

# CLAN AND MOIETY IN NATIVE AMERICA

BY

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## ABBREVIATIONS USED

|                |  |
|----------------|--|
| <b>A</b>       | <b>Anthropos.</b>  |
| <b>l'A</b>     | <b>L'Anthropologie.</b>  |
| <b>AA</b>      | <b>American Anthropologist.</b>  |
| <b>AAA-M</b>   | <b>American Anthropological Association, Memoirs.</b>                                |
| <b>ArA</b>     | <b>Archiv für Anthropologie.</b>   |
| <b>AES-P</b>   | <b>American Ethnological Society, Publications.</b>                                  |
| <b>AGW-M</b>   | <b>Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien, Mitteilungen.</b>                          |
| <b>AJPA</b>    | <b>American Journal of Physical Anthropology.</b>                                    |
| <b>AMNH.</b>   | <b>American Museum of Natural History—</b>   |
| <b>-AP</b>     | <b>Anthropological Papers.</b>   |
| <b>-B</b>      | <b>Bulletin.</b>   |
| <b>-M</b>      | <b>Memoirs.</b>  |
| <b>-MA</b>     | <b>Memoirs, Anthropological Series.</b>  |
| <b>-MJ</b>     | <b>Memoirs, Jesup Expedition.</b>  |
| <b>BAE</b>     | <b>Bureau of American Ethnology—</b>   |
| <b>-B</b>      | <b>Bulletins.</b>  |
| <b>-R</b>      | <b>(Annual) Reports.</b>   |
| <b>CNAE</b>    | <b>Contributions to North American Ethnology.</b>                                    |
| <b>CU-CA</b>   | <b>Columbia University, Contributions to Anthropology.</b>                           |
| <b>FL</b>      | <b>Folk-Lore.</b>  |
| <b>FMNH</b>    | <b>Field Museum of Natural History—</b>  |
| <b>-M</b>      | <b>Memoirs.</b>  |
| <b>-PAS</b>    | <b>Publications, Anthropological Series.</b>   |
| <b>IAE</b>     | <b>Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie.</b>                                      |
| <b>ICA</b>     | <b>International Congress of Americanists (Comptes Rendus, Proceedings).</b>         |
| <b>IJAL</b>    | <b>International Journal of American Linguistics.</b>                                |
| <b>JAFL</b>    | <b>Journal of American Folk-Lore.</b>  |
| <b>JRAI</b>    | <b>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.</b>                               |
| <b>MAIHF</b>   | <b>Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation—</b>                               |
| <b>-C</b>      | <b>Contributions.</b>  |
| <b>-IN</b>     | <b>Indian Notes.</b>   |
| <b>-INM</b>    | <b>Indian Notes and Monographs.</b>  |
| <b>PM</b>      | <b>Peabody Museum (of Harvard University)—</b>                                       |
| <b>-M</b>      | <b>Memoirs.</b>  |
| <b>-P</b>      | <b>Papers.</b>   |
| <b>-R</b>      | <b>Reports.</b>  |
| <b>PMM-B</b>   | <b>Public Museum (of the City) of Milwaukee, Bulletin.</b>                           |
| <b>SAP-J</b>   | <b>Société des Américanistes de Paris, Journal.</b>                                  |
| <b>SI</b>      | <b>Smithsonian Institution—</b>  |
| <b>-AR</b>     | <b>Annual Reports.</b>   |
| <b>-CK</b>     | <b>Contributions to Knowledge.</b>   |
| <b>-MC</b>     | <b>Miscellaneous Collections.</b>  |
| <b>UC-PAAE</b> | <b>University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.</b> |
| <b>UPM-AP</b>  | <b>University of Pennsylvania (University) Museum, Anthropological Publications.</b> |
| <b>USNM</b>    | <b>United States National Museum—</b>  |
| <b>-R</b>      | <b>Reports.</b>  |
| <b>-P</b>      | <b>Proceedings.</b>  |
| <b>UW-PA</b>   | <b>University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology.</b>                       |
| <b>ZE</b>      | <b>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.</b>   |

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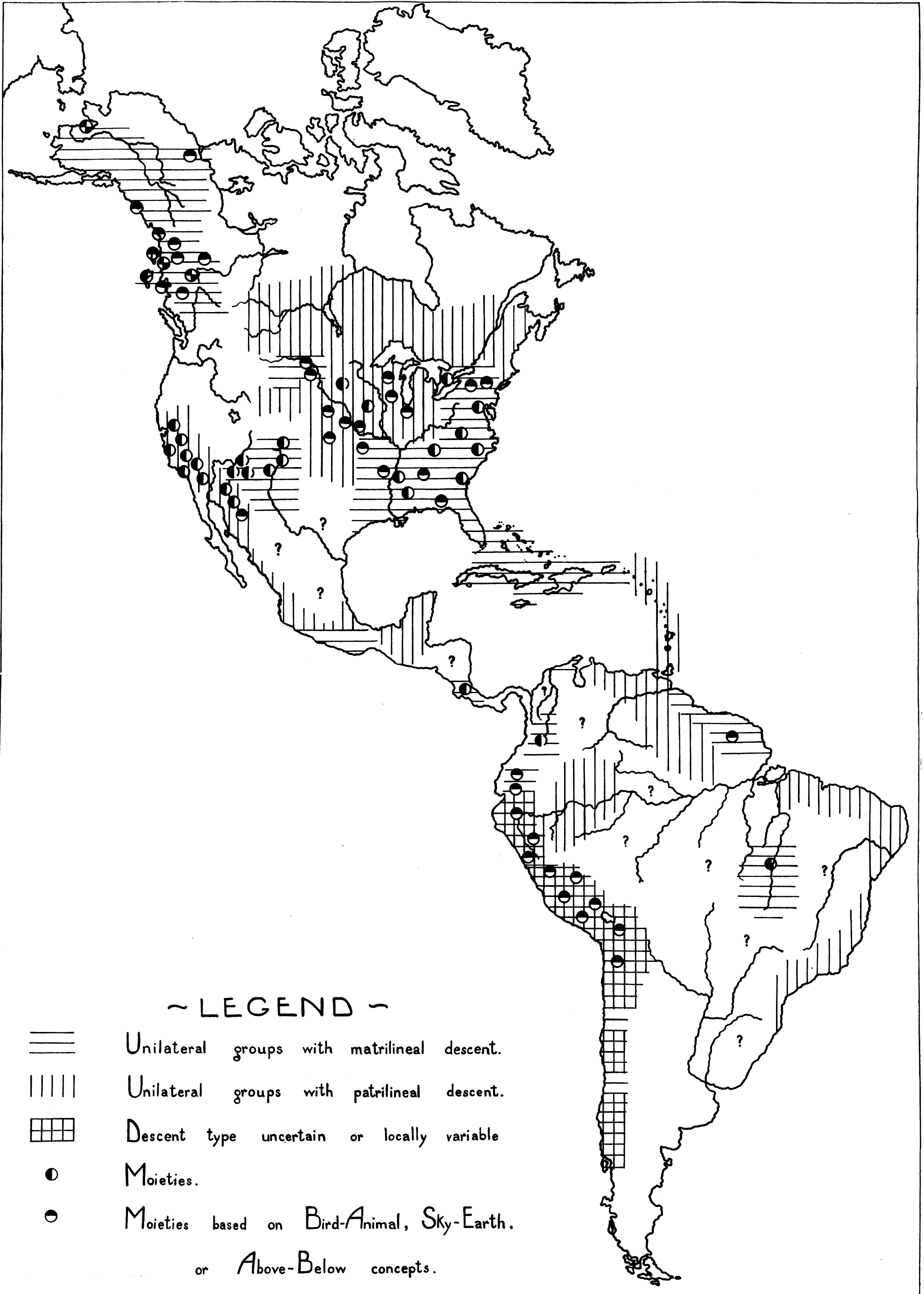
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## MAP

### Types of unilateral groups in Native America

TYPES OF UNILATERAL GROUPS IN NATIVE AMERICA



~ LEGEND ~

- ≡≡≡ Unilateral groups with matrilineal descent.
- ||||| Unilateral groups with patrilineal descent.
- ▣▣▣ Descent type uncertain or locally variable
- Moieties.
- Moieties based on Bird-Animal, Sky-Earth.  
or Above-Below concepts.

# CLAN AND MOIETY IN NATIVE AMERICA

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## INTRODUCTION

Studies of the sib and moiety organizations of American peoples are hardly a novelty. Swanton, Goldenweiser, Boas, Lowie, Kroeber, Barbeau, and others among American anthropologists have dealt with the subject; and America has been included in the more comprehensive schemes of Rivers, Perry, and Schmidt. While the materials of the present paper are based upon the original sources, the theoretical discussions refer largely to the theories of these men, who since the time of Morgan have been the chief contributors to theories of social organization. None of these discussions, however, involves all the peoples of the Americas which are organized on a unilateral basis. In the following pages I have attempted to bring together the significant data on clans and moieties for both North and South America, and to relate them to the broader scheme of native American history.

With the exception of the Eskimo and Patagonian areas, clans and moieties are found in every culture area of the two Americas. In all these except the Northwest Coast and the California-Great Basin areas both maternal and paternal descent occur. In all the areas both the dual (moiety) grouping and the multiple type occur, one or the other among certain tribes, coexisting among others. Probably three-fourths of the area of the Americas was occupied by tribes organized into unilateral social groups. The very extensiveness of this distribution argues for a comprehensive historical analysis as opposed to local particularistic views—unless one is interested in phenomena of culture narrowly circumscribed in time and space, in a horizontal as opposed to a vertical cross-section. The difference is essentially one of interest and objective, not one of method or validity.

While it is too much to hope that the findings will be regarded by all as conclusive proof of the unitary origin of native American unilateral institutions, I believe that a sufficient number of extrinsic, arbitrary factors are shown to underlie these institutions in their several areas to plead justly for a change in the current opinion (of American anthro-

pologists) that they represent from two to upwards of six independent growths. There is no attempt to deny that a certain number of similar, perhaps even identical, parallels may have arisen in the way of secondary features. Elaboration, degeneration, and changes in emphasis are the normal concomitants of the capricious history of all elements of culture. But argument for independent development on the lone basis of differences in an element found among different peoples too often involves a predication of the very sort of cultural stability for which the extreme diffusionists are censured.

Changes in culture elements are so universal and continuous that their very mention sounds almost trite. For the future they promise to provide the *pièce de résistance* for culture students who now would fain eat the husks of historical reconstruction. At present, however, those who claim the grain as their own, those who would envisage culture from the functional, psychological, and dynamic approaches, seem to be no fatter or more well-favored than their fellows. But husks or not, the present study is avowedly historical in its approach.

In the pages which follow I have attempted to show that underlying the undeniably considerable differences in the unilateral institutions occurring over the Americas there is a basic unity, a unity attested by too many factors to be explained away by any such open sesame as the principle of limited possibilities or of convergence. As potent an argument is the opposite one of unlimited possibilities: around any given feature of culture there could, theoretically, be clustered an unlimited variety and number of usages, taboos, material elements, myths, and ceremonial features. The possible number of elements which might be connected in a variety of ways about, e.g., unilateral institutions, is legion. Actually we find that certain ones tend to persist throughout: animal or plant eponyms, group-owned sets of personal names, belief in a supernatural relationship between the members of a group and their eponym, grouping of sibs into larger units; for the larger units, ceremonial rivalry, reciprocal functions, color association, winter-summer or sky-earth references for moieties, etc. Where these features assume certain definite forms, and where the similarities are numerous and specific between contiguous areas, they may be taken as proof of historical contact. Such contact is further indicated when there is common possession of elements from other aspects of culture.

I have given but slight attention to the relations of the sibs and moieties of America to those of the rest of the world; this aspect is beyond the scope of the present paper. For the same reason I have not seen fit to

dwell at any length upon those old favorites, the question of maternal-paternal sequences and the processes of change in the reckoning of descent. Both maternal and paternal types are found side by side in both continents, but they need not in every case be the cause of an argument as to which is prior. The essential thing in the present analysis is felt to be the presence of the unilateral exogamous group.<sup>1</sup> Peripheral peoples who lack such a type of grouping are for the most part dealt with in a summary fashion, if at all, for the reason that they can have played small part in the history of the unilateral complex among the tribes possessing it. Neither is there any considerable discussion of the probable ultimate origin of unilateral, exogamous, totemic groups. Theoretical examinations of this phase have been almost unanimous in assigning its origins to property inheritance and residence rules, the sexual division of labor, and to sedentary as opposed to nomadic life. My concern is with the actual history of these groups in native America: whether we must concede a number of spontaneous developments out of such archaic institutions as the bilateral family, the band, and the local group, or, whether once implanted (*either* by extra-American contacts, by the peoples migrating to America, or by a series of fortuitous events within the New World) the concept has spread out from a central nexus.

The mode of approach in the present paper may be briefly outlined as follows:

In the Americas there are perhaps six<sup>2</sup> areas in which the unilateral complex is either universally present or so nearly so that the cases of absence form but an inconsequential portion of the tribes of the region. These areas are (1) Southwestern (the familiar Southwest or Pueblo culture area with an appendage in the southern half of California), (2) Eastern (the Southeast and Woodland culture areas plus the greater part of the Plains), (3) Northwestern (the northern half of the North-

<sup>1</sup> The term "sib" as used herein denotes a formal, unilateral, named, totemic, exogamous group in which a person's membership is fixed by an arbitrary rule which partially contradicts the duality of parenthood. The term "sib" is thus equivalent to the "clan" of English ethnologists and the two are used synonymously. There are a few instances of unilaterally reckoned groups among primitive peoples which are not sibs. Neither unilateral descent, exogamy, nor totemic phenomena are absolutely universal features of sib organization, but the number of instances where any one of these is lacking is small indeed. In the great number of instances there is a decided tendency for them to adhere together. It is this group of associated features which together may be termed "the unilateral complex." When only two sibs are present, or when multiple sibs are aligned in two larger units, the term "moiety" is used. When the sibs are grouped into larger units numbering more than two, the term "phratry" applies. Obviously sibs or moieties, but not phratries, may constitute the sole form of unilateral grouping among a people, or all three may co-exist.

<sup>2</sup> I am leaving Mexico and Central America out of this count because of unsatisfactory data.

west Coast culture area and adjacent parts of the Mackenzie-Yukon and Plateau areas), (4) Andean South America, (5) Northern Amazon-West Indies area, (6) Eastern Brazil (the Matto Grosso and Coast).<sup>3</sup> These will be described briefly, and reasons given for inferring unity of origin of the sib scheme within that area.<sup>4</sup> The unilateral complex as found in each area is then compared with that found in other areas, e.g., Southwestern with Eastern and Eastern with Northwestern.

In addition to this tentative reconstruction of the history of the sib complex in the Americas I have discussed briefly the relation of sib and moiety, unilateral groups and kinship terminology, the Americas and the Old World.

The historical unity of the unilateral complex within the various areas is so obvious and so universally accepted that I have devoted but little space to it. Stress is laid upon the inter-area linkages, both in the way of social organization and of features outside that category.

---

<sup>3</sup> It must be borne in mind that these areas are not intended to convey any idea analogous to the term "culture-area." They have been used simply as brief designations of the regions where sibs are found to be more or less continuously distributed, and they refer only to the presence of sibs.

<sup>4</sup> As many as five or six historically separate developments of sib systems in North America alone have been maintained by some. For example, Dr. R. H. Lowie argues separateness for Northwest, Woodland-Southeast, Southwest, California, and for both Mandan-Hidatsa-Crow and Blackfoot-Gros Ventre in the Northwestern Plains. Reasons for linking the Plains with the Eastern area and California with the Southwestern area in the present paper are given in their respective sections.

NORTH AMERICA

THE EASTERN AREA<sup>5</sup>

Peoples with unilateral institutions occupy almost the entire eastern part of North America. Mother-right prevails in the south and east, father-right in the north and west, except for the matrilineal Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow in the Northwest. Except among a few tribes of the Northwest Plains the clans are grouped into larger units, i.e., moieties. Frequently the rule of exogamy applies to the moieties rather than to

TABLE 1

| Clan name                   | Iroquois | Wyandot | Ojibway | Winnebago | Dakota | Mandan | Ioway | Quapaw | Creek | Chickasaw | Caddo | Hopi | Tanoan | Keresan | Zufi | Tsimshian | Tlingit | Tsetsut | Tahitan | Carrier | Kaska |
|-----------------------------|----------|---------|---------|-----------|--------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|------|--------|---------|------|-----------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| Wolf or Coyote.....         | x        | x       | x       | x         | x      | x      | x     | ...    | x     | x         | x     | x    | x      | ...     | x    | x         | x       | x       | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Deer.....                   | x        | x       | ...     | x         | ...    | ...    | ...   | x      | x     | x         | ...   | x    | x      | x       | x    | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Beaver.....                 | x        | x       | x       | ...       | ...    | ...    | x     | x      | x     | ...       | x     | x    | x      | ...     | x    | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | x       | ...   |
| Bear.....                   | x        | x       | x       | x         | ...    | ...    | x     | x      | x     | ...       | x     | x    | x      | ...     | x    | x         | ...     | ...     | x       | x       | x     |
| Hawk.....                   | x        | x       | x       | x         | ...    | ...    | x     | x      | x     | ...       | x     | x    | x      | ...     | x    | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Snake.....                  | ...      | x       | x       | x         | x      | ...    | x     | x      | x     | ...       | ...   | x    | ...    | x       | x    | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Bird.....                   | ...      | ...     | ...     | x         | ...    | ...    | x     | x      | x     | x         | ...   | ...  | ...    | ...     | ...  | ...       | ...     | ...     | x       | ...     | x     |
| Eagle.....                  | ...      | ...     | x       | x         | ...    | x      | x     | ...    | x     | ...       | x     | x    | x      | x       | x    | x         | x       | x       | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Thunder or Thunderbird..... | ...      | ...     | ...     | x         | ...    | x      | x     | ...    | x     | ...       | ...   | ...  | ...    | ...     | ...  | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Buffalo.....                | ...      | ...     | ...     | x         | x      | ...    | x     | x      | x     | ...       | x     | ...  | x      | x       | ...  | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Turtle.....                 | x        | x       | x       | ...       | x      | ...    | x     | x      | x     | ...       | ...   | ...  | ...    | ...     | ...  | ...       | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...     | ...   |
| Raven or Crow.....          | ...      | ...     | ...     | ...       | ...    | x      | ...   | ...    | x     | ...       | x     | x    | x      | x       | x    | x         | x       | x       | x       | x       | ...   |

the clans, the latter being only derivatively exogamous. Almost everywhere the moieties form the basis of division in the lacrosse game (and its variants) and reciprocate in burial rites, feasts, and other ceremonies.

Except among the typical Plains tribes (where nicknames obtain) sib names are taken from the plant and animal worlds. But instead of the very wide variety of names expectable under circumstances of random selection, we find that the same names recur in tribe after tribe. Many of them are also used as clan designations in the Southwest-California and Northwest areas. Table 1 shows the distribution of some of the more

<sup>5</sup> The chief sources for the social organization of the eastern tribes are those cited in the bibliography under: Beauchamp, 1905; Connelly, 1900; J. O. Dorsey, 1897; Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911; Grinnell, 1923; M. R. Harrington, 1914; Kroeber, 1908; Lowie, 1912 and 1917; Mooney, 1894 and 1896; Morgan, 1904 and 1907; Radin, 1923; Skinner, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916a, 1916b, 1919, 1923, 1924, 1925 and 1926; Speck, 1907 and 1909.

common appellations. Other features which indicate the common groundwork of the unilateral institutions within the area are: sets of clan-owned personal names; belief in a mystical bond between the eponym and clan members; and the moiety with its associated ritualistic features.

In the region of the Northwest Plains the clan type diverges somewhat from the stereotyped pattern. On the basis of these differences Lowie concludes that the clans of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow on the one hand and those of Blackfoot and Gros Ventre on the other represent local and therefore independent developments of the clan complex. His arguments center around the differences in type of sib names (nicknames as opposed to animal and plant names), the lack of sets of personal names "owned" by the clans in this part of the area, the absence of the idea of a mystical bond between eponym and group, and the lack of continuous geographical distribution. He concludes that "the two composite photographs of the sib concepts in the two areas reveal hardly the faintest resemblance to each other."<sup>6</sup> Since Lowie has made the Northwest Plains area the cornerstone of his argument for the multiple origin of clans in North America (and thereby in the world) I propose to discuss each of his arguments in turn.

*Nicknames.*—Into this category fall practically all manner of appellations in the Plains area. Tribes, societies, and persons are called after some real or fancied characteristic or event. So are the sibs. In other words, the entire pattern of Plains names follows the nickname type. It would be surprising if sib designations did not conform. Nicknames for clans are not limited to the Plains, but are common among tribes of the Woodland area to the east, where they are sometimes used almost to the exclusion of the animal names. Thus, among the Delaware the Wolf phratry is nicknamed "Round-foot," the Turkey phratry "Don't-chew," the Turtle phratry "Crawling." Delaware clan nicknames are even more suggestive of those of the Plains: one clan is called "Snapping-ears" from the supposed fondness of its members for going into the fields of neighbors and snapping off roasting ears. Other clans go by such names as "Beggars," "Rubbing-the-eye," and "Cranky."<sup>7</sup> Among the Iroquois the nicknames are used more commonly than the animal appellations. The Bear clan is referred to as "Broken-off-tail," the Hawk as "Boards" (an allusion to the large sticks in the hawk's nest), and the Deer as

<sup>6</sup> Lowie, 1923, 122-127.

<sup>7</sup> M. R. Harrington, 1913.



“Cloven-foot” or “Those-whose-nostrils-are-large-and-fine-looking.”<sup>8</sup> The usage is also found among more westerly tribes, e.g., among the Winnebago.

Still more significant is the fact that we have definite proof that nicknames as the usual designation for clans among some of the Plains tribes is a recent innovation. According to an account of the Dakota antedating 1781

every separate body of Indians is divided into bands or tribes [i.e., clans]; each forms a little community within the nation to which it belongs. As the nation has some particular symbol by which it is distinguished from others, so has each tribe [clan] a badge from which it is denominated: as that of the Eagle, the Panther, the Tiger, the Buffalo, etc. One band of the Naudowessie Dakota is represented by a Snake, another by a Tortoise, a third a Squirrel, a fourth a Wolf, and a fifth a Buffalo.<sup>9</sup>

Thus we see that among some peoples of the Plains nicknames have usurped animal names; and that nicknamed sibs are not unique to the Plains but are widespread among the tribes to the east. Very little of Plains culture is of local origin. Instead, many of the major elements which mark it as a “culture area” (e.g., the camp circle, bands, scalping, counting coup, etc.) prove on analysis to be nothing more than old Woodland traits accentuated in the new milieu. The evidence favors the same interpretation for the clan nicknames.

*Clan ownership of personal names.*—Clan name-ownership pertains to the Woodland but not to the Northwestern Plains, where the clan enters only to the extent that among certain of the tribes a man’s name is derived from the actions of a father’s clansman (Crow and Hidatsa). While this is conceivably an important difference it is probably to be explained on the basis of nicknames as a pattern. Nicknames by their very nature are so variable and whimsical that “sets” of them are scarcely expectable.

*Bond between eponym and clan members.*—Present in the Woodland, this trait is hardly expectable where animal names are almost non-existent.

*Geographical isolation.*—Actually the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow on the one hand and Blackfoot and Gros Ventre on the other (Lowie’s two cases of independent origin in the Plains)<sup>10</sup> are almost completely sur-

<sup>8</sup> See Beauchamp, 1905, and articles “Tuscarora” and “Clan and Gens” in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*.

<sup>9</sup> J. Carver, 1781, 225 ff. (Quoted from J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 3:87.)

<sup>10</sup> Lowie, 1920, 122–127.

rounded by other Algonkin and Siouan tribes, which are organized on a clan-band basis. To the north and east are the Algonkin Minnesota Ojibway, Bungi Ojibway, Plains Ojibway, Saukteaux, Northern Saukteaux, Albany Cree, Swampy Cree, Blackfoot, Piegan, Blood, and Gros Ventre—all with clans.<sup>11</sup> For the Dakota tribes the data are less certain but it is becoming increasingly clear that, as among the Algonkin tribes enumerated, the clan concepts of the Eastern Woodland were present in a diminished form. In fact that pattern of relationship terminology invariably associated with a clan scheme has taken one of its names—Dakota terminology<sup>12</sup>—from this very group of Siouans!

According to Skinner :

All three major bands of the Eastern Dakota were subdivided into exogamous patrilineal gentes, each of which had its place in the tribal camp circle and each of which had its own civil officers. Marriage within the gens was tolerated after a special ceremony, but this was rare indeed. The Sisseton were divided into nine groups nicknamed for traditional peculiarities; the Wahpeton into six, mostly named for the localities in which they lived; and the Isanti into six groups named for their chiefs. None of these bands were given animal names like the gentes of other tribes, instead their titles were more like the band names of the Plains peoples. Much confusion has been made by the varying fortunes of some of the gentes, especially among the Isanti, where first one gens then another has been most popular and important, and the name of the division changed accordingly, the band being called for each gens which became predominant.<sup>13</sup>

For the other Dakota (Yankton, Yanktonai, and the Teton groups) we must rely chiefly on the rather obscure data of J. Owen Dorsey.<sup>14</sup> The Dakota as a whole recognized their original unity by referring to themselves as the "Seven Council Fires." Tradition has it that they habitually camped in two camps, one of four, the other of three concentric circles. The four-circle camp was comprised of the four groups commonly known as Eastern Dakota. The three-circle camp evidently included Yankton, Yanktonai, and Teton. The Yankton were divided into seven gentes (with half-breeds constituting an eighth). The Yanktonai later split into two tribes, Upper and Lower Yanktonai, each of which had seven gentes. The Teton divided into seven subtribes, which Dorsey states were the traditional gentes. In his day each of these in turn had subdivided into gentes six to twenty-one in number. The traditional "four and three" camp grouping, and the recurrence of seven as the pattern number of gentes among these tribes, are features almost certainly

<sup>11</sup> Bushnell, 1905; Babbitt, 1887; Skinner, 1916, 1912, 1914; Wissler, 1911; Kroeber, 1908.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Lowie, 1920, 114-115.

<sup>13</sup> Skinner, 1919, 172.

<sup>14</sup> J. O. Dorsey, 1897.

related to the "four-clan" and "three-clan" moieties and the seven clans of their Mandan and Hidatsa kinsmen.

Further analysis leaves no doubt that the Dakota "bands" were genuine sibs. Skinner has stated that the bands were exogamous among Sisseton, Santee, Wahpeton, and Mdewakanton. The rule of band-sib exogamy was also enforced among the Assiniboine and Brulé Teton.<sup>15</sup> Riggs claims clan exogamy for all the Dakota tribes.<sup>16</sup> Further evidence of the exogamous rule is to be found in the clan-band names themselves. Nicknames, such as "Breakers-of-the-marriage-custom," were applied to bands of Oglala Teton, Yanktonai, and Santee whose members, according to tradition, violated the rule of "band" exogamy.

Thus we see that instead of geographical isolation for the clan tribes of the northwest Plains we find them encircled by neighbors with a clan organization. In fact, all the Plains tribes, with the exception of Kiowa, Arapaho, and Comanche,<sup>17</sup> were organized into exogamous sibs which generally coincided with the bands.

The fact that the Crow, Hidatsa, and Mandan alone among Plains tribes count descent through the mother is a bit puzzling. But it is significant that linguistically they affiliate most closely, not with their near neighbors, but with the Biloxi, Yazoo, Tutelo, and the other Eastern Sioux, all of whom traced descent in the maternal line.<sup>18</sup>

The differences between the sib concept in the Northwest Plains and that of the Woodland are superficial rather than fundamental, apparent rather than real. Though certain differences do exist they are more than counterbalanced by definite similarities. I have already alluded to the fact that the Mandan and Hidatsa share seven as the "pattern number" of clans with such neighbors as Santee, Wahpeton, Sisseton,<sup>19</sup> Yankton, Upper Yanktonai, Lower Yanktonai, Teton, and Ioway. Mandan and Hidatsa further resemble the eastern tribes in having the moiety which Lowie describes as "a relatively unimportant aggregate of sibs with

<sup>15</sup> J. O. Dorsey, 1897, 226; 1891, 261.

<sup>16</sup> Riggs, 1893, 195.

<sup>17</sup> I am ignoring Sarsi and Western Cree partly because of lack of data, partly because both have only recently moved to their present habitat. Curtis claims absence of clans among the Western Cree (18:69-71, 169-170). The fact that they had a decided preference for cross-cousin mating, however, must be regarded as significant—probably representing a survival of a clan or moiety organization.

It is also significant that the clanless Kiowa are one of the very few Plains tribes resident in that area for any considerable period of time. The Cheyenne case is one of conflicts and doubts. Mooney claims absence of the sib; Grinnell emphatically states that it is present. In a personal communication Dr. Truman Michelson, of the Bureau of Ethnology, indicates agreement with Mooney's findings.

<sup>18</sup> J. O. Dorsey and John R. Swanton, 1912; Mooney, 1894.

<sup>19</sup> Sisseton gentes in late years numbered twelve, but five were recent additions.

hardly any serious function" and therefore incipient rather than rudimentary. But these moieties exhibit the "reciprocal giving" of the moieties to the east, the ranging of the moieties on "sides" in various ceremonies, and they were undoubtedly linked in some obscure half-forgotten way with their "winter chief"—a concept which implies a "summer chief" as well. This winter-summer dualism has its parallel among Ioway and Pawnee in the East and among numerous tribes of the Southwest.

A further indication that the clans and moieties of the Northwest Plains are historically related to those of the east may be seen in the moiety alignment. Over the eastern area one of the most common concepts associated with moieties is that of duality on the basis of Sky and Earth or the closely similar one of Birds and Animals. With the expectable variations this pattern of dualism is found from the Creek to the Iroquois, from Winnebago to Osage. That Mandan and Hidatsa moieties may have this same basis is indicated by their clan alignments:

| MANDAN  | HIDATSA                     |
|---|-----------------------------|
| <i>Four-clan moiety</i> ("Bird" or "Sky" of eastern tribes [?])             |                             |
| 1. Prairie Chicken People   | 1. Prairie Chicken People   |
| 2. Young White-headed Eagle   | 2. Awa'xerawita             |
| 3. Xo'xixaka (untranslatable)   | 3. Wide Butte               |
| 4. Crow People  | 4. Real Water               |
| <i>Three-clan moiety</i> ("Animal" or "Earth" moiety of eastern tribes [?]) |                             |
| 1. Wolf People or tami'sik  | 1. Knife (= Wolf of Mandan) |
| 2. Maxi'kina  | 2. Maxo'xati                |
| 3. Nu'pta   | 3. Lower Cap                |

If we make the necessary elimination of place names and untranslatable terms the clans fall exactly as they would if there were a formal idea of moiety division on the basis of animals and birds. The Hidatsa case lacks conviction because of the larger number of place names and untranslatable terms, but the Mandan clans conform too closely to the suggested division to be the result of chance.

To summarize: The Mandan-Hidatsa-Crow and the Blackfoot-Gros Ventre clan schemes exhibit certain divergences from the clan pattern of their near and more remote neighbors, but these differences are explicable, even expectable, as peripheral vagaries. From the standpoint of historical origin they are more than outweighed by similarities in extrinsic, even esoteric, traits which are shared with near-by and farther removed tribes. Unless we believe in some sort of innate urge toward the formation of a stereotyped number of clans, of moieties, and of moieties based on a Sky-Earth or Winter-Summer dualism, with reciprocal func-

tions in councils and ceremonials, then we must reject the particularistic interpretation and accept the hypothesis of historical community.

It is certainly significant that all the old residents in the Plains except the Blackfoot consistently lack clans, while all the recent intruders (except possibly the Cheyenne) are just as consistently organized on a unilateral basis. Such a dwindling of the sib concept as we find is largely explainable in terms of a crowding out of the old social forms by the new pastimes of year-round buffalo hunting, horse transportation, and the game of war with its attendant glamor of rank, honor, and publicity. In the new geographical milieu the older semi-sedentary life with larger social groups (villages) was functionally out of harmony. More advantageous and efficient were the small roving bands which came together for tribal meetings only infrequently. That these factors, especially the small band grouping and the definitely nomadic life, must have tended strongly toward a breakdown of the old clan organization is indicated by empirical data rather than by a priori reasoning. Thus, Wissler states that the social organization of the Blackfoot "has changed greatly in the last forty years, and has, no doubt, undergone a gradual change from a rigid clan system to a loose band organization since these people left the woods to roam over the plains."<sup>20</sup> Though Wissler later modified this opinion, the quoted statement is more in harmony with Skinner's findings among the Plains Ojibway, Kroeber's data on Gros Ventre, and Grinnell's descriptions of Blackfoot and Cheyenne. All the Dakota tribes likewise seem to have allowed their clan organization to degenerate after they moved into the Plains.

#### SOUTHWESTERN NORTH AMERICA

In the Southwest as in the Eastern area the tribes of more complex culture are organized into matrilineal clans. Hopi, Zuñi, and a part of the Keresan, together with their near neighbors, the Navaho and most of the Apache tribes, count descent through the mother, while Pima, Papago, and the Californian sib-tribes are patrilineal. In the eastern part of the Pueblo area the maternal organization blends into the mixed system at Isleta and among the Tewa and Eastern Keresans, and becomes a patrilineal ceremonial moiety at Taos.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Wissler, 1905, 172.

<sup>21</sup> The sources for this area are essentially those cited by Strong in his *Analysis of Southwestern Society* (AA, n.s., 29: 1-61, 1927). It seems unnecessary to duplicate even partially his bibliography. Among subsequent publications I have used: Gladys Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians* (CU-CA 7, 1928); and Elsie Clews Parsons, *The Social Organization of the Tewa of New Mexico* (AAA-M 36:

Sibs and moieties (or ceremonial traces of moieties) are found together among the pueblo-dwelling Zuñi, Hopi, Keresan, Tewa, and at Isleta; and among the non-pueblo Navaho, Papago, Pima, Serrano, Cahuilla, Cupeño, and Luiseno. Sib without moieties are found only among Mohave, Diegueño, Yuma, and Western Apache. "Totemic clans" have been noted, not described, among the Chumash.<sup>22</sup> Moieties without sibs form the basis of organization among Miwok, Yokuts, Salinan (?), and at Taos.

Despite the very considerable variations among the sibs and moieties of this area we find them linked with a number of traits and usages of so specific a sort that common historical origin cannot be doubted. For the Pueblo area Kroeber states that "a single, precise scheme pervades the clan organization of all the Pueblos. It is almost as if one complete pattern has been stamped upon the social life of every community in the area."<sup>23</sup> As might be expected, the California sib systems diverge most from those of the Pueblos peoples. But Strong's study has shown that they have in common such features as "the group-house, priest and fetish complex, the ceremonial ground-painting, asperging of water brought from a particular spring, placing of plume offerings in certain shrines, ceremonial smoking of tobacco, offering prayers for rain, initiation of boys, ceremonial pole climbing, eagle and whirling dances, clan ownership of eagles, and personification of the gods."<sup>24</sup> Such an array of common features makes it almost certain that the unilateral complex in California is derived from that of the Pueblo area.

For a fuller exposition of the social organization and more abundant proof of the community of origin of all the unilateral systems of this area the reader is referred to the paper by Strong already cited, and to a more detailed study by the same author.<sup>25</sup>

#### THE NORTHWESTERN SIB AREA

The tribes of the culture center of the Northwest Coast area, i.e., Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, are organized into exogamous groups two or four in number.<sup>26</sup> Usually referred to as clans, these groups are perhaps

1-309, 1929). I am greatly indebted to the following persons for the use of unpublished material: to Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons, for material on Taos and Isleta; to Dr. Anna H. Gayton and Mr. E. W. Gifford, for their notes on Yokuts; to Dr. C. D. Forde, for items on Yuma; and to Dr. R. H. Lowie, for notes on the Washo.

<sup>22</sup> SI-MC 66:113.

<sup>23</sup> Kroeber, 1917, 140.

<sup>24</sup> Strong, 1927, 52.

<sup>25</sup> Strong, 1929.

<sup>26</sup> Chief sources: Barbeau, 1917; Boas, *Reports on the Indians of British Columbia*, in BAAS 1889-98, and those publications cited for 1895, 1916, 1921, 1924; Krause, 1885; Sapir, 1914a, 1915b; Swanton, 1900, 1904, and 1908.

more genuinely moieties or phratries with several, sometimes many, clans grouped under each. Descent, inheritance, and succession are matrilineal. Linked with the larger units is an elaborate scheme of crests and ceremonial privileges and prerogatives which in the main reflect the stratification of society into nobles and commoners. The system of crests and privileges is, to a certain extent, repeated in the clans and, among the sibless tribes to the south, in the village groups. Reciprocal feasting, giving, and funerary functions usually obtain between the larger units.<sup>26a</sup>

The unilateral scheme of the central tribes is, in the main, repeated among such northern and eastern neighbors as Tahltan, Tsetsaut, Loucheux, Carrier, Babine, Kaska, and the Athapascans living along the Yukon, Tanana, and Copper rivers and among the Tanaina of Cook's inlet. For most of these our information is so fragmentary that we are able to do little more than definitely link their social schemes with those of the central tribes.<sup>27</sup> In the interior of British Columbia the Lillooet, Northern Thompson, and Northern and Western Shuswap have fairly definite sib systems patterned after those of Chilcotin and Carrier.<sup>28</sup> The Lillooet groups, however, are not exogamous.

Immediately to the south of the Tsimshian are the Kwakiutl-speaking Bella Bella and Haisla; farther south are Kwakiutl and Bella Coola; and south of these the other Coast Salish and the Nootka. Of all these only the Bella Bella and Haisla have closely imitated the social organization of their northern neighbors; but even they lack the vital sib features of exogamy and (or) unilateral descent. To the south of these the Kwakiutl of Vancouver island, Nootka, and Coast Salish as far as the mouth of the Fraser show ever-diminishing vestiges of elements of the unilateral complex, such as animal group-names and crests. By the time we reach Puget sound and the straits of Juan de Fuca all definite traces of the northern social organization have disappeared. Haisla and Bella Bella sibs are at best grudgingly conceded, and all tribes to the south of them are definitely sibless.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26a</sup> Among the Tlingit, at any rate, the moieties form "sides" in the shinny game. In nearly all major ceremonies the moieties participate as such, the participants aligning themselves according to moiety affiliation. Personal names are owned by the clans. (Author's field notes, 1933.)

<sup>27</sup> Boas, BAAS, 1895, 522-592; Cadzow, 1925; Dall, 1877; Dawson, 1887-88; Emmons, 1911; Hill-Tout, 1907; Morice, 1889, 1892-93, 1905; Osgood, *Tanaina Culture*; Petitot, 1876; Teit, 1900, 1906a, and 1912.

<sup>28</sup> Teit, 1909.

<sup>29</sup> Chief sources for tribes south of the Kwakiutl: Boas, BAAS Reports, his publications cited as of 1889, 1898, and 1923; Dorsey, 1889; Farrand, 1901; Hill-Tout, 1907; Gunther, 1927; Kroeber, 1925; Sapir, 1907.

Except among the tribes with clans the village group is the outstanding social unit over the entire coastal region from California to Bering strait. Chieftainship, rank based on wealth or on descent, frequently a belief in blood relationship and a resulting rule of exogamy, ceremonial and political life—all these aspects of society revolve about the village group. Even among the tribes with sibs the village plays an important rôle in the social structure.

The structure and usages centering around the village in the area make the village group a close approach to a genuine clan. The Hupa case is typical of conditions in the area, and, as Lowie has pointed out, all that is needed for the formation of genuine father-sibs is that the patrilocal rule must be made stringent and that the affiliation of the females be fixed.<sup>80</sup> All the other conditions are present. Patrilocal residence unites those male relatives who are united in a father-sib. The paternal bias is further emphasized by male ownership of most property and prerogatives. Lineage and kinship are very much noted because of pride in rank and descent.

With such slight additions necessary for the formation of genuine sibs it is small wonder that tribes within this area have been cited as examples of how sibs might develop among sibless peoples. Probably no one, except him who objects on principle to the theory of independent origins, would deny that the necessary events might come to pass. Accordingly, if the maternal clans of the northern part of the area were father-sibs instead, the case for their local development would be plausible enough. But it is extremely difficult to envisage this maternal system spontaneously generating and coming to full growth in a social milieu shot through and through with the germs of father-right. It might be argued that the tribes which came to have maternal institutions lacked the paternal bias of their neighbors, but such arguments become more than futile in the face of patrilocal residence and the masculine control of most property and privileges even among these maternal tribes. In other words, the fact that the only clan tribes of the area are organized on a maternal basis, that the clans are two or four in number instead of conforming to the number of villages (the village group constituting Lowie's "incipient sib" among Hupa) makes it extremely unlikely that the clans actually observed in the area owe their genesis to modifications of usages centering on the village.

There remains the possibility that some obscure but potent element in the ancient social organization of the area gave a maternal bent to the

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<sup>80</sup> Lowie, 1920, 70-71, 157-158.



social scheme of certain tribes, resulting in the gradual stressing of the mother's side, until genuine clans were finally developed without external influences. There comes to mind, for example, the fact that the rank of a Hupa or Yurok child is largely determined by the amount of bride-price paid for his mother. Now in Northwest Coast society wealth plays quite as great a rôle as blood in determining social status, and if one's mother brought a high price it is quite equivalent to saying that one comes of wealthy (noble) stock. Variants of the same idea may be noted all the way to the Eskimo and as far east as the Plains, where purchase marriage is regarded as the most honorable form. But in view of the fact that the father's side is of necessity sufficiently wealthy to pay the given price it is hard to see how this feature can offer a solution of the problem of maternal institutions developing in a paternally inclined society. Reference to the high bride price of the mother is only another way of saying that the father or his family was wealthy enough to pay such a price.

A local, independent development of a clan or gentile system in any part of the Northwest Coast area would almost of necessity be based on the old village units, each village presumably giving rise to a clan or gens. Any grouping along other lines would be in complete disharmony with the obviously more fundamental town units. But when we examine the unilateral systems of the area we find them based not on the village groups, but on divisions two or four in number which are fundamentally moieties. The old basis of society, had it changed *in situ* to a genuine sib scheme, would naturally have given rise to a large number of sibs within each tribe—witness the Kwakiutl attempt to imitate the system of their northern neighbors.

In his "Tsimshian Mythology" Boas attempted to show that a tripartite grouping was probably the ancient form among all or almost all the tribes of this area which are organized into sibs.<sup>31</sup> His evidence involved the traditional existence of a third (and local) group among the Haida, the presence of a single village among the Tlingit whose members could marry either Ravens or Wolves, and the threefold division of the Loucheux and the Tinneh above Nulato on the Yukon.

Evidences of a basic dual organization for the whole area seem much more abundant and genuine. The Haida moieties are indubitably such unless one wishes to inflate the importance of a local group whose very existence rests on the fragile foundation of oral tradition. The Tlingit Raven and Wolf groups function as moieties and there is small justifica-

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<sup>31</sup> Boas, 1916, 478-487.

tion for dragging in by the hair of the head an inconsequential local group which is nameless except as a village. Barbeau rejects Boas' Tsimshian evidence.<sup>32</sup> Of the three Tsimshian dialectic groups the Tsimshian proper and the Gitksan have four divisions (which implies the simple elaboration of a dual organization),<sup>33</sup> while the Niska and Gitwunlkol have two divisions.<sup>34</sup> Evidence of a fundamental triple grouping among the Tsimshian therefore rests solely upon the tradition that the Wolf group was introduced among them at a late date.<sup>35</sup>

Aside from these evidences of basic moieties from the central tribes we have the definite dual division of Ravens and Wolves among the Tahltan,<sup>36</sup> of Eagle and Wolf among the Tsetsaut,<sup>37</sup> and the exogamous moieties with multiple clans among the Athapascans of the Kenai peninsula.<sup>38</sup> Morice gives both four and five as the number of Carrier-Babine clans. He implies Bear-people Grouse-people divisions for the Kaska (according to Dawson and Callbreath, Birds and Bears).<sup>39</sup> For the Loucheux it matters little whether we accept Petitot's classification of "Men of the Right" and "Men of the Left" (his "Men of the Middle" is a subsequent addition) or rely on Hardisty's reference to "Dark," "Light," and "Medium." Either set of categories is more in harmony with a dual than a triple organization: the very terminology implies duality. Coupled with definite statements that the two opposites are bound to intermarry there is good reason for believing that the third group, if it actually exists, has been grafted on a dual scheme in harmony with the type of designation.

Additional evidence favoring the theory of a basic moiety system in the Northwest is found in the use of a single cross-cousin term by Nass River Tsimshian (Niska), and the Tsimshian proper;<sup>40</sup> and the existence of cross-cousin marriage preference among the Tlingit, Haida, and Carrier.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Barbeau, 1917, 556.

<sup>33</sup> The Australian four and eight "class" systems furnish examples of multiple groups arising by simple division of the moieties.

<sup>34</sup> Boas, 1916, 487.

<sup>35</sup> Boas, BAAS, 1895, 569-571; 1916, 485.

<sup>36</sup> Emmons, 1911, 13. Teit claims three clans: Bear, Wolf, and Raven (Teit, 1906*b*, 348-349).

<sup>37</sup> Boas, BAAS, 1895, 565.

<sup>38</sup> Richardson, Arctic Searching Expedition (Quoted by Swanton, 1904, 478-479). Osgood, Tanaina Culture.

<sup>39</sup> Morice, 1894, 203-204; 1889, 118; 1901, 520; Dawson, 1887-88.

<sup>40</sup> Spier, 1925.

<sup>41</sup> Swanton, 1900, 68; Morice, 1901, 118-119.

Elsewhere in this paper I have discussed those dual groupings of the Southwest, Plains, Southeast, and Eastern Woodland in which sibs are aligned in the opposing categories of Birds-Animals, Summer-Winter, Peace-War, White-Red, Sky People-Earth People, or Chiefs-Warriors. Such concepts, having their origin in the moiety grouping, must constitute, as far as the moiety is concerned, one of its most ancient and basic features. One of these categories, that of Birds-Animals (i.e., Sky-Earth), seems to be the basis of the dual organization in the Northwest as well. A listing of clans on this basis (see p. 398) clearly implies something of the sort. With a few negligible exceptions, all the sib tribes of the area have either two or four exogamous units. Among those with two (Haida excepted), one is named from an animal, one from a bird; among those with four, two are named from animals, two from birds.

The only tribes whose divisions do not conform to such a scheme are the Haida, the Loucheux, and a few Athapascans in the interior of Alaska. For the Athapascans the data are too conflicting and fragmentary to be of value, though it is significant that the members of one group of Loucheux believe themselves to be descended from the animals, and the members of a second group are regarded as descendants of the birds. While the Haida moieties are commonly referred to as Eagle and Raven, their real names, *Gitins* and *Koala*, are untranslatable; and the evidence from this tribe is accordingly neutral.

If the names of the exogamous groups in the Northwestern area were of an entirely random sort, it is extremely unlikely that they would be thus evenly divided between birds and mammals. On the basis of chance all-bird and all-animal names ought to occur with equal frequency. The consistently even grouping in this respect not only strengthens the hypothesis of a moiety basis but also implies that the concept underlying such moieties is a dualism based on the bird and animal categories—that is, of Sky and Earth. Such variations from this scheme as are found are no more than would be expected to result from the normal course of historical events.

To summarize: The village looms as the most important social group among the sibless tribes of the Northwest. The close approach of these village groups to actual sibs should allow us to prognosticate that any local developments into genuine sibs would have resulted in the formation of multiple patrilineal gentes. Instead of such, however, we find that all the sib tribes of the area are organized into maternal units which are fundamentally moieties. Their local origin is therefore implicitly denied and their foreign origin accordingly indicated.

## MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Materials relating to unilateral organizations in Latin America are sketchy at best. Over much of Mexico, in the Maya area, and in Andean South America the social organization had been disturbed by an overlay of genuine political organization. Our knowledge of the ancient social organization is further obscured by the fact that, except in the more inaccessible parts of the Amazon region, native culture has been pretty thoroughly destroyed by four centuries of European contacts. The early Spanish chroniclers were not adepts at the describing of institutions whose very nature they did not fathom and modern ethnographers have sadly neglected those phases of Latin American culture relating to the non-material. Accordingly, the sources seldom make more than casual references to the more esoteric aspects of society and in many cases the presence of a clan system is indicated by nothing more than inferential evidence.

*Mexico*

Beals has recently summarized the evidence for clan systems in Mexico, exclusive of the Aztec.<sup>42</sup> In the Northwest we find the Opata towns divided into two barrios called Upper and Lower, which contend against each other in games. Unfortunately we have no data detailing the other functions of these moieties, but their ceremonial associations make it difficult to see them as anything else than the local counterparts of the moieties of California, the Southwest, and the Southeast. The Cahita and Acaxee were divided into localized patrilineal, exogamous sibs. Over much of west central Mexico, from Culiacan to Colima, the towns were divided into barrios which may have been localized patrilineal gentes. The evidence for the Tarascans of Michoacan seems to favor the interpretation that they were divided into exogamous, patrilineal clans, localized in barrios.<sup>43</sup> The Colima were divided into units of a comparable nature. In southeastern Mexico a plausible reconstruction of the social organization of the Zapotec, Mixtec, Mixe, and Zoque indicates organization into matrilineal clans.<sup>44</sup> Radin denies a gentile organization among the Totonac, but Krickeberg holds to the view that the twenty "parcialidades, ó familias" mentioned in the old literature are best interpreted as twenty gentes grouped into two phratries [i.e., moieties] of ten each. He believes that the phratries became localized and developed into separate or partially separate tribes.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Beals, 1932.

<sup>43</sup> Beals, 1932, 469-470.

<sup>44</sup> Radin, 1931, 1-2; Beals, 1932, 471.

<sup>45</sup> Radin, 1931, 1; Krickeberg, 1918, 46.

The social organization of the Aztecs is not sufficiently well known to allow of a definite interpretation. In certain features it is reminiscent of a sib scheme, in others it fails to conform. Bandelier interpreted the calpulli as a kin group, i.e., as a patrilineal clan.<sup>46</sup> Aztec kin terms fail to conform to the classificatory (clan) type, but this negative evidence is balanced by references to "kinships," which, in part at least, partake of the nature of clans. Bandelier speaks of the Seven Kinships or lineages "whose chiefs jointly composed the government of the whole."<sup>47</sup> Speaking of the four calpulli in Tenochtitlan, he states that the word calpulli "is also used to designate a great hall or house, and we may therefore infer that originally at least all the members of one kinship dwelt under one common roof"<sup>48</sup>—an interpretation not altogether justifiable.

The evidence of the codices seems to favor the interpretation of a consanguine bond among the original barrio-mates. In the Codex Ramirez, e.g., it is recorded that when the Aztecs reached the Valley of Mexico the god Huitzilopochtli ordered a priest to "tell the Mexican assemblage that their chiefs should divide them, according to their relationship to one another or according to whether they are friends or allies, into four principal barrios, putting into the middle of each barrio the house they have erected for my repose, and each division (*parcialidad*) should erect one shrine in its barrio as he sees fit."<sup>49</sup>

Obviously the case for a clan system among the Aztecs is one of doubt. The most reasonable and conservative attitude is one which allows the possibility but not the certainty of a unilateral kinship organization which saw considerable modification with the rise to high political estate.

Some light is thrown on the Aztec case by the traditions relating to the Toltecs. Legend has it that they were "composed of seven lineages, and the government resided in the seven principal chiefs." After the Aztec conquest they were removed to Tezcuco "where they founded four quarters, since the Culhuas, as the Toltecs were then called, formed four families."<sup>50</sup> It is quite possible that the Aztecs were assigning to the Toltecs their own type of organization, and the "four families" which became the four barrios may have been kinship instead of territorial groups.

<sup>46</sup> Bandelier, 1878, 398, 401.

<sup>49</sup> Radin, 1920, 81.

<sup>47</sup> Bandelier, 1878, 398.

<sup>50</sup> Bandelier, 1878, 390.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 401.

### *The Mayan-speaking Tribes*

Radin asserts absence of unilateral kinship groups among the isolated Huastec of the Vera Cruz region.<sup>51</sup> But for most of the Mayan groups the evidence favors organization on a clan basis. The Maya proper seem to have had exogamous patrilineal gentes, though the situation is somewhat obscured by Landa's statement that "the names of the fathers remain always with the sons and not with the daughters."<sup>52</sup> Max Schmidt's picture of localized gentes among the "Maya group of tribes"<sup>53</sup> is not in keeping with Landa's mention that the same (clan) names occur in different villages.<sup>54</sup>

The Lacandone are divided into eighteen more or less localized exogamous patrilineal clans, whose names are taken from animals. In some cases two of these are linked in some esoteric fashion, giving rise to a type of phratry. There is a mystical bond between the eponym and the clan members. Kin terms tend to follow the classificatory pattern.<sup>55</sup> One is tempted to interpret these features as remnants of a more complex organization and to assign to the ancient Maya groups some elements implicit in the Lacandone scheme. Bandelier remarks that

the positive description furnished in the Popol-Vuh of the segmentation of four original kins into a number of smaller ones, and . . . the fact that nearly every aboriginal settlement, at the present time, divides into four principal groups of inhabitants, becomes suggestive of the fact . . . that the consanguine group was the original type of social organization at the remotest period.<sup>56</sup>

For the ancient Maya peoples our data are perhaps most certain for the Kiche (QQuiché, etc.). The Ximenez document of *ca.* 1720 presents a clear scheme of patrilocal marriage, of exogamous patrilineal lineages (i.e., gentes). Marriage with the mother's kin was freely permitted because these were not counted as kin.<sup>57</sup> Bandelier summarizes the materials of the Popol-Vuh relating to the Kiche as follows:

(1) The QQuiché were originally organized in three consanguine groups, to which latterly a fourth was added.

(2) These kinships localized as four quarters, their mode of life was communal.

<sup>51</sup> Radin, 1931, 1.

<sup>52</sup> Schmidt, 1926, 232.

<sup>53</sup> Tozzer, 1907, 38-45.

<sup>54</sup> Beals, 1932, 471.

<sup>54</sup> Beals, 1932, 471.

<sup>56</sup> Bandelier, 1879, 572.

<sup>57</sup> Ximenez, 1926, 130-131, states: ". . . La muger jamas volvia á casa de sus padres aunque eviudase; porque luego el hermano del muerto la tomaba por muger, aunque el fuese casado, y si el hermano no era para ello, un pariente tenia derecho á ella. Los hijos de los tales mugeres no tenian por deudos á los tales abuelos, ni a los demas deudos de las madres, porque la cuenta de su parentesco venia por línea de varones, y así no tenian impedimentos para casarse con los parientes de sus madres, esto se entiende para contraer matrimonio . . . Casábanse en todos los grados de consanguinidad en la manera dicha."

(3) They subsequently divided into twenty-four kindred groups, constituting so many gentes.

(4) The government of the tribe lay in the hands of the chiefs of these gentes.<sup>58</sup>

The data on clans throughout Mexico and the Maya area obviously leave much to be desired. In only a few instances is the evidence sufficiently definite or clear-cut to enable us to state categorically that sibs in the true sense were present. But in the cases discussed the presence of unilateral social institutions offers the only sensible interpretation of the rather obscure data. It seems reasonable to assume that many features of the archaic organization became profoundly modified under the political developments of the centuries immediately preceding the Spanish conquest, sib features becoming obscured and modified but retaining enough of their earlier nature to allow us to assume their reality.

### *Central America*

Materials on the social organization of the peoples of Central America are even more scanty than for the Mexico-Maya area. As regards clan organization we have data, as far as I can discover, only for the Bribri of Costa Rica. Here we find four geographical groups which are cross-sectioned by a division into exogamous matrilineal moieties called respectively Tubor-uak and Kork-uak (or Djbar-uak). The first is subdivided into twelve, the second into fifteen clans, which take their names from animals, plants, or localities. Inheritance is from a man to his sister's son. In some features at least kinship terms adhere to the classificatory pattern.<sup>59</sup>

The Bribri, speaking a Chibchan tongue, share with the Chibcha of Colombia the feature of maternal descent. In other respects they show affiliations with the Mexico-Maya area. The communal "house of the dead" is divided into four compartments. Among the Lacandone "four" in a mystical sense enters into the structure of the sacred hut. Both these cases are no doubt tied up in some way with the ritual number four which underlies so much of the social, religious, and political organization of peoples from Chile to the Pueblo region. It is only necessary to mention the four divisions of the Inca empire, the four "kinships" of the Kiche, the four wards widespread in the Mexico-Maya area, the four couples who founded the Inca dynasty, and so on. As symbolic, half-mystical concepts persistent over the greater part of Middle America they are legitimate evidences of the historical kinships of the socio-political arrangements of the peoples of higher culture.

<sup>58</sup> Bandelier, 1878, 392.

<sup>59</sup> Fabrega, 1898; Gabb, 1875; Skinner, 1920.

## SOUTH AMERICA

## THE NORTHERN ANDEAN AREA

*Colombia*

Matrilineal descent prevailed among several of the peoples of Colombia. This fact alone is sufficient to establish the presence of a clan system among them—since there are no known instances of matrilineal descent except associated with sibs.

Among the three Chibcha groups (Muequetá, Hunza, and Suamox) succession and inheritance were uniformly from a man to his sister's oldest son. (In the case of chiefs, their personal belongings were inherited by the sons.) Failing the proper heir, a man's goods and office were inherited by the brother of the deceased. In the cases of the major rulers there were some variations from this. The heir of the chief of the Muequetá (Bogota) Chibcha became the chief of Chia—a sort of Prince of Wales arrangement.

In Iraca (a subdivision of the Hunza-Chibcha) something of a moiety division seems to have been present, for the succession to the throne went alternately to the chiefs of Tobasa and Firabitoua. The heir apparent, however, must of necessity be elected by the chiefs of four other towns of the region. In case of a tie vote the king of the Hunza cast the deciding vote.<sup>60</sup> This alternating succession (concerning which we have nothing beyond the bald fact) offers a hint concerning an obscure point in Inca political organization, there being some reason for believing that the Inca-ship alternated between the moiety of Hanan-Cuzco and that of Hurin-Cuzco (see pp. 378–379).

The foregoing is about the sum and substance of our data relating to Chibcha social organization, but scant though it be it offers sufficient grounds for the assumption of matrilineal clans, perhaps of moieties, among them. Salas claims matrilineal reckoning for Cocinas, Cocinetas, and Motilones.<sup>61</sup>

Throughout the greater part of the Cauca valley a special type of matrilineal inheritance prevailed. The son of a chief by his chosen (first) wife inherited his office, but in case he had no son by her the chiefship passed to the son of the chief's sister. Cieza de León noted this custom

<sup>60</sup> Salas, 1908, 35–38, 290–293. Other sources for the Chibcha include Markham, 1912; Joyce, 1912; Restrepo, 1895.

<sup>61</sup> *Op. cit.*, 38.



in the regions of Antioquia, Anzerma, Arma, Paucura, Pozo, Picara, Carrapa, Quinhaya, Cali, and Popayan.<sup>62</sup> He gives uncertainty of paternity as "the reason of this custom of the nephew who is son of the sister, not he who is son of the brother, inheriting, in the greater part of these provinces, according to what I have heard from many of the natives."<sup>63</sup> In Carrapa, Cali, and Popayan he noted that "the principal chiefs marry their nieces, and sometimes their sisters."<sup>64</sup> The implication is that the common people did not marry in these grades of relationship. The custom is no doubt historically related to the brother-sister marriages of the royal house in Peru.

Joyce notes that

In the neighborhood of Cartago a man's first cousin seems to have been regarded as his natural mate, but in the Zipa's territory [Bogota Chibcha] no marriages were permitted within the second degree of consanguinity. In the Tunja district, however, even marriage with a sister was not forbidden. The Panche were the most particular of all, since the man was compelled to seek a wife outside his subtribe [clan?].<sup>65</sup>

While the data for unilateral institutions in the Cauca valley are not clear-cut, the preference shown to the sister's sons as opposed to brother's sons warrants the assumption of some form of sib system. The data for Ecuador, where the same customs prevailed and where we have certain knowledge of moieties, bear this out.

### *Ecuador*

Over the greater part of pre-Incaic Ecuador we find social customs closely resembling those of Colombia. In the kingdom of Quito the heir to the throne was the eldest son of the Scyri (overlord), but failing sons the succession passed to the son of his sister.<sup>66</sup> Cieza de León records the same rule for the natives of Riobamba and for the Hatuncañari and implies that it held true "for the other natives of these parts."<sup>67</sup> Among the Guancavilcas of Puerto Viejo "the chiefship is inherited by the son (according to the account which they gave me), and, failing sons, then the next brother, and failing brothers, the sons of the sisters."<sup>68</sup>

The Cañaris (and probably other members of the Quito confederacy as well) had a moiety division on the basis of Upper and Lower—evi-

<sup>62</sup> Cieza de León, 1864, 49, 64, 73, 74, 75, 78, 83, 84, 89, 103, 116.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 84, 103, 116.

<sup>65</sup> Joyce, 1912, 22.

<sup>66</sup> F. Gonzalez Suarez, 1890, 38-39; Verneau and Rivet, 1912, 20.

<sup>67</sup> Cieza de León, 1864 ed., 160-162.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

dently identical with the type which prevailed over the Inca empire. Sarmiento de Gamboa's account is that after the traditional deluge

there was friendship between the women and the Cañari brothers, and one of the Cañari brothers had connexion with one of the women. Then, as the elder brother was drowned in a lake which was near, the survivor married one of the women, and had the other as a concubine. By them he had ten sons who formed two lineages of five each [i.e., one lineage from each woman], and increasing in numbers they called one Hanansaya which is the same as the upper party, and the other Hurinsaya, or the lower party. From these all the Cañaris that now exist are descended.<sup>69</sup>

The words Hanansaya and Hurinsaya are from the Quechua, but the institution itself undoubtedly antedated the Inca conquest—as it did over the greater part of the empire. This is reasonably direct evidence of the existence of matrilineal moieties. Unfortunately we are without information whether they were exogamous or were associated with other social and ceremonial usages.

#### THE INCA EMPIRE

No part of the New World can boast a greater array of materials relating to its pre-European culture than the area comprising the ancient empire of the Incas. The numerous and frequently voluminous works of the earliest Spanish chroniclers were shortly followed by those of surviving members of the Inca dynasty.<sup>70</sup> More recent times have seen a host of commentaries, critiques, archaeological monographs, and miscellaneous works. The early chroniclers have given admirable accounts of the Inca political system—here was something tangible, an organization comprehensible in terms of European institutions. But their descriptions of the more esoteric aspects of Peruvian society are invariably brief, usually confusing, often inaccurate—the result of lack of interest and understanding. The newly literate remnants of the Inca nobility did little better. Often their words were intended for the ears of the conquering Spaniards, not seldom they show actual lack of knowledge of their own vanishing institutions. Yet even in this confusion there is something of order—a few salient points which emerge with some degree of clarity.

<sup>69</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1907 ed., 31.

<sup>70</sup> E.g., The Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti-Yamqui Salcamayhua.

### *The Ayllu*

"All students of the subject recognize that the *ayllu* . . . is the fundamental social group common to all Andean societies, great and small, ancient and modern."<sup>71</sup> The *ayllu* was and is a consanguine group, sometimes resembling a lineage but more commonly conforming closely to the clan or sib in the modern ethnological sense. The members of an *ayllu* recognized a common bond, that of descent from a clan ancestor who had some supernatural experience which assured him the protection of a supernatural being, often of animal form. The *ayllus* were named from traditional ancestors, plants, animals, natural phenomena, or localities.<sup>72</sup> There was a certain amount of communism in property, especially in land, within the *ayllu*. The *ayllu* was almost certainly exogamous.<sup>73</sup> The rule of exogamy is no longer enforced, though most of the other features of the *ayllu* still persist. Bandelier's studies of old church records indicate that by the seventeenth century marriages had become almost indiscriminately exogamous and endogamous.<sup>74</sup> Actually the *ayllus* may have been only derivatively exogamous, the rule in reality applying to the larger units (the moieties), but this is by no means certain.

### *The Moiety*

All the early chroniclers describe the *ayllu*, but they seldom mention the dual division. The moiety was as widespread an institution as the *ayllu*, but it was a more formal one. Its main functions seem to have been ceremonial rather than purely social. The early writers nourished the belief that nearly all the elements of high culture were instituted by the Inca dynasty, that the pre-Inca period was one of barbarism, of social and political chaos. This quaint idea was founded on the traditional accounts of the foundation and expansion of the empire. Garcilasso's account of the foundation of Cuzco is typical:

In this manner he [Manco Capac] began to settle this our imperial city, dividing it into two parts, called Hanan Cuzco, which . . . means Upper Cuzco, and Hurin Cuzco, which is Lower Cuzco. The people who followed the king wished to settle in Hanan Cuzco, and for that reason it received the name; and those who were gathered together by the Queen settled in Hurin Cuzco, and it was therefore called the lower town.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Means, 1931, 286. Means, however, errs in confusing the *ayllu* with the tribe. With villages and communities divided into moieties (see below) and these moieties divided into varying numbers of *ayllus*, obviously the *ayllu* cannot well be a tribe in the ordinary sense of the term.

<sup>72</sup> See, e.g., Latcham, 1927; 1927-28; Means, 1925, Uhle, 1911, where full references to the sources are given.

<sup>73</sup> Bandelier, 1910, 86, 88, 146.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1:67.

Other chroniclers assign the division to Pachacutec or Tupac Inca Yupanqui. Santillan, for example, gives the latter credit for the establishment of the Hanan-Hurin division throughout the empire.<sup>76</sup>

Though the moiety division may have been made more uniform in type and in name by the Incas it certainly antedated their conquests. It was an institution among the Cañaris of Ecuador.<sup>77</sup> Farther south it was known among the peoples in the general region of Cajamarca and Chachapoyas—where it still persists. Sarmiento relates that

thirty leagues to the west of Cuzco there is a province called Andahuaylas, the names of the natives of it being Chancas. In this province there were two Sinchis [war chiefs] . . . They were brothers. Uscovilca being the elder and principal one, instituted a tribe [i.e., lineage] which he called Hanan-Chancas or upper Chancas. Ancovilca formed another tribe called Hurin-Chancas.<sup>78</sup>

The descendants of these people instituted a war against the Incas, and were led into battle by two war chiefs, i.e., one for each moiety.

The dual division was known throughout the Inca empire. Matienzo says :

In every district there are two divisions (*parcialidades*), one of which is known as *anansaya* and the other as *urinsaya*. Each of these divisions has a head chief who gives orders to the sub-chiefs of his own division but who has no authority over those of the other division, except that the head chief of *anansaya* is the real head chief for the whole province and is obeyed by the head chief of *urinsaya*, and he holds a higher place than any other. Those of the *anansaya* division are seated on the right side [in ceremonials], and those of *urinsaya* on the left hand, in lower seats which are called *duos*. Each head chief of a division is head of eight ayllus, and each ayllu has its head, all being seated in proper order, those of *urinsaya* on the left hand behind their head chief, and those of *anansaya* on the right. The head chief of *anansaya* ranks above all others, and holds authority over those of *urinsaya*.<sup>79</sup>

While Matienzo's statements are over-formalized, especially as regards the uniform number of ayllus, his observations are confirmed in the main by others among the earliest writers.

Over an undetermined part of the Sierra the moiety division still persists. Bandelier, after noting the Hanan-Hurin division of Cuzco remarks that

Under the names Aran-Saya and Ma-Saya, analogous divisions are met with among the Aymará everywhere, and were found among them, together with the ayllu, by the Spaniards. At the present day the village of Tiahuanaco is divided into Aran-saya and Ma-saya, the former embracing what lies north, the latter what lies south, of the central square. In the older church books of Tiahuanaco the two "sayas" are noticed occasionally, the ayllu always.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Santillan, 1879.    <sup>77</sup> See above, p. 374.    <sup>78</sup> Sarmiento, 1907 ed., 87-88.

<sup>79</sup> Matienzo, 1910. The work was written in the sixteenth century.

<sup>80</sup> Bandelier, 1910, 84.

In 1930, while engaged in an archaeological reconnaissance, I spent a few hours in the village of Cajamarquilla in the Marañon valley. I was informed that the town was divided into two wards separated by a street which cut through the main plaza. Those who lived on one side of this line were known collectively as the *ichus* (a mountain grass), those on the other as the *allaucas* (a cultivated plant resembling the potato). According to local tradition each moiety had a distinct origin, having come from more ancient settlements bordering a pair of lakes higher in the cordillera. There was and still is a more or less formal animosity between the two parties, each keeping to its own side of the plaza in the performance of planting, harvest, and other ceremonies. Legend has it that at the time of the Inca conquest one moiety favored resistance, the other submission. I did not learn of other usages relating to the moieties.<sup>81</sup>

*Functions of the moieties.*—The foregoing materials give definite information on a few of the political and socio-religious aspects of the dual division in ancient times. A few other items are worthy of note. In the ceremony of *situa*, celebrated in Cuzco in August or September, the major and ancestral (clan?) deities were placed on altars in the plaza of Hucapata and adored. The celebrants (royalty, nobility, and commoners) were divided according to their moiety affiliation into two groups facing each other on either side of the plaza.<sup>82</sup> Among the modern Aymarás

Every band of dancers is divided into two groups, each with its director; one group representing Aran-saya and the other Ma-saya. At Tiahuanaco it was asserted that each of these clusters danced on its own side of the square, the Aran-sayas on the north, the Ma-sayas on the south, and that if one section trespassed upon the ground of the other, bloody conflicts would ensue. We noticed such a division in church, but at the dances the confusion became so great, that it was impossible to ascertain anything.<sup>83</sup>

Both early and modern writers have asserted that the Hanan-Hurin division was based on location within a settlement and thereby on time of arrival—the theory being that those of Hurin (Lower), arriving first, occupied the lower, richer parts of towns and valleys, while those of Hanan (Upper) were later immigrants who had no choice but to occupy the upper and less desirable sections.<sup>84</sup> The analytical conclusion is as

<sup>81</sup> The term *ichu* may also signify "lower." Means translates *Ichupampa* as "lower town" (Fall of the Inca Empire, New York, 1932, explanation of fig. 6).

Aside from Bandelier's researches, practically nothing is known of modern survivals of ancient customs in the Andean region. There are indications that careful studies in the area would assist greatly in the reconstruction of the ancient cultures.

<sup>82</sup> Cunow, 1929, 61–64.

<sup>83</sup> Bandelier, 1910, 119.

<sup>84</sup> See, e.g., Uhle, 1910; Urteaga, 1931; Sivirichi, 1930.

naïve as the native tradition on which it is founded. That such a uniform series of events with such uniform and unique results should have taken place in every village and valley in the vast region is, to say the least, highly improbable. A more plausible interpretation is that the Peruvian moieties represent a purely conventional organization comparable to the moieties of other parts of the New World, and that except by accident (as at Cuzco) the terms Hanan and Hurin were not descriptive of geographical situation but were merely formal designations. This is borne out by a study of other conventional moiety references. Garcilasso mentions some of them :

He [the Inca Manco Capac] ordered that there should be only one difference between them as a mark of superiority, which was that the people of Upper Cuzco should be looked upon and respected as elder brothers, and those of Cuzco as younger brothers; that they should be, in short, as a right and left arm, on any occasion of precedence, the one as having been brought there by a man, and the other by a woman. In imitation of this division, a similar arrangement was made in all the towns, large or small of our empire, which were separated into wards according to the lineages of the families, which were called *Hanan-Ayllu* and *Hurin-Ayllu*, that is, upper and lower lineage; or *Hanan-Suyu* and *Hurin-Suyu*, or the upper and lower provinces.<sup>85</sup>

The ayllus were exogamous, but possibly derivatively so—the moieties may have been the exogamous units. The evidence is tenuous but suggestive. At certain times in the year the Inca officiated at the marriage ceremonies of eligible members of the nobility, then “on the following day, deputed his ministers to marry, with the same ceremonies, the other sons and daughters of citizens, *preserving the distinction between the inhabitants of upper and lower Cuzco.*”<sup>86</sup> The hypothesis is strengthened by an analysis of Quechua kinship terms which show brother-sister terms for all parallel cousins with distinct terms for cross-cousins—features more in harmony with a moiety than with a clan organization. Cousin marriage was common<sup>87</sup> and that this was cross-cousin marriage is indicated by the use of son-daughter terms for the children of cross-cousins of sex opposite to that of the speaker.<sup>88</sup>

There is some evidence that the Inca-ship was held by members of the Hanan and Hurin groups alternately, i.e., if the reigning Inca were of the Hanan group his successor must be of the Hurin group, and so on. Of this Cieza de León says :

Some Indians even wished to have it understood one Inca had to be of one of these lineages and the next of the other. But I do not hold this to be certain, nor is it what the Orejones [nobles] relate.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Garcilasso de la Vega, 1869–71, 1:67.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 307. Italics mine.

<sup>87</sup> Means, 1931, 361.

<sup>88</sup> Cunow, 1929.

<sup>89</sup> Cieza de León, 1883 ed., 102.

At the time of Huascar's capture in the civil war between himself and Atahualpa, Huascar remarked to one of his captors (Quiz-Quiz, one of Atahualpa's captains): "Leave off these arguments. This is a question between me and my brother, and not between the parties of Hanan-cuzco and Hurin-cuzco."<sup>90</sup> This may mean nothing more than a standing rivalry between the two moieties, or it may refer to the alternating succession.

### *Descent*

The question of the type of reckoning in vogue in the Inca empire is one of the most vexing problems in Andean sociology. It is obvious that if the evidence were definite one way or another there would have been no need for the involved and inconclusive arguments presented by the protagonists of the various sides.

Most of the early chroniclers indicate patrilineal descent within the ayllu either by implication or by direct statement. For example, the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega says "the Incas did not value descent by the female line, lest it should degrade their royal blood from its purity."<sup>91</sup> But does this imply that aside from the royal line the people *did* "value" descent in the female line?

Most modern students likewise seem to favor patrilineal descent. Bandelier and Latcham are exceptions. Cunow favors patrilineal descent for the (late?) Inca period with matrilineal reckoning preceding it. Bandelier remarks on the Aymara:

With the intermingling and shifting of clans [ayllus], the changes wrought thereby and the formation of new ones, it is not easy now to detect primitive customs in regard to marriage, naming of children and interment. It seems certain, however, that marriage originally was exogamous, with descent in the female line.<sup>92</sup>

. . . Even the Cuzco Indians (the Inca) seem, as I shall establish elsewhere,<sup>93</sup> to have had descent in the female line. I limit myself to quoting from the Ordinances of Toledo (Ordenanzas del Perú, Lib. II, Tit. IX, fol. 144): "Primarily, because among the Indians it is the custom that when a woman of one ayllu, or settlement, marries a man of another district, or ayllu, and the husband dies leaving children, those who were head chiefs to the woman before her marriage compel her to return to the district or ayllu to which she belonged originally, and to bring the children which she had by her husband, I ORDER, and declare, that when an Indian woman of one district, settlement, and ayllu marries a man of another, they should leave the children which he has had by her in the district, region, and ayllu to which the father was tributary (because they will belong to that group, while she returns to her district, or ayllu, if her chiefs or headmen request), and that they [the chiefs] allow her to remain some time with her children until such a time as the youngest is eight years old or more, so they will not be without her before that time." The title of this section is still more conclusive: *That the children follow and acknowledge the ayllu and district of their*

<sup>90</sup> Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1907 ed., 184.

<sup>92</sup> Bandelier, 1910, 84.

<sup>91</sup> *Op. cit.*, 1:97.

<sup>93</sup> But which he seems not to have done.

father and not that of the mother. It proves that marriage was exogamous, and that succession in the male line was a change introduced by Spanish legislation at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>94</sup>

This is important evidence and coupled with the protesting-too-much of some of the early chroniclers it certainly indicates mother-right in some sections of the empire, but not necessarily for the Incas.

Latcham has made an intensive study of the subject,<sup>95</sup> but his use of evidence which is neither pro nor con lessens the force of his argument that mother-right prevailed in the entire region conquered by the Incas. One of his best arguments runs as follows: Some of the ayllu (royal and ordinary) were referred to as *panaca*, "which means 'descended from sisters,' from *pana* sister of the father; *panay* sisterhood or the group of sisters. The equivalent terms used by the Aymará tribes where the sister was called *colla*, was *collaca*, the name given to the clan or ayllu."<sup>96</sup> Cunow uses the same argument as proving that the ancient society of Peru "must have existed in a full state of maternal right, an idea thus conceived in the pre-Inca epoch."<sup>97</sup>

For that part of the empire along the Chilean coast Latcham gives rather convincing evidence of maternal descent for certain districts. He quotes Herrera to the effect that in the valley of Copiapo (Atacama district) there was a "principal chief of the valley, who had for wife a woman who was heiress to the whole valley; because there they inherit by the mothers, and being married the husband governs."<sup>98</sup> In the valleys of Mapocho and Maipo (Santiago district) the same customs were in vogue.<sup>99</sup>

Information on the social organization of the Inca empire is far more scanty than data on its political organization. The resulting picture is incomplete, distorted, blurred. But in spite of conflicting observations certain points emerge with some degree of clarity. The ayllu (or clan) was the fundamental social unit. It was based on a tie of real or fictitious consanguinity, with worship of the clan ancestor and the linked supernatural helper. There was no belief in descent from a "totem." Marriage within the ayllu was forbidden. The ayllu was frequently a local group. The ayllus were grouped into two larger units or moieties, with five and eight clans under each as conventional numbers. The moieties were usually called the Upper and Lower, but were also referred to as Right and Left, Elder and Younger, or Male and Female. There is some

<sup>94</sup> Bandelier, 1910, 146. Translation mine.

<sup>95</sup> See his works of 1927 and 1927-28.

<sup>96</sup> Latcham, 1927, 77-78; 1927-28, 1063 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Cunow, 1929, 70-71; Uhle, 1911.

<sup>98</sup> Latcham, 1924, 328.

<sup>99</sup> Latcham, 1927-28, 1048.



reason for supposing that the moieties may have been exogamous, and that chiefships and the Inca-ship alternated between them. There is no definite evidence as to the type of descent, the kinship terms being applicable to either type. There is some reason for assuming maternal descent in some districts—as is shown by the ordinances of the viceroys. The fact that the clan ancestors were usually referred to as females (*huacas*, etc.) and that many ayllus were called “descended-from-sisters-ayllus” (*panaca*) also indicates maternal descent—at least in former times. Marriage of the Inca with his sister may represent an attempt to establish a dynasty with succession in the male line without disruption of the rule of matrilineal descent.

#### THE ARAUCANIANS

The most suggestive evidence regarding sib organization among the Araucanians comes from Father Valdivia:

Besides these relationships, the Indians have another kind of kinship of surnames, which they call *cüga*, like lineages, and these are to be found in all the provinces from Concepcion south, on the coast as well as in the cordillera, and they may all be reduced to about twenty. . . . And there is not an Indian that has not one of these surnames, which mean sun, lion, frog, fox, etc. And they hold each other in great respect, those who are all of one surname are called *Quiñelacu* (of one name).

And again:

I then apportioned all the chiefs on this side of the river (Imperial) by their *levos* (clans), each one by his name, which are like surnames, and by which the Indians recognize their subjection to their superiors.<sup>100</sup>

These statements make it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Araucanians had some sort of clan system. Latham makes it clear that there was no idea of descent from the eponym, though the eponym was regarded by clan members “as their special tutelary being or totem.”<sup>101</sup> The clan was the exogamic unit and matrimonial alliances between pairs of clans were common.<sup>102</sup> Far less convincing is his argument that descent was matrilineal, but changed to patrilineal under Spanish influence. It may be significant that personal names referred to the clan eponym (the eponym being often incorporated in a compounded personal name) and that frequently it was the mother’s clan name which was thus referred to. No other ethnologist has control of such a mass of source material and none other has made such a detailed analysis of the situation. But his published data give an impression of a predilection

<sup>100</sup> Quoted by Latham, 1927, 63, and 1924, 312.

<sup>101</sup> Latham, 1927, 65, 69.

<sup>102</sup> Latham, 1927–28, 1065–1066.

for matrilineal institutions. However, until the evidence is re-examined one has only Hobson's choice, and I therefore assign the Araucanians to the matrilineal group of peoples.

#### THE NON-ANDEAN REGION<sup>103</sup>

In this vast area there seem to be four more or less unrelated areas where unilateral kinship groups are outstanding features of the social organizations. These are: (1) the Guiana-West Indies region—east from the Goajira peninsula to the Amazon mouth with an ill-defined boundary to the northeast of the Rio Negro and north of the Amazon; (2) the Western Amazon region, including southeast Colombia, eastern Ecuador and Peru, and a section of northwest Brazil; (3) the Matto Grosso; (4) the regions occupied by the Tupi tribes (now much scattered but formerly centering along the eastern coast of Brazil). For none of these areas, in fact for no single tribe, is there anything like a detailed description. Modern ethnography has added little to the superficial, rather casual studies of, e.g., Simons (*ca.* 1885) and Im Thurn (*ca.* 1883). It is rather depressing to find professional ethnologists failing to record (fifty years after the publication of Morgan's great works) essential elements relating to social organization and kinship terminology, and publishing descriptions which are often as inadequate and naïve as those of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century!

#### *The Guiana-West Indies Region*

*Arawak tribes.*—There seems to be no exception to the general observation that all these were organized on a unilateral basis, with exogamic matrilineal clans which are more or less localized among some tribes (but not all) and which take their names from various plants and animals. As is expectable with localized clans, the number of groups is variable, sometimes being upwards of fifty. Among some tribes at least there is a belief in actual descent from the eponym, most clan names being of the type which implies descent, e.g., "from a tortoise."<sup>104</sup>

Among the tribes living along the Guiana coast a man may not marry anyone of his village nor within his own clan in other villages. I.e., there

<sup>103</sup> For this part of South America I have made extensive use of Paul Kirchoff's valuable study, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 63:85-193, 1932).

<sup>104</sup> Im Thurn, 1883, 185. The clans are referred to as "families," "estates," "castes," and so on by various writers, but all agree regarding the type of descent and the exogamic features.

is both local and clan exogamy.<sup>105</sup> Among other groups simple clan exogamy was the rule. There are some hints of cross-cousin marriage among some of the groups but the data are too vague to allow of certainty. Thus Brett records that the members of the Demaréna clan married only members of the Korobohána clan, which would be the father's clan.<sup>106</sup> This creates a suspicion of cross-cousin mating, yet only for the Wapisiana and Mapidians—the only Arawaks of the general region who are reported to have patrilineal descent—is cross-cousin marriage recorded.<sup>107</sup> Cross-cousin marriage as permissible, if not favored, is implied in Roth's statement that "among the Arawaks and Warraus, sexual union between certain degrees of cousinship is regarded in the same light as is incest by Europeans."<sup>108</sup>

The Palikur are among the peoples of the region with a moiety organization.<sup>109</sup> There are seven clans (with reports of others, or others extinct) which are grouped into two larger divisions (or moieties) which are called, respectively, the Above and Below.<sup>110</sup> The clans are exogamous, but we have Kirchoff's statement that all Lokono (Coast Arawak) tribes have exogamous moieties ("phratries").<sup>111</sup> Despite Nimuendajú's statement that descent is patrilineal,<sup>112</sup> the Palikur must be classed with the other Coast Arawak as counting descent through the mother.

Far to the west, inhabiting the Goajira peninsula, live another Arawak tribe, the Goajira, who, like their eastern kinsmen, have exogamic matrilineal clans. Most of the clan designations are those of animals. Traditionally, at least, the groups are localized and there are considerable differences in wealth, wealthy clans living in the lowlands, poor units in the mountains. Each clan has its chief who is a sort of local patriarch. Inheritance and succession is from a man to his sister's son, and there seems to be a well developed avuncular relation. The clan functions as a group in blood revenge and in the negotiations for payment of blood money.<sup>113</sup>

The Wapisianas and Mapidians differ from all other northern Arawaks in having patrilineal descent. At any rate this is what we must infer from Farabee's statement that "the Wapisianas are exogamic and

<sup>105</sup> Kirchoff, 1932, 148.

<sup>106</sup> Brett, n.d., 179.

<sup>107</sup> Farabee, 1918, 93-95, 159.

<sup>108</sup> Roth, 1915, 318-319.

<sup>109</sup> Nimuendajú, 1926.

<sup>110</sup> "Obere" and "Untere." *Ibid.*, 22-23, 132.

<sup>111</sup> Kirchoff, 1932, 190.

<sup>112</sup> Nimuendajú, 1926, 22-23. The conclusion is evidently based on an informant's statement that, because his father was a Creole, he belonged to no clan but was a Creole! Cf. Kirchoff, 148.

<sup>113</sup> Stutzer, 1927, 135-143; Simons, 1885, 781-796.

polygamous in their marriage relations. Inheritance is in the male line" and marriage patrilocal. "By custom a man must marry his [cross] cousin," either mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter serving. If these are lacking a second [cross?] cousin is the customary mate. The same author implies a moiety organization by the statement that "the number of cousins in the two groups may not be equal in any one generation"—though this may mean only in the groups formed by father-kin and mother-kin. Kin terms seem to follow the "clan" type, with parallel cousins called by brother-sister terms. The Mapidians are said to adhere to the same social customs as the Wapisiana.<sup>114</sup>

Some, perhaps all, of the Arawaks of the Antilles had matrilineal clans, but our information regarding them is so sketchy that it is impossible to determine the nature of the clan organization. According to Fewkes:<sup>115</sup>

The office [of cacique or clan chief] was generally inherited by the eldest son, but in case a cacique had no sons it passed not to his brother's but to his sister's son. If the office were inherited from the mother, the nearest relative of the mother inherited it, following the matriarchal right of succession. Women caciques were recognized in both Haiti and Porto Rico, but their true status in Antillean sociology, in all its details, is not known. . . . As a rule each village seems to have had a chieftain or patriarchal head of the clan composing it.

Figures of stone or wood which represented the clan ancestors were kept in the houses of the clan chiefs. Villages sometimes bore the name of the clan chief—though this may mean that the chief inherited a conventional village or clan title.<sup>116</sup>

Meager as these data are, they link up with those from the Guianas and enable us to make the reasonable assumption that the Island Arawak had a social organization essentially like that of their mainland kinsmen. The custom of passing the office of chief to a son and, failing sons, to the son of a sister is remarkably like that found in Andean Ecuador and Colombia.

*The Carib.*—Materials for the social organization of the Carib tribes, both Island and Northern Mainland, are even more inadequate than those for the Arawak. Except among a few of the Island Carib (who may have been matrilinear<sup>117</sup>) the social organization of the Carib seems to have been based on patrilineal clans which seem to have had formal (totemic) names but seldom. Cross-cousin mating was the customary type of marriage, though other preferential matings were known.

<sup>114</sup> Farabee, 1918, 93-99, 159.

<sup>116</sup> Fewkes, 1907, 33, 53-60.

<sup>115</sup> Fewkes, 1907, 33, 47; and Kirchoff, 141.

<sup>117</sup> Kirchoff, 141.

Roth states that he has made "personal inquiry among Carib, Warrau, Akawai, Macusi, Patamona, Taurepang, and Wapishana and can find nothing corresponding with these so-called family [i.e., clan] names of the Arawak."<sup>118</sup> Cross-cousin marriage is indicated by the fact that "a Taurepang [Arekuna] cannot live with his mother's sister's daughter, but he can with his mother's brother's daughter; also with his father's brother's [?] and father's sister's daughter."<sup>119</sup>

The Macusi "are exogamous and monogamous. A boy marries his cross-cousin; either his father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter, and goes to live with his wife in her mother's house."<sup>120</sup> Macusi kin terms conform to the classificatory pattern in that parallel cousins are distinguished from cross-cousins and father's brother and father are called by the same term.<sup>121</sup> Despite claims that the Macusi have matrilineal descent<sup>122</sup> or represent an "intermediate condition" between mother-right and father-right we must assign them to the patrilinear group: as is shown by the fact that a man may marry his sister's daughter (which would be within his own clan with maternal descent).<sup>123</sup>

Among the Aparai, children belong to the clan ("familie") of the father, and the father is the natural head of the family. Residence is patrilocal. The preferred form of marriage is that of a man and his father's sister's daughter, or lacking such he may marry another but may not marry his sister.<sup>124</sup>

Among the scattered Carib groups of the Guiana coast the preferred marriage is with a cross-cousin, though marriage with a sister's daughter is also regarded favorably. A son may inherit his father's widow, presumably not his own mother.<sup>125</sup> All this makes the existence of patrilinear clans very probable.<sup>126</sup>

The Island Carib seem to have had essentially the same social customs and organization as those living on the mainland. The Kallinago of the Lesser Antilles, e.g., preferred marriages between a man and his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter, or between a man and his sister's daughter. Marriages between parallel cousins were forbidden. Kin terms follow the classificatory pattern.<sup>127</sup> This undoubtedly means the existence of patrilinear sibs. Among the Black Carib (Garif) "Polygamy is in existence, but only very seldom does a man

<sup>118</sup> Roth, 1924, 674.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 672-673.

<sup>120</sup> Farabee, 1924, 76.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 81; Schomburgk, 1847-48, 2:318.

<sup>122</sup> Schomburgk, 1847-48, 2:321.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 318; see Kirchoff, 108 ff.

<sup>124</sup> Speiser, 1926, 162-166.

<sup>125</sup> Kirchoff, 135-136.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 137-141.

keep more than one woman in the same village. . . . A man generally marries his female cousin, that is, the daughter of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, but the children of two brothers or of two sisters are considered related to each other as brother and sister."<sup>128</sup>

*Other tribes.*—Among the Cumanágotó, Palenque, and Chayma of northern Venezuela—extinct tribes of varied speech—there were social customs comparable to those of the Carib. Cross-cousin marriage was in vogue, but a man might also marry his sister's daughter. Father and father's brother were called by the same term, as were mother and mother's sister. The term for mother's brother was the same as for father-in-law.<sup>129</sup> These points indicate patrilinear unilateral groups.

The Warrau are the only group in the Guianas who speak neither Carib nor Arawak. Our knowledge of their social organization is too limited and obscure to allow any statement regarding sibs. Inheritance and succession seem to be from a man to his daughter's son, instead of to a brother's or sister's son.<sup>130</sup>

#### *The Western Amazon Region*

Tribes with and tribes without clans are scattered rather indiscriminately over this region, with the former perhaps in the majority. Without exception the clans seem to be patrilinear and localized—sometimes limited to one village, sometimes to a single large communal dwelling which thus constitutes a one-house village. Over these clan-villages rule clan chiefs, each chief being at the same time a sort of household chief. With clan exogamy and patrilocal residence the men, children, and unmarried women belong to the local sib, the wives to other groups. The source material is not all that could be desired, despite imposing monographs.

Marriage customs vary from tribe to tribe, from region to region. According to Farabee the Amahuaca (Panoan), Mocheyenga and Piro (Arawak), and Uitoto "marry within the tribe but outside their own village."<sup>131</sup> Whiffen claims that a man may marry any woman of another village, even his mother's sister's daughter. Tessmann states that parallel-cousin marriage is not permitted but that cross-cousin marriage is allowed.<sup>132</sup> The natives of the Icana river favor marriages between relatives (cousins, uncle and niece, aunt and nephew) while in the

<sup>128</sup> Conzemius, 1928, 193.

<sup>129</sup> Kirchoff, 142-143.

<sup>132</sup> This applies to the Uitoto, Bora, Ocaina, and Muinane. Kirchoff, 171.

<sup>130</sup> Kirchoff, 143-147.

<sup>131</sup> Farabee, 1922, 16, 59, 107.

Uaupes river country marriages between relatives are rare.<sup>133</sup> No source tells much more than this regarding social organization.

Tessmann lists the following tribes as having well-defined exogamic sibs: Uitoto, Bora, Ocáina, Muinane, Yagua, and Ticuna.<sup>134</sup> Less certain are the tribes with clans which are similar to localized subtribes, yet exogamic as regards father's group: Cocama, Cashibo, Lamisto, Quichos, Ssabela (?), Iquito-Cahuarano, and Yameo.<sup>135</sup> In nearly all cases the groups are named from plants and animals; and in some cases at least, the clan members do not eat the totem animal. Blood revenge is a sib affair.<sup>136</sup> Tessmann, however (as Kirchoff has shown)<sup>137</sup> for all his "method," is careless in his use of terms, and his data regarding sibs are not altogether clear. But with some evidence from other sources available we can safely say that the first group of tribes mentioned (i.e., Uitoto, Bora, etc.) have genuine clans.

Unfortunately our data on the Arawak tribes of the Icana-Caiary-Uaupes region are limited to bare statements regarding patrilocal groups which adhere to the rule of local exogamy. The kinship systems which have been recorded give no aid, being simply native equivalents of European terms! There is pretty certain evidence, however, for cross-cousin marriage.<sup>138</sup> The situation is only partially clarified by Domville-Fife's observations:

The Uaupé nation, or Uaupécare, as it is called is divided into twenty-one subtribes speaking fifteen different dialects. Each of these has been given a name in keeping with the principal characteristics or custom. There are thus Tapuras (tapirs), Tucunderas (ants), Banhunas and Cubeus (cannibals), Tucanos (toucans), Piriacurus (fish), Pisas (nets), and other branches, all inhabiting the malarious valley of this long winding river.

There is a custom that forbids intermarriage among themselves. When a bride cannot be obtained in battle against a neighboring tribe then the would-be bridegroom must seek a mate from certain branches of the Uaupé nation which are known as intermarrying tribes.<sup>139</sup>

A reasonable interpretation of this is that the "sub-tribes" represent localized clans and that the "intermarrying tribes" are like the intermarrying pairs of clans of some of the Guiana Arawak (see above).

The kinship terms of the Hianakoto and Umaua (Carib tribes) are of the classificatory type and give evidence of cross-cousin marriage (moth-

<sup>133</sup> Kirchoff, 162-165, quoting Koch-Grünberg and Wallace.

<sup>134</sup> Tessmann, 1930, 762.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 67, 79, 127-128, 221, 232, 238, 247, 298, 513, 565.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 128, 150.

<sup>137</sup> Kirchoff, 171.

<sup>138</sup> Kirchoff, 159-165.

<sup>139</sup> Domville-Fife, 1924, 192.

er's brother's daughter).<sup>140</sup> The nomenclature of the Tukano-speaking tribes of this area is imperfectly recorded but seems to follow the same pattern, but is without indications of cousin marriage.<sup>141</sup>

### *The Matto Grosso*

Here the story is the old one of data lacking, fragmentary, or obscure. An indefinite number of tribes of the area have clans, all of which are evidently of the mother-right type. Our fullest information is for the Cherentes, a tribe living on the upper Tocantins, which Schmidt classifies as of the Tšarrau or Tšana stock.

#### The Cherente

have an institution, which has existed for ages and which divides them into two groups. The first group, the more aristocratic, is that of the *si-da-cran* (*cran* = head), whose members distinguish themselves by a bracket-shaped sign painted on the cheek on feast days. The other group is called *si-ptá-tó*, whose sign is a black-bordered circle. There is an official marker . . . for each group. The office is hereditary, and is performed for each group by a member of the other group. He has a certain spiritual character that allows him to intervene in the feasts, in disputes, etc. . . . Marriages are made between members of the opposite groups; it is said that the groups were established to avoid marriages between relations and to form a small race . . . The Cherentes have a small cemetery . . . with graves . . . Every year the cemetery and the graves are cleaned. The gravedigger . . . always belongs to a group other than that of the dead person.

The first-mentioned group is regarded as the "elder" and superior. To strangers all Cherente make claims of belonging to it instead of the "younger," inferior division.<sup>142</sup> We are not informed as to the type of descent but presumably it is maternal, since neighboring sib-tribes so reckon.

According to Schmidt the Bororo have totemism and exogamy in an outspoken form—which thereby fits them into his second Kulturkreis with father-right, totemism, and exogamy.<sup>143</sup>

Petrullo describes villages averaging five houses. Each household has its headman.

The heads of households are interrelated, often being brothers. In each household a number of families live together, each having its own possessions, and its own section of the hut. Such a household generally consists of the headman and his wife, his unmarried children and the married females with their husbands and children. The young man goes to live in the house of his wife's father, but when he is capable of it he may build his own house.

There is a nominal head to the village. His authority however is limited to the ceremonial; in other things he is more of a counsellor than a leader.

<sup>140</sup> Kirchoff, 165.

<sup>142</sup> Oliveira, 1912.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 165-166.

<sup>143</sup> W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, 1924, 118.



The women are actually the authoritative persons in the village. Succession and inheritance is traced through them, and though the stranger deals with the men, they consult with their women in everything and refuse to do anything unless the women are compliant.<sup>144</sup>

Petrullo's study deals in general with the Bakairi, Kayapo, Bororo, Anahukua, Mehinaku, Aura, Tsuva, Kuikutl, Kalapalu, Naravute, Kamayula, and Auiti.<sup>145</sup> Among them are tribes of Carib, Arawak, Tupi, and other stocks. I am not certain that his remarks regarding social customs are intended to apply to all indiscriminately. At any rate, coupled with Oliveira's material on the Cherentes it enables us to state that matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence are fairly common in the Matto Grosso, with moieties and totemism among certain tribes. Other than these the data seem to be lacking.

### *The Coastal Tupi Tribes*

Kirchoff has summarized most of the material available for these long extinct tribes. The commonest forms of marriage were between cousin and cousin and between uncle and niece. Paternal uncle and nephew used father-son terms, and a man regarded his brother's daughter as "daughter," she him as "father." Marriage between this pair was forbidden. Kinship on the mother's side was not regarded as equivalent to kinship on the father's side. As among the Guiana and Antillean tribes marriage was matrilocal (the son-in-law serving his father-in-law for several years at least). The evidence is perhaps sufficient to confirm Kirchoff's suspicion of patrilineal clans.<sup>146</sup>

## INTER-AREAL RELATIONSHIPS

We have now traced the distribution of unilateral institutions in native America and have summarized some of their outstanding traits in each area. Within each of the areas there are expectable differences in the clan type, in emphasis on special aspects, even differences in the rule of descent. But these differences are more than outweighed by numerous and specific similarities which recur in tribe after tribe. Within each area the proof of historical identity is so obvious that it is unnecessary to elaborate on the evidence. It now remains to show a genetic relationship between area and area.

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<sup>144</sup> Petrullo, 1932, 169.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 182-189.

<sup>146</sup> Kirchoff, 182-189.

## RELATIONSHIP OF THE SOUTHWEST-CALIFORNIA AND EASTERN AREAS

The differences between the unilateral institutions in these two areas are many and expectable, yet a fundamental similarity underlies them. In both regions certain elements cluster about the unilateral units—exogamy, group ownership of sets of personal names, totemic factors, etc. The consistent association of any of these with the idea of unilateral descent is, in itself, some evidence of historical affinity. Even the repeated pattern of affiliating all the children of a couple with the group of *one* of the parents is significant when we think of such possibilities as paternal descent for females, maternal for males, and vice versa; alternation of assignment of children to a group on the basis of order of birth; and assigning each child to a different unit.

Barbeau has traced the distribution of such sib names as Wolf, Bear, Snake, Deer, and others which recur in tribe after tribe in different areas.<sup>147</sup> It is doubtful, however, if these widespread names are significant beyond the fact that spectacular and economically important animals tend to become sib-associated.<sup>148</sup> But the almost universal employment of animal names for sibs takes on significance when it is remembered that moieties are seldom so named, and that natural phenomena or nicknames might, on a priori grounds, just as well be used. The use of plant names for sibs is largely restricted to the intensive agriculturists of the Pueblo and Southeast areas, and is no doubt explicable on the basis of mode of life. Sib designations are important links in the chain of evidence for common origin within any one area but are expectably of less utility in comparing area with area.

Strong presents undeniable proof that the group fetish, usually clan-owned, is one of the basic features of social organization in the Southwest California area.<sup>149</sup> Over a great part of the Eastern area bundles or fetishes of much the same type occur. In the Plains they are often owned by individuals or societies, e.g., among Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Crow, Hidatsa, and Menomini. Clan ownership obtains among Winnebago, Sac, Fox, Mascouten, Ioway, and probably others;<sup>150</sup> village ownership among the Pawnee. "War bundles" occur among Pawnee, Omaha, Oto, Osage, Ioway, Eastern Sioux, Kansa, Sac, Fox, Ojib-

<sup>147</sup> Barbeau, 1917.

<sup>148</sup> As will be noted later, this does not hold for the Northwestern area.

<sup>149</sup> Strong, 1927.

<sup>150</sup> Radin, 1923; Harrington, 1914, 160; Skinner, 1924, 31; 1926, 199.

way, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Iroquois, and Delaware, but it is not always possible to decide the extent to which they are group- or clan-owned.

Even more specific is the use of the corn ear in fetish bundles among many of the Plains and Woodland tribes. It is almost universal in the Pueblo area. In the latter these are often referred to as the "Corn Mothers." Remarkably enough, this same term is also used by the Pawnee and Iroquois, and Delaware (Lenape).<sup>151</sup> Equally specific is the linkage of religious practices with the seasons. This is most outspoken in the Southwest, but in the Eastern area the Menomini and Ioway have bundles associated with the first thunder of the spring, and the Pawnee have a bundle ritual at the beginning of the season of planting.

Other items of a particular nature found in both areas which demonstrate the multiplicity of influences operative between the Eastern and Southwestern areas are: criers for the priests, costuming of shamans to resemble their animal helpers, annual series of ceremonies, phallic or fertility practices attaching to war groups, prayer sticks, offerings (especially of tobacco) to the directions, fetishes of clown societies and the images used in the sun dance, the buffalo headdress, clown masks, ritual purification, jugglery, sun worship, cannibalistic giants, association of the morning star with the war cult, and gods of the directions.<sup>152</sup>

Speck has cited some illuminating evidences of the basic unity of Southeast and Southwest culture:

The new fire rite, which was commonly found throughout the Southeast, has analogies in other regions. A new fire rite was prominent in Mexico and among the Pueblo tribes of the Southwest. The idea of the town shrine also strongly suggests the sacred altars of the southwestern tribes and the shrines or altars concerned in the ceremonies of the tribes of the Plains. In all these altars from the Southwest, across the Plains to the Southeast a common element is to be found in the symbolic paintings or color representations on the ground. As regards the ceremonies of scarification and the taking of the emetic we again find a specialization, in the Southeast, of these features which are, however, widely distributed westward and southward. The scratching operation regarded as a form of torture has distant analogies among nearly all the tribes of the Plains, where the Sun Dance was performed. The emetic ceremony, found prominently in nearly every southeastern tribe, is also traceable across the Plains to the Southwest. . . . There are a number of similarities in detail between the rites of the Plains, the Southeast, and Southwest. Considering the matter as a whole we are led, provisionally, to the opinion that, as regards ceremonials, a

<sup>151</sup> Wissler, 1920, 141; Fewkes, *in* BAE-R 42:12; Harrington, 1921, 43-44. This practice is perhaps linked with a widespread concept of cosmic sex dualism. (See below.) Among the Iroquois the moieties are regarded as male and female, respectively (Hewitt, 1915). This is also true of the Omaha, the Earth moiety being female, the Sky moiety male. Luiseño moieties are color and sex linked.

<sup>152</sup> See, e.g., Parsons, 1929b.

great deal of similarity characterizes the Southern area of North America extending in a sort of zone from the Atlantic along the Gulf and thence westward and southward to what may have been their center of distribution.<sup>153</sup>

By far the strongest evidence of the ultimate historical identity of the unilateral complex in these two areas lies in features clustering around the moiety. The dual grouping is perhaps inherently more stable than multiple clans or gentes. Moiety reciprocity in burial and feasting functions, moiety alignment in councils and games, as well as the concept of opposing attributes or references so often linked with the dual groups would tend to perpetuate such a type of organization. Being less in harmony with multiple sibs, the lesser units might well be less conservative. Although often cited as proof of a single origin of the dual organization these associated features are partly understandable as things which would naturally cluster about dual but not multiple units. The case is different when there are specific resemblances between the linked features found in different tribes or areas.

A division into moieties on the basis of "Summer" and "Winter" is one of the most tangible linkages in the social organization of the Southwestern and Eastern regions. Often it is coupled with a "Winter Chief" from the "Winter" moiety and a "Summer Chief" from the "Summer" moiety. A grouping on this basis is found in the Southwest among all the Tewa groups, at Taos, Isleta, Laguna, Jemez, and Acoma, and ceremonial traces of it among the Hopi and at Zuñi.<sup>154</sup> In the Eastern sib area the Ioway have political authority linked with the moieties. The "Summer Chief" from one of the moieties rules during that season; during the winter a "Winter Chief" from the opposite moiety exercises authority.<sup>155</sup> Something of the sort is implied in Lowie's account of the Hidatsa, where a "Winter Chief" functions during half the year.<sup>156</sup> Among the Pawnee

the north side conducts, or leads, in the winter ceremonies; the south the summer. . . . In all ceremonies the seats of the winter people are in the north half of the circle and those of the summer people in the south half. Officers and functions in the ceremonies are duplicated and the leadership shifts from one side to the other according to the season of the year.<sup>157</sup>

Moieties designated as "War" and "Peace," or directly associated with functions of war and peace, are also found in both areas. In the Southwest this concept is most pronounced among the Navaho. In their

<sup>153</sup> Speck, 1909, 131.

<sup>154</sup> Materials largely from Parsons, 1929a.

<sup>155</sup> Skinner, 1926, 200.

<sup>156</sup> Lowie, 1917, 18.

<sup>157</sup> Murie, 1914, 560, 642.

naté'it ceremony they seem to have used a Plains-like camp circle in which "the Peace Chiefs built their homes on the north side and the War Chiefs on the south in ceremonial order."<sup>158</sup> Traces of the same dichotomy may be seen in the War Priests of Zuñi, and in the thunder war-gods at Zuñi and on the Rio Grande.<sup>159</sup> In the Eastern area the same concepts appear in a more outspoken form. Among the Menomini the offices of peacemakers must be filled by members of gentes which originated in the underworld, and, as in some Southwest groups, the Thunderers are linked with war.<sup>160</sup> The Ponca gentes connected with thunder and warfare camp on the south side of the camp circle—as do the Navaho. The Osage are also dichotomized on the basis of Peace (Left or North) and War (Right or South) sides.<sup>161</sup> Among the Omaha the gentes of the southern half of the circle had charge of the sacred tent of war, while those of the northern half preserved the peace. As in the Southwest, there is a close connection between thunder and warfare.<sup>162</sup> There are indications of a similar dualism among the Kansa.<sup>163</sup>

Among the Winnebago war functions are again connected with the upper world by virtue of being associated with the Hawk or Warrior gens, a member of the "Those who are above" moiety. The function of the Thunderbird clan is reversed as to war-peace, being connected with peace functions, though this is a contradiction in that it "possesses" the war club.<sup>164</sup> In the Southeast the Red and White moieties of the Creek are connected with war and peace respectively. In a myth the "White" side is linked with the "Bird" side (cf. the Winnebago "Birds" or "Those who are above").<sup>165</sup> Although the upper region here reverses its relation to war and peace the very fact of a dualism on this basis is significant.

Even more widespread is the association of colors with moieties. In California this concept is almost universal among tribes with the dual organization. Black and white, red and black, or dots and stripes are the commonest means of denoting the moieties, or are the paints used by

<sup>158</sup> Reichard, 1928, 109.

<sup>159</sup> Goddard, 1921, 118-119.

<sup>160</sup> Skinner, 1915, 24; Hoffman, 1896, 40-41.

<sup>161</sup> Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, 140. There is an undoubted relation, also, between the Ponca custom of assigning gentes which control ice and hail rites to the north side of the circle and the San Juan "Ice-hard" moiety. (Parsons, AAA-M 35.) "Ice" gentes or sub-gentes occur among Ponca, Osage, Kansa, and Quapaw. The association of the upper world or thunder with war is also indicated in the Ponca Thunder or War and Earth moieties (Dorsey, 1891).

<sup>162</sup> Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, 194-195, 403.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>164</sup> Radin, 1923, 209, 218-219; 1915, 34-36.

<sup>165</sup> Swanton, 1928, 157, 164, 165, 436.

them.<sup>166</sup> In the Southwest we find the same association among the Pima and Papago (red and white),<sup>167</sup> at Isleta (red and black),<sup>168</sup> and among the Tewa pueblos (white and yellow or blue).<sup>169</sup> Traces of the same idea are to be seen in the ceremonial traces of moieties at Zuñi, where they are evidently associated with black and red.<sup>170</sup> The Menomini refer to the soldier-police as the "Red Ones."<sup>171</sup> The moieties of the Creek confederacy are Reds and Whites, red being associated with war. The Kickapoo, Sac, Fox, and Mascouten moieties paint black and white respectively.<sup>172</sup> Pawnee moieties also seem to be somewhat associated with colors. In the Northwest, the Loucheux divisions have color references.

Another element commonly associated with the dual grouping is the lacrosse game, or its variants, shinny and football. East of the Mississippi, wherever our data are complete, the moieties seem always to function as opponents. Among the Dakota the moiety concept is not well formulated, and here the clans oppose each other.<sup>173</sup> The Omaha played the game with moieties on opposing sides.<sup>174</sup> Tewa moieties are rivals in the ceremonial hockey game.<sup>175</sup> In California the dual units form sides in the ball game among the Yokuts, Miwok, and Luiseño (?).<sup>176</sup> As mentioned above, the Nevada Washo play a ceremonial football game in which the sides wear distinctive paints. Among the Tlingit the moieties are opponents in the shinny game.<sup>177</sup>

In both the Southwestern and Eastern areas the unilateral complex is associated with a number of specific features which indicate the genetic relationship of the sibs and moieties of the two regions. Similar animals as eponyms, group-owned fetish bundles, and sets of personal names link the sibs. The moieties reveal affinity by their association with colors (usually black and red or red and white), their forming sides in lacrosse and football, and their less frequent but widespread linkage with the opposing concepts of war and peace, winter and summer, or north and south. All these concepts are often, in both regions, inter-

<sup>166</sup> Strong, 1929. The Washo of Nevada have a "moiety" alignment for games only, the opposing sides being painted red and white, respectively. (From Lowie, unpublished material.)

<sup>167</sup> Strong, 1927, 11.

<sup>168</sup> Parsons, 1924, 140-161.

<sup>169</sup> Parsons, 1929a.

<sup>170</sup> Strong, 1927, 13.

<sup>171</sup> Skinner, 1915, 22.

<sup>172</sup> William Jones, 1913, 331-335; M. R. Harrington, 1914, 131; Skinner, 1924, 22.

<sup>173</sup> Pond, 1905-08, 429.

<sup>174</sup> Culin, 1907, 642; Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, 169.

<sup>175</sup> Parsons, 1929a.

<sup>176</sup> Gayton and Gifford, MS; Strong, 1929; Gifford, 1916, 145.

<sup>177</sup> Author's field notes, 1933. For the other tribes of the area the accounts do not state whether the opposing sides are determined by moiety affiliation.

linked in a curious fashion; colors with directions, colors with war and peace, directions (or sides of the camp circle) with war and peace, or body paintings at ceremonial games. Outside the realm of social organization are other features, such as the earth-mother sky-father concept, gods of the directions, references to the "corn mother," and many others which also point to a basic unity in the cultures of the two areas.

#### RELATIONSHIP OF THE EASTERN AND NORTHWESTERN AREAS

There is, as we have seen, strong evidence that the underlying principle of the unilateral units of the Northwestern tribes is the dual organization; and that the clans probably represent a recent application to the village groups of the unilateral principle exemplified in the moiety. Accordingly, similarities in the unilateral complex between the Eastern and Northwestern tribes should be apparent largely in the moieties. Actually, beyond such features as reciprocal feasting, potlatch, and funeral functions, seating arrangements, and ceremonial rivalry there are few items relating to Northwest moieties which point to affinity with those of the east. None of these similarities offers anything like conclusive proof of historical unity: they are perhaps explicable in terms of natural concomitants of dual groupings.

When the concept which forms the underlying basis of the dual organization is considered, however, there comes to light a similarity so arbitrary in nature that it must be regarded as almost certain proof of community of origin. This identity lies in the concept of duality on the basis of sky and earth, i. e., of birds and animals.

In the Eastern area this type of moiety grouping, or traces of it, is found among a large number of tribes, and, significantly enough, is most clearly formulated among those tribes with moieties which are nearest the Northwest region. The moieties of Mandan and Hidatsa are evidently based on this concept (see above). Among the Winnebago the gentes are grouped in moieties named "Those who are above" and "Those who are on earth." These appellations refer to the animals after whom the gentes are named, birds on the one hand and land and water animals on the other.<sup>178</sup> The moieties of the Menomini, which apparently function only in games, are based on an identical concept.<sup>179</sup> The Mascouten assign children to moieties according to order of birth, but "traces of another dual division of the tribe into peoples of the upper and lower worlds, according to whether their clan eponyms are birds or mammals,

<sup>178</sup> Radin, 1923, 185 ff.

<sup>179</sup> Skinner, 1924, 22; 1915, 15.

also occur, with special reference to the order of seating in the Medicine Lodge. Those from the upper world take one side of the building, those from the lower the other."<sup>180</sup> Ponca moieties are designated as Thunder and Earth; Osage as Sky and Land or Peace and War;<sup>181</sup> those of the Kansa as Right Side and Left Side, though there is evidence that both they and the Quapaw also regarded them as relating to sky and earth.<sup>182</sup> The Omaha dual divisions, like those of the Osage, symbolize the sky and earth, respectively.<sup>183</sup> The basis of the dual groups of Oto, Missouri, and Ioway is rather uncertain but there is some evidence that they had similar references.<sup>184</sup>

In certain of the secret medicine ceremonies of the Seneca Iroquois the members separate as opposites according as their clan eponym is a bird or an animal.<sup>185</sup> Among the Creek there is a myth referring to a similar dualism of clans:

Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said: "Let him go up with you," but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites (Birds) and Tcilokis (Reds, Animals) began.<sup>186</sup>

The number of tribes with this concept of bird-animal or sky-earth dualism as applied to moiety alignment would no doubt be increased if our data were complete, but even the scanty information we possess indicates that it is an ancient and formerly widespread basis of the dual organization in the Eastern area. Its antiquity is vouched for by its presence among such widely separated tribes as Creek, Iroquois, Winnebago, and perhaps Mandan and Hidatsa.<sup>187</sup>

For the Northwestern area there can scarcely be any doubt that the dual organization lies at the basis of all unilateral schemes. In addition

<sup>180</sup> Skinner, 1924, 22.

<sup>181</sup> Fletcher and La Flesche, 1911, 58-63; La Flesche, 1921, 69, 53-54.

<sup>182</sup> Fletcher and La Flesche, *ibid.*, 141.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 196-198.

<sup>185</sup> Parker, 1909, 175.

<sup>184</sup> Skinner, 1926, 292.

<sup>186</sup> Swanton, 1928, 157.

<sup>187</sup> In the Southwest-California area are moiety features which are very similar but not identical. Pima and Papago sibs are grouped into Red and White or Coyote and Vulture People. The Miwok moieties (Land or Bluejay and Water or Bullfrog) remind of the same idea. Very widespread in the area is the practice of dichotomizing all nature with moiety references. In this region, as well as the Eastern, it seems likely that there is a connection between the curious association of colors and directions and the association of moieties with both colors and directions.



to the generally distributed beliefs in ancestors descended from the sky or originated on earth or underground, some tribes have a fairly well formulated idea of clan alignment on the basis of sky-land or bird-animal conceptualizations. Thus among the Bella Bella "the ancestor of any local unit descended from the sky or sprang up from the ground, and the ancestral tradition shows to which of the [four] divisions he belonged. If he came down in the form of an eagle or had some other association with an eagle he would belong to the Eagle clan, and so on."<sup>188</sup> Among the Loucheux the members of one group are believed to be descended from animals, members of another group from birds. These are the only cases where the sources state explicitly that this concept forms the basis of sib alignment, but the same idea seems to underlie the unilateral groups of nearly all the tribes of the area. The tabulation given in table 2, p. 398, indicates this in a most positive way.

An examination of the table shows that the concept of Sky-Earth or Bird-Animal dualism must underlie the clan units of the entire area. On no other basis is it possible to explain why those peoples with two exogamous units should have one bird and one animal eponym and all those with four such units have two bird and two animal names. On the basis of chance all-bird or all-animal names ought occur with equal frequency. The very few cases which do not conform to the suggested scheme may be set down as due to the normal course of change in all culture elements as they elaborate, degenerate, and shift their pattern in the tortuous course of development within a group or of diffusion to alien peoples.

When we come to the nearest peoples of the Eastern area who are organized on a moiety basis we find that an identical scheme underlies their dual organizations—one is connected with birds or the sky, the other with animals or the earth. Must we now, because of lack of geographical continuity, invoke some feature of the human psyche which not only duplicates the dual grouping but also duplicates a special feature of the most arbitrary sort—the notion that half the tribe has an esoteric relation with birds and the sky, the other half with animals and the earth? The answer seems obvious.

Not only do the dual and quadruple exogamic matrilineal groups of the Northwestern area directly contravene the paternally biased village units; their very names indicate community with the Eastern area. Commonest are such familiar Eastern and Southwestern favorites as Eagle, Wolf, Bear, and Beaver. This by itself cannot be regarded as

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<sup>188</sup> Boas, 1924, 325-326.

TABLE 2

| Tribe                   | Bird Clans   | Animal Clans  | Remarks   |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|
| Tsimshian proper        | Raven<br>Eagle   | Wolf<br>Bear  | .....   |
| Kitksan<br>Tsimshian    | Raven<br>Eagle   | Wolf<br>Bear  | .....   |
| Nass River<br>Tsimshian | Raven  | Wolf  | .....   |
| Tlingit                 | Raven  | Wolf  | Eagle equals Wolf in N.   |
| Tsetsaut                | Eagle  | Wolf  | .....   |
| Tahltan                 | Raven (or The<br>Birds)  | Wolf (or The<br>Bears)  | Teit claims Wolf, Raven,<br>with Bear extinct   |
| Carrier                 | Raven<br>Grouse  | Beaver<br>Toad  | Morice, in one paper, adds<br>Bear  |
| Kaska                   | Birds  | Bears   | .....   |
| Haida                   | Gitins ("Eagle")<br>(Crests = Tsimshian Eagle and<br>Raven, and Tlingit Raven)                                       | Koala ("Raven")<br>(Crests = Tsimshian Bear and<br>Wolf, and Tlingit Wolf)                          | Terms Gitins and Koala<br>untranslatable  |
| Loucheux                | Birds (or bright)  | Animals (or dark)   | Fish (or pale) also given<br>by some authorities<br>Petitot gives<br>Men of Right<br>Men of Left<br>Men of Middle |
| Bella Bella<br>Kwakiutl | Raven<br>Eagle   | Wolf<br>Killer Whale  | Not exogamous or wholly<br>unilateral   |
| Haisla<br>Kwakiutl      | Raven<br>Eagle   | Wolf<br>Killer Whale<br>Beaver  | Not unilateral, Beaver<br>local   |
| Bering Strait<br>Eskimo | Raven<br>Gerfalcon   | Wolf<br>Ermine  | Not unilateral, Stefansson<br>gives Ravens and Cranes   |
| Tanaina                 | Moiety I.<br>1. Raven<br>2. Descended<br>from Heaven<br>3. Weavers<br>4. Corner of hut<br>5. Fishermen<br>6. A color | Moiety II.<br>1. Bathers<br>2. Lovers of<br>beads<br>3. Deceivers<br>4. A mountain<br>5. A mountain | Moieties exogamous  |

weighty evidence of origin, but coupled with the points already discussed, it adds a link to the chain of evidence which couples the Northwestern sib area to those of the rest of America.

THE RELATION OF THE UNILATERAL INSTITUTIONS OF LATIN  
AMERICA AND NORTHERN AMERICA

Historical reconstructions based on the comparative method are especially in need of detailed information. Definite relationships are hard to prove on a presence-absence basis. Yet much of the material on the social organization of Latin America is such that we can only affirm the presence or absence of sibs; detailed descriptions are conspicuous largely by their absence. In the preceding sections I have attempted to show the historical and conceptual unity of all the clan-moiety systems of America north of Mexico. Between these and those to the south there is a common groundwork of similarity and in addition a few definite points of identity of an arbitrary nature. It seems reasonable to assume that a greater number of similarities would occur, were our information more complete.

The patrilineal sibs (often localized) and moieties of California have their direct counterparts in Northwest Mexico in the Above-Below barrios (i.e., moieties) of the Opata towns. This dual concept is substantially identical with the Upstream-Downstream of the California Luiseno, Yokuts, and Western Mono,<sup>189</sup> and with the Above-Below (Sky-Earth, Bird-Animal) of Eastern and Northwestern North America. In South America the same dualism occurs. Also significant is the association of these moieties with the game of ball, as in the Eastern area. The same general type of localized clans or of villages divided into barrios (wards) extends into southern Mexico—among Mayo (Cahita), and Acaxee as clans, from Culiacan to Colima as barrios with a consanguine basis.

The Zapotec, Mixtec, Mixe, and Zoque matrilineal institutions evidently break the distribution of patrilineal peoples. The evidence for the Totonac is not conclusive, but seemingly the patrilineal clan with the moiety occurred. The Aztec *calpolli-barrío* is most certainly related to these others, whether or not it was a true unilateral group. All the Mayan groups are to be classed among the clan peoples, with more or less localized units. Except in the Opata case there are no recorded details which are strikingly similar to those of more northerly peoples.

<sup>189</sup> Strong, 1929, 341.

In Central America the Bribri are organized in matrilineal exogamous moieties which are subdivided into clans. The type of descent and other features link them with the Chibcha of Colombia.

Most of the peoples of Andean Colombia seem to have had matrilineal descent, with traces of moieties. Among one Chibcha group the chiefship was awarded alternately to two groups, evidently moieties. Alternating authority or alternating ceremonial sponsorship are also features of the moieties of eastern and southwestern North America.

In Ecuador the Cañaris and probably their neighbors had moieties designated as Upper and Lower. Over the entire extent of the Inca empire, villages, valleys, and other settlements recognized moiety affiliation as well as ayllu (clan) alignment. Both institutions date to pre-Inca times. To a certain extent the clans were localized. In the villages a boundary line marked the division between the "territories" of the respective moieties. Usually these were referred to as the "Upper" and "Lower" divisions, but the concepts of Male and Female, Elder and Younger, Right and Left, were also associated with the moieties. There were also political, ceremonial, and religious functions adhering to the dual groups. There is some evidence that they were exogamous. Some authorities indicate that the Inca-ship alternated between them.

In Chile matrilineal clans were known in the valleys of Copiapó, Maipocho, and Maipo. Clans also characterize the social organization of the Araucanians. As among the peoples of the Inca empire these were localized to a certain extent.

The Cherente of central Brazil are divided into moieties referred to as "Elder" and "Younger"—a point which undoubtedly indicates affinity with the dual division in the Inca empire. The Cherente groups have distinctive facial paintings, and reciprocate in burial rites and other ceremonies. Other tribes of the area are organized into maternal matrilocal clans, but we lack the descriptive details.

Patrilinear, patrilocal, localized, exogamous clans are found over the greater part of the western Amazon region, extending as far eastward as the Wapisiana.

In the Guianas and West Indies all the Arawak tribes from Goajira in the west to the Palikur in the east are organized on a clan basis. In some cases these are localized, in others not. In all cases marriage is matrilocal, descent is counted through the mother, and clan exogamy prevails. Among some of the Coast Arawak there are exogamous moieties which are linked with the widely distributed Above-Below concept. The Carib tribes of the region (except possibly those of Santo Domingo)

TABLE 3. CONCEPTS ADHERING TO MOIETIES

| Tribes or Area  | Moiety Concepts  | Associated Features  |
|---|--|--|
| Tewa, Taos, Isleta, Laguna, Jemez, Acoma (Hopi, Zufi) | Summer-Winter  | Taos: South linked with winter ceremony and war<br>Isleta: Red and Black<br>Tewa: White and Yellow or Blue<br>Moieties opponents in ball game<br>Seasonal authority on moiety basis<br>Thunder linked with warfare |
| Iowa  | Summer-Winter  | Moieties opposed in ball game<br>Seasonal authority on moiety basis  |
| Mascouten   | Bird-Animal; Black-White, Above-Below                      | Moiety affiliation based on order of birth, but definite traces of Bird-Animal division<br>Moieties opposed in ball game   |
| Mandan, Hidatsa                                       | "Four clan"; "Three clan"                                  | "Winter chief" implies Summer-Winter duality. Clan alignment indicates "Bird-Animal" as well   |
| Pawnee  | North-South; Summer-Winter                                 | Also a color association<br>Seasonal leadership on moiety basis  |
| Navaho  | North-South; War-Peace                                     | Peace side camps on North, War side on south   |
| Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Quapaw, Oto              | Sky-Earth; Right-Left, North-South; War-Peace; Male-Female | South, Right, linked with war<br>Ponca and Omaha: Thunder linked with war.<br>Osage: Sky linked with peace<br>Moieties form sides in ball game<br>Oto: Alternating authority                                       |
| Winnebago   | Above-Below; Bird-Animal                                   | War functions linked with "Above" ("Birds") moiety<br>Moieties opposed in ball game  |
| Menomini  | Above-Below; War-Peace                                     | Gentes of Upper World and Thunder linked with war  |
| Kickapoo, Sac, Fox                                    | Black-White  | .....  |
| Creek; Southeast                                      | Red-White; War-Peace                                       | In a myth the "White" side is the "Bird" moiety<br>Red side associated with war<br>Moieties opposed in ball game   |

TABLE 3—(concluded)

| Tribes or Area  | Moiety Concepts   | Associated Features   |
|-----------------|---|---|
| Iroquois        | Bird-Animal; Male-Female                                | Moieties opposed in ball game   |
| California      | Black-White; Red-Black; Land-Water; Upstream-Downstream | Yokuts and Miwok: Moieties opposed in ball game   |
| Northwest Coast | Definite traces of Above-Below or Bird-Animal           | Reciprocal burial and other ceremonial functions<br>Ceremonial rivalry<br>Tlingit: Moities opposed in shinny game |
| Loucheux        | Bird-Animal; Dark-Light; Right-Left                     | .....   |
| Pima and Papago | Red-White; Vulture-Coyote; Red Ants-White Ants          | Red side linked with earth, white side with underworld  |
| Opata           | Above-Below; Red-White                                  | Sides opposed in ball and other games   |
| Palikur         | Above-Below   | Clan alignment indicates basis is Birds-Animals   |
| Ecuador         | Above-Below   | .....   |
| Inca Empire     | Above-Below; Elder-Younger; Right-Left; Male-Female     | Alternating authority<br>Reciprocal ceremonial functions<br>Ceremonial rivalry                                    |
| Cherente        | Elder-Younger   | Ceremonial rivalry<br>Reciprocal ceremonial functions   |

were divided into patrilineal clans with residence matrilineal. The Carib clans differ from almost all others of the Americas in lacking formal (totemic) designations.

The most outstanding item in the unilateral groups of Latin America is the repeated occurrence of moieties based on the concept of Above-Below, found among Opata, in Ecuador, throughout the Inca empire, and among the Palikur. As we have seen, identical or directly comparable concepts are linked with the moieties over the greater part of North America. This in itself is strong evidence in favor of historical

affinity. When it is further associated with alternating authority or seasonal leadership in ceremonies the case is strengthened. Ceremonial rivalry and reciprocal functions in feasts, funerals, and other ceremonies further buttress the evidence that the dual divisions of the two continents have a common basis. Table 3 shows the distribution of some of the common elements in the two continents.

### THE RELATION OF SIB AND MOIETY

Wherever the sib or the moiety obtains as the sole form of unilateral grouping the two appear to be directly similar institutions. But when we find both institutions in the same tribe they seem to be somewhat different in nature. This difference has led a number of ethnologists to regard the two as distinct in nature and history. Barbeau believes that the clan is the universal, ancient, and essential form at least in part of the Eastern area; and evidently considers the phratry (i.e., the moiety) as the more basic and ancient in the western part of the Eastern area, the Southwest, and Mexico, "wherefrom the Iroquoian ones must have been derived." He regards as proof of distinct origin the lack of coincidence in distribution and the fact "that wherever the phratric [moiety] system is wanting as a whole the clans show no tendency toward grouping into phratries."<sup>190</sup> Wissler concludes that "the data we have at hand seem to justify the conclusion that a moiety is not merely a larger division of clan or gentile groups, but a grouping of another kind."<sup>191</sup>

There is some evidence in favor of this view. The dual groups, unlike sibs, are seldom designated by plant or animal names except in the Northwest and in California; in fact they are often nameless. More often they are named from and linked with concepts of opposites—such as winter-summer, sky-earth, north-south, birds-animals, peace-war, land-water, etc. In a few cases where sibs and moieties are found together moiety membership is determined in a different manner from sib membership, e.g., among Fox, Kickapoo, and Mascouten. Their reciprocal functions, color associations, and ceremonial rivalries, especially in games, also set them off as somewhat different in nature from clans and gentes.

On the other hand a number of points indicate an essential unity between moiety and sib. In California and the Northwest the moieties (and the quadruple groups of the latter) are commonly named from

<sup>190</sup> Barbeau, 1917, 398-399.

<sup>191</sup> Wissler, 1922, 166-168.

animals. In all areas there are fairly numerous instances of moiety exogamy, though where both dual and multiple grouping obtains the exogamic rule more frequently relates to the sib. Kinship terminology, as will be shown farther on, often is more in consonance with a moiety than with a multiple grouping. Terminology which is more in harmony with the dual organization even occurs among groups where multiple groups but not moieties are found.

A comparison of the relative areas of distribution yields interesting but again inconclusive evidence. In the Southwestern area we find the dual organization or traces of it among by far the greater number of tribes, and what is perhaps more significant, the multiple grouping tends to disappear among the peripheral peoples. Both among the eastern Pueblos and in California the moiety assumes more and more importance as we leave the center of the area until by the time we reach Taos in the east and the Miwok in the northwest it has completely displaced the sib-plus-moiety organization.<sup>192</sup> The moiety is nearly universal in the Eastern sib area except along the northern fringe. As we have seen, there are good reasons for believing it to be the most basic feature of the unilateral complex in the Northwest, the clans being, at best, rather dubious copies of the larger units. In Latin America both multiple and dual groups occur in most of the areas, but lack of complete data makes inferences dangerous.

It seems worth while to examine the relative frequency of occurrence of the two: moieties without sibs are found among ten tribes,<sup>193</sup> sibs without moieties among twenty-three.<sup>194</sup> Organization which includes

<sup>192</sup> Dr. Parsons, in her many comparative discussions of Southwestern social organizations, seems never to have definitely committed herself as to the relation of sib and moiety in that area. From her paper "Tewa Kin, Clan, and Moiety" (pp. 333-339) one might infer the opinion that the moiety has always been a feature peculiar to the Eastern Pueblos, multiple sibs to the Western Pueblos. On the other hand, her statement (The Pueblo of Jemez, 46) that evidence "for the sometime marriage of cross-cousins that is slowly building into the theory of Pueblo Indian marriage" may mean that she inclines to the view that genuine moieties were once more widely distributed. Dr. W. D. Strong regards the moiety as older than the clan throughout the Southwest and California (Strong, 1929, 342-349).

<sup>193</sup> Latin America is left out of these counts because of inadequate data. Exogamous among Miwok, Yokuts, Tsetsaut, Nass River Tsimshian, Tahltan, and Kaska; non-exogamous among Washo, Pawnee, and at Taos and Picuris. The Salinan had moieties, but, beyond their bare mention, little has been recorded concerning their social organization. A legitimate inclusion might add Ahtena, Khotena, Loucheux, Tsimshian proper, Kitsan Tsimshian, Tlingit, Carrier, Haida, and Bering Strait Eskimo. Among them the moiety seems to be basic, the sib dubious. A division into four clans implies a former moiety organization.

<sup>194</sup> Diegueño, Mohave, four Apache groups, Maricopa, seven Ojibway groups, three Cree tribes, Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Gros Ventre, Cheyenne, Assiniboine. I have not included in this list Yuma, Delaware, and Crow because their sibs are grouped into phratries. Also not included are Ottawa, Shawnee, Seminole, Kickapoo,



both sibs and moieties (or traces of moieties) is by far the most frequent type, occurring in more than forty-six cases.<sup>195</sup> This gives us about fifty-six tribes with moieties, sixty-nine with sibs. The number of tribes with sibs alone could be considerably increased, but many of them undoubtedly possessed moieties as well. Inclusion of them might serve only to increase a probable error which is no doubt already high because of faulty or inadequate data.

The relative frequency as such tells little regarding the probable priority of sib or moiety. More significant is the fact that sibs alone and moieties alone are relatively restricted in their respective distributions. The cases of the former are at home in the northern part of the Eastern area and are scattered among a few groups in the Southwest. Moieties alone occur almost wholly in the Northwest and California (plus Taos, Picuris, and Pawnee). Both are definitely restricted to peripheral or relatively unimportant tribes. The distribution of tribes with both sib and moiety is so nearly coincident with the entire area of unilateral institutions that it argues strongly for multiple and dual groups being part of the same generic complex and diffusing as such.

Considered in the abstract, there are certain things to be said in favor of priority of the moiety. The simplicity of the dual as opposed to the multiple grouping argues for its being the most probable early type.<sup>196</sup> Of greater significance is the fact that, as Tylor long ago indicated, a number of common features of the bifurcate merging (Dakota or classi-

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Mahikan, Missouri, Oto, Biloxi, Natchez, W. Caddo, E. Caddo, Chitimacha, Miami, the Eastern Siouans, the Eastern Algonkins, and a number of others because of lack of data. The moiety is so consistently present over most of this Eastern area that where our information is so inadequate there is always a suspicion that the moiety may have been present though not mentioned.

<sup>195</sup> Includes groups with ceremonial traces of moieties. Luiseño, Cupeño, three Cahuilla groups, Serrano, Western Mono, Pima, Papago, Navaho, Zúñi, Hopi, Keresan Pueblos, Isleta, Tewa, Nambe, Kickapoo (?), Sac, Fox, one Delaware group, Mascouten, Hidatsa, Mandan, Omaha, Osage, Ponca, Kansa, Quapaw, Ioway, Tutelo, seven Dakota groups, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Yuchi, Cherokee, Huron, Kenai Athapascans, Winnebago, and Menomini. Perhaps Tsimshian, Tlingit, Carrier, and Haida ought to be included. (Many other tribes, principally in the Eastern area, would undoubtedly swell the list if we possessed adequate data.) Among the tribes of this list the moiety is exogamous among Cupeño, Desert and Mountain Cahuilla, Serrano, Osage, Winnebago, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Huron, Kenai Athapascans, Tlingit, and Haida. There is definite evidence that the dual groups of the Omaha and of the Iroquois tribes were exogamous until recent times. Probably the same is true of the Ponca, Kansa, and Quapaw. Among most of the other tribes the clan is the exogamous unit.

<sup>196</sup> The theories of sib organizations developing out of a sibless condition generally utilize the village or band as the starting point. Most extant sibless tribes certainly exhibit more than two such "natural" units. Only the exceptional case would produce a dual organization on this basis. All hypotheses are equally at a loss to explain why a people should give up a bilateral for a unilateral reckoning unless diffusion of such an idea is involved. This constitutes an argument for the concept not arising spontaneously (i.e., without external influence) a great number of times.

ficatory) type of kinship terminology are decidedly more in harmony with an exogamous moiety division than with a multiple sib organization.<sup>197</sup> Thus, as Lowie and Rivers have shown,<sup>198</sup> one term for cross-cousins, one term for parallel-cousins, and classification of the father's sister's husband with the maternal uncle are directly explicable as resulting from exogamous dual groups, but can hardly be reflections of a multiple grouping.<sup>199</sup> That is, classification of the children of brothers by a single term in the same manner as the children of sisters is understandable as a correlate of the dual organization; for these relatives would then always be members of the same moiety. Similarly, it would be a natural consequence of the moiety system that the father's sister's children should be in the same kinship category as the mother's brother's children. They would not necessarily be members of the same unilateral unit if there were more than two such social groups.

According to Spier<sup>200</sup> a single term for cross-cousins characterizes the systems of kin terminology of Nass River Tsimshian, Tsimshian proper, Kutenai, Northwestern Maidu, Cupeño, Northern Diegueño, Wyandot, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Tuscarora. Spier lists five other types of cross-cousin designation: (1) man's male cross-cousin, woman's female cross-cousin, cross-cousin of the opposite sex; (2) man's and woman's male and female cross-cousins; (3) man's male and female cross-cousin, woman's cross-cousin; (4) man's male cross-cousin, woman's female cross-cousin, cross-cousins of the opposite sex equal siblings; and (5) various cross-cousin terms. Like the single cross-cousin designation, the first three of these are in harmony with an exogamous moiety organization, but would not necessarily result from a multiple sib organization. These three types of designation are found among Hare, Wood Cree, Swampy Cree, Lake Superior Ojibway, Lake Huron Ojibway, Ottawa, Santee, Sisseton, Yankton, Yanktonai, Unepapa, Blackfoot Dakota, Brulé, Serrano, Southern Diegueño, Kamia, and Yuma.<sup>201</sup> Not all these exhibit the type of organization which their terminology best reflects, but perhaps there is a certain justification for positing the presence of dichotomous groups among them in the past.

Among all sib and moiety tribes, parallel cousins are called by the same terms as brothers and sisters, except among Lake Huron Ojibway,

<sup>197</sup> Tylor, 1889, 245-269.      <sup>198</sup> Lowie, 1917, 98-180; Rivers, 1924, 51-82.

<sup>199</sup> This naturally does not apply with equal force in the many instances of moieties which are purely ceremonial or non-exogamous.

<sup>200</sup> Spier, 1925. The tabulations of tribes which follow refer to this paper.

<sup>201</sup> Latin American cases ignored because of lack of data for more than a small per cent of tribes.

Lake Michigan Ojibway, Yuma, and Mohave. Cousin designations among other sib or moiety tribes seem to be as much in harmony with multiple as with dual organization.

Evidences from kinship systems, like those based on relative frequency and areal distribution, again lead us into conflict and doubt on the question of relative priority of sib and moiety. A number of tribes without moieties (e.g., Diegueño, Cree, and Ojibway) have systems which would naturally result from a dual but not a multiple grouping. Others with exogamous moieties only (e.g., Miwok and Yokuts) lack features which might be expected to result from such an organization. In other words, there is good evidence that systems of kinship terminology are not the stable, relatively unchangeable phenomena that Rivers would have us believe.<sup>202</sup>

Other arguments favoring the priority of the dual organization are not lacking. There are more evidences of increase in the number of sibs through subdivision than for reduction in numbers through extinction or fusion.<sup>203</sup> Thus, the Turtle phratry of the Delaware has included in it such clans as Snapping Turtle, Little Turtle, and Smallest Turtle. The Buffalo-bull sib of the Osage has as subclans Buffalo-bull and Reddish Buffalo. Instances of this sort are sufficiently numerous to indicate that the splitting of clans into subclans has been a frequent occurrence. The persistence of moieties after the development of multiple units is readily explicable. Dual groups lend themselves especially well to alignments in games and reciprocity at feasts, funerals, and other ceremonies. These functions, coupled with color symbolism and concepts of opposites so often connected with moieties would serve to perpetuate them after other functions, such as exogamy and ownership of sets of personal names, had become linked with the lesser groups. That this is what has occurred at least in North America is suggested by a considerable number of data. At any rate, this theory seems least out of harmony with the observed phenomena.

The functions of dual and multiple groups, their respective distributions, their relative frequencies of occurrence, and the evidence from kinship terminologies all seem to point to the same conclusion: the two institutions must be regarded as parts of the same generic complex. Both are present in the vast majority of tribes which possess any sort of arbitrary exogamous unilateral groups.

<sup>202</sup> The foregoing discussion of kinship terms and their relation to social organization is admittedly very inadequate; but anything like a thorough analysis of the two phenomena is outside the scope of the present paper.

<sup>203</sup> See, e.g., Lowie, 1920, 130-137; Morgan, 1907, 151-185.

## MOTHER-RIGHT AND FATHER-RIGHT

The problem of maternal and paternal descent and their associated features has been a bone of contention among ethnologists for many a decade. The older hypothesis of the universal priority of maternal descent has largely given way before onslaughts of empirical evidence and critical analysis. As far as America is concerned, most American ethnologists hold either to the view that the sequence, if a definite one exists, has been from sibless bilateral, to sib, to political organization; or the variant of sibless bilateral, to paternal gentes, to maternal clans, to political organization.<sup>204</sup> Controversy revolves chiefly around the question of the number of times sibs have been independently developed in North America. Lowie inclines to the view that they have developed *in situ* four, possibly five, times; Kroeber to the view that two such instances harmonizes better with the observed data. Barbeau implies a single origin at least for the dual organization. In the present paper are presented evidences of the historical kinship of all the unilateral, exogamic, totemic institutions of the two continents. It remains to relate this evidence to descent rules and the distribution of each type.

Almost without exception paternal and maternal descent are viewed as somehow mutually contradictory and entirely unrelated institutions, and various devices are used in explanations of the relation of the two. Thus, Kroeber invokes two successive diffusions of totemic sib organizations out of Middle America (an early paternal and a later maternal one) to explain the distribution of the respective modes of descent in the Americas. But this explanation is based on the hypotheses: (1) that clan organization in Middle America had been wholly supplanted by other forms of grouping; (2) that all American sib systems originated in Middle America and spread outward.

But unilateral groups *were* present in the high cultures of Mexico, Central America, and Andean South America. In fact, the majority of peoples of Middle America for whom we have adequate knowledge were organized on this basis—with political institutions superimposed. There is no reason for supposing that unilateral institutions originated in Middle America. Their presence among peoples where such Middle

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<sup>204</sup> Lowie, 1919, 29–45. Kroeber, 1923, 355–358. Barbeau, 1917, 392–403. E. S. Hartland is one of the few ethnologists who still adheres to the theory of matrilineal priority. See his *Matrilineal Kinship and the Question of its Priority* (AAA-M 4: 1–90, 1917).

American elements as agriculture, ceramics, etc., are absent (e.g., the North Pacific coast, the Mackenzie region, and the northeastern part of North America) make it seem likely that they are not a part of the Middle American culture complex. Let us examine the geographical distributions of paternal and maternal clans in relation to the centers of high culture: Both patrilineal and matrilineal societies exist within Middle America itself (e.g., Chibcha, Bribri, and Scyri—matrilineal; Maya—patrilineal). In North America maternal sibs lie farthest away (Northwest); in South America patrilineal peoples are most remote (Tupi). (See map.) In other words, the distribution of types leaves us almost wholly without inferential evidence regarding the relative antiquity of maternal and paternal descent. Matrilineal tribes are more widely distributed and occupy more area than the patrilineal groups. In the main the groups with female descent exhibit a richer cluster of traits adhering to the unilateral groups. Perhaps this indicates that the really fundamental (archaic) clan-moiety type is the matrilineal one, with patrilineal sibs resulting from secondary influences. Nomadic hunters have a natural bias in favor of patrilineal institutions—males being more important in the economic sense than among agricultural tribes where women do the tilling. There is something to be said for this view, yet it fails to explain the observed distribution of the two types in the Americas.

Unilateral institutions are in themselves anomalous and artificial. Matrilineal ones are doubly so. A world survey of both primitive and civilized societies shows that there is a strong tendency for certain cultural phenomena to become associated rather definitely with males. Property in general (not particular items or classes of goods), ceremonial leadership, political and social authority are almost everywhere in the hands of men. This is true even among such outstanding matrilineal peoples as the Iroquois and western Pueblos. It is therefore safe to assume a corresponding degree of "paternal bias" in regard to succession and inheritance. The matrilineate contravenes these tendencies, and among matrilineal peoples a man's desire to see his children inherit sometimes leads to various subterfuges which circumvent the matrilineal rules. Linked with the matrilineate are types of marriage which partially nullify inheritance by the sister's children: with mother's brother's daughter, with sister. That is, in every matrilineal society there are definite influences at work which tend toward modification or breakdown of the descent rules. No comparable influences operate to change a paternal reckoning to a maternal one—or a bilateral reckoning to a

completely unilateral one. We can therefore assume that a shift from maternal to paternal descent will occur far oftener than the reverse. Perhaps the assumption is warranted that only rather unusual circumstances (such as foreign influence) would bring about a paternal-maternal sequence.

As culture becomes more complex, as elements of material culture multiply and thereby enlarge the rôle of property, as social, religious, and political phases become more intricate there is an increasing paternal bias. This bias would not affect unilateral groups counting descent through the father, nor would it affect inheritance and succession among clan-less (bilateral) groups. But it could hardly fail to affect matrilineal peoples. This interpretation is decidedly in keeping with the historical data. In no case have maternal clans survived the rise to high civilization. Patrilineal clans likewise tend to disappear with high political estate, but they are able to persist relatively longer than matrilineal ones—as among the ancient Greeks and Romans. The ancient Chinese evidently were organized on the matrilineal moiety basis. These were supplanted by multiple patrilineal clans, these in turn giving way to the paternally-biased family organization.<sup>205</sup>

Just as the clan organization yields before genuine political grouping, so would maternal organization tend to become modified or destroyed with increasing emphasis placed on property and office and their inheritance and succession—these aspects of culture empirically being largely of masculine concern. As it operates among peoples for whom we have descriptions the matrilineate lacks natural foundations and inevitably creates intra-family stresses. This being true its spontaneous origin among them is no more than a remote possibility, unless we rely on a hypothesis of very different social values operative at some remote period in the past.

In view of its evident disabilities matrilineal descent obtains among a disproportionately large number of peoples in both the Old and the New World. Most areas of father-right lie adjacent to regions of mother-right. Yet in view of general paternal bias the instances of mother-right can scarcely be satisfactorily explained as local developments. They must, instead, represent cases of social inertia. This is not equivalent to saying that matrilineal reckoning has everywhere preceded patrilineal. Patrilineal groups may have been receptive to the unilateral principle without copying the rule of descent. Others may have changed their mode of reckoning. At any rate I am not aware of any worth-while evi-

<sup>205</sup> Granet, 1930, 152–160, 208–213, 242, 315–316, 339–341.

dence of a paternal-maternal sequence, while fairly numerous instances of maternal-paternal are indicated. Bilateral descent probably precedes *and* follows unilateral reckoning, but as far as the unilateral is concerned I incline to the view that in both Old and New Worlds the maternal type is the older, that for various reasons it has survived the vicissitudes of time in a sufficient number of cases to present a "spotty" distribution best interpreted as due to varying degrees of cultural conservatism.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Unilateral institutions, wherever found, represent deviations from the expectable, abnormalities in the social structure. Family, village, and tribe are readily seen as natural outgrowths of biological necessity or natural products of human social and economic life. But except where they are localized or where they represent mere lineages the unilateral groups have no comparable logical or natural basis. Though there have been numerous attempts to show how clans might develop out of more ordinary institutions, these explanations fail to carry conviction; they are explanations of the esoteric in terms of the prosaic.

Unilateral reckoning contradicts the duality of parenthood and results in an unnatural stressing of one side of the family to the exclusion of the other. Where there is ceremonial or genuine rivalry between the groups it divides every family against itself and in such cases tends to disrupt the household, or may even lead to intra-family homicide. Among some groups this division of house-mates has few familial effects, but among others clan loyalty is more deep-seated than family loyalty. Children naturally feel that the parent bestowing clanship is of more importance than the one who is nothing more than a biological accessory. These factors which contravene the family organization are most evident under the matrilineate, with the mother's brother often assuming the rôle of father (the avunculate), while the actual father is forced by the rules of descent to bestow his property, perhaps his titles, not upon his own children, for these are not of his clan, but upon his sister's children.

Almost universally the clan groups regulate marriage. But even in this there is contradiction of the principle so frequently given as the rationalized explanation for their "creation" and existence: the prevention of matings between kin. One of the commonest marriage rules of clan peoples is a prescription of marriage with a kinsman, usually the cross-cousin. As often as not, then, unilateral reckoning brings about the very type of mating it pretends to prohibit.

Unilateral institutions are found over more than half of the New World, among the majority of tribes. They cluster in a half-dozen more or less distinct regions. In the Old World both multiple clans and moieties are widely distributed, indicating that both are part of the fundamental unilateral pattern. In every area of the New World the unilateral groups are commonly associated with the features of totemism, exogamy, formal names for the groups, cross-cousin marriage, reciprocal functions, and so on. Not all these are essential or natural ingredients. The arbitrary nature of these adhering features constitutes presumptive evidence of community of origin. This community of origin is further attested by inter-area similarities even more extrinsic and arbitrary in their nature. The most striking of these are items linked with the dual organization.

In the foregoing pages I have indicated the distribution of some of these similarities: Cross-cousin marriage occurs in every one of the major clan areas. Colors associated with moieties seem limited to North America (though lack of data for South America makes it impossible to state definitely that the trait is absent). Ceremonial or actual rivalry between moieties compensated for by reciprocity in ceremonies is almost coextensive with their distribution. Alternating civil and ceremonial authority, usually on a seasonal basis, occurs in eastern North America, in the Southwest-California area and in the Andean region. Moieties associated with the concepts of War-Peace or Summer-Winter are limited to the Eastern and Southwest-California areas. The ceremonial ball game with the moieties as opponents is widely distributed in North America.

Most striking of all is the tremendous distribution of the Sky-Earth concept (or directly related ones, such as Above-Below, Birds-Animals, Upper-Lower) as moiety associations. It underlies the dual organization over Northwestern America, and of the Plains-Woodland-Southeast. Traces of the same concept occur among some groups of the Southwest-California area. It crops up again in northwest Mexico and in the Guiana region. It is basic to all the moieties of the Andean region (except among the Chibcha). It is widely linked with the Male-Female moiety reference. One of the most widely distributed cosmological concepts of Native America is that of Earth Mother and Sky Father. I am strongly inclined to the view that the Sky-Earth, Male-Female moiety references are historically linked with the Sky Father, Earth Mother concept.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> This concept is likewise very widespread in the Old World, and may be linked with moiety dualism there as well.



This in turn may be linked with what is possibly the concept underlying all moiety organizations—that kinship through the one parent is to be carefully distinguished from kinship through the other parent.

The numerous and specific resemblances in features associated with unilateral groups in the different areas make it difficult to avoid the conclusion that all Native American moieties (and clans?) go back to a common historical source. Within America there undoubtedly has been a considerable degree of secondary diffusion, of local modification. Historical caprice often leads to the most unexpected modifications and differences in the same institution even among cognate groups—witness the divergent history with losses and additions of traits in the case of the unilateral complex of Crow and Hidatsa. Thousands of years of distinct history seldom see even institutions of known single origin go through identical courses of change. A myth takes on new elements, drops others, changes its style or plot sequence, and only a few details may remain to mark the ultimate versions as the offspring of a common, not far distant parent. A few thousand years of historical developments see a half-dozen radically different systems of writing develop out of Eastern Mediterranean pictographs and ideograms. Eliminate our documented knowledge in such instances and there would be heated controversies over the question of genetic relationship.

The analogy is legitimate. Culture traits are not static but dynamic; those not in the realm of material culture perhaps doubly so, probably because of their incorporeal nature. Differences in form and content no more prove distinct origin than do similarities which are essential ingredients of an element prove community of origin. The situation is different, however, when the same institution in distinct areas exhibits similarities which are arbitrary and extrinsic. As we have seen, similarities of this nature are found adhering to the unilateral complex in every area of the New World. The most reasonable interpretation is that these similarities point to community of origin, that they outweigh the differences in secondary features which represent the debris laid down by thousands of years of largely distinct history and the disfiguring erosions of other social phenomena. The wonder is not that the institutions should be so different, but that any similarities should have persisted so long and have retained identifiable elements.

If we accept the hypothesis of unity of origin of all the unilateral institutions of Native America their widespread distribution points to a very respectable antiquity. The mode of life of the primitive hunters (Tierra del Fuegians, Eastern Athapascans, Shoshoneans, etc.) would

inhibit acceptance of the clan organization, might lead to loss of the trait. We can therefore rule them out as of no consequence in speculations as to the age of the clan concept. Aside from these backward groups the clan organization bulks large in every area for which we have adequate data, except in the southern part of the North Pacific coast. Accordingly, there is no reason why we should not assign unilateral institutions to the "archaic" period of American culture—along with shamanism, crisis ceremonies, and so on. The derivation of American clans from the Old World as a concomitant of the migrations into the New saves us from the awkward plight of positing their special creation within the New World.

The Old World distribution of unilateral groups falls neatly into line: patrilineal clans and moieties are practically universal in Siberia except among some of the Paleo-Siberians. There is the strongest evidence of both clans and moieties in ancient China. Both dual and multiple groupings abound in southern and southeastern Asia. Both are at home in Melanesia and Australia. Clans (but few moieties) are widely distributed over Africa. Anciently unilateral groups were known to Egyptians, Libyans, Greeks, Romans, and Scythians. In short, both historical evidence and the areal distribution point to the unilateral complex as ancient in the larger part of the Old World. There is no reason why we should deny all but material traits to the peoples migrating to the New World.

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