped to affirm the judgments of earlier synchronic analysis concerning the bilateral nature of the ties and the preference for kin-based over composite village structure. Thus other structural conceptions were strengthened.

What these temporal approaches have contributed to our understanding of the social structure of the Igluligmiut is that they have given us additional opportunity to appraise the solidity of features that we see as ingredients of group composition in terms of the vital qualities of repetitiveness and/or permanence. To the variances seen in spatial location we have added the variances of the time dimension and it has given us a better chance to judge which of these variances can be subsumed under structure. The result was largely an affirmation but certainly a strengthening, of the synchronic picture. Much of the kaleidoscope of the passing parade of Igluligmiut social life over longer and shorter stretches of time showed conformity to structural principles, enough, we feel, to justify the application of the concept of structure to the study of Igluligmiut group composition over time.

Chapter iv dealt with a different sort of alignment than the simple location of individuals in groups. This was the ordering

of personnel into effective cooperative and distributive units and the diffusion of authority within these units. Our information from the early contact era is vague and contradictory concerning practices of distribution, though the picture is rather clear concerning the units of production. It seems that, generally speaking, the sharing unit usually corresponded with the local unit. In terms of parallelism from the current period we might expect the sharing unit in most cases to conform to the cooperative unit. Thus the winter maulexpok village and the smaller groupings of the other seasons have been hypothesized as the distributive entity in the early period, in terms of the reflection of cooperation in sharing.

Leadership in economic matters within the extended family, which seems to have had some minor economic duties at all seasons besides comprising the local unit at certain phases of the cycle, resided in the oldest male unless obviously disqualified. Our investigation of the operation of bonds within kin groups in the modern period showed that the diffusion of authority in economic matters usually followed rather closely the directives outlined by the behavioral content of the kinship statuses. We would expect to find the same situation to have been true in the earlier period.

The determination of leadership in larger groupings than that of the extended family seems to have been principally determined by strength of kinship position in terms of being at the head of a large kin group. The pervasiveness of the feature must be considered a structural principle because of its total application in the Igluligmiut groups of 1921-22. No doubt at other times men other than those at the head of large extended families or

more extensive kin groups rose to prominence but the reasons for such rise would likely be based on personal traits that could not be considered structural features.

The levels of cooperation and distribution were framed in traditional institutions but sharpened due to acculturative factors. The extended family continued as the important basic cooperative-sharing entity and its position was strengthened by the incorporation of the distribution of cash income within its scope. Such a group usually forms a solid economic entity. Another level of cooperative integration is that built around the whaleboat. The crew of the boat is not organized in as strict a fashion as is the extended family though kinship is perhaps the leading organizing principle. The whaleboat crew does definitely comprise an important distributive agency for the distribution of the summer catch which lasts through the winter and into the spring in most cases. If we felt hesitant earlier in giving that unity structural status on the basis of residential criteria we see here that economic criteria accords it an important place in the social structure. It brings about the kinds of relationships that are to be included in the "network of continuing social relations which gives organization and stability to social life."<sup>1</sup>

The local village level of economic organization is a standardized feature of Igluligmiut society that has a long history and must be considered again the kind of group that brings about the sort of relationships that are to be considered structural.

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<sup>1</sup>Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Method and Results," in Eggan, pp. 491-92.

Leadership within the extended family is standardized enough in terms of kinship principles that it can be considered a structural feature. Leadership within the whaleboat crew also revolved about ownership and kinship position and can also be said to be structurally outlined. On the village level, however, there is no neat picture regarding ascendancy to leadership. Being the head of a large extended family or larger circle of kin in the local group seems still to be an important feature, but in the modern society there was not the high level of correlation between this factor and leadership as there was in the 1921-22 groupings. Among the other factors that seem to contribute to ascension to leadership that might be considered structural features are relative age and wealth. Neither of these factors is consistently enough followed in the absence of kinship factors for them to be considered structural features of the modern groups. Our understanding of Igluligmiut personality is not of the sort that we can reliably assign structural status to certain personality traits that we have associated with successful, or even existing, but less successful leaders.

Structural principles regarding both locality and kinship are intertwined on each of the levels of the economic network. Both have traditional backing in the parts they play in these networks. In the final analysis it is likely that those activities which are based on local organization depend, to a large extent, on kinship connections for their successful operation. We must remember in this regard that it has been established that kinship is very important in bringing about the aggregations that occur at sites of habitation. It seems apparent that the good inter-familial

relations upon which local level economic activity is dependent is to an important extent facilitated by the genealogical ties that exist among the constituent units. It is largely these kinship factors which give order or form, then, to the economic network.

In final appraisal, then, how much of the parts of the social life that have been examined under our three main questions can be understood in terms of social structure? How much of the variable behavior that we see can be subsumed under structure? Much would seem to depend upon our conception of structure, for as Nadel says: "It would seem to follow that the looser our definition of structure, the more adequately will it represent the actual subject matter of our studies."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps our definition of structure as interpreted here entails too much looseness to be useful in the mind of some. At certain points in our analysis our data was of a character that was quite amenable to decisions regarding structural or variant character. Thus the twenty-nine cases of local exogamy as opposed to three of endogamy give concrete and clear-cut evidence of the sort that the structural status of this practice is left in little doubt. On the other hand, judgments regarding the structural or non-structural status of recurrent forms of groupings over time had no such firm backing from quantifiable data. In other areas such as in our inferences about the early contact society our information was too limited to give more than guesses as to the structural or non-structural quality of an alignment feature. Thus our application of the concept of structure has hazy edges, there will always be doubts regarding the inclusion of

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<sup>1</sup>Nadel, The Theory of Social Structure, p. 156.

certain features. Even excluding these areas of doubt from the realm of structure the degree of uniformity and continuity that appears in the important aspects of the social life of the Igluligmiut that we have treated here should serve to dispel the notion that the society of the Igluligmiut Eskimo, aboriginal or modern, can be conceived of as an amorphous mass. Indeed, this society lacks the elaboration of structural forms and the rigidity of pattern found in groups characterized by the corporate sort of kin group or in modern societies with class structure, but to say that it is indeed an anomic aggregation, ignores a great deal of material that is available regarding the structure of Igluligmiut groupings.

The body of this paper has been devoted to the conceptualization of Igluligmiut social life in terms of structure and the exploration of the fitness of that concept to the observed social reality. But the concept of structure has a companion as a key tool of the social anthropologist. This is the notion of "function." This term has undergone a varied history, from the idea of the fulfilment of universal biological needs,<sup>1</sup> to the maintenance of the equilibrium of the social system.<sup>2</sup> Eggan<sup>3</sup> speaks of "the problems of adjustment or adaptation" which societies face and the "tasks" that social structures have to perform. Kroeber summarizes the two main aspects of the concept: "At bottom much of the preoccupation of anthropologists with cultural function seems to

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<sup>1</sup>Bronislaw Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 73-74.

<sup>2</sup>A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, The Andaman Islanders (Cambridge: The University Press, 1933), p. x.

<sup>3</sup>Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Method and Results," in Eggan, pp. 491-92.



boil down to two things: concern with purpose and concern with integration."<sup>1</sup>

Seen in the light of Kroeber's observation it would seem that we have problems of both internal (integration) and external (purpose) sort in applying the concept of function. In keeping with these directives we can look at the internal adaptation of the Igluligmiut social structure in terms of the interrelationship of the various social units or levels of organization. The nuclear family is a basic unit centering around the cooperative dyad of man and wife that has the fundamental purpose of insuring group continuance in the functions of parenthood. This unit retains its separateness in household organization even though the residential and more important economic unit is the extended family. This identity is maintained largely through the arrangement of household chores on the part of the women and through adoption for older couples. The larger unit is inextricably linked with the smaller and connects the nuclear units into an effective economic agency on the basis of male cooperation. The extended family is the unit that is often identified with the local establishment itself and also with the whaleboat crew and also circumscribes an important level of distribution. Authority and cooperative networks find their firmest and most effective organization on the level of the extended family within the prescriptions of the terminological-behavioral system. Outside the extended family integration is of a looser sort with elements of kinship being still significant but complicated by local considerations, and compatibility on individual and group level. The kindred or

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<sup>1</sup>Kroeber, p. 306.

illageit is the most consistent force leading toward standardization on the higher levels of organization, sub-village, village-wide, or inter-village. The local village group is a universal unit of economic integration in certain phases of the yearly cycle. This unit at times possessed important cohesiveness but at other times was little more than an aggregation of families showing a great deal of independence from one another. The whaleboat crew was a variable sort of organization but at times brought forth an integration cross-cutting villages but, for the most part, following kinship boundaries. Units at these various levels controlled the character of relationships with varying degrees of effectiveness and with varying tenors of relationships. Bonds of kinship were important in this process of integration and provided the most pervasive set of directives for interpersonal relations of many kinds. Organizations on the local level subsumed some of these duties but in general were much less effective mechanisms for the control of behavior. Leadership in each unit showed a steadily decreasing effectiveness as the unit under consideration became larger. The village leader has less influence, in general than the leader of the extended family in terms of the ideal structural prescriptions but individual personality is seen to loom large and to alter measurably the effectiveness of leadership on any level.

This view of function shows the internal accommodation or integration to be rather smoothly run on the lower levels with the system of behavioral directives operating with a high degree of efficiency in solving problems of friction within. As we move above the extended family the regulation of the social life by

kinship is less marked and with it the mutual adaptiveness less successful between individuals and units and the forms of organization more varied. Withdrawal is seen as the chief means of absolving frictional situations on the higher levels of integration though at times it takes place on the extended family level as well. Resultant reorganization of local groups goes on until fairly internally adaptive aggregations are arrived at, in terms of the ease of adjustment that takes place among individuals on the local level. The wider aspects of kinship are involved here to some extent though at times mutually compatible neighbors often override the need for these directives as guides to interaction. The degree of integration varies widely, however, in the larger local groups, the changing composition of groups and externally adaptive factors being largely responsible for this variability.

Our discussion has indicated that the most general force that works toward providing a smooth integration of the social units is the kinship system. At this point it may be well to return briefly to the discussion of the kinship system initiated in chapter iii but in a different context. Let us see what sorts of organized principles permeate the terminological-behavioral network and their relations to the principles of social integration seen in the actual social life of the Igluligmiut.

One of the most prominent features in the system is the usually sharp differentiation between the sexes. All members of Ego's and the first ascending generation are classed according to sex, this is especially marked in the cousin terminology where a rather rarer form of classification is used. In the first descending generation the sex principle is carried out on the basis of the

interlinking relative rather than precisely the sex of the offspring. We have on the other hand, earlier noted the reciprocal duality that is involved in the classification of these adjacent generations. The sex principle is enforced in the behavioral system in that a marked avoidance of the sexes after puberty and, to a lesser extent, even before, is noted among non-relatives as well as, more markedly, among relatives. The division of labor according to the separation of the sexes is another feature that is consistent with the terminology. Age distinctions are very important in the terminology and determine a large part of the nalaxtok axis of the behavioral system. The system of obedience and subordination is further emphasized in the generational emphasis of the system as well, with no overriding of generation evident except in the case of affinals. Regarding the function of age and sex distinctions as seen in the Igluligmiut system, Dole's comment seems appropriate:

In the face-to-face contact between relatives which is characteristic of the simple societies with Primitive and Secondary Isolating nomenclatures, age differences are of great importance in establishing social status. In keeping with this significance of seniority, all generation differences are expressed in nomenclatures.<sup>1</sup>

The face-to-face contact among the Igluligmiut are indeed to a large extent regulated by these differences and a basic consistency between terminology and behavior is to be noted. The organization of the extended family on the basis of the obedience of the younger generations to the older is an important aspect of this terminological prescription in the actual social life. The principles of relative age and generation are the bases of much

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<sup>1</sup>Dole, p. 174.

of the leadership or authority diffusion in the kin group as well as often outside.

Another principle that is evident in the terminology is the predominance of complementary over self-reciprocal terms. This feature would tend to emphasize the general lack of equality among the various status positions. In contradiction to popular notions of democracy among the Eskimo there does in the interpersonal behavior of the Igluligmiut seem to be a concern with relative position. They are continually inquiring about one's age to see where you fit into the hierarchy of statuses. If there are two Eskimo men sharing a locality or a common task there seems usually to be concern as to which is the issumataq on the basis of kinship as well as extraneous factors. The intricate interaction of the nuclear and extended families is, as well, expressed in the terminology. Though we have indicated the residential primacy of the extended family, we have also noted that the smaller unit is never completely submerged. In the terminology cousins of the same sex are set off from siblings, a characteristic which serves to set off the nuclear family. In behavior we do tend to find a definitely closer bond between brothers or sisters than with same sexed cousins which is especially prominent in residential alignments where cousin-based alliances are much rarer than brother and brother alliances, despite the tendency toward splitting the male sibling group. On the other hand, the extension of incest taboos to opposite sexed cousins and the terminological lumping of these categories shows a leveling of nuclear-extended family distinctions. The widespread identification of brother with male Ego and sister with female Ego is evident in the terminology as an expression of the equivalence of the

siblings or the unity of the sibling group. We have indicated that in the ideal the unity of the male siblings is a model in residence and cooperation and have indicated how in the local group this link is an important building block and means of tying a number of people together in a local situation. At the same time, the other side of the bimodal distribution of siblings contradicts sibling solidarity and is an important force in destroying the unity of the local group in other cases, or limiting its extension of residence in still others.

The ascendancy of consanguineals over affinals is another important ingredient in the nalaxtok axis of the system, but the ungayok axis is upset by the separation of the consanguineal from the affinal universes. Indeed we have seen that close-knit uxori-local residential alignments seem to take precedence over collateral consanguineal alliances. Another exception to the conformance of the terminological-behavioral system to the social reality is the marked bilaterality of the kinship system and the virilocal emphasis in extended family composition. This feature seems to follow the general lack of correspondence between bilateral terminology and residential situations in prelineage societies.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, outside the primary ties of parent and child and sibling and sibling there is no observable hierarchy of preferred residential alignments that would parallel the closeness-distance directives of the behavioral system. The bilaterality of the system is, however,

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<sup>1</sup>Eggan, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho Kinship System," pp. 71-72; Opler, "An Outline of Chiricahua Apache Social Organization," in Eggan, p. 183.

congruent with the sorts of bonds that pertain inside villages, outside the boundaries of the extended families.

So much for integration. What then can we say for purpose or the external adaptive aspect of function as applied to the Igluligmiut? Eggan says of this aspect:

These problems of adjustment and adaptation vary in terms of such factors as population size and density, techniques for exploiting the environment, and ritual attitudes and practices. Social structures which will integrate and organize small and scattered populations may be inadequate for larger and more concentrated populations. New agricultural techniques may require new organizations of individuals to be effective, or new groupings may be needed for cooperative action. Whether there are similar differences in the effectiveness of various methods of establishing ritual relations with nature or of dealing with the supernatural is not yet clear.<sup>1</sup>

In considering the relationship of the social structure and kinship system of the Igluligmiut to such external factors we must resort to two approaches of comparative nature. First we must understand the present society and kinship system in terms of the local history of change and continuity. In this area we have noted that rather important changes in exploitative techniques have developed. These have been linked with the increased permanency of settlement and to the distribution of village types changing from a more temporal to a more spatial emphasis. We have noted, as well, in the emergence of the whaleboat crew, the de-emphasis on maulexpok sealing, and the development of the fox trade with the attendant appearance of cash income, that the distributive system showed a similar change from periodicity to simultaneity. The sorts of ties that made up the social units on all levels and the kinship terminology itself, however, did not change along with these other features. The persistence of structural forms and of the terminological-behavioral network in the face of the extent of

<sup>1</sup>Eggan, "Social Anthropology: Methods and Results," in Eggan, pp. 494-95.

economic change that we saw had occurred in the region gives us some conception of the breadth of adaptiveness to external circumstances of which these aspects of society are capable. We do not, accordingly, gain much insight into the purpose of specific features in the social structure, especially the terminological phases, through an examination of the differences between the aboriginal and the modern societies in the Iglulik area. We need to look outside the immediate area.

A second approach to the study of the external adaptive aspect of function can be a comparison within the Eskimo area. Here, again, we must think in terms of the original society and culture and also be sure that the distribution of features which we may consider to be adaptive to local cultural-environmental complexes conform to the distributions of such complexes. Whether or not the kinship system and other aspects of the social structure that we found at Iglulik can be considered the highest sort of adaptive arrangement possible in that region would seem to us to rest on the consideration of other Eskimo social systems in the external situations in which they occur.

There is not a great deal of data published which shows units that can readily be compared to those that we have used in our analysis in this thesis. In addition, there is insufficient space here to deal adequately with the wider functional problems of the Eskimo area in a study which is primarily structural in emphasis. Nevertheless it may be useful for us to here examine some of the available comparative material in order to rough out the direction that future studies of depth and pertinent orientation should take in attempting to solve wider problems of function in the Eskimo area.



We have indicated that the Igluligmiut economy has undergone a change toward an adaptation resembling the Neoeskimo or Thule culture phase, with an increased permanency of villages that is probably related to the increased accumulation of stores for the winter based on the use of the boat-and-walrus complex. We noted that the aboriginally significant and present-day prominent occurrence of surpluses have allowed in the Iglulik area a higher level of subsistence than that found in most central or even eastern Eskimo societies. Stefansson<sup>1</sup> for instance, noted that the usual number of dogs per (nuclear) family among the Copper Eskimo was two and the highest number seen was four. Hall, on the other hand,<sup>2</sup> reports teams of from twelve to twenty animals in the Iglulik region. The number of dogs is an important gauge of local prosperity, for among the Igluligmiut today the dogs require more food over the year's time than does the total human population. Mathiasen<sup>3</sup> reports the lack of population control measures around Iglulik such as infanticide, Rasmussen<sup>4</sup> and Jenness<sup>5</sup> report the practice, especially with regard to female infants among the Copper and Netsilik Eskimo. We might conjecture, in the absence of concrete demographic-genealogical data, that the effect of infanticide would be the increased fragmentation of groups since the number of siblings in any given group of brothers and sisters would tend to be small. In addition, the likely early death of adults that marginal subsistence situations could bring about might conspire against the

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<sup>1</sup>Stefansson, The Steffanson-Anderson Expedition, p. 238.

<sup>2</sup>Nourse, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup>Mathiasen, The Material Culture, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup>Rasmussen, The Netsilik Eskimo.

<sup>5</sup>Jenness, p. 91.

common occurrence of the father and adult son link. Thus the two main building blocks of the extended family as seen at Iglulik, the sibling tie and the father-son tie might be considerably weakened in the less well endowed Eskimo regions, bringing about an increased nucleazation of the local group. Indeed Rasmussen's<sup>1</sup> census from the Netsilik area indicates that the "household" (which apparently is the residential unit) is most commonly a nuclear family or a nuclear family with single adults (especially men) attached. We do not know the kinship connections between such peripheral members and the core couple in such situations. Jenness<sup>2</sup> makes a strong case for the nuclear family as being the typical residential unit among the Copper Eskimo. Although he noted that joint houses were occupied by two or more families, he says, regarding such alliances of families:

Sometimes two would decide to build together before they started out, sometimes not until they chose their sites. It was rare for two families that lived together in one settlement to stay together in the next apparently because they had tired of each other's company and were anxious for a change.<sup>3</sup>

If we seek comparisons in the area of group structure outside the nuclear family we must be concerned with the patterns of residence after the marriage of young couples. There is little concrete data regarding this in the Eskimo area, only general references. Jenness<sup>4</sup> says, for instance, that residential patterns were neolocal but the extent of neolocality, whether applied to households only or to the local group is not noted. We do not know the degree of compositeness or of bilaterality in the larger groupings here or most anywhere in the Eskimo area. This writer was able to gather some information regarding residence from Eskimo patients in several hospitals in Western Canada. On the basis of

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<sup>1</sup>Rasmussen, The Netsilik Eskimo, pp. 34-90, 473-80.

<sup>2</sup>Jenness, pp. 65-82.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

this preliminary information we can probably hypothesize a rather widespread occurrence of virilocality. Data from Baker Lake, the Netsilik area, and Pond Inlet all indicate that that form of residence was at least the ideal at those places. My informant from Baker Lake, a man of about fifty-five or sixty years of age, indicated that in winter fathers and sons and their families shared a common snowhouse or a collection of domes joined together. Band organization above the level of this sort of arrangement was said by this man to have been variable and bilateral. Graburn<sup>1</sup> indicates that in the Sugluk region virilocality prevailed as well.

The question of defining the extended family in the Eskimo area will probably involve other criteria than the simple sharing of one roof, though the economic criteria that we used to supplement the residential, in the discussion of the Iglulik material may need modification when applied to a larger area. The relative compositeness, lineality, or bilaterality of larger groupings cannot be more than speculated on at this time, for in spite of the occurrence of considerable field work in the eastern Canadian Arctic, precious little space has been devoted to the analysis of the kinship composition of bands in the published reports of such work. One of the best leads that we have with regard to group composition comes from Van den Steenhoven, based on his studies among the Pelly Bay Eskimo, Netsilik. Although the groups in that region have joined into a large winter settlement the local bands have kept their identification in the compound organization of that settlement. The number of father-son alliances is remarkable within the

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<sup>1</sup>Nelson H.H. Graburn, personal interview, March 9, 1962.

clusters of two and three nuclear families that make up the large village.<sup>1</sup> On paper, at least, the village organization is reminiscent of the Iglulik groups with units that are apparently virilocally slanted extended families being connected together by a series of bilateral ties. This author interestingly explains two uxorilocal situations in terms of their abnormality (Van den Steenhoven),<sup>2</sup> and found that genealogical isolation either local because of immigration, or total because of deaths of relatives, was usually behind such arrangements, as indeed, did we at Iglulik. On the other hand, the web of relationships seems to have been extended to a far greater extent through pseudo-kinship arrangements than we found in our field study. The elaborate sharing procedures regarding the seal are a case in point.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the shift in emphasis from the seal to the walrus and the generally higher level of subsistence at Iglulik obviates the need for such carefully regulated division practices. Another fragment of group composition data from Willmott<sup>4</sup> indicates that perhaps a more composite type of village structure is found in the Port Harrison area.

Further west Spencer's treatment of the whale-hunting North Alaskans shows the importance of partnerships and voluntary organizations, especially the boat crew which reached a fuller development with greater formalization and cultural content than at Iglulik. Spencer says of the general configuration of social features, however: "As the North Alaskan data are reviewed, there-

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 22-23.

<sup>3</sup>Van de Velde, pp. 3-6.

<sup>4</sup>Willmott, p. 88.

fore, it seems evident that here is a basic social organization paralleling that of other Eskimo groups to the east. It is borne out further by the kinship terminologies."<sup>1</sup> This author sees a more significant difference in the lineage developments seen further to the south in the Bering Sea area.

Turning specifically to a comparison of kinship terminologies<sup>2</sup> there seems to prevail a general uniformity of terms on the grandparental and grandchild as well as first descending generations throughout the East-Central Arctic, greater variation in affinal terms and much more significant differences in Ego's and first ascending generations. Since such divergences in terminology may be seen to have some significance in broader Eskimo perspective we have arranged their distribution in a series of types (see Figures 43, 44, and 45).

It can be noted that Type Ia has a wide distribution, spanning the area inhabited by groups collectively designated as "Iglulik Eskimo" by Birket-Smith. Within that area a variety of economic adaptations are known, ranging from the emphasis on the walrus that we have seen at Iglulik to the more evenly balanced land-and-sea

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<sup>1</sup>Spencer, The North Alaskan Eskimo, pp. 448-49.

<sup>2</sup>Sources for the cited terminologies include: for Sugluk and Lake Harbor, Graburn; for Rankin Inlet, Dailey. The terms from Harbor Fond Inlet, Arctic Bay, Repulse Bay, and Iglulik were gathered by the observer in the field. Those from Back River, Baker Lake, and Southampton Island from patients at Ninette Sanitarium in Manitoba, and Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta. The conventions to be followed in Figures 43, 44, and 45 are as follows: The Roman numerals and capital letters refer to the parental generation. All like terms are represented by the same letter. Type I, II, and III refer to classifications of members of the first ascending generation. Arabic numerals and lower case letters are used to represent members of Ego's generation. Type a and b refer to the classifications of cousins. Diacritics refer to the use of the saq postbase. Numerals (including diacritics) in parentheses, indicate optional usage.

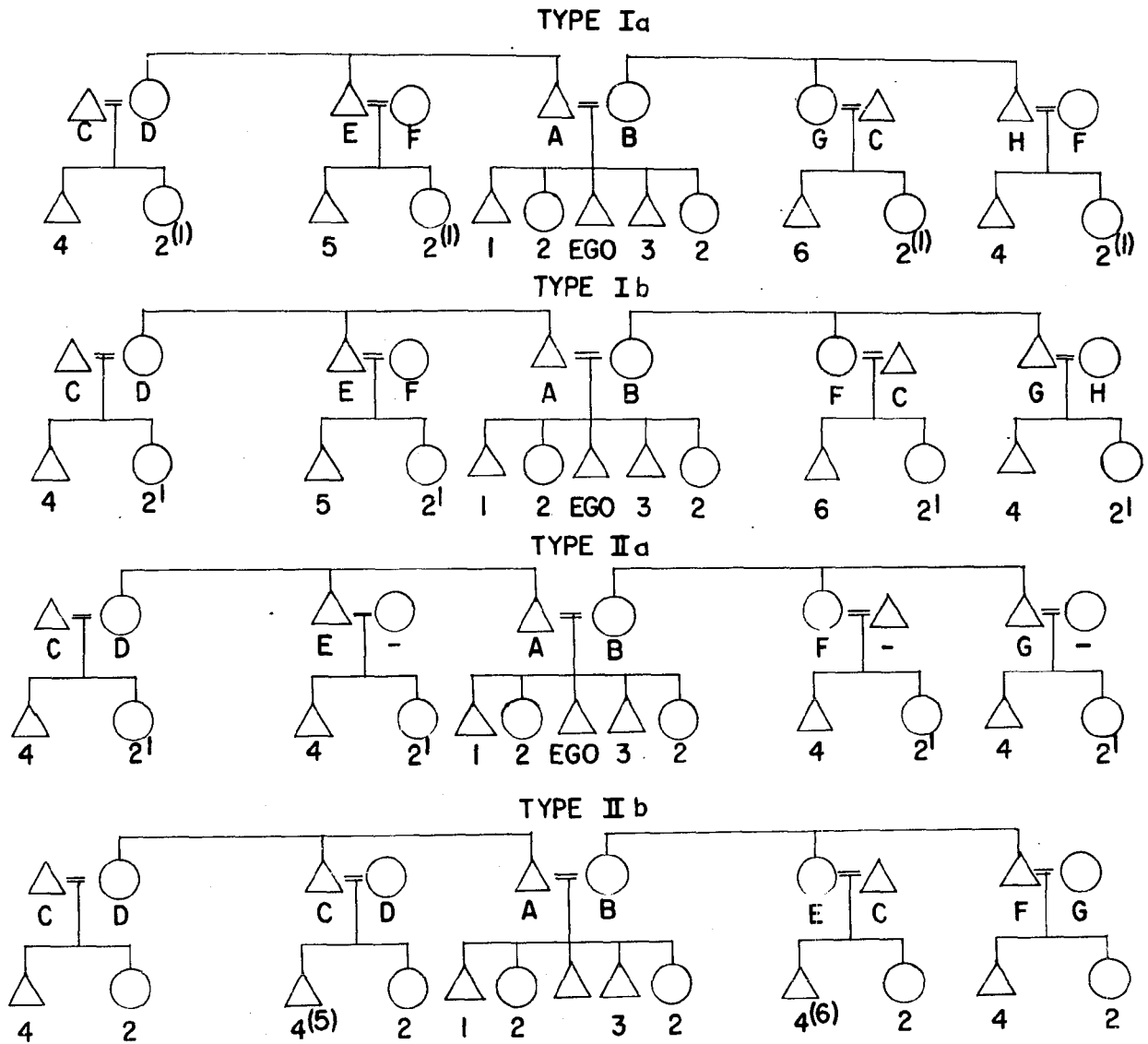
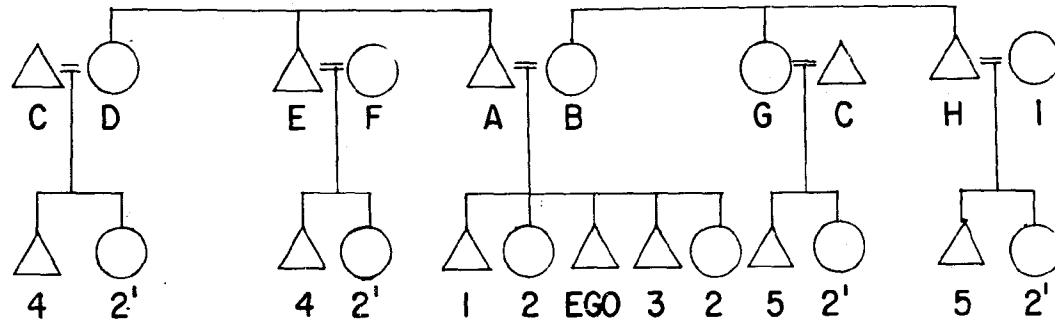


FIG. 43. — TYPES OF EASTERN ESKIMO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES  
I. BASED ON EGO'S AND FIRST ASCENDING GENERATIONS.

TYPE III a



TYPE III b

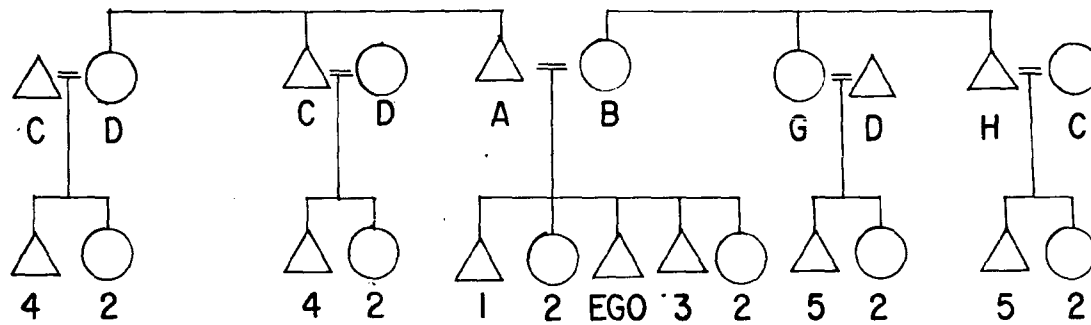


FIG. 44 — TYPES OF EASTERN ESKIMO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES II BASED ON EGO'S AND FIRST ASCENDING GENERATIONS

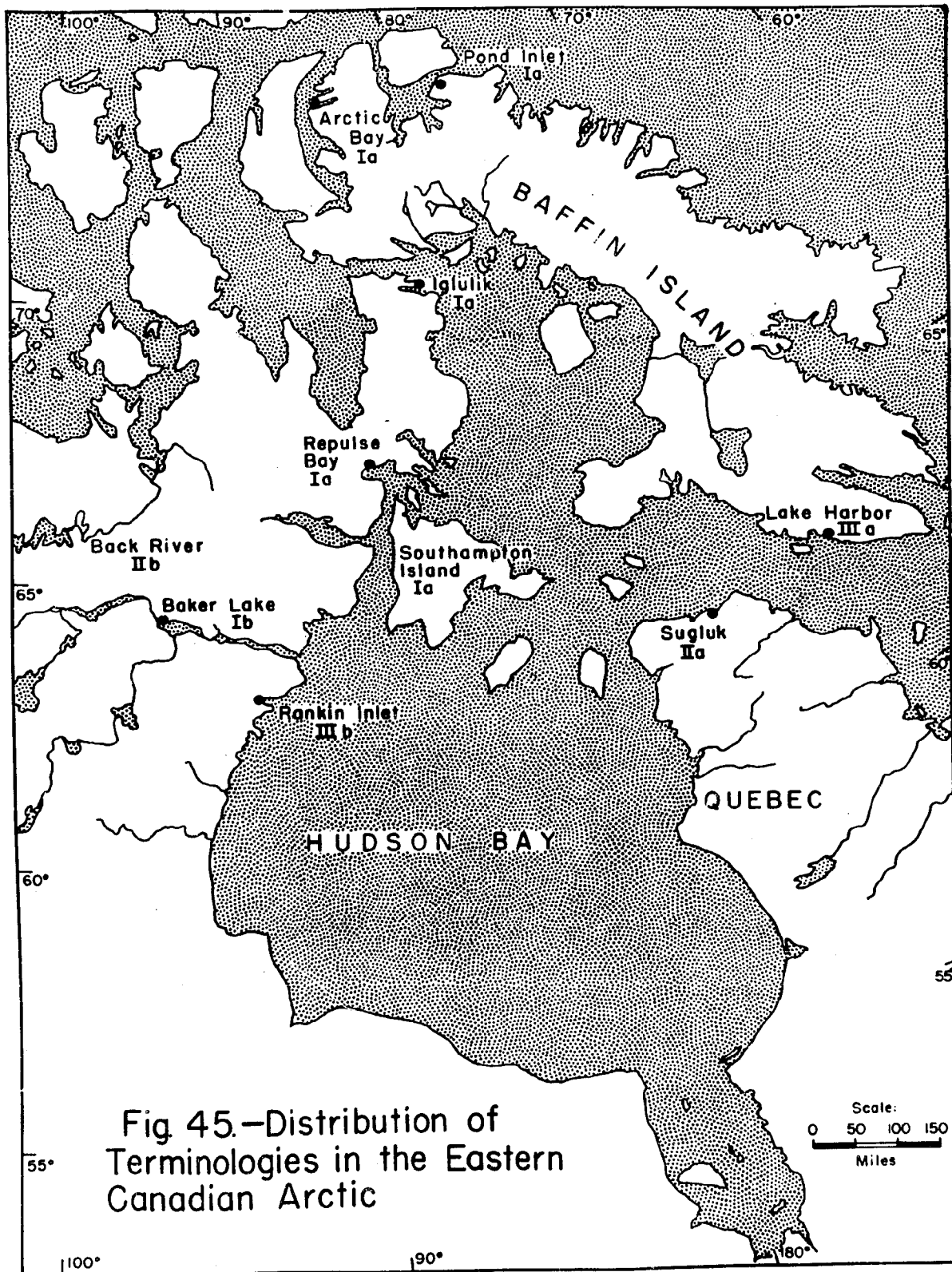


Fig 45.—Distribution of Terminologies in the Eastern Canadian Arctic



economy of the Repulse Bay people.<sup>1</sup> It can be seen that the Back River system contains emergent similarities with the "Iglulik" system on Ego's generation but an overriding of affinal-consanguineal boundaries in the first ascending generation that is not seen in the other system (Type Ia). Type Ib (Baker Lake) shares the cousin system of the Iglulik people, which system is also an alternative one in the Back River region, but in the parental generation differences are noted from both of those regions. Type IIIb reported by Dailey<sup>2</sup> from Rankin Inlet represents the Chesterfield Inlet and perhaps the Eskimo Point terminologies. Here both generational levels contrast with the systems considered above. The cousin terminology is identical in structure (though the terms are not cognate) with the Lake Harbor system, however, there does not occur an overriding of affinal-consanguineal boundaries in the parental generation of the latter system. Sugluk shows a cousin system that resembles the Back River arrangement (the one that has preference over the alternate--that identical with Iglulik). The absence of terms in the ascending generational affinal categories does not conform to the Back River system, however.

Our survey is admittedly sketchy. We have taken terminologies from a number of sources. Some are, no doubt, highly reliable. Others are not. For instance, this writer does not vouch for terminologies taken from single informants from a particular region with the assurance that I can give for the Iglulik terminology which became fairly clear to me only after six months in the region. The lack of opportunity for cross-checking and the ever-present linguistic difficulties that were involved in collecting much of

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<sup>1</sup>Mathiassen, The Material Culture, pp. 23-36.

<sup>2</sup>Dailey, pp. 40-41.

my terminological data weaken attempts at cross regional interpretation. For whatever our information is worth, then, ecological correlations do not seem to be forthcoming from this examination. For instance, we have noted similarities in cousin terminologies between walrus hunting Igluligmiut and caribou hunting Back River people. Conversely, within the barren grounds area of Keewatin we find three rather distinct systems among people who were all basically adapted to the inland nomadic life of caribou hunting.

The geographical distribution of the "Iglulik" system shows promise for a regional or diffusional explanation but the variation in the Keewatin area, again, and certainly the similarities across Hudson's Bay do not support such an interpretation.

Perhaps the expectation that kinship terminologies might conform to the distribution of environmental-cultural complexes overlooks an important intermediate step in functional analysis. We must first consider the extent of congruence between terminological systems and their behavioral content and other features of the social structure as group composition, marriage customs, etc., and then consider the degree of fit that these latter features show with the technological-environmental nexus. We are faced, then, with the problem of the tightness of such fits in other Eskimo areas if we are to sort out the adaptive from the historical factors in analyzing the occurrence of particular terminological features where they appear.

Obviously what is needed to approach these problems systematically are more intensive social structural-functional studies designed for producing integrated descriptions of other aspects of kinship than the mere comparison of terms, and, in addition, a

careful study of the relationships of kinship terminological principles with the structural principles of group organization. After such studies are available we can begin to approach a better understanding of the adaptive, or historical-diffusional factors involved.

On the other hand, on the basis of the material now available it can probably be stated that an overly stringent application of external-adaptive-functional explanations should not be pressed. Although forms of social structure may have jobs to do it is probable that alternative forms are possible which may perform such jobs with equal or near equal success in a given cultural-environmental nexus.

The brief excursion into the wider functional realm of interregional comparison has not been intended as an exhaustive review of material now becoming available in rapidly increasing volume from the Eskimo area, but rather has been designed to show some of the pitfalls and complexities of functional exploration in that area. We have also tried, indirectly, to indicate the fruitfulness of comparative studies of "concomitant variation"<sup>1</sup> or "controlled comparison"<sup>2</sup> sorts which aim toward explanations limited to area or type. The widespread homogeneity in cultural forms and, as we are beginning to see, in certain aspects of the social life as well, indicates the historical affinity of the Eskimo area and can be held constant in analyzing locally variable phenomena. The ecology can at times be used as another constant and, in other cases, could be hypothesized as the causal factor underlying variable phenomena.

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<sup>1</sup>Nadel, The Foundations, pp. 222-88.

<sup>2</sup>Fred Eggan, "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison," American Anthropologist, n.s., Vol. LXVI (October, 1954), 143-63; idem, "Social Anthropology: Methods and Results," in Eggan, pp. 497-50.

Our concern has here centered on problems of group composition and cooperative and authority networks. Comparative studies of such controlled type as outlined here would indeed be fruitful in that area of interest, but there are other phases of Eskimo culture that could profitably be treated in such a frame. The fascinating congeries of homogeneous and diverse social and cultural elements found in the Eskimo area provide an ideal climate for studies seeking first to establish correlations within one area that later can be tested elsewhere in the world with the hope of eventually arriving at higher level generalizations. In the Eskimo area a greatly complicating factor in such research is the rapid rate of acculturative change that is being undergone almost everywhere in the Arctic. Much of the traditional homogeneity is now obscured by divergent directions of change. There are still available, however, a number of approaches whereby traditional social and cultural elements can be discovered. Records and early censuses by such agents as missionaries and traders and the few early anthropologists have not been fully explored. In the long run our understanding of social and cultural change in the Eskimo region, a concern which is rapidly becoming the chief focus of anthropological studies in the American Arctic, will approach completeness only if our picture of contact society and culture is greatly clarified.

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