1. The domestic group of origin may be 'expanded' to include FFBs and their offspring's offspring through the male line, theoretically for the same reasons as the domestic group was expanded to parallel siblings through the male line.

2. Spouse's sibling and sibling's spouse are almost without exception designated N/nitim, etc., irrespective of any previous relationships. As above, the domestic group is sometimes 'expanded' to include parallel siblings so that other than actual relatives in these positions will be called N/nitim, etc.[8]

3. N/nitim, etc., may be applied to people unrelated in any of the ways discussed up to this point. This illustrates the fact that N/nitim, etc., is not a prescriptive alliance category but is, rather, open-ended designating anyone within the band who is not in one's own brotherhood (keeping in mind that if anyone related as N/nitim, etc., in ways already discussed moves to another band the relationship will be maintained). Patronymic genealogies show that three of the Hill patronymic called 10 of the Beardy patronymic N/nitim, etc., and four of the Beardys called five of the Hills by terms from the same category. While both patronymics are indigenous to Shamattawa none of their members have intermarried within memory. Two informants who had originally come from another band had 23 and 16 N/nitim, etc., respectively and they were unrelated in any of the conventional N/nitim, etc., ways.

These findings, arrived at analytically, are supported by informants' statements:

Q   Who is a person supposed to marry?

A   People marry Nitim. No one else.

Q   Are some Nitim closer than others?

A   There are no close or far Nitim.   (Elizah Hill)

* * * * *

Q   Which relative is a man not supposed to marry?

A   Nisim are not supposed to marry each other.

Q   If people are supposed to marry nitim, are there some nitim that are better to marry than others or is any nitim good?

A   Any nitim. So long as anyone doesn't marry nisim.   (Sammy Anderson)

* * * * *

Q   Did a person in one family have to marry a person in a certain other family. For example, a Redhead?

A   Redheads can marry anybody.

Q   Can a Beardy marry anybody?

A   Yes.

Q   If the father took a wife from a Beardy then do the children have
     to do the same thing?

A   There is only one thing, that a person can't marry a nisim.

(Sammy Anderson)

In summary, then, there are two kinds of people in one's own generation
within the Shamattawa band: first, people inside one's brotherhood whom
one should not, but may occasionally, marry and second, people outside the
brotherhood whom one should, and most often does, marry. The application
of terms Ninapem (husband) and nitiskwem (wife, informal) or nwikimakun
(wife, formal) to the N/nitim one marries after the marriage takes place is
consistent with the ambiguity of that person's status as 'insider'/'outsider'
at the levels of the brotherhood, the domestic group and the spousehood.
Whereas both parties to the marriage remain 'insiders' to their respective
domestic groups or origin and brotherhoods, their status as 'outsiders'
vis-a-vis their spouse's domestic group and spousehood becomes less clearly
defined. As parents they will produce a new sibling group of 'insiders'
from the point of view of the father's brothers and the mother's sisters.
(It is through the FBs and MZs that these children form their own brotherhood,
that is, with the children of the FBs and MZs.) Through this process the
offspring in question, in effect, unite, or at least relate, members of
their parents' respective domestic groups of origin in a new way. Sibling
groups heretofore opposed within the system as Nistes, etc., to N/nitim,
etc., both become parties to a new relation of correlation--the brother-
hood group. This is reflected in the substitution of mediator or affinal
terms for opposed terms once the marriage has been finalized. The partners
to the marriage are now generators of people who will mediate the pre-
marriage opposition.

Terms on the 1D Generation

It can now be explained why it is that 0 generation conjugal pairs
'look down' as a unit when they view individuals and sibling groups on
the 1D generation. Marriage has united them into an ambiguous but more
closely united group than was the case prior to this event. 'Looking down'
they see people who will further progress this unification and extend it
to their same sexed siblings or even parallel siblings. It follows that
if offspring effect a synthesis of this kind then both parents should refer
to them by the same relationship terms since children are all consolidators
of the conjugal bond. In fact, in the five cases where the terms both
parents used in reference to their children were available, this was the
case; Nikosis/nitanis being the terms employed. Furthermore, none of the
51 informants on whom data were available used these terms to refer to
relatives other than own offspring. This was also further support for the
idea that the significant cross-generational grouping in Shamattawa society
is the domestic group composed of a man, his wife and their children.

This conjunction of people in formally opposed categories in such a manner that they 'grow into one' through the process of having children gains direct cultural expression in Shamattawa society.

> My wife's body is my body. My body is my wife's body. We wash each other's hair. (Bennet Redhead)

Charlie Redhead questioning his grandmother,

Q   Why do people change their names when they get married?

A   They become one body.

As stated previously, people on the 1D generation are structurally relevant to people on the 0 level in so far as they conjoin 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the context of the domestic groups into which they are born. 'Looking down', the interest is in unmarried members of sibling groups who, through their eventual marriages, could play a 'synthetic' role with respect to one's own same sexed sibling group and that of one's spouse. From the perspective of a conjugal pair on the 0 level there are, apart from one's own offspring, basically two kinds of people on the 1D level:

1.   those whose father is sibling of the male member of the conjugal focus and/or whose mother is sibling of the female member of the conjugal focus (Nitōsim/nitōsimiskwem) and,

2.   those whose father is sibling of the female member of the conjugal focus and/or whose mother is sibling of the male member of the conjugal focus (Ninahāhkasim/nistim).

The first category of people integrates groups of siblings through domestic groups; the latter separates groups of siblings through domestic groups. As in the case of the terms Nistēs, etc., and N/nītim, etc., it would be expected that the 'sibling of the male (1) or female (2) member' group occasionally 'expands' to include other people not directly covered by the above definitions. Here, however, the expansion would involve a second ascending, rather than a first ascending generation link (e.g., a person whose FFBS is sibling of the male member of the conjugal focus and so on). In previous cases expansion to this breadth was much less frequent than to a first ascending generation link.

Of the 103 people in the sample who were called Nitōsim/nitōsimiskwem by any married person, only 18 stood in the predicted relation to our husband and wife Ego. Of the 99 people in the sample who were called Ninahāhkasim/nistim by married people, only 13 stood in the predicted relation. Although not everyone called by these terms was related in the predicted ways, everyone linked in the predicted ways was called by these terms.

When the definitions were expanded to include parallel siblings of the male or female member in each of the definitions, as expected only a few extra cases (13) could be accounted for. Obviously a more general principle was at work here which explained why people on the 1D level were designated Nitōsim/nitōsimiskwem and Ninahāhkasim/nistim.

1. those who are male siblings of the male member of the conjugal referent and/or who are female siblings of the female member of the conjugal referent (Nohkomis/nitōsis).

2. those who are male siblings of the female member of the conjugal referent and/or who are female siblings of the male member of the conjugal referent (Nisis/nisikos).

As in previous cases it would be expected that the siblings of the male (1) or female (2) member's group would occasionally expand to include at least some parallel siblings in the male line and establish relations between people designated by these terms not covered by the above definitions. However, as this group will span some three generations it should cover only a few extra cases. Expansion to the brotherhood group is likely to prove, as in the case of the 1D terms, a more powerful predictor.

The separate terms for 'parents' (Nipapa and nimama respectively) from the point of view of their offspring, like the separate terms for 'offspring' from the point of view of their parents, reflect the increasing unity effected between them through the production of children and the status of the domestic group of origin as a relatively autonomous unit within the framework of Shamattawa society.

Of the 117 people in the sample who were called Nohkomis/nitōsis by members of sibling groups on the 0 generation, 13 were in conjugal referents related to them in the defined way. Of the 167 people in the sample who were called Nisis/nisikos by members of sibling groups on the 0 generation, nine met the criteria of the definition.

Expansion of the sibling group part of the definitions to include parallel siblings in the male line 'predicted' a further nine Nohkomis/nitōsis relations and 20 Nisis/nisikos relations yielding a total of 22 and 23 respectively. When the definitions were expanded to include 'those who are male members of the brotherhood of the male member of the conjugal referent' in the first case, and 'those who are male members of the brotherhood of the female member of the conjugal referent' in the second, a further 39 Nohkomis/nitōsis relations and 31 Nisis/nisikos relations could be traced In all, then, the principles of classification developed here account for 61 and 60 of the 117 Nohkomis/nitōsis and 167 Nisis/nisikos relations respectively.

A further 41 relations of the first kind and 84 of the second could be accounted for by terminological alterations consequent on an 'incorrect' marriage. Five Nohkomis/nitōsis and 16 Nisis/nisikos relations were un- testable due to insufficient data. Only 10 and seven relations respectively could not be explained. As in the case of 1D generation terms, termino- logical changes are effected after an 'incorrect' marriage (where a Nohkomis marries a nisikos, a Nisis, a nitōsis or someone called by any other term for that matter) in order that the 'insider'/'outsider' relations can be re-articulated with terminological arrangement on the succeeding generation. Sibling groups 'ought to' resolve differences between opposed groupings on the previous generation.

Nohkomis/nitōsis, then, designates those people linked by marriage to

the father's domestic group of origin in the 1A generation who become more closely integrated through the production of one's sibling groups, while Nisis/nisikos designates those people who do not.

In contrast to the 1D level, it follows from these relations that 'in-laws' on the 1A level occupy no ambiguous position with respect to E/ego's sibling group, but will always be 'outsiders' as they are neither in one's father's nor in one's mother's brotherhoods and are not incorporated into the domestic group along with one's spouse. By contrast, step-mothers and step-fathers will always be 'insiders' as they marry into one's own domestic group of origin, bringing with them sibling groups (brotherhoods) one will synthesize as a child of the marriage.

Terms on the 2A and 2D Generations

Up to this point the analysis has not involved people two generations above or two below an E/ego. These people do not seem directly relevant to the group formation and relational processes already discussed. It has been shown how few brotherhood ties are developed through a domestic group expanded to include the FF and his brothers. In the field, informants often exper-ienced considerable difficulty recalling just who their FFs, FMs, MFs and MMs were. Rather than attribute this to a bad memory it would seem approp-riate to suggest that people at these levels are simply not relevant to the successful functioning of the system of social and economic relations at Shamattawa. (They are, of course, extremely relevant as a store of knowledge.)

The first impression was that Nimosōm/nōhkom and N/nōsisim were general terms referring to 'old people' and 'young people' respectively. The existent literature had certainly led to this expectation (pages i-iii). However, when asked to locate those 'old people' and 'young people' they actually called by these terms, informants rarely listed any outside the Shamattawa band. Even when they did this was usually qualified as 'people we know'. Furthermore, within the Shamattawa band, not all people on the 2A or 2D levels are called by the appropriate terms but are sometimes referred to by terms normally designating people on another generation level. There are cases where two siblings on this level are called by different terms and cases where no term at all is applied.

Because there is only one category of people on the 2A and 2D levels (sex is distinguished within the first, but not within the second), the terms could not carry the 'insider'/'outsider' implications of those on the other levels; unless, of course, these terms designated just 'insiders' or just 'outsiders' with no term applied to the excluded category. But analysis of data on some 21 informants with 96 Nimosōm/nōhkom showed they had relatives in the following positions they called by these terms: FF/FFB/FFZ/, FM/FMB/FMZ, MM/MMB/MMZ, MF/MFB/MFZ. Based on the logic of 'insider'/'outsider' relations on the 0 and 1A generations, FF/FFB, FM/FMZ, MM/MMZ and MF/MFB should be 'insiders' and MMB and MFZ, FFZ and FMB 'outsiders'. Comparison with the previous list shows that people on 'both sides' are called by the same terms. The majority of a person's Nimosōm/nōhkom, as in previous cases, are not in these genealogical positions and not all people in these genealogical positions are called by these terms. The people in these positions are likewise designated by these terms because of another, non-genealogical, principle.

The terms Nimosŏm/nŏhkom are basically applied to any forebear of domestic groups of origin currently involved in the brotherhood group-spousehood group formation process. This explains why men and women coming into Shamattawa to marry or who have married someone from Shamattawa and gone out can be designated Nimosŏm/nŏhkom if they are on the appropriate generation level.

People referred to as Nimosŏm/nŏhkom, then, are all 'insiders' but not on the level of the brotherhood or domestic group. They are 'insiders' on the level of the band as such. They are the people who originated the total network of relations now existent within the band. Their designation by a single category expresses that higher level unity within which opposition occurs and from which these oppositions take their definition.

The same principle applies equally to people on the 2D generation. These are people who will continue the total network of relations now existent within the band but who are as yet unrelated to its functioning. What role they will play is dependent on what people in one's own generation actually do; and this is still in the process of realisation. People on the 2D level are future 'insiders' and 'outsiders' but in relation to whom on one's own generation is as yet unknown. The merging of males and females at this level probably reflects their equivalent status in the amalgamation process--they are all potential interrelators whose sex is as yet irrelevant to the continued functioning of the system.

Now that this discussion of relationships and relationship terms is complete, the Shamattawa kinship and marriage system can   be diagrammed (Figures 6, 7 and 8).

3 LEVELS OF RELATIONS

What has, in fact, been described to this point, is a structure of relations closely tied to the pragmatics of hunting and trapping within a certain territorial range. The complexities of actual terminological usages, brotherhood ties and marriage arrangements are predicated on a basic structural principle--those who produce or have produced together form one category of people, those who potentially produce together form another. Members of the second category are desirable as marriage partners, members of the first are not. Who falls into which category will be determined by actual alliances effected at any given point in time through marriage and partnership arrangements and through domestic and 'familiarity' relations formed out of bonds of kinship and residence. In the process of any individual's life, relations of the latter kind will precede and therefore structure relations of the former kind. Preceding both is a general framework or set of principles for the pragmatic ordering of society, in effect, a binary logic and a set of criteria which specify which people in which kinds of relationships are to be placed at one pole or the other.
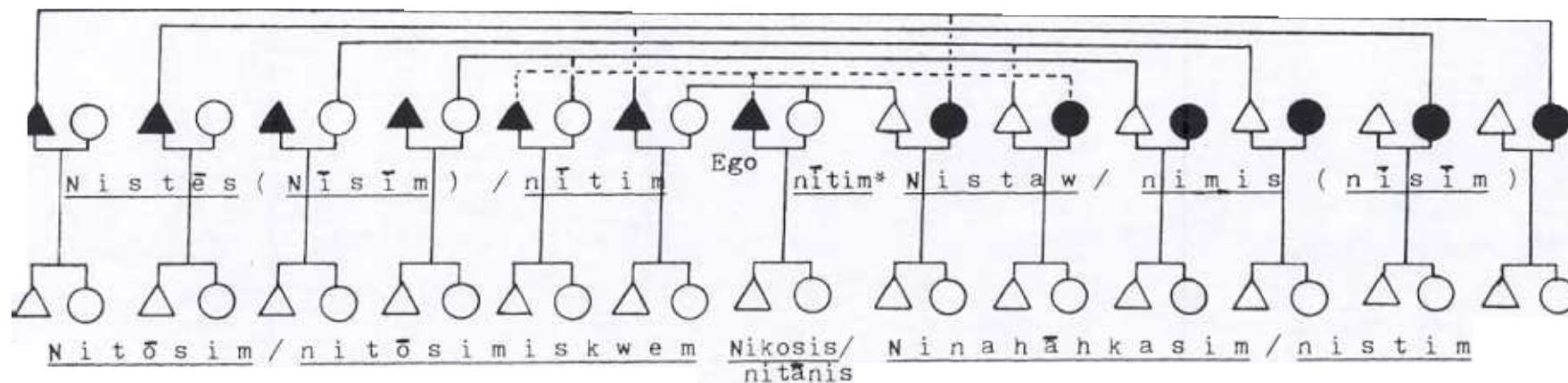
'Primary' relations persist 'naturally' for a period of time to provide a base for choices to be exercised later in life. The pivotal point in the ordering of relations here is the domestic group of, as the Cree put it, 'all the people living in one house'. As people grow up and work together

Figure 6 Cree Kinship System (Shamattawa, Variety): Siblings Looking Up and Across
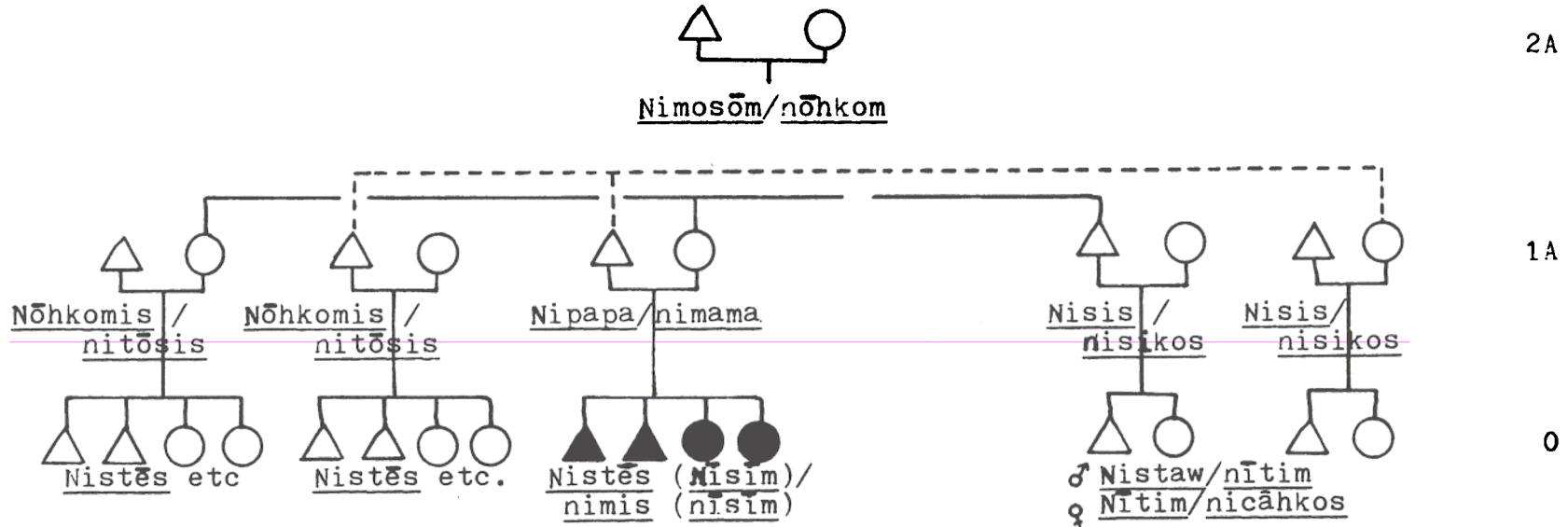
Figure 7 Cree Kinship System (Shamattawa Variety): Male Ego (As Part of Conjugal Pair) Looking Across and Down

Nistēs (Nīsīm) / nītim   Ego   nītim* Nistaw / nimis (nīsīm)

Nitōsim / nitōsimiskwem   Nikosis/   Ninahāhkasim / nistim
                                nitānis

N/nōsisim

* After marriage nītim is changed to nitiskwem and nwikimakun
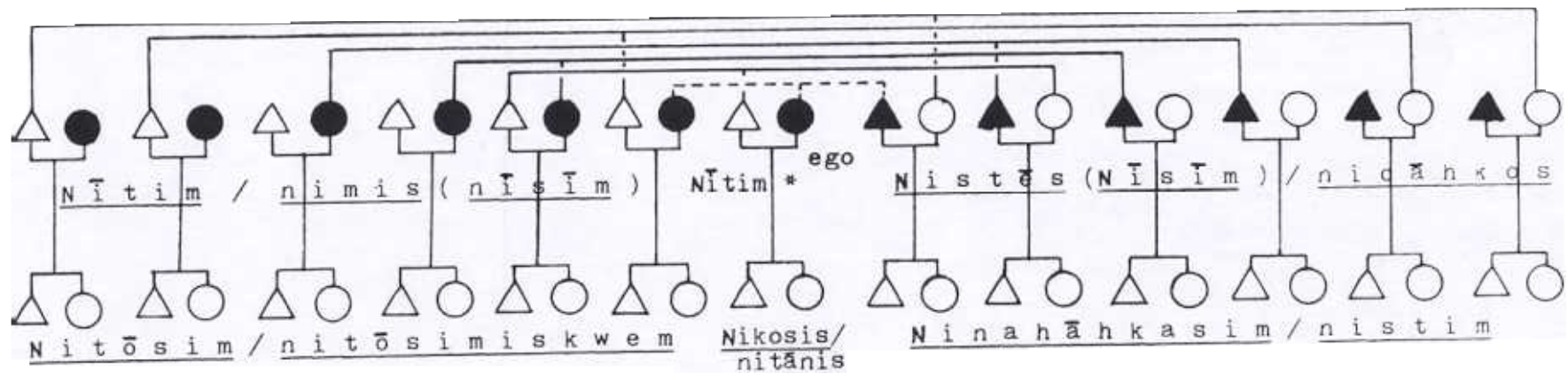
▲ ● brotherhood

Figure 8 Cree Kinship System (Shamattawa Variety): Female Ego (As Part of Conjugal Pair) Looking Across and Down

* After marriage Nītim is changed to Ninapin

● ▲ brotherhood

they establish within this group relations which continue even after they have married and formed domestic arrangements of their own. Working relations at one stage simply overlap and merge with working relations at another. Relations are strongest between same sexed generation mates within the domestic group. As has already been indicated, 'brothers are the best relatives' and are frequently chosen as hunting-trapping partners even after they have married. Brother's wives and sisters seem to have a comparable relationship to one another and, together in the division of labour, stand opposed to 'brothers'.

> When you are out on the trap line the men are the
> boss outside and the women are the boss inside
> (Alan Redhead).

When same sexed generation mates within the domestic group marry, then, they simply take their working relationships with them. They extend, rather than replace, production relations. This explains why it is that the primary brotherhood is composed of offspring of females of the domestic group of origin of women who have married into one's father's domestic group of origin (or, the offspring of males of the domestic group of origin of men who have married into the mother's domestic group of origin). First, women continue to work with their sisters and men with their brothers after marriage, all eventually to be accompanied by the children they have produced through their own marriage. Second, brothers reconvene after their marriages and combine their wives (not necessarily 'sisters') and later their offspring into a new working relationship (if the wives were not 'sisters'). The consequence is that father and his brothers, their wives and their children, mother and her sisters, their husbands and their children, form a loose grouping convening from time to time for production purposes. The primary brotherhood is the formal expression of this reality practised over the generations. This also explains why one's spousehood minimally contains the offspring of females of the domestic group of origin of males who married into one's mother's domestic group of origin (or, the offspring of males of the domestic group of origin of females who married members of the father's domestic group of origin the previous generation). These are the offspring of people one is not likely to work with as he or she grows up.

The secondary brotherhood--that formed through marriages on one's own generation--is much less structured and much more pragmatically determined than the primary variety. The formation of brotherhood ties here, at least up to a certain point, also seems to follow the principle 'people who produce together form a common category'. When same sexed siblings renew their working relationships after marriage they will bring other people with them, namely spouses and spouses' same sexed siblings. If the latter are married they will bring with them in turn their spouses and perhaps their same sexed siblings. These latter people are called by the same terms as one applies to members of one's primary brotherhood. The problem here is that still other people are called by the same terms who are not so likely to work together--spouse's opposite sexed sibling's spouse, opposite sexed sibling of spouse's opposite sexed sibling's spouse and spouse of opposite sexed sibling's spouse's opposite sexed sibling. Classification of these people as 'brotherhood mates', however, could in part be due to the fact that they were already members of E/ego's primary brotherhood who married members of

his or her spousehood, or from an arbitrary principle of classification of people to whom no term was applied (see page 74).

It is evident from this discussion that the process of formation of this secondary brotherhood is the reverse of the primary process. Whereas secondary brotherhoods are formed out of negotiable factors, primary brotherhoods are formed out of 'natural' ones. The two processes are, however, inextricably intertwined in so far as the act of marriage produces the new domestic-kinship grouping which further integrates the groups of same sexed siblings juxtaposed by the marriage in question. Secondary brotherhoods, then, continue the incorporative process begun within the domestic group of origin.

If the purpose of marriage is to create new production ties and draw larger numbers of people into a common production, brotherhood network, partners called by the term N/nitim, etc., should be sought, that is, those who are outside the network of production relations already formed in the primary brotherhood. Partners should be chosen on the basis of work performance and with an eye to the same sexed sibling groups which will be conjoined through the union in question. In other words, the interested parties are both the prospective husband and wife who will form a new relatively autonomous production group, and their parents and their same sexed siblings who will be drawn into a new relationship. Informants' statements on marriage arrangements support this interpretation.

> For the parents of a man, a woman has to be a good
> worker; for a woman's parents a man has to be a
> good hunter.

> If parents forbid a marriage it cannot be done.
> Parents can go to anyone who has a daughter to arrange
> a marriage. If a man wants to marry a certain girl
> he tells his parents and they can arrange it for him.
> If everyone agrees they go to the minister.
> (Stephen Redhead)

> In the old days it took three weeks before someone
> was married. During the three weeks people don't
> talk to each other. It was up to the parents who
> people married. Sometimes the parents of a man
> would go to the parents of whichever woman he wanted
> to marry. (Eliza Hill)

What seems to have changed in recent years is the role of the parents in this procedure.

> People today go together for a while and then they
> get married. It was different a long time ago.
> When they got married then they went together.
> Parents decided who the children would marry.
> (Stephen Redhead)

> In the old days when I was a young man, there was
> no such thing as a marriage ceremony. Marriages
> were arranged and after negotiations people just
> started living together. (David Redhead)

What has altered, then, is not the role of marriage in forming new working relationships but the dual aspect of parent-partner arrangements. In fact, the formation of brotherhood ties through marriage, once the marriage has been effected, still follows the same principle as before-- people who work with members of the domestic group of origin of your spouse are incorporated into your brotherhood and assigned appropriate relationship terms, regardless of any previous relationship that might have existed between them. Those you actually marry are partly incorp- orated at the domestic group level with the status of 'formerly opposed relatives'.

Before and after I marry, my same sexed siblings and my spouse's same sexed siblings will establish production ties of their own and it is likely that when they renew my acquaintance they will be accompanied by a wider range of people. Those accompanying them (my spouse's same sexed sibling's spouse, my same sexed sibling's spouse's same sexed sibling's spouse and my spouse's same sexed sibling's spouse's same sexed sibling) will now be included in my circle of working relations and I will call them Nistes, etc., as I do my own siblings. The application of mediating terms to these people would be inappropriate as these people do not directly relate to the production of children within my domestic group.

Although E/ego's spouse's same sexed siblings will continue the productive and social ties established within their domestic group of origin and involve E/ego in this network when they renew these ties, E/ego does not designate them Nistes, etc., but continues to designate them by what he or she formerly called their sibling, now his or her spouse. Sibling's spouse's sibling also retains the term originally applied to him or her. As with brotherhood ties through cross-sex relatives, the reasons for this are unclear within the logic of the 'production' principle of classification offered here. One reason for this may be to maintain the definition of these people as 'marriageable' should one lose one's spouse and wish to retain ties established through the original marriage. Never- theless, when the secondary brotherhood is referred to as including productively interrelated Nistes, etc., it is done with a certain inconsistency

The actual context of trapping and hunting activities within the logic of working relations outlined here helps to explain why it is that when the domestic group is expanded to include parallel siblings, drawing an even wider circle of relatives into the brotherhood or spousehood network, or into a sub-category of people involved in the definitions of 'insider' and 'outsider' on other generation levels, it is only expanded through the male line. It seems that working relations are more easily traced and maintained between patrilineally linked sibling groups from generation to generation than between matrilineally related ones. In other words, the 'accompanying people' mentioned above are themselves likely to be accompanied by patri- lineally related relatives. This seems to be due to the requirements of trapping and hunting within the context of a mercantile-capitalist economy.

Leacock (1954, 1955) has shown among the Montagnais that as closer ties developed to specific tracts of land and production became progressively more individualised as involvement in the fur trade deepened, there was a shift to patrilocal residence and patrilineal inheritance. Since it was the man who worked the trap lines and it would be difficult for one man to tend his traps alone, he needed companions and sons were the most likely choice. It follows that by the time the sons married, they would have developed an expertise in working certain lines with their father and would prefer living nearby for this reason. 'Partnerships' supplement these primary ties. This seems also to have been the general situation at Shamattawa:

> In the old days a man trapped with a partner until
> his children were old enough to help. The partner
> a man chose was usually a relative, sometimes a
> brother, sometimes Nistaw. (Stephen Redhead)

As has already been pointed out (pages 26-27) patrilocal residence is a general practice at Shamattawa, but one which gives way to other arrangements should other relatives such as the wife's father be in need of assistance. As Knight (1968: 86) says, patrilocality should be seen as a tendency which gives way to alternatives should serious obstacles develop. Matrilocality, for example, might be advantageous where a man's married brothers were already residing with his father but where his wife had few brothers. Both uxorilocal and neolocal arrangements have been noted for various Cree groups in the literature (Honigmann 1953: 813; Rogers 1963: 55-56; Knight 1968: 82; Leacock 1969: 4-5). In any case, the issue is not whether certain rules determine behaviour but rather whether a man retains access to his father's trap line after marriage as well as gains access to that of his wife's father. The Shamattawa data indicate that where the trap line system has been of minor importance, a man retains access to the working relations established by his father as well as to those founded by his wife's father.

The tendency toward patrilocality, or at least a renewal of ties between father and sons after the latters' marriages is, as Leacock shows, accentuated by 'ownership' principles which develop with the trap line system. Among some eastern Cree bands such 'ownership' principles are very well developed and men (individuals, brothers or parallel siblings) pass on trap lines and equipment to their sons, or if there are no sons, to their sons-in-law (Speck 1915: 290; Burgesse 1945: 518; Honigmann 1953: 812; Rogers 1963: 73). Although the evidence is that the patrilocal tendency and the principle of continuity through the male line are forms that develop in response to the fur trade, the possibility that these were also features of the hunting-gathering period should not be discounted. Men are still the procurers of large game such as caribou, moose and bear (Bishop 1974: 262-66) and when men hunt they are as likely to bring along their sons as they are when they trap (Rogers 1963: 58). There is no 'natural' reason, however, that this should be the case and other arrangements may have been prevalent.

Regardless of the pre-contact situation, there was in the fur trade era a definite tendency for brothers and fathers and sons to group together, which explains why the domestic group appears to 'expand' to include larger numbers of relatives as 'insiders' or 'outsiders' than would be the case were

the 'family' the major structural grouping in Shamattawa society. These, then, are merely people you work with because you have become familiar with them in the course of your upbringing within the domestic group of origin. They are those of your father's brothers and their children who have maintained a working relation with you after marriage.

What this analysis seems to demonstrate is that there is a logic of relations on an ideological level, expressed through kinship terminology and marriage preferences, homologous to a logic relations on a productive level. That one level implies the other, can be shown through an examination of the term nwiciwagan. This word, which means hunting or trapping partner when more than two people are involved, is a cognate of Niciwam, a term males use for males within their secondary brotherhood (females use the term niciwamiskwem for females of their secondary brotherhood).9

In the process of normal day to day or season to season activities one level, the production for instance, in no way determines the other, the ideological. Rather, both interact to form the social and economic organisation as described here. Ideological components such as the brotherhood and spousehood are both fixed in certain aspects prior to the individual's coming into being and are managed by that person in the course of his or her life. As a person's father and his brothers and the mother and her sisters cement their alliances on their own generation outside the realm of control of their offspring, the binary logic of social and economic life begins to assert itself for these offspring. The children of one become Nistes, etc., to each other, and as the father's brother and mother's sisters produce children the Nistes, etc., of one set become the Nistes, etc., of the other.

As a person matures and is about to marry, he or she already stands at the centre of an expanding universe of working relations within which he or she is already participating. From amongst those outside these working relations--people designated N/nītim, etc.--one chooses a spouse and begins to control the further expansion of the network--but only indirectly. Beyond participation in the selection of a spouse, new working relations will depend on whom one's siblings and spouse's siblings themselves chose as spouses. Individual choice enters into the process only when temporary hunting-trapping partnerships are formed; and even here selection is usually within the bounds of pre-established relationships (see pages 27-28). And even when it is not, partnerships are formed as much on chance as on choice:

> I always take a partner, anyone I can get hold of.
> (Wesley Thomas)

> It's hard to find a partner this year because people
> are so lazy. (William K. Beardy)

Within this perspective Nistes, etc., is very much a category that extends from the domestic group of origin to successive groupings of individuals as they are incorporated progressively into an ever-expanding production-oriented network. This provides an ideological rationale for the existence of internally undifferentiated production groups with an orientation toward harmonious relations. According to Shamattawa informants,

Nistēs, etc., should behave in certain kinds of positive ways toward one another. First, those within the domestic group should work and live harmoniously together and, second, they must not marry. Within the circle of brotherhood mates called by these terms, the same implications hold--we must work together like members of the same domestic group and not seek out women of the group for conjugal purposes. There is thus ideological pressure for co-operative, against competitive, behaviour. In a pragmatically determined marriage system such as Shamattawa's, anyone 'out' is fair game for anyone 'in'; but anyone 'in' is not fair game for anyone else 'in'. Among the Shamattawa Cree, as among the Montagnais, 'ties to territory were of minimal importance; emphasis was on maintaining loving and compatible working groups' (Leacock 1955: 37).

Shamattawa social and economic organisation, then, should be seen as successive levels of potentially autonomous groupings ranging from the domestic group of origin to the primary brotherhood to the domestic group of marriage to the secondary brotherhood to the band itself. A consistent logic runs through the formation of groupings at each successive level-- incorporation to produce internally undifferentiated production groupings. Social and economic life is marked by a constant process of withdrawal and expansion as a grouping at one level is formed at the expense of a grouping at another. Marriage, for instance, juxtaposes previously opposed same sexed sibling groups and effects a partial synthesis between them through the domestic group it creates, while drawing new members into the productive network of both spouses through the marriages of their respective siblings. But each new marriage formed establishes a relatively independent domestic grouping in which the same ideological pressures for autonomy and internal undifferentiation exist as at the brotherhood level. In a domestic context, parents in effect become one person, and children the offspring of that one person. Former ties are ignored within the unit. A tension is thus established between domestic ties which draw parents and children in and together, and brotherhood ties which pull them out and apart.

At the band level a similar process seems to be occurring. That which draws people into a common brotherhood simultaneously pushes others into a spousehood category. Spouses of 'outsiders' become 'insiders'; siblings of 'outsiders' become 'outsiders' regardless of previous relationship. The limits of this dialectic are the limits of the Shamattawa band. Reaching a point where people and relations may be reproduced physically, socially and economically, without further expansion through this logic, the band level of organisation has been realized. The band simply reflects the constant reproduction of a continuous population within a defined range of territory. When relations must extend beyond this range to permit continued reproduction, the same logic is apparent. 'Outsiders' are incorporated into the band and into successive levels within it.

Whether the band exists as a 'land-owning' or a political unit very much depends on the conditions and limits to the reproduction of the popula- tion and the socio-economic relations contained within it. Certainly one force that would allow the band to consolidate and reproduce within certain well defined limits would be a colonial administration and a change in the economic base. An improved mode of subsistence and a more settled and less precarious existence would allow a greater degree of autonomy to be realised

at the band level than would have hitherto been the case under hunting and gathering conditions. Ties to other bands, brotherhoods, spousehoods or domestic groups would become less necessary as long as people within the band maintained some measure of control over the relationship to the colonial power.

A brief excursion into Shamattawa ethno-history indicates that this was, until very recently, the case. York Factory fell within the band's territorial range (whatever the origin of the coincidence), giving its members a measure of control over access to the post and of the supplies arriving there. Maintaining this relation seems to have been the main aim of the Indians around York Factory in the early years and resulted in conflict with Hudson's Bay Company personnel whose sole interest there was to expand the fur trade and deal directly with more remote Indian groups. With peaceful relations established in the north west, despite the efforts of the York Factory Indians, control of the local bush food supply would have become a means of influencing decisions at the fort and of controlling accessibility to the fort by alien groups. All this can be seen as a continuing attempt to maintain the conditions of reproduction of the band.

The point is that a band level of organisation is _potential_ within a hunter-gatherer society following the principles of organisation discussed here. All that is additionally required are conditions which allow the expansionary, incorporative nature of the brotherhood-spousehood formation process to be arrested. This might be the development of an economy which met the subsistence needs of its members within a defined geographical range (e.g., the quantity and quality of resources within this space would have to remain fairly constant over time) or an encounter with a similarly expanding society which may have already achieved sufficient autonomy that it had become stabilized within an adjacent area. Two such adjacent bands would presumably come to mutually beneficial trade agreements; two adjacent unstable bands (or one stable but not the other) would presumably compete with each other for resources, space and membership.

Nowhere is the logic of relations outlined above more clearly expressed than in Wihtiko mythology. In the following version, if 'cannibalism' is taken as a metaphor for 'incorporation' various acts thereafter can be seen as attempts at mediating opposing tendencies toward autonomy at the domestic, brotherhood, and band levels.

A Wihtiko Story

In the beginning Wihtiko lived with his wife and his son. One time during the night this young man killed his wife and he started to eat her, and he ate all of her. His son slept with his grandfather and the old man took care of the young boy, and the boy's father couldn't do anything to them. This Wihtiko started to hunt people and turned into a cannibal.

So the old man who was taking care of the young boy travelled from place to place pulling the young boy behind him on a toboggan. Suddenly this old man,

whose name was Atouscan, started feeling different
than a human being. While he was travelling he
turned around and ate the boy for lunch because he
wasn't human anymore. So they both had turned into
cannibals (Atouscan and his son), and they were
both against the people.

Once they saw fresh tracks of people. When
they saw them they followed them until they found
the camps. Those people didn't know anything and
were putting up their mihigwams. The Wihtikos waited
outside until everyone got inside and when it was
late at night the Wihtikos went into one mihigwam
and twisted the people's heads until they came off.
Then the young Wihtiko was being wrestled by the
young men in the tent. The old Wihtiko in the other
tent was just about killing everyone until he heard
noises in the other mihigwam and ran and saw men
wrestling the young Wihtiko. This young Wihtiko was
just about beaten. The old one when he saw this
started to grab one of the men by the shoulder and
broke his back. The Wihtikos stayed there until
they ate everyone up. When they ate everyone they
started to hunt again.

They were wandering around looking for more
food. The young one could have been eaten but the
old one was very strong. Most of the time he
defended his son.

Later, around springtime, they saw more human
tracks so they followed them. They called the humans
'caribou'. The old Wihtiko grabbed a young boy and
used him for a club until there was just an arm left.
They killed everyone and stayed until they ate every-
one.

Those two Wihtikos each had their own mihigwam.
While Atouscan was at home his son asked him to look
after his mihigwam until he returned from hunting so
that the wiyskejans (Canada Jays) wouldn't eat every-
thing. This Atouscan went to check his place and saw
a kettle hanging in the mihigwam. So he looked inside
and it was the hairy parts between woman's legs and
they were fat and he took them one at a time and
swallowed them. When the young Wihtiko came back he
was mad and called old Atouscan and said 'You stole
some of my cooking', and Atouscan replied that he saw
the wiyskejans there. The young one was getting more
mad and told him to watch out. So they started wrestling
and finally Atouscan put his son on the ground and was
choking him. He was squeezing his throat until he
noticed that the young one wanted to say something so
he let go. The young Wihtiko said 'Who will do the
killing of "caribou" for you?' So he let go of him
and kissed him and they ate everything they caught.

At the outset husband is living with wife and son. Wife is fully incorporated by husband, an attempt to realise extreme domestic group autonomy, and son remains with grandfather who protects him from incorporation by father. Son eventually is incorporated by grandfather. As we have seen, son's role is to mediate groupings on both the mother's and father's sides which are opposed in the previous generation. He cannot be incorporated by father or he loses this power; but he can be incorporated by grandfather, an 'appendage' to his father's domestic group. At this point we have two different but closely related incorporating units: father/mother and grandfather/grandson with grandfather preventing father from incorporating son. Both GF/GS and F/M, however, stand together as incorporators versus 'the people'. An encounter between GF/GS, F/M and 'the people' brings first conflict, then incorporation, then a successful hunt. Attempts by aliens to incorporate (capture, eat) F/M are thwarted by GF/GS (here, F, son of GF, would lose his mediating role in relation to groups juxtaposed by GF's marriage).

Another alien group is encountered and incorporation by GF/GS and F/M is effected by means of a young boy (son, mediator) of the other group. The equation of this group with caribou here can be seen as a metaphor for a successful hunt.

The real relation that actually exists between GF/GS and F/M within the context of the domestic group is then established (GF/GS and F/M occupy separate tents, a symbol of insider/outsider relations in the myth) and the stage is set for a restatement of the relations H/W, F/S, and M/S within domestic and brotherhood contexts. GF/GS 'discovers' a woman (outsider), symbolized by the labia majora,about to be incorporated by S, and incorporates her himself. F/M returns, is enraged by GF/GS's act (which prevents him forming a new domestic group) and starts to fight him. GF/GS (now also GM) gains the upper hand and is about to kill F/M (and presumably eat him). But F/M, F being son of GF, points out the disastrous consequences that will befall--domestic group autonomy, no extension of alliance relationships, 'no one to help hunt caribou' (hunting large game requires communal as opposed to individual labour). GF/GM/GS allows F/M to live. In practice a son provides an incorporating function vis-à-vis his father's and mother's brotherhoods insofar as he establishes brotherhood ties to offspring of people in a formerly opposed relation. However, he does establish a new domestic group himself and forms ties and relations quite independently of those of his parents. The problem of domestic group autonomy and generation divisions in the face of co-operative, collective activities remains, but F/M and GF/GM/GS live to hunt another day.

A question still remains of the extent to which band organisation and the logic of relations discussed here are a product of the fur trade and welfare capitalism or are indigenous in the sense that they are pre-contact. It should be evident by now that the basic principles described to this point are no mere variants on a European theme (peasant or capitalist), despite the some 250 years of contact between European and Cree at Shamattawa and York Factory. It is also true that the possibility of the Shamattawa system is inherent in a known hunter-gatherer formation--that of the Australian Aborigines.

Although the Shamattawa Cree live in what Europeans would call 'families' (a man, his wife and their children), relations within the 'family' are predicated on generational oppositions outside this unit. The Shamattawa 'family' stands in dialectical relation to brotherhood/ spousehood and band, realities unknown in our own society. They are a production unit only in the context of this wider network within which they remain embedded. The European family is subject to no such pressures and has a different relation to production. In its capitalist form, the family of origin is a relatively autonomous unit, not in relation to pro- duction but to consumption. Families of marriage are for the most part facsimile reproductions of families of origin and fail to establish a much wider network of co-operative relations in either the productive or the consumptive spheres (Morgan 1975, Chapter 3).

In its peasant European form the family is as much a domestic as a kinship grouping and, although it is a production group, in contrast to the Shamattawa case, it produces mainly for domestic, not larger collective needs (Galeski 1972: 55-57). The peasant family does not owe its existence to anything akin to the brotherhood or to opposed production groupings and the surplus it produced reverted to the landlord or state, not to the immediate production community of which it formed a part.

One could, however, argue that the surplus extracted in the form of profit by the Hudson's Bay Company from the sale of furs by a Shamattawa 'family' defines them as peasant (cf., Carstens 1971: 137-40); but this would ignore the fact that the Shamattawa domestic group produced these furs in the context of units much broader than the family and still continued to produce food for domestic and band needs.

With this perspective on the family, the whole debate over the aboriginality of the family hunting territory may very well be beside the point. The Cree may have had 'families', but not families the way Europeans defined them--they simply looked like families when viewed superficially from the outside. What probably happened with the fur trade was a progressive nuclearisation of the 'family'/domestic unit without extraction from the wider network of relations within which it was dia- lectically embedded.

But this is a premature conclusion at this point. The nature of the controversy over the aboriginality of the family in Cree society and what exactly were the pressures of the fur trade on Cree social and economic organisation have so far only been mentioned in passing.