traps, guns, boats, etc., are derived from materials found outside the band's range and are manufacturerd elsewhere, as are the goods needed to reproduce the individual worker, such as canned foods, textiles and medicines. The point is, though, that there were indigenous sources of supply which could be utilised should European sources fail. In this sense the Shamattawa Band's territory (which coincided with that of the York Factory Band) was (and still is) as 'independent' as it would have been were production for subsistence requirements alone.

Informants insist that there is sufficient game to support the present Shamattawa population should the necessity arise and that the range and quantity available have not altered appreciably within memory. (Table VIII lists the main subsistence resources in the Shamattawa Band's territory.) If this is the case (we are not yet in a position to test it rigorously), then the same area would have certainly supported the much smaller population that constituted the York Factory Band in the fur trade-traditional period. Table IX shows a constantly increasing population from 1910 on for both the York Factory Band as a whole and for two of its three branches. Fluctuations in the size of the Gillam Band are due to the movements of York Factory people in and out of the town. What the population was before 1910 is difficult, if not impossible, to determine.

A hint as to what it might have been, however, is provided by an entry in the Hudson's Bay Company Reports on Districts of 1815. Here the 'number of Indians belonging to the York Department' is given as '180 of adult age' (HBC Arch B239/e/1M783). The York Department then covered an area of some 80,000 square miles, with its northern border extending in a strip from Cape Lookout in the east to the Churchill River in the west (see Figure 1). Assuming an adult is a mature hunter, or married man over 20, a 50/50 ratio of under 20's to over 20's (characteristic of a steadily growing population) and a Department containing some three Bands (York Factory, Fort Severn, Winisk) each covering about 20,000 square miles (the size of the York Factory Band's territory),[17] then the York Factory Band population would have been about 120 people, a density of one person per 167 square miles. Rogers (1963: 22) estimates the 1829 ratio in the Mistassini Cree's territorial range to have been one person per 200 square miles.

Although two parallel trends are apparent over the years--an increase in the population of the York Factory Band as a whole, including its Shamattawa branch, and a decline in trapping and hunting activities on the part of the members of the band--it would be incorrect to assume a priori that the trends are directly related. Increasing pressure on local resources by an expanding population does not necessarily lead to a decline in hunting and trapping activities. However, in the immediate vicinity of an expanding settlement certain resources are likely to become seriously depleted over time and affect production activities. This was certainly the case from time to time at York Factory:

> ...country cleared of deer for 100 miles round by Indians waiting in vicinity all summer for supplies to arrive (HBC Arch B239/a/1M154, October 9, 1716).

The October 10 Journal of 1716 reports large number of 'hunger starved'

Table IX Population of the York Factory Band 1910-1974.[18]

Year	Band				Total
	York Landing[19]	York Factory	Gillam	Shamattawa	
1910		278			278
1920		330			330
1930		364			364
1941		484			484
1947	168		95	207	470
1950	189		95	208	492
1960	250		75	281	601
1974	361		256	480	1097

Indians (HBC Arch B239/a/1M154) in the vicinity of the fort and earlier reported,

> Indians waiting at York Factory and have given goods away to other Indians for food so they can get back to their own country (HBC Arch B239/a/1M154, August 16, 1716).

The 1812 Report on Districts comments,

> Indians have left the coast and area around the fort and gone to interior. Some marten and beaver returning HBC Arch B239/e/1M783).

And in 1879,

> There was not the dinner by the indians, which they have now given annually for three years, owing to the almost total absence of deer, partridge etc. (HBC Arch B239/a/182, January 1, 1879).

Informants, in fact, said that one of the main reasons Shamattawa was preferred to York Factory as the settlement site was because of the paucity of game in the vicinity of the fort.

> There is no wood or furs at York Factory and it is always cold. It's a long way to go to trap. (Zaccharias Thomas)

Around York Factory, then, there was not always sufficient game to meet consistently the subsistence needs of the people resident or trading

there. This problem would have been compounded for alien Indians trading into the fort, given that York Factory fell within the present Shamattawa (then the York Factory) Band's range. As middlemen in the fur trade it would have been in the York Factory people's interest to prevent other Indians from establishing permanent trading ties to the fort. Skirmishes between the York Factory Indians and those to the north in the early 1700's were over who would gain control over access routes into the fort. This was clearly recognised by Hudson's Bay Company officials of the time.

> Send expedition north to settle at Churchill River. Instruct Indians not to fight Indians there. More trade possible from north than presently have at Y.F. (HBC Arch B239/a/1M154, June 2, 1715).

The most obvious means of discouraging trade by other Indians into York Factory, once warfare had been suppressed by the Company, would have been to prevent aliens from hunting in the vicinity of the fort. In other words, the 'starving' Indians of the Hudson's Bay Company reports may have been those prevented from hunting by the York Factory Band in order that they would leave as soon as possible.

It is also evident from the records that what resource depletion there was around the fort was occasioned as much by the demands of Europeans and fur trade economics as by any Indian population increase. Staff at the fort demanded a constant supply of game to meet their needs and to store as a hedge against the possibility of a shortage--shortages, it would seem, that were largely self-induced. For the Indians in the vicinity of the fort this meant competition with Hudson's Bay Company employees for bush foods. The eventual result was that Indians who trapped in the vicinity of the fort became almost wholly dependent on the Company for their food supply which meant that even greater supplies of bush foods had to be brought into the fort to meet their needs. Some idea of the pressure on local resources occasioned by this process is gained from the 1873 York Factory Post Journal Records on the bush foods supplied in March of 1873 (HBC Arch B239/a/182)

March 1-- 700 partridge
3-- 450 partridge
4--4,557 lbs. venison in ice house
7-- 15 deer = 1,380 lbs.
10-- 13 deer = 980 lbs.
1,980 lbs. in ice house
15-- 850 partridges
10 deer = 750 lbs.
17-- 14 deer = 1,200 lbs.
1,543 lbs. in ice house
21-- 32 river fish
25-- 41 river fish
27-- 40 river fish
31-- 60 river white fish

The 1874 Post Journal lists the total bush foods received during the previous year (HBC Arch B239/a/182)

37,999 River white fish
2,819 Lake white fish
80 trout
15,673 lbs. fresh venison = 201 deer
424 rabbits
14,866 partridges
110 gals. cranberries
2,793 ducks
30 plover

At this time the permanent staff of York Factory was only 22 Europeans and nine native servants and apprentices (HBC Arch B239/e/vol. 5). This number increased to about 50 in the summer months (HBC Arch B239/f/61).

This situation persisted through to the twentieth century and is remembered by Shamattawa informants.

> Before I moved to Shamattawa I mostly stayed around York Factory. The Hudson's Bay Company man came around on the trap lines selling goods. He had flour, tea, coffee, baking powder, matches. People couldn't get along without it. (Peter Neepin)

In return for their furs these people could buy back bush foods from the fort.

> People used to sell game to the Company. Moose, rabbit, caribou, prairie chickens. They had a warehouse to keep it in. It was cold. Also people could buy it back again. It cost the same as they sold it. Everything used to be gotten by trading. Money wasn't used until I was about 10 years old [about 1910]. (Sammy Anderson)

In short, some of the 'starving' Indians mentioned in the Hudson's Bay Company Records and by Shamattawa informants may also have been those trapping around York Factory at a time when stores were low within the fort itself.

If it is true that within the Shamattawa Band's range, members of the band could hunt and trap 'anywhere' and would share food with those they met, then there would have to have been a uniform decline in game throughout most of the band's range before general famine or scarcity would have existed. In this period people were not restricted to small areas comparable to registered trap lines. Local fluctuations could only lead to starvation conditions if they happened to occur in areas trappers habitually frequented on their way to and from York Factory and if trappers would not deviate from those paths, or if trappers remained too closely tied to a restricted area during a band winter season. This might explain early reports of famine in the Shamattawa area.

> Two indians in from East Coast where they report having passed a bad winter. George Neepin a good

> hard working indian being reduced to eating his fur skins (HBC Arch B239/a/182, April 17, 1877).

And in 1879,

> By the indians who came down the river from their hunting grounds with the rafts, news was brought of great scarcity of food especially deers and Rabbits during the winter. So great was the want that eight individuals succumbed to it--2 men, 1 woman & 5 children and in consequence of, little fur was brount in [in the margin: 8 Samataway Indians died of starvation] (HBC Arch B239/a/182, May 30, 1879).

A Shamattawa informant mentioned the following incident.

> There were about 10 in my family with my mother and father and we really had a hard time. We almost starved because we didn't have anything to eat. It was around Kaskattamagin [where the Kaskattama river enters Hudson Bay]. My father was starving and he had to crawl because he didn't have anything to eat. He fell down because he couldn't stay on his feet. They stayed there about a night. It was cold and in the winter time and my father couldn't find anything to kill. My father managed to kill one prairie chicken and everyone in the family ate it. (Sammy Anderson)

Regardless of such shortages, people were unlikely to have 'starved' were they not so involved in the trapping economy. Even with an abundance of game around them the mercantile system had a way of inducing its own 'shortages'.

> When somebody couldn't pay off his debt he didn't get supplies. He would have to go trapping [to get more furs to pay off his debt and buy more supplies and incur another debt] without enough food. Sometimes the Hudson's Bay Company man came to the trap line to sell guns, milk, lard and flour. If he didn't come people had to eat dead beaver. (Zaccharius Thomas)

Shamattawa informants say there have been no major shortages or variations in the supply of bush foods in the immediate vicinity of Shamattawa in the recent past. Indeed, at Whitefish Lake nearby, beaver are said to be increasing in number. Caribou and moose can be taken two to three miles from the settlement and trapping is carried out within what has now become the reserve area (Figure 3). In fact, the reserve is 'reserved' for the use of old men who cannot make the long journeys to other trapping areas. Most of the fishing for subsistence needs is carried out in the God's and Echoing Rivers as they run through the reserve and geese, ducks, spruce grouse, ptarmigan, prairie chicken, sharp-tailed grouse and rabbits are taken

regularly within the bounds of the reserve. During the fieldwork period two men shot seven moose in one spot some 30 miles from the community. A week later another man shot two more at the same place. The following data were gathered on hunting trips with Shamattawa men.

(a) A York Factory Goose Hunt

During a one-day outing on the coast near York Factory two men shot six geese and 10 ducks. This was significantly smaller than the year before. One of the men said he had come with two others and shot 115 in one day. He said the planes in which the tourists were arriving to visit the Goose Camp operated by the York Landing Band were forcing the fowl to fly farther into the Bay itself and further along the coast so that they were now scarce over the marshes in the vicinity.

(b) 'Chicken' Hunting

A one-day excursion from Shamattawa to hunt for 'chickens', as the Cree call them, netted 25 ptarmigan and grouse and one rabbit. On other days men and boys individually bagged five to ten. Fowl are plentiful in the area and can be seen in the early morning around Shamattawa.

(c) Net Fishing in Shamattawa

When the God's River freezes over, fish are obtained through the ice adjacent to the community. Nets are the property of individual domestic groups. After the nets are set they are left and then emptied every day or two. An average haul for one net is 20-30 fish. When the ice clears fishing is continued not only on the God's but also on the Echoing River. Nets are also placed in the smaller streams, rivulets and rivers which run into the two larger ones. An average one or two day haul is 30-60 fish. The types of fish most frequently caught are jackfish (pike), whitefish, speckled trout, black maria, pickerel and bass (downstream).

It might be argued that since the Shamattawa population was largely dependent on the fur trade and European goods for subsistence requirements, pressure on local resources has been relieved allowing them to recover both around the settlement and over the band area generally. But there would be little evidence for this position. The data rather suggest that there has always been one portion of the population more involved in subsistence pursuits than the other which has been more involved in the fur trade. The latter group were, of course, more in contact with the Hudson's Bay Company and more dependent on their services (and they are also more 'visible' as their activities are reported more frequently in the Company's records). The following interview with an old man of 70 is instructive.

> We used to go for the winter on this side of the Kaskattama River. We used to go there at the end of August and one of the lakes there is where we did our fishing. That's why we went there--because there's lots of fish. We dried and cleaned our fish in the Fall and we used it all winter. Then after we got the fish we started to get moose and

> that's what we lived on and that's how we got meat. After we dried the meat we put it away for the whole winter. Then the caribou used to come too and we did the same thing with that. People made all kinds of food for themselves. After we did that a trapper could trap and not worry about food. There was no tea, no sugar, no flour, only matches. That's all we had. Around Christmas time we used to take our furs to York Factory and get matches, guns and things. That was a long time ago. Then we would come back to the trap line. One thing the Indians used to live on is fish. And we used to set snares for rabbits and set nets. That's the only way we kept on living. There was always lots of food. The caribou used to come right up here every year. (David Redhead)

The contemporary situation in Shamattawa must, of course, be seen as a type of dependency as the community has, in the last few years, come to rely on welfare and 'odd jobs'--a development that has little to do with a scarcity or fluctuation of bush foods and furbearers. It is not the absence of animals to trap which has produced a greater reliance on money and store-bought foods, but rather an entire economic and political nexus which puts severe constraints on certain types of activities. Settlement life itself is both a part and a product of these forces.

A return to pre-contact conditions or even the conditions of the fur trade-traditional period is neither possible nor desired by the Shamattawa Cree. But this does not mean they are abandoning all hopes of an autonomous and independent existence, at least relatively, and within a broader economic and political framework. Just as it is incorrect to view the present circumstances of the Shamattawa population as a result of environmental factors so it is incorrect to view the possibility of relative autonomy as being a function of the same considerations. Autonomy and dependency are conditions structured by economic and historical factors which operate over and above environmental factors. The desire for an autonomous Shamattawa is expressed in a variety of contexts within the everyday life of the community. As we have already mentioned, there was recently a vigorous debate over relinquishing a portion of land to the Manitoba government for an airstrip. A substantial proportion of the community felt this could interfere with their own future activities on the land.

The reliance on a money economy and the constraints this has had on the pursuit of other economic activities has forced a number of men to seek wage labour in places like Gillam, Churchill and smaller camps in northern Manitoba. But the men who go invariably return after a few months and this is true even of the few men who have sufficient training and skill to find rewarding jobs almost anywhere in the province. People leave to find jobs but the preference is to return to the community even with its relatively high cost of living[20] and the absence of wage labour. There is a constant tension now established between the desire for jobs and money and the desire to maintain ties with tradition and achieve a measure of independence with one's own people. As one 26 year old said 'I would rather leave Shamattawa to get a job because it is too expensive to live here. I

would stay here if there were jobs'.

Although the Shamattawa people were firmly enmeshed in a mercantile capitalist economy during the fur trade-traditional period, individuals, domestic groups, hunting-trapping groups and the band were autonomous to the extent that they could control in large measure the commencement, the location and the duration of their production activities. It is this kind of autonomy which is not present in the wage labour situation located outside the community or within the welfare syndrome within the community. It is this realisation which is currently causing such anguish within the Shamattawa community and which marks a turning point in their relations with Whites. As we said in our Winnipeg Tribune article on behalf of the people of Shamattawa,

> In order to pull themselves out of poverty and improve their community the people of Shamattawa think that what they need to do is develop the local resources and they want the government to help them....But as yet there are no projects in Shamattawa designed to develop local resources.
>
> It is quite likely that when government officials talk to the people of Shamattawa about resource development they have in mind projects on a large scale such as hydro projects, mining projects or something of the same order. The only kind of project which they seem to be earnestly interested in is the kind which provides resources which can be shipped elsewhere for processing or for distribution. The attitude of both the provincial and the federal government seems to be that if resources on such a scale cannot be found, then the only alternative is keeping things the way they are.
>
> ... The continuation of the present policies would eventually force people to go somewhere else in an attempt to escape the poverty which results from them. But the people of Shamattawa love their land and if local resources could be developed for their own benefit the idea of leaving Shamattawa would not occur to them (Winnipeg Tribune, February 28, 1976, page 10).

CHAPTER TWO

KINSHIP, PRODUCTION AND MARRIAGE

1 INTRODUCTION

Prior to fieldwork an attempt was made to interpret Cree kinship terminology and marriage rules on the basis of the extant literature. Two hypotheses were entertained; first, that the kinship system was reciprocal incorporative in which local groups became allied and merged through the exchange of marriageable partners; second, that by virtue of an incorporative principle a new unit would emerge on a level different from that of the local groups (such as a conjugal pair or a larger unit such as a brotherhood of intermarrying groups), even though it would be the local group which yielded the partners to the incorporation. The local group was thought to be a residential unit roughly equivalent to a 'family', having a patrifocal emphasis. It also occurred that if incorporation were in fact taking place (whatever the form) it might be revealing to view relationships in the society from the point of view of male and female Egos who were spouses, as well as from the point of view of male and female Egos who were siblings.

As was noted in the Preface, research proceeded from the assumption that marriages and 'kinship' relations in societies like the Cree were more than just links between genealogically or consanguineally defined individuals--they were links between individuals as members of groups. The major research problem with the Cree seemed to be to locate and define the crucial groupings in the society. A review of the literature indicated the Cree most certainly did not have patrilineages and that the alliance system was not of the 'connubial' variety (see Williams 1974). The kinship terminology was, however, classificatory and therefore involved a grouping principle. The task of research was to discover what this principle was.

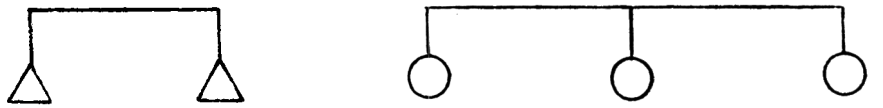
Preliminary work (Anthony, personal communication; Ahab Spence, M.I.B.) indicated the Shamattawa Cree had a patronymic system much like our own whereby a surname was inherited from one's father and passed on to one's children, the wife taking the husband's surname on marriage. A working hypothesis, then, was that the patronymic defined crucial groupings and that genealogies of each would have to be taken to reveal the pattern of alliances between them. Whether these groups were in any sense 'local' remained to be seen. It was thought that this would be the best type of data to obtain initially since even if the crucial grouping turned out to be somewhat smaller it should still be contained within these genealogies (e.g., a parallel sibling group, a family). These genealogies were obtained by having several adult members of the patronymic describe all the progenitors of the group through the male line as far back as could be remembered, listing in the process all affines and their respective patronymic groups. This was done for the seven major surname groups at Shamattawa--the Beardys, the Redheads, the Napaokeesiks, the Canabies, the Miles, the Hills and the Thomases.

The next step was to try and find out what kinship term each person on one 'genealogy' used to refer to each person on his or her own and on the other 'genealogies'. If this could be done then the terms could eventually be laid over the group genealogies and interrelations predicted on the basis of membership in various groupings ranging from the patronymic to a segment of a patronymic to the 'family'. We would be then on our way to determining the referents and meanings of the terms. As the fieldwork period was of limited duration and the task time consuming, it was decided to isolate a sample of people on the group genealogies who would be expected to have full familiarity with the kinship terminology and carry out the survey on these alone. A list was drawn up containing the names of 85 adults (all except one woman were married) and by the end of the field period 52 of them had been questioned and relationship terms obtained.

As more of these surveys were elicited it became apparent that they had a greater value than merely providing an overlay for the group genealogies. They increasingly became a means for gaining an understanding of the way in which relationship terminology was conceptualised. People often not only gave the term they currently applied to a particular person but also the terms they previously applied as well as why they used those terms and why the terms changed. The method, then, could be used to 'decode' the system from a cognitive point of view.

After obtaining most of the patronymic genealogies and a few of the terminological surveys it became apparent that certain usages contradicted the expectation of a reciprocal, incorporative model. The model predicted that after marriage the term E/ego used to refer to any person in the group his or her group had married would be the same term those people used in reference to him or her. But situations were encountered where this was not the case and where people referred to each other by different terms. For example, Dollie (Miles) Napaokeesik called Kilda (Redhead) Napaokeesik nimis, but Kilda called Dollie nicāhkos. The model also predicted that the terms applied by one member of a group to the members of the group he or she married would be the same terms used by the other members of their own group and would be applied to all members of the group in question on the same generation (at this point the 'group' was defined minimally as actual siblings). In other words, there would be an 'incorporator' and 'incorporatee' group with one merging with the other when a marriage was contracted between them. Again, cases became apparent which might contradict this thesis. For example, a man, Zebediah Hill, called his brother's wife (Emma Redhead) nītim (conventionally, 'cross-cousin') but her sister (Mary Thomas) nimis (conventionally, 'sister'). This could be explained if nītim were an affinal term designating only the actual spouse so that only the woman's sisters would be incorporated as nimis, that is, the term for women of one's own group. But all this needed testing.

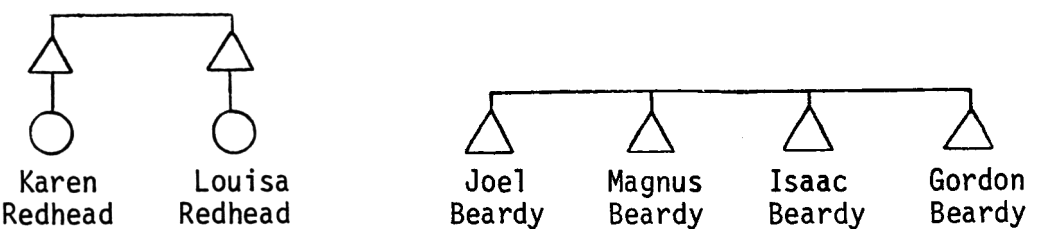
We then formulated the hypothesis that a person and his or her patronymic group/sibling group stood in the same relation to all the people in the same generation of the group one married or one's siblings married--a very strict and, perhaps, overly extreme sense of incorporation. The data soon raised difficulties with this hypothesis at almost any level at which one wanted to define the 'group'. For instance, the people below are interrelated in the following way:



Alec calls Emma, Nora and Mary all nītim. Emma calls Zebediah Nītim, Mary calls him Nitawēmāw or Nisīm.[1] In half of the first dozen cases investigated at least two siblings in one group called siblings in the group one of them married by different terms. At an early point in the fieldwork, then, we rejected the notion of reciprocal group incorporation. And yet, 'siblings' were emerging out of marriages (see the example of Alec Redhead and Zaccharias Thomas below)--spouse's sibling's spouse was being translated into a 'consanguine', a quasi-incorporative feature. Indeed, this seemed to be occurring not only in the case of one's own spouse's sibling's spouse but also in regard to the spouses of siblings of all people linked with own spouse to a common male ancestor two generations previously.

This very tentative finding together with the fact that marriage was practised and permitted within the patronymic but outside the range of those linked to a common male ancestor two generations previously, led us to focus on the latter grouping as a possibly significant unit. Yet the vexing problem remained that parallel siblings linked in this way did not always refer to others in the society by the same terms. Not even siblings seemed to do so consistently:

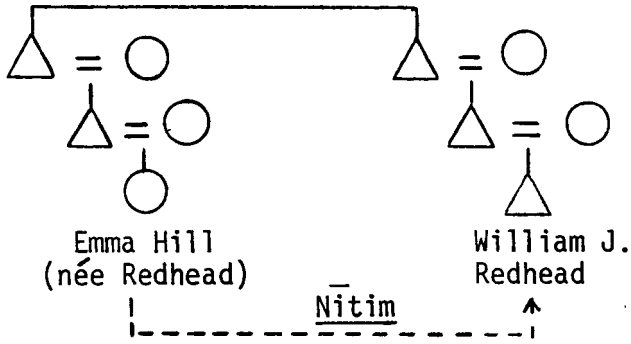
Magnus refers to Robinson and Walter by the term Ninahāhkasim. Joel refers to them both as Nitōsim.



Karen calls Joel Nītim, Magnus Nitawēmāw, Isaac Nītim and Gordon Nītim.

Zaccharius calls Alec and Zebediah Niciwām*and Nīstāw respectively. Alec calls Joannah nītim and Zaccharius Niciwām. Joannah calls Alec and Zebediah Nītim. Zebediah calls Zaccharius Nīstāw and Joannah nītim.

Given the frequency with which this occurred (Magnus and Joel, for example, referred to only three of 14 sibling groups investigated by the same terms), it was difficult to justify choosing the parallel sibling group or sibling group as a salient unit. Yet people linked to a common father seemed to always call each other Nistēs(Nīsīm)/nimis(nisīm) as did those linked to a common grandfather through the male line. People linked to a common great grandfather through the male line, however, did not seem to do so with the same regularity as the following case illustrates.



Furthermore, there seemed some production base for the grouping in question. Brothers trap and hunt together before they are married and frequently choose each other as 'partners' after they are married. If this were also the case in the previous generation a young man would find himself trapping with his father's brothers and their unmarried sons and occasionally with the married ones, that is, with his parallel siblings. There seemed some grounds, then, for pursuing the possibility of a systematic relation between this group of people and others--but only when all the relevant data were available. This meant the analysis would have to be formal and undertaken outside the field situation. Perhaps it was not the grouping that would have to be rejected as salient but only the principle of equivalence of siblings (and parallel siblings).

2 RELATIONSHIP TERM ANALYSIS

The initial object was to discover if there were any kinship and marriage related groupings in Shamattawa society which related as a unit either to

*a general term subsuming Nīsīm (see page 75)

individuals as such or to groups of individuals considered as a unit. To do this required sorting the data into sibling groups, conjugal pairs and generation divisions. The latter were calculated objectively as the number of 'reproductive' links a person must move through in the same patronymic to arrive at someone they call Nimosōm. Thus people on the present (0) level are two links away, on the first ascending (1A), one link away, on the second ascending (2A) no links away, on the first descending (1D), three links away and on the second descending (2D), four. The sample included 31 conjugal pairs and 12 sibling groups. Only those people were selected whose patronymic genealogies had been recorded and whose terminological schedules had been completed. The results of the analysis are given in Tables X-XIII.

Table X Individuals in Conjugal Pairs by Generation from the Point of View of Sibling Groups

	Siblings use same terms for either partner	Siblings use different terms for either partner	No term given[2]
1A	50	10	5
0	148	113	24
1D	53	62	13

Table XI Sibling Groups by Generation from the Point of View of Sibling Groups

	Siblings use same terms for all siblings	Siblings use different terms for same siblings	No term given
1A	11	19	4
0	13	29	5
1D	6	5	2

Table XII Individuals in Conjugal Pairs by Generation from the Point of View of Conjugal Pairs

	Conjugal pair uses same term for either partner	Conjugal pair uses different term for either partner	No term given
1A	22	78	
0	46	370	
1D	177	46	

Table XIII Sibling Groups by Generation from the Point of View of Conjugal Pairs

	Conjugal pair uses same term for all siblings	Conjugal pair uses different terms for same siblings	No term given
1A	2	25	1
0	2	84	7
1D	17	7	

An inspection of these Tables reveals some interesting differences and similarities. First, siblings relate as one (as a unit) only when 'looking up' or 'across' at individuals who are married. When 'looking down' at individuals who are married they tend not to use the same terms of reference. On the other hand, siblings do not relate as a unit when 'looking up' or 'across' at other sibling groups, and only relate as a unit about half the time when 'looking down' at other sibling groups. In brief, sibling groups are only unified when 'looking up' and then only at individuals as such, not as sibling groups.

By contrast, conjugal pairs relate as a unit only when 'looking down' and here both when looking at individuals and at sibling groups. Members of the conjugal pair relate to individuals in married pairs differently when they 'look up' or 'across' at them, in the same way as they see sibling groups differently when viewed from the same relative position. The implications of these findings are far reaching but discussion of them must wait until the nature of the salient groupings in Shamattawa society have been further explored.

The 'sibling' and conjugal units must now be expanded to include a wider circle of relatives to see if the same results obtain. What this expansion is in the case of 'siblings' will depend on what wider grouping it is whose members refer to each other by the same terms as actual siblings use in reference to one another (Nistēs[Nīsīm]/nimis[nīsīm]). The first grouping examined to test this was patrilateral parallel cousins, the second matrilateral parallel cousins.

In each of the nine cases on which data were available defining what patrilateral parallel cousins called one another, 18 people called each other Nistēs, etc., and none by any other terms in the first; five by these terms and one by another in the second; one, and none by another in each of the next three; and eight, five, one and four and none by another in the last five respectively. In the six cases of matrilateral parallel cousin relationships, only one of the fifteen people involved did not call a 'cousin' Nistēs, etc. However, the test to see whether patrilateral parallel cousins related to individuals in married pairs on the 1A generation in the same way resulted in random distribution. In the four cousin groups on which there were sufficient data to draw conclusions here, eight called the people on the 1A level by the same term and five by different terms in the first case; two

by the same term and six by different terms in the second; eight by the same term and seven by different terms in the third; and two by the same term and seven by a different term in the fourth. The same randomness occurred with respect to relations between this expanded sibling group and 0 generation individuals. Siblings, by contrast, had overwhelmingly related to individuals on these levels in the same way. The same situation obtained in the case of matrilateral parallel cousins in relation to individuals on the 1A and 0 levels. In other words, patrilateral and matrilateral relatives did not form a cohesive structural grouping like siblings. They must call each other Nistēs, etc., by virtue of another principle.

When the conjugal pair was expanded to include the husband's and wife's siblings and their spouses (yielding two groupings of six and seven people respectively on whom sufficient data were available to test the hypothesis), in no case did they relate as a group to individuals or sibling groups on the 1D level. Unlike the conjugal pair, they do not form a structural grouping.

One of the main implications of these findings is that every Shamattawa 'family' is internally divided in a structural sense. Parents 'look down' as a unit; siblings 'look up' as a unit. When parents 'look up' they do so as individuals or as members of sibling groups; when siblings 'look down' they do so as individuals or perhaps as potential members of conjugal pairs. Whereas parents 'look laterally' as individuals or as members of sibling groups, children 'look laterally' as siblings, at least when they are looking at other individuals. Sibling groups they see from an individual standpoint. In other words, in the context of a mature 'family', parents do not always relate to other people as members of their parent unit but may do so as members of their sibling unit, and children do not always relate to other people as members of their sibling unit but may do so as individuals or potential parents. This is not the 'generation gap' of our own society--it is a structural phenomenon. It contrasts sharply with what Turner found in a preliminary study in 1975 of kinship patterns among the descendants of Scottish and Irish settlers to Lanark County, Ontario in the early 1800's. Here, until recently, when a marriage was contracted the husband assumed the same relationship to each member of the wife's kindred as the wife did, and vice versa. In other words, sibling and conjugal foci merged into one. I call my wife's cousins 'cousin' as she does mine and so on.

What is usually thought of as the more 'modern' Western pattern seems much closer to the Cree's. I have my own circle of relatives through the marriage of my parents as my wife has hers (e.g., I have my aunts and uncles and she has hers). Here, like the Cree, we 'look up' as members of our respective sibling groups. Yet we do have common relatives through our marriage and refer to certain people by the same terms (e.g., we both call spouse's brother's children niece and nephew). Again, like the Cree, we 'look across' and 'down' as members of our joint conjugal group. But there are structurally defined positions which I 'look up' to as a unit with my wife which a Cree 'looks up' to as a member of his or her sibling unit. For instance, both my wife and myself call my wife's parents father and mother (or father-in-law, mother-in-law) whereas a Shamattawa husband and wife refer to each other's parents by different terms entirely, terms which are not merely applied only after one's marriage (see pages 64-66).

Our 'modern' system is probably a transformation of the one mentioned earlier for Lanark where husband's relatives of a certain genealogical distance are classed with wife's of the same distance and vice versa. Paradoxically then, if there is anything 'Cree' about our system it is in the process of becoming. It is, of course, premature to compare 'systems' at this point in the analysis as the logic of relations of the Cree system has not been delineated, nor have all the levels of group formation in the society. As we shall see, the more this examination proceeds, the less 'European' the Cree appear.

Terms on the 0 Generation

In the course of defining the limits of the 'sibling' group, or group of people who used the terms Nistēs, etc., in reference to one another, it became apparent that many people were being classified by these terms who fell outside the patrilateral/matrilateral parallel cousin range (the category here referred to as 'parallel siblings'). Whereas these Nistēs, etc., seemed to be generated out of a conjunction of sibling groups through marriage on the previous generation (at least same sex siblings), other Nistēs seemed to be generated out of one's own marriage and the marriages of one's own siblings on one's own generation. Given the findings on the structural division of conjugal pairs from sibling groups, it seemed wise to analytically separate two processes of Nistēs, etc.-relation formation. A systematic survey of non-parallel sibling Nistēs, etc., was undertaken and as it progressed a definite pattern began to emerge. An insight gained initially from examination of only a few cases seemed to be developing into a general principle. Spouse's siblings' spouses, siblings of affine's siblings' affines and affines of siblings' affines' siblings were regularly classed as Nistēs, etc. The data also showed that the sibling group was often expanded to include parallel siblings through the male line to incorporate still other people into one's Nistēs, et., network. Four cases have been selected to illustrate the range of relationships existent between non parallel siblings classed as Nistēs, etc. (Table XIV)

Table XIV Genealogical-affinal Relation of Four Shamattawa Informants to non-parallel sibling Nistēs, etc.[3]

Informant	Nistēs, etc.	Relationship
Kornson Miles	Ken Beardy	BWZH
	Lucy Napaokeesik	ZHBW
	Karen Napaokeesik	ZHBW
Silas Miles	Phyllis Beardy	BWBW
	Eleanor Beardy	BWBW
	Jessie Beardy	BWBW
	Morlie Canabie	BWBWB
	Barbara Hill	WBW
	David McKay	MHDH=ZH[4]
	Karen Napaokeesik	FBDHBW
	Johanna Redhead	WFBSW
	Copelia Redhead	BWBWZ

Ida Miles	Eleanor Beardy	BWBW
	Lucy Napaokeesik	HBW
	Karen Napaokeesik	HBW
Karen Redhead	Magnus Beardy	MBSWB[5]
	Amy Beardy	MBSW[5]
	Jessie Beardy	MBSW[5]
	David McKay	HFWDH=HZH[4]
	Kornson Miles	HBWB
	Lucie Napaokeesik	HBW
	Wesley Thomas	HFWDH=HZH[4]
	Berty Miles	HFWDH=HZH[4]

Nistēs, etc., are created out of two processes in Shamattawa society: first, through the conjunction of sibling units through conjugal bonds and, second, through the conjunction of conjugal units through sibling bonds. In so far as people are brought into the same relation to people of other groups (sibling groups and conjugal pairs) as they stand in relation to members of their own group, minimally composed of siblings, they can be said to comprise a single 'brotherhood'[6] grouping. Offspring of father's and mother's same sexed siblings are in one's brotherhood as are those who marry into the same sibling group as oneself, those who married into the group of siblings who provided spouses for one's own siblings, as well as the siblings of those who have married into the group of siblings who provided one's own spouse.

Closer examination of the data, however, introduced a qualifying statement into the last aspect of brotherhood formation. Order of marriage seemed to predict whether or not a particular sibling of an affine's sibling's affine would be included in one's brotherhood. In the ten cases where there were sufficient data on order of marriage to test it, it was found that the siblings of the affine of the siblings of one's own spouse would only be included if they had married after one's spouse's siblings. For instance, when a HBWB was included, the HB had married before both oneself and the WB. In other words, this was merely a special case of the general principle that people who marry into the group of siblings you and your siblings marry are incorporated into your brotherhood. Unmarried siblings of people who marry into the group of siblings you and your siblings marry are 'carried along' with them. Although the data are by no means conclusive on this, what there are indicate a pattern which is at least consistent with residential practices. Married siblings would simply be already established separately in their own domestic arrangements and not so likely to maintain sibling ties as they might were they unmarried.

Within this process of brotherhood formation through horizontal links on the 0 generation, there occasionally is found another involving vertical links operating in somewhat the same manner as brotherhood formation through parents' same sexed siblings. In effect, the 'sibling group' expands to include patrilateral parallel relatives and incorporates a wider circle of people into the brotherhood (e.g., WFBSW, FBDHBW). Later, an attempt will be made to explain why this occurs as well as why MBSW/B are classed as Nistēs, etc. For now it is sufficient merely to establish that a principle of brotherhood formation does, in fact, exist.

The link between the two main processes of brotherhood formation (through marriages linking sibling groups on one's own generation and through sibling groups linked by marriage on the previous one) is the domestic group. Whether this group is composed of a man, his wife and their offspring or whether of a man, his brothers and their offspring, his wife and children will basically determine the composition of the brotherhood at both levels. Including the domestic grouping as an integral part of the brotherhood formation process, general principles can now be rephrased.

1. At one level the brotherhood is composed of members of one's own generation in one's own domestic group of origin and the offspring of females of the domestic groups of origin of women who married members of one's father's domestic group of origin in his generation, or, the offspring of males of the domestic groups of origin of men who married members of one's mother's domestic group or origin in her generation.

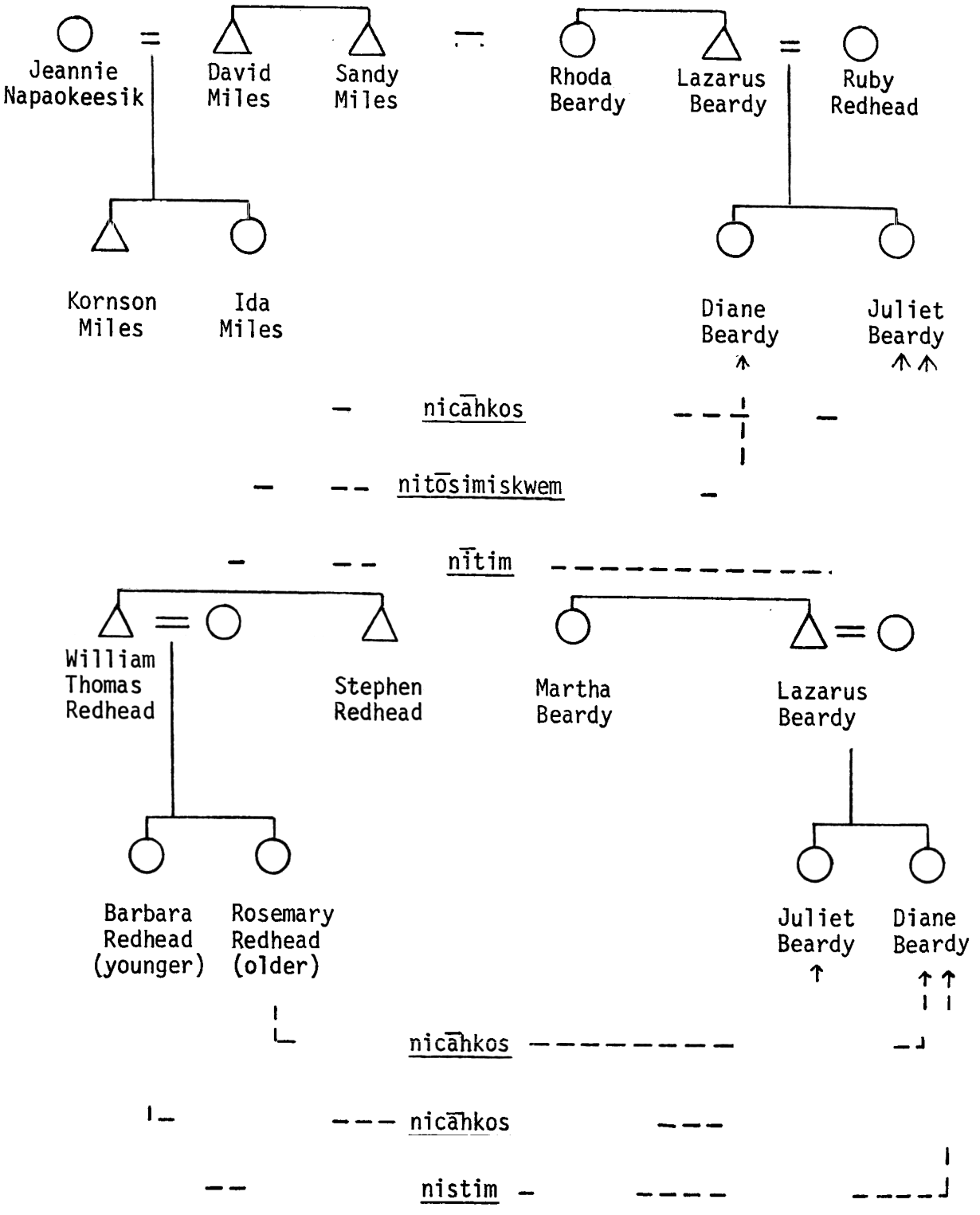
2. At another level the brotherhood is composed of members of those domestic groups of origin in one's own generation whose members have married into the same domestic groups of origin as the members of one's own domestic group of origin in one's own generation.

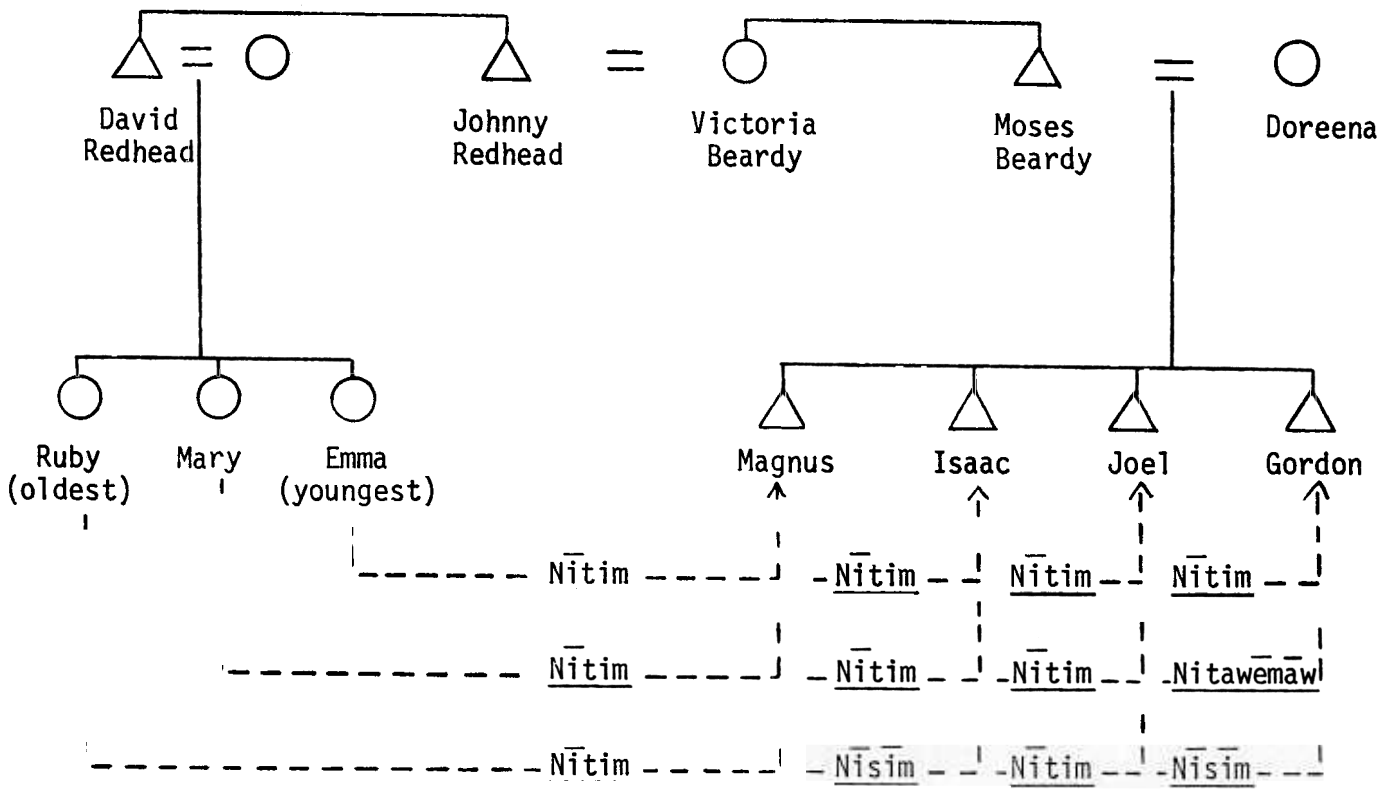
As anticipated earlier (pages 54-55), the first principle held in 97% of cases (57 of 59) where it was expected to apply; the second principle, with the 'marriage order' qualification taken into account, in 82% of cases (75 of 92) where it was anticipated. On average, each Shamattawa informant had six people he or she called Nistēs, etc., who were actual siblings by the same two parents, some 10 Nistēs, etc., by virtue of the first brotherhood principle and about the same number by virtue of the second.

People outside the brotherhood are preferred as marriage partners and are called Nitim/nitim (applied to people of the opposite sex), Nīstāw (same sex, male speaker) or nicāhkos (same sex, female speaker). As a category this will always include the offspring of males of the domestic groups of origin of females who married members of one's F's domestic group or origin the previous generation, or, offspring of females of the domestic groups of origin of males who married into one's M's domestic group of origin the previous generation. Conventionally, the terms within this category have been thought to mean MBS/D and FZS/D, or 'cross-cousin'. Quite simply, this seems to have been a mistake. While there is a preference expressed for N/nitim in marriage at Shamattawa, there is no preference for partners genealogically related in the above ways. Neither is this form of marriage practised with any frequency. In 69 marriages spanning three generations on Shamattawa group genealogies only four were with actual cross cousins. Of the 30 people who gave the term they applied to their spouse before marriage, 23 had used N/nitim. Other terms used were Nisis, Nōhkomis, Nitōsim, nitōsimiskwem, and nistim, all referring to people on other generation levels than one's own.

Overall, 56 informants had 420 N/nitim, etc., who were not actual 'cross-cousins', an average of 21 per person. The 19 informants on whom sufficient data were available to reckon a relationship had 56 N/nitim, etc., who were

actual 'cross-cousins', an average of three per person. (In total, a person has about the same number of N/nītim, etc., 24, as he or she has Nistēs, etc., 25.) Significantly, in nine cases an actual 'cross-cousin' was not called N/nītim, etc., and in one of these cases the term Nistēs (conventionally, sibling) was applied. If the primary meaning of N/nītim, etc., were 'cross-cousin', then this should not happen. There is no way of predicting which people will be called N/nītim, etc., outside the circle of one's own 'cross-cousins' if this category is genealogically defined. The primary definition above is clearly an advantage over this. For example:





An added advantage of this above definition of N/nītim, etc., is that it can be easily expanded to anticipate, if not predict, N/nitim, etc., relatives who fall outside the range of 'offspring of men in the domestic groups of origin of women who married into one's own the previous generation'. Merely by including parallel siblings through the male line in the 'domestic group', as above, a wider range of Nistēs, etc., are incorporated in to the brotherhood formed through affinal links between sibling groups. The problem then becomes how to predict which domestic groups will 'expand' to draw in more N/nitim, etc. Here a suggestion can only be offered along the same lines as the 'explanation' of the classification of siblings of affines' siblings' affines as Nistēs, etc. Perhaps the expanded domestic groupings are ones where FBs married after F and were therefore available to trap and hunt with his sons. When they did marry and have children these children found themselves embedded in a pre-existing network of production relations. Where FBs married before father a similar expansion of Ego's domestic group would not be expected. They would be independently established and free to make partnerships with whomever they wished--not necessarily with their brothers' 'natural' companions within the domestic group of origin. The few cases on which there was sufficient data to test this hypothesis support it.

While the expanded domestic group principle accounted for some of the cases in which people who were classed as N/nītim, etc. fell outside the minimal definition of the terms developed to this point, it by no means accounted for them all. To cover the full range of cases encountered requires recourse to three other principles.