

the corners and the central side walls was assigned as the living area for transient kinsmen.

Hesquiat-Nootkan society was kinship-based with marked emphasis on a particular descent line. The organization of personnel along political, economic and ceremonial lines followed closely the principle of kinship and descent.

### 3. Hesquiat Kinship Terminological System

The kinship terminology is presented in two categories: (1) consanguineal kin terms; and (2) affinal and additional kin terms. The analysis is based solely on consanguineal kin terminology. Therefore, you will note that these kin terms are ordered carefully according to generation vis-à-vis ego. The affinal and additional terminology is presented without respect to generation.

#### Consanguineal

##### Ego's Generation ( $G^0$ )

<i>mā-miqsu</i> <sup>2</sup>	older sibling
<i>yuk<sup>w</sup>i:qsu</i>	younger sibling
<i>ta-yi</i>	older brother; male first cousin
<i>ʔu-ʔa-ču</i>	middle brother <sup>3</sup>
<i>qata:tik</i>	younger brother
<i>tu-čm̄p</i>	sister; female first cousin
<i>hačimsiqsu</i>	older male first cousin of female ego
<i>hačimsəqsuʔu:s</i>	younger male first cousin of female ego
<i>ʔayk<sup>w</sup>inikšil</i>	1/2-brother, step-brother
<i>maʔahhanikšil</i>	1/2-sister; step-sister

##### First Ascending Generation ( $G+1$ )

<i>ʔum̄i:qsu</i>	mother
<i>ñu-w̄i:qsu</i>	father
<i>ʔu-w̄i:qsu</i>	step-parent
<i>naʔi:qsu</i>	parent's sibling of either sex

##### Second Ascending Generation ( $G+2$ )

<i>nañiqsu</i>	grandparent of either sex
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##### Third Ascending Generation ( $G+3$ )

<i>ʔo-ñi:qsu</i>	great grandparent of either sex
<i>k<sup>w</sup>a-ʔoc</i>	great grandparent(-child) of either sex

##### Fourth Ascending Generation ( $G+4$ )

<i>la-yicqm</i>	great, great grandparent(-child) of either sex
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##### Fifth Ascending Generation ( $G+5$ )

<i>ca-ʔacqm</i>	great, great, great grandparent(-child) of either sex
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##### First Descending Generation ( $G-1$ )

<i>t'añaʔis</i>	child of either sex
<i>t'añilʔ</i>	adopted child of either sex
<i>w̄i-ʔo</i>	nephew
<i>ʔa-si:qsu</i>	niece
<i>haʔhayiniš licwisayok<sup>w</sup>t</i>	illegitimate child of either sex

##### Affinal and Additional Terminology

<i>lu-csma</i>	wife
<i>maʔo-l</i>	second wife
<i>čakup</i>	husband
<i>malt'i:y</i>	relative by marriage
<i>q<sup>w</sup>i:yi:qsu</i>	parent-in-law
<i>lu-čcuw̄at ʔuʔuʃh̄ym̄as</i>	wife's family
<i>ʔaʔayk<sup>w</sup>əcyi</i>	male-in-laws
<i>ʔuʔuʃh̄ym̄is čaw̄ack<sup>w</sup>i</i>	woman's whole family
<i>čaw̄ack<sup>w</sup>i</i>	father's relatives of a woman
<i>ʔuʔuʃh̄ym̄is</i>	mother's relatives of a woman
<i>či-ñəpsiqsu</i>	brother-in-law of female
<i>ʔiyi:qsu</i>	sister-in-law of female
<i>yiqchayk lu-čmupk<sup>w</sup>qc</i>	older sister's husband of male
<i>yuk<sup>w</sup>icčhaʔi</i>	younger sister's husband of male
<i>ta-yi-cčhaʔi</i>	older sister's husband of female
<i>yuk<sup>w</sup>icčhaʔi</i>	younger sister's husband of female
<i>ta-yi-cqchay</i>	older brother's wife
<i>qa-lətikchay</i>	younger brother's wife
<i>či-ñucck<sup>w</sup>i</i>	sister-in-law of male; levirate
<i>wahk<sup>w</sup>ačil</i>	divorce
<i>qaq<sup>i</sup>ʔakšil</i>	orphan (result of the intentional supernaturally-caused death of parents)

### 4. Kinship Structure and Social Organization

In this section I address the question: "What kind of social structure and organization is reflected in the Hesquiat kinship terminological system?"

The kinship terminological system is descriptive, separating lineal from collateral relatives in each generation (see Figure 1)<sup>4</sup>. The semantic feature, or theme, lineality, becomes significant in ordering people. In  $G^0$ , sibling terminology is extended to include male and female cousins. The structure established in  $G^0$  which distinguishes lineal from collateral relatives is maintained in each descending generation. Also, ego's male siblings are differentiated in terms of relative age. This distinction is fundamental in the inheritance system which is organized according to primogeniture.

In  $G+1$ , mother and father are distinguished from parent's siblings. In  $G+2$ , parent's are noted without primary regard to matri- or patrilineal affiliation. This is in accord with the ambilateral descent pattern.

<sup>4</sup> The notation I used in  $G+3$ ,  $G+4$ ,  $G+5$  is a modification of standard notation showing the parent-offspring relationship. In standard notation there would be four sets of parents noted in each of these generations; one set of parents for each individual in the following generation. The hyphens used in the descending generations indicate a continuation of the classificatory unit encircled in  $G^0$  and  $G+1$ . Also, the notation  $(G+3)=(G-2)$ , for example, means that the generational terms are the same for the third ascending generation and the second descending generation.

<sup>2</sup> Phonetic key see in Sapir and Swadesh 1939: 12.

<sup>3</sup> My Hesquiat consultant used this particular expression to denote the second youngest among three brothers.