

## SEVEN



### THE GENESIS OF GILYAK MARRIAGE RULES AND KIN TERMS<sup>1</sup>

[77–91, 108–129; 190–214; 98–105]

OUR INVESTIGATIONS SO FAR have revealed the close parallels between sexual norms and kinship terms. Now we inquire into the origin and development of the complicated system of relationship and marriage, and search for its determinants [98].

It is obvious enough that so complicated a system could not have arisen artificially. Its source must lie in some one simple principle, a categorical imperative plausible to the primitive mind, from which must have sprung, as from a seed, that complex organism of Gilyak institutions on which we have dwelt at such length. On par with the genesis of the kinship system, however, we must also study its long evolution, without which a proper grasp of kinship terms will be quite incomprehensible.

Why, for instance, do the wives of even the most remote *tuvng* call each other sisters, although they may be utter strangers to each other? Why do I (a man) call my wife's father, who may be a stranger to me, "mother's brother," while a woman under similar conditions calls her husband's mother "father's sister"? Why is it that when I marry a woman who is a stranger to me and to my clan, all her father's sisters, even the unmarried ones, thereafter become my "mothers," and no man of her clan is now permitted to marry a woman of my clan?

Why may not the women of my clan marry any man of clan A, into which any of my clansmen marry, or of clan B, from which the men of clan A obtain their wives? Or how should we explain the apparently paradoxical fact that a man may have male and female agnates (sons and daughters, brothers, fathers and mothers) in a totally strange clan? The complexity and apparent incongruity of some details of the system can be explained in but one way. The originally simple and logically consistent system, like any religious norm, must have undergone inevitable changes under the stress of historical and local conditions. New categories of people must have been introduced into the chain of the marriage union, and many withdrawals must have been made. At the same time, instead of simplifying the old norms or adapting them to the new conditions, they strictly persisted in preserving the old forms and

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<sup>1</sup> [Editor's note: The chapter title is taken from AMNH Russian typescript and the two 1933 Soviet editions; the corresponding title in the AMNH English typescript is "The Development of the Matrimonial Regulations and of the Terminology of Relationship among the Gilyak." This chapter and the next contain material distributed, in different order, over three chapters in Shternberg, *Giliaki*, 190–214; and Shternberg, *Sem'ia*, 98–111.]

extending them more and more over new categories of persons and new conditions. To add to the complexity of the system, kinship terminology, being a formal element of great stability, remained entirely unchanged. This is like every primitive social system in the nature and sanction of its religion.<sup>2</sup>

What, then, was the original system of marriage? In the course of our study we have occasionally touched upon this topic. In the following pages we propose to deal with it at length.

The detailed analysis of marriage regulations made in the last chapter has shown that these regulations tally exactly with the kinship terminology; in other words, the complicated kinship terminology appears to be nothing but an automatic record of the system of marriage. This faithful record, so stable amidst manifold changes, must therefore furnish the basis for a reconstruction of the Gilyak system of marriage in its original form.

As indicated before, the Gilyak system has no separate terms for relationship by marriage (affinity), but uses only terms for blood relationship (consanguinity). Affines, even remote ones, are called *pandf* (i.e., people of common descent, cognates).<sup>3</sup> The term for a man's father-in-law is the same as that for his mother's brother; the term for a woman's mother-in-law is the same as that for her father's sister; the term for husband is the same as that for cognatic cousin, father's sister's son; the term for wife is the same as that for mother's brother's daughter. Such a terminology must obviously have come into being in a social system where marriages were concluded exclusively between blood relatives on the mother's or the father's side [99].

The nature of these marriages is further revealed by other kin terms. In each clan the wives of *tuvng* (that is, of brothers, one's own and collateral) call each other "sisters"; they call their husbands' mothers (that is, the mothers of all these *tuvng*) "aunt" (father's sisters). On the other hand, a man calls his wife's father's sister "mother." It therefore follows that the wives of all members of a clan must be relatives taken from one and the same clan. In other words, every clan may take wives exclusively from one particular clan; no marriage outside of that clan is permissible. Secondly, marriage is regulated according to generations. Each generation of "brothers" of a clan must take wives from the corresponding generation of "sisters" of the other clan. Thus each ascending generation of "brothers" are married to the aunts of the wives of the next descending generation. Likewise the brothers of the next descending generation must marry "sisters" who are the nieces of their mothers, and so on. This is the reason why the wives of "brothers" call each other "sisters" (for such they are), while their mothers-in-law are "paternal aunts." The husbands call the sisters of their fathers-in-law "mothers."

<sup>2</sup> [Editor's note: The Russian versions of this section are less critical of religion as a conservative force. The point made in the AMNH Russian typescript, 77–78; Shternberg, *Giliaki*, 191; and Shternberg, *Sem'ia*, 98, is more simply that as the social circumstances of marriage transformed and became more flexible, kinship terminology remained the same. Only the AMNH English typescript adds: "This is like every primitive social system in the nature and sanction of its religion."]

<sup>3</sup> [Editor's note: Zoia Ivanovna Iugain, a Gilyak (Nivkh) reader on Sakhalin in 1995, added that *pandf* implies common place, the home of a clan, and only then in turn a group of people from there.]

Thus the first principle, according to which marriages must take place exclusively between blood relatives, is supplemented by another principle: The wives of clansmen must come from one and the same clan. Two clans thus become linked by mutual obligations—one must take wives from the other, the other must give women to the former. The men of the same generation in the first clan are from birth considered the husbands of the corresponding generation of women of the other clan. The terminology of relationship, however, indicates that this relationship cannot be reversed. The men of the second clan and the women of the first do not constitute classes of husbands and wives; they are strictly forbidden to one another.

These principles correspond perfectly to conditions still existing among the Gilyak. The right to marriage persists to this day, marriage with the *akhmalk* clan continues to be the only “pure” marriage, and clansmen usually prefer to marry into one and the same clan. Thus we may with confidence continue our analysis.

What, then, is the clan into which clansmen are required to marry? The answer to this question has already been given in the kinship nomenclature, according to which the mother of a man is the sister of clansmen who come from the same clan to which their brothers belonged. The members of a clan are thus seen to be related by blood through the father as well as through the mother. Each individual member of a clan must marry a daughter of his mother’s brother; the daughters of a man are the prospective wives of his sisters’ sons. This principle of obligatory marriage between children of brothers and sisters, so common now among many primitive peoples, will be seen later as a general stage in human marriage brought forth as a means for regulating sexual relations. It is the seed from which grew up the highly complex system of classificatory kinship, group marriage, and the clan itself.<sup>4</sup>

Let us now follow the dynamics of this process and consider the natural consequences: As long as a brother’s daughters belong from birth to his sister’s sons, it is only natural that the prospective wives should as mere infants pass to the families of their future husbands. This system is still found among the Gilyak as well as among many other primitive peoples. Thus in cases of orthodox marriages—that is, marriages between the children of brother and sister—the future wife, as when a mere infant, joins the household of her “husband” and grows up in his company.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> [Editor’s note: In the AMNH Russian typescript, 80; Shternberg, *Giliaki*, 193; and Shternberg, *Sem’ia*, 100, three further sentences expound on why young Gilyak boys go to live in the families of their future wives. Shternberg explains the matrifocal residence unit by its commonality with other primitive peoples, and pledges further discussion below.]

<sup>5</sup> This fact stands in striking contradiction to the assertion of Westermarck, Crawley, and others, to the effect that the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters must have originated in an instinctive sexual aversion born of close cohabitation. Crawley refers, in this connection, to the following dogmatic statement by Ellis: “The normal failure of the pairing-instinct to manifest itself in the case of brothers and sisters or of boys and girls brought up together from infancy is a merely negative phenomenon due to the inevitable absence under these circumstances of the conditions which evoke the pairing impulse.” Cf. A. E. Crawley, “Exogamy and the Mating of Cousins,” *Anthropological Essays Presented to Edward Burnett Tylor in Honour of His 75th Birthday, October 2, 1907* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907), 52. Among the Gilyak and many other primitive peoples, however, future marriage mates are required to be brought up together, and none of the consequences suggested above seem to fit. [Editor’s note: This footnote, from the AMNH English typescript, expands on the corresponding note found in the three cardinal Russian versions.]

terminology of relationship has given permanent expression to this custom insofar as children of certain classes of persons are from birth termed "*pu*" and "*ang'rei*."

In this manner a constant supply of women was provided for the sons of sisters in the persons of their brothers' daughters. Thus every group of brothers was supplied with wives, and the problem of sexual relations was socially regulated. This measure, however, was only sufficient to satisfy the want which had created it. There was need for a corresponding system of distribution of the sexes which would ensure peace between brothers who had a group of sisters as wives.

It seems apparent that the norms of distribution could not have been exclusively individual or exclusively communal. Communal possession generally leads to continuous strife. A purely individual arrangement would, of course, have been the most satisfactory one, but it required an even distribution of the sexes, a condition not always realized, especially in the limited circle of a few families. Under such circumstances, the norms of distribution had to represent a compromise between individual and communal rights, if all the problems arising from an uneven sex distribution were to be accommodated. Under the stress of these requirements, a mixed type of individual and group marriage arose, found among the Gilyak and occurring among all those peoples for whom marriage is based on the same principles. This combined system of individual and group marriage was molded by the different combinations of sex distribution among the descendants of a brother and a sister. An inspection of such combinations will suffice to demonstrate the above proposition [100].

(a) If we were to take the simplest type of sex distribution where we have one brother and one sister, and the brother has as many daughters as the sister has sons, an individual distribution might be realized, but not unless the men and women reach marriageable age simultaneously. *À la longue*, however, the probability of such a combination becomes even more remote; for the descendants of the brother and those of the sister multiply and form several families in which a contemporaneous existence of an equal number of marriageable men and women in the two lines of descent must be highly unusual.

(b) Let us examine the same case of one brother and one sister, except that the sister has several sons, and the brother but one daughter. Here the inevitable outcome is communal marriage of the type found among the Gilyak and typically represented in all accounts of the Tibetans. The methods of cohabitation with common wives have already been given. As to the children of such marriages, they are either not at all distinguished according to the fathers, or, as among the Todas, they are so apportioned that the first is regarded as belonging to the eldest brother, the second to the next oldest, and so on.

(c) Here is still another variation of the same case. The first brother reaches marriageable age before the second. The older brother lives with his mother's brother's only daughter as an individual wife until the second brother begins now to exercise his marital rights as a group-husband. It may happen, however, that another of the sister's daughters becomes marriageable. Then the second brother takes the opportunity to get her as his individual wife; but at the same time the older brother now

receives the same group-rights over the wife of the younger one, as the latter in his time exercised over the wife of the older brother.

(d) Suppose at a given moment the brother had several adult daughters, while his sister had only one adult son. The latter becomes the husband of all the daughters of his mother's brother. These conditions prevail among the majority of Indian tribes where a man who marries the oldest daughter is required to marry all her sisters. But suppose another brother comes of age. One of the women is ceded to him as his individual wife; the others remain with the older brother, who is economically better fitted to support several wives than his younger brother, who is just starting out. The latter, however, justly becomes the group-husband of all the wives of his older brother. The corresponding rights of that elder brother are not so clear.

(e) So far we have only considered the simplest variations of the one brother/one sister case. When there are several brothers and sisters the results, although similar, are more complicated. If there always were as many sisters as brothers, and if all sisters and brothers had an equal number of descendants, male and female, each pair of brother and sister could constitute a closed matrimonial group. But in reality such cases are highly exceptional. As a rule the number of brothers and sisters is not the same. Still less probable is an equal distribution of sexes among their descendants. Let us analyze a few concrete instances. Several brothers have one sister. The brothers have several daughters; their sister has several sons. In such a case not only sisters but also cousins become the group-wives of the brothers. Or take the following [101]:

(f) There are several brothers and several sisters, but the distribution of the sexes is such that there are not enough sisters for all brothers. Here the marriage group will embrace brothers and sisters as well as cousins, male and female. Finally, not all women may have had brothers, nor all the brothers have daughters. In such cases it becomes necessary to have recourse to the daughters of first and second male cousins. It will thus be seen that a matrimonial group constituted as the descendants of a brother and a sister must inevitably be extended so as to include, on the one hand, all collateral brothers (including those of the most remote degrees) and, on the other hand, all collateral sisters. When these conditions are realized, we have the Punaluan family in its purest form.

Thus the classification system, which appears to be so complex, becomes clear and simple when logically deduced from the fundamental principle that all female descendants of a brother belong to the male descendants of his sister. At first sight, it may seem strange that the term "wives" should be applied not only to one's brothers' wives but also to their sisters. The explanation, however, is quite simple. The wives of brothers cannot be anything else but sisters, and they all belong to the group of "brothers," their cousins. The wives of brothers and the sisters of those wives are the same individuals. Similarly, one's mother's brothers are called "fathers-in-law," for the reason that one's father-in-law can only be one's mother's brother [102].

The only variations possible in this system are the differences in group marriage rights between older and younger brothers. In some tribes, all brothers are group-husbands of their common wives; in other tribes, only younger brothers exercise group

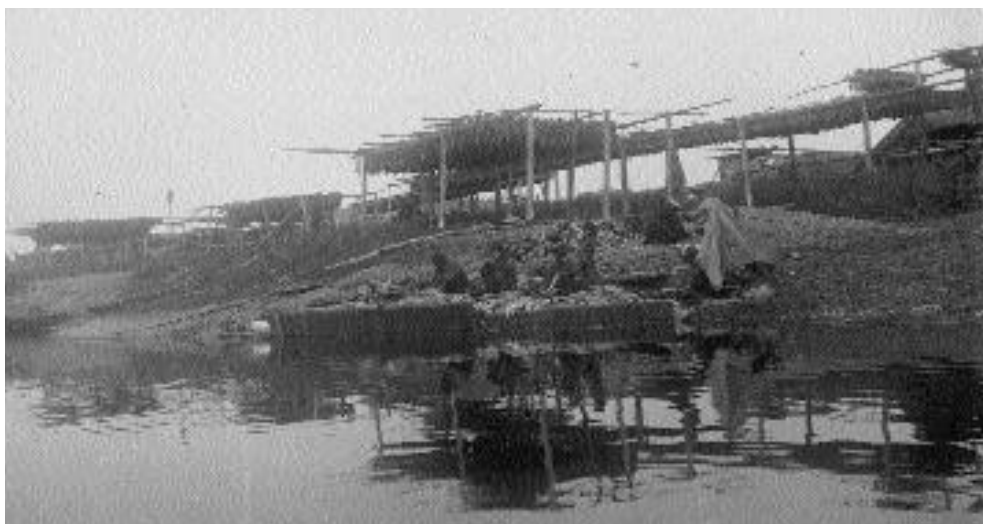


FIG. 14. A Gilyak fishing team, center, prepares fish for drying on racks shown here in the village of Kul', 1893. Photo by Lev Shternberg. Source: Photo archives of the MAE, 2446-24.

rights over the wives of their elder brothers. Among the Gilyak we find both systems, and consequently two sets of terms for father's brothers and brothers' wives. Thus, in some groups, a man may call only the older brothers of his father "fathers"; in others, only his younger brothers. Similarly, in some groups, a man designates as "wives" only the wives of older "brothers"; in others, the wives of all brothers.

Let us again proceed with the consequences of the fundamental principle that every mother has the right to expect her brother's daughters to become the wives of her sons.<sup>6</sup> Suppose the mother is (a) and her brother (A); the daughters of (a) must belong to the sons of her husband's (B) sister (b). The daughter of (b), however, cannot be married to the sons of (A), for as explained before, the exchange of women between the descendants of a brother and a sister is not permissible.

Thus, on par with the two groups, the sister with her husband (a + B) and her brother with his wife (A + c), there arises a third group—the sister of B and her husband (b + X), together with their descendants. In each of the three groups, the men of all generations take wives from the group of the mother's brothers, while the women marry into the third group of the father's sister. Thus each group constitutes a perfect exogamous unit, that is, a clan which is paternal if the wife joins the husband's clan

<sup>6</sup> [Editor's note: Here, to the end of this chapter and into the next, begin a number of key discrepancies between the AMNH English typescript, on which this book is based, and the three main Russian versions of the text (including the largest discrepancies between the AMNH Russian typescript and the two 1933 Soviet editions). For example, the section beginning with this paragraph and leading to the next subsection, "The Phratry and Its Origins," is a much condensed version of materials found approximately in the AMNH Russian typescript, 85–87; Shternberg, *Giliaki*, 190–203; and Shternberg, *Sem'ia*, 98–105. Readers can find detailed versions of these sections in chapter eight. Because all four versions take notably different directions here almost sentence by sentence, I defer to the sequencing of the AMNH English typescript. Chapter sequencing among versions resumes greater harmony with chapter nine.]

and the descent is on the father's side, and maternal if the husband joins the wife's clan and the descent is on the mother's side. Since ancient times the Gilyak clan has been patrilineal. The strength and solidarity of such a clan does not merely lie in the negative bond of exogamy (exogamy, in the sense of prohibition of marriage with relatives of certain degrees, can exist independently of the clan), but in the important positive bonds such as the common right of clansmen to the women of the clan of their mothers, the mutual rights of group marriage, and the privilege of having blood relatives as fathers-in-law and of marrying the children of one's father's sisters (members of clan which from remote antiquity had married the women of one's own clan).

The strength of the clan bond is enhanced by its very nature. Within the clan all individuals are related by blood. If the clan were maternal and the sons-in-law came to their wives' houses, all women born in the clan would remain together while their husbands would all come from one clan, being their wives' cognatic cousins, sons of their fathers' sisters. In an agnatic clan the outside women are all related to one another, while their husbands are their cognatic cousins.

This common blood relationship of the representatives of both sexes, whether original members of the clan or not, constitutes the all-important element of clan solidarity—a factor of great significance which unites all Gilyak through the bonds of a common ancestral cult [103].<sup>7</sup>

### THE PHRATRY AND ITS ORIGINS<sup>8</sup>

We have seen that the clan is by no means an isolated entity. The existence of every clan is organically connected with the existence of at least two other clans related to it by blood: the clan from which it takes its wives, and the clan into which it must give its own women in marriage. These two clans, moreover, cannot coincide, as the exchange of women between two clans is not permissible [109].

With reference to every individual member in the clan, this means that in addition to membership in his own clan (A), within which neither he nor any of his descendants can marry, he must stand in a specific relation towards at least two other clans—the clan (B) of his mother's brother, from which he himself and his male descendants take wives, and the clan (C) of his father's sister, into which his female descendants marry.

We know from the kinship terminology that both clan B in relation to clan A, and clan A in relation to clan C bear the special name "*akhmalk khal*" ("clan of wife's fathers"), and are in turn called by these clan "*imgi khal*" ("clan of son-in-law"). All three clans combined are called *pandf* ("men of common descent"). As all three clans are blood relatives, each clan and each clan member, with reference to marriage, constitutes an organic part of a three-clan union of blood relatives (*pandf*). Hence this is a real cognatic phratry for in each generation all husbands and wives are cognatic cousins. The Gilyak phratry, however, has nothing in common with

<sup>7</sup> [Editor's note: Readers can find the discussion of destructive influences on the kinship system, which is found after this material in the three Russian versions, at the start of chapter eight.]

<sup>8</sup> [Editor's note: Approximate versions of this section and the tables are also found in the AMNH Russian typescript, 98–112; Shternberg, *Giliaki*, 209–214; and Shternberg, *Sem'ia*, 109–111.]

TABLE 2.  
THE THREE-CLAN COGNATIC PHRATRY

CLAN A (ANDREI) <sup>9</sup>	CLAN B (VASILII)	CLAN C (STEPAN)
<b>Clan Ancestor and Wife</b>	<b>Clan Ancestor and Wife</b>	<b>Clan Ancestor and Wife</b>
Andrei Vera	Vasilii Sophia	Stepan Anna
Andrei, brother of Anna, who is married into clan C	Vasilii, brother of Vera, who is married into clan A	Stepan, brother of Sophia, who is married into clan B
Vera, sister of Vasilii of clan B	Sophia, sister of Stepan of clan C	Anna, sister of Andrei of clan A
<b>Their Children</b>	<b>Their Children</b>	<b>Their Children</b>
1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, Vasilii of clan B	1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, Stepan of clan C	1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, Andrei of clan A
2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Anna of clan C	2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Vera of clan A	2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Sophia of clan B

In succeeding generations, marriages follow the same rule: Men marry mother's brother's daughters; women marry father's sister's sons.<sup>10</sup>

Morgan's phratry; marriage within the Gilyak phratry is not only possible but imperative. This three-clan system is represented schematically in table 2.

At first glance, our hypothetical phratry of table 2 provides for all necessary marriages. In each clan, a man marries his mother's brother's daughter; a woman marries into a third clan, taking her father's sister's son.

However, there is a problem. Such a marital arrangement abrogates a separate marriage rule which forbids giving women to the clan of the wife's father of the second degree (*tuyma akhmalk*). If we apply this rule to our hypothetical phratry, we arrive at the following predicament.

<sup>9</sup> [Editor's note: Although Shternberg penned in Anglicized clan names to the AMNH Russian typescript, "Astor, Brandt, Clive and Danton," the use of surnames is inconsistent with the structure he uses in the same text, where clan names are tied instead to the first names of their *rodonachal'niki* (Russian for clan ancestors). Hence, I have restored the Russian equivalents that appear in the 1933 Soviet editions as well as the very early version of this table in Shternberg, "Giliaki," *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* 28, no. 60 (1904), 35. The effect is nonetheless much smoother in the original Russian, where the Cyrillic letter "B" represents the "V" for Vasilii, and the Cyrillic "C" denotes the "S" for Stepan. What Shternberg gained in simplicity with the use of these familiar surnames distracts all the same from the Gilyak tradition of naming clans after totemic symbols or place names, not clan ancestors.]

<sup>10</sup> [Editor's note: Tables here follow the two AMNH typescripts, which include this last sentence in the table itself. The Soviet editions put it in the body of the text.]



TABLE 3.

## THE FOUR-CLAN COGNATIC PHRATRY

CLAN A (ANDREI)	CLAN B (VASILII)	CLAN C (STEPAN)	CLAN D (JOHN) <sup>11</sup>
Clan Ancestor and Wife	Clan Ancestor and Wife	Clan Ancestor and Wife	Clan Ancestor and Wife
Andrei Vera	Vasilii Sophia	Stepan Anna	John Mary
Andrei, brother of Anna, who is married into clan C	Vasilii, brother of Vera, who is married into clan A	Stepan, brother of Mary, who is married into clan D	John, brother of Sophia, who is married into clan B
Vera, sister of Vasilii of clan B	Sophia, sister of John of clan D	Anna, sister of Andrei of clan A	Mary, sister of Stepan of clan C
Their Children	Their Children	Their Children	Their Children
1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, Vasilii of clan B	1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, John of clan D	1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, Andrei of clan A	1. Sons marry daughters of mother's brother, Stepan of clan C
2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Anna of clan C	2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Vera of clan A	2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Mary of clan D	2. Daughters marry sons of father's sister, Sophia of clan B
In succeeding generations, marriages follow the same rule: Men marry mother's brother's daughters; women marry father's sister's sons.			

Clan B gives women to A who, in turn, gives women to C. Consequently, B represents the wife's fathers of the second degree (*tuyma akhmalk*) to C, meaning that C *cannot* give women to B. Vasilii's wife cannot be the sister of Stepan. As a result, the men of clan B remain without wives, while the women of clan C remain without husbands. And that would be sad.<sup>12</sup>

In order to overcome this obstacle, it is necessary that the phratry contain a fourth clan, from which B could take women and to which C could give theirs [110]. Then the schematic table of the four-clan phratry would assume the form shown in table 3.

This four-clan phratry is in perfect accord with the Gilyak norms of marriage. An analysis of the table reveals the following facts: In each clan all generations of

<sup>11</sup> [Editor's note: Though I restored Shternberg's Russian clan names to the tables in this chapter, I make first-name exceptions for Shternberg's use of John and Mary (found in the AMNH Russian typescript as "Dzhon i Meri")—imperial and Soviet Russia's popular answer to Dick and Jane. The 1933 Soviet editions Russified them as "Dem'ian i Mariia."]

<sup>12</sup> [Editor's note: In the AMNH Russian typescript, after noting the predicament of clans B and C above, Shternberg speculates on what would happen if clan B took women from clan C, representing this in a repeat of table 2. However, Shternberg then informs that his hypothetical solution clashes with the Gilyak rule that a woman must not marry into the clan from which her own clansmen take wives, and he disavows this model and moves on to the four-clan phratry (table 3). The digression is not found in the 1933 Soviet editions.]

men take wives from the clan from which their clan ancestor originally took his wife, or every individual takes a wife from the clan of his mother. While the rule holds that women of a clan marry according to their generation into the clan where the sister of their clan ancestor was married, in practice each individual woman takes a husband from the clan into which her father's sister is married.

The exchange of women between two clans is not permissible. Clan A, accordingly, takes wives from clan B, the clan of its ancestress Vera. It may not, however, give its women in exchange to that clan, but marries them off into clan C, where its clan ancestor's sister, Anna, is married. Clan B, then, might take wives either from C or from D; but clan C is ruled out, for B stands to it in the relation of *tuyma akhmalk* (the clan of wife's fathers of the second degree). Thus clan B is limited in its choice of wives to clan D, which is the clan of its clan ancestor's wife, Sophia. The women of C and the men of D still seem unprovided for, but, as the table reveals, the latter are married to the former as their mother's brother's daughters. Now the phratry is matrimonially self-sufficient, and all marital norms are accommodated.

Let us now examine the relationship between the members of different clans. Let us begin with the relationship between clan ancestors and their wives. Andrei (clan A) is a first-cousin both of Vasilii and of his sister Vera, for their father's sister was his mother. Andrei is also a first-cousin of Stepan (clan C) and his sister Mary, for their mother must have been Andrei's father's sister (clan C marries from clan A). At the same time Andrei is a second-cousin of John and Sophia, for John's clan (D) takes wives from C, who in turn take wives from A. Thus the grandmother of John must have been the sister of Andrei's grandfather, and thus John and Andrei are cognatic cousins of the second degree. Obviously the relationship between the clan ancestor toward the others is the same as in the case of Andrei; this will be true of representatives of the various clans in all generations, for the marital norms are the same everywhere [111].

Our analysis shows the following:

1. In each generation the representatives of all four clans are either brothers and sisters or cousins, persons of common descent in the male and female lines.
2. In each generation of the clans which stand in a matrimonial relation to each other, the group of potential husbands are cognatic cousins, usually of the first degree. This is also true of the group of wives.
3. In clans which do not stand to each other in matrimonial relations but are mutually *tuyma akhmalk*, such as the clans A and D or B and C, the husbands are cognatic cousins to each other, and the wives are cognatic cousins to each other, but not nearer than the second degree. They are as a rule less intimately related than is the case in matrimonially connected clans. Remoteness of relationship beyond a certain degree thus appears among the Gilyak to be, as in Australia, a barrier to marriage.
4. If I am male, my father-in-law is my mother's brother and a first cousin of my father, while my mother-in-law is my father's second-cousin and a first-cousin of my mother. If I am female, my father-in-law is a first-cousin of my father and a second-cousin of my mother, while my mother-in-law is my father's sister and

a first-cousin of my mother. In other words, husband and wife are related through their fathers and through their mothers. On their father's side as well as on their mother's, they are second-cousins; through wife's father and husband's mother they are first-cousins; through husband's father and wife's mother they are third-cousins.

5. The relationship between the clans of the phratry as such may be represented as follows: Clan A is *mal akhmalk* ("father-in-law of the first degree") of clan C, *tuyma akhmalk* ("father-in-law of the second degree") of clan D, and *imgi* (son-in-law") of clan B, to which last clan A also stands in the relation of father-in-law of the third degree, for D is the clan of fathers-in-law of B. Clan B stands in exactly the same relationship towards clans A, C, and D; the same is true of clan C with reference to clans D, B, and A, and of clan D with reference to clans B, A, and C.

Accordingly, we can now make the following statements:

1. The *imgi* clan is the clan of fathers-in-law of the third degree with reference to the clan of its actual fathers-in-law; consequently, the third father-in-law relation is a form of relationship which is quite negligible from the point of view of the regulation of marriage. As a matter of fact, no term exists for this relation, which recognizes only two forms of the father-in-law bonds—*mal akhmalk* ("father-in-law of the first degree") and *tuyma akhmalk* ("father-in-law of the second degree").
2. The relation of *tuyma akhmalk* is a reciprocal one, A being *tuyma akhmalk* of D, D being *tuyma akhmalk* of A, and so on. The present marriage law of the Gilyak requires that women shall not marry into a *tuyma akhmalk* clan; and as the relation *tuyma akhmalk* of two clans is reciprocal, no matrimonial relationship between such clans is possible. This fact is illustrated in table 3; *tuyma akhmalk* clans (A and D, B and C) are not matrimonially related. As noted above, this prohibition is not based on closeness of relationship. Quite the contrary, *tuyma akhmalk* clans stand to each other in a more remote degree of relationship than matrimonially related clans.

What may have been the origin of this peculiar institution of *tuyma akhmalk*? Whence came the fundamental interdict against giving women in marriage to a *tuyma akhmalk* clan—an interdict necessitating the formation among the Gilyak of a four-clan phratry instead of a three-clan phratry? When I first published my observations of the Gilyak phratry I deduced this interdict from the necessity of having in the *tuyma akhmalk* clan a reserve supply of wives in case of extinction of the *mal akhmalk* clan.

My prolonged studies of the development of Gilyak marriage resulted in the conviction that the origin of the above interdict must be looked for elsewhere, namely, in the preceding phase of marriage. Before we pass to a consideration of this problem, however, we must glance at the evolution undergone by the four-clan phratry and the norms of Gilyak marriage, an evolution spurred by a special set of conditions which finally brought about the matrimonial forms we know today.