ONE



THE GILYAK KINSHIP SYSTEM¹

[10-26; 5-32; 132-149; 68-75]

THE GILYAK SYSTEM OF KINSHIP has no distinct terms to indicate affinity.² According to the basic principle of Gilyak marriage laws, affinity must coincide with kin ties. The Gilyak distinguish two main categories of kinship which may be designated, respectively, agnatic and cognatic. The first term comprises all persons bound by

¹ [Editor's note: Of all the chapters in the Shternberg text, the reader might appreciate that this is perhaps the most difficult to follow. On receiving the first drafts in 1912, Boas wrote to Shternberg to say he found it "very hard reading." The reader is urged to refer closely to the glossary and table 1 where necessary. For useful English language guides, see Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Internal Limits of Generalized Exchange," in his Elementary Structures of Kinship (Boston: Beacon Press, 1949), 292–309; and Lydia Black, "Relative Status of Wife Givers and Wife Takers in Gilyak Society," American Anthropologist 74, no. 5 (1972), 1244–1248.

This chapter demonstrates the greatest variation among the four main earlier versions of this work—the AMNH Russian and English typescripts and the two 1933 Soviet editions—in both form and content. In the three Russian versions, chapters 1 and 2 of the present edition are reversed. Specifically, in the AMNH Russian typescript, the section titled "Ch. 1: The Classificatory Kinship System," 4–9 (which corresponds to sections in Shternberg, *Giliaki*, "Terms and Forms of Kinship," 132–136; and Shternberg, *Sem'ia*, 62–68) precedes the material beginning this section. In the AMNH Russian typescript they are two separate chapters, whereas in the 1933 editions Koshkin collapsed them into one chapter. This edition follows the sequence of these chapters outlined by Shternberg in an undated memo to Boas in the archive of the AMNH.

It should be stressed that table 1 is found in the AMNH English typescript only. The AMNH Russian typescript and 1933 Soviet editions contain truncated versions (AMNH Russian typescript, 23–26; Shternberg, Giliaki, 147–149; and Shternberg, Sem'ia, 74–75). This is likely the table Boas suggested to Shternberg in their 1912 correspondence, and may have initially drafted himself (appendix A, letter of October 26). In the 1940s, Lévi-Strauss worked from this new table in his chapter on Gilyak kinship, Elementary Structures of Kinship, 292-309. With the introduction of Gilyak kin terms in this chapter, reconciling the four separate systems of transliteration used in the two AMNH typescripts and the two 1933 editions involved much consultation with Gilyak (Nivkh) readers on Sakhalin in 1995. In this edition, Gilyak words follow Shternberg's AMNH Russian typescript, except when Sakhalin native speakers strongly recommended revision. Hence, in this section, xal became khal, tuvn became tuvng, ymgi became imgi, nae became nats, ymk became imk, angey became ang'rei, aek became atsk, jox became iokh, ogla became og'la, ranr became ranrsh, and irx became irkh. Please see the Note on Transliteration in the frontmatter. Lydia Black's comments have improved many parts of this book, but I am particularly grateful for her close attention to translations throughout this chapter.]

² [Editor's note: This first sentence is found in the AMNH English version only.]

ties of common descent from a male ancestor, in other words, all persons born or adopted into one or another patrilineal clan. A woman, in marrying, passes to the clan of her husband. Cognatic kinship is of two kinds. The first kind comprises the clan or clans into which the agnatic kinswomen of a particular clan have married; the second kind encompasses the agnatic clan or clans from which men of the same particular clan have taken wives [68].

All persons related agnatically are known as *khal-nigivin*,³ or simply as *khal, khalbekh*, "people of the clan" (from *khal*, "clan," and *nigivin*, "man"). In relation to the first group of cognates (that is, to the members of the clan or clans who take or have taken wives among the *khal-nigivin*), the latter with their entire clan are called *akhmalk* (X,⁴ "fathers-in-law" [in Russian, *testi*]), and reciprocally, *imgi* (XI, "sons-in-law").⁵ On the other hand, in relation to the second group (that is, to the clan or clans among which the *khal* themselves take wives), the latter are called *imgi*. Both groups in relation to the first cognatic set, and all three in relation to one another, bear the characteristic name *pandf*⁶ (from *pandind*, "to be born"), that is, consanguineal kin bound by ties of common descent (through women).⁷ Thus we see that "affinity" and "cognatism" are converging among the Gilyak. How this came to be will be apparent from the discussion of marriage norms. Let us now discuss each kinship category.

AGNATIC KINSHIP WITHIN THE CLAN

Within the clan the Gilyak distinguish only three lines of agnatic relationship: (1) the *tuvng*, collateral branches, encompassing classes of brothers and sisters (own and

- Here as everywhere in the text I have used the terms of the Eastern dialect [E.D.]. Whenever the Western dialect is given, it is preceded by the initials W.D. The terms of relationship are given in table 1. [Editor's note: This footnote is found in the AMNH English version only. The intention to include synonyms from both of the Gilyak main dialects was expressed by Kreinovich in a 1930 letter to Shternberg's widow (AAN f. 282, o. 5, d. 27). Kreinovich's hand-writing is found in a number of places in the AMNH Russian typescript, which Boas received in part through Shternberg's widow, and many of Kreinovich's editorial suggestions can be found incorporated in the AMNH English version.]
- ⁴ Roman numerals in parentheses occurring after key kinship terms refer to table 1. [Editor's note: This footnote is found in the AMNH English version only.]
- ⁵ [Editor's note: For Russian language equivalents, Lydia Black noted that Russian distinguishes between two kinds of father-in-law: test', the wife's father, and svekor, the husband's father. Shternberg explains that among Gilyaks, "wife-givers" are "testi" (Russian, wives' fathers) to the "wife-takers" (in Russian, ziat'ia, daughters' husbands). See Black, "Relative Status." This edition employs "father-in-law" and "son-in-law" in general circumstances, except when context demands the more precise "wife's father" and "daughter's husband."]
- 6 Von Schrenck is wrong in asserting that relatives on the father's side (i.e., agnates, members of the same gens) call themselves, as a group, ngafk (correctly, nafk, navkh), and those on the mother's side amal. In reality, both terms—amal (X, akhmalk) and ngafk (XIII, navkh)—indicate exclusively the fact of relationship through either mother or wife, but never on the father's side. The latter group of relatives, the agnates, bears the name indicated above: khal, khalnigivin.
- ⁷ [Editor's note: While Shternberg gives the literal translation for pandf, 1995 Gilyak (Nivkh) readers agreed that the broader understanding of pandf designates the ancestral point of origin of a clan.]

collateral), within one's own generation;⁸ (2) the ascending generation, *nerkuns'vakh* ("my fathers' generation"), without distinction of direct and collateral lines, because a father's brothers, own and collateral, make one class (only the ascending generations are distinguished in order as *nesvakh*, *mesvakh*, *s'esvakh*, *nisvakh*, tosvakh, and so on, meaning the first, second, third, fourth, etc., generations); (3) the descending generation, *nekhlunkun s'vakh* ("my children's generation"), where the term "children" includes not only the descendants of a man and of the entire class of his brothers (own and collateral), but also of all the descending generations of these persons. In each generation of kinspersons, classes of husbands and wives are distinguished [68].

- (1) A MAN'S OWN GENERATION. For a better understanding of what follows, we shall begin with the class of brothers and sisters (I, *tuvng*) (W.D. *ruf*). The special significance of this term is that it refers to persons of both sexes indiscriminately. It designates:
- 1. One's own brothers and sisters (i.e., children of one father).
- 2. Children of all the father's brothers, own and collateral (that is, all male and female cousins of all degrees in the male line).
- 3. Children of one's mother's sisters, own and collateral (that is, all male and female cousins in the female line).

Thus, in one's own clan, all agnates, male and female, of the same generation—brothers and sisters and cousins in the male line—are his *tuvng*; a man may also have *tuvng* born in other clans, if they are children of his mother's sisters, own and collateral. Thus the Gilyak clan organization permits one to have true agnates (brothers and sisters) outside his own clan.¹⁰

The wives of all male *tuvng* constitute a separate class of *tuvng*, addressing one another by the same terms as real agnate sisters and cousins.

The class *tuvng* has two important divisions, which greatly influence both the whole terminology and sexual norms. This division is into persons older and persons younger than the speaker or the one spoken of: namely, (I(a)) *akand*, *aki* (older male or female *tuvng*); and *askhand*, *askh* (I[b)), younger male or female *tuvng*). For an older *tuvng* another term is also used (namely, (I(c)), *nanakh*, *nanak*), and it is remarkable that the same term is applied to one's paternal aunts, the reason for which will be duly explained in connection with sexual regulations. In addressing one another, the *tuvng* use exclusively the above terms for "elder" and "younger" in the vocative form—*aka*, *askha*, *nanakha*, and so on. Certain other terms are used for designating the subdivisions of the class *tuvng*, such as *ranrsh* (I(d)), "sister" in relation to brothers), *kivung* (I(e)), "brother" in relation to sisters). Descriptive terms are employed

^{8 [}Editor's note: A collateral "brother" or "sister" in this context is the common equivalent of a cousin.]

⁹ [Editor's note: The AMNH English typescript here and elsewhere in this chapter lacks several lines later used in some of the Russian editions. Where possible, I have added lines from the AMNH Russian typescript and the two 1933 Soviet editions to clarify.]

¹⁰ [Editor's note: This last line of the paragraph is found in the AMNH English version only.]

for distinguishing real brothers and sisters from cousins in the male line, such as *oskir tuvng* (real [rodnoi] brother or sister) in contrast to *tukhor tuvng* ("male or female cousin"). All these terms, however, are outside of the general series of classificatory terminology and are used only when necessary to specify certain individuals. If two of the most remote agnates of one generation are asked what they are to each other, the answer will be either simply *tuvng*, or *aki* (elder *tuvng*), or *askh*, according to the ages of the speaker and his companion. The seniority of brothers (in our terminology "cousins and third-cousins") is determined not by the places of their fathers in the ascending line, but by the actual age seniority of the cousins, doubtful cases being decided by the male elders.

- (2) THE ASCENDING LINE WITHIN THE CLAN. In respect to terminology, we find in this line only two grades for each sex: (1) fathers and grandfathers, on one side; (2) mothers and grandmothers, on the other side. Outside of the ascending line stand only the paternal aunts (fathers' sisters), who are classed as we have seen above with one's elder female *tuvng* and designated by one and the same term, *nanakh*, *nanakhand* [69].
- (a) Grandfathers and Grandmothers. Within the clan, the class of grandfathers (IV, atk, atak) embraces all males in the ascending line of one's father, in direct as well as indirect lines: that is, not only grandfathers, great-grandfathers, and so on, but also all the tuvng of the latter (grand-uncles, great-grand-uncles, etc.). Among the Gilyak speaking the Eastern dialect, this class includes also older brothers of one's father, that is, all paternal uncles older than one's father. All the wives of the "grandfather," and all sisters of the latter (that is, all paternal grand-aunts, of a male or female, are one's grandmothers (V, atsk; W.D. itik, itsik).\(^{11}\) Whenever a person of that category must be more precisely defined, the Gilyak use descriptive phrases similar to our own. To designate the grandfather's younger brother, for instance, they will say ri er atk pilan ("my father's younger uncle"), etc. These expressions, however, are but rarely used, for in matrimonial questions relationships of these degrees play no part whatever [69].
- **(b) Fathers and Paternal Uncles within the Clan.** Here two forms must be distinguished, reflecting, as it seems, two consecutive stages in the development of marital and sexual norms. The Gilyak speaking the Western dialect (that is, those of the continent and the western coast of Sakhalin, especially northward from Pogibi) use identical terms (III, *itk*, etc.) for "father" as well as for all their male *tuvng*, that is, for all brothers, one's own and collateral. Another group, which speaks the Eastern dialect, makes a distinction between *tuvng* ("father's juniors") and *tuvng* ("father's seniors"). Among these Gilyak the class of fathers embraces the real father and his younger *tuvng* only, while the elder *tuvng* are designated by the same term as the

^{11 [}Editor's note: In the AMNH Russian typescript, Shternberg handwrote ask and aek in the text; the 1933 Soviet editions typeset the same word as asx or ack. Following the transliteration table Shternberg filed for Boas in the AMNH archives, I have rendered the term here as atsk.]

^{12 [}Editor's note: None of the AMNH or 1933 Soviet editions distinguish these two terms of the Eastern dialect.]

grandfathers—(IV) atk, atak. But even here, among this group, in the spoken language as well as in the texts, the term "father" (III, itk and its synonyms) is also used indiscriminately for the father and all his "brothers" (tuvng). This fact is clearly revealed by the customary use of "father" in the plural. For instance, nitkhyn (pl. of itk, "father"; literally, "my fathers") means "the father and his 'brothers' (tuvng)," without distinction of age. Hence, we may conclude that the first group, with a common term for "father and his tuvng," is the more ancient one; though formerly dominant, it has receded before the gradual changes in sexual norms, probably (as will be shown below) as a result of Tungus influence. Other evidence for this conclusion may be drawn from the term "tuvng" applied indiscriminately to children of all brothers without regard to their relative ages, and from the term "mother" to be discussed next.

- (c) Mothers within the Clan. In connection with the preceding class, whereas some differences have been shown to exist between the terminologies of the eastern and western Gilyak, the two groups completely coincide in their terminologies for the class of mothers. Each Gilyak, male or female, applies the term "mother" (II, *imk* and synonyms) not only to his or her own mother or stepmother, but to the wives of all his father's *tuvng* [70].¹³
- (d) Wives within the Clan. The most common term for "wife" in both dialects is ang'rei or ankh. This term is also a classificatory one, but it differs in scope as used by the eastern or the western Gilyak. Among the latter, especially among those of the Amur, the term "wife" includes not only one's actual wife, but all the wives of all his tuvng, without distinction of age; among the other Gilyak, only the wives of one's elder tuvng are termed his actual wives, whereas the wives of his younger tuvng are designated by a different term, iokh, signifying "daughter-in-law." The wives of the tuvng address one another as "elder sister" and "younger sister."
- (e) Husbands within the Clan. The terminology of this class corresponds to that of the preceding class of "wives." Within the clan of her husband, a woman applies the term "husband" (IX, pu, ivn, okon, etc.) not merely to her actual husband but also to his tuvng. The western Gilyak make no distinction between elder and younger tuvng, but among the eastern Gilyak, only the younger tuvng of a woman's husband are termed her "husbands" (pu, etc.), the husband's elder tuvng being designated by the same term as that used for "father-in-law" (X(a), atk).
- (3) THE DESCENDING LINE WITHIN THE CLAN. For this class there exists but one term for both lines, direct as well as indirect, and for all generations—og'la or eglan, ola. The term og'la is applied by a man within his own clan, not only to his own children born from his actual wives but to all children of his brothers (tuvng). Similarly a woman uses the term og'la for her own children as well as for the children of all her husband's "brothers." The term og'la is applied not to the first generation alone, but to all descending generations of the speaker and of the entire class of tuvng. Thus

I came across a single exception in my census of the village Kol', where in one case the wife of a father's senior brother was called by the Tungus term *ivei*, a fact accounted for by the presence in the village of Tungus clans.



Fig. 9. Gilyak women and children during winter, 1890s. Women's clothing was often ornamented with Chinese coins on the lower hem. Photo by Lev Shternberg. *Source:* AAN f. 282, o. 2, d. 158, l. 2.

the Gilyak designates as og'la not only his own children and agnatic nephews but all the latter's descendants as well (that is, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, etc.). In that use of og'la we recognize the same phenomenon as in the terminology of the ascending line, where one term, atk, designates all generations higher than father and mother. Besides the above normal cases, the term og'la is frequently used as a term of endearment, in quite different connections. Thus a woman calls her husband's sister's son by the term og'la, and a man, his wife's brother's son, though, as a rule, quite different terms are used for those persons. For a more specific definition, two additional special terms are used. One term, $oskip\ og'la$, is descriptive, and applies to a "related" descendant (one's own child, son or daughter); the other term, ykye, indicates primogeniture. However, neither of these terms is of any importance in

¹⁴ [*Editor's note:* In the AMNH Russian typescript, Shternberg penned the rather confusing line, "Tut my vidim to zhe iavlenie, chto v terminologii voskhodiashchei linii, gde odnim terminom 'atk' and 'ark/ask' opredeliauts'ia vse pokoleniia vyshe ottsa i materi." The 1933 Soviet editions eliminated the second term probably because Shternberg framed the sentence around only one; I have deleted the second because neither of the versions ("ark/ask," handwritten by Shternberg) were included correspondingly in table 1. The 1995 Gilyak (Nivkh) readers did not comment here because we worked with the published 1933 Soviet edition of *Sem'ia*, which does not contain the alternative wording.]

either the general terminology or the sexual norms. For indicating the sex of the *og'la*, the words *sankh*, *umgu* ("woman") or *asmits*, *utgu* ("male") are added, for instance, *sankhekhlan*, "girl," or *asmitsekhlan*, "boy."

COGNATIC KINSHIP

Let us now turn to the terms used for persons outside the clan—in other words, to cognatic kinship—the key to the entire system. We have already drawn attention to the fact that in the Gilyak system of relationship affinity and consanguinity are identical; that is, their classificatory system does not recognize relationship by affinity. In order to grasp this strange fact with greater clarity, we shall begin our survey of kin links outside the clan with the relationship (through the mother) to the members of that clan or to the entire clan from which came the mother of a given individual [71].

"I" being male, my maternal uncles and their male tuvng are to me and to all my male tuvng, "wives' fathers" (X, akhmalk), and the daughters of these persons are our wives (VII, ang'rei); reciprocally, I and all my tuvng are sons-in-law (XI, imgi) to our maternal uncles, and husbands (IX, pu) to their daughters. This same relation exists between all other generations of my own clan and the clan of my maternal uncles. All female tuvng of my mother's brothers—in other words, all sisters (own and collateral) of my mother—are "wives" of my "fathers," and consequently my "mothers." On the other side, the daughters of my maternal uncles' sons are wives of my maternal uncles' own sons and of the sons of my "brothers," and so in every generation all males of my own clan, and all females of my mother's brother's clan, are husbands and wives. Thus both clans are at the same time bound by ties of affinity and consanguinity. In the clan of my mother, I (being male) and my clansmen have, on the one hand, cognatic and even agnatic relations—maternal uncles, aunts, grandfathers, grandmothers, cognatic cousins, and even mothers (sisters of my own mother). On the other hand, we also have fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law, wives, and daughters-in-law. My father-in-law is at the same time my maternal uncle, my wife is my cross-cousin (daughter of my mother's brother), my daughter-in-law is the daughter of my maternal uncle's son, and so on.

Because of this double relationship, a double terminology has been formed for some categories of the clansmen of one's mother's clan. While for a man's mother's clansmen the general term for two generations older than the speaker is *akhmalk* (X, the term of affinity and consanguinity at the same time), there exists also another term, *atk* (X(a), "grandfather," "uncle"), because they are really grandfathers (fathers of the speaker's mothers or uncles (mother's brothers)), whereas for those of the speaker's own generation, or the younger one, an additional term, *navkh* (class of cognatic cousins), is used.

The position of clanswomen in regard to their mother's clan is quite different. In the latter they have no husbands, no fathers-in-law, no mothers-in-law. They have only consanguinei. They call all males of this clan by one and the same term, atk; the males' wives and all clanswomen of the generations older than the mother are called atsk; the mother's "sisters," imk ("mothers"); all other clanswomen of the mother are called navkh ("cousins").

The terminology used by the clansmen of my mother to me and my clansmen also shows clearly the double relation of affinity and consanguinity. I being male, all the clansmen of my mother call me *imgi* ("son-in-law" or "man"). Those mother's clansmen of my own generation or younger further address me as *navkh* ("cognatic cousin"). In turn, independent of generation, they call me and my clansmen's wives *tuvng* ("sisters"), *nanakh* ("agnatic aunts"), *og'la* ("daughters"), or *atsk* ("greataunts"); my clanswomen are to them either *atsk*, (more simply, aunts) or *nern* ("cousins" on the female side). On the other hand, the daughters of my mother's "brothers" call me and my "brothers" their *pu* ("husbands"); my wives, *tuvng* ("sisters"); my fathers, *atk* ("uncle" and "father-in-law"); my "mothers," *nanakh* ("aunt" and "grandmother"); my grandfathers and grandmothers, *atk* and *atsk*.

From what has been said above, it is clear that the relation of a man to his mother's clan extends throughout both clans.

Let A be my clan, and B that of my mother's brother; the latter as a whole will be wives' fathers (akhmalk) to A, who in turn, will be sons-in-law (imgi) to B. Importantly, this correlation of the two clans remains fixed once and for all. Under no circumstances can clan B become sons-in-law (imgi) to A. This may be gathered from the mutual terminology of the two clans. As was demonstrated above, clan B owes its name akhmalk to the fact that the members of clan A have a class of "wives" (ang'rei) in clan B; while the men of clan B have among the women of clan A either "sisters" (tuvng), or "daughters" (og'la), or aunts (atsk), or "nieces" (nern), but no "wives" (ang'rei). Therefore clan B cannot become sons-in-law (imgi) to A.

The terminology of relationship through the mother determines yet another form of cognatic relationship—that through the father's sister. While I call her by the agnatic term "elder sister" or "aunt" (nanakh), she refers to me as her "younger brother" (askh). At the same time she and her husband's clan assume towards me and my clan the same relation as that in which I and my clan stand to the clan of my mother's brother; that is, my father's sister's husband and his brothers (tuvng) call all my father's sisters "wives" (ang'rei), and are called "husbands" (pu) by them. My sisters and my other female tuvng become "wives" (ang'rei) of the sons of my father's "sisters," and "daughters-in-law" (iokh) of all ascending generations of my father's sister's husband. Hence, my "daughters" become wives of the sons of my "sisters." On the other hand, my clansmen, according to their generations, become either atk, akhmalk, or akhmalk navkh to the clansmen of my father's sister's husband, while the latter become imgi navkh to us. The women of the other clan are to us either agnates, "aunts" (nanakh), "sisters" (tuvng), "daughters" (og'la), or "nieces" (nern), but in no case can they be our "wives" (ang'rei). In brief, my clansmen and I are akhmalk to the clansmen of my father's sister's husband, who are imgi to us.

The terminology of this group (that is, a man's relations to his mother's brother and to his father's sister) is the key to the entire terminology of relationship. The entire nomenclature of marital relationship in general is fashioned after it.

When a Gilyak marries, the terminology adopted between him and his clan, and between his wife and her clan, is the same as if his wife was his mother's brother's daughter, and when a Gilyak marries off his sister, the terminology of relationship between the two clans is the same as if his brother-in-law was the son of his father's sister. That is why the Gilyak system of terminology knows no special relationship by affinity. To a Gilyak male his father-in-law is the same as his mother's brother or his grandmother's brother's son; his son-in-law is the same as his sister's son; his son-in-law's father is the same as his grandfather's sister's son; his daughter-in-law is the same as the daughter of his mother's brother's son, etc.; the members of the two clans thus constitute a quasi-consanguineous group.

If we keep in mind the nomenclature of relationship in the mother's brother's group and in the father's sister's group, we have a ready scheme of relationship for any marital combination—between the husband and his wife's clan, between the wife and her husband's clan, or between a man and his married sister's clan [72]. Accordingly, we can observe the following general rule: My father-in-law and his kin in ascending generations, and the corresponding classes of their tuvng, are to me akhmalk, atk. Their male descendants I call akhmalk navkh while they call me imgi navkh. The wives of all my akhmalk I call atsk. The sisters of my father-in-law and his female tuvng are my "mothers" (imk); their husbands, my "fathers" (itk), while I am the son (og'la) of both. Similarly my wife's "sisters" (tuvng) are "wives" (ang'rei) to me and to my "brothers" (tuvng); their children call us "father" (itk) and "mother" (imk) and are "brothers" (tuvng) to one another. My sisters and daughters, on the other hand, are merely nieces (nern) of the men of my father-in-law's clan; therefore, no one of that clan can become "son-in-law" (imgi) of my clan. On the other hand, I being *female*, my husband's father and all his *tuvng* are to me uncles (atk), being sons of my grandfather's sisters; all the ascending males of my fathers-in-law are also atk, being my great-uncles; my mothers-in-law are to me nanakh (my father's sisters); my husband's brothers (tuvng) are to me husbands (pu); their wives are to me elder or younger sister (nanakh) or askh, and to their children I am mother (imk); all my "sisters" are wives (ang'rei) to my husband and to his "brothers," just as my paternal aunts and great-aunts are wives or my fathers-in-law and their "fathers"; all the clanswomen of my husband are to me either aunts of great-aunts (atsk) or cognatic female cousins (navkh).

NEAR AND REMOTE AKHMALK. We have seen that the interrelation of the *akhmalk* B and *imgi* A clans is a permanent one, but the members of clan B must, in their turn, have another clan C which is *akhmalk* to them, while the members of clan A must have their separate *imgi* clan D. In terminology, these clans are distinguished by the additional terms *khanke* or *mal* ("near") and *tuyma* ("remote"). Thus clan B is *khanke akhmalk*, or simply *akhmalk*, to A and *tuyma akhmalk* to D, and so on. But beyond these general terms (*tuyma akhmalk* or *imgi*), the terminology of relationship between the members of the remote *akhmalk-imgi* clans does not extend.

There is a growing complication in the *akhmalk-imgi* terminology. From what has been said above it is clear that the construction of this terminology requires that every clan have one single *akhmalk* clan. At the present time, however, clansmen may take wives from several clans; in this way each marriage from or into a new clan establishes, in regard to the two newly related clans, the entire chain of the *akhmalk-imgi* terminology. As a matter of fact, nowadays almost every clan has several *akhmalk* and several *imgi* clans.

It is easy to realize the great complications that have arisen through this order of things in the terms of relationship and, as we shall see further on, in the sexual relations of these people. For this reason a change is now being contemplated to check the growth of the *akhmalk-imgi* relationship in two directions—first, by not applying every new *akhmalk* relationship to the entire clan of the marrying man, but to his individual family only; and secondly by limiting this relationship to individuals of the first two generations. This change, however, has not yet had the sanction of public approval and the old rule holds sway over most clans.

AGNATIC RELATIONSHIP OUTSIDE THE CLAN. We have seen that one calls by the term "mother" (*imk*) not only the wives of his father and his paternal uncles but also the "sisters" of his mother, and that the children of one's maternal aunts are to him brothers and sisters (*tuvng*). It may happen, however, that the sisters of one's mother may be married to men not belonging to his own clan; nevertheless, the terminology and the sexual norms remain the same as if his maternal aunts were married to his father or to his father's brothers. Thus, according to this terminology, a man can have agnates, both male and female, outside his own clan. In discussing sexual norms we shall see how this apparent anomaly may have originated [72].

CLASSIFICATORY AND SECONDARY SUBSTITUTE TERMS

Besides strict classificatory terms corresponding to the norms of marriage and sexual relations, there are terms used in address or for designation which have nothing to do with kinship in the strict sense of the word. There are secondary substitutive terms used either metaphorically or as terms of endearment, reverence, or familiarity. Thus the term mam (literally, "old woman") is often used in the sense of "mother" and "wife." Similarly irkh (literally, "old man") is often used in the sense of "husband"; umgu sankh ("woman") is used in the sense of "wife"; azmec, utgu ("male") is used for "husband"; ola ("child") is sometimes used by a woman in relation to her son-in-law; and so on. As terms of reverence we find nats nivukh for akhmalk; rak nivukh, poskhp for imgi; and many others. Such secondary terms have many times puzzled investigators, leading them to the conclusion that the classificatory terminology has no significance. 15 It is necessary, therefore, to bear in mind the important distinction between true class terms and secondary metaphorical terms. The Gilyak themselves and all other tribes I have studied understand very well how to distinguish between these terms, and when relationship or matrimonial questions are under discussion, the secondary terms are never used.

DESCRIPTIVE OR CIRCUMSTANTIAL TERMS

Since the classificatory system does not suffice in cases where the relationship of a singular person is concerned, descriptive terms are used, if need be, as in European

¹⁵ Such a puzzling term might be one already mentioned, namely *mam*, used familiarly for designating "mother," "wife," and generally "old woman." It would be absurd to assume that such a term is a classificatory one, or to draw any conclusion from it regarding sexual norms.

TABLE 1.

LIST OF COMBINED AGNATIC AND COGNATIC KIN TERMS 16

The following is a classified list of the agnatic and cognatic terms of relationship combined. The terms in this list are given in the two main dialects: the Eastern dialect, spoken mainly by the Gilyak on the Tym' River and on the eastern coast of the island of Sakhalin, and the Western dialect, spoken on the continent and on the western coast of Sakhalin, especially northward from Pogibi. The Western dialect terms are indicated by the initials "W.D."; otherwise the terms given are in the Eastern dialect. When the meaning of a term is given without special mention of the sex concerned, it is to be understood that the term is used by or for both sexes indiscriminately [74].

I. Tuvng (tuvn, ruvn, ruvun) (W.D. ruf). Not used for direct address.

Brothers and sisters:

- 1. Children of common father and mother.
- 2. Children of brothers (own and collateral).
- 3. Children of sisters (own and collateral).
- 4. Children of common father.
- 5. Children of common mother.
- 6. Wives of all male tuvng reciprocally.
- (a) Akand, aki (W.D. ikind, iki). Vocative forms: aka (W.D. ika).

Elder male or female tuvng.

Seniority in the side lines is determined not by the father's seniority but by the age of the persons concerned. The same rule holds for the younger *tuvng*.

- (b) Askhand, askh (W.D. as'khanzh, as'ik or as'i'k). Vocative forms: askha (W.D. as'ika).
 - 1. Younger male or female tuvng.
 - 2. Wife of the husband's younger tuvng.
 - 3. Brother's (tuvng) children (speaker being female) (see also VIII).
- (c) Nanakhand (or nanakh, nanak) (W.D. ninkh, nink). Vocative forms: nanakha (W.D. ninikha).
 - 1. Elder female tuvng (additional term to akand (Ia)).
 - 2. Sister of the father and all his tuvng.
 - 3. Husband's mother and all her female tuvng.

(In one instance in the village of Viakhta, I heard this term applied to a mother's sister; generally, however, she is not *nanakhand*, but *imk*, mother.)

(d) *Ranrsh* (or *rankr*) (W.D. *ranzh*). Not used for direct address. Sister in general, without distinction of age. Used exclusively in rela

Sister in general, without distinction of age. Used exclusively in relation to brothers.

[[]Editor's note: The AMNH English typescript preceded this table with a short note: "Pleonastic Possessive Pronouns in Terms of Relationship: As in the Dravidian and some North American languages (Seneca, for instance), Gilyak terms of relationship are always used in combination with possessive pronouns. For instance, instead of itk, the Gilyak always says nitk (ni itk) and so on. In the table, for the sake of simplicity, the terms are given in their pure etymological form." The placement of the table at this point in the chapter follows the AMNH English typescript.]

- (e) Kivung. Not used for direct address.
 - Brother in general. Used exclusively in relation to sisters.
- II. *Imk* (or *imik*), *im* (W.D. and E.D.). Vocative forms: *imka*, *imika*, *ima*. Other terms: *irn*, *zhizn* for designation. Vocative forms: *mam* (*mama*'!) (W.D. *oma*).
 - 1. Real mother.
 - 2. All actual or class wives (ang'rei) of the father.
 - 3. Wives of father's tuvng.
 - 4. Father's wives' "sisters."
 - 5. Father's tuvng's wives' "sisters."
 - 6. Mother's "sisters" (female tuvng).
 - 7. "Sisters" (tuvng) of wife's father.
 - 8. Sisters of brother's (tuvng) father-in-law.
- III. Itk (itik, it, it, rarely utk) (E.D. and W.D.). Vocative forms: itka, ita. Designative term: er.
 - 1. Real father and all actual or class husbands (pu) of my mother.
 - 2. Father's elder and younger "brothers" (tuvng), among Gilyak of W.D.
 - 3. Father's younger male tuvng, only among Gilyak of E.D.
 - 4. Mother's sisters' (tuvng) husbands and their male tuvng.
 - 5. Wife's father's sisters' (tuvng) husbands.
 - 6. Brother's wife's father's sisters' husbands.
 - (a) *Pilan* (E.D. and W.D.). Designative term: *pila nigivin* (W.D. *pil nivukh*). Used as an alternative term with the term *itk* for father's younger male *tuvng*, mainly among the eastern Gilyak. This term signifying "elder" must be of a later origin, formed perhaps after the Tungus term *aga* (elder), and also applied to one's father's younger brother.
- IV. Atk (W.D. atak); sometimes app, appik.
 - 1. All ascending males of the father in the direct as well as indirect lines (that is, grandfather and his male *tuvng*, great-grandfather and his male *tuvng*, and so on).
 - 2. Father's senior tuvng, among the eastern Gilyak only.

Other meanings of this term, used alternatively with the term *akhmalk* will be given below (see X).

- V. Atsk, atskh (W. D. itik, itsik; west coast of Sakhalin asi).
 - 1. Grandfather's and great-grandfather's wives and sisters (on father's and mother's side).
 - 2. Mother's brother's (tuvng) wife and all his clansmen's wives.
 - 3. Wife's "mothers" and all her clansmen's wives.
 - 4. Wives of an akhmalk and all his clansmen.
 - 5. Husband's grandmothers and great-grandmothers.
 - 6. Husband's paternal aunts and great-aunts.
- VI. Oglan, eglan, ekhalun (W.D. og'la, ola). Vocative form: ola. For designation of sex the following terms are added: azmits (W.D. utgu) for males, and sank, sankh, sankh (W.D. umgu) for females. Example: utgu ola (boy), umgu ola (girl).

- 1. Son or daughter (children of either sex).
- 2. Children of one's "brothers" (tuvng), speaker being male.
- 3. Children of one's "sisters" (tuvng), speaker being female.
- 4. Wife's sisters' (tuvng) children.
- 5. Children of one's brothers' (tuvng) wives' sisters, speaker being male.
- 6. Children of maternal uncles' daughters, speaker being male.
- 7. Son or daughters of one's male oglan.
- (a) *Ivi* (or *iv*, *iv*, *ivei*, *evei*). Used in many localities of the W.D., especially on the Amur, formed under the influence of the neighboring Tungus tribes. Used by males for designating the following categories of class wives:
 - 1. Wives of one's tuvng (without distinction as to seniority).
 - 2. Sisters of one's individual wives.
 - 3. (Exceptionally) wife of father's younger "brother" (in one case, in the village of Kol', among clans of Tungus origin; among the Tungus even now the wife of my father's younger brother is my wife).

As a term of endearment this term is applied sometimes by a man to his sister's son and by a woman to her brother's daughter (the reason for which will be given later on) and in general by old men to children and young men

VII. Ang'rei (E.D. and W.D.) for designation and direct address. One part of the Amur Gilyak bordering the Ul'chi have only a designative term ankh ("wife"), while they address their class wives by name.

Speaker being male:

- 1. Actual wife.
- 2. Wife's sisters, own and collateral (tuvng).
- 3. Senior tuvng's wives.
- 4. Every tuvng's wife's "sisters."
- 5. Daughters of mother's brothers and of his tuvng.
- VIII. Iokh (E.D. and W.D.). Vocative forms: iokho, iokho'y. Designative term: erak hand.
 - 1. Daughter-in-law.
 - 2. Actual wife of my younger tuvng (speaker being male).
 - 3. Bride (speaker being male) [75].
 - IX. *Pu, if, iv, ivn* (E.D. and W.D.), *okon* (vocative *okono*), rarely *ora* (only in W.D.). Speaker being female:
 - 1. Actual husband.
 - 2. Sisters' (tuvng) husbands.
 - 3. Husband's brothers (*tuvng*), among the Amur Gilyak and in the northwestern part of Sakhalin; husband's junior brothers (*tuvng*), among the other Gilyak.
 - 4. Father's sisters' (tuvng) sons.

Among some few families in northern Sakhalin, the actual husbands have been termed *pu*, *ivn*, even *navkh* (in address); and the husband's *tuvng*, *okon*. Especially for husband's junior *tuvng*, two terms have been used, *okon* and *ora*.

This confusion in the terminology, however, must be ascribed to Tungus influence. The term *ora* itself is of Tungus origin.

- X. Akhmalk (W.D. amalk or amal, amaln). Used mainly for designation, but also for direct address. Applied by male and female clansmen (speaker being male) as a general term for:
 - 1. All clansmen of my mother.
 - 2. All clansmen of my own wife or of the wife of anybody of my own clan. Besides this general term, the following differential terms are used for different categories of *akhmalk*:
 - (a) Atk (W.D. atak;) of Tungusian origin (appik, app); used more frequently in the W.D. Vocative forms: atka ataka, appaka, a'ppo. Designative terms: arir, erir, aritskh, ariritskh, edr, er.

Speaker being male:

- 1. Mother's brother, his male *tuvng*, and all his ascending clansmen (that is, my uncles, grandfathers, and great-grandfathers, and maternal great-uncles.
- 2. Father-in-law, his male tuvng, and his ascending clansmen.
- 3. Every akhmalk of the generation older than my own.
- 4. Sometimes the elder brother of my wife.

Speaker being female:

- 1. My father-in-law, his male tuvng, and his ascending clansmen.
- 2. The senior tuvng of my husband, only among the eastern Gilyak.
- 3. For the *akhmalk* of the generation older than my own, the term *atk* is used; the terms *arir*, *edr*, etc. are applied by women to their husband's clansmen.
- (b) Navkh (navkh) (E.D. and W.D.).
 - 1. All *akhmalk* of my own generation (speaker being male) and their descending clansmen.
 - 2. Alternative term: *atk* is used for the *akhmalk* of the generation older than my own (speaker being female).
- XI. Imgi (umigi, emgi) (E.D. and W.D.), ora, okon (mainly among the Amur Gilyak).
 - I, being male, and all my clansmen and our wives apply this term for:
 - 1. My son-in-law and all his clansmen.
 - 2. My sister's son and all his clansmen.
 - 3. My sister's husband and his clansmen.
 - 4. My father's sister's husband and all his clansmen, etc.
 - 5. Generally for the husband of every clanswoman and his clansmen.

The following differential terms are used for different classes of *imgi*:

- (a) *Navkh* a familiar term for *imgi* of my own generation and their descendants (clansmen).
- (b) Okon (only among the Amur Gilyak bordering the Ulchi), used for my (speaker being male) senior sister's (female tuvng) husband and for my father's sister's (female tuvng) husband.

- (c) *Ora* (only among the Amur Gilyak), used for my (speaker being male) daughter's (own or class daughter's) husband and the husband of my junior sister (female *tuvng*).
- XII. *Oraiu* (plural of *ora*), a collective term for the *akhmalk* clansmen and *imgi* clansmen together (used only among the Amur Gilyak).
- XIII. *Navkh*. Used for designation and direct address. Besides cases X(b) and XI(b), where this term is used alternately with other terms, it is applied:
 - 1. Between a woman and her husband's sisters (tuvng).
 - 2. Between a woman and her father's sister's (tuvng) daughter.
 - 3. In some localities on the Amur, between the wives of brothers (*tuvng*), strictly corresponding in this case to the Hawaiian term *punalua*, also used between brothers' wives, and having the same meaning (partner or colleague). With the same meaning *navkh* is also used as term of address between persons not related, who are marrying from one and the same clan.
- XIV. Nern (nern, nirn, negn (E.D. and W.D.).

Speaker being male:

- 1. My sisters' (tuvng) or daughter's husband's sisters (tuvng).
- 2. My sister's (tuvng) daughters.
- 3. My father's sister's daughters.
- 4. Sister of every *imgi* of my own or descending generation.
- 5. The younger sister of my wife (if exceptionally she is married to one of my class *imgi*).

Speaker being female:

- 1. Husband's sister's daughter.
- 2. Husband's paternal aunt's daughter.

languages. Thus, while the class term for a paternal great-uncle will be atk, if it is desired to define the given atk more circumstantially, one may say $ner\ itk\ askh$ or $ner\ itk\ aki$ ("my father's father's younger or elder brother") and so on. For the same purpose sometimes personal names are applied: For example, instead of saying "my father's elder brother's wife" (my mother as a class term), one may simply say "Kat's mother" (the mother of one called Kat), and so on. More instances of this kind are given above in connection with relationship within the clan [73].

THE TERMS "GREAT," "GRAND" (pilang).¹⁷ In the spoken language as well as in my texts, the adjective "great" or "grand" (pilang) often appears in combination with

[[]Editor's note: Although Shternberg's intention was to work through the Eastern Dialect, which would render this adjective piland, throughout the text with few exceptions the Western Dialect variant of pilang is used. Up to four transliterations of the adjectival form are given in Shternberg's handwritten insertions to the AMNH Russian typescript alone, e.g., "pilang," "piland," "niland," and "pilang." Soviet editors reproduced "pilang" in the 1933 publications.]

one or another of the terms of relationship. Among some other peoples the addition of the adjective means the shifting of relationship by one degree in the ascending line (father, grandfather). In Gilyak, however, pilang is never used in this sense. Usually it is added as an adjective to a term of relationship to indicate the mature age of a given representative of a classificatory term. This peculiarity is readily accounted for when we consider that in the classificatory system even such terms as "father," "mother," "grandfather," "grandmother" do not, as in European languages, sufficiently determine age in relation to the speaker; in fact, in Gilyak these terms have no relation whatever to age. Not only the "father" and "mother," but the "grandfather" and "grandmother," may be younger than their "son" or "grandson." Whenever it becomes desirable to indicate that the person spoken of is an adult representative of one or another category, or is older than the speaker, the adjective pilang (pila, pil, "big," "mature") is added: for instance, "adult younger brother" (pilan askh); "my old father" (n vilan itk); "my old mother" (n vila nimk); "my adult elder sister or aunt" (n vila nankh); "my old uncle, father-in-law, grandfather" (n vila natk). In such cases pilang is often used also as a term of reverence or even as a mere pleonasm. Pilang is used in some cases, too, when it is desired to designate more exactly the relative position of persons of the same class. Thus the general term for one's father's brothers' wives is imk ("mother"). But if one wants to indicate definitely the wife of his father's elder or younger brother, he says pil aimk ("big mother") or matka imk ("little mother"), just as he says pil itk ("big father") to indicate that the given person usually called or addressed simply as itk ("father") is older than his real father. In the same descriptive sense these terms are used for distinguishing different mothers, wives of one's own father. Thus pila imk signifies "father's wife older than one's real mother," and matka imk the younger one. In a single instance (namely, in the substantive form pilan or pila nigivin), pilang becomes a term of classificatory relationship, signifying "father's younger brother," synonymous with itk ("father"). The Tungus term aga is probably responsible for the development of this peculiarity [73].

PLURAL OF TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP. The classificatory system has favored the frequent use in the plural of such terms (strictly singular in our own languages) as "father," "mother," "wife," "husband," "father-in-law," and so on.

The common use of such plural terms has a rather curious result. The plural is often used even in cases where only one person is spoken of: for instance, *tserkun saktokh vind*? (literally, "Your fathers, where did they go?") instead of *tser saktokh vind*? ("Your father, where did he go?"), or *er erkun itin shankh* ("the woman indicated by the fathers," plural instead of singular).

Here is a characteristic example taken from one of my texts. ¹⁸ The hero of the tales says to his wife, "I my fathers, my mothers, to seek shall go"; and when he finds them, "his *mother* on the left-side couch was sitting, his *father* behind the mother

Shternberg, Materialy po izucheniiu giliakskogo iazyka i fol'klora (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1908), vol. I, 107, 108, 120, lines 85, 120, et seq.

was sitting, his uncle (father's brother) on the right couch was sitting, there the young woman would be sitting" (probably his mother's sister). 19

The plural is sometimes used as a collective term for relatives of different categories: For instance, <code>tserkun</code> (literally, "your fathers") is used in the sense of "father and mother" or "the father and his agnates"; <code>ni itkuntokh vind</code>, "I go to the fathers" (that is, to the village where my father and mother live or lived); <code>nakhmalkkhuntakh</code>, "to my fathers-in-law" (that is, to the village of my wife's relatives); <code>neorankkhyn</code> (literally, "my women," "my wives"), in the sense of "a beloved one and her male companions"; <code>ingikhyn</code> (literally, "sons-in-law"), in the sense of "son-in-law and his wives." A similar phenomenon seems to occur among the Yukaghir. I gather this from an instance cited by Mr. Iokhel'son, where a man says <code>mat atsiananin</code> ("my fathers") instead of <code>mat atsi-ianin</code> ("my father"). OMr. Iokhel'son believes that in this case the plural may have been used to show respect for the father; but as it appears from the context ("Friend, to my fathers let us migrate"), the father was not present and there was therefore no necessity for exhibiting special respect.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP USED FIGURATIVELY. The terms of relationship reflect in a curious way on the terms used by lovers not bound by marital ties. In their vocabulary we often find terms borrowed from the matrimonial terminology. Thus a woman calls her lover azmits, "man," "husband" (W.D. okon, "husband"); ivn (applied to fiancé); or navkh (from the terminology of the son-in-law and father-in-law group). The last term as well as the term akhmalk is sometimes used by the wives of "brothers" (although they may be strangers to each other) and for fun by men who have a nonmarital liaison with one and the same woman. In everyday life the terms navkh among the eastern Gilyak, and amaln among the western Gilyak (vocative forms navkha and amala), are used very often for addressing even persons not related to the speaker. In daily life, navkh can mean simply "companion," "partner in common enterprise." In this way navkh coincides with the well-known Hawaiian term punalua, derived from its own local family groupings [74].²¹

¹⁹ In Old-Turkic monuments (namely, in the Koshko-Laidam inscriptions) V. O. Radlov [Radloff] found traces of a similar use of plural terms, although at the present time all traces of a classificatory system excepting the terms "elder brother" and "younger brother" have completely disappeared. Accordingly, when he encountered the expression "my mother, the queen, and the mothers" he translated the last word in the text as "step-mothers." Since he has become acquainted with the Gilyak classificatory system, he is inclined to interpret the expression "mothers" as "class-mothers" in distinction from the real mother, that is, the mother and her sisters.

Vladimir Il'ich Iokhel'son [Waldemar Jochelson], Materialy po izucheniiu iukagirskago iazy - ka i fol'klora (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1900), 48, 50.

²¹ [Editor's note: The AMNH English version dropped the last sentence regarding punalua from its translation. It is found in all three Russian versions.]