THE CURTAIN WITHIN: THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC CLASSIFICATION AMONG THE MASSET HAIDA

by

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The Curtain Within: The Management of Social and Symbolic Classification among the Masset Haida

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ABSTRACT:

Title of Dissertation:

THE CURTAIN WITHIN: THE MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL AND SYMBOLIC CLASSIFICATION AMONG THE MASSET HAIDA

The Haida conceive of their own social and mythical worlds as ambiguous, as having more than one reality, hence open to more than one interpretation. Accordingly, the symbols of social relationships, and those of the rapport with the natural and supernatural world are continuously renegotiated and manipulated in social discourse, used for social and political ends in negotiating legitimacy over status and property ownership.

Using the theoretical models of action theory and practice theory, this thesis deals with the management of traditional meanings among the Masset Haida. It is based on data collected, mainly through participant observation and interviewing, during 23 months of fieldwork with the Masset Haida in 1979-1981, and on the evaluation of published ethnographic and ethnohistorical sources on the Haida.

The traditional values of Haida society and the social action surrounding them are analysed as centering around the organization into matrimoieties and matrilineages; individual rank operating within the lineages; a set of kinship categories invoking group membership and status as well as complementary filiation; marriage "rules" creating alliances with other groups; and the corporate estate of the lineages, in particular names and totemic crests. The rhetoric surrounding group membership and boundaries, rank euphemized as "respect", kinship

categories, marital alliances, names and crests, carries conscious symbolic load. In this context it is shown that the meanings of the "rules" and classificatory schemes associated with them which are cited in public discourse cannot be understood in terms of their internal logic alone. Instead, their flux and conscious multiplicity of meaning can be grasped only if seen in connection with the social processes involved in their production.

The ambiguous and flexible interpretation of the social world is shown to be parallel to and conceptually connected with the multiple reality of the mythical world. Raven, the Trickster-Transformer, stands as a metaphor for natural and moral marginality. Moreover, the idea of transformations between animal, human and supernatural being states is connected to the logic and practices of sorcery, which again involve human agency.

To Naani Emma

and to Tcinni Adam

"Adjii hlngee uu yaats gingaan uu eidanguee.
Dalang 7isdaahluuu st'aa.ang damaan hl kwangwaan.
Dalang st'aadee guudaans gyanuu dalang tlagee 7isaaguaa."
(This world is the same as the edge of a knife. When you are walking, watch your steps. If you don't watch your steps, you will fall off the earth.)

- Haida proverb

"One of the great joys I have gotten out of the Northwest Coast is the feeling I have that these people looked at the world in a very different way than we do. They weren't bound by the silly feeling that it's impossible for two figures to occupy the same space at the same time." (Bill Reid 1975: 46).

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The person who, as academic advisor and friend, assisted most of all in the long and tedious process of writing this thesis is my Senior Supervisor, Dr. Mary Lee Stearns. She carefully criticized numerous drafts of chapters. I also wish to express warm appreciation for the many hours of discussion of my and her data; moreover, she generously made her own field-work data, in particular her demographic records, available to me; the latter formed the

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TRANSCRIPTION OF HAIDA PHONETICS

The transcription of Haida sounds used here is adapted from that used by R. Levine (1973; 1979) and John Enrico (1980; 1983), as well as the Alaskan dictionary of Haida edited by Lawrence (1977). It has been chosen over Swanton's, Sapir's and other systems of phonetic transcription for Haida sounds because any Haida people learning to transcribe and read their language will likely learn the above alphabet.

VOWELS:[1]

long	short	ENGLISH APPROXIMATIONS long:	short:
aa	a	"father"	"run"
ee	e	"may"	"get"
ii	i	"sea"	"pin"
ou	o	"cold"	"rot"
uu	u	"moon"	"put"

SEMI-VOWELS:

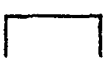
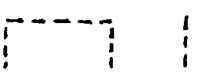
y, w	"young", "water"

CONSONANTS:

	sonans	surd	glott.	fricat.	nasal.
labial[2]	b	p	p'	--	m
alveolar	d	t	t'	--	--
	l, dl	tl	tl'	hl	--
alveo-palat.	j	tc	tc'	s	--
velar	g	k	k'	x	ng
uvular	(ɡ)[3]	ḳ	ḳ'	ẋ	--
laryngial		h	7		

1) Long vowels have high pitch, short vowels have low pitch.
2) Labials, particularly p, p' and b are rare, occurring only in onomatopoetic stems and loan-words.
3) In Masset dialect, ɡ is usually reduced to 7, the glottal stop.

KIN TERM ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

F	father
M	mother
B	brother
yB; eB	younger/elder brother
Z	sister
yZ; eZ	younger sister; elder sister
S	son
D	daughter
H	husband
W	wife
f.sp.	female speaking
m.sp.	male speaking
	relationship through marriage
	sibling relationship
	descent relationship
	classificatory relationships
	male; man
	female; woman

parallel cousins are children of siblings of the same sex (FBS/D; MZS/D).

cross-cousins are children of siblings of opposite sex (FZS/D; MBS/D).

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. Theoretical Considerations:

This thesis is concerned with the Haida Indians of the Canadian Pacific Coast; more particularly, it is about the interplay between power relationships and symbols among the Gawa Xaadee, or Haida of Masset.

While a certain amount of the ethnographic material presented in the following chapters stems from my own fieldwork data collected principally between 1979 and 1981, many of the facts on Haida culture and society which I shall discuss were recorded by others and have previously been presented in print.[1)] The focus of this work lies only secondarily in presenting new ethnographic detail on the Haida; its main scope is to develop a novel interpretation of certain data, one which I contend will contribute to clarifying our understanding of the system of ideas and values underlying Haida culture, and how it, in turn, relates to social processes.

Thirty years ago, Edmund Leach (1954) argued that the main task of social anthropology is to interpret symbolic statements about the social order, that is, to relate the symbolic order to the field of social and political relations. Pioneered perhaps by Leach, Gluckman and Barth, much focus within British social anthropology has in recent years been on the interrelationship between symbolic systems and power relationships, that is, on the political aspect of symbolic communication. Abner Cohen, in the title of his 1969 article, in fact defined the field of political anthropology as the "analysis of the symbolism of power relations." Turner (1974) excellently demonstrated the interrelationship between the

manipulation of symbols and power struggles in his anthropological model of historical processes. Most current analysis in action theory focuses on the individual and collective management of meaning in the process of competition for valued social and economic resources[2], assuming a dialectic relationship between structure and action, symbols and politics, norm and behaviour, and thus examining the generative principles underlying forms of social practice. From a more theoretical perspective, both Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1981) have formulated theories of practice and structuration respectively[3], which emphasize the dialectics, or duality, of action and structure, thus dissociating both the "political" and the "symbolic" from particular institutional frameworks, but viewing them as aspects of all social behaviour. All above theorists point to the fallacies of taking for granted the normative and nominal qualities of social systems and symbolic communication, thus rebuking the Kantian a-priorism of both structural-functional and structuralist theory. Instead, the emphasis has shifted to the practical consciousness of actors in the creation and interpretation of social meanings; the social - and thus symbolic - order is not considered as given and determined, but is created by actors in social practice.

Before examining in more detail the above theoretical propositions, let me point out their relevance for the analysis of Haida social and symbolic classification: The Haida, like other Northwest Coast societies, have long been established as something of an anomaly in anthropologists' categorizations of the properties of socio-economic systems. Unlike other hunter-gatherer societies, the peoples of the Northwest Coast lived in sedentary villages, with an elaborate system of social ranking and

ceremonial, although lacking formal political (governmental) institutions. While political office existed in the form of hereditary town- and lineage chiefships, much of the actual struggle for and maintenance of power took place in the context of ritualized exchange of material goods and symbols, usually referred to as potlatching. Significantly, while much debate among anthropologists concerned with the Northwest Coast has been spent on interpreting the potlatch as an economic, social, or purely ceremonial institution, - or, following Mauss, as a "total social phenomenon" - little explicit attention has been given to reciprocal exchange and rank as instruments vital to the reproduction of political life. Indeed, with the notable exception of Stearns' (1984) recent article on Haida succession to chiefship, there has been a curious absence of analyses of Northwest Coast Indian societies focusing on political process, those activities that are "at once public, goal-oriented, and that involve a differential of power (in the sense of control) among the group in question" (Swartz et al. 1966:7).[4] In the absence of governmental institutions, references to political organization of the Northwest Coast societies usually limit themselves to pointing out the "rules of succession" for the given society. While anthropologists have repeatedly noted the virtuosity with which claims and manipulations were uttered on the social state, they failed to incorporate them into models of political process.[5]

On the other hand, the "symbolic life" of the Northwest Coast Indians - myth, ritual, art, religion, totemic representations - has received much ethnographic and analytical attention, but has usually been studied and presented as dissociated from the dynamics of socio-political life.[6] This, of course, must be considered in light of the particular history of

anthropological investigation on the Northwest Coast of North America, and the theorists involved in it. Unlike British social anthropology, which in the early part of this century studied societies functioning largely within their indigenous context, American cultural anthropology from its beginnings undertook salvage ethnography, recording what was left of the traditional systems of ideas and values of North American Indians as they were being physically exterminated and socially assimilated by Whites. Thus, Franz Boas and his disciples placed their emphasis on letting their informants normatively describe the rules of social organization, religious beliefs and ceremonial etiquette in order to trace the heterogeneous origins and thus dissemination of myths, ritual elements, totemic representations and forms of social organization. Ceremonial life, spiritual beliefs and their representations in myth and art were given primacy over the processes of everyday life and the practical use made of the knowledge over symbols and their meanings. Culture in the Boasian sense is much more akin to "Kultur" than to the everyday reproduction and practical knowledge of values and ideas. While Boas himself acknowledged the prerogative character of symbolic representations (myths, totemic crests, etc.) on the Northwest Coast, as well as the influence of social organization on myth and the historical complexity underlying the formation of symbolic systems[7)], he supposed a determinacy of culture over action. Although his emphasis on historical particularlism noted the dynamics of the dissemination of symbols, he failed to examine the conditions of the possibility of such dynamics, which must be understood as the result of human practice. Consequently, while we have thousands of pages of native accounts of myths, rituals and beliefs resulting from Boas' fieldwork among the Kwakiutl,

Boas' works lack actual cases describing the processes of social interaction. Similarly, Boas' associate John Swanton, who by his own admission could record forty-five pages of text in Haida per day towards the end of his field-research[8], had neither the time nor the methodological motivation to observe the social processes surrounding him during his turn-of-the-century fieldwork. Boasian ethnography was normative ethnography.

More recent structuralist attempts at analysing the cognitive qualities underlying Northwest Coast symbolic systems which are, in turn, based upon Boas' et al. earlier ethnographic work, similarly fail to do justice to the practical consciousness of actors using symbols in communication. Such structuralist models[9] place their emphasis entirely on the logic of the transformation of sets of symbols at the cost of taking into account how actors use symbols consciously in seeking social goals. Perhaps because they are not based on fieldwork experience revealing a multiplicity of meanings and interpretations, they manage to reduce the meaning of social and symbolic classification on the Northwest Coast to sets of opposites, elementary marriage structures and logical contraries, rather than contradictions emerging from social action.[10]

It is my argument that only if we relate the political to the symbolic dimension can we understand both the particular forms of symbolic communication and their function. And, in so far as Northwest Coast societies, and in this case the Haida are concerned: Only if we take into account the modes and properties of symbolic communication can we grasp the nature of political process among them. In invoking a dialectic relationship between symbolic structure and political action, my focus is on the collective and individual strategies involved in the manipulation of symbols and the

interpretation of symbolic action, and the way these are in turn determined by previous processes.

The management of the symbolism of traditional[11] social relationships, as I will detail it in the following chapters, can analytically be placed within the framework of

1. a set of corporate descent groups (matrilineages) which in turn belong to either one of two moieties
2. individual rank gradations primarily operative within the lineages, maintained and managed through the ritual exchange of property between lineages of opposing moieties
3. a set of kinship terms symbolising group membership, rights, obligations and differing statuses
4. marriage "rules" sanctioning alliances as between ritually appropriate groups
5. the flux between material and symbolic, i.e. tangible and intangible property.

However, the social meanings associated with this framework of relationships do not structure the behaviour of individuals in terms of a set of unequivocal rules, nor do they maintain Haida social life - or the memory of how it once operated - in a state of frozen equilibrium: Lineage boundaries are and were redefined along with inter- and intra-lineage relationships; social rank depended on a complex relationship between self and others and between the ethos of solidarity and that of hierarchy. Kinship terms, as they are and were used in a political context to manipulate social statuses, are polysemic and versatile; marriage "rules" disguise a complex set of strategies of marital alliance; the meaning of personal

names along with the practices of naming, are flexible and negotiable; finally, crests can best be understood not as a system dictated by the logic of the "savage mind" but as symbols of transactions. My point is that the symbols of Haida social classification stand in a dialectical relationship to the conscious manipulations of their meaning. Social action aims at a continuous blurring of the boundaries of meanings in order to enable the renegotiation and redefinition of the social relations they implicate.

On the level of symbolic theory, this invokes the notion of the inherent ambiguity of symbols. By ambiguity I mean the general capacity of symbolic forms to take on a multiplicity of meaning, to stand - by arbitrariness and convention at the same time - for numerous things and relationships: "Symbolism relates the multiplicity of meaning to the equivocalness of being" (Ricoeur 1974: 12-13). It is their ambiguity, their capacity to be continuously reinterpreted, which makes symbols so useful in political action (see Cohen 1974). Or, to speak with Kenneth Burke (1969), the symbolic - language, in his case - is identified as rhetoric, as inducement to action. In this context, it is worth pointing out that with the Haida, a chief is addressed as kilsdlaay, "one who does things with words." Persuasive speech is seen as a quality of chiefs, as both accompanying Haida chiefly behaviour and determining political outcomes, as I will detail in chapter IV.5.

The concept of rhetoric also presumes an audience. Among the Haida, all claims to social position must be witnessed and sanctioned by the public. The speaker, or the actor on the public stage if we define rhetoric in the wider sense as "any persuasive tactic or resource that uses symbols"

(Bailey 1981), must persuade the public of his legitimacy over position, resources and intangible property. This means that the meaning of the symbols of social positions and the social relationships they involve are renegotiated to suit individual and collective interests; conversely, they are renegotiated and re-evaluated by the audience whose members will initiate future social processes. An analysis of the management of the Haida symbols of social relationships hence involves treating ambiguity not as a static logical entity mediating between opposites, but as a tool of rhetoric, as a productive part of social and political processes.

The consciously maintained ambiguity of social symbols is both logically and practically connected with Haida mythical classification. First of all, the indigenous notion of political power is conceptually linked with the mythical world. For the Coast Salish, Elmendorf has provided the following exegesis of power: "Power was obtained from extra-human sources, conceptually connected with the prehuman mythic world, maintained and controlled through ritual practices and used to serve human needs" (1977: 68). As he adds, these "human needs" entailed the individual promotion of social roles and statuses. While Coast Salish society and religious beliefs differ from those of the Haida in important aspects [12], the above definition nonetheless relates to the Haida mythical ideology of the acquisition of social power, to the interconnectedness of the social and the supernatural. While in the Haida social context, power is derived from successful potlatching and the demonstration of birth status, myths and magical practice connect it conceptually with supernatural help and ritual observance, as we will see in chapter IV.3. The social-material and the supernatural are not conceived of as different

entities, but as different aspects of the same processes. We find this idea repeated in the native understanding of symbolic property, which, in its acquisition myths, is seen as derived from supernatural sources, but is then socially inheritable and must be validated in terms of material property.[13)]

From the above, it is clear that conventional dichotomies, such as sacred/profane or symbolic/material are irrelevant in discussing Haida social categories and their symbols, or even the Haida notion of symbol. Instead, Haida symbolic thinking is characterized by the permeability of the social and mythical worlds, of socio-logic and mytho-logic. Mythical ideas and their representations can be transformed into social value and tangible property. Moreover, the meanings associated with these are socially re-evaluated to suit individual and collective interests, and to legitimate claims and rights which are both material and non-material. Séguin's (1984: 132fn4) note on the Tsimshian concept of symbol, if not in content but in form, has relevance here: "The Tsimshian did not conceptualize a symbol as something which stands for something else. They did certainly have a concept of an image partaking of two realities simultaneously." The conceptual and practical world of the Haida is one of multiple realities and multiple meanings.

The notion of ambiguity and multiple meaning is further paralleled in, and eventually causally connected with, the concept of animal/human/supernatural-being transformation in Haida mythological thinking. We find expression of the ambiguity of form in the Haida trickster figure of Raven and the beliefs and symbolizations surrounding killerwhales, the word denoting the latter also meaning "power." Underlying the mythical ideas

connected with supernatural beings and transformation is the notion of potentiality - of changing form, of changing intent, of changing being.

Concepts of human-animal transformation and supernatural power, in turn, are connected with the social world in another sense. They relate to notions and practices of "witchcraft" or sorcery (kuganaa), in that sources of power seen as derived from magical practice are used as causative agents in social disputes not carried out before the public.

My model of the conscious negotiability of Haida symbols is reflected in some Haida proverbs, which are capsules of thought expressing how they themselves perceive their world. The title of this thesis is an ellipsis of a Haida proverb expressing the flexibility of social relationships and social boundaries. The phrase "there is something like a curtain hanging between them" expresses the ambiguous boundaries between Haida corporate groups. When we discussed the relationship between matrilineages and their branches, Elders frequently used this phrase to explain the ambiguous and conflicting notions of closeness and social distance, which again were the outcome of past social and political processes (see chapter III.2). It also expresses the negotiability of boundaries, as the curtain can be drawn or opened, depending on the status quo of relationships between individuals or factions.

Another proverb was mentioned by Swanton as representing potentiality in nature: "To signify the narrow margin between life and death, and what a slight cause is required to bring about a change from one to the other, it was a saying at Masset that 'the world is as sharp as a knife', meaning if a man does not take care, he will fall off (i.e. end his life quickly)." (1905a:37). The same proverb was related to me by a Masset Elder in

essentially the same wording (see quotation, p. ii). Taken literally, it is a caveat about man's relationship with nature which is perceived as incalculable, and by implication, ambiguous, having two sides to it like the blade of a knife. Metaphorically, it expresses the ambiguity of social and supernatural relationships, in that statements, symbols, rules and categories can be reinterpreted, and that all beings of the supernatural world - which is a social world in disguise, and vice versa - can potentially change appearance and intentions, are able to be beneficial or harmful.[14)]

The concept of ambiguous form and meaning has previously been discussed in analyses of Haida art and Northwest Coast art in general, which primarily examine the ambiguity of images and the artistic representations of human/animal transformations (see e.g. Duff 1981; Holm and Reid 1975). My attempt here is to relate the concept of ambiguity to the context of social action and to the relationship between social life, natural environment and myth.

The theoretical orientations underlying my argument about the dialectic relationship between social/political action and ambiguous symbolic classification are those dealing with the manipulative roles of individuals in social processes, and the relationship of symbols to social behaviour. The dualism of practical activity and the cognitive structure of social forms furthermore brings to mind certain western philosophical traditions which have given rise to anthropological and sociological theories.[15)] I am not seeking to apply these directly to the way the Haida relate to one another and their environment, but some of the problems raised in our own epistemological traditions may be helpful in translating Haida indigenous

epistemology and social action into the language of social anthropological theory.

Particularly within British social anthropology there has been a tendency since the 1930's to focus on the decision-making role of individuals within institutional frameworks. Influenced by Malinowski's ad hoc assumptions of "calculating primitive man" as well as the very nature of the colonial societies the anthropologists studied, this tendency has culminated in situational and transactional analysis and has questioned the models of social equilibrium and jural-moral consensus proposed by structural functionalism.

Firth's distinction between social structure and social organization, standing for form and process in social life (Firth 1951; 1964), and Lucy Mair's insistence upon the freedom of choice individuals have within "constitutional" frameworks - choice which she saw as ultimately used to promote personal power (Mair 1965:28) - set the tone for detailed investigations into the interplay between individual choice and social categories.[16)]

Of particular interest here is Leach's work, as he deals at length with the concepts of social structure versus empirical reality, the role of ritual symbols [17)] in interaction and the ambiguity of symbolic categories. In Political Systems of Highland Burma (1954 [1964]) he tried to find a way out of the dilemma of anthropological equilibrium ideas (op. cit.: ix): "they only appear systemized if we impose upon them a set of verbal categories." Separated from a description of how a Kachin village actually exists in space and time he presents Kachin society within the mould of an as if system of ideas in equilibrium, arguing that this

heuristically adopted ideal type is mirrored by the verbal categories the Kachin themselves employ in referring to the social phenomena surrounding them. Importantly, the Kachin categories he examines in the core part of his book (pp. 101-196) are so elastic that they can be interpreted in various ways according to the political context the users operate in:

> "In my view the ambiguity of the native categories is absolutely fundamental to the operation of the Kachin social system/.../ It is only because the meaning of his sundry structural categories is, for the Kachin, extremely elastic that he is able to interpret the actuality of his social life as conforming to the formal pattern of the traditional, mythically defined, structural system." (ibid.: 107).

Implied is thus the strategic use of social categories in time and space in legitimating claims of power, status and prestige. The "language of ritual action" (op. cit.: 102), that is, the patterns of verbal and visual symbols associated with the above categories, is used to communicate about political status. This also implies a practical consciousness of the function of symbolic communication and the multiple meanings of the symbols used by individual actors. However, Leach is vague on the relationship between the ideal order and empirical facts, particularly in so far as his "ideal" incorporates both his own structural model of Kachin society and the natives' verbal categories. While he realized his shortcoming in the introductory note to the 1964 edition of Political Systems (p. xiv), he evades the issue by proposing that the Kachin might be subject to the errors of Platonism in the same way as the anthropologists are by assuming the duality of ideal vs. real. Leach leaves it up to the reader to draw epistemological conclusions about the connection between the real and the ideal. He equates the symbolic with the ideal, thus the structural model, and relegates the execution of ritual (symbolic) form to the sphere of the

empirical. While the ethnographic material he analyses leaves room for a dialectic between structure and action, he implicitly continues to insist on their duality:

> "I postulate that structural systems in which all avenues of social action are narrowly institutionalized are impossible. In all viable systems, there must be an area where the individual is free to make choices so as to manipulate the system to his advantage." (1962:133).

A more explicit model focusing on the relationship between social forms and individual choice and constraint was proposed by Frederick Barth in his Models of Social Organization (1966), considered as marking a "paradigm shift" in British social anthropology (Kapferer 1976:2). Its main tenets are that all social relationships can be viewed as transactions, i.e. exchange relationships, which furthermore ensure that "the value gained is greater or at least equal to the value lost" (Ward 1967: 316). Moreover, the outcome of a transaction is the result of choice, of decisions made by the actors. Empirically observable regularities of social behaviour are thus frequencies of recurring outcomes of transactions by actors "who are subject to constraints and incentives inherent in their social positions" (ibid.). The main theoretical components of Barth's model are the concept of maximization, an "aggressive and ethnocentric market philosophy" (Paine 1974:29), and rather in contradiction to this, the notion of normative morality: "Transactional behaviour takes place with reference to [...] a pre-established matrix of statuses" (Barth 1966:5). Paine (op. cit.) has identified some of the major shortcomings of Barth's model, some of which are the vague relationship between constraint and choice, the redundancy of his concept of reciprocity, an oversimplified notion of values, and finally, the lack of consideration of power as a

variable in social interaction. Added to this may be critiques of Barth's acceptance of the ubiquity of the maximization principle: As Cancian notes, it leads the transactional analyst into his process of data selection, for "he does not reject the idea that people will maximize, for it is the basis of his scientific strategy" (1968:23).[18] The concept of maximization in the analysis of reciprocal exchange is of particular interest to my examination of Haida rank and potlatching (chapter IV): On the one hand the social etiquette surrounding the giving of potlatch gifts implies the negation of self-interest, while on the other hand interest is symbolically maximized in oratory and in the act of giving by the very insistence on its denial. The accounting procedures of transactional analysis cannot fully account for the cultural dispositions created by the symbolic nature of the values exchanged in potlatching.

Phenomenological theories of social interaction, like symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology have viewed the rationality implicit in social behaviour from a different perspective: that of self-reflexivity. They emphasize the "kind of interpretive procedures the actor must possess to carry out social exchanges that enable him to recognize what standards are appropriate for particular settings" (Cicourel 1970:19). Self-reflexivity, a kind of rationality going beyond cost-benefit calculus, allows individual actors to interpret social meanings, and moreover, to create and manipulate new ones. This manipulative aspect of the individual presentation of self is particularly evident in Goffman's dramaturgical perspective (e.g. 1959; 1966), which shows how actors, in the guise of "following the rules" and appearing sociable, bargain and manipulate. It is the analysis of strategic conduct in face to face interaction. While

symbolic interactionism adequately illuminates the processes whereby the symbolism of social conventions is used individually to reach consensual decisions, it refrains from investigating the historical and material conditions on which shared social meanings are built. Moreover, focusing on social science as delivering "accounts of accounts" (Garfinkel 1967) which individuals produce of social interaction, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology do not question the objective conditions of interactions within the existing network of social order, i.e. whose meanings are conveyed or challenged, and with what consequences, is left unexplained (see Bourdieu 1977:21). Methodologically and theoretically, both theories make no attempt to close the gap between individual action and structural frameworks, but simply place an epoche on the latter.

Another contribution to the relationship between action and structure, or constraint and choice, is the type of anthropological analysis (situational analysis; extended-case method) advanced by Gluckman and his Manchester School associates since the 1940's. It concentrates upon the analysis of processes of conflict and conflict resolution by observing people in a variety of social situations to determine "the way in which individuals are able to exercise choice within the limits of a specified social structure, ... it is designed to show the way in which the variations excluded by the necessary process of abstraction are in fact contained within the structure" (Mitchell 1964:xii; see also Gluckman 1961). While methodologically, the extended-case method surpasses "apt illustration" methods by systematically analysing processes of interaction in time and space, the familiar dichotomy of structure and action, or choice, persists in Mitchell's above theoretical outline. Of Gluck-

man's students, van Velsen and Turner in particular have pushed his theoretical model further: In The Politics of Kinship (1964) van Velsen examines the instrumental role of kinship links in political manoeuvering among the central African Lakeside Tonga. Social relationships are shown to be "more instrumental in the activities of people than they are the determinants of them" (op.cit.:x). Thus, in analysing the modalities of kinship networks in a variety of social situations, van Velsen shows how concepts such as matrilineal descent and cross-cousin marriage operate as rationalizations of individual actions in the struggle over social and material resources. His work constitutes a practical rather than theoretically motivated break with the above models of choice versus constraints and ideal versus real.

Turner's work, which grew out of the Manchester School's occupation with conflict and conflict solution (c.f. Turner 1957), came to center more on the function of symbols in ritual, and finally social processes. "Symbols are dynamic entities, not static cognitive signs ... they are patterned by events, and informed by passions of human intercourse" (1974:96). Ritual symbols and mythical symbols are seen as instigating social action. Moreover, they are multivocal, susceptible of many meanings. Symbols are seen as forces, and symbolic behaviour "creates society for pragmatic purposes" (ibid.). Symbols as forces mediate between the individual and society, while at the same time being created and recreated by actors for pragmatic purposes. Turner thus presents a dialectic relationship between symbols and human action, although it is the symbols themselves which are of utmost relevance, not human agency.

Turner's work on symbols and social action brings us to the second

type of social theory I am concerned with: Theories of symbols as communicating social meanings. Whereas Turner placed symbols in their historical and social context to demonstrate their force in shaping human action, Claude Lévi-Strauss emphasizes their cognitive qualities in ordering human experience. Structure, in his sense, is neither an observable nor even idealized pattern of social behaviour, but relates to the capacity of the human mind to think orderly, that is, in terms of binary opposites. Structural models thus deal with the representations of thought categories and their transformations as they are produced by the human unconscious. In structuralism,

> " human action takes its meaning as a projection of the cultural scheme which forms its specific context, and its effect by a relation of significance between this contingent reference and the existing order. An event becomes a symbolic relation." (Sahlins 1976:21; emphasis mine).

While Lévi-Strauss does not deny the existence of human interest and motivation, even of myth as a "charter for social action,"[19] meaning, in the structuralist sense, emerges solely from the field of cognitive oppositions. Although structuralism has made explicit symbolic thought as a dimension sui generis (see Deleuze 1973), it places the relevant features of the symbolic order not in its subjective uses, but in its property as a code of the unconscious, which bears meaning regardless of its actualization. Meaning, in this sense, is not contingent upon social events, but is exemplified in the nature of the code itself, and exists only in the mind of the analyst. By treating history as an axis alternative to synchrony, all variation, agency and events become dissolved in structure. Events become signs in a system of oppositions constructed by the analyst.

The theoretical and methodological confrontation of structuralism with

practical activity is most apparent in those areas of analysis hinging most immediately on conscious social action and manipulation: Exchange and marriage rules (e.g. Lévi-Strauss 1949/1969; 1950), both of which have been subject to structuralist scrutiny.

In his review of Mauss' essay on The Gift (Mauss 1925/1966; Lévi-Strauss 1950), Lévi-Strauss stipulates that exchange must be accounted for in terms of its structural properties, in terms of the "mechanical laws" governing reciprocity (1950:29). He charges Mauss - who incorporated native exegesis into his theory of gift exchange - with having stopped short of structuralist reasoning by introducing arguments of a "phenomenological" kind into his analysis: "The only way to escape the dilemma would be to understand exchange as it is constituted by the original phenomenon and not as the unsteady operations into which social life dissects it"(op. cit.:30). However, as Bourdieu (1977:217ff) pointed out, treating gift exchange as a construed object eliminates some of its essential features, particularly the variable of time which enables strategical action. As Giddens (1981:26) adds, these are not merely complementary to structuralist explanation of exchange as a code, but "are not conceptually recoverable from the latter." In short, what is not recoverable from structural analysis is the "practical consciousness", the "tacit knowledge that is skilfully applied in the enactment of courses of conduct but which the actor is not able to formulate discursively" (ibid.). By making the formal cognitive code underlying symbolic communication its final goal of analysis, structural anthropology limits itself to a deciphering process, unable to account for differential individual competence which in turn generates social forms. Thus, to try to account for the Haida inventory of totemic crests as a structurally

analysable system of classification makes little sense, as it can be demonstrated that the very unsystematic character of the crest inventories is due to individual and collective transactions over time.

Similarly, Lévi-Strauss' concept of marriage rule, although mystified by mathematical metaphors (see 1969:xx-xxi), has difficulty relating social practices to the language of model, norm and rule, confusing the (imputed) reality of the model with the model of reality. Needham's attempts (1958; 1962) to dissolve Lévi-Strauss' dilemma between rule and model, prescriptive and preferential, into the exclusive analysis of what he calls prescriptive alliance systems have not disposed of the problem, as he only refuses to consider all those modalities of exchange that do not fit into his pre-cast mold of prescription (see Schneider 1965). Rosman and Rubel, in turn (1971), have tried to apply Lévi-Strauss' model of matrimonial exchange to the analysis of Northwest Coast patterns of marriage and potlatching. While their structural model conveniently discards contradictory ethnographic data to salvage their concept of "elementary structures," a closer look at the apparent contradictions in Haida marriage preferences and the strategies underlying particular matrimonial alliances can serve much better to explain Haida marriage practices than the simplified structural model Rosman and Rubel propose. (see my chapter V.2).

To refute the empirical laxity and the formal apriorism of structuralist theory is not to reject the methodological tool-kit it has provided. How cognitive properties underlying symbolic systems can eventually be related to power and knowledge and the efficiency of symbols, has been shown by Lévi-Strauss (in spite of himself), and particularly by Mary Douglas (1966; 1970) and Leach's more recent work (e.g. 1964). These works

show the usefulness of combining the analysis of categories of thought with that of human agency and the idea of social power.

Recent works on the pragmatic use of symbolic forms have incorporated structuralist and semiotic tools of analysis into the examination of social process, particularly those dealing with ideology and political activity (see Paine 1981; Sapir and Crocker 1977; Kapferer 1976). In this context, Kenneth Burke's theory of language and rhetoric deserves mentioning: Burke views language as action, as "equipment for living", and thus "draws our attention to the ways in which the application of categories of particular situations constitutes strategies for handling these social engagements" (Crocker 1977:34). Rhetoric, in the sense in which Bailey (see above, p.8) employs the term, brings about identification between the speaker and his audience through the strategic use of metonym and metaphor (see also Paine 1981). Metaphor, in this sense, is necessarily associated with intended ambiguity as calling upon two domains of experience simultaneously (Burke 1966; 1969). "This leads directly to the elusive as well as allusive quality of metaphor's similarity" (Paine 1981:188), and, in the social context, to the function of ambiguity as concerned with the legitimation of meaning (op. cit.), which I have mentioned above with reference to the Haida. Metonymy, by contrast, refers to a process of reduction, transposing the "intangible back into the tangible", bringing together "knowns so that they 'touch' each other" (op. cit.:188). With these propositions in mind, the devices of rhetoric, i.e. the symbolism of persuasion used in Haida manifestations of rank and reciprocity, will be examined in chapter IV.

To finally incorporate the above theories of symbolic behaviour and pragmatic interest with those of social choice and constraints, we must

turn to Giddens' theory of structuration (1979) and Bourdieu's theory of practice (1972/1976/1977). Giddens' work is valuable mostly in that it raises and sums up important theoretical critiques of structuralist and structural functional theory - see above - and seeks to make explicit the function of practical consciousness in the reproduction of social life by synthesizing various sociological and philosophical trends. In formulating a theory of structuration, Giddens insists on a "mutual dependence of structure and agency" (op. cit.:69), and methodologically, a dualism of institutional analysis and the analysis of strategic conduct (op. cit.:80). In his view, the two can be methodologically separated by placing an epoche on either; the "level of modality /.../ provides the coupling elements whereby the bracketing of strategic or institutional analysis is dissolved in favour of an acknowledgement of their interrelation" (op. cit.:81). A more complex model of the interrelationship between structure and agency and the function of symbolic behaviour - and, beyond this, one supported by ethnographic data - is Bourdieu's Outline of a Theory of Practice (1972; 1976; 1977)[20]. With theoretical borrowings from Marxian and Hegelian dialectics, structuralism, Weberian historicism and a Wittgensteinian concept of meaning, Bourdieu formulates a model of the generative principle of what appears to the observer - i.e. the ethnographer - as social order. In other words, he explicates how objective sense[21] is relayed to individual action. In doing so, he provides links between the concepts of cultural competence, rules and strategies, the logic of symbolic classification and the symbolizations of power relationships.

Bourdieu, first of all, notes that the status of the ethnographer as outside observer who has to decipher social activity makes him prone to

reduce all social relations to decoding operations. The necessity to decipher, rather than be competent in, cultural and social practices, lets him/her analyse social relations as faits accomplis, rather than focusing on the modus operandi of their generation. But theoretical formulations in the language of rules, norms, models and structure which relegate all social action to execution cannot account for the practical competence of the symbolism of social interaction. Therefore, he aims at a theory of practice which, he postulates, has the aim to make possible "a science of the dialectical relations between the objective structures to which the objectivist mode of knowledge gives access and the structured dispositions within which those structures are actualized and which tend to reproduce them" (p.3; emphasis Bourdieu).

Between the objective (i.e. historical and material) conditions of existence and the observable practices he posits the concept of habitus,

> "a system of durable, transposable dispositions,[22] structured structure predisposed to function as structuring structure, that is, as the principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without in any way being the produce of obedience to rules" (op. cit.:72).

As a "matrix of perceptions" (op. cit.:83) which is the product as well as producing agent - in the sense of cultural competence - of collective meaning, the habitus "organizes not only the perception of practices but also the production of practices" (op. cit.:118). Structuralist theory examines classificatory schemes as systems, from the point of view of their internal consistency; Bourdieu, in emphasizing the production of practices, looks at classificatory schemes, implicit in proverbs, etiquette, marriage "rules", kinship terms, magical and religious practices, etc., as instruments of knowledge. As such, they fulfil functions other than those of pure

cognition whose utility, however, is masked by presenting them in the language of ritual: "They are political instruments which contribute to the reproduction of the social world by producing immediate adherence to the world" (op. cit.:164, emphasis mine).

As political tools, classificatory schemes imply management and strategic use; they are dictated by practical logic, "which is not that of /mathematical/ logic" (op. cit.:110). The practical logic of classificatory schemes makes use of polythesis, polysemy and indeterminacy of the items it uses as symbols, which leaves room for strategical play with categories, for interpretation in the form of challenge and riposte. Political interest masked by ritualized expressions involves the play with ambiguity, allowing for the practical definition of social situations and for symbolic gain derived from them, which can be turned into material gain. The notion that interest is masked by acts of "social alchemy", (op. cit.: 192), by making acts conform to the classificatory scheme of proper conduct, and by thus symbolically making the interests of self conform to those of the group, brings us to Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital and symbolic violence. Bourdieu's work bears the stamp of Marx' Thesen uber Feuerbach (see 1976:137). The theory of practice makes explicit Marx' postulation to grasp the social world as "...menschlich sinnliche Tätigkeit, Praxis" (Marx/Engels 1972: 370). Where for Marx, however, Praxis was grounded in human labour, in economic activity, Bourdieu departs from Marxian materialism in acknowledging symbolic labour and symbolic capital as entities in themselves and for themselves, operant in "archaic" (pre-capitalist) societies. Symbolic labour is the maintenance and cultivation of all social relations which ensure support and acknowledgement, in other

words, the maintenance of honour, required to conceal the personal and collective interests behind acts of exchange. Symbolic capital consists in the prestige accumulated through the cultivation of the kinship and alliance network, the "capital of rights and duties built up over successive generations" (op. cit.:181). It is a "transformed and therefore disguised form of economic capital" (op. cit.:183), which is moreover reconvertible into economic capital (op. cit.:183) through the actualization of credit, services, through assistance, loans or gifts. Moreover, it is the socially sanctioned form of capital.

The function and effects of symbolic labour and symbolic capital are most visible in the gift economy, of which the potlatch is but one example. They result in a kind of domination which is all the more effective as it is masked behind obligation, credit, confidence, hospitality and loyalty. Gifts, in so far as they impose "voluntary" debt, create a gentle, "invisible,...socially recognized" (op. cit.:191) kind of violence: symbolic violence. It is the violence of "credit, confidence, obligation, personal loyalty, hospitality, gifts,..."(op. cit.:192), and it is all the more effective as it is "euphemized" (ibid.) through the ritual denial of interest in the act of giving..."But in reality such denials of interest, are never more than practical disclaimers: like Freud's Verneinung, the discourse which says what it says only in a form that tends to show that it is not saying it, they satisfy interest in a (disinterested) manner designed to show that they are not satisfying interest". This means that the "manner of giving must be such that the outward forms of the act present a practical denial of the content of the act, symbolically transmuting an interested exchange or a simple power relation into a relationship set up in due form

for form's sake, i.e. inspired by pure respect for the customs and conventions recognized by the group." (op. cit.:194). Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence is central to my analysis of the field of Haida social relationships centering around the achievement and maintenance of social rank: The language of ritual and disinterestedness surrounding the Haida concept of yahguudaang, or rank euphemized as respect, disguises its management, the social and political interests of individuals, and thus the political function of the potlatch.

Finally, Bourdieu's work throws light on the concept of rule which has equivocally been applied in the social sciences as theoretical construct, native moral imperative or observed regularity[23]. What emerges as the socially - and hence analytically - relevant function of the rule is knowing it and using it as a means to legitimize actions: "The agent who 'regularizes' his situation or puts himself in the right is simply beating the group at its own game; in abiding by the rules, falling into line with good form, he wins the group over to his side by ostentatiously honouring the values the group honours" (op. cit.:22). Or, as Giddens puts it, "rules and practices only exist in conjunction with one another" (op. cit.:65); they must be treated as both "media and outcome of the reproduction of social systems" (ibid.)[24].

To sum up these theoretical orientations, Wittgenstein's concept of Sprachspiel, expressing the connection between /linguistic/ meaning and social practice, stands a metaphor for social meaning, which is produced and explored simultaneously by "two dimensional man" (Cohen 1974), who is political while being symbolist at the same time. Using a parable (c.f. p.303) we can conclude with a quote from modern literature:

> "When I use a word, Humpty Dumpty said, in a rather scornful tone, "it means just what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less."
> "The question is," said Alice, "whether you can make words mean so many different things."
> "The question is," said Humpty Dumpty, "which is to be master, that's all."
>
> Lewis Caroll,
> Through the Looking Glass

2. Organization:

Following an initial chapter describing the Haida's physical environment and their cultural expression of it, the core of this thesis is organized into four chapters analysing the sphere of social relationships among the Masset Haida, and two chapters examining their mythical classification, which, in turn, is related to the social sphere.

My discussion of the symbolism of social classification and its management starts (Chapter III) with an examination of the principles of moiety division and lineage segmentation. While membership in moieties and lineages is unambiguously matrilineal, filial succession and inheritance are and were frequently practiced, resulting in the alienation of material and symbolic property from the corporate groups. A look at the rhetoric surrounding the origins of the moieties, and in particular the relations among lineages, reveals a surprising complexity in the symbolic expressions of social distance. These, in turn, can be related to questions of legitimacy of factions and individuals over lineage resources.

Chapter IV examines the concept of rank within the lineage and the rhetoric of how rank is established and maintained through the mutual evaluation of reciprocal transactions. Social rank is dependent on property distribution and birth status, but also on public opinion, both

tacitly from one's own group and officially from the opposite side. The delicate relationship between self and others is expressed by the Haida as "respect", guudaang, which can be acquired only if granted to others.

Chapter V focuses on the negotiable character of kinship categories (kategoreisthei = "to accuse publicly"). Kinship categories are here viewed as a code within which claims and manipulations are uttered. While Haida kinship terminology can be formally identified or typified as "weak Crow", the formal properties of classification leave aside the important question as to who is classified as what kin for what purposes; an important analytical distinction is between nominal kinsmen and practical kinsmen. Terms are maximally extended, thus enabling individuals to be called by more than one kin term. Moreover, adoption increases the possibility for secondary affiliations and claims as well as duties resulting from these. Similarly, marriage "rules" among the Haida can not be understood from the logic of matrimonial exchange alone, as Rosman and Rubel (1971) tried to show. An analysis of actual data and cases shows that structuralist models of exchange can neither account for the ambiguities of the marriage rules nor for the strategies underlying the production of forms of marriage.

Chapter VI analyses the flux between the material and symbolic property, and the management of symbolic property. As symbolic property is contingent upon transactions between groups and individuals, it is continuously managed, its meaning redefined. The focus is particularly on two kinds of symbolic property: Crests and names. Crests provide an interesting case as they defy all structuralist interpretation. Names, as they are carried by individuals of differing statuses, are subject to

negotiation of meaning.

Chapter VII further explores the concept of ambiguity as it appears in Haida mythical thought. Particular emphasis is on the figure of Raven, the Trickster/Transformer who impersonates the notion of social and natural marginality and unpredictability; and on the concept of transformation between animal-human-supernatural being states, which pervades Haida mythology. Powerful images of these transformations are those surrounding beliefs and myths about killerwhales.

The exegesis of mythical characters is again related to the world of social interaction in Chapter VIII, which features an examination of the concepts of kuganaa and stlaguu, Haida notions of evil forces, of witchcraft or sorcery. Using a code of mythical classification, sorcery expresses social antagonisms that individuals are unable to carry out in public terms of rank and reciprocity.

Finally, Chapter IX will present some theoretical conclusions reflecting again on the theoretical issues I have raised in my introduction.

3. Fieldwork

The main period of fieldwork for this dissertation was carried out between October 1979 and the end of August 1981. Masset and the Queen Charlotte Islands were not entirely unfamiliar to me as I had spent the spring of 1977 in the Haida village and at New Masset, carrying out field research for my Master's Thesis on contemporary Haida social and economic life (Boelscher 1977).

My initial objective in 1979 was to collect data on Haida myth and symbolism for a projected analysis of Swanton's texts and myths. However,

the content and format of the present thesis were dictated by the context and subsequent content of field research: To facilitate my research and to have the opportunity to learn the Haida language, I opted to live in the household of a Haida Elder. As luck - and her generosity - would have it, Emma Matthews, the then 86-year-old widow of Willie Matthews, one of the last hereditary chiefs, welcomed me into her household. While officially sanctioned by the Masset Band Council as ethnographer - my practical role among Elders and their kin was "the girl who looks after Nonni /grandmother/ Emma", a role I gladly accepted. Household chores were interspersed with lengthy ethnographic sessions at the kitchen table while the bread was rising or the stew was simmering, often interrupted by children and grandchildren, neighbours and other villagers visiting, dropping off freshly gathered foods, having tea and food.

The Matthews household and the village in general were the scene of bustling ceremonial activity during the fall of 1979. Oliver Adams, the successor of Willie Matthews passed away soon after my arrival. This involved the village in funeral preparations, the funeral itself and a post-funeral feast attended by some 450 people. His death also initiated the process of selecting a successor, which gave me first glimpses of the subtle rhetoric and action involved in traditional Haida political process.

During this time, the Matthews household celebrated the wedding of a grand-daughter, recruiting me matter-of-factly to the preparations and organization, which involved cooking for some 250 invited guests, baking dozens of cakes and pies and cup-cakes to be taken home by the guests during the feast, decorating the hall, polishing silver, washing dishes, mobilizing further lineage support....This wedding was soon followed by two others in

the village, as well as numerous mortuary potlatches, further dinners and feasts, not to mention the weekly Church Army meetings which form part of the network of social obligation and ritual exchange.

While all these events overtly had little "Indian flavour", their structure was shaped by matri-lineage solidarity, moiety reciprocity, the perpetual chains of obligation, of "showing respect","acknowledging others", values so typical of traditional Haida culture (e.g. Stearns 1981). Participating in these events, and even more importantly, the social interaction surrounding them, gave me the first hunches of the political nature of "ceremonial" events, and of the ever-present cycles of formal and informal obligation villagers are involved in.

Most of the genealogical data, kinship terminology, lineage affiliations of ancestors, were recorded during informal sessions at Emma Matthews' kitchen table and during visits with numerous Elders, during which information was cross-checked and additional information received. In addition, I obtained instruction in the Haida language and elicited Haida vocabulary. One major pursuit became the collecting of Haida names. In the process of fieldwork, some 400 aboriginal names, noting each person who had received them and their lineage affiliations, were recorded. Names, by way of the rules of their transmission, (see ch. VI.2), provided keys to genealogies and lineage affiliations, marital alliances and territorial affiliation. Acknowledging the political significance of names, Elders were enthusiastic in helping to remember them and their bearers. Indian names recorded by Swanton and missionaries - the latter usually badly corrupted in writing - were pronounced to Elders and corrected, their lineage affiliation and bearers noted. In addition, these names turned out to be starting points

for additional reminiscences. One must not forget that the majority of the people who contributed their knowledge are, or were, in their 70's and 80's. Much information emerged only contextually, with the setting of the interview or incidences preceding it prompting the recollection of names and individuals, their relationships to others, and their actions that had been forgotten.

A case in point is Emma Matthews' reconstructed list of children. The baptism records and Indian Agency censuses had not recorded all births. Sporadic recollections revealed that she gave birth to a set of twins, and moreover, revealed the birth of a daughter by a previous marriage. This memory only surfaced contextually, when I was expecting a child myself. Importantly, it could be corroborated by Mary Lee Stearns' demographic reconstructions.

Emma Matthews has a keen memory regarding names and relationships, having lived in the village for by now 90 years, being the daughter of high-ranked parents and the widow of the town chief. Occasionally, recollections surfaced at unexpected times, as this excerpt from my field journal shows:

> "We worked on Indian names in the morning. The session ended with me asking her what x's mother's name was. She could not think of it but said she would probably think of it in a while. She then had to go up town to shop. In the evening, we went to a memorial potlatch at ...'s place, and never continued our work. In the middle of the night, she became sick and we had to take her to the hospital uptown. The diagnosis was a case of pleurisy-pneumonia. While she lay on the bed in the emergency room, she suddenly asked if I had a piece of paper on me: She had just remembered the Indian name I had asked earlier in the day and wanted me to write it down! It is 7ohlaal jaad."

During January 1980, I also began work with Adam Bell, then 78 years old, and hereditary chief of one of the local lineages. His wife Ruth, now deceased, was usually present, nodding agreement or interjecting bits of

information. Adam Bell is regarded as an excellent orator in the Haida language, and knows many "high words". Except for a very brief period, he never attended residential school, thus his Haida is fluent and elaborate. He is considered an able orator in the Haida language, and from him, aided by the translation of his son Lawrence, who is also fluent in Haida, stems much of the information on speech-making, proper terms of address, rank, etc.. Adam Bell is also an excellent narrator of Haida myths and oral history. Much of the information in Chapter VII, and the two myths retold and translated in the appendix, are from him. In addition to recording his myths in Haida and translating them, we also worked the reverse way, i.e. I read some of Swanton's texts to him, letting him comment on them, which clarified their meaning and often prompted the recollection of other myths and stories.

The spring and summer of 1980 were filled with subsistence activity, such as slicing, smoking and canning salmon, drying halibut and seaweed, and with occasional trips to K'yuust'aa and the West Coast, North Island and Rose Spit.

During the following year, my role with the Haida changed. I had set up my own household, and, in 1981, was married - an occasion celebrated with a traditional Haida wedding feast - and had a child. Especially my pregnancy brought forth bits of information from middle-aged and elderly Haida women on child-bearing and pregnancy which were inaccessible previously. The Haida love and cherish children, and my daughter was warmly welcomed and passed around among members of the household and the community. During this time, until the end of August 1981, I continued further work on genealogies, names, oral history etc., checking over information and filling

some gaps.

During visits in August 1982 and in October 1983, I had the opportunity to visit Masset again and check and augment my data. The visit in October 1983 was especially valuable, as it allowed me to participate in a stone-moving and memorial potlatch for the late Ruth Bell. It once again permitted me to visit with many of the "nonnies" /grandmothers"/, "chinnis" /grandfathers/ and "aunties", preparing for an event, and partaking in endless hours of cheerful discussion and laughter at the kitchen table.

During July and August of 1984, I was able to record further myths and oral histories with Adam Bell in Vancouver. Before, during and after fieldwork, additional data were collected in archives, particularly the Church Missionary Society Archives of the Anglican Church in London, England (May 1979; January 1981), and the Hudson's Bay Company Archives at the Manitoba Provincial Archives in Winnipeg (December 1981). Further archival and ethnohistorical materials were generously made available to me by Dr. Mary Lee Stearns.

I think that my data, and the thesis itself, show that, allowing for ample research time, data on traditional Haida social organization and symbolic thinking can still be collected. Moreover, the data collected by Mary Lee Stearns, which I had access to, and by Margaret Blackman, which I know only from her published works, can be verified and augmented, or further versions on incidents can be collected by consulting with other informants. However, time is running out quickly, as the key informants who gave their time and knowledge to me and other ethnographers and linguists, are getting on in age, some having died since the late 1970's. While the next age set is replacing them as Elders, those presently in their late

seventies and eighties are the last fluent speakers of Haida, meaning much knowledge will be gone with them.

4. The Time Perspective:

This work, as I have already mentioned, deals with "traditional Haida society". There is, however, no unity of time, place and action in this thesis; its content is based on observations of present Haida life, especially among Elders, on the recollections and knowledge of Elders, and on ethnohistorical and published ethnographic sources. Therefore, it is necessary to make some remarks qualifying the time perspective taken in the following chapters and to draw an analytical distinction between "traditional" and "aboriginal".

The Haida and their ancestors have inhabited their land, Xaadaa Gwaay, or the Queen Charlotte Islands, for a long and continuous period of time: Archaeological evidence suggests that the first inhabitants of these islands crossed over from the mainland some 8,000 years ago (Fladmark 1979); Haida belief holds that their origin occurred in the mythical past not counted in decades, centuries or millenia, when Raven, the Trickster-Transformer, coaxed the present world into existence and found some human beings in a clam-shell at Nee kun on the northeastern shore of the Islands. Further Haida myths and oral traditions tell us about substrata of "foreigners" among the Haida, about marginal strangers[24)], about wars and intermarriage with the Mainland tribes, and the cultural borrowings and adaptations resulting from these. Although we have no ethnographic data about the Haida and other Northwest Coast Indians dating from the days before acculturation began, the "pre-contact" cultures and the social organizations of

the Northwest Coast Indians were by no means idyllically stagnant, but in a perpetual state of mobility and flux. It was not by accident that Franz Boas developed his theories of "historical particularism", of the infinite complexities of cultural life and its diffusion, on the basis of his investigations among Northwest Coast Indians.

In comparison with the Haidas' long occupation of the Queen Charlotte Islands, white contact has been recent, although nonetheless devastating. After the Islands were "discovered" - i.e. sighted - by Juan Pérez, a Spaniard, in 1774, they were visited by dozens of English, American, and a few French and Spanish seafarers. The ensuing sea otter trade brought mainly material change for the Haida, enabling them to acquire metal tools and goods, European household implements, cloth, etc. While occasionally, armed disputes occurred, the social fabric of the Haida was touched little; instead, the fur trade period is generally seen as having produced a stimulus to native culture (see Duff 1964) [25]. Major change, however, came about since the mid-nineteenth century. With the establishment of major trading posts at Fort Simpson and Fort Victoria, the natives increased their mobility, were introduced to wage labour, cash, liquor, venereal disease, measles and influenza. Finally, two smallpox epidemics in the 1840's and 1860's had a devastating effect, eventually reducing the Haida population by more than 80% (Duff 1964). There was little resistance when an Anglican mission was started at Masset by Reverend W. Collison (later the Archdeacon Collison) in 1876. The above factors drastically changed the social and cultural life of the Haida, the high death rate resulting in the nucleation of the remaining population at Masset. Social positions remained unfilled, nouveaux riches gained access to power, beliefs and prac-

tices were forcefully abandoned. Missionization was followed by the usurpation of native Indian land after British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871. The Reserve Commission headed by Peter O'Reilly in 1882 allocated abandoned and present village sites as reserve land [26]. In 1885, potlatching was abolished under the newly implemented Indian Act. While the population gradually recovered after the turn of the century, the paternalistic administration of the Federal Government did little to enhance the cultural survival of the Haida during the twentieth century. There is little visible evidence today of what we could reconstruct as former Haida culture as depicted in history and myth. Yet, as Stearns (1975; 1981; see also Blackman 1973; 1982) has shown, there is a surprising continuity of ceremonial life in the context of external constraints.

On the background of this devastating cultural and social change over the last 200 years, we must evaluate the data on Haida culture and society which we have at our disposal. While ethnohistoric records on the Haida date back to the seafarers' journals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century [27], to fragmentary observations by prospectors and traders [28], and to the records of missionaries [29], serious ethnographic investigation did not commence until after the serious population decline and missionization. Followed by some government reports on the Haida [30], John R. Swanton carried out nine months of ethnographic and linguistic field research in Masset and Skidegate in 1900-1901. His emphasis was on the investigation of the "religious ideas, social organization and language" (1905a:9) of the Haida, compiled in his Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida (1905a), his Skidegate Myths (1905b) and Masset Texts (1908), his Haida Songs (1912), and his sketch of the Haida language in Boas' Handbook of American Indian

Languages (1911). While, as I have mentioned earlier, Swanton was not concerned with recording social process, the linguistic quality of his texts is excellent - with few revisions, they can be read to and understood by informants today - his lists of families, houses, names, etc., are invaluable documents. Swanton himself, particularly in his series of Masset Texts (1908:273), noted the evidence of missionary influence which "deprive them of some of their old significance", as well as influencing the style of speech of some informants (ibid.). Most of his informants[31] were middle-aged to elderly at the turn of the century, their reminiscences of potlatches, ceremonials and knowledge of religious and social organization as well as myths going back to the mid-nineteenth century. We thus have no thorough ethnographic documents from the early or pre-white contact period; our best source on aboriginal Haida society is Swanton's work which he understood to be salvage ethnography at the time.

In 1932, G. P. Murdock undertook a brief investigation of Haida kinship, social organization and potlatching which, however, yielded relatively little in the way of original data. During the 1960's and 1970's, Mary Lee Stearns spent lengthy periods at Masset, collecting recollections of Elders as well as contemporary data. Margaret Blackman has conducted fieldwork in Masset since the early 1970's, collecting ethnohistory and life-history data. It is interesting to note that during Stearns' early field period (1962; 1965-66), the orientation of informants was towards the White world, towards acculturation. While discussing and comparing data, she and I have furthermore noticed that native interpretations of cases and data have changed between the 1960's and the 1980's.

During my own fieldwork in 1979-81, the interest by young people in

the "olden ways" had been stirred through a revival of carving and dancing and the display of "neo-traditional" (see Stearns 1984:293f) ritual. Issues such as the ongoing land-claims, and resurgent native militancy against the exploitation of the Islands' resources by multi-national companies have created interest in patterns of aboriginal land use and ownership among young and middle-aged as well as Elder Haida. During community meetings there was talk of reviving the old "tribes" /matri-lineages/, of "listening to what the Elders tell us", accompanied by an eager display of all knowledge, direct or acquired, of the past. Many households own books on Haida art and culture. Because reprints of Swanton's texts are expensive and access is difficult, few people had read his works in detail. What they had read were the popular history of the Queen Charlotte Islands by Kathleen Dalzell (1968; 1972), copies of Barbeau's works on Haida Argillite carvings and totem-poles, and a fictional - and in many respects false - account of culture contact (Harris 1966). Many young people are thus growing up with a popularized version of Haida culture and mythology, and in many respects are presented with a White man's view of Haida culture and society[33]. The Elders, especially those who are fluent in Haida, represent the only continuous link with the "olden days" - even if it is a very diluted link - and are publicly acknowledged as the source of wisdom of the "Haida ways". In Masset, we must distinguish between two old age sets: those roughly between 60 and 80, who know Haida but, with a couple of exceptions, speak English more fluently, having spent some of their formative years in residential schools; and those roughly above 80 who are fluent speakers of Haida and are the children of parents who still potlatched. We must not forget, however, that the latter look

upon their own parents, uncles, aunts and grandparents, as the authorities of the "old ways".

An important aspect of the knowledge of the "old ways", or "Haida ways", as they are called, is that these are not treated as folkloristic fragments of former times; instead, knowledge of who bears what Indian name, who has rights to property, group membership and their symbols, who is properly called by which kinship term, signifies power and political control in the intra-village context, although this power is not necessarily of significance beyond this sphere. The knowledge over symbols continues to be jealously guarded by the modern day Haida, and I maintain that this factor is an important link with the former set of values. Thus, it is essentially the continuity of the access to and control over symbols that I am focusing on here. What is termed "traditional" practices, beliefs and organization in this thesis, does not by necessity make reference to a reconstructed pre-contact/pre-reserve period, but to behavioural and idea patterns that have existed since before contact, as the Haida themselves maintain, and have persisted through time, sometimes adjusted to current conditions and confronted by White values. They represent the conscious knowledge and use of indigenous values and practices which in many instances have involved adaptations and reinterpretation over time. As "aboriginal" I will define those traditional practices and values that are no more remembered by present Haida, and that are not connected with the present. Importantly, the concept of traditional values and practices is a dynamic one, especially in so far as it concerns the symbols of social relationships. In the process of change both before and since White contact, the Haida have continued to manage and renegotiate their

symbolic schemes, continuing to perceive of the world as "sharp as a knife" with a keen sense of the ambiguity of symbols and their referents, and a sense of the political nature of all public transactions. With ethnographic evidence from the present, the recent and not so recent past, this point will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

On a practical note, I shall be employing the present tense in most ethnographic materials I present, except where incidences need to be marked as having occurred at one particular point in time in the past, or where customs are acknowledged by Elders as no more practiced.

One final word regarding the use of names on the following pages: Throughout the chapters, I have used the Indian names of the individuals concerned, as, with the exception of a few chiefly names, the Indian names are known only to those concerned. Besides this, Indian names, rather than fictional ones, seemed a logical choice, as they reflect the indigenous status identity of the bearers and emphasize the place of events within the framework of what the people themselves consider traditional processes.

Footnotes

1) see Swanton 1905a/b; 1908; Dawson 1880; Murdock 1934a/b; 1936 for standard ethnographic sources on the Haida. Recent ethnographic reserach has been carried out by Stearns (see 1975; 1981; 1984) and by Blackman (1973; 1981; 1982).

2) Cohen/Comaroff in Kapferer 1976. See also Kapferer's introduction to the same volume for the development of action theory or transactional analysis.

3) Murphy (1972) also raised the question of the "dialectic of social life", and gives an overview of relevant theoretical orientations, without, however, explicitly outlining an anthropological theory dealing with the problem. See also Sahlins 1976.

4) The view of politics in transactional theory of course varies from that of structural functionalist theory which is primarily concerned with the analysis of political institutions.

5) Adams' work (1973) on the Tsimshian potlatch is a case in point: While in a few pages of ethnographic illustration he inadvertently cites numerous cases indicating the manipulation of social relationships, he disregards the very processes by which this is achieved in his potlatch model (see Boelscher 1982 for a critique).

6) see Goldman 1975, Walens 1981, Rosman and Rubel 1971, Fleisher 1981.

7) see Boas' review of Locher, The Serpent in Kwakiutl Religion (1933) and his The Social Organization of the Kwakiutl (1920), both reprinted in Boas 1940.

8) Swanton, J. R., correspondence with Franz Boas. American Museum of Natural History, Archives, made available to me by Dr. Mary Lee Stearns. This is no intention to remark on Swanton's work regarding the recording of texts, which is of excellent quality.

9) see 6); also Lévi-Strauss 1971.

10) see Burridge 1967 for a critique of Lévi-Strauss' use of contrary and contradiction.

11) For a definition of "traditional" and the time perspective taken in general, see section 4 of this chapter.

12) The Coast Salish placed much more emphasis on the Guardian Spirit idea than the Northern tribes, among whom spirit quests assure rights for the entire group which are then socially inherited. See Amoss(1977); Elmendorf (1977; 1984).

13) Boas (1916) noted the "socialization of the Guardian Spirit idea on the North Coast".

14) Wilson Duff has made use of this metaphor, although with reference to art and not to social relations. See his essay, and that of R. Ridington in the memorial volume to Duff edited by D.Abbott, which bears the title The World is as Sharp as a Knife.

15) This refers basically to the Kantian concept of the apriorism of form over content as opposed to the Marxian and Hegelian dialectic. My use of the concept dialectic is based on Marx rather than Hegel.

16) For a review of the theoretical and historical development of political anthropology, see Vincent 1978.

17) Leach's concept of ritual is somewhat unusual. It seems to refer to the expressive qualities of symbols and symbolism in general.

18) see also R. Burling (1962) for a discussion of the maximization principle.

19) see Lévi-Strauss, The Structural Analysis of Myth and Totemism (1958), also Lévi-Strauss 1964; 1971.

20) Bourdieu's ethnographic data are about the North African Kabylians. I am not seeking to apply his ethnographic data to the Haida; but his theory, which is intended as having significance beyond the ethnographic case he presents, is of relevance to my work.

21) note his quotation of the encyclopedic and etymological meaning of sense in 1972 and 1976. French sense (as well as Weber's Sinn) encompass both the English concepts of "meaning" and (empirical) "sense" as derived from practical activity. Unfortunately, the original French edition, the German translation (1976) and the later English translation (1977) of Bourdieu's work do not correspond well. The German translation includes theoretical additions to his original French text, most, although not all, of which are included in the English translation; the latter, however, omits the three studies of Kabylian ethnography preceding the theoretical chapters - a crucial omission, as these ethnographic chapters must be considered as prolegomena to his theory.

22) The lexical meanings of disposition adequately circumscribe the content of habitus as "the result of an organizing action" with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a way of being, a habitual state... and in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity, or inclination" (Bourdieu 1977:214, fn.1; emphasis Bourdieu).

23) see The Fallacy of the Rule (1977:22-30; also 1976:159-64 and 203-229 for a longer version). As Bourdieu shows, Lévi-Strauss 1969 is a case in point. Useful is Quine's distinction between rules fitting and guiding behaviour, i.e. constitutive and regulative rules (Quine 1972 in Bourdieu 1977:162). Both Bourdieu and Giddens discuss Wittgenstein's philosophical play with the concept of "rule".

24) see Swanton's 1905a, on the "Pitch People" of the West Coast. In 1979-80, older Haida mentioned that many place names on the West Coast of the Queen Charlottes are Tlingit; one informant also made reference to an allegedly non-Haida group which was to have lived formerly at Neiden Harbour.

25) The extent of social change produced by the fur trade period is subject to debate. As early as the early 19th century, Haida were hired on trading vessels, visited Hawaii and the Far East, and wage labour became accessible to them to some extent, possibly sowing first seeds to changes in the ranking system and in potlatching. There seems to have been some smallpox on the Coast prior to the 1940's.

26) The Masset Band now has 26 small reserves comprising a total of 2,254.2 acres (Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Development Statistics, North Coast District, 1975). The reserves, - with the exception of Masset proper, are abandoned village sites and camping areas at the mouths of salmon creeks.

27) see, for example, Bishop 1967; Boit 1941; Ingraham 1971; Roquefeuil 1823; Marchand 1801; Dixon 1789.

28) see Poole 1872; Deans 1899.

29) Harrison 1925; Collison 1915.

30) Dawson 1880; Niblack 1888; Chittenden 1884; Newcombe, Ms.

31) Swanton's informants at Masset were: Walter Kingaagwaaw of the Stl'ang 7laanas, Philip Kihldlaaygaa of the Kianuusulee, Isaac Haayaa of the Hliielang keeagwee, Richard St'asdas of the Dou Git7ans and Charlie Edenshaw of the Sdast'aas. His interpreters were Mary Ridley and Henry Edenshaw.

32) The Masset Haida have, at this time, submitted sea-claims. The Council of the Haida Nation has been formed by the Masset and Skidegate Haida to formulate land-claims.

33) Dauenhauer (1981) has drawn attention to this problem regarding the Tlingit.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THE SETTING

The Haida are the native people living on the Queen Charlotte Islands off the mainland Coast of British Columbia, and a group that migrated from here to Southeastern Alaska, probably during the eighteenth century.[1] "Haida" is a corruption of xaadee, meaning "the people" in their language. The Queen Charlotte Islands are Xaada gwaay, "island of the people".

The Haida language, according to new assessments (Krauss 1973; Levine 1979), represents a linguistic isolate, with no certain relationship to Tlingit and the Athapascan languages.[2] The Haida language itself is divided into two major dialects: Northern (Masset) Haida, spoken on the North Coast of Graham Island and at Hydaburg, Alaska, and Skidegate dialect, spoken by the Haida now living at Skidegate. In aboriginal times, the Haida acknowledged a further dialect, Ninstints, spoken at the extreme south of the Islands. Furthermore, Elders insist today that the people on the West Coast of Graham Island and those at Juus kaahlii (Juskatla) at the southern portion of Masset Inlet "used to talk differently", and the Massets themselves note a difference between their speech and that of Alaskan Haidas.

Locally, the Haida divide themselves into a number of matrilineal corporate groups sharing territory, resources and symbolic property (see chapters III and VI). Other terms for local divisions, however, transcend the lineage boundaries and designate people according to the geographic area of the Islands their ancestors occupied, hence grouping together people of unrelated matrilineal groups. Accordingly, the Northern Haida distinguish between the Dou xaadee, "West Coast people", K'eeis xaadee,

"Straits people" at and around Parry Pass, between North Island and Graham Island (see Figure 1), Gawa xaadee, "Masset Inlet people", T'iis xaadee, "Rocky Coast people", between Virago Sound and Masset Inlet, and Nee kun xaadee, "Rose Spit people", on the Eastern tip of Graham Island. Today, Gawa xaadee is commonly used to refer to all those amalgamated at Masset at the entrance of Masset Inlet from the entire northern portion of the Islands, whereas Skidegate xaadee designates those now living at Skidegate, and K'eeis xaadee the Kaigani (K'eeik'aanee)[3] of Alaska, who formerly left their settlement around North Island and now live mainly at Hydaburg, Alaska.

Finally, the Haida designate themselves locally according to their ancestral villages. For the Northern Haida, the major villages are:

Tiaan (Tian) Tliiduu	West Coast of Graham Island
K'yuust'aa Daadans Yaaku	around Parry Pass
Yaats Kang	at Neiden Harbour
7Ad7aiwaas K'aayang 7iijaaw Yaan (Yan)	at the mouth of Masset Inlet
Hliielang Nee Kun	near Rose Spit, Northeast Graham Island

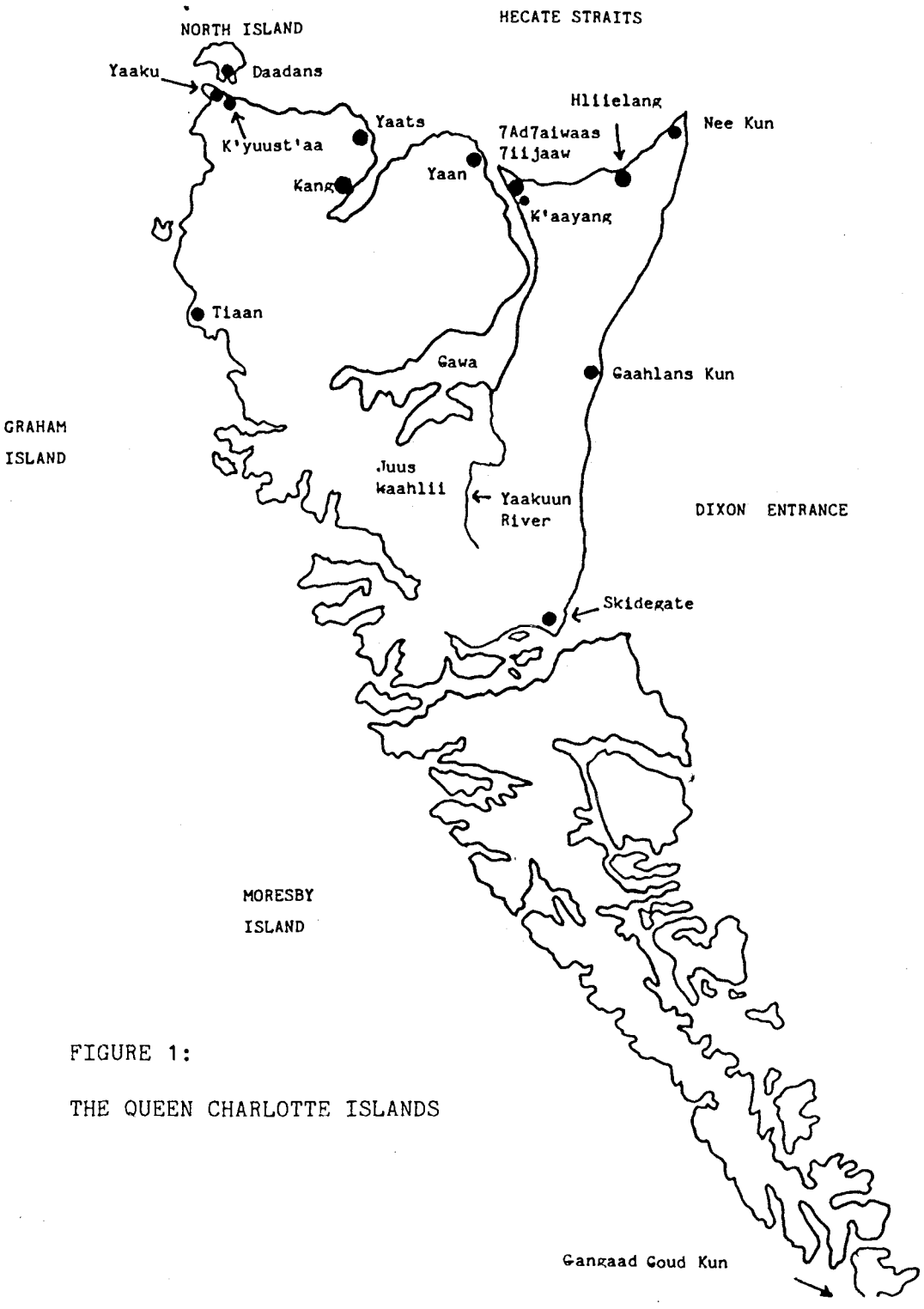


FIGURE 1:

THE QUEEN CHARLOTTE ISLANDS

Xaada gwaay, the Queen Charlotte Islands, is an archipelago comprising two large and some 150 smaller islands sixty kilometres south of the Alaskan panhandle and eighty kilometres off the British Columbia coast. The Islands' geography is dominated by the ubiquitous ocean pounding the beaches and rocky shores. A mountain chain forms the Islands' backbone, while the Northeast portion is covered with deep swamps. To the Haida, every protruding cape, rock and cliff, island or otherwise prominent landmark, invited beliefs in it being inhabited by supernatural beings and spirits who could also appear in animal and human shape. Many geographical names along the shores and inlets thus take note of this spiritual population. Particularly the extreme points of the Islands were thought to be the homes of supernatural killerwhales, the most powerful "ocean people".

The largest island, Graham Island[4)], is separated from Moresby Island to its south only by a narrow passage, Skidegate Channel. Rugged and narrow, Moresby Island is dominated by its mountain peaks rising above deep moss-covered coniferous forests and inlets cutting into the mountains. Its southern tip is wind-swept Cape St. James or Gangaad goud kun. The remote west coast of the Islands is rocky with few beaches and harbours. Pounded by the swells of the Pacific Ocean it invited half-mythical tales of marginal non-civilized Haida, the "Pitch people", and their story towns (Swanton 1905a90-91). The Northwestern tip of Graham Island and North Island opposite its shore was densely populated in aboriginal times, due to its particularly abundant sea life and fishing grounds. More than half a dozen permanent villages and a number of camps were clustered here. It was from this part of the Islands that groups of Haidas emigrated to Alaska. These are still referred to as "Straits people" (see p. 46), after Parry

Pass, the channel separating North Island, K'eeis gwaay, from Graham Island.

The north shore is indented by Virago Sound and Neiden Harbour where the villages Kang and Yaats flourished after the Parry Pass area was abandoned[5]. T'iis, the rocky coast between Virago Sound and Masset Harbour, was noted for its halibut banks, and numerous camping spots were situated onshore. At the mouth of Masset Inlet were four permanent villages: Yaan on the Northwest entrance, and 7Ad 7aiwaas, 7iijaaw and K'aayang on a peninsula on the Northeast bank of the inlet, the latter three also being commonly referred to as Masset[6]. A salt-water slough south of the Masset peninsula is called Daal kaahlii. It is the breeding ground for large flocks of ducks and geese and the rare trumpeter swans.

A long channel flows twenty kilometres south from here into Masset Inlet, a large salt-water bay at the centre of Graham Island. Both the channel and the inlet are referred to as Gawa. Its southern extension is Juus kaahlii[7]. A number of salmon streams of various sizes run into this southern portion of the Inlet: the Yakoun River, the Ain River, Awun River, Mamin River, Dinan River, Florence Creek, Kumdis River and some smaller creeks. Not surprisingly then, this area was and is an important resource area to the Haida, as is witnessed by the multitude of camping villages near the mouths of the rivers and various lineage branch names derived from these locations.

The shore east of Masset and the east coast as far down as Tlell are framed by ninety kilometres of barren sandy beaches, providing for abundant clam beds. A long, narrow sand reef, Nee Kun, ("House Point") extends for miles from the northeast tip of the Islands. Treacherous to seafarers,

it figures prominently in Haida mythology as being populated by the highest of Ocean People. It was also here that the first human beings are said to have been "found" in a clam-shell by Raven, the Trickster-Transformer. Several story-towns and ancient villages stood here, although the entire northeast shore is characterized by a lack of fresh water. The only permanent village along the northeast shore inhabited in historical times was Hliielang, which was situated along the river of the same name opposite Tow Hill, Taaw tldaawee , a solitary 120 m granite rock rising precipitously off the beach. Its curious solitary existence along this flat sandy beach is accounted for by a folk tale according to which Tou originally lived at Juus kaahlii along with his "elder brother", a strikingly similar mountain on the inlet. After a fight over food, Taaw left home and, creating several other landmarks along his flight, eventually settled at Hliielang (Swanton 1908:#12).

The hinterland of this northeast portion of Graham Island is flat muskeg covered by numerous swampy lakes and drained by a network of small creeks. It is said to be inhabited by the Creek women, the female counterparts of the Ocean People, and other Inland people and Forest people, who will appear to solitary humans, usually as animals (see Chapter VIII).

The climate of the Islands is characterized by high precipitation and moderate temperatures, caused by the Japanese Current flowing off the west coast. To the Haida, however, the powers behind the weather patterns are the winds, or wind-directions, which are also impersonated by supernatural beings. Two winds are of particular importance: The Southeast, xeew, which brings gales of up to 170 km/hr., toppling trees and dumping rain onto the shores; and xaaw, the North wind, which in winter brings

clear but cold weather. Not surprisingly, the Haida have poetically expressed the adversary forces of xeew and xaaw in a myth (Swanton 1908: #14): Northwind's son marries Southeast's daughter, and the adversary forces of the two winds are symbolized as the struggle between in-laws. Southeast is said to live "under the sea", while North dwells "among the northern mountains" (Swanton 1905a:16). Other winds important to weather formations and the resultant patterning of activities are the Northwest, jaa, a dry and persistent wind which blows in summer, enveloping the shores in dense fog but bringing clear skies to the interior of the islands, and the Southwest, keeyda st'a ("from the trees"?), which brings clouds but calm seas, and is therefore favoured by navigators. Dependent upon favourable winds for their subsistence pursuits and travels, the Haida were and are keen observers and forecasters of wind- and weather patterns. Certain cloud patterns are said to indicate changes in the wind and hence weather: Red streaks seen early in the morning among the clouds are said to precede a windy day (Swanton op. cit.:16); this is also called Southeast's face "is red, and under it black" (Swanton 1908:397). The change from Southeast to North wind is forecast by black clouds on the horizon. These are referred to as "North wind's pillow".

The mild wet climate provides for an abundant growth of moss-covered forests of western red cedar (tc'uu), yellow cedar (sgahlaang), sitka spruce (keeyd) and hemlock (k'aang), fringed by growths of alder and crabapple. Of all trees, the giant red cedar was the most important to the aboriginal Haida. Its wood served to make dug-out canoes, planks for longhouses, totem-poles, carved masks, bowls and other implements, storage ("bent wood") boxes and many other utility items; its bark (7ai) was

spliced and woven into mats, clothing and baskets. As they expressed it, cedar bark was "every woman's elder sister", as women were the ones who prepared and wove cedar bark. The search for large cedar trees suitable for building canoes or totem poles took the Haida farther inland than any other economic pursuit. In contrast, the Haida word for spruce tree, keeyd, also applies to tree in general, making it seem like the spruce was considered "just a tree". Both its wood and bark were used for fuel. Its strong roots were used for making water-proof baskets and hats, rope, fishing and harpoon lines (see Turner 1979).

Along paths and clearings grow abundant crops of various species of berries, especially huckleberries, salalberries, high-bush cranberries, wild strawberries, blueberries, elderberries, and also crabapples. The roots of lilies and other plants, as well as the tender inner bark of spruce and hemlock provided additional food, and numerous others were and are used for medicinal purposes[8)].

While the land fauna on the Islands is limited to only a few large mammals, i.e. black bear, otter and marten, with elk and beaver introduced early in this century, the shores and coastal waters are populated by seals, whales, sea-otter - now hunted to extinction - and sea lions; eagles, and ravens as well as sea-gulls and many other kinds of sea-birds roam the skies and beaches. Five different species of salmon - spring-, sockeye-, coho-, humpback- and dog salmon - run in the many creeks and rivers, while the coastal waters abound in halibut, cod and other bottom-fish. The beaches and rocky shores, finally, provide for many varieties of clams, for mussles, abalone, scallops, urchins and edible sea-weed, sgou (Porphyra perforata).

Haida social and cultural life is and was dominated by the closeness to the ocean and the resources it provides, by the rhythms of tides and winds and the patterns of seasonal pursuits of subsistence. The traditional native calendar (see Swanton 1903) is a cultural expression of their perception of ecological time. A year was referred to as a "cold". It was divided into two periods of six months each, with a thirteenth month intercalated between them, hence closely following the lunar cycle. It began with the summer cycle, which started in the spring, then followed the "in-between month" (corresponding to October/November), and finally the six months of the winter series. The month names metaphorically express observations of events in the natural environment and their relevance for economic activity, or, in the case of the coldest month kong gyaangaas, a rather humorous reaction to the weather this month usually brings (see Table I).

The duality of seasons, of course, also corresponds to the division into months dedicated to subsistence activity (spring to fall) on the one hand, and the winter months spent mostly in the permanent villages with feasting, potlatching and other social activities on the other. During the summer months people lived in huts close to the salmon streams, and usually travelled between resource areas they had access to by virtue of their lineage membership.

TABLE I

THE HAIDA CALENDAR

Corresponding Month	Haida Month	Meaning
April/May	Gansgee 7laa kongaas	"month when the berries are forming"
May/early June	wa.aay gwaalgee	"The weather is still somewhat cold"
June/July	kong koaans	"great month" because the weather becomes warm and food becomes plentiful
July/August	sgaana gyaas	"killerwhale month": when cedar-bark is stripped from the trees it sounds like blowing killerwhales
August/September	k'iijaas	"belly month": animals begin to grow fat and their bellies get big
September/October	k'algyaa kongaas	"ice-month": The first ice appears on the rainwater in the canoes
October/November	k'eed adii	"in-between-month"
November/December	jid kongaas	"digging month": the bears dig roots to prepare for hibernation
December/January	kong gyaangaas	"standing up/to defecate/ month": because the ground is snowy and cold
January/February	Hlgidguun kongaas	"goose month", when Canada geese come down to the coast
February/March	Taan kongaas	"black bear month": the bears come out of hibernation
March	xiid gyaas	"laughing goose month", when the laughing geese fly north
April	wiid gyaas	"salmonberry bird month": the song of the salmonberry birds announces that winter is over.

Sources:

Swanton (1903); field-notes (1979).

Permanent Haida villages were invariably situated facing the ocean, usually in a well-protected cove or at the mouth of a river or creek where fresh water was accessible. Before the arrival of white prospectors and settlers, no overland trails penetrated into the dense forests and swampy plains of the island interior. The winding creeks and rivers, clogged by fallen trees, are for a large part unpassable by canoe, although some ancient paths along the river banks bear witness to the Haidas' former search of giant cedar trees suitable for dugout canoes, and lead to former sites of deadfalls and traps set up to take bear or marten.

All major travel was by canoe, the Haidas' fine canoes enabling them to travel to the opposing Alaskan and mainland coasts, or even as far south as Fort Victoria, and to have intimate knowledge of every inlet and cove on the Islands, as is witnessed by the detailed names of all waterways and shore lines of the Queen Charlotte Islands[10].

To a certain degree then, their world was turned inside out, with the sea and the coast-line familiar in every detail, while the interior of the Islands (diid guii) with its muskegs, giant virgin forests and thick undergrowth was largely impenetrable, thus unknown and subject to speculation about Forest people and "wild men" (see Swanton 1905a:33f; chapter VIII). The open sea, although frequently crossed by canoe, was equally associated with wildness, secrecy and uncanniness. It took people's lives or caused them to capsize and barely escape drowning; the sea was thought to be inhabited by Ocean people, among whom the most notable were the killerwhales. Those who drowned are said to be turned into sgaanwee, killerwhales (Chapter VIII).

The Haidas' cultural perception of their environment can be abstracted

into the triadic analogy

forest : beach : open sea :: $nature_1$: culture : $nature_2$

$Nature_1$ is the nature of the woods, the domain of the Forest people; $nature_2$ represents the open sea, domain of the Ocean people. Both, in Haida thought, are haunted and uncanny, both are associated with the potentiality of humans transformed into a different state of being (Chapter VIII).

In the villages, the cedar-plank longhouses stood in rows, the house-fronts and doorways facing the beach. Some of the larger southern towns had more than one row, and mythical "story towns" are said to have had five rows, five, one more than four being the number associated with the supernatural. In single and multi-row towns, all houses faced the beach. Visitors always came from the sea; the children's playground and the adults' centre of daily activities was in front of the houses, close to the beach. The outside rear (also diid) of the houses was deemed secretive, infested with evil spirits, ghosts and sorcerers. Implicitly, these beliefs still survive today. Persons suspected of being sorcerers (kuganaa) (Chapter VIII) are said to be "sneaking around behind the village". When I set up house outside of Masset village during the latter part of my field research period, I was advised by Elders to install curtains on those windows facing the back and hence woods, while it was not deemed necessary that I use curtains on those windows facing the front, i.e. beach. Curtains, and therefore invisibility, was thought to provide protection from evil spirits and powers. Pertaining to within the village then, the above analogy can be expanded into the opposition

culture : nature :: front : back

It must be kept in mind, however, that the above oppositions and analogies are in no way absolutes and are my own analytical abstractions. As we will see, Haida symbolic thinking and classification neither takes place in overt binary categories, nor does it lend itself to being abstracted into sets of fixed, substantive opposites.

Residence in the villages was viri-avunculocal, that is, the women moved into their husband's mother's brother's residence, and the husband, in turn eventually inherited his uncle's house and belongings, as well as succeeding him in social position. The male children - who were members of their mother's lineage and moiety - would eventually move back to her village to take up residence with their mother's brothers. Due to irregular patterns of inheritance and some sons staying in their father's village (c.f. Swanton 1905a:66; see chapter III), no village was in historical times occupied by a single matrilineage. Instead, all villages were multi-lineage towns (see Stearns 1984) with the chief of the dominant and/or "original" lineage being village chief or "town master" (Swanton 1905a:68), 7laana 7leeygaa.

Ancient villages consisted of anywhere between a few and three dozen houses, occupied by extended families, i.e. the household head ("household chief"), 7iitl'aagidaas, his wife, nephew and wife, and often some matri-lateral kin of the owner, as well as one or two slaves[11]. While the units in control of village ownership and resource management were the matri-lineages, which will be discussed in the next chapter, the economically productive units were the individual households. As these incorporated members of at least two lineages of opposing moieties - due to the rule of moiety exogamy - the households could pool the natural resources owned by

the respective lineages.

Precipitated by the massive social change and the population decline of the late nineteenth century, the entire surviving population of Northern Graham Island moved to Masset, the site of the trading post and mission, and later of the Indian agency. The village of Masset is therefore atypical of aboriginal Haida villages, as members of more than a dozen lineages lived and live here, who in pre-contact times would not have shared a village, and would rarely have engaged in daily interaction or ceremonial obligation. In this sense, the one-hundred-year period of co-residence at Masset of the Gawa xadee has both epitomized and increased factional differences and the nature of social and political dispute. In this sense, the manipulation and politicization of the symbols of social relationships has probably intensified since the nucleation of all Gawa xaadee at Masset. However, I maintain that the seeds for this aspect of Haida society and culture are sown in the segmentary nature of their aboriginal social organization, and in the structural contradiction between equivalence and hierarchy inherent in the nature of aboriginal social and political statuses, which Stearns (1984) has already alerted us to. The compatibility of ethnohistoric and early ethnographic sources with observations of and information from contemporary Gawa xaadee Elders shows a continuity between aboriginal and present traditional type social relations.

The Masset of today hardly resembles what we know of indigenous late nineteenth century Haida villages from historical photographs, and what one can get a fleeting glimpse of from the ruins of

abandoned villages, whose decaying house-pits, beams and poles are being reconquered by the forest.

Haida Masset, now inhabited by some 565 Haida people[12] comprises the sites of the three aboriginal villages 7Ad7aiwaas, K'aayang and 7iijaaw. It stretches along two and a half kilometres of rocky beach on the eastern entrance of Masset Inlet and is now connected by paved road to the white settlement of New Masset (see Figure 2), on whose educational facilities, stores and employment opportunites it is dependent. (see Stearns 1981; Boelscher 1977)[13].

Instead of by canoe, the Haida travel to and from the Islands by float-plane, jet or ferry; cars greatly outnumber the villagers' fishboats, which in turn replaced dugout canoes a long time ago. Today's Haida are keeping in touch with the outside world by radio, telephone and satellite television.

Only during the last fifteen years have some touches of traditional material culture been added to the village. Three totem-poles crafted by young carvers from the village have been erected, a traditional-type long-house was built in 1979, although it has since been destroyed by fire. A few sign-posts bearing Haida language street-names were erected one summer, and at least one private house has a painted front showing the crests of the owners. The majority of the houses are western-style frame dwellings, ranging from one-bedroom shacks to multi-bedroom residences.

Yet, behind the physical facade of assimilation to western culture, the ethnographer can still observe activities and values which

connect present Haida life with the past. The village still faces the beach and the ocean with its continuous rhythm of tides; as we will see (p.142), the cultural concepts involving physical and social space are still intact and perpetuated. Through the Haida language, spoken at home, in public or on the telephone by Elders, we can learn of continuity with the past. Thus, through Elders' knowledge, we get implicit and explicit glimpses of the world of social and mythico-religious classification, its interpretation and reinterpretation, which is the topic of the following chapters.

Footnotes:

1) see Swanton (1905a) for a discussion on the time of migration. Sources usually refer to the Alaskan Haida as Kaigani, after a summer camp they occupied on Prince of Wales Island.

2) Based on scanty linguistic data, Sapir (1915) classified Haida as part of the Na Dene phylum or stock, which is supposed to encompass the Dene (Athapascan), languages, as well as Tlingit and Haida (see Sapir 1915). Krauss and Levine have since cast doubt on this classification.

3) In indigenous usage, this designation was maintained after they moved to Alaska.

4) I could not learn any terms for the two large islands in the Haida language. Most likely, Graham and Moresby Islands were not conceived of as separate gwaayee (islands) by the Haida as they are only separated by a very narrow channel of water.

5) see Dawson (1880). After the migration to Alaska by numerous Haida villages (supra) and the dwindling of the sea otter fur trade, the Sdast'aas (c.f. Chapter III), who had become the dominating lineage of the Northwest of the islands, moved to Kang and then on to Yaats, which is the closest point to Southeastern Alaska. This move is reported to have been made in the hope of facilitating trade with Alaskan Haidas (c.f. Dalzell 1968). However, eventually the people of Yaats, like all other Northern Haida, moved on to Masset, the site of the Hudson's Bay post and the mission.

6) The name Masset is of uncertain origin. While it already appears in late 18th and early 19th century journals of fur traders who visited the Islands (Bishop; Roquefeuil; Meares), the Masset Haida themselves insist that it is of foreign origin. In 1979, informants insisted that it was derived from the name "Masada" (sp.?), the name of a "White people's ship" which ran aground on an island in the Inlet. Consequently, the island is said to have been named after it, and the name was eventually extended to the triple villages across the Inlet. See also Dawson 1880 and Dalzell 1972 for discussions of its origin. Later, the growing new white community of New Masset usurped the name when it opened a post-office, an act still resented by the Indians. Haida Masset is now called "Old Masset" or "Haida Village".

7) kaahlii means "the inside of". By analogy, it designates any body of water with a narrow opening.

8) see Turner 1975; 1979, 1974 for works on Haida plant use and an analysis of Haida plant taxonomy.

9) An indigenous species of caribou (rangifer dawsonii) became extinct around the turn of the century.

10) For a detailed survey of geographical names on the Queen Charlotte Islands, see Dalzell 1972. Unfortunately, the Haida names included in this survey are poorly transcribed, which renders many of them barely recognizable.

11) Among the Haida and other Northwest Coast peoples, slaves were captured in warfare or acquired through trade (see Chapter IV).

12) These are largely Indians registered with the Department of Indian Affairs as status Indians. Further people of Masset Haida ancestry live in New Masset, at Prince Rupert, Vancouver and other locations.

13) As modern social and economic organization of the Haida is not the topic of this thesis, I am here only including some remarks that are of relevance to the setting in which my data were collected. For a detailed analytical work on the contemporary Haida, see Stearns 1981, also Stearns, in press.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURE AND STRATEGY IN THE CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL CATEGORIES AND GROUPS

To begin my analysis of the negotiation of Haida social and symbolic classification, I will turn to the elementary units of their social organization, the moieties and matrilineages. Moiety and lineage organization provide the conceptual and interactional framework for reciprocal exchange and the validation of social status, for kinship categories and marital alliances, and for the ownership of property. Therefore I will discuss what moieties and lineages are in concept and in practice, how they operate, how membership is recruited, and, in the case of lineages, how their boundaries and their property are managed.

As far as their function and recruitment are concerned, the Haida moieties, Raven and Eagle, are unproblematic. As they are conceived of today, they can best be understood in terms of Needham's dual classification type of "two great symbolic classes" rather than "the symbolic linking of categories by pairs" (Needham 1979:8). All ritual exchange relations including marriage are carried out within the framework of moiety reciprocity, although more accurately, it is lineages of opposing moieties that carry out these exchanges. However, moiety relations become more complex when we examine the historical roots of moieties and their symbolic representations. The origin myths of moieties collected by Swanton (1905a) point to the Ravens being the autochtonous Haida, and the Eagles being foreigners. These apocryphal origins not only give us clues to the historical processes underlying the emergence of moiety organization, as

Swanton interpreted them, but can be read as expressing Haida symbolic thinking in terms of dynamic categories. The heterogeneous mythical origins foreshadow the overall impression one gets of Haida social organization as a world in flux, expressing conflicting notions of hierarchy and equality.

In the past there has been considerable terminological confusion over Haida social categories and groups. What are now generally referred to as moieties were termed "clans" by Swanton, while he used the term "families" for what I call lineages. Murdock used the respective terms "moieties" and "clans". The Haida themselves call the moieties "clans" or "sides" and the lineages "tribes" when speaking in English. In their own language, moieties are kwaalaa and lineages are gwaay gaang. Drucker (1955:111ff) first advocated the term "lineage" for the corporate, descent-based social units of the Northern Northwest Coast societies, including the Haida. In her recent works on the Haida, Stearns, within a social anthropological framework, has used "lineage" as the conventional, modern term for corporate unilineal descent groups, and I will here employ the same term for the same reasons. Adopting this kind of terminology, however, invites comparison in terms of the theoretical paradigms of modern social anthropological theory, which have questioned the validity of classic lineage and descent theory (e.g. Evans-Pritchard 1940; Fortes 1953) and have re-examined the relationship between locality and descent, between the ideology of membership and practices of recruitment (e.g. Sahlins 1965; Schneider 1967; Strathern 1973; Scheffler 1966). Stearns (1984) has already called attention to the segmental rather than segmentary nature of Haida matrilineages with particular reference to the proliferation of political roles and the question of

chiefly legitimacy. With these theoretical questions and ethnographic comparability in mind, I will here examine Haida lineage organization in its conceptual and transactional contexts, which, within my general model, must be seen as dialectic entities. I will show that recruitment to the descent group is unambiguously based on matrilineal descent, although, as we will see in chapter V, consanguinal kin terms are extended beyond the lineage. On the other hand, we must distinguish between descent, which is not manipulated, and succession and inheritance, which show great divergence between practice and ideology. The relationship between territoriality and the definition of groups and group boundaries will be examined. Finally, the segmental nature of the groups means that lineage boundaries are a critical point. These are constantly renegotiated, especially in cases of irregular succession, the alienation of resource areas, and the supplantation of one lineage branch by another.

The issues discussed in this chapter foreshadow many of those discussed in chapters IV to VI, as the ideology of the corporate group is connected to the notion of rank and reciprocity, to kinship roles, and to the material and symbolic estate it controls.

1. Ravens and Eagles

The Haida divide themselves into two sides (kwaalaa): Ravens (yahl) and Eagles (goud), with membership being reckoned matrilineally and obtained at birth. Each moiety, in turn, consists of a number of politically autonomous corporate matrilineages. Not only human beings are traditionally classified as belonging to either side; supernatural animals inhabiting the forests, oceans and shorelines were classified as of the Eagle or Raven side; the cliffs, mountains, islands and creeks thought to be occupied by the animal

spirits were named after them and thus incorporated into the moiety classification (c.f. Swanton 1905a:17ff). All totemic crests (see Chapter VI.2) are associated with either moiety. The moieties thus impose a framework of dual classification on Haida society and everything that is conceived as part of it.

The most important function of the moieties lies in regulating the social life of human beings. They are exogamic; Eagle must always marry Raven and vice-versa. Moreover, all reciprocal ritual relations are carried out between members of opposite moieties, specifically between members of own lineage and members of father's lineage (see Chapter VI, V, VI), xaad k'ujuu. Haida moieties, by virtue of the major crests they share with the Tlingit and Tsimshian, form part of an "international matrimoiety" system (Dunn 1984; Boas 1916): The crests of the Haida Ravens agree with those of the Tsimshian Bear and Wolf clans, and the Tlingit Wolves or Eagles. Those of the Haida Eagles agree with the Tsimshian Ravens and Eagles, and with the Tlingit Ravens. "The important point is, ... that a Haida marrying into another tribe always avoids a certain clan /moiety/ among them, the members of which, for one reason or another, he considers his friends"[1]. (Swanton 1905a:66).

Dual division gives the illusion of timelessness. Moiety relations are seemingly governed by endless mechanical cycles of reciprocity; the moieties and their boundaries seem complete and alike. Yet, Swanton noted some curious differences in the oral traditions of the Haida moieties, which point to a relatively homologous and indigenous origin of the Ravens, and a heterogeneous and at least partially foreign origin of the Eagles. We must here interject that Haida oral histories of the "origins"

of moieties, lineages, towns and crests reflect the segmental structure of their society: There is no single dogmatic version of events and their order of occurrence; instead, each group had its own version, stressing its priority in how and when events implicating territoriality and property ownership occurred (see Swanton 1905a:75ff). These heterogeneous and conflicting oral histories are counterbalanced by what Boas (1916: 526) called the "poetic imagination" of the Haida, which post hoc imposed a similar framework of origin on both moieties. According to Boas (ibid.) the latter may have been a ..."new tendency based on the presence and social importance of the two opposite sides...". In other words, the function of the moieties as channelling reciprocal relations may have precipitated the reinterpretation of their respective origins as equal and compatible.

The origin of the Ravens is associated with Foam-woman, a mythical ancestress. She is said to have "sat on a reef" close to Ninstints after the waters of the deluge caused by Raven, the Trickster-Transformer, had subsided (Swanton 1905a:75)[2]. Out of her "came" the different "families" /lineages/ constituting the Raven moiety: "Foam woman had many breasts, some say as many as ten on a side, at each of which she nursed a grandmother of one of the various Raven families among the Haida" (ibid.). One group of Ravens, the Rose Spit (Nee Kun) Ravens - who indeed comprise most of the lineages of the Gawa Xaadee - are, according to Swanton (op.cit.:85) sometimes associated with another supernatural ancestress, "supernatural-woman-rolled-about-much-by-the-waves", who sat upon Nee Kun and had "five or six breasts owned by each of the five families who came from her"[3] (ibid.). All Raven lineages, as the oral traditions have it, subsequently

migrated to various parts of the Queen Charlotte Islands to establish their towns of origin, and further segmented during their migrations.

Symbolically, the idea of breasts from which the "grandmothers" of the first lineages nursed and which they "owned" infers the notion of equality among them. They are seen as having nursed from the same ancestress, alongside one another. On the other hand, as Swanton pointed out (op. cit.:76), individuals of different lineages gave different versions of the order in which their lineages "came out", usually claiming priority for their own group, thus implying a postulate of subjective hierarchy.

The origin of the Eagle lineages is much more diverse than that of the Ravens. One Eagle group, the Sdast'aas and its branches, refer their origin directly to the Nass and Stikine Rivers (op. cit.:101), that is, to Tsimshian and Tlingit country. Some of the names they own are still recognized as being Tlingit and Tsimshian. Most of the remaining Eagles trace their descent mythically from an ancestress named Djilaqons /j̲iilaakons̲/, who was said to have been "brought to the Queen Charlotte Islands by 'He whose-voice-is-obeyed'"[4] from either the Nass or Bella Coola region (op. cit.:92). Thus, the Ninstints Eagles thought of themselves as being descended from Djilaqons' daughter, Swiftly-sliding-woman. The mythical grandmother of a second cluster of Eagle lineages, the Git7ans, was said to be Labret-woman, whose own ancestry is unclear, although Boas pointed to the possibility that the term Git7ans - whose meaning is obscure to the Haida themselves - may be derived from the Tsimshian prefix gid-, "people of" (Swanton: op.cit.:104). A third origin myth, that of two northern Haida and many Skidegate lineages, points also to the Mainland and indirectly involves Djilaqons: After some young men from the Raven moiety destroyed

a frog - one of the emblems of Djilaqons, who is an Eagle - their town (Djigua) was destroyed by fire. A young woman, Property-making-a-noise, who was the sole survivor, reached the Tsimshian country, guided by the voice of Djilaqons. Here she married a chief[5]. Some of her children subsequently stayed among the Tsimshian, some returned to the Queen Charlotte Islands, where they formed five Eagle lineages. This version portrays the Haida Eagles descended from Property-making-a-noise as having Tsimshian fathers[6]. Djilaqons, while on the one hand seen as different from Foam-woman (Swanton op. cit.:92; 104) was on the other hand retroactively assimilated into the Raven framework of ancestresses, as Swanton remarked. She was, according to some, the only one who could approach Foam-woman (op. cit.:75). As Foam-woman was the "grandmother" of the Ravens, she was spoken of as the "powerful grandmother" of the Eagles (op. cit.:23), although, as we saw, not all Eagle lineages indeed considered her as such.

Swanton interpreted the foreign and diverse origins attributed to the Eagles as evidence that historically, the Ravens were indigenous inhabitants of the Queen Charlotte Islands, whereas the Eagles allegedly came from the Mainland then inhabited by the Tlingit[7]:

> "Supposing that the Tlingit formerly lived along the mainland coast then occupied by the Tsimshian, where they were neighbours for a long time of the Haida on the Coasts of the Queen Charlotte Islands opposite, and supposing that both people had loose social organizations without clans /moieties/, is it possible that the clan /moiety/ idea could have originated among them through intermarriage resulting in the continued presence on each side of a number of persons of alien stock?"(Swanton 1904:403).

As further evidence of the foreign status of the Eagles he cites the disproportionately large number of ancient Raven villages, the preponderance

of Raven supernatural beings, and the predominance of Raven in the Trickster cycle, where Eagle plays a peripheral role, appearing only in eight episodes. In some of them, indeed, Eagle appears as Stlakam, "butterfly", who acts as Raven's "servant"[8] and "companion", although this also accords him the role of "spokesman", granting him implicit power (Swanton 1908: 297f).

Aside from the geographical references to the Mainland in the moiety origin stories, the symbolic associations of Eagle/Butterfly and Djilaqons point to a cognitive ordering of the Raven moiety as associated with the indigenous Haida, with the ocean and salt-water, whereas the Eagles bear symbolic associations as of the father's side, as owners of fresh water, and mainland people: The supernatural beings of the Raven side are those of the ocean, and most of Raven's escapades involve the ocean, sea-mammals, fish and sea-food. Eagle/Butterfly, on the other hand, is the "owner of fresh water", although Raven proceeds to steal it from him. Moreover, Eagle is said to be afraid of the ocean and "had never been on the sea" (Swanton 1908:327). Djilaqons, was said to be the "greatest of the Creek-women" (Swanton 1905a:23), who were the female supernatural beings guarding the mouths of rivers and creeks. Thus, like Eagle, she is associated with fresh water. Finally, in the Trickster episodes, Raven calls Eagle/Butterfly "7laan", "father's sister's son", associating him with the father's lineage.

At this time, we cannot verify Swanton's hypothesis of the historical antecedence of the Ravens, and of the origin of Haida moieties through the intermarriage of Haida and Tlingit/Tsimshian. Swanton's hypothesis points to the antecedence of corporate groups in Haida social organization, with dual organization imposed later. Interestingly, de Laguna (1952) came to

the same tentative conclusion regarding the Tlingit. It is a point worthwhile keeping in mind for my discussion of Haida marriage patterns in chapter V.2.

It must be pointed out that the above oral traditions involving the "coming out" and the foreign migration of the Eagles do not involve the moieties per se, but clusters of lineages. Indeed, at least the story of Djilaqons and Property-making-a-noise (see above) supposes that "sides" already existed. The only reference to the establishment of moieties as such is an episode in the Raven cycle, where Raven is credited with the creation of two sides or "companies":

> "He also travelled upon Seaward Island (the mainland). And he came out to the mouth of the Skeena River. Then he went up in the upper channel. At that time he again came to a big town. Then he entered one of the houses. And he called all the people of the town into the house. Then he divided them into companies. 'And you will form families like that', he said to them. After that he went away from them" (Swanton 1908:323)[9].

Significantly, this again places the origin of moieties on the mainland, in Tsimshian/Tlingit country.

From an historical perspective, we can only conclude that the origin of Haida moieties involved the immigration and absorption of foreigners, and the "matching" of crests with those of the mainland tribes. However, it was a process that was likely more complex than mere intermarriage, and likely involved various movements over time[10].

From a mythico-symbolic perspective, the Haida conception of dual organization reveals a tendency towards reinterpretation, and conflicting notions of hierarchy and equivalence, which we will see is repeated throughout Haida social thinking. On the one hand, the Eagles were seen as foreigners, newcomers, as "others"; on the other hand there existed the

tendency to assimilate the origins of both moieties into the same framework which involved mutual reciprocity and official obligation. The latter tendency has won out by now: Even among Elders, the versions of origins involving mythical ancestresses are not remembered, nor is the "foreigner" status of the Eagles. The moieties are now seen as equal and alike, especially since their function has increased with the nucleation and extinction of many lineages, and the involvement of the entire multi-lineage village in ceremonial events (e.g. Stearns 1981:32-33).

2. Lineages and their Boundaries

From the fragmentary and sometimes contradictory oral histories he collected, Swanton reconstructed the migrations and segmentation of the matrilineages following their apocryphal origins (1905a:77ff). According to these narratives, (see also Swanton 1905b; 1908), the segmentation of lineages followed the separation of siblings through marriage and migration, and, more often, disputes, homicides, incest and insults. While the latter may have triggered lineage fission, and while they were an appropriate medium for expressing it, demographic and economic pressures were likely the true causes underlying separation, especially during the time immediately preceding white contact, when the Haida population had reached its peak[11]. Population pressure was at least part of the cause for the migration of several lineages to Southeastern Alaska, as Swanton pointed out, although the migration of these lineages was rationalized as following disputes (op. cit.:88f).

A factor which further encouraged segmentation was the economic and political autonomy of the households. "The fact is, each Haida household was so complete in itself that all it required was a name and a certain

amount of isolation to develop into an entirely independent family /lineage/, and there was a constant tendency in that direction" (Swanton 1966:55f; see also Stearns 1984:200f)[12].

While the "family genealogies" presented by Swanton (1905a:76; 93) give the illusion of a segmentary lineage organization, the term segmental more aptly describes Haida lineage organization. As Stearns noted,

> "For the Haida fission and fusion are not the regular processual events which characterize segmentary societies. Rather, segmentation is a response to political, demographic, or economic pressures that is available under certain conditions, namely, the absence of external or superordinate political constraints" (1984:192).

The term segmentary, characterized by processes of fission and fusion, at best applies to the local branches of lineages, as we will see below. In being segmental, Haida society consists of "equal and similar component groups" (Service 1975; see Stearns loc. cit.). While each lineage may claim historical precedence, and while their sizes differ, they are functionally equivalent and contraposed, without cross-cutting alliances and without paramount chiefs (Stearns, loc. cit.).

TABLE II

Northern Haida Lineages

(1979)

Name:	Meaning:	No. according to Swanton
A. RAVENS		
1. Yaaku 7laanas	"Middle town people"	R 19
a) Gawa Yaaku 7laanas	"Masset-Inlet Middle-town-people"	R 19a
b) Yahl naas Yaaku 7l.	"Raven-House Middle-town-people"	R 19e
c) Daadans Yaaku 7laanas	"Dadens Middle-town-people"	R 19
2. Kun 7laanas	"Point-town-people"	R 14
3. Stl'ang 7laanas	"Rear-town-people"	R 15
a) Dou Stl'ang 7laanas	"West coast Rear-town-people"	R 15d
4. Skidaakaaw	"Eggs of Skidao"	R 16
5. Kianuusilee	"/tom7-Cod people"	R 17
6. Taas 7laanas	"Sand-town-people"	R 20
B. EAGLES		
1. Git7ans		E 13
2. Tciitc Git7ans	"Git7ans of Tciitc"	E 17
3. S7ajuugahl 7laanas	"crow people"	E 14
4. Sdast'aas	"salmon eggs beginning to hatch"	E 21
a) Sdast'aas proper		E 21
b) K'aawas	"herring eggs"	E 21a
5. Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas	"people of Tc'aa.ahl"	E 23

Swanton (op. cit.; 1905a:268ff) enumerated 22 Raven and 23 Eagle lineages, most of which had numerous localized branches. Of these lineages, six Raven and five Eagle lineages[13] comprise those whose members now live at Masset. Since the late nineteenth century population decline, many of the lineages, having become too reduced in size, have re-amalgamated or nucleated (Stearns op. cit.:192), others have become extinct. Table II shows the lineages of the Gawa Xaadee as they were recognized by Elders in 1980. They show, on the Raven side, six lineages, with two of these, the Yaaku 7laanas and the Stl'ang 7laanas, further divided into branches. The only living members of the sixth lineage, the Taas 7laanas, which corresponds to Swanton's R 2, now reside at Skidegate. On the Eagle side, we currently find five lineages, one of which, the Sdast'aas, is subdivided into branches. Again, one of the Eagle lineages, the S7ajuugahl 7laanas, which for the past 150 years or so has provided the town chief, has no living male adult members at Masset. Its only male adults live in Ketchikan and at Skidegate. Moreover, it is in the process of amalgamating with the Git7ans.

While most of the names of the major Northern Haida lineages (see Table II) do not point directly to ancestral villages, the suffix 7laanas means "townsmen" of, the female complementary term being jinaas. This brings us to the significant function of the lineages as resource-holding corporations. Their members share rights to ancestral villages, to fishing, hunting and gathering locations including:

- major salmon-spawning rivers
- halibut and cod banks off shore
- important berry patches (especially cranberry and crabapple)

- bird-nesting sites (particularly sea-gull, cassin's auklet and ancient murrelet)
- rights to stranded whales on the coastline near lineage-owned lands
- trap and deadfall sites for land mammals along rivers
- access to house-sites in ancestral villages

(see also Blackman 1976).

On the notion and enforcement of land-ownership, Dawson noted,

> "So strict are these ideas of proprietary right in the soil that on some parts of the coast sticks may be seen set up to define the limits of the various properties and woe to the dishonest Indian who appropriates anything of value /.../ that comes ashore on the stretch of coast belonging to another" (Dawson 1880:117Bf).

Similarly, Murdock (1936:14) reports a vengeance-of-insult potlatch given by a Stl'ang 7laanas chief who had been accused of taking "a piece of driftwood from a strip of beach belonging to a /Git7ans chief/".

Aside from their land-resources, the lineages own symbolic property. This involves exclusive rights to the use of crests acquired by their group, to personal, house- and canoe-names, to myths explaining their origin, and to certain songs and dances. Furthermore, ceremonial regalia displaying the crests and the myths were owned by individual title holders within lineages. The remifications of the ownership of symbolic property will be examined in detail in Chapter VI.

While resource ownership is shared by the entire lineage, and access to its resources is provided for all its living members, the management, or "stewardship" (Drucker 1966:140) of the corporate estate is in the hands of the lineage chief, and is passed on to his younger brother or sister's son or any other suitable heir, although in many cases land has been alienated from the lineage which originally owned it. A common reason for transferring

the ownership of land was blood-payment, or to wipe out shame. The Yakoun River, a major salmon-spawning stream, is said to have passed from a Raven to an Eagle lineage in this manner. Swanton (1905a:81) reports how the Skidegate 7laanas, a Raven lineage, had to give up their town to the Skidegate Git7ans, an Eagle lineage, after a young man of the former caused a girl of the latter to become blind. Similarly, Blackman (1976) reports that the Kun 7laanas received a large tract of land from the Sdast'aas after one of the latter's members had "committed an indiscretion against" a kun jinaas. Another source of the alienation of lineage property was the practice of filial inheritance, which I will detail below, and which presents a major source of conflict over lineage rights and lineage legitimacy.

As they are conceived of today by Masset Haida Elders, the lineages or "tribes" are still clearly associated with territoriality. Villages and access to resource sites, although legally - that is, under the Indian Act - shared by all members of the Masset Band, are seen as belonging to the respective "tribes". More concretely, they are said to be "owned" by the oldest lineage members or the person who as assumed lineage leadership by taking its highest ranking name in public (see Table III, p.111). It is to this person that members of other lineages must apply for permission to exploit the lineage's resources or build houses on the land associated with it. In this context, to "come from" a certain place is synonymous to being considered a co-owner of that place by virtue of being a member of its dominant lineage. Although all villages have guest-lineages, it is denied that the latter partake of ownership in their village of residence and the surrounding resource areas. Hence, a certain Elder's (published) statement that he "came from Yan" - a Stl'ang 7laanas-owned village - was corrected:

"He didn't come from Yan. He was from a cove at North Island, from Tc'aa.ahl." The latter refers to the village considered to be owned by his lineage, the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas. These, however, had members who resided at Yan, where he was indeed born. Moreover, his step-father had been a Stl'ang 7laanas chief of Yan. Yet, not being of the owner-lineage of the town, his claim to its co-ownership, expressed as "coming from" the town, was denied. As corporations, the lineages are further characterized by networks of mutual rights and obligations among their members which are symbolized by kinship terms. Obligation among lineage mates is informal. It takes the form of pooling resources for feasts and potlatches, of the imperative of mutual assistance and solidarity (see Chapter IV).

The concept of joint ownership of towns and property along with that of mutual rights and duties, leads us to the question of recruitment and membership. Haida lineage membership is unequivocally determined by matrilineal descent. I did not hear of a single case where the primary lineage affiliation of a person was altered through adoption or otherwise, as was frequently the case among the Tsimshian (Garfield 1939; Adams 1973)[14]. We must, however, as I mentioned earlier, distinguish between recruitment to the lineage, which is based on matrilineal descent in both ideology and practice, and inheritance and succession, which, while ideally matrilineal, were in practice frequently filial[15]. While inheritance and succession do not affect group membership, they do affect the lineage's property, which is closely linked to its corporate identity and to its productivity.

Although membership is based on descent, the genealogical charter of the Haida lineage is very different from that of the classic lineage structure of African societies, primarily in that it lacks genealogical depth.

The "family genealogies" presented by Swanton are not descent lines of matrilineally related individual ancestors and ancestresses - whether historical or apocryphal - but refer to the multiple segmentation of entire groups. Instead of knowledge of numerous generations of linear ancestors, Haida lineage mates share knowledge over the symbols associated with their corporate estate, primarily names, crests, and oral traditions linking the former to events in the lineage's past and to places it owns. Genealogies are rarely more than three generations deep. As we will see later (Chapter V.1; VI.2), this is a concomitant of the belief in reincarnation, which finds expression in giving names in alternate generations, thus recycling them every two generations, and the skewing and extension of kin terms, which telescope the genealogies. Consanguinal kin terms are ideally coterminous with shared lineage membership. However, as they not only express membership, but also personal status, entitlement to position and other rights and obligations, they are indeed applied beyond the lineage (see pp.194f). The ideology of the descent-based corporation is in practice transcended by the usefulness of kin terms in manipulating social goals.

While many lineage members can demonstrate matrilateral ties expressed as "our mothers were sisters" (M; MZ), "our grandmothers (MM; MMM etc.) were from the same place", or "we got one naani /"grandmother", MM, MMM, etc./ way back", in many other cases no known genealogical links exist. Joint membership is then expressed as "just same tribe". Other expressions implicating joint membership refer to remote or possible genealogical connections, although, by intention, remoter than those encoded in kin terms. They are, for example, 7laa.an hl gaanagaa, "I am close to her", although the closeness

cannot be verified by pedigree, or alternatively, l'st'asdaawanguu, "he/she is far away". The term toulang, finally, is usually applied to all intended lineage mates in address.

Membership in the corporate group conflicts with and separates from the ownership of its estate where inheritance is outside of the matriline. The aboriginal practice of viri-avunculocal residence set the stage for this as it effected the dispersal of female lineage members and their offspring, although in adolescence, male members were expected to return to their maternal uncle's house. Swanton expressed the discrepancy between matriliny and filial inheritance as the "conflict between the purely maternal family organization and paternal property laws which made the mothers only intermediaries in the transfer of property in land and houses. We know that there have been cases when a father gave to his son a house in his own village" (1905a:66). "Paternal property laws" were not the norm; in most cases, or at least normatively, the maternal nephew inherited a man's property; in the case of women, their own daughters did. However, filial inheritance seems to have been a tolerated alternative. Swanton held filial inheritance at least partially responsible for the fact that all Haida villages during the nineteenth century were multi-lineage villages. The transmission of property to a man's own children is but a concomitant of the general ritual and practical importance of complementary filiation which is otherwise expressed in the ritual role of the father's sister, the ideal of marriage with the father's side (lineage) and the frequently practiced extension of kin terms through the father's side (Chapter V.1). Filial inheritance in the patriline, although at the same time ideally coupled with matrilineal descent, is practiced in name-giving childhood names being received

from the father's father's lineage (Chapter VI.2). Moreover, it was said that in Masset, individuals had the right to use the crests of their father's lineage, although they could not pass them on to their own children or maternal nephews (Swanton 1905a:107). Swanton notes, however, that "occasionally a crest of this kind was kept through life; and according to tradition, one or two crests were given by a man who first obtained them to his children, and thus to the other clan /moiety/" (ibid.).

Besides the filial inheritance of houses and property, we know of at least one case among the Gawa xaadee of the succession of a son to his father's office. As it occurred in post-contact times - around 1840 - it has already been documented by Mary Lee Stearns (see Stearns 1981; 1984), and is presently remembered by Elders[16]. It involved the transfer of the chiefship of 7Ad7aiwaas from Siigee of the Skidaakaaw to his son Skildkahljuu, who was the S7ajuugahl 7laanas chieftain of S7uljuu kun, across from 7Ad7aiwaas. The reason for the transfer to son instead of maternal nephew, as Masset Elders put it, was that "the chief loved his son so much that he gave him the village although he knew that he wasn't supposed to get so close to him". Siigee, however, fell short of giving his son his hereditary name along with the village; instead, Skildakahljuu took a name from his father's father's lineage, Weah /Wiiaa/, originally a Sdast'aas name of Tsimshian origin (e.g. Swanton 1905a:101).

Weah's chiefly succession was consolidated by a lavish distribution and display of property, and a marital alliance with the daughter of a prominent West Coast chief:

> "When the first chief Weah was going to become chief, he walked over to the West Coast and walked along shore to Tiaan. He married a Taas jinaas [...]. Her father was chief Kuns. This Kuns gave his daughter a woman and a man slave, two of each. Then he gave

> them a big size canoe. They called out 'whoo-whoo'. They were close to the shore over there /at Masset/. Chief Siigee had a big house there. It was called H+kamaal naas /"branches house"/. Then this chief Siigee invited lots of villagers from all around and he told them he's going to be Weah. /.../ Chief Weah-going-to-be traded the house with his brother, who had a big house there, Na 7iiwans /"big house"/. They invited all the villagers and had a big time /potlatch/ inside the house, and that's when he told all the villagers when he took his name."[17])

Swanton (1905a:101) refers to this transfer as having occurred "by sufferance of the people and owing to /Weah's/ personal popularity". His inherited and acquired wealth, his position as high-ranking son of a town-chief, his prestigious marriage, as well as his personal manner, seem to have contributed to his succession being accepted by the house- and lineage chiefs of the village. The general acceptance of Weah's succession is further demonstrated by the fact that, upon his death, his brother succeeded him[18]). The town-chiefship thus remained with the S7ajuugahl 7laanas instead of reverting back to the Skidaakaaw and has done so until very recently, when it shifted to the Git7ans. The latter are a lineage considered closely related to the S7ajuughal 7laanas: The fourth and last Weah, who died in 1974, had no available nephews - real or classificatory - to whom he could pass on the chiefship. He consequently selected as classificatory sister's son from the Git7ans, who took the name Gaa7laa upon his inauguration (see p. 199).

We have neither informant testimony nor ethnohistorical records as to how the Skidaakaaw themselves reacted to the town chiefship being alienated from them 145 years ago. Collison (1915:54) mentions a young "See-gay" as the "nephew" of "chief Weah", who must have been the initial Weah, although "nephew", at least in the sense of sister's son, is obviously inconceivable. The young "See-gay" was described by Collison as an articulate, "fine young

chief", and further as "one of the most adventurous hunters among the Haida. He was married to a daughter of a chief's sister at Fort Simpson" (ibid.), all of which make him appear as prestigeful and popular. He died young, however, a few years after the first Weah passed away, which gives further reason to conclude, along with Stearns (op. cit.) that the 7Ad7aiwaas chiefship at this time was firmly in the hands of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. We know of a further Chief-Siigee-to-be who never officially took his name, thus neglecting to officiate his claim to Masset chiefship. The last nominal Siigee, an unassuming man, died few years ago. Today, the Skidaakaaw are represented by a single widow and her grown children and daughters' children. They still claim to be the "real owners" of Masset. Significantly, one of the post hoc rationalizations of Gaa7laa being selected as successor to the last Weah was his bilateral descent from the Skidaakaaw (see p.199). It was regarded as enforcing his legitimacy, which in itself was questioned by some because he was not of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. In the context of Gaa7laa's succession, the relationship between the S7ajuugahl 7laanas and the Git7ans was expressed as "there was something like a curtain hanging between them", a metaphor which we will see is applied to several lineages, or branches thereof, whose relationship is strained as marked by conflicting claims to legitimacy. It indicates the flexibility of the boundary between them as the curtain can be symbolically drawn during times of conflict and removed during times of harmonious relationships.

We have seen with the examples of Weah's and Gaa7laa's succession that, while corporate group membership is not alienated and manipulated, succession and inheritance of property are passed on outside the matriline: In the case of Siigee and Weah this happened explicitly; in the case of Weah and

Gaa7laa, it was accompanied by a redefinition of the boundary between the lineages concerned. In both cases, tension exists between the "real" or original owners and those who supplanted them. It is a tension which can lay dormant or is not mentioned in public for some years, but surfaces when the right moment arises.

Other events that are very informative about the management of lineage boundaries involve the "taking over" of village sites by members of a different branch of the same lineage. Here again, we have a noted, if not notorious case: It is the supplantation of the K'aawas by another branch of the lineage, the Sdast'aas proper. This case is all the more revealing as it is well but conflictingly documented in nineteenth century ethnohistorical sources as well as native oral histories. Stearns (1984) has used this case to detail the negotiation of legitimacy in chiefly succession. Here I will use it to throw light on the consequent management of lineage boundaries.

The village of K'yuust'aa, situated on the Northwest Coast of Graham Island, was originally owned and occupied by the K'aawas, an Eagle lineage and branch of the Sdast'aas. Its lineage- and village chief was said to have been Ihldiinii[19]. According to the version of a story situated somewhere between myth and history collected by Swanton (1908:#85), Ihldiinii was at one time lost at sea while fishing alone in his canoe. Eventually, he was washed up on the beach near the mouth of the Stikine River. He was then rescued and adopted by the Tlingit and remained chief among them, declining to return to K'yuust'aa.

According to the version told to me in 1979 by an Elder of the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas, whose mother's father was a K'aawas, Ihldiinii eventually

returned to K'yuust'aa. Whatever the fate of this particular Ihldiinii, the name thereafter disappears from the records of K'yuust'aa chiefship, although at least two K'aawas individuals of recent generations have carried it.

After the semi-mythical Ihldiinii disappeared the chiefship and ownership of K'yuust'aa went to 7iidangsaa, the highest ranking name of the Sdast'aas proper. The name 7iidangsaa and its implications for chiefly legitimacy and the Sdast'aas superseding the K'aawas is almost entirely connected with the person of Albert Edward Edenshaw, his last name being the anglicized version of 7iidangsaa. His name has since assumed symbolic proportions among the Haida, standing for all attempts of a chief and lineage "taking over".

According to the version A. E. Edenshaw propagated to the Whites, he was the rightful successor to the chiefship of the Sang7ahl Sdast'aas, an alternate name for the Sdast'aas. Although born at a village near Cape Ball, Gaahlans kun, some forty-five miles southeast of Masset, he allegedly succeeded his "uncle" (Harrison 1925:166) at K'yuust'aa. Due to a strategic marriage to the daughter of a "powerful chief in Alaska" (ibid.) and a subsequent marriage with a woman from Daadans, which was the village the K'aawas customarily intermarried with, he accumulated wealth and support. Helped by his personal thriftiness and close interaction with white prospectors and traders, he managed to accumulate slaves in trade. These he liquidated into other forms of material property he used in potlatching. His objective was to gain prestige and be recognized as the "greatest chief of all the Haidas" he proclaimed himself to be.

He claimed to have potlatched ten times (ibid.), indicating his intent towards unsurpassed status[20]. The white missionaries and traders who

interacted with Edenshaw dutifully recorded and accepted his claims. However, among fellow Haida, his claim to be the "greatest chief of all times" was by no means universally admired, nor was it accepted by later generations. His personal manner and entrepreneurship were regarded as unfitting, as contradicting norms of chiefly behaviour (Stearns 1984). Since however, Edenshaw is certainly the best-documented traditional Haida chief, most printed versions of Haida history present him in a positive light (see Dalzell 1968; Harrison 1925; Harris 1966), never doubting the legitimacy of his chiefship at K'yuust'aa which turned the Sdast'aas into a prominent lineage[21]. Incensed by the printed - and hence in their eyes officiated - version of Haida history, chiefship and lineage rights, the Masset Haida Elders gave their diametrically opposed version of this chapter of their past. Especially the K'aawas and those bilaterally related to them are quick to reject the Sdast'aas', and in particular Edenshaw's descendants', claims to anything:

- "That Skidegate man Edenshaw got a big name, but he don't own this place."
- "Albert Edward Edenshaw was a bossy kind."
- "They didn't want him out there, those K'aawas."

His "bossiness" and "pushiness" were always pointed out. This signified attempts by the narrators to distance themselves from his entrepreneurial and disrespectful (see Chapter IV.4) behaviour. Mentioning his coming from "Skidegate"[22] was meant to indicate that he was not one of the Gawa xaadee, and that he - and with him, his descendants - had no right to residence and chiefship among them. The present K'aawas claim that the names 7iidangsaa and Daa heeigan, the latter having been the name of A. E. Edenshaw's successor, actually are K'aawas names which were usurped by Edenshaw.

Swanton (1905a:293) corroborates this, as far as Daa heeigan is concerned.

The individual reports as to how the "take-over" of K'yuust'aa happened, vary. In some informant narratives, it was stated that a K'aawas woman named 7ilskandwaas was "acting chief" of the village. She was reportedly the "niece" of the last chief(s). "They passed on and she was the strong one among them, even amongst the men. And she was smart, they said." When Edenshaw landed at K'yuust'aa and proposed to stay, 7ilskandwaas and the remaining inhabitants of the town "made him anchor out in front of the town". After holding a council meeting they decided to "let him stay", although "they didn't give him the village":

> "7ilskandwaas told them, 'we don't want him right in the village. Wherever he stays, he starts bossing the whole village.' That's what everybody was saying. 'And we'll just let him stay at the end of the village'[23]. And that's how he stayed at K'yuust'aa. And today they say he started this K'yuust'aa village, in some books. Gee, they could tell lies."

Edenshaw also seized ownership of the village of Kang at the entrance of Neiden Harbour, and narratives similar to the one above dispute the legitimacy of his chiefship at Kang. One Elder, whose step-father's father was "from Kang" and whose wife belonged to a branch of the Sdast'aas not genealogically related to Edenshaw claimed that the latter tried to "take over" the village after he had seized K'yuust'aa. Kang was said to be "owned" by Gid jinaas, a local Sdast'aas, whose "uncle got mad when Edenshaw tried to take over. Gid jinaas' sister got mad, too, and hit Edenshaw over the head."

Whatever the "true" version of Edenshaw's seizure of K'yuust'aa and Kang, these narratives illuminate the Haidas' own notion of improper chiefly behaviour (Stearns op. cit.; see also Chapter IV); they also highlight the processes involved in the politics of lineage fission and boundary maintenance. Unwarranted claims and seizures of property by members of one

lineage branch at the cost of another are afterwards opposed by oral traditions claiming that these acts were totally illegitimate. The descendants of the supplanted branch thus strip them post festum of any kind of authenticity they may have had. Such attempts at supplantation and property seizure widen the social distance between the lineage branches in question, in particular from the perspective of the group which lost property and prominence.

Oral histories published in popular books (i.e. Dalzell 1968; Harris 1966) which tell only one side of the story have immense import in moulding public opinion among those concerned. They are read and understood as public statements by a few Haida about all Haida. As such they are interpreted in the same manner as offensive public statements made during feasts or potlatches; they are read as attempts to change the social and political status quo, as statements which try to reshape and reinterpret the history of lineages and their property in order to support the claims of certain individuals and the groups they are members of.

Within the village context, the content and meaning of oral histories bearing on lineage relations, and the tangible and intangible property of lineages are neither static nor universally accepted. The meaning of past events is constantly renegotiated because the oral histories of lineage relations implicate the social and political status of their present-day members.

Of lineages and branches that are at once linked and separated by conflicting claims of legitimacy it is said that "there is something like a curtain hanging between them"[24]. As a result of the conflicting claims resulting from the past actions of the group or its individuals, present

members of the branch which was supplanted verbally maximize their social distance to the supplanting branch and emphasize what separates them rather than what unites them. One middle-aged Haida rephrased and fortified the above statement to "there is a cement wall between them". While the curtain metaphor signifies that the dividing line between the groups is flexible, even removable, depending on the status quo of relationships, the "cement wall" expresses that the rupture in relations between them is considered as not repairable.

The "curtain" metaphor is presently used to express the relationship between the K'aawas and the Sdast'aas, but also that between the S7ajuugahl 7laanas and the Git7ans (see above) and that between the three branches of the Yaaku 7laanas, with individuals claiming that only one were the "real" Yaaku 7laanas while the others were "just temporary".

The curtain hanging between the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas and the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas or Kwee gandlaas Yaaku 7laanas[25] is the result of an attempted take-over in many respects similar to that of Edenshaw, except for the fact that it was unsuccessful.

The exact relationship between the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas and the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas is somewhat obscure. The former are a Masset-based branch of the Middletown people (Yaaku 7laanas). They own the hill 7iijaaw, formerly a fortress (t'uuj), and in fact their ownership of that part of Masset is said to much predate the inheritance of the town by the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. Thus, the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas think of themselves as the "real owners" of Masset, the Skidaakaaws', S7ajuugahl 7laanas', and as of late, Git7ans' claims notwithstanding. The Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas are a branch of the Masset Middletown people who migrated to Southeastern

Alaska along with the K'eeis xaadee. One of their members later married a Yaan chief who settled at Masset when Yaan was abandoned, and from her are descended all present Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas. At the turn of the century, the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas were without a chieftain: the sole surviving adult member of the lineage was a woman, the sister's daughter of the deceased lineage chief, Xilaa. The position was eventually filled by this woman, Jid kuyaag, who was then followed by her own son, 7laanas sdang, now in his eighties. The vacancy left by Xilaa's death meant the lineage was vulnerable to predatory moves by others in search of titles and chiefship: It was said that after Xilaa's death, two members of the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas were "trying to take over" the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas' chiefly names and their land, which included not only 7iijaaw, but also four salmon streams in Masset Inlet. It was recalled that

- "Kwasaas and his brother Kwaa7iiwans wanted to be chief, but the people of Masset picked Jid kuyaag."
- "They were staying on Alaska side and they had no chief /at/ that place. That's why they wanted to take Xilaa's place. They can't get it. No one's close enough."

In the case of Xilaa's succession, the take-over attempt was aborted by a functioning council of Elders and house-chiefs[26] who designated Jid kuyaag as the legitimate successor despite the fact that she was a woman, and refused to consider the two brothers of the related lineage.

The composition of the Council itself is interesting in view of the fact that the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas were all but extinct. The meeting was lead by house-chiefs of the different "tribes" /lineages at Masset/, and a prominent role was played by S7alaagudgaa and Kueegee 7iiwans, two high

ranking elderly women of the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas. As leader acted Skilaawee, a Stl'ang 7laanas[27] house-chief at Masset. The latter was said to be bilaterally related to Xilaa[28], and he could thus take the role of Xilaa's "younger brother" in presiding over the meeting. It was at his insistence that Jid kuyaag, rather than the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas brothers, was given the chiefship. 7laanas sdang narrated the incidence as follows:

> "Because my mother was a woman and her uncle passed on, she could not acknowledge it as a niece, and she could not live up to the obligation /i.e. give a mortuary potlatch and take his position/. They had meetings concerning how they should handle the vacancy. The leader of the tribes /lineages/ was a Stl'ang 7laanas. He said, 'It's a long time since the death /of Xilaa/. It's a long time since this lady's uncle passed away. They got to settle this matter and just agree that she fill the spot. Eventually she will have children.' It was Skilaawee of the Stl'ang 7laanas who said this. And he was related to my uncle /lit. 'they preferred themselves to be relatives/. So that is how they made my mother chief. After my mother, I followed."[29]

Since the aborted coup by the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas, the relationship between the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas and the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas has been strained, especially from the point of view of the former: They acknowledge the latter as "close but not really close", and point out that they are "from Alaska".

Yet, especially those branches that have only a few surviving members left, like the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas, the S7ajuugahl 7laanas, and the K'aawas, must rely on the collaboration and assistance of those on the other side of the "curtain" during ceremonial events. Success in validating and maintaining individual and collective rights is contingent upon keeping lines of communication with the chastised branches open. Thus, the possibility of lineage unity and the imperative towards assistance is kept active by employing kin terms for the members of all those said to be divided by a "curtain". The metaphor of the curtain between lineage branches perfectly expresses

the ambivalent relationship between them: It symbolically reserves the right to deny legitimacy to the other branch(es), while at the same time preserving the option to claim unity and hence ritual and practical assistance.

Another example of ambivalent boundaries is the relationship between the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas and the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas, and in a wider context, between the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas and all other Masset lineages. It has become strained during the last decades because of attempts by certain Daadans Yaaku 7laanas trying to "take over" all Yaaku 7laanas, and beyond this, claim for themselves the role of ceremonial and cultural leaders of the entire village. Yet, the remaining Yaaku 7laanas have to rely on the ceremonial assistance of the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas faction in question, as the latter can easily mobilize help, ceremonial gear and resources for ceremonial events. As a result, we are witnessing a current factionalization of different households centred around Daadans Yaaku 7laanas Elders. As the boundaries of lineage branches which segmented in the past, the boundaries of the factions are flexible, kept this way by the necessity of solidarity and the denial of any group's priority within the lineage.

A rhetorical means of prejudicing the prestige of lineages whose members make attempts at seizing the resources, titles and names of related ones is to redefine the meaning of their names. The name Yaaku 7laanas (from yaaku - "middle"; and 7laanas - "townspeople"), by Swanton translated as "Middletown people", who, according to the oral histories and myths he collected (1905b:320) occupied the <u>middle row</u> of their mythical town of origin, has in recent times come to be etymologized differently: As a result of some preposterous claims to land, names and titles by certain

contemporary Yaaku 7laanas, the meaning of their name is now rationalized by some as:

People in the middle --> people in between --> i.e. people without land(!).

Furthermore, Yaaku 7laanas' claims to property are categorically rejected by many non-Yaaku 7laanas because of their past marital alliances with the Sdast'aas, in particular Edenshaw and his descendants.

To return to the K'aawas, the meaning of this name, as both Swanton (1905a:275) and contemporary Haida Elders translate it, is "herring eggs". The story about the origin of the name is as follows:

> "/Át K'yuust'aa/ a lady walked by another lady who had very many kids. And seeing all those kids around there, she said jokingly: 'Ooohhh, K'aaw tl'aaw hlaguu', 'just like herring eggs'. That's why today they're /called/ 'herring eggs'."

Probably directly or indirectly influence by A. E. Edenshaw's rhetoric, Charles Harrison related the meaning of "K'aawas" in a rather different manner:

> "The men of this clan were of small stature, and as the herring spawn is the smallest spawn found near the Islands, they were in contempt called the 'herring spawn people'"(Harrison 1925:50; emphasis mine).

Other false or conflicting etymologies (c.f. Swanton 1905a:272; Harrison op. cit.:49f) further illustrate this use of metaphors for social purposes. Post hoc etymologies and attributes of meaning serve to convey or deny prestige according to the political relevance and evaluation of the group in question.

In conclusion, we have seen that the recruitment to Haida lineages is unambiguously based on matrilineal descent. Filial inheritance however, was a viable alternative to matrilineal inheritance, and we know of at least one case of chiefly succession from father to son. Filial

inheritance and succession led to the alienation of lineage property which caused conflicting claims of legitimacy between the original and consequent owners. Moreover, the segmental nature of the lineage provides for contradictory notions of equality and priority among the segments. These come into focus especially after attempts by one lineage or branch thereof to supplant another. In cases like these, the boundaries between the lineage branches are consequently redefined and re-evaluated, denying legitimacy and prestige to the aggressive lineage branch. This redefinition of relationships, however, remains ambiguous, as the members of the very lineages who are collectively denied legitimacy on the one hand are needed for ritual and practical ceremonial assistance on the other. Rhetorically, the relations among such lineages or branches are said to have "a curtain between them": they are divided while potentially united, their relationship must be managed and cultivated.

Footnotes:

1) Note that "friends", toulang, in Haida usage is a euphemism for lineage mates. See below, p. 122.

2) In the Raven myth, (see Boas 1916: 625) Foam-woman appears as the mother's mother of Nang kilsdlaas, Raven.

3) The mythical towns involved in the origin myths were said to have been situated along the eastern shore of the Queen Charlottes, involving between the extreme points Nee kun and Gangaad goud kun. None of these towns were inhabited in historical times (See Swanton 1905a: maps facing p. 102; 104).

4) The personified Raven, the Trickster-Transformer. "Brought over" means he married her, and according to one account (Swanton 1905a:23) had ten children with her.

5) see Swanton op. cit.:94-96 for various versions.

6) Interestingly, the Tsimshian, in their "mythico-symbolic characterization of the Haida" (Dunn 1984: 100) refer to the latter as of the "father's clan" also. The Tsimshian Ravens and the Haida Eagles mutually consider each other as "fathers".

7) In the Tlingit version of these Raven episodes, the Role of Eagle is taken by Raven's "slave".

8) According to Swanton (1904), the Tlingit originally lived on the mainland opposite the Queen Charlottes; the Tsimshian, according to their own traditions, migrated to the coast from inland.

9) in the original: "Hin dalang gwaaygaangaasgaa" (gwaay gaang - lineages) "dalang goudasgaa gian dalang isin Yahlasgaa".

10) MacDonald (1982:14) refers to a "Tsimshianization of Haida culture on the Queen Charlotte Islands" around 500 B.C., evidenced by archaeological finds.

11) John Work estimated the Haida population on the Queen Charlotte Islands at around 8,000 in 1835. See also Duff 1964. The pre-contact population may have been higher yet.

12) Stearns' (1981:221) and my own tabulations differ slightly; she groups the S7ajuugahl 7laanas together with the Git7ans, which is plausible as the S7ajuugahl 7laanas are all but extinct. Similarly, she groups the Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas together with the Masset (Gawa) Yaaku 7laanas.

13) on adoption, see Chapter V.1.

14) see Chapter V.1.

15) Note the distinction often made between person-to-person rights (succession; inheritance) and the rights to group-membership based on descent (e.g. Fox 1967; Scheffler 1973). Scheffler, following Goody (1966) proposes the terms uterine/agnatic for personal rights provided by succession and inheritance, and matrilineal/patrilineal only for descent structures. The question, I think, is where the line is to be drawn between personal and collective rights in societies having corporate lineages. While among the Haida, succession takes place between individuals, it is nonetheless also regarded as a concern of the corporate group, as becomes evident with the function of elective councils (see below; also Stearns 1984:199) and the collective resentment when titles pass outside of the matriline (e.g. Weah's case). The inheritance of names and emblems is similarly regarded, as the entire lineage anxiously observes who gets which name and transmits which emblem. The boundary between collective and individual rights is clearly blurred in cases where chiefs gave crests which were collectively owned by the group to their children or other members of lineages of the opposite moiety, or where collectively owned land was alienated through restitution payments.

16) I lived with the widow of the last chief Weah who died in 1974. She knew much of the oral history associated with the case. Her version is all but identical to that told by her husband to Mary Lee Stearns (1984), which the reader may want to compare. See also Stearns 1981 (pp. 229-33).

17) Emma Matthews, pers. comm.

18) This fact emerged from a paper found in Emma Matthews' house during my field work. It states: "June 1st, 1869. I would say that the death of Wiha is much lamented by all his people. His brother assumes his name and I find him to be an exception. He is well disposed and likes to see the whites come among them. He is of great service to me in trade. He has great influence among his people. I find him to be trustworthy in every particular. Hudson Bay Trading Post, W. F. Offutt in Charge" [punctuation added]. See Stearns 1984. The paper is in the possession of the Matthews family.

19) When the first explorers arrived in the K'yuust'aa area late in the eighteenth century, the chief of the area was reported to have been "Conneshaw" or "Cunheah". Ganyaa was a chief of the Tciitc Git7ans, but the latter were from Masset Inlet and owned no land or villages near K'yuust'aa. The name of the chief mentioned in the explorers' journals remains obscure. Edenshaw's "take-over" probably occurred during the 1830's or '40's.

20) See p.219, Chapter IV, on the symbolism associated with the number 10.

21) Stearns' (1981; 1984) works which "set the record straight" as far as the Edenshaw case is concerned, were not published yet when I conducted field-work. Harris (1966) is the juvenile novel Raven's Cry.

22) Gaahlans kun was seen as equivalent to Skidegate (in fact, it is closer to Skidegate than to Masset). Edenshaw supposedly "even talked like a Skidegate". Swanton also mentions that Gaahlans kun was originally owned

by the Nee kun keeagwee, another branch of the Sdast'aas. The latter subsequently went to live at Skidegate, "now they still live there" (1908:773). It is possible, then, that Edenshaw was of the Nee kun keeagwee!

23) Note that the chief's house customarily stood in the centre of the village (see Chapter IV, p. 140); delegating Edenshaw to the "end of the village" implies that they wanted to keep him as far away as possible from the physical space associated with the village chief...in vain, as it turned out.

24) The aboriginal Haida, of course, had no curtains, unless in metaphor, "curtains" replaced cedar bark screens (7laal), it may well be possible that this phrase only came into use since the 19th century, when segmentation, nucleation and factionalism became increasingly prevalent due to the amalgamation of all lineages at Masset and the numerical decline of many lineages, and due to rivalries over vacant chiefly positions.

25) The two terms seem to refer to the same group, although 7laanas sdang usually employed the latter one.

26) On chief-councils, see Swanton 1905a:68f; Stearns 1984:199; Deans 1899:22; Niblack 1888:253.

27) This may be a mistake by the informant, as Skilaawee is a Kinauusilee chief-name.

28) That is, Xilaa and Skilaawee were father's brother's sons (parallel cousins), gud 7ahl keeiwaa (see Chapter V.1). They could call each other "younger brother/older brother".

29) Translated from the Haida original with the help of Lawrence Bell, his son.

CHAPTER IV

THE RHETORIC OF RANK AND RECIPROCITY

The last pages have shed some light on the politics of lineage differentiation, on the establishment and denial of collective prestige of own and other corporate groups as it is expressed in symbolic statements. While horizontal segmentation, i.e. lineage organization, entails the concept of structurally equitable and thus comparable segments, the de facto relations between members of lineages - and particularly their leaders - allow the renegotiation of the public rating of these groups.

This leads us to the important question of individual social rank. While we have seen that individual social rank is in many respects contingent upon, and in turn influences, the collective reputation of the corporate group, its main importance among the Haida lies in socially and politically differentiating members of the same lineage[1].

[Each corporate group among the Haida consists of a series of ranked statuses. The right to a position is inherited through birth and is contingent upon the genealogical closeness to the lineage head. The status itself is symbolized by a name and the material and symbolic property associated with it.] To be [legitimate] however, the right to a name must be validated by a formal distribution of property, gyaa ʔisdla,[2] to invited members of the opposite, or in the case of the house-building potlatch, own moiety.] In addition, the members of the claimant's own corporate group, by having contributed their labour and resources to organize the event, and by being physically present during the doing itself, tacitly acknowledge the

donor's change in status vis-à-vis themselves. Rank is therefore inextricably linked to both reciprocal exchange and public sanction. All communicative acts concerned with reciprocal exchange and thus rank consequently aim at wooing public opinion. This concerns the actual exchange of property, but also the exchange of words in address, oratory, songs and jokes, and finally, the meaning read into such gestures as attending or boycotting feasts and potlatches, and the order of seating, the sequence of speakers. Every act of this nature is a symbolic gesture aimed at changing or maintaining the social order, and is interpreted accordingly by all those witnessing it. In this sense, all public statements carry what Douglas (1966:100) has called a "conscious symbolic load", and are in essence political statements, continuously questioning or granting legitimacy to social positions.

Haida statements about claims to rank, however, are not vociferous; in word and deed, they are delicately phrased, employing "euphemizing strategies" (c.f. Bourdieu 1977), i.e. the elevation of others' social standing in order to have one's own status acknowledged. The assessment of rank relies on rhetoric, here defined as "any persuasive tactic or resource that uses symbols" (Bailey 1981). Rhetoric, in turn, makes use of enthymeme - implicit statements - and ambiguity, tools of persuading and negotiating with the public. (Paine 1981).

While formally, the legitimacy of ranked positions is contingent upon successful potlatching, the Haida themselves express rank as the concomitant of respect, guudaang, which is received only by showing it to others in words and in action. The notion of respect implies a constant tension between individual ambition and the brakes applied by both the ethos of

moderation and the power of public opinion. In addition, it implies a culturally learned sensitivity to the political, or "touchy", nature of all public discourse and gestures.

Based on these premises, this chapter will analyse the concepts involved in the Haida understanding of rank and reciprocity, as well as the rhetorical advantage taken of them in acts of renegotiating the social status quo. After examining the nature of ranked statuses, I will turn to the mythical and actual acquisition of ranked positions. This will be followed by an analysis of the concepts of respect and public sanction, and the function of oratory as both the expression and determining force of rank. Finally, I will draw some theoretical conclusions regarding the nature of reciprocal exchange and social position.

1. Ranked statuses among the Haida

Some three decades ago, much debate among anthropologists concerned with Northwest Coast Indians centred on whether the societies in question were "class societies", divisible into distinct groups sharing social, economic, attitudinal and cultural characteristics[3], such as "chiefs", "nobles", "Commoners" and "slaves" (Boas 1920; Sapir 1966), or whether, as Drucker (1966) later postulated, there existed only a "graduated series of statuses". Separate terms in the native languages referring to a distinct "class of commoners" and to "high class people", and references to moral, social economic and political differences between "commoners" and "chiefs" were cited as evidence of classes (Ray 1966)[4]. The debate raised questions about the degree of social mobility, and the negotiability of status differences in the coastal societies, and furthermore questioned whether social stratification was an objective or subjective reality for coastal

Indians.

For the Coast Salish, Suttles (1966) offered an interesting analytical solution: He described Coast Salish society as an "inverted pear" with the majority of the population being reckoned as "noble" /siiɛ'm/, while a small category of "low class people" /st'ɛsəm/ actually existed. The most important aspect of the high class / low class dichotomy, however, is its ideological function: Low class people are charged with worthlessness and marginality, whereas the upper class bears connotations of morality and knowledge, or "the myth that morality is the private property of the upper class" (op. cit.:175).

While the structure of social stratification among the Coast Salish differs from that of the Haida in important points[5], Suttles' idea of the ideological function of the polarity of high versus low rank is useful for my analysis of Haida rank and reciprocity. The threat of becoming "low class", of falling from grace, implies the notion of rhetoric, the negotiation with the public of one's legitimacy in terms of genealogical links, moral behaviour, ritual observance, sense of obligation and knowledge. As we will see, all these figure importantly in Haida conceptions of how ranked positions are determined and maintained.

Traditional Haida society featured stratification similar in proportion to Suttles' "inverted pear". As Murdock noted,

> "...it might be inferred that commoners constitute a majority and nobles a small minority in Haida society, as is the case in most stratified societies. Such inference, however, is quite erroneous. Informants at both Masset and Hydaburg insisted strongly that persons lacking status never constituted more than ten per cent of the total adult population. 'Nobles' have always greatly outnumbered 'commoners'." (Murdock 1936:19).

Murdock ascribes this preponderance of the "noble class" to the "widespread

practice of adoption", in that the donors of potlatches "customarily take advantage of the occasion to adopt any children of the host's brothers whose prospects of acquiring status otherwise are slim" (op. cit.:19). Drucker (1966), in turn, has suggested that the high proportion of "nobles" reported by Murdock was due to the population decline during the second part of the nineteenth century, which left many high status positions vacant. Fur-trade and wage labour, in turn, provided the opportunity for newcomers to claim these positions.

However, some ethnohistorical sources from the early contact period suggest that the ubiquity of high status was not a late-nineteenth century phenomenon caused by external influences, but that underlying it were mechanisms for the proliferation of ranked statuses indigenous to Haida culture. As far back as 1829, a traveller among the Haida noted, "The Queen Charlotte Island Indians say, 'we are all chiefs'" (Green 1915), and, similarly, in 1853 - i.e. before the major population decline - Martin Offutt Hudson's Bay Company factor at Fort Simpson, noted, "We have great trouble with these /Masset and Kaigani Haida/, they consider themselves all to be chiefs"[6], implying that the Haida whom he encountered each perpetuated the impression of being of high status.

One source for the proliferation of ranked statuses, and with them political offices (Stearns 1984:202-3), must be located in the fissive tendencies of the matrilineages. The economic self-sufficiency of the household and the unequivocal mode of succession (Stearns, op. cit.) provide for the segmentation of lineages, with the household-heads promoting themselves to the status of lineage leaders, and former dependents becoming household chiefs. These "fissive tendencies" (ibid.) are again enhanced

by the Haida ideology of achievement underlying high status, although, as we will see later, achievement is never recognized if it involves entrepreneurship, but only when it is accompanied by the demonstration of ascriptive criteria. Flaunting achievement, at any rate, is not endorsed.

The vague category of "commoners" can also be explained in terms of the ethos of lineage solidarity. Referring to one's lineage mates - who are addressed and referred to by kin terms - as "commoners" in front of members of other lineages gives the group a bad name, and by implication, amounts to a self-insult. It breaches the ethos of lineage solidarity. Even worse, calling members of the opposite moiety "commoners" - particularly in public - is regarded as an insult or accusation. The ubiquity of high status is thus also a rhetorical device; verbally attributing high rank to all others insures their official capacity to validate one's own high position. Nobility as a "class", then, takes on a subjective reality as among the Coast Salish. Ideologically opposite it are the "commoners", who are in practice hard to find, but who represent the metaphor for everything that is <u>not</u> associated with the legitimacy and proper behaviour of the nobility.

Incidentally, in the Haida language there exists no general term for "commoners" or "low rank people", but only derogatory or metaphorical expressions, such as "those sitting at the front of the house" (Swanton 1912:29) - as opposed to "high class people" who occupy the rear of the house, see p. 142 - "mosquitoes" (ibid.), "common surface birds" (ibid.), and other metaphors expressing minuteness or morally inferior behaviour. Moreover, the meanings of these metaphors are ambiguous, as they can be inverted to refer to very high ranked persons: In oratory and song, the

Haida call themselves by metaphorical terms for commoners, thus inverting their imputed status and elevating that of their audience in order to ultimately elevate their own (see p.152ff).

Another term used in derogation is 7iisanyaa, translated as "poor", "unlucky" or "destitute", a state usually ascribed to lack of ritual observance, improper respect for others, and not meeting reciprocal obligations; in other words, neglecting communication with both the social and the supernatural world. Bad luck is thus conceived of as not fulfilling obligation. 7iisangidaa, "unlucky child", refers to the child of a person who neglected to potlatch (Murdock 1936:19). However, unlike Murdock, I do not interpret this term as an objective category for "commoners" based on potlatch-criteria, but as a term implying the moral obligation to potlatch, and to avoid losing public esteem.

Certain lineages, 7aalgaa families or "servants", were said to be only "slightly higher in the social order than slaves" (Swanton 1905a:69). An anonymous source (1957) elaborates on the "algwa" status as "the mark of the paddle brand" (c.f. gaal- = paddle) referring to the stigmatization of a lineage one of whose members has not been able to pay the indemnity for killing a member of another lineage subsequently victorious in a feud. Being "algwa" meant "living virtually one step above slavery" and thus a "tarnish of honour" (op. cit.:4).

Among those "of rank", i.e. the majority of the population referring to themselves and one another as "chiefs" or 'chiefs' children", a series of terms expressing both rank and political position exist. The village chief is called 7laanaa 7leeygaa (7laanaa = town; 7leeygaa = "boss", "chief"). In single lineage villages, none of which, as I noted earlier, existed in

historical times, the village chief was also lineage chief; in multi-lineage villages, he was the head of the lineage owning the town[7]. His younger brothers, in order of birth, are normatively those nearest in rank to him, thus, rank is based on seniority. This is reflected in the kinship terminology which discriminates between older sibling of same sex (k'waay) and younger sibling of same sex (duun)[8]. In the next descending generation followed the eldest sister's eldest son, naad yahk'iiw ("real nephew"), and his younger brothers, then the sons of junior sisters, and junior classificatory sisters' sons.

The younger brothers of the lineage- or village chiefs were house chiefs, 7iitl'daas or 7iitl'aagidaas. As Swanton noted, "the word ... is applied to a house chief and is almost synonymous with 'rich man', there being no caste limitations to prevent one from becoming a house chief" (1905b:326 fn.7). This quote, along with myths involving the acquisition of 7iitl'daa status, suggest the ideology of achievement, i.e. that house-chief status could be acquired by anyone who could accumulate enough property to give a waahlal (house building potlatch).

While the lineage chief was the "highest functionary" (Swanton 1905a: 68), his instrumental powers were limited. Swanton remarked, "the power of the family /lineage-/ chiefs was /.../ a varying one, depending on, and at the same time limited by, the number and power of his house-chiefs," (op. cit.:69), and Dawson stated, "the chief is merely the head or president of various family combinations, and unless his decisions carry with them the assent of other leaders they have not much weight" (1880:119B). Instrumental powers were thus vested in the house-chiefs, who supervised domestic production, although in resource areas jointly owned by the

lineage, and had the right to declare war on their own account (Swanton op. cit.:69). In a broader sense one can interpret that it was the collectivity of co-resident house-chiefs, and their joint political pressure, that had the greatest instrumental power.

Aside from objectively denoting house-chiefs, the vocative 7iitl'gee is used as a term of respect for chiefs in general[9]. The children of an 7iitl'daas, upon their parents' house-building potlatch (waahlal) became "chief's children", interpreted by Murdock (1936) as the incorporation into the status set. In summary, lineage- or town chief, house chief, and being a collateral relative, real or classificatory nephew or niece, or child of a house-chief comprise the basic set of ranked statuses among the Haida, or, in the case of descendants, represent genealogical premises for claiming ranked positions.

Numerous other terms connoting persons of imputedly high status were used in address and oratory:

gadee refers to young girls who are not yet married

7iljuuwaas denotes "nobleman" or "gentleman" (Swanton 1905b: 424), the latter translation also implying the behaviour expected of high ranking individuals,

7iljaaw (Swanton op. cit.:329; fn.8) "is said to have similar meaning to gentleman and lady in English",

kilsdlaay is used in addressing house- and lineage chiefs and means "one who can do things with words" (e.g. p. 154),

gahljuu, "precious", is used to address children,

hlkan is employed in addressing grandchildren.

In addition, Swanton (1912) lists numerous other "high words" as

metaphors for high-ranked children and adults, such as gits.is, "chiefs' children", 7uuhuaa, "a very high word, only applied to one or two chiefs who attained especially great power" (op. cit.:48), gadaal, "well brought up one".

Neither Swanton nor Murdock give much information on the terms expressing rank among females. With rare exceptions[10], women did not hold office, i.e. they did not inherit lineage-, town or house-chiefship. Hence, Swanton's list of house- and lineage chiefs (1905a:268ff) reflects only the relative position of male names within the lineages. Women, however, were part of the ranked set. The female correspondent of 7iitl'aagidaas or 7iitl'daas is kol jaad, "chief woman" or more accurately, "woman of high rank":

> "It is the feminine of one word for chief /kol = "forehead"/ but 'chieftainess' would convey a false impression, because it is associated with the idea of the exercise of a chief's power by a woman. A kol jaad was not one who exercised the power of a chief, but a woman who belonged to the ranks of the chiefs, whether she were a chief's wife or a chief's daughter" (Swanton 1905b:188).

Kol jaad applies to daughters and sisters of house- and lineage chiefs, and to their sisters' daughters. As marriage favourably took place among persons of equal rank, a chief's daughter would also become a chief's wife.

While Murdock (1936; supra) notes adoption as the most frequent means whereby remote members of the lineage are incorporated into the house-chief's household as high ranked children (yahgid), one can also argue that the extension of kin terms accomplishes the incorporation of remote members of the lineage into the ranked set. This was probably particularly true for the time of the population decline of the nineteenth century: Junior members of the lineage, classificatory "sons", "nephews" and "nieces" were able to pass themselves off as the linear descendants of a deceased

7iitl'aagidaas or 7laanaa 7leeygaa. Stearns (1984) has demonstrated how, in disputes over chiefly succession, genealogical closeness counted over other qualities. Genealogical closeness, in turn, is a matter of negotiation, facilitated by the extensibility of Haida kin terms, as Chapter V.1. will detail.

Since the demise of the house-building potlatch as the major means for achieving and validating both 7iitl'daas and yahgid status[11], the citing of genealogical links with ancestors who were chiefs, yahgid etc. has assumed additional significance as THE major claim to legitimacy, aside from age. While its importance has plausibly increased, the citation of pedigree, and with it the renown of one's ancestors, seems to have been standard practice during the days of the house-building potlatch. Thus, Collison noted in describing procedures during the waahlal, "...The presiding chief then delivers an introductory speech, recounting the rank and deeds of his ancestors and his own exploits and position among them." (1915:93).

Pedigree is at present still much used by elderly Haida to demonstrate their own and others' rights to position. "Uncles" who were chiefs are at times several generations removed, and may be related affinally rather than consanguinally, or through bilateral ties[12]. The extension of kin terms, in short, provides additional prerequisites for claiming high positions. Regarded as contingent upon birth right demonstrated through genealogical ties, rank is not immutable but requires the skilful management of pedigree.

The preceived order of ranked positions among "high class" persons is also codified in a set of names which are normatively given to senior versus junior siblings and to their descendants. Thus, "Skamyaang is Xilaa's

younger brother" and "Skilduugahl is Skildakahljuu's younger brother," etc. The main difference, though, seems to exist between the names of lineage- and house-chiefs. The rank-order of names, however, is not absolute and through time has undergone - and still undergoes - constant revision, depending on the conduct and actions of individuals bearing the names. Some names seem to have lost prominence, others have been added, still others seem to have fallen into oblivion.

Swanton's list of house- and lineage chiefs (1905a:268ff) gives an indication of what was regarded as the set of male chief names during the nineteenth century. The list names a total of thirty-three house-chiefs for 7Ad7aiwaas and 7iijaaw, with an additional twelve for K'aayang. For K'yuust'aa, he lists nine chiefs, eight for Yaaku, twelve for Kang and twenty for Yan. They were reconstructed from informants' memories; many of the villages had already been abandoned by the turn of the century, with some chiefly names having fallen into oblivion or having been replaced by others, while entire branches of lineages became extinct.

A document which reveals who were perceived as "chiefs" at the turn of the century is a letter to the Anglican Church Missionary Society requesting a new missionary, signed by the nineteen "chiefs" of the area, presumably those of 7Ad7aiwaas, K'aayang and Yan. They were[13]:

James Stanley, Sdiihldaa, of the Tciitc Git7ans
Charlie Edenshaw, 7iidangsaa, of the Sdast'aas
Henry Weah, Wiiaa, of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas (town chief of 7Ad7aiwaas)
Robert Gunia, Ganyaaa, of the Tciitc Git7ans
Peter Williams, Na.aahlang, of the Stl'ang 7laanas
Charlie Kowgei, K'aawgee, of the Kianuusilee
Richard Russ, (?), of the Git7ans
Richard Naillance, Na.hiilans or Neylans, of the Stl'ang 7laanas
Samuel Davis, (?), of the Yaaku 7laanas
Edward Beulands, (?), of the Git7ans
Frederick Young, (?), of the Tciitc Git7ans
Walter Kinge-gwa, Kingaagwaaw, of the Stl'ang 7laanas

Joseph Skilgwaitlaas, Skilkwiitlaas, of the Stl'ang 7laanas
Frank Taltanat, T'aahl7anaad, of the Kianuusilee
Thomas Natkawong, Naadkaa.gong, of the Sahgwii Git7ans
Luke Stlaking-ang, Stl'akingaang, of the Stl'ang 7laanas
Frederick Johnson, Gidaa kujaaws, of the Git7ans
Isaac Haias, Haayaas, of the Hlijelang keeigwee (Sdast'aas)
Norman Skiltees, Skiltiis, Kun 7laanas

This list, of course, is not necessarily exclusive, as some house- and lineage chiefs may have been absent, others may have declined to sign - in most cases the signature was "x" - the letter. Some positions were clearly vacant at this time. The list nonetheless accurately reflects the lineage composition of 7Ad7aiwaas, K'aayang and Yan area. Many house-chiefs' names from Swanton's list are not included, however. It seems that Na.aahlang had replaced K'aahlwaagaa as town chief of Yan. New on the list are Gidaa kujaaws, T'aahl7anaad, Skilkwiitlaas, Stl'akingaang, K'aawgee, Neylans and Ganyaa, which I think in part reflects the overall tendency towards social mobility during the late nineteenth century, and in part reflects the indigenous processes of the rise to prominence of new chief names.

The list of acknowledged lineage heads as of 1979/80 (see p. 111, Table III) shows further change in both number and composition of the set of lineage chiefs, now generally referred to as "leaders" of the "families" or "tribes". The list shows the further incorporation of other lineages of the Northern Haida into Masset, especially the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas, the Dou Stl'ang 7laanas, the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas, and the K'aawas. There has been a further decline in the number of chiefly names. Females and males alike are mentioned as lineage leaders. All but a few of the Elders acknowledged as lineage leaders by other village Elders have never validated their positions in public.

TABLE III

Lineage Territories and Lineage Heads of the Gawa Xaadee

(1980)

A. Ravens

1. Daadans Yaaku 7laanas (R 19)

Territory: Daadans (North Island)

Elders : Emma Matthews,
Florence Davidson,
Ernie Yeltatzie,
Geoff White

2. Gawa Yaaku 7laanas

Territory: 7iijaaw, Awun, Ain, Diinan, Kiaawan Rivers

Elder : Adam Bell.

3. Yahl naas Yaaku 7laanas

Territory: claimed 7iijaaw

Elders : Nora Bellis,
Mathias Abrahams,
Cecilia Abrahams.

4. Kun 7laanas

Territory: Rose Spit (Nei kun)

Elders : Charlotte Marks,
Ethel Jones.

5. Stl'ang 7laanas

Territory: Yan village

Elders : Peter Jones († 1982),
Willie Russ,
Jimmy Edgars († 1984).

6. Dou stl'ang 7laanas

Territory: Tiaan, Yaaku

Elders : Grace Wilson*,
Jimmy Amos.

*) in 1984, Allan Wilson, son of Grace Wilson, took the name sgaana 7iiwans and claimed the Dou stl'ang 7lngee Chiefship.

TABLE III, continued

7. Skidaakaaw

Territory: 7Ad7aiwaas

Elder : Ida Smith.

8. Kianuushilee

Territory: parts of 7Ad7aiwaas; Neiden Harbour

Elder : Emily Abrahams.

9. Taas 7laanas

Territory: Tliiduu (West Coast)

Elder : Fred Russ, (Skidegate).

B. Eagles

1. Git7ans

Territory: parts of K'aayang, Yaakun area

Elders : Selina Peratrovich (†1984),
Flora Russ,
David Adams.
*) Reno Russ, son of Flora Russ, became chief 7iljuuwas in 1984.

2. Tciitc Git7ans

Territory: Juskaatla and Yakoun River area; parts of Yan and Wiijaa

Elders : Victor Thompson (†1981),
Moses Ingram.

3. S7ajuugahl 7laanas

Territory: S7uljuu kun; 7Ad7aiwaas

Elders : Rufus Moody, } both from Skidegate
Paul Smith, }
Francis Carl (from Ketchikan); no living members at Masset.

4. Sdast'aas

Territory: Kang; Neiden Harbour

Elders : Winnie Yeltatzie,
Vesta Hageman,
Vicky Kelly (†1984),
Ruth Bell (†1981).

TABLE III, continued

5. K'aawas
   Territory: K'yuust'aa (Kiusta)
   Elders : Flossie Yeltatzie,
   Rose Davidson,
   Cecilia Brown.

6. Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas
   Territory: Tc'aa.ahl (North Island)
   Elders : Amanda Edgars,
   Minnie Edgars,
   Dora Brooks.

As Stearns (1975; 1981) has pointed out previously, age has assumed a new significance as a criterion for lineage leadership, i.e., acknowledged high status[14]. This is particularly true for lineages like the Kianuusilee, Kun 7laanas and Skidaakaaw, which are so reduced in number that only a single senior member is left, who has been automatically assigned the role of lineage leader/Elder. (see Table IV). While the senior female lineage leaders are regarded as "acting leaders", they do not themselves take on the name of the lineage chief, but keep it in store for their eldest son. There has thus been a significant shift from ostensively "achieved" to ascribed status, a process enmeshed in overall change. Aside from the fact that relative seniority aboriginally translated into priority in rank, the present high status accorded to Elders also results from their role as guardians of the "old ways" and the language.

Rank differences and processes of status competition are today most clearly visible in lineages that have numerous surviving Elders left. It is here that we can observe ongoing processes expressing both hierarchy and equality. The most interesting lineage in this context are the Yaaku

7laanas, who have a disproportionately large number of Elders; moreover, at least three of them are of similarly high hereditary status, i.e. their fathers had been lineage chiefs, their mothers had been daughters of lineage chiefs, and had been given waahlal potlatches (e.g. p.128) as children. At the same time they are not closely related genealogically, although they refer to one another by sibling terms. Their genealogical distance encourages status competition, but at the same time their high hereditary status coupled with their role as Elders leads to the continuous striving for a fine balance between equality and hierarchy. During public occasions, such as feasts, weddings, memorial dinners, etc., all three are allotted honorary seats at the head table. While Sandlenee and Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa, who are Daadans Yaaku 7laanas, are referred to and addressed as "our grandmothers", 7laanas sdang, the hereditary chief of the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas, functions as official lineage head of all Yaaku 7laanas. Thus, in ceremonial office, the slightly junior male of the senior resident lineage is given priority over the females. All three are invited to speak in close order, and during their speeches frequently acknowledge one another's presence. All three are consulted - and are expected to be consulted - on matters pertaining to the Yaaku 7laanas, such as names, crests, ownership of land, ceremonies, feasts and chiefships, and to the old ways in general. At the same time, each carefully watches that the others do not "take over", a charge that has frequently been levelled against the family of one of the three, who, through aggressive feasting and the sponsorship of neotraditional potlatching, have tried to outdo the others. While to the outside, and especially in oratory, all are referred to as of high rank, and each rhetorically elevates the rank of the others, any tendency towards expressed

individual hierarchy is at once condemned.

From the Haida terminology of ranked statuses and the data provided by early ethnographers, along with the knowledge of, and processes among, contemporary Elders emerge some principles of the Haida understanding of social stratification which we can sum up as follows:

- The tendency towards lineage segmentation, which already existed in pre-contact society (Chapter III), proliferated the number of high statuses. This tendency was enhanced by the relative autonomy of households. Moreover, the ideology of potlatching sanctioned the conversion of acquired wealth into high status. In addition, the management of pedigree, and, according to Murdock (1936), the adoption of relatives[15] multiplied the number of "chiefs' children" and "chiefs' nieces/nephews". Finally, the ethos of lineage solidarity and showing respect for others, coupled with the reliance on others as validators of one's own rank, provides for the subjective maximization of ranked statuses. Haida society, in its public self-image, emerges as exclusively composed of chiefs. Commoners do not, and did not, exist as a sizeable objective group; instead, the category of commoners existed mainly as a moral imperative pointing out what happens if reciprocal obligation is declined and ritual observance neglected. It must be stressed again that the conflicting principles of hierarchy and equivalence "are not to be confused with the breakdown of traditional authority" (Stearns 1984:202). At least fundamentally, they arise from structural requisites of aboriginal Haida society (ibid.).

Before elaborating on the ideology and practice of the achievement and management of status, it is worthwhile to briefly consider that category which quite literally remained outside of Haida society, namely

slaves. Slaves, xaldangee, constituted the lowest stratum of the social order and were conceived of as outside the ranking system. Slaves were captives taken during raids, or sometimes traded through middlemen. On the plight of slaves, Niblack (1888:252) reports,

> "Slaves did all the drudgery; fished for their owner; strengthened his force in war, were not allowed to hold property or to marry; and when old and worthless were killed. The master's power was unlimited. If ordered by him to murder an enemy or rival, his own life paid the forfeit or penalty if either he refused or failed..."

While being enslaved constituted the ultimate stigmatization of one's status, former slaves could attempt to obliterate this stigma through lavish potlatching. "To have been a slave gave one a 'bad name'," Swanton reports, "but a great potlatch could remove it" (1905a:70). He cites the case of Yestaqana, a renowned 19th century chief of Skidegate, who had been enslaved on the Mainland during his youth, but returned and became one of the most powerful chiefs of the Skidegate Haida. Similarly, Swanton (ibid.) reports that "a woman of the Wiijaa Git7ans was carried off to Port Simpson as a slave, and a chief's son there married her". While the latter case may be apocryphal, Yestaqana is at least known to have existed, to have been prosperous and to have occupied a large long-house (Fladmark 1973), all of which are indicative of high status. However, it must be added that former slave status was never completely forgotten by others. It could always be recalled, could be cited in gossip to harm the reputation of an individual or his descendants[16].

Slaves were never numerous among the Haida. In myths and oral histories, it is common to refer to a famous chief as having owned ten slaves, ten being the mythical number of extraordinary, unsurpassable wealth, in other words: social completeness. Those of highest prestige are said to

have owned ten slaves, to have given ten potlatches, to have had ten wives and ten "uncles" who were chiefs (c.f. Swanton 1905a:68). 7iidangsaa (A. E. Edenshaw) is said to have owned twelve (!) slaves, supplemented by ten from his wife (Harrison 1925:167). Weah of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas had four slaves[17], a sign of evident wealth and prestige in view of the fact that Murdock (1934b:237) notes that a household typically included "a slave or two", and erroneously, "the largest number recorded for a single household was three" (1936:17). Among the Masset Haida, slaves were largely obtained from the Tsimshian and Bella Bella and "Flatheads" (Salish). There has been some controversy over whether slaves were economically important, exploited principally for their labour, or whether their main value was as objects of prestige and symbols of wealth. Like property, they were given away at potlatches and evaluated in terms of coppers and blankets. We have little in the way of reports on their lives and day to day tasks, therefore discussions as to their actual labour value must be tentative. Collison's (1915) eye witness accounts on the treatment of slaves are the exception. During his visits and his stay among the Masset Haida in the 1870's, he observed slaves doing chores, such as cooking, tending the fire, paddling canoes and bailing water, all of which, however, were not exclusive to slaves but were shared in by their masters. He paints a rather grim picture on the treatment of slaves, particularly during crises events. He repeatedly observed them being accused of witchcraft and thus causing disease or death[18]. Being without property and without corporate group support, they could not reply to accusations as ranked members of society could, thus they could easily be used as scapegoats. Collison also mentions a slave being cast into the hole of a totem pole, a custom which

the living Haida deny, saying that only the Tlingit practiced it. There seems to be a further connection between slaves and witchcraft. Having been enslaved casts an aura of bad luck around the slaves and their descendants. One Haida Elder thus implied that the drowning death of several members of one family during a fishing accident had been caused by their ancestors having been slaves.

Slaves were perceived to be like dogs[19], always hungry, voracious and subservient, Xaa.hlgaan, "wild dog", indeed being the Haida name given to one slave. Since the term xaaldaang implies ultimate stigma, it is an offense to call anyone by that term, or to imply that he or she is descended from a slave. Former slaves, or the descendants of slaves, are still not discussed in public today.

Because of their position as polar opposites of high ranking Haida, slaves lend themselves to being symbolically used in rhetorical inversions of what one intends to be one's own status. As we will see (p. 158), people refer to themselves as "slaves", or call one another by "slave names" in oratory and song, thus rhetorically reducing their rank in order to achieve the opposite, i.e. elevate it. Moreover, it is considered an honour to be given a slave name as a child, said to cause the recipient a long, happy life. Another Haida stated that "the only people they took as slaves were the highest ranking of other tribes", thus implying that the slave names bestowed on children were indeed the names of individuals from high status families. From this emerges an ambivalent attitude towards slaves and slavery, which de Laguna (1952; 1972:472) also noted for the Yakutat Tlingit. She primarily relates this ambivalent attitude to the Tlingit notion of industry as a virtue, which, as I will detail below, (p. 143) is shared by

the Haida: While slaves were charged with menial tasks, such as drawing water, providing firewood, cooking, etc., such chores were equally performed by ranked individuals, and their performance was seen as enhancing the respect of others and thus prestige of self.

Similarly, while slaves, among the Haida and Tlingit alike, were regarded as voracious, we have no indications that they starved. Indeed, eating sparingly and abstaining from certain foods was considered "high class" etiquette. (see p. 138 below; de Laguna 1972:472).

Another source of the ambivalent attitude towards slavery, I think, stems from their imputed agency in witchcraft, which, as I noted, is associated with their aura of bad luck. The ambivalence towards slaves can best be analysed in terms of their marginality in the Haida (and Tlingit) system of symbolic classification: They were conceptually high-born but were turned into slaves; they were charged with tasks, yet labour itself was a virtue of the high-born; they were owned by their masters, yet enslavement made them potential carriers of bad luck and agents of witchcraft; they were agents of bad luck, yet their very names could be used to bring GOOD luck to children receiving the names. Because of conceptually partaking of two categories at the same time, (e.g. Leach 1964; Douglas 1966), they may have been conceived of as a source of involuntary power. Slavery was thus conceptually endowed with a variety of meanings, and as a verbal category lent itself to being used in rhetorical inversions and allusions, which, in turn, must be interpreted by the audience.

Haida rank, then, appears as a complex phenomenon, characterized not by an immutable division into "classes" or "castes", but by flexibility. It is negotiated, not through self-maximization, but through the fine

balance between hierarchy and equivalence. We can now turn to the analysis of processes of status acquisition and maintenance, as they occur in myth and in processes of social interaction.

3. The Acquisition of Rank: Myth and Medicine

Rank and its symbols are thought to exist in the "real world" of human beings as well as in the realm of animal spirits and supernatural beings. Social inequality is not perceived as having been coaxed into existence by Raven, but its very existence is taken for granted in Haida mythological and socio-logical thinking. Supernatural animals are thought to be ordered into sets of hierarchical statuses within the species, as well as among species. The Killer-Whale People, sgaana xaadee, are thought to be those of highest overall rank, "and, in fact, others seem to have been their servants" (Swanton 1905a:17). They are addressed with the same vocabulary of terms of rank as is applied to humans, and their names often are the same as those of the highest chiefs among the humans (op. cit.:17-24), conceived of as having been bestowed on the human leaders by their killerwhale counterparts.

Rank in the supernatural world not only conceptually parallels that in the human world, but is also seen as causally connected with it. Myths as well as magical practices relate the acquisition of ranked positions to supernatural help which is then transformed into social prestige. The mythical ideas on the origin of individual personal status are linked to the Guardian Spirit idea (see Elmendorf 1977). Thus, the myth of The Man who was helped by Land-otters (Swanton 1908:68) relates how a man is helped by a dead woman married among the land-otters[20]: They enable him to catch large amounts of black cod, which he dries and exchanges to his "friends"

(toulang = lineage mates) for "things" (ginaa). He then uses the things to potlatch (waahlal) ten times, thus becoming a "great chief" (7iitl'daa). Similarly, in The Blind man Who became Chief (op. cit.:71; see also appendix) a blind man[21] becomes 7iitl'daa with the help of supernatural sea-gulls: After being rejected by his townspeople (toulang) because of his physical handicap, the chief of the sea-gulls restores the protagonist's eyesight and causes him to successfully fish for many halibut. During a famine caused by bad weather, the formerly blind man sells his dried halibut to his townspeople who in return give him their slaves, coppers, skins and blankets. He potlatches (waahlal) ten times, also conferring 7iitl'daa status upon his daughter, son and wife. After his tenth potlatch, he "bursts with riches".

In the above myths, the acquisition of high social position results from saving the life of an animal and/or acquiring the help of animals to collect and hunt food. In some instances, ten whales - again, the numerical reference to social completeness - are given by the animal spirit (c.f. Masset Texts #66, #67, #76).

Another recurrent theme is the vindication of the protagonist's social position after being banished from his home village. The story of Witxao and her grandson (op. cit.:#76) tells us of a boy and his grandmother who were banished from their town by the boy's "uncles" (= house-chiefs of his lineage). One day, he mends the beak of a heron, and the heron in return starts giving them food: First part of a salmon, then a whole one, then parts of a whale, finally many whales found beached at the shore. He stores the food and whale-grease, and having thus become prosperous, marries the youngest daughter of his youngest maternal uncle (see also Chapter V.2.).

Then he potlatches ten times (waahlal) and becomes a "great chief" (7iitl'daa).

Interestingly, mythical ideology relegates the improvement of social status to individuals: The protagonist is usually alone and acts not with, but against his toulang, the latter term referring to lineage-mates, in myths coterminous with "townspeople", and translated as "friends". The plot unfolds after lineage solidarity and mutual help are disrupted. In this sense the myths about rank acquisition are moral in content, as they portray what happens if intra-lineage reciprocity is refused.

The protagonists of these myths are not slaves or servants to begin with. They are chiefs' sons or nephews, usually banished because they are "foolish" konaa[22]. The term konaa, usually translated as "foolish" or "mischievous", from its context implies a meaning similar to that of Greek idiotes, "private person", i.e. the person who is regarded as foolish because he or she disregards obligations to others, to kin. Such action in turn provokes "banishment" (lit. "not wanted"). Thus, the beginning of rank-acquisition stories feature the mutual refusal of reciprocity. Through contact with the supernatural world, the protagonist then progresses from ostracized and poor to rich, powerful and socially accepted. Those who hold high positions at the beginning of the myth are outpotlatched and outranked by those whom they initially ostracize, or in the case of the blind man, refuse to support.

Wealth as an avenue to high position can conceptually also be acquired with the help of medicine. The Haida term for medicine, xil, (lit. "dry", "leaf") refers to plants and objects gathered and manipulated both for healing purposes and to bring good fortune. The use of xil spans the social,

the natural and the supernatural, the practical and the magical. Examples of such medicines to acquire wealth and thus status are xaad, a "rare plant" (Swanton 1905a:44), xilaawg, "wax flower", xil 7iljaaw, "richess medicine" (ibid.), a charm, which, in order to be effective

> "must be stuffed full between the front and back plates with small clippings and bits surreptitiously taken from articles of value, blankets, clothing, etc., belonging to others, such classes of articles as may be desired ... The image was supposed when properly treated in exercise a genign influence causing wealth in the form of blankets, coppers, etc. to accumulate as the years went by" (C.F. Newcombe quoted in Swanton 1905a:46).

Frogs were associated with bringing wealth and thus status. Swanton reports,

> "Professor Boas was told that the Haida caught frogs, opened them, took out the intestines and mashed the flesh. They formed them into balls, which were boiled and eaten. This was done by chiefs who intended to obtain great wealth" (op. cit.:45).

Frogs are also thought to bring good luck in other contexts: They were reportedly sometimes placed on housepoles to keep them from falling down (op. cit.:124); when pregnant, women put frogs on their abdomen if they want a "pretty baby"[23].

The most frequently used medicine to obtain riches was tc'iihlanjaaw or devil's club (lat. Oplopanax horridum). Devil's club is one of the most widely and consistently used medicines among native peoples of Northwestern North America, not only employed for obtaining supernatural help to gain wealth and prestige, but also taken for a variety of ailments such as arthritis, cancer, sore throat, diabetes and influenza. The plant consists of tall stalks covered by strong, sharp spines. In order to be effective, devil's club must be taken ritually, observing the following stages:

1. Seclusion: The individual must go to a remote place alone.
2. Preparation of the plant: The person must cut forty (four times ten!)

branches of devil's club from forty different plants, take off the spines and peel off the skin. The skin is then slowly chewed, the sticks themselves placed in the ground in a circle around the person eating them. (see Curtis 1916:139).

3. Inspiration: after eating the 40 pieces of skin, the person would see the "fairy" or "Property-woman" (Swanton 1905a), skil jaadee, whose sight would bring him good luck. Or he would be told by a supernatural being during the vision where wealth could be found, or see an animal which would bring him good luck in the future, or have a vision of places where good luck in hunting could be found. Sometimes the supernatural being he encountered during the vision would give him songs, and names which, in turn, could be liquidated into social status and symbolic property. (e.g. Swanton 1908:#78).
4. Re-introduction into society following the vision and, during a potlatch, the protagonist turned the acquired songs into prerogatives in front of the witnessing audience.

The devil's club quest lasted for three or four days, sometimes ten days. During this time, sexual intercourse was taboo, and the person was not allowed to eat or drink. Devil's club causes severe diarrhea: As one informant noted, "you got no time to pull your pants up. It cleans your inside". The person taking devil's club suffers from severe dehydration, which, along with starvation is likely responsible for hallucinations, "seeing things", which is interpreted as a source of inspiration and bringing "good luck".

An example of a devil's club vision quest is the story of Skildakahljuu (see Chapter VI.2), in which Skil jaadee gives to the protagonist a set of

names which become the potlatching capital of his lineage and which are still regarded as property of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. Swanton (1908:#78) cites a myth about Xanaa, chief of the Skidaakaaw, who hikes to Mount 7Algam - incidentally the same mountain on which Skildakahljuu had his vision - acquires a name and songs from a supernatural being, and subsequently gives ten mortuary potlatches (sak'aa) to become a "great chief".

For present Masset Elders, vision quests of this kind are located in the mythical past, although, as we will see below (p. 293) the myths themselves still serve to legitimate particular names and the ownership of areas. While the ritualised vision quest seems to be a thing of the past, devil's club is still reported by Elders to have been taken to acquire luck in fishing. One Elder, who had taken it when a commercial fisherman, reported to have caught "more than one hundred springs /salmon/ in a day"[24].

Like mythical accounts of rank acquisition, medicine quests stress the autonomy of the individual in striving for social recognition and social position. The individual on a medicine quest is both spatially and socially removed from his lineage and household. In mytho-logic, rank is acquired rather than ascribed and then legitimated. While the acquired wealth originates in the supernatural world, it is used for social goals, "because he wanted to become a great chief". This holds true for both the material wealth provided by supernatural beings, and the symbolic wealth extracted from the citation of the stories themselves, and names or songs associated with them.

4. Potlatching and becoming Yahgid

Accounts of status-acquisition through supernatural means stress individual autonomy and the importance of wealth. They also climax in the

formal validation of the acquired status through the eventual distribution of the acquired wealth. Potlatching, or the ritual giving away of goods, is the final avenue to establishing and upholding social status for the Haida as for other societies of the Pacific Northwest. The Haida call potlatching gyaa 7isdla, "giving things away", although present-day traditional and "neo-traditional" property distributions are often referred to as "potlatches" or "doings".

Murdock (1936) distinguished five principal forms of gyaa 7isdla among the Haida: 1. The house-building potlatch, waahlal, given upon the completion of a new cedar-plank longhouse; 2. the totem pole potlatch, or sang naagad, a minor version of the waahlal in which only a totem pole was erected; 3. the sak'aa or funeral potlatch, hosted by the successor to a deceased chief; 4. the gadaang or vengeance potlatch, given by a high-ranking person who had been insulted; 5. the gaan sangaada, or face-saving potlatch, given by a person of high rank who has suffered a mishap in public and who wants to restore his honour. Blackman (1977) adds a sixth type, the tagwanaa, a small potlatch given upon the completion of a girl's puberty seclusion and hosted by her mother.

While the basic structural features of the sak'aa have survived in today's "headstone doings", which for the past one hundred years have substituted the erection of the tombstone for the erection of the memorial pole (c.f. Blackman 1973, 1977; Stearns 1975; 1977; 1981) the other types of potlatch have been discontinued as such, although some of the ideas underlying them are still active. Particularly the demise of the waahlal, the major Haida potlatch, can be attributed to "demographic changes in combination with directed changes initiated by missionaries and the federal

government" (Blackman 1977:48). Some features of the above-mentioned potlatches, however, have survived in naming ceremonies, feasts and other property distributions, and recent "neotraditional" ceremonies[25] have featured attempts at reviving elements of the waahlal.

In addition to property distributions, feasts were and still are given by household heads at weddings, immediately upon funerals, to honour outstanding individuals, and finally within a network of reciprocal feasting obligations during Christian holiday seasons. During feasts, no property is given out, but guests - ranging from two dozen to four or five hundred in number - are given k'aawkahl, lavish amounts of fresh fruit, pastries, cakes, biscuits and cookies to be taken home.

To the list of ritual exchange occasions must be added Church Army meetings, which also include the generous distribution of refreshments for k'aawkahl. Although Church Army meetings and Christian holiday feasts seem somewhat remote in the context of traditional potlatching, they enforce and uphold notions of respect and prestige which are central to all gyaa 7isdla. Moreover, they provide an arena for traditional type speeches in the Haida language, in which verbal claims to status and legitimacy are laid for oneself and granted to others.

Murdock, while acknowledging that in "Haida society [...], rank is not a simple phenomenon" (1936:15), tried to establish the waahlal as the single most important institution whereby rank is, or rather was, both acquired and legitimated. In his classic study Rank and Potlatch among the Haida (op. cit.), he distinguished "two independent but interrelated systems of rank" (ibid.): political rank, referring to house- and lineage chiefship, and sociological status, relating to membership in a "social class of nobles"

(ibid.). What distinguishes "nobles" from "commoners" according to him, is whether one's parents have given a waahlal or at least a sang naagad. Consequently,

> "Persons whose parents have given a house-building or totem-pole potlatch enjoy preferred seats at feasts, have the right to speak first at all public gatherings, are alone eligible to inherit a chiefship, associate little with those of lower status, and can insult the latter with impunity" (op. cit.:18).

Gradation among the members of the "noble class", according to his analysis, is achieved through the number and size of waahlal given by their parents.

As he points out, genealogical position itself is not a primary factor in the allocation of social status: membership in the "class of nobles", or yahgid status, is achieved by parents for their children rather than ascribed by birth and validated through the giving away of property: "Status depends [...] not upon the rank of one's parents, the date of one's birth or the quantity of one's tattoos, but solely upon the number and quality of the potlatches given by one's parents" (op. cit.:18). The waahlal, thus interpreted, is a vehicle of social mobility rather than an institution for validating and legitimating inherited rights to positions, as Barnett (1938) had postulated for the nature of the potlatch in general. As Drucker (1939:144) noted, Murdock's interpretation of the waahlal as a "status producing force" thus presents an anomaly among Northwest Coast potlatches; quite possibly, as he adds, it was distorted by the economic and social changes precipitated by the 19th century fur trade and access to wage labour, and by the sharp population decline of the late 19th century, which vacated many ranked positions and enabled "nouveau riche" newcomers to assume status positions for themselves and their children with economic means formerly not accessible to them.

On the other hand, the above-cited mythical accounts of the acquisition of wealth and thus ranked positions point to at least the ideology of social mobility held by aboriginal Haida society. The progression from poor man to rich man to person of high rank was culturally conceivable. How frequent it actually was in pre-contact society is another matter. The documented segmentation of lineages points to the possibility of social mobility by establishing new titles and chiefships and building new villages and houses, as I have pointed out. However, in pre-contact times, potlatching goods - leaving aside the fiction of goods mythically provided by supernatural means - ultimately came from lineage resources which, in turn, were controlled by lineage leaders of existing "nobility". We must therefore conclude that social mobility in pre-contact times was most certainly less possible than during the life-time of Murdock's informants[27]. Another question is whether social mobility, if materially possible and sanctioned in myth, was socially endorsed. Murdock proposed that the children of a "nouveau riche" - a person who has acquired a high position solely on the basis of distributed wealth - can be advanced to yahgid status by their parents giving a waahlal, which "makes them in every way the social equals of the offsprings of more exalted parents" (op. cit.:18). Conversely, according to him, a person who through his conduct loses the respect of the community by failing to meet reciprocal obligations does not forfeit his status, but only loses the respect of the community (ibid.). Unfortunately, Murdock did not cite cases in support of these statements. While undoubtedly the waahlal functions as an important force in producing status for one's children, it is only one of many prerequisites for further positions later on in life. By seeking to establish a formal dichotomy of status versus

commoner - the latter term, as I pointed out earlier, does not even have a single correspondent in Haida - Murdock omits the crucial function of the public in witnessing and acknowledging or refuting legitimacy, and the moral implications of rank, which, as we will see below, play an important role. Moreover, Murdock's attempt at a formal polarization of yahgid/commoner also omits the fact that individuals, upon becoming yahgid and at subsequent potlatches of their own, always took particular names which were evaluated in relation to other names. As my analysis of names (ch. V) will reveal, those who conferred names and those who took them must always demonstrate that they have a right to claim them by citing genealogical links with previous name-bearers. The case illustrated on p.187 supports this further. Both political rank (high office) and sociological status were unquestionably dependent on potlatching. But, as the case of Edenshaw (chapter III; see also Stearns 1984) demonstrates, the lavish distribution of goods is not all that matters; public scrutiny goes much farther in assessing legitimacy, as it weighs conduct, and respectability and rejects entrepreneurship.

There has been some controversy over who is to be regarded as the actual host of the waahlal. While Swanton postulated that the house-owner be regarded as the donor (1905a), this poses an abnormality in Haida, and generally, Northwest Coast potlatching: The persons who build the house and are ritually paid for their services as well as for witnessing are the invited members of the host's own lineage; official reciprocity to one's own lineage, however, contradicts the norm of moiety reciprocity. To make the waahlal comply with this principle of Haida ritual exchange, Murdock proposed that the wife of the house-owner be regarded as the actual donor

(op. cit.:11-12), as she and her lineage contribute property to the event, and she herself takes part in the distribution.

The waahlal involves events of essentially two kinds: The construction of the house by members of the houseowner's own lineage[28] and their subsequent ritual reimbursement for these services; and the initiation into "secret societies"[29], by tattooing, lip- and nose perforating of the houseowner's children - who are, of course, of his wife's moiety - which elevates them to yahgid; again, the members of the children's father's lineage are ritually paid for witnessing and assisting in these acts.

In his account of a Skidegate potlatch, Swanton (1905a:162-70) primarily stressed the function of the waahlal in elevating the houseowner to house-chief status: "As the potlatch was over, ...they called the man who had potlatched 7iitl'aagidas. He was treated as a chief and sat among the chiefs" (op. cit.:170). With the waahlal, the donor household-head changes his position vis-a-vis his lineage mates. While in all other potlatches, the cooperation and contribution by lineage mates occurs tacitly and is not formally announced, giving to one's lineage mates during the waahlal is done formally and officially; it legitimates the new status quo in the order of house-chiefs.

Murdock, in turn, in his analysis of a Masset waahlal minimized the houseowner's progression in status, but emphasized the passage of status occurring to his children, who become yahgid. He saw this as the paramount function of the waahlal.

Alternatively, I concur with Blackman (1977:45) in regarding the waahlal as hosted by both parents; especially since Masset Elders usually refer to it as "parents' potlatch". The labour and goods invested derive from both

the husband's and the wife's economic resources, and both take active part in the distribution of goods. Moreover, the distribution of goods to the children's father's lineage signifies both complementary filiation and the importance of bilaterality in establishing status (see Chapter V.1.). The members of the father's lineage witness, assist in and validate the yahgid status of the children. The importance of both parents also demonstrates that legitimacy of rank by being yahgid is reckoned bilaterally. Not only matrilineal descent demonstrates belonging to the "nobility", but descent from chiefs in the father's line figures just as importantly.

Swanton's and Murdock's data on the waahlal cannot be added to today; the last waahlal at Masset was given almost one hundred years ago, its subsequent demise apparently being caused by anti-potlatching legislation, missionary influence, changes in material culture and population decline (c.f. Blackman, op. cit.). As the waahlal discontinued, those claiming high rank established themselves as yahgid giidii, "children of yahgid" in claiming names and prestige: One criterion of high status became whether one's mother's and father's parents gave a waahlal in honour of their children.

During the last few years, some neotraditional ceremonies at Masset have involved the raising of totem poles, the dedication of carved house-fronts and a longhouse built in the traditional style. During these events - some of them have been filmed by television and National Film Board crews - gifts are distributed to all those invited. Not only tea-towels, socks, kerchiefs and potholders, but as of late, also objects of Haida art, such as silkscreen prints, and masks, carvings and drums to the more prominent guests. The entire village, "the people of Masset" act as

hosts; the guests are Haida from Skidegate and Hydaburg, and natives from other coastal communities, and a white audience from the white Queen Charlotte Island communities, and finally, honorary guests from as far away as Ottawa.

In front of these guests, the Masset Haida celebrate the revival of cultural traditions ranging from serving aboriginal food, to exchange, the display of art objects, singing and dance performances [30]. What the guests witness and validate is "not the individual status changes...what they are witnessing is the validation of Haida culture itself (Stearns 1981:296).

Behind the scences of village solidarity, however, goes on the competition within and among lineages for decision-making powers; charges of someone trying to "take over" are uttered. In order to understand these, we must realize that the Haida still do not permit status legitimacy to be granted by the outside world: Prestige in the white world does not translate into prestige in the traditional rank system (ibid.). Moreover, to understand charges of individuals trying to "take over" through lavish displays of goods, we must turn to the relationship between rank and respect.

5. Guudaang: Rank and Respect

In assessing the attainment and maintenance of social position among the Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia, Niblack (1888:250) observed,

> "Rank is principally dependent on wealth and good birth, although the latter in itself implies inheritance of rank and wealth. Personal qualities count for what they are worth in addition. General recognition and consensus of opinion settle the question of rank. That is to say, it is about what the individual can make it by all the arts of assertion, bargain, intrigue, wealth display and personal prowess."

Unlike, Murdock, Niblack noted the necessity of "general recognition" or

the power of public opinion in granting legitimacy; moreover, he saw individual strategy and conduct as factors in the maximization of individual status. This all too easily, however, leads to regarding status improvement as the outcome of ruthless manoeuvering, of egocentric maximizing and boasting. The Haida place emphasis on just the opposite qualities, though, when referring to the behaviour expected of a high ranking individual. Even if strategy, bargain and intrigue are involved, they are never recognized as legitimate means.

What I have so far referred to as "rank" or "social status" is not expressed by a single term in the Haida language. While yahgid denotes a person whose parents have formally established his/her position as one of the "nobles", the term most often associated with a person of high status is yahguudaang, "respected". As attributes of behaviour, the high ranking person is supposed to show saa guudaang "high mindedness", and have a "big attitude", guudangee 7iiwan.

The emphasis on respect implies that not only genealogical position and the formal distribution of property are necessary concomitants of rank validation, but that the public evaluation of a person's social position depends also on his/her social conduct, which in turn requires knowledge of what is expected. Being respected, then, is tied to a network of social and ritual obligation.

Stearns (1984) has expressed this aspect of social status as a "sense of balance" befitting high-born people. Blackman (1982:141) has referred to respect as representing a "traditional behavioural ideal of Haida culture"[31], and de Laguna notes on Yakutat Tlingit ideas of respect and social position, "In speaking of persons of high social position, what my

informants stressed was the respect felt for them" (1972:462). Respect for self gained by showing respect for others has a moral dimension in that it circumscribes the moral conduct expected of a high-born person. Respect is gained through ritual observance in social intercourse and in intercourse with nature, through being generous, not insulting others, refraining from excess and gluttony, choosing the proper words for proper occasions. In other words, it is based on the knowledge of an entire classificatory scheme of opposition analogous to the opposition high versus low. Rank is tied to a wider system of symbolic classification, associating aspects of food, space, clothing, ritual pollution and the ethic of industry with attributes of superiority or inferiority. The categories themselves, however, are subject to interpretation; an over-association can result in charges of overdoing it, pretending to be "too high". Maintaining and showing respect refers to the delicate balance between what is - implicitly - considered proper behaviour and what is conceived of as "overdoing it" or "taking over". Yahguudaang, then, depends on KNOWLEDGE of the proper associations of high standing, and it depends on ACTION in terms of displaying behaviour which is seen as respectful by the public.

As a demonstration of generosity, showing respect for others is an imposition of debt, as it puts the recipient in a "circumspect and responsive relation" (Sahlins 1971:133). Bluntly speaking - which, I realize, is against Haida norms - euphemistic displays of respect can be acts of blackmail, for when "you make a public announcement about another person, that person has to live up to it", and he/she can be forced to make concessions about someone else's status which otherwise he would not make. Yahguudaang ambiguously invokes notions of respect, morality and knowledge,

while at the same time containing elements of manipulation and strategies for status improvement. The ultimate gauge is provided by public opinion, and by time.

A person who wants to remain respected has to refrain from becoming unlucky and thus poor (7iisanyaa). One does not only become 7iisanyaa because one failed to potlatch (Murdock), but bad luck circumscribes potential sources of harm in the natural world - which is a supernatural one in disguise - which are then transferred into social relationships. Chance can destroy a person's social standing once its manifestations are observed by others. Thus the public is potentially harmful to one's reputation, while it is also vital in validating status. When a person stumbles, trips, or falls and this is witnessed by members of the opposite moiety, he must pay them at a face saving potlatch (Gaan singaada) to restore his standing. If a person capsizes in his canoe, he must be rescued by members of the opposite moiety, who, in turn, must be paid for this. Chance events like the above must be wiped out by Ggaan singaada, which avert charges of bad luck and ridicule. In 1905, Gyaahlans gave a face-saving feast to members of his opposite moiety, the Eagles, after one of his lineage's (Yaaku 7laanas) totem poles had blown down during a winter storm, eliciting jokes by the opposite moiety (Blackman 1977). Seventy-five years later, Sandlenee made payment to members of her moiety, after her husband's tombstone had fallen over, not during a public feast, but known to the relevant individuals[32].

There is a further connection between falling from public grace and bad luck, namely failing to observe regulations regarding the ritual separation of pure and polluting items. Primary sources of pollution

are thought to be the exuviae of females and children, and contact with the dead.

Contact with menstruating women is particularly polluting to men, also resulting in bad luck and poverty (7iisanyaa). Thus, to avoid contact with hunters and fishermen, girls underwent a lengthy puberty seclusion during which they were kept behind a partition in the rear of the house. "Gamblers, hunters and fishermen were careful to keep their implements away from all possible contamination by too close proximity to the girl" (Curtis 1916:126), and the same applied to all menstruating women. During their seclusion (tagwanaa), girls were not allowed to eat fresh halibut and fresh salmon; they were not allowed to cross salmon creeks, or else the salmon would stop running there (Swanton 1905a:49). Likewise, gambling sticks and medicine must be kept away from menstruating women. Beyond this, "the luck of a hunter might be destroyed if his wife were unfaithful, or if he did not observe the taboos properly" (Swanton 1908:426). Women were conceived of as a source of danger, thus fitting in with Douglas' analysis of "those whose role is less explicit /i.e. regarding holding office and authority/ tend to be credited with unconscious, uncontrollable powers, menacing those in better defined positions" (1966: 101).

The role of women within traditional Haida social structure is ambiguous. As traditionally, virilocal residence was practiced, the wife was stranger, or affine, in the household and often village of her husband. Yet, she was the perpetuator of her lineage, and her loyalties were divided between her own lineage and the conjugal household. Double loyalties and ambiguous social status, in turn, invite being considered as a

source of danger, as possessing involuntary powers to pollute (Douglas, op. cit.). Institutionalizing ideas of pollution into the all-important system of rank implicates a system of social control: It enforces the cooperation of women in the household they marry into. Besides being potential sources of danger to the productivity and thus prestige of the household, women also play an active role in averting becoming 7iisanyaa: in their domestic role they are responsible for separating polluting items, and by doing this show respect to their husbands. Thus, they must wash children's and adult clothes separately, as children wet the bed and urine is another potential source of pollution and thus bad luck. Dish-water and laundry water must be separated in the same manner to avoid contact (c.f. Blackman 1982). 7iisanyaa can function both as omen and as post hoc explanation, involving in both cases the public in assessing individual - and particularly female - behaviour. Neglect in the separation of the above-named items witnessed by others can result in an announcement of impending bad luck; thus, being diligent in performing household tasks is a virtue ultimately tied to female high status; conversely, breaches of taboos can be used as post hoc explanations of unsuccessfulness in hunting and fishing and resulting shortages of food. Both involve the potential of falling from public grace.

Food and etiquette of eating are both associated with the social hierarchy. The Haida have few explicit taboos regarding the consumption and killing of animals (see also Chapter VI.2). Killerwhales were and are not eaten, as humans are believed to change into killerwhales upon drowning. Ravens and eagles are not eaten, as both are carrion-eaters, although old people reported having eaten seagulls - who are also

carrion-eaters - in times of scarcity. There are no prohibitions to kill any crest animals, with the exception of killerwhales (Swanton 1905a: 107, see Chapter VI.1). Instead, food is mainly valued as "high-class food" or as "low-class food". The former involves food from large animals which can be used to feed large numbers of guests. As food distributed during feasts and potlatches, it implicitly serves as a tool of legitimizing social positions. High class food thus includes whale meat, sea-lion meat, halibut, and also food which demonstrates the cooperation of the lineage as resource corporation (Blackman 1976), such as salmon and berries. Among different kinds of salmon, springs, sockeye and dog salmon are valued higher than coho and humpbacks; the latter are less rich and solid, and moreover in more abundant supply. Scarce foods are thus high status foods; distributing them in large amounts demonstrates the labour and expenditure invested in them, which in turn demonstrates the cooperation of both household and lineage. Moreover, quantities of preserved foods demonstrates the providence and industry of their owners. Therefore food on the opposite end of the scale, food of "commoners", is seafood scrounged off the beach, such as shellfish, small birds and small mammals. In order to show respect to others, then, it is thought of as improper serving them shellfish; rather, to demonstrate one's social status and respect, scarce foods and those requiring labour investment are given away.

Not only what one eats is important, but also <u>how</u> one eats. Persons of high rank must have a small appetite, as opposed to slaves who are conceived of as voracious. As high ranking people by definition are lucky and provident, they never suffer shortages of food, thus never need to eat very much. The implications of the etiquette of eating are well

expressed in the Haida Raven cycle: As Raven is adopted by the powerful supernatural being Kingii, he, in order to be accepted, decides to act "like one of a high family who never eats much" (Swanton 1908:306). After Kingii becomes concerned about his adopted son's health, his slaves cause Raven to become voracious by inducing him to eat scabs (ibid.). A host must show respect by offering lavish amounts of food; a guest must show it by consuming only small amounts and forever pretending not to be hungry[33].

To this day, the distribution of large quantities of food not for immediate consumption but to take home is a major feature of feasting (k'aawkahl). Respect to guests is shown by serving food and refreshments whenever possible. Respect for self and to hosts is shown by guests in not overindulging. A person who distributes food all too lavishly invites criticism that he is trying to "buy" rank.

Physical space is translated into social space and associated with social hierarchies, both within the village and within the house. The village chief's house stood traditionally in the centre of the village, flanked left and right by a row of cedar-plank houses. When Chief Weah inherited the chiefship of 7Ad7aiwas from his father Siigee (c.f. Chapter III), he sought to consolidate the legitimacy of his questionable succession by exchanging houses with his younger brother, who lived closer to the centre of the village:

> "Hlkamaal naas /~ ... ~/ belonged to chief Weah-going-to-be, Skildakahljuu. After Chief Siigee invited the villagers to give the chief /ship/ and village to his son, that's when he swapped houses with his brother, Skilduugahl."

According to Swanton's list of the 26 houses of 7Ad7aiwas (1905a:290),

Hlkamaal naas occupied position #20, while Weah's house Na 7iiwans, built after the exchange, was #13. Siigee's house was close to centre as #11.

The traditional cedar-plank house itself bore significant associations reflecting the social hierarchy. Vastokas (1965) and MacDonald (1981) have explored the sacred/profane divisions within the Haida house, which make it a "microcosm of the cosmos" (Vastokas op. cit.:170). Blackman (1982) has called our attention to the expression of social rank in the vertical and horizontal axes of the house. Particularly the latter are of interest here, as they express the dynamics of status and reciprocity.

In both everyday life and ceremonial activities, the house was a metaphor of social differentiation and reciprocal relations. Within the village, the house itself markedboth the autonomy of the household and its connection with the lineage of its owners. The carved beams, screens and poles within and outside of the house bore the crests of the owner's and his wife's lineages, representing symbols of their social origins and of the property expended in establishing and legitimizing their social positions.

The dimensions of the house - ranging from 30 x 40' to 60 x 70' - similarly marked the wealth of its owner: the larger the house, the larger must have been the potlatch associated with its construction. Large houses moreover could be used to host further events enhancing the prestige of their owners. The names of houses ("big house", "star house", etc.) allude to stories associated with their construction or the life of their owners. Only the houses of "high chiefs" had daaiwee, a square pit connected to the plank floor by steps. Unsurpassable wealth was indicated by four or five daaiwee. More realistically, houses of chiefs had one or two

(Curtis 1916:130), their number and depth depending "on the owner's wealth, because the expense of the work and the attendant ceremonies was great" (ibid.).

As I mentioned in Chapter II, the opposition between Nature and Culture is expressed by the Haida in terms of the opposition between rear and front, or towards the woods versus towards the sea. This polarity is reproduced in status divisions: a derogatory term for "commoners" is "those facing the woods" (Swanton 1912). Within the house, however, the associations of rear and front are reversed. The high status members of the household sat and lived in the rear (diidguaa), while those of low status and the slaves occupied the front (k'yaagua). The house-chief had his "seat of honour" in the rear centre of the dwelling, in front of the inside house post. High and low rank was further distinguished in terms of a vertical axis (Blackman 1982), as the ranked family members lived on the elevated platforms, while the slaves carried on their tasks in the daaiwee, working around the fire:

> "The chief sat in a peculiarly shaped seat carved out of one piece of wood, a section of a tree, and placed on the first tier or platform, whilst around the fire a number of slaves were engaged in preparing food" (Collison 1925:102).

During potlatches and feasts, however, the house-owner relinquished his seat to that of his highest ranking guest (Swanton 1905a:128) in a gesture of reciprocity, thereby showing him his respect. Other guests sat between the rear and the door according to their social position. The door itself acted as a threshold for those accepted in the social world, as the slaves, non-members of ranked society, stayed outside.

While the rear centre was associated with chiefly power, the rear corner was associated with states of pollution and liminality: it was in

the rear corner of the house that girls underwent their puberty seclusion behind a screen; it was in the rear corner that 7iisangida, the children of parents who had not potlatched for them - lived; in myths, mouse-woman, or "the woman who is stone from the hip down" occupied the rear corner of the dwelling[34)].

Today, as doings are carried out either in the host's modern type frame house or in the local community hall, the distinctions between front and back and their associations are still maintained. During doings, the furniture is removed from the front room of the dwellings, rows of tables and chairs are set up and decorated. Front rooms of 7 x 5 m are made to fit fifty to sixty guests. The head table assumes the significance of the rear area, and at it are seated those of particular importance: the person honoured, his naanalang, tcinnalang and maternal uncle, and other high-ranking Elders of the same lineage. The ministers[35)] are placed at opposite ends of the head table. Being at the head table is being shown respect, but it also means an obligation on part of the guest to honour his host with "good words" (see below, p.152f).

Another opposition involving the notion of respect, the lines of which are however, delicately drawn, is that between industry and laziness. On the one hand, inactivity is conceived of as a property of the high ranking individuals; only they are wealthy enough to afford leisure, to get up late, be inactive, have slaves do their chores and thereby demonstrate their social position. Thus, Swanton (1905a:50) noted, a "young unmarried woman was not allowed to do much work and lay in bed a great deal of the time. This was so that she might marry a chief and always have little work to do". Stories, like the one of Sandlenee at K'yuust'aa

(c.f. Chapter VI), make reference to young chieftainesses whose parents permitted them to sleep in as a sign of their high position. Of high-ranking children it was said that "they are too precious" to be disturbed while sleeping. But these very attributes of high rank can be held against individuals in evaluating their behaviour. Sandlenee used to tell that her mother's reference to the ancestral Sandlenee were always made in a mildly chiding manner, ("she's copying Sandlenee at K'yuust'aa"), to induce her to be industrious rather than lazy. In mythical example, a young man's mother-in-law accuses him of laziness, which he, in turn, takes as an insult which must be revenged (see Swanton 1908:#60).

References like Swanton's (supra) must be understood as symbolic statements of wealth and thus imputed rank, as the Haida, like the Yakutat Tlingit (de Laguna 1972) stress industry as a virtue, and now as in the past, the life of high ranking Haida is anything but idle lounging about. For men, skill in hunting and fishing visibly marked the productivity of the household, which in turn formed the basis for feasting and potlatching. Carving is and was a high prestige activity; while its pursuit was formerly linked to chiefly leisure, it has also provided cash income for those engaged in it during the past two hundred years. Thus, not surprisingly, many of the well known carvers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century - e.g. Charles Edenshaw, Tom Price, Daniel Stanley, Louis Collison, Walter Kingagwaaw, John Marks, Captain Andrew Brown - were house- or village chiefs.

Skill and industry also played an important function in the practical lives of high ranking women. As Florence Davidson's autobiography (Blackman 1982) and my own observations show[36], their everyday lives were and

are filled by long hours of domestic work, such as baking a hundred or more loaves of bread every day, cooking for a large household and the never-ending stream of visitors; slicing and drying, smoking or canning a few hundred pounds of fish every season, gathering and preserving berries, not to speak of caring for children, grandchildren, nieces and nephews. Many women worked as cooks on their husbands' seine boats, or worked seasonally in the canneries of Masset, Watun, Hiellen or on the Mainland to raise cash for the maintenance of their families and for staging ceremonial events. Maintaining one's respect and that for one's husband and children was thus achieved through actively contributing to the productivity of the household, especially where it also provided for one's children's future.

The import of industry and skill is also evident in the emphasis put on intra-lineage obligation. While potlatches and feasts ritually dramatize the obligations by and to the opposite moiety, obligation to one's lineage mates must be considered the more pervasive and perpetual obligation faced by individuals, taking place not only during official occasions but in everyday life as well. Now as in the past, the members of a lineage - or more accurately, the segment of a lineage centred around an Elder - are supposed to "help out" one another. Murdock (1934a) noted the obligations individuals held towards their senior kinspeople, their maternal uncles, their grandfathers and grandmothers, and their fathers' sisters. Thus, younger people are expected to distribute scarce and/or valued food-stuffs to their older matrilateral relatives and their skaanalang. K'aaw (herring roe), ooligan grease, venison, salmon, sea-weed and shell-fish are passed on to senior lineage mates; similarly, the latter are provided

with fire-wood by younger classificatory or actual relatives. Members of a lineage are involved in continuous inofficial cycles of exchange through which individuals show their respect to their Elders and senior kin, and in turn are credited with respect by them.

Beyond food-stuffs, cash gifts are pooled by children, grandchildren, real and classificatory nieces and nephews to present their lineage Elders with household appliances, furniture, funds for airline tickets, cash for buying food, and for other non-ceremonial occasions necessitating cash. Labour itself is contributed as well and serves as a commodity in inofficial intra-lineage exchange. In many instances acts of intra-lineage obligation are rewarded with cash gifts in return by the receiver of favours and goods. However, Elders often remarked that "in the olden days, people didn't expect to be paid for everything".

Beyond everyday pooling of resources and reciprocal exchange of favours and items, intra-lineage obligations play a part in pooling resources for ceremonial events: Swanton (1905a) noted the contributions of members of the host's lineage to the latter's potlatch. Stearns (1981) detailed the contributions by lineage mates and household members to mortuary and name-taking feasts, where both cash and goods are given out to members of the opposite moiety for having performed services and for witnessing the event. Cash contributions of usually between $5 and $25 are informally taken to the house of the host prior to the event and recorded by the host. Other contributions involve providing goods to be distributed, baking cakes and pies, donating foods for the meal. In most instances the names of donors and amounts of donations are read during the doing to acknowledge the contributions.

The etiquette of intra-lineage reciprocity and pooling features the same narrow dividing line between "doing things the right way" and "over-doing it" which we encountered before: Contributing resources is both expected and welcome, but boasting about one's contributions, or making excessive cash gifts to senior members of one's lineage can be seen as attempts at trying to buy positions and influence, where actions and relationships warrant such suspicion, or where they are in the least open to more than one interpretation. Thus, an Elder charged a nephew of her husband who had become his successor with having tried to "buy the chief /ship/" as he had on many occasions given large cash gifts to her husband when the latter was in the process of selecting a successor. If contributing individuals want to be above such suspicions, they must make their gifts quietly, without boasting.

The same ethos of moderation applies to gift-giving in public. Respect is granted by the public on account of the gifts handed out by the host: "The selective character of the gift", as Barnett (1938:87) pointed out in discussing the nature of the potlatch, "is indicative of the recipients' worth"; or, as the Haida would say, giving accords respect to the giver, but the nature of the gift also accords respect to the receiver. Murdock (1936) and Swanton (1905a) listed the amounts of blankets given to individuals of discriminate rank during potlatches, and Stearns (1975; 1981) noted distinctions in imputed social status inferred in the gifts handed out during ceremonies in the nineteen sixties, when varying amounts of Hudson's Bay blankets had been replaced by different qualities of bone china cups. During my own fieldwork, Elders considered as of highest status received elaborately crocheted pillow-cases, slippers, or scarves,

while those of lesser rank - including the ethnographer - received kerchieves, teatowels, pot-holders or socks. Similarly, during feasts, the most elaborately decorated cakes from the head table were given to those of highest rank.

Giving itself, then, invites obligation on part of the receiver. With this implicit understanding, the Haida do not condone excessive giving or displays of property. Instead, as with eating, excessiveness is associated with questionable legitimacy, with having to "promote oneself", or proving with gifts what otherwise cannot be proven. Florence Davidson noted that "it's not lucky to have too big a doing" (Blackman 1982:98) for her wedding. Here we find the concern with aggressive self-promotion veiled in the guise of becoming unlucky, 7iisaanyaa. Sandlenee, in explaining why her deceased husband Weah had only given a small inauguration feast when he assumed his position, stated that "he didn't have to promote himself ... because he was born chief". In other words, inherited high position needs not be validated by lavish amounts of property: The quality of the true elite is understatement rather than overstatement.

Excessive displays and distributions of property arouse suspicion because they can be regarded as attempts to "take over", as bordering on illegitimacy, as being "pushy", no matter how fine the line between stinginess and pushiness is drawn. As it is impolite for guests to refuse a gift, giving can be seen as an implicit act of bribery. As Sahlins noted,

> "generosity is a manifest imposition of debt, putting the recipient in a circumspect and responsive relation to the donor during that period the gift is unrequited. The economic relation of giver-receiver is the political relation of leader-follower" (1972:133).

Giving is thus a strategic way of turning norms of generosity and the

obligation to acknowledge gifts into political capital. Gathering the public to promote one's position and forcing the guests to validate one's claim, and especially formally inviting individuals whose sanction is necessary, are means of manipulating the respect others owe to oneself. There are ways of protesting against these kinds of acts: Being silent, and thus refusing cooperation; not showing up for doings; declining to speak when called upon, and finally, one of the sharpest forms of protest, walking out during an event.

During feasts and other doings, Haida continuously take inventory of who is present, scanning where everyone is sitting, if people are absent, in which order guests speak, and considering possible reasons why individuals who surely must have been invited did not show up. This is not idle curiosity, but it indicates the significance read into every public gesture. For high-ranking individuals and Elders, showing up at feasts where foods, gifts and k'aawkaahl are handed out is not mere pleasure; it involves a sense of obligation on their parts. Care is taken to have one's lineage or faction of a lineage represented. Thus individuals who cannot come have their place taken by a relative. Doings are occasions when changes in the social and political order are announced, and witnessing these is regarded as important.

Protests against members of one's own, related or affinal lineage trying to promote themselves can also be made by refusing to cooperate in the preparation of a doing. As gestures of disapproval, individuals refuse to donate cakes or pies for events; they refuse to contribute cash or refuse to help out. A more indirect way of conveying one's disapproval is to take an announced trip, thereby expressing one's discontent with the

host's action as maximized physical distance.

A traditional and still practiced way of defusing personal and factional differences is to give a planning feast, or planning meeting, gin 7ahl kilwalaas, prior to a doing. It functions as both a demonstration and an activation of lineage solidarity vis-a-vis the wider public. Planning meetings are held before all major doings involving status changes, i.e., before memorial dinners, weddings and name-taking feasts. The planning meeting involves that the host summons the senior members of his own lineage and their spouses, also neighbours, friends and adopted lineage mates to plan both the practical and ceremonial course of the event, i.e. who is to be Master of Ceremonies, who the ushers, which minister is to be present; what will be the list of speakers, and their sequence; who sings, dances and entertains; who cooks the foods and what is to be served; and who helps with the endless menial chores to ensure the success of the event. The Elders of the lineages make suggestions, and consensus is reached on who does what and how things are properly done. Members of other lineages of strategic importance may also be invited: Thus in planning a name-taking feast of a member of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas, the female Elder of the Skidaakaaw was invited - an acknowledgement of the fact that the S7ajuugahl 7laanas had become successors to the Skidaakaaw in a not perfectly accepted manner (Chapter III).

While planning meetings are important from a practical point of view in that they organize the division of labour during public events, their symbolic dimension is of equal significance. Calling in one's lineage mates and Elders of related or otherwise important lineages manifests the respect one has for them; it demonstrates the host's willingness to

"listen to your Elders" and "take advice from your people", both of which are considered necessary to maintain public esteem. Giving one's Elders and lineage-mates a say in the planning of one's doings verifies that one considers them to be of political importance; wooing others' advice is persuading them to consent to what one plans to do.

Moreover, if personal or factional differences exist among the host and his/her lineage mates, these can be smoothed out during the planning meeting rather than risking that they become public at the doing itself. The planning meeting hence provides a test for the support the host can get from his lineage and from related lineages. If the support fails, the host can still cancel the doing without damaging his status in front of the entire public. Thus, in 1981, a planned name-taking feast was called off after the planning meeting which surfaced into a dispute between the host and the daughter of the name-giver, the latter being indispensable to the event[37)].

The notion of respect then, while ideally contingent upon ritual conduct and a practical network of obligation, in fact serves as a political tool. Showing public respect through gifts and gestures is a way of disarming your foes; yet, because the dividing line between showing respect and disrespect, between being "stingy" and being "pushy", between doing things "just right" and overdoing them, is so finely drawn, the person trying to promote his personal status by means of trying to buy support must always beware of the public's evaluation of his behaviour. Coercion, if attempted, is thus never acknowledged by public opinion. While self-maximization and personal interest might be the de facto forces behind an

individual's feasting and potlatching endeavours, legitimacy is granted to him only through transforming arbitrary and interested relationships into disinterested, gratuitious relationships (c.f. Bourdieu 1977:194).

The concept of yahguudaang, as it is linked with the idea of rank, provides against overt self-maximization by stressing moderation, ritual observance, generosity and the necessity of public sanction. As such, it provides a means of social control, which, however, does not operate on the basis of coercion, but speaks the language of obligation and negotiation. Finally, yahguudaang provides for the possibility of constant fluctuation in public esteem and political grace, where statuses run risk of being lowered through bad luck, through overdoing things, through arousing suspicion of self-promotion.

6. Doing things with Words

Haida social rank, if we take it as the sum total of the public's assessment of a person's ancestry, property distributions and respectable behaviour, emerges as a complex phenomenon. As it hinges on the continuous reciprocal exchange of gifts, gestures and assistance between the individual, his corporate group and the public, it can easily be blemished, or concomitantly, it can damage social relations. The subtle complexity of rank is verbally illustrated in the public speeches accompanying gyaa 7isdla. In fact, words, like the above mentioned strategies of acknowledging or denying rank through gifts or other gestures, provide means for the negotiation of own and others' social position. Words spoken before the public, like gifts, are ultimately concerned with social legitimacy: "The sole purpose of the interminable discourses at naming ceremonies was

to declare the right of the claimant, through heredity or other legitimate transfer, to the name in question." (Drucker 1966:144).

The Haida themselves regard the ability to speak well and convincingly as an important attribute of a yahguudaang person. A chief who is well looked upon must have oratorical skill. This postulate finds expression in the Haida term of address for chief, kilsdlaay, meaning "one who can do things with words" or "people listen to his word"[38]. Several chiefly names, such as Guusuu jingwaas, "long speech", Kil guulaans, "his words are just like gold"[39] or Kil k'aagangwaas, "things fall over by his word" allude to the significance attested to words (kil) and speeches (guusuu). In this context it is also noteworthy that the material symbol of the office of town chief is his "talking stick", gaang kilsdluudaal: It is ceremonially handed over to him during inauguration, and the chief pounds it on the floor when commencing to speak. Words spoken in public are things put on record. They are verbal manifestations of social and political goals and are spoken before a witnessing audience. The concept of "doing things with words" suggests that aboriginal ideology held that chiefly oratory functioned as rhetoric: It not only expressed political power, but could negotiate political outcomes. Being good with words yields power to persuade.

Because of the delicate nature of rank, words spoken in public must be carefully phrased. Overt postulations of social superiority are considered as blatant faux pas. We have seen that the indigenous concept of high rank, yahguudaang, is linked to ideas of respect, generosity, moderation and obligation. The same holds for speech-making. What de Laguna suggested of the Tlingit, "there seems to be nothing in the speeches of

chiefs at potlatches to suggest the arrogant boasting of the Kwakiutl" (1972:467) holds true for the Haida: One does not brag about oneself in words; neither does one joke about others, for intended jokes can easily be understood as insults. The only way in which rank is legitimately verbalized is through denying it for oneself, through verbally inversing one's status vis-à-vis one's audience.

Not surprisingly then, Haida public speaking is characterized by positive re-enforcement: negative remarks are avoided; the audience and the host - or guests, in case of the host speaking - are thanked in many variations. Speeches also emphasize bonds of kinship and alliance between the speaker and the audience, and they include jokes and anecdotes about the speaker himself. They involve a high degree of formalization, and are also full of allusions and inversions.

The concern of speeches with legitimacy on the one hand, and the high degree of formalization on the other raise the question whether oratory is merely a reflection of the traditional order or whether it must be understood as rhetoric, as seeking to manipulate the social order through persuasive words. While the term kilsdlaay hints at rhetoric and negotiation, the formal language and positive re-enforcement used in public speaking suggests an acceptance of the given order rather than its negotiation. In a volume that initiated anthropological concern with tribal oratory, Bloch (1975) argued that formal oratory is impoverished language - a restricted code in Bernstein's terminology - and "continual renegotiation is ruled out by the arthritic nature of the features of articulation employed by formalization ... /it/ implies the acceptance of who is top, it does not produce it" (op. cit.:24). Paine (1981) on the other hand

focuses on political speech-making as negotiating the political order. He sees political speeches as tools of persuasion which seek to negotiate with the public. Standard formulations, which are arthritic and restrictive in Bloch's interpretation, to him signify "persuasive capsules" (op. cit.:11). Vagueness, impliedness and ambiguity in his view are concerned with the legitimation of meanings rather than with the ultimate insistence on traditional values. Political speech is about persuasion rather than coercion[40]. His view echoes the more general ideas of Burke (1969; 1966) who took words as "equipment for living", insisting that all language aims at entitlement, and is hence manipulative in nature.

If, as Bloch implies, formal language means "acceptance of who is top", why is it that Haida formal speeches are principally concerned with legitimation, as the evaluation by listeners suggests, and as Drucker (supra) observed? The ethnographic evidence I will present below will attempt to resolve the dilemma between the restrictiveness of formalized language and the universality of rhetoric. I will focus attention on what are the codes employed in Haida oratory, what meanings do they convey, to whom and by whom, and what is the context in which things are said.

Swanton, (1905a; 1905b; 1912) referred to the formal code employed in speech making as "high words": "They abound in metaphor and were full of allusions to the stories" (1905a:51). In them, the speaker extolled the virtues of those he addressed, while deprecating the standing of his own family (ibid.). Unfortunately, neither Swanton nor any other early ethnographer recorded speeches made during potlatches or other public occasions[41]. What we want to know of the pre-contact content of

formal language through "high words" we must glean from Swanton's commentaries and annotations to the Haida texts he collected and to his collection of Haida songs (1912). While the Haida of songs differs from spoken Haida in some regards (see op. cit.; Enrico 1979), the function and content of songs, particularly the Gid Kagaan - a "lullaby", but more appropriately explained as a song honouring yahgid children - are quite similar to those of speeches, both involving social messages dealing with rank (Enrico op. cit.:26).

"High words" as quoted by Swanton operated on a morphological, lexical and semantic level. They substituted "high class words" for those of everyday language and replaced the regular names of animals, persons and places by story names; they made allusions to incidents involving supernatural beings in myths, or to past incidents in the orator's lineages, and finally operated with principles of inversion and allusion.

The substitution of everyday words for extraordinary words, or the existence of a vocabulary specific to those counting themselves as of the "high class", implies a verbal enforcement of the above mentioned ideological discrimination between who is considered "high" and "low". Knowledge of "high words" was evidence of growing up in a "high class" household - i.e. among chiefs and chiefs' daughters - and was thus a kind of symbolic capital. Some examples of high words as stems and particles mentioned by Swanton are:

king - "rich, great". Possibly from Kingii, the high supernatural being who adopted Raven (Swanton 1905a; 1908).

uuhuaa - "chief" (see above, p. 125).

7al - "a particle for slave" (1911:191).

kuu - "belonging to a low-class family" (1912: 45).

gahlgahlwaan - "moving while sitting down" (1912: 45). The latter is highly allusive: "Moving while sitting down" makes reference to the skil hat worn by persons who had potlatched: with each potlatch the wearer had hosted, a new section was added on to the top of the hat. As the sections were sewn onto the hat, they moved while the wearer only slightly moved his hat. The term thus implies high potlatching prestige and thus rank without having to directly refer to wealth, riches, potlatching, etc.

Other allusive terms are: "Mosquito people" - a metaphor for common people; "sitting down facing the woods" was another term for low class people (Swanton op. cit.:29). Allusion is a device allowing the speaker to say what he wants to say without saying it. It is a tool of ambiguity. Allusion also implies context and implicitness: In a small scale society, particularly in the village context, everyone knew quite well what everyone else was doing and had done. To make allusions provided a way of indirectly joking about others, accusing them, chiding them, or talking down to them, often in an ironic or sarcastic manner. A Haida ridicule song gives an example of allusion:

Yahlgwaawaas uu kingaagg
laa uu waangaagn, laa uu suugaang
laa uu7iijang, laa uu7iijang
laa uu kingaa? laa uu kingaa?
Yahlgwaawaas uu kingaan.

Translation: "Yahlgwaawas /a man's name/ sees it,
he does it, he says it
he it is, he it is
did he see it? did he see it?
Yahlgwaawaas saw it."

(From Charles Hill-Tout: The Salish people, Vol. IV, collected by Charles Harrison)[42].

Finally, inversion is a frequently occurring device of "high words" to refer to one's own high status without boasting about it. In a Gid Kagaan the mother calls herself the slave of her child in jest thus exaggerating the child's high status and ridiculing her own (1912:#59). Swanton also noted that the child in whose honour the Gid Kagaan is sung is "supposed to call others of his family /lineage/ by aristocratic names and himself by a low one" (op. cit.:46), and similarly, "Ninstints people of the best classes used in addressing one another expressions which elsewhere were only employed by or to the lower orders of people" (1905b: 208, fn. 24).

The particle -al (supra) is sometimes employed in "belittling one's self, out of courtesy" (1911:254), and another way to rhetorically lower one's status while intending just the opposite was to refer to oneself as a dog (1912:39), in itself a metaphor for slave (see p.118 above).

Inversion is a means of pointing out one's high rank while overtly denying it. In addition, the speaker, in belittling himself, verbally elevates the status of those he addresses. Inversion as a device used in speech-making or song accomplishes the same as yielding one's seat of honour to that of one's honoured guest. True legitimacy is gained by denying it for oneself and conceding it to others. Moreover, verbally inverting one's status is a sign of indisputedly high status, for only those who are truly above suspicion can afford to call themselves "slaves" or "dogs", can afford to ridicule themselves, as even giving themselves a bad name cannot do any harm to their reputation.

Today, "high words" have largely fallen into oblivion. However, oratory still continues to play an important part in the ceremonial complex and during all public transactions. There are few Elders left who remain proficient at speech-making in the Haida language using the traditional phrases to honour the audience and the host. Indeed, in contemporary speeches the use of any Haida at all is replacing the use of "high words", or "big words", as contemporary Elders refer to them, as tokens of respect and knowledge. However, my point is that the features of the "high words" of the old days have survived in what contemporary Haida regard as traditional style speech-making: Like the "high words" of song, stories and probably speeches of long ago, they abound in positive re-enforcement, honouring the audience, inversing one's status, and in allusion. Speeches given at doings feature three characteristics: a) thanking; b) pointing out kin ties and names; c) anecdotes.

Thanking: The Haida place immense emphasis on thanking and being thanked. The only Haida word that has survived right down to the toddler generation is haw7aa, "thank you". Even before becoming somewhat proficient at understanding Haida, the one phrase I could make out in every speech was "Dalang.aa hl kil7laagang", "I thank you", repeated many times during each speech. During the speeches at doings, the host thanks the guests for coming, for they are the ones to witness his/her change in status; individuals are thanked for helping out and for contributing goods. They are thanked for having come and thereby honouring the host. The guests, in turn, thank the host for the honour of being invited, for the food, for the gifts they received. In traditional Haida, the formula of thanking is furthermore coupled with elevating the status of those

addressed, that is, extolling their high rank:

Dalang.aa hl kil7laagang - thank you (pl.).

xaadee7laasii - /you are/ good people.

tl'ii.aa xed guuda7laasii - I am below you.

dalang dii gud 7ahl siaahlang - "you are above me", or in the words of the speaker, "you are too rich, because you have got everything". It is noteworthy that the properties of those who are addressed are, in translation, always referred to as "too rich", "too high", "too precious", etc. as though unattainable by the speaker.

Another example of what is considered the proper way of starting speeches, even before expressing thanks, is the following:

tl'aaw kilguu laakasaan - I am the one to speak to you in good words.

xaadaa ga guudgadaa is - you are one of the big people[43].

dalang.aa kilguu laakasaan - I want to say high words to you.

dalang.aan yahgudangaa - I respect you highly.

dalang.aa hl saa gudangaa isin - I think of you highly, too.

dalang wed hl kilguulaasii - Now, I want to tell you good words.

dii gyuusdiiyaa uu - listen to me!

gam kangan hl yahguudangang - I do not respect myself (i.e. I do not put myself above you).

gingaan hl guudgadou - and so, think the same! (i.e. be modest).

wagyaan dalang.aan hl gudgadaa isin - and then others will respect you accordingly.

wagyaan kyaa guu hl xaadee han isin. Dalang gaa gud gad tcang - as I walk in other situations, I will respect (honour) you.

wagyaan dalang.aan hl yahgudangaa isin - then, I respect you highly again.

wagyaan dalang kilguu7laa 7iiwan - and then I tell you big words.

Honouring the addressees, whether they are guests or the host, is characterized by repetition, the words stressing over and again how highly one thinks of those one addresses, how much one respects them. Like the inversions of songs, the big words of speeches belittle one's own standing while elevating that of the audience.

In English speeches, or those where the speaker lapses into English after starting out in Haida[44)], the formulae of thanking and positive reenforcement are maintained, although they are less elaborate.
"I want to thank each and every one of you for being with us today", "you are wonderful people", "thank you for all the support", are frequently uttered. Another example is, "I would like to personally thank everyone of you here. It has been a pleasure to be here with you folks. We are greatly honoured to have an invitation from you people".

Kinship links: A person rarely speaks without identifying his or her links of kinship with the host or the person honoured at doings: The speaker points out that he is the "uncle" (in the sense of real or classificatory mother's brother) of the host, his "nephew", "grandfather", "auntie" (real or classificatory father's sister) or (classificatory) brother or sister. Making a speech is an honour bestowed upon the guest, and identifying one's link with the host is a means of legitimizing one's role. Kinship links function as a code to express the rights to positions and the privileges that go with them (see Chapter V). With this in mind, it is understandable that the kinship links cited during speeches are often quite remote, if not manipulated; they are genealogical coups. One speaker, in citing her

kin-ties to the host, mentioned that her mother adopted one of the host's sisters "and that is why we are sisters"[45]. Or, a "nephew" to the same host mentioned that his mother was "first cousin" to the host (my genealogical records failed to yield the exact nature of this cousinhood). At the funeral dinner of a deceased chief, one speaker (who was in a somewhat circumspect position, as he had been previously charged with trying to "take over"), identified himself as the husband of the woman who was the "grandmother" of the deceased, hence he had a right to speak[46] (see p. 183, Chapter VI).

In other instances, citing one's kinship links with the host, particularly where these mention Haida names, lineages and thus lands, imparts one's knowledge over corporate property. Knowledge itself is a source of prestige, and mentioning names implicitly makes claims to a say in matters or even in shared rights to ownership. Thus, Sandlenee of the Yaaku 7laanas, whose father was 7iljuwaas of the Tciitc Git7ans, mentioned during a speech at a wedding in Skidegate:

> "/the hostess/ came from Juskatla. There was a village there. Their great-great uncle had a village there, and then they had Tciitc. And they had the Yakoun River, those Tciitc Git7ans. So they came from Juskatla, and they belong to Masset. But they have lots of children here, that's why they have to stay here. 7iljuwaas was the name of the chief of Juskatla. That was my father's name."

In this manner the names of related, own and affinal lineages are woven into the speech, along with the locations they traditionally own, and names to which they have rights. Besides legitimizing the speaker's right to speak, they remind the public of names and places one has direct or indirect rights to, and who the speaker him- or herself is, according to his or her ancestry. The latter, of course, implicitly imparts the rank

of the speaker[47]. Mentioning the ancestry of the host by citing names is an indirect way of honouring them, of showing respect. This was evident in the appreciation shown by the members of Sandlenee's household, when her grand-daughter had been explicitly acknowledged as the grand-daughter of Weah during her wedding dinner[48].

Citing kinship links in speeches can be a masterful instance of making a verbal claim without stating it. Especially where succession to a chiefship is undecided, announcing oneself as some kind of "nephew" to the deceased, or even as "also of the Eagle moiety" implicitly lays claim to succession. Phrased in the code of kinship, however, these claims are ambiguous, as they seek to persuade the audience of one's claim to a position without the speaker being accusable of having laid such a claim. Mentioning kinship links in a speech leaves it up to the audience to validate and evaluate them. In this sense, it can be understood as a "euphemising strategy" (Bourdieu 1977).

Joking and anecdotes: What is expressed through slave metaphors in gid kagaan is expressed in speeches as jokes and anecdotes (gin 7ank'agaa, "funny things") which make fun of one's own past actions. Particularly at memorial doings, the expressed purpose of jokes during speeches is to entertain, to make people laugh in marking the end of the mourning period for the deceased: "We want to make you laugh and be happy tonight and afterwards", or as one speaker put it, "on occasions like this, in our hearts we are weeping, but in our words we are smiling"[49].

Haida humour, though, is always self-deprecating, for all too easily, making jokes about others can be interpreted as insulting them, and is thus seen as a show of utter disrespect[50]. Therefore, jokes or humourous

anecdotes told during speeches at doings always refer to the speaker as the object of the joke: They report mishaps or "goofiness" which occurred to the speaker, sometimes in the presence of the deceased or the host.

Self-abasement fulfills a function similar to that fulfilled by inversion of status and calling oneself - but never the other - by derogatory terms. Denying one's status through reporting one's own acts of clumsiness or mishaps means extolling the virtues of one's host and audience. Last not least, it is humour in the true sense, making people laugh, but not at the cost of others. As this kind of joke depends on the shared knowledge of the audience, it is highly contextual[51].

The Haida say that "when you make a public announcement about someone, that person has to live up to it"[52]. Honouring others through thanking them, extolling their efforts and virtues, and making fun of oneself in front of the public puts them in a delicate relationship of obligation: If others are addressed as yahguudaang, they, in turn, must demonstrate that they are worthy of your respect. Thus, saying big words, like giving and other non-verbal forms of honouring, imparts obligation, a political relationship of leader - follower. Moreover, oratory is a way to lay claims, which however, according to Haida norms of etiquette, must remain subtle and are never uttered vociferously but only through allusion.

Public speaking in this sense is no way of overt negotiation or debate. One statement follows upon another, and except in the rarest instances, oratorical statements are not contradicted in public. With this in mind, I suspect that what Bloch (op. cit.) regards as the possibility to discuss, evaluate and contradict by argument is an ethnocentric

view of rhetoric and political decision-making. Certainly, Haida speeches are phrased in a formal code and take everything but the form of public debate. To the outsider, they appear mechanized, containing nothing but formulae of verbal etiquette. If personal differences are uttered in public, this occurs only in allusion: An example of this kind occurred in a public meeting in 1979, which centred around a debate of the traditional type longhouse which had recently been built, and was the subject of much controversy among different "tribes" and families. In examining the minutes of this meeting, at which most Elders were present, it is striking that all speeches were characterised by positive re-enforcement; mutual agreement and appreciation. However, when one of the speakers enumerated the amounts of money he had raised for the project, an Elder, in his subsequent speech, told him to "hang on to your money" - a short statement, but well enough understood by the audience as a strongly chiding remark.

Rhetorical devices of this kind, and those mentioned earlier - allusion, anecdote, metaphor, inversion - point to the importance of context. The total process of the evaluation of speeches by the audience - and subsequent action - must never be separated from the context of performance. Maybe in our own culture we are too attuned to recognizing different opinions only in explicit verbal debate. To the Haida, differences of opinion and disagreements are manifest in nuances of what is affirmatively said, how it is said, how many times it is said, or if it is said at all, and through the many other accompanying gestures indicating acknowledgment or withdrawal of respect and thus rank. It is significant that the evaluation of all these verbal and non-verbal aspects of speeches does

not occur until after the event, when individuals informally discuss what was said, when background information about claims and statements are gathered and shared. It is upon this kind of evaluation that whatever implicit claims were made during speeches are backed and supported or rejected, and then subtly reinforced or countered during future events. In the context of evaluation, we must take into consideration a final form of implicit speech which is all too often neglected: silence[53)]. I mentioned above that an acknowledged form of showing protest against manipulative acts in status struggles is non-action: remaining absent from doings, refusing to speak, not inviting certain people, or even walking out. Silence, moreover, has an important function in public speaking. What is not said can be as important as what is said; omitted thank you's and acknowledgements are considered acts of rudeness and showing disrespect, or, depending on the context, they can be interpreted as attempts to refuse to acknowledge one's host.

In summary, I think it is safe to say that Haida speech-making, while marked by overt formality, or restrictedness of code, must be understood as rhetoric which must in turn be interpreted within the social context it occurs in, and within the overall framework of the Haida understanding of how rank can be demonstrated and acknowledged: through "euphemising strategies", by avoiding overtly saying what one intends to claim; through remaining ambiguous and allusive enough not to be accused of boasting. The true evaluative nature of public speaking only emerges in the audience's subsequent acts of reiterating what was said, by whom, to whom.

6. Reciprocity reconsidered

This chapter has examined the Haida relationship between social rank and reciprocal exchange as one intimately connected to the presentation of self and others in rhetoric. Not surprisingly, the attainment and maintenance of personal rank has emerged as a complex phenomenon, as an endless balancing act between satisfying public opinion and maximizing one's own position.

Beyond presenting ethnographic details on the delicate nature of Haida social relations and social status, the preceding analysis has some theoretical implications which can be briefly discussed at this point. Marcel Mauss (1966) was one of the first to recognize reciprocal gift-giving as creating chains of binding obligations of which the Potlatch is but one phenomenon. Giving, receiving, and giving back, according to Mauss, are not voluntary acts, but involve, most of all, obligation, honour and debt: "Material and moral life, as exemplified in gift exchange, functions there in a manner at once interested and obligatory"(op. cit.:31).

Mauss' albeit implicit formulations on the logic underlying reciprocal exchange were developed by Lévi-Strauss into structuralist models of the cognitive logic of social organization (1949; 1969; 1958; 1950), and, as far as the Northwest Coast of America is concerned, have culminated in Rosman and Rubel's (1971; 1983) mechanistic structuralist models of potlatching in congruence with marital exchange (see Chapter V.2).

On the opposite end of the theoretical spectrum are the theoretical formulations on exchange by transactional theory (see Barth 1966) and formalist economic anthropology, which regard self-maximization and profit as necessary goals of all social relations. In evaluating the material

presented in this chapter, I think it is clear that neither the mechanical logic of exchange, nor self-maximization adequately account for the delicate manoeuvres involved in Haida reciprocal relations. Regarding the unconscious logic of the obligation to give, to receive and to return gifts (Lévi-Strauss 1950) as the primary phenomenon of exchange leaves aside all those crucial acts in between and during the actual exchange which the Haida so masterfully execute and observe. Exchange as a mechanical act does not and cannot deal with the strategic timing of gifts (see Bourdieu 1977:5f), and with the improvised, strategic usage of the system of symbolic classification surrounding reciprocity and rank. Conversely, the accounting procedures of self-maximization miss out on the delicate line the Haida draw between understatement and overstatement involved in acts of giving and receiving words and goods. The Haida ethic of rank and reciprocity frowns upon self-maximization as "boasting", "promoting oneself" and "pushiness", while at the same time condoning wealth, high birth and a certain amount of assertiveness. Importantly, as I have mentioned above, the line between overdoing and doing "just right" is always thinly drawn. Moreover, it is not fixed, but is negotiated and managed in social discourse, through acts of giving and speaking.

In this context, the potlatch, with all its public acts which are overtly in the guise of reciprocity, can be seen as an implicit political arena (see Stearns 1984:219), where political goals are tested and sanctioned <u>as if</u> guided by the mechanical sequences of exchange. It is an arena for exercising symbolic violence in Bourdieu's terms (see above, p. 27). Words and deeds are presented in the only form in which they are socially and culturally recognizable: that of gifts, kin obligation,

honour, respect and mutual support. It is only underneath the overtly ritualized acts, or outside the feast-hall, that the arbitrary and strategic nature of words and acts rendered in the guise of reciprocity spell out into strategic political acts. While they are officially rendered in the language of legitimacy and persuasion, they translate, in the context of the social relationships they involve, into a subtle kind of coercion, into symbolic violence.

Footnotes:

1) Note that among the Haida and Tlingit rank exists primarily within the lineage, whereas among the Tsimshian, the lineages themselves are ranked.

2) c.f. Murdock (1936), Blackman (1982) gia is su.

3) See McFeat (1966) for reprints of numerous articles involved in this debate.

4) Ray uses Drucker's Culture Elements Distribution List (1939; partially reprinted in McFeat 1966) in support of his argument. In it, Drucker marked the Haida as having a "named class of commoners". As we will see, this is not entirely correct.

5) See Suttles (op. cit.); also Drucker (1955). Coast Salish social organization allowed for greater social mobility; as they had less wealth in the form of titles, ceremonial privileges and crests, they had "fewer formal means of indicating each person's social position" (Drucker op. cit.: 127), consequently there existed less differentiation of status.

6) Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Provincial Archives of Manitoba B201/a/7 (1852-1853): Journal of Fort Simpson Post.

7) "town master" in Swanton's terms (1905a:68). The term "town mother" (ibid.) is not used at Masset.

8) See Chapter V.1. for a detailed analysis of kin-terms.

9) See Swanton 1908 for many examples. As such it is synonymous with kilsdlaas.

10) See the examples of 7ilskand7waas and Jid kuyaag, Chapter III. Curtis (1916:172) mentions the legend of a female chief among the Haida of Southern Moresby Island, "great-fat-woman" /jaas kwaans?/. Swanton (1905b:364) relates the story of Kand7waas who was "going to make a pot-latch at Masset. She owned ten slaves. And she had eight storehouses in the Kaigani Country", although it does not emerge whether she was a chief in her own right.

11) See Blackman (1977). While the waahlal as a formal means of validating both 7iitl'daas and yahgid status is discontinued, the cumulative feasting record still serves to validate and improve status.

12) See Chapter V.1. for examples and analysis.

13) From: Church Missionary Society Archives, London, England. British Columbia Mission, letter dated June 5, 1899.

14) What was generally recognized as the set of Elders in 1979-81 was almost coterminous with membership in the Haida Golden Age Club, which

included 43 individuals 65 and over. As I often assisted in the compilation of guest lists for feasts, it became evident that these 43 individuals inevitably represented the core of invited guests, with the addition of younger Haida who were known as distinguished speakers, or who were ministers, chief councillers, etc.

15) See Chapter V.1. for my analysis of the primary modes and functions of adoption and the utilization of relationships created by adoption.

16) See Stearns (1984:240f) for a discussion of contemporary attitudes to the descendants of slaves.

17) See p.81.

18) See Chapter VIII for an analysis of Haida withcraft and sorcery.

19) Note "dogs" used as a metaphor for slaves, p.118. Amoss (1984) has recently published an article on the ambiguous symbolic position of the dog in Northwest Coast Culture. However, she makes no reference to the symbolic connection between dogs and slaves. The symbolic marginality which characterizes dogs in her analysis can be extended to slaves, though, as the latter were conceived of as on the margins of ranked society. In symbolic classification, man : dog :: ranked member of society : slave.

20) Land otters play an important role in Haida mythology; they are conceived of as being inhabited by forces which cause people to lose their senses. See Chapter VIII below.

21) Although not mentioned in the version collected by Swanton, or Adam Bell's version of this myth, there is an implicit cause for his blindness: In another context (1908:66) a hunter's blindness is caused through his contact with menstrual blood. In an act almost identical to the one described in this story, the supernatural helper extracts the blood from the hunter's eyes in restoring his eyesight.

22) A word with similar contextual meaning is "mischievous", gyuu guugaa, lit. "to lack ears".

23) Frogs have multiple meanings in Haida mythico-symbolic thought. They bring good luck to humans, and black-bears are said to eat frogs to have good luck in hunting. Grizzly bears, on the other hand, are said to be afraid of them. Frogs as amphibians, of course, are "good to think with" as mediators. As such, they are often used in artistic images (e.g. rattles, totem poles).

24) In addition to its use to obtain "visions", devil's club was and is used for medicinal purposes, believed to cure arthritis, cancer, diabetes, and influenza (Field-notes; G. Deagle, pers. comm.).

25) See Stearns (1981), Epilogue, for a description of "neotraditional ceremonies". My usage of the term refers to the same type of ceremonies.

26) Murdock's major informant was "Captain" Andrew Brown of the Tciitc Git7ans, the son of Stl'ang 7laanas chief Kingaagwaaw of Yaan and his wife St'aatlkawaas. One of Andrew Brown's daughters is presently still alive.

27) A. E. Edenshaw is a model of the mid-nineteenth century entrepreneur. However, in his case we also see the denial of such status acquisition by fellow Haida.

28) Blackman (1972:212) reports that according to the Fourth Chief Weah, his predecessors' house, Naa 7iiwans, was built by members of the opposite moiety, thus contradicting Swanton's and Murdock's statements.

29) The "secret societies" among the Haida were an adapted and diluted version of the Secret Societies on the Coast further south. They were imported from the Kwakiutl via the Tsimshian and Bella Bella (Swanton 1905a:156f). They functioned primarily as prerogative performances, and were thus regarded as a form of property.

30) Indian dancing and singing underwent a revival starting approximately in 1979, at least in part as a result of the local release of a record with Haida songs (Gawa Sgalaangaa - Songs from Masset; see Enrico 1979). The village now has numerous dance-groups with members ranging from pre-schoolers to Elders.

31) Blackman (1982) sees the main aspect of "respect" as "respect for self". As I have pointed out elsewhere (Boelscher, 1985), however, "respect for self" can only be gained by showing it to others.

32) Implied in this seems to be a thin borderline between 7iisanyaa and kuganaa, the latter meaning that someone is trying to cause you bad luck.

33) Compare the episodes in the Raven cycle (Swanton 1908:297; 315; 328) for parodies on the etiquette of eating. See also Chapter VII

34) Mouse-woman is another marginal creature in myth. She is said to be stone from the hip down, alluding to barrenness, which means she lacks the female power to pollute. In myths, she frequently acts as a helper to the protagonist, and as a mediator between supernatural beings and humans.

35) In 1979-80 there were three native Anglican ministers in the village, as well as a white Pentecostal minister from New Masset, and two Pentecostal lay-readers.

36) See also Stearns (1981:202f).

37) When reading this section, one informant, however, pointed out that "when you start something, you have to follow through with it". In other words, a planned doing which is cancelled after a planning meeting does harm the reputation of the would-be-donor.

38) See Swanton (1912). Swanton translates it as "people obey his words".

My translation seems to be the more literal one (kil - voice, language, words; sdla - to do, make; aay - def. particle).

39) A Daadans Yaaku 7laanas name. It was given to the former Prime Minister Trudeau upon his visit to the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1976.

40) It should be noted here that the subject matter of Bloch's collection of essays on oratory and that of Paine do not entirely coincide: All but one of the articles in Bloch's collection are concerned with "traditional" or tribal societies. Those in Paine's volume are concerned with western society or present politics in third world countries. Kan (1983) represents an analysis of Tlingit oratory supported by recent field-work which I only became aware of after writing this chapter. Kan also emphasizes skill and creativity, the demonstration of kinship relations, etc. Kan's model, however, is primarily a functional one, emphasizing the symbolic restoration of social and cosmological order and harmony.

41) While actual speeches were not recorded, the Haida propensity for oratory has been noted by Whites since the days of first contact: The early seafarers (e.g. Ingraham; Meares) noted Haida chiefs making "lengthy speeches from the beach", a century later public address was adopted by the missionaries as a way to persuade the audience (Harrison 1925).

42) See also the songs cited in Enrico (1979:26-27).

43) The informant remarked along with this sentence that people of lower rank, when they saw high ranking people pass by, had to get out of the way, sit down and avert their eyes.

44) During my field-work, the half-dozen Elders who were on all speaker's lists always spoke in Haida, sometimes adding a few words in English to the general audience. It is again worthwhile to point out that Haida is only fluently spoken by those over 70, understood by those over 50, with few exceptions. Thus, the language of the most important speakers, especially at weddings where much of the audience is of the younger generation, was not understood by most of the audience.

45) They are adopted mother's sister's daughter's children, "sisters" in the classificatory sense.

46) This implies Haida ideas of reincarnation: a person who receives the name of a person two generations above is supposed to be the rebirth of that ancestor, even if in a strictly metaphorical case as this, where the speaker's wife was a white woman and adopted into the lineage referred to.

47) Thus, in the example above, the woman makes implicit reference to the fact that her father was chief of the Yakoun Tciitc Git7ans. Thus, she is a chief's daughter.

48) Note also in the movie "Those born at Masset" (Stearns): Chief Willie Matthews mentions the deceased Peter Hill's Haida name, Kogiis, explains

its meaning ("sea-otter"), details where the name is from (Kogiis was chief of the Kun 7laanas at Hliielang).

49) An interesting episode about the origin of mourning and weeping upon a person's death is related in the Raven Cycle, where Raven is the originator of mourning (c.f. Swanton 1908).

50) See Swanton (1905a:20) for a mythical episode where words spoken in jest are taken as an insult and consequently avenged.

51) Some examples are: the speaker referring to the "broken English" she uses, or on another occasion mentions how she asked a nephew of her deceased husband to translate her speech into English, and then having realized that she had not spoken in Haida but in English and there was nothing to translate.
Another speaker told an episode of how she and the host had been scared by a mosquito when preparing the feast; how somebody understood someone mentioning "anti-freeze" as a statement about "auntie Grace".

52) See de Laguna (1972) for a similar concept among the Yakutat Tlingit.

53) One of the few notable essays on the function of silence in North American Indian Society (particularly the Pueblo) is Basso (1972). Basso explains silence among the Western Apache as a function of the definition of a situation. The absence of verbal communication occurs where roles and statuses are ambiguous and the outcome of social relations is unpredictable (op. cit.:83). He develops this hypothesis based on the observation that roles are not fixed but are the outcome of ongoing processes. Thus, silence can be interpreted as negotiating space, as a time where status ambiguities are sorted out and evaluated. This does not seem far removed from the function of silence among the Haida.

CHAPTER V

CATEGORIES OF KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE ACCORDING TO RULE

The last chapters have increasingly pointed to the focal role of kinship ties as they are utilized in strategies aimed at convincing others of one's social position and one's rights to symbolic and material property. The Haida place great emphasis on kinship obligation, on pooling resources within the lineage and on corporate displays of hospitality and generosity to the outside. In short, rights and obligations toward others are codified in kinship terms which serve as tools of legitimacy, as implicit statements invoking the support of the corporate group, but at the same time differentiating social statuses. "This is my nephew" is therefore much more than a statement of avuncular intimacy; as a statement in a public context, it alludes to a social relationship between incumbent and successor, and to a set of shared rights and privileges. It implies a kinship category in the literal sense:

> "It is as instruments of knowledge and construction of the social world that kinship structures fulfil a political function (in the same way as religion and all other ideologies). What are terms of address and reference, if not categories of kinship, in the etymological sense of collective, public imputations? (Kategoreisthai: to accuse publicly, to impute a thing to someone in front of everyone)." (Bourdieu 1977:206 fn. 68).

This chapter will examine the official and public use of kinship categories as a set of claims and manipulations aimed at negotiating the sociopolitical order[1]. The normative code of kinship is used in creating social relationships and legitimating them. These social relationships, in turn, are primarily concerned with material and symbolic rights, with social standing, and with obligations, all of which, as we have seen, play a paramount role

in Haida social organization and social classification.

This theoretical position differs from that initiated by Radcliffe-Brown which views kinship statuses as a set of rights and duties which determine behaviour. While "jural" relationships - at least understood in this narrow sense - take the social world as given, my theoretical focus, as I have outlined in the introduction, is on the negotiability and management of kinship terms and the attitudes they invoke. Individual and collective action is not only determined by the group and its network of relationships, but agents also define groups - through citing kinship affiliations - in terms of their interests (c.f. Bourdieu op. cit.:32).

In his classic article on Haida kinship and social behaviour, Murdock (1934a) focused on the deductive relationship between kinship terms and behaviour. While giving a thorough description of the Haida set of kinship terms and the normative behaviour associated with them, he left aside the strategic use made of these roles in individual and collective action. Especially in a classificatory kinship system, there always exists more than one person who qualifies to be called "uncle" (mother's brother), "nephew" (sister's son) or "auntie" (father's sister), by specific kinship terms. Conversely, individuals can often be addressed by more than one possible term. Out of a large number of nominal kinsmen are selected those of practical significance at a given moment (e.g. van Velsen 1964; Bourdieu 1977). Individual competence selects the most profitable relationship, or manipulates it as a recognizable one in defining the situation, and rhetorically presents this relationship as a legitimate one.. The usage of kin terms in public represents "officializing strategies, the transmutation of 'egotistic', private, particular interests /.../ into

disinterested collective publicly avowable, legitimate interests" (Bourdieu op. cit.:40). In relying on individual competence, it presupposes the knowledge of all possible genealogical connections in order to be able to select those that are appropriate - or rather: advantageous - in a given situation. It is this negotiable aspect of kinship categories I will be focusing on here. While I am not concerned with the application of kin terms in a personal or emotional sense, I will be looking at the socio-political implications of the application of kin terms and genealogical connections. Their usage intends roles for self and others, which, in turn, are aimed at satisfying material and symbolic interests.

Interests, however, are always euphemized among the Haida, and, as I have already pointed out (Chapter IV), rationalizing them in terms of kinship terms and roles represents their public denial. Personal interests and manipulations are masked by the ideology of matrilineal kinship and automatic succession of high statuses. As we will see, the rationalizations of status and succession through kinship ties often occur post hoc: Past incidences of chiefly succession or political decision-making are represented as if ruled by kinship statuses (e.g. "uncle" - "nephew", "younger brother" - "older brother", etc.), whereas their outcome, or rather, their legitimacy was in fact contingent upon the successful demonstration or even fabrication of kin ties.

To make my point, I will first examine the structure and range of Haida kinship terminology and indigenous uses of genealogy, and turn to the flexibility of matrilineal kinship and its uses through the extension of kin terms. I will then turn to the emphasis placed on complimentary filiation which, by reckoning ties through the father's lineage, provides

a further vehicle for legitimacy and voicing claims. An ultimate means of providing for additional lineage and kin affiliation and thus claims are Haida adoption practices, which will be examined on the basis of a number of cases. Finally, the emphasis on the "father's side" /lineage/ raises the question of traditional and aboriginal Haida marriage practices. Haida marriage preferences have provided something of a puzzle not so much to the ethnographers as to the theorists, culminating in Rosman and Rubel's (1971) model of Haida marriage as patrilateral cross-cousin marriage in concordance with the direction of reciprocity in potlatching. Part two of this chapter will examine the practices of nineteenth century Haida marriage and the complexities underlying the official presentation as father's sister's daughter marriage.

1. Kinship as kathegoreisthei

Haida kinship terminology is a "weak Crow type" (see Anker 1975)[2], and it is classificatory. Collateral kin are terminologically equated to lineal kin. In addition, kin terms are applied to all members of ego's matrilineage and to those of his or her father's lineage. Thus, the term gawwa ("mother"m/f.sp.) applies to all females of ego's matrilineage in the first ascending generation, and so forth. If genealogically traceable relatives need to be distinguished from classificatory lineage relatives, the term yahk'yuu, "real" is suffixed to the kin term[3]. In addition, the imputed social distance of relatives can be verbalized by expressions such as "laa. an hl7aanagaa" ("she is close/st/ to me"), or, conversely, "l'st' aa wanguu", ("too far away", see p. 79). A complete listing of Haida kinship terms and their referents is given in Table IV.

Swanton (1966) emphasized the classificatory nature of Haida kinship,

TABLE IV

HAIDA KINSHIP TERMS

tcinn (m./f.sp.)	-	FF; MF; FFB; MFB; FFF; MFF; etc. → all men two or more generations above Ego, except those who are kaa.
naan (m./f.sp.)	-	MM; FM; MMZ; FMZ; FFM; MFM; MMM; etc. → all women two or more generations above Ego; also: all women of F lineage.
xaad (f.sp.)	-	F; FB; → men of F lineage one generation above Ego.
gong (m.sp.)	-	F; FB; FMZS; etc. → all men of F lineage one generation above Ego.
gawwa (m./f.sp.)	-	M; MZ; MMZD; etc. → all women of Ego's lineage one generation above Ego.
skaan (m./f.sp.)	-	FZ; FZD; FZDD; etc. → women of F lineage.
kaa (m./f.sp.)	-	MB; MMB; MMMB; MMZS; → men of Ego's lineage one or more generations above Ego.
daa (f.sp.)	-	B; MZS; MMMB; MMZS; → men of Ego's lineage and generation.
jaas (m.sp.)	-	Z; MZD; MMZDD; etc. → women of Ego's lineage and generation.
k'waay (m./f.sp.)	-	eZ; eMZD; etc. (f.sp.); eB; eMZS; etc. (m.sp.) → elder members of Ego's lineage and generation.
duun (m./f.sp.)	-	Z; yMZD; etc. (f.sp.); yB; yMZS (m.sp.) → younger members of Ego's lineage and generation.
7laan (m./f.sp.)	-	FZS; FMZSS; etc. → men of F lineage of Ego's generation, (Murdock: also MBS; MMBZS) = skaan gid.
Wus7un (m./f.sp.)	-	Men/women of Ego's kaa's W lineage, of Ego's generation. (kaa gid). Men/women of Ego's BW lineage, one generation below Ego (daa gid /f.sp./; k'waay/duun gid /m.sp./).
naad (m.sp.)	-	ZS; ZDS; MZDS; ZD; MZDD; ZDSS; etc. → men/women of Ego's lineage one generation below Ego.
gid (m./f.sp.)	-	S; D; BS; BD; WZS; WZD; etc. (m.sp.) → children of wife's lineage one generation below Ego. S; D; ZD; ZS; MZDD; MZDS: etc.(f.sp.) → individuals of Ego's lineage one generation
t'ak'an (m./f.sp.)	-	SS; DD; DS; ZDS; BDS; BDD; etc. → all individuals two generations below Ego except those addressed as naad by male Ego.

(Denotata resulting from gud 7ahl keeiwa relationships are not included.)

noting the speaker's localized segment of matrilineage ("a person's own town") and father's lineage ("one's father's town") as the primary range of kinship terms, although in another context (1905a) he notes the moiety ("clan") as the primary range. Murdock (op. cit.:356; 358) tried to distinguish between terms used in their singular and plural forms as denoting real and classificatory relatives, respectively[4]. At least during my own period of field-work, consanguinal terms except those extended through gud 7ahl keeiwa relationships, always referred to members of own matrilineage. Only rarely were they extended to the entire moiety of the speaker. Consanguinal kin terms, and also those referring to the father's lineage, definitely implicate the corporate character of the group whose members they make reference to. However, as we have seen in Chapter III, lineage boundaries themselves are negotiable; therefore, referring to certain members of imputedly related lineages as "uncles", "brothers", "nephews" or "mothers" is a symbolic expression of social or political goals or it is meant to indicate a status quo of harmonious relations.

In order to understand the permutations of Haida kinship terms and genealogical references, we must recall the function of the lineage as a corporation holding symbolic and material resources, with a set of statuses marked by names characterizing its internal structure. Names and kin terms supplement each other in providing a roster for a system of relationships, hierarchies and equivalences within the lineage, although this system is in constant flux. Thus, pointing to holders of names as "uncles" (mother's brother), "brothers", etc., implicitly states one's own position, and in addition states joint corporate ownership of property.

A statement like "Duuwaads was Ihldiinii' uncle; Duuwaads' sister was Kind.wee; Kueegee 7iiwans is the grand-daughter", is an expression of a set of statuses and their relationships. Haida genealogical thinking, or pedigree in Barnes (1967) or Fortes' terms as informants' "assertions about connexions between people" (Barnes 1967:103) is only understandable by keeping the importance of lineage statuses and names in mind.

Systematic genealogical memory within the lineage reaches back only about three generations. Beyond the grand-parent generation, as I mentioned earlier, it is hampered by the fact that names are repeated in alternating generations (see Chapter VI), and by the Crow-type skewing of generations in kinship terminology. Thus, beyond the second ascending generation, generations are often telescoped, parallel-cousins become siblings, mother's lineage ancestors become "uncles", and all others are "grandmothers and grandfathers". Genealogical knowledge is usually marked by knowing certain ancestors with significant names - as chiefs or children of chiefs - and setting oneself, one's father or husband in relationship to them through the appropriate kin terms. In a community such as Masset, the genealogically adept individual can produce kinship ties with numerous chiefs, their sisters and children, aided by the socially sanctioned means of extension which Haida kinship reckoning allows for.

It is useful to examine Haida kinship links in terms of the set of reciprocals which figures importantly in establishing relationships of political relevance. Within the matrilineage, these reciprocals are:

1. k'waay - duun: "elder - younger sibling of same sex" (m./f.sp.).

This relationship on the one hand is marked by the support and solidarity lineage mates of the same generation owe one another, but on the other hand by the notion that seniority implies higher rank, and the duun is a potential successor to his k'waay.

2. daa - jaas: "brother - sister"; siblings of opposite sex. In political terms, this relationship is not very important, as it does not include the notion of succession or inheritance. Brothers and sisters, however, demonstrate solidarity and are obliged to help one another in preparing for feasts, and comfort one another in distress. We have noted above the emphasis on sibling status, whether real or adopted in legitimating one's right to speak (Chapter IV).

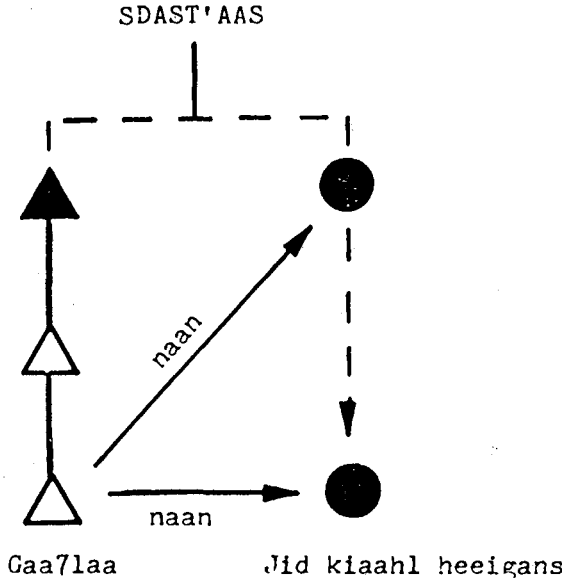
3. gawwa - gid: "mother - child". The mother has the role of being nurturess of her children, but also advisor, decision maker and marriage arranger - roles, which, as we will see, are also extended to the adoptive mother.

4. naan - t'ak'an: "grandmother - grandchild". The term naan (pl. naan.alang) is applied to all female lineage ancestors, two or more generations above. Two individuals having the same "naani", or "we got one Naani way back" refers to two individuals of different branches of a lineage, or of two related lineages. Having "great-great grandmothers" /naan.alang/ who were "sisters" usually is a genealogical metaphor for the inferred ultimate unity of branches of a lineage (see Chapter III). As a term of reference or vocative, "naani x", the term is extended to all elderly females, regardless of lineage or moiety affiliation, and is considered to be a term of respect. While often taking a practical part in her grand-child's upbringing, the naan is also respected lineage Elder.

As Murdock (1934a:357) noted, the term ..."may also be applied ... to any woman of the paternal grandfather's clan /lineage/ quite irrespective of her age". This possibility derives from the practice of bestowing names from the father's father's lineage: By receiving a name from the father's father's sister, who is a naan to her son's son, the name-receiver assumes the status of the name-giver, regardless of the fact that she is of the same generation as her own "grandchildren". While I am not aware that this is a role-relationship of everyday importance, I have already pointed to the fact that it can be used in claiming legitimacy to speak (Chapter IV, p.162), i.e. it has the potential of being used as a politically productive role. Tliijee dang nang 7ahl kingaas introduced his wife as the naan of the deceased Gaa7laa: although she is White, she had received a name from Gaa7laa's father's father's lineage, making her the latter's "grandmother", and by implication, her husband his "grandfather". (Figure 2).

5. kaa - naad: "uncle - nephew/niece". This is the relationship between mother's brother and sister's child, particularly sister's son. The sister's son is the normative successor to his "uncle". Thus, citing one's "uncles" is an implicit statement of one's own rank, and of one's claims to inheritance and office. In both speech-making and myth, referring to one's kaa.alang (pl.) is synonymous to referring to the house-chiefs of one's lineage (c.f. Swanton 1905b). The skewing of the term kaa in ascending generations to mother's mother's brother, mother's mother's mother's brother, etc. of course offers a structural prerequisite for extending the number of prospective "uncles" and for selecting the most appropriate lineage ancestor as "uncle", or, in the case of the "uncle" himself, for invoking support from his younger lineage mates.

FIGURE 2: EXTENSION OF NAAN



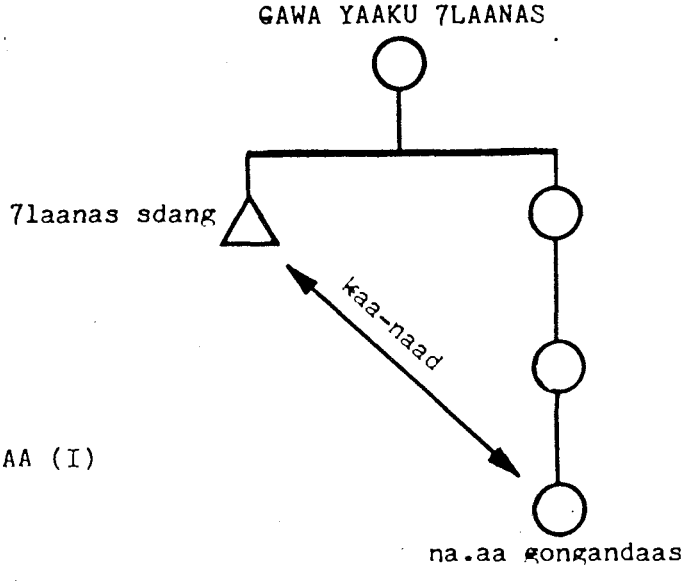


FIGURE 3:

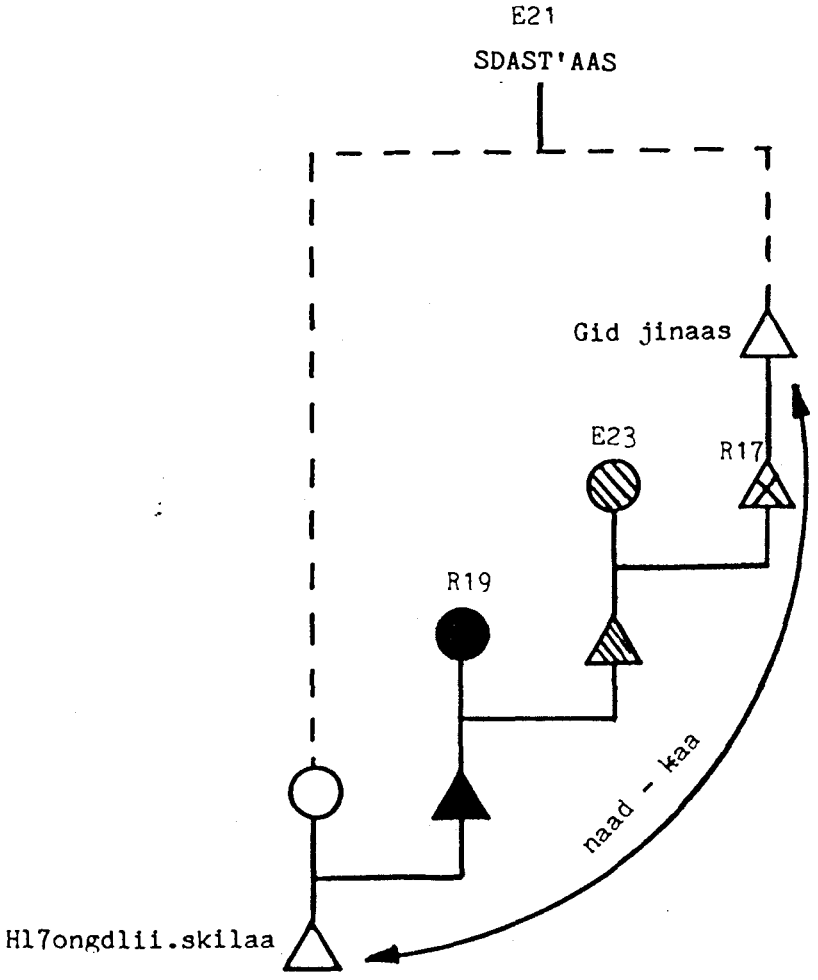
EXTENSION OF KAA (I)

Example #2 (Figure 3) shows an instance of the skewing of the term to true mother's mother's brother. Na.aa gong.gandaas, a female naad, takes active part in doings at her kaa, 7laanas sdang's house. She is expected to help out and assist her "uncle".

As my data show, however, extensions of the kaa - naad relationship reach beyond Crow skewing. Example #3 (Figure 4) is a much farther extension of the term kaa, and actually not based on direct matrilineal descent: It was explained to me by 7laanas sdang that "Gid jinaas is Hl7ongdlii.skilaa's uncle /kaa/". Hl7ongdlii.skilaa is 7laanas sdang's youngest son, Gid jinaas is 7laanas sdang's father's step-father's father. Thus, it is evident that Gid jinaas has no known genealogical connection to Hl7ongdlii.skilaa as matrilineal ancestor. Instead, the genealogical connection is traced through his father's side, although, beyond this, Gid jinaas is of the Sdast'aas lineage, like Hl7ongdlii.skilaa, and thus a classificatory mother's brother, i.e. lineage ancestor. The political meaning of this relationship, however, emerges from the context of the lineage and kinship rights it symbolizes: Gid jinaas was reported to be "chief at Kang", (see Chapter III), the village at Neiden Harbour which was indeed owned by the Sdast'aas. Hl7ongdlii.skilaa's mother also claimed high ranking status as Sdast'aas from Neiden Harbour. In fact, she had given her elder son the name Gustamalk, a house chief name from the area (c.f. Swanton 1905a: 293). Hl7ongdlii.skilaa's relationship to Gid jinaas as "nephew" thus primarily represents a claim to succession and name.

Another example (#4) of utilizing bilateral kinship links in representing oneself as the "nephew" of a chief surfaced when 7iljuwaas, the recently appointed successor to the deceased town chief Gaa7laa, described

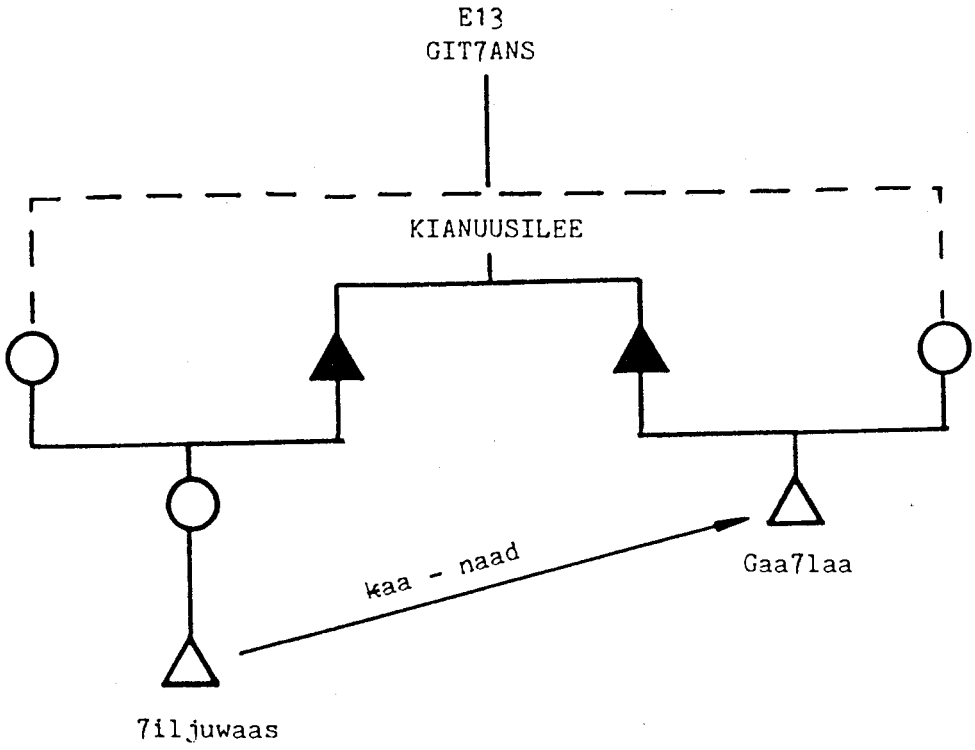
FIGURE 4: EXTENSION OF KAA (II)



himself as his predecessor's "nephew". Genealogically, Gaa7laa is 7iljuwaas' mother's father's brother's son. It is more or less by chance that both the successor and Gaa7laa are Git7ans, i.e. members of the same lineage: Gaa7laa's father and the latter's brother both married Git7ans women, which means that 7iljuwaas' mother's mother and Gaa7laa's mother are classificatory sisters (see Figure 5), although not genealogically related. The reckoning of this relationship makes use of the gud 7ahl keeiwa link, which I will detail below.

Figure 6 (Example #5) is an even farther-reaching extension of the kaa - naad relationship: it is genealogically reckoned through ego's wife rather than through his mother or father: D. H. was cited as the "nephew" of Chief Kuns, the Dou Git7ans chief of the village of Tian on the West Coast of Graham Island. Kuns was indeed an ancestor of a lineage closely related to D.H.'s, who belonged to the Tciitc Git7ans, and was a powerful and high ranking chief as well. However, there was no known genealogical connection with Kuns through D.H.'s mother. Instead, in this case the "uncle" is genealogically an affine. Kuns is a prominent ancestor of the family D.H. married into: As we recall (Chapter III, p. 81f), Kuns had his daughter marry the first Chief Weah, who became chief of Masset by inheriting the village from his father. The daughter of the last Weah married D. H. Thus, Kuns gave his daughter to chief Weah I, and, at least per rationalization, four generations later Weah IV reciprocated by giving his daughter to Kuns' "nephew", i.e. to a lineage descendant of Kuns. This case, I believe, demonstrates two points: On the one hand it shows the intricacy of the post hoc legitimation of marriages as reproductions of previous alliances, a point I will follow up on in the second

FIGURE 5: EXTENSION OF ɬAA (III)



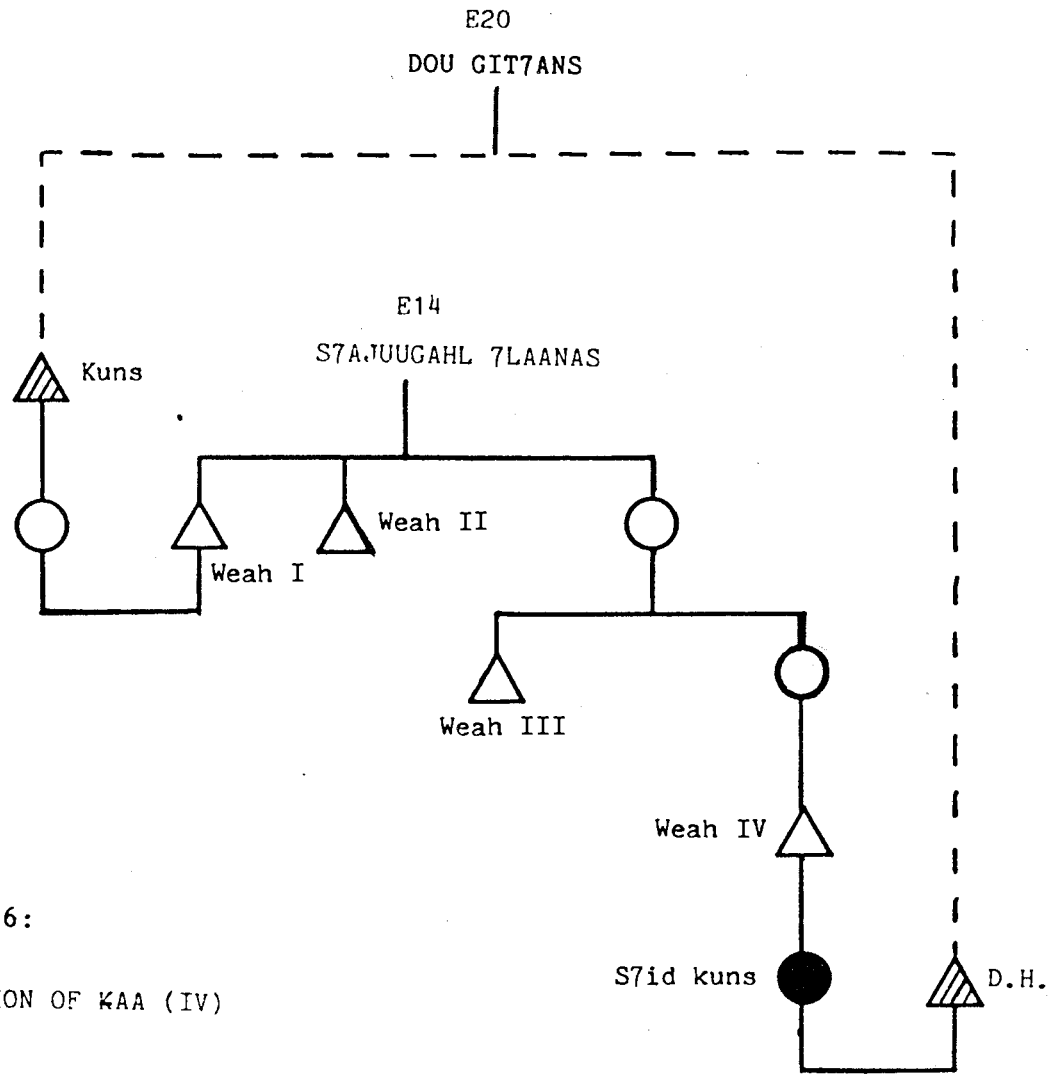


FIGURE 6:

EXTENSION OF KAA (IV)

part of this chapter. On the other hand, along with the previous two examples it shows that classificatory kinship links can be consolidated by demonstrating additional genealogical links with the "uncle", even if these links make use of patrilateral kinship, or, as the last case shows, connections through the wife's father's lineage. Bilateral kinship, or even affinal genealogical links, are expressed in terms of matrilineal ideology.

The last case shows a further interesting feature of the extension of kin terms, that is, the extension beyond immediate lineage boundaries. As I noted above, kin terms, while usually applied to the localized segment of a lineage, can be extended to all branches of that lineage, and even beyond this, to the entire moiety of the speaker, although in public discourse this is rarely done. There are no clear-cut rules as to the degree of extension among related lineages. It is defined by the situation and by the purpose of the discourse. Almost invariably, though, referring to senior or deceased members of related lineages as k'waay or especially kaa is an implicit insistence on a claim to succession. Thus, Gaa7laa of the Git7ans referred to his predecessor Weah IV - who also appointed him - as "uncle" /kaa/. Similarly, Tliijee dang nang 7ahl kingaas of the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas calls 7laanas sdang of the Gaawa Yaaku 7laanas kaa, "uncle", or k'waay.

The next set of role relationships focuses on explicit links with the father's lineage. Next to a person's matrilineage, the lineage of his or her father, his/her "father's side" or xaad k'ujuu plays a dominant role in ritual activity and ceremony, but also, as we will see, in political decision-making.

6. xaad (f.sp.)/gong (m.sp.) - gid: "father - child". As I mentioned before (Chapter IV), a person derives his or her yahgid status from both parents; being a chief's child is as important as being a chief's nephew. A child, at least until puberty in the case of boys, also grows up in his father's village, as residence is virilocal.

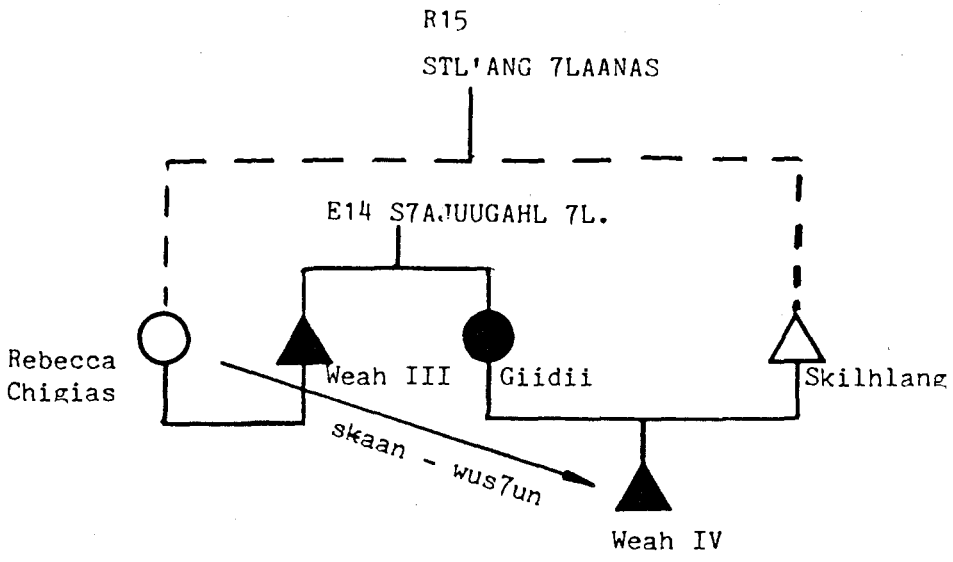
7. tcinn - t'ak'an: "grandfather - grandchild". While tcinn refers to both maternal and paternal grandfather, the paternal grandfather and his male collaterals (father's father; father's father's brother) are referred to as "real grandfather", tcinn yahk'yuu. In the case of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, which was one of the preferred types of marriage, the grandfather's and grandchild's lineage are, of course, identical. Where this is not the case, however, the paternal grandfather's lineage represents a third lineage a person can claim relationship with, and, in practice, receives privileges from, especially names (c.f. Chapter VI.2).

8. skaan-wus7un (kaa gid)[5]: father's sister, or "auntie" - nephew/niece. For both ritual and practical purposes, it is particularly the women of the father's lineage whom an individual of either sex has a series of ties with which continue throughout all life-cycle events. Upon birth, the skaan (father's sister or father's sister's daughter) cuts the child's umbilical cord and buries the afterbirth. The skaan assists children when their noses, ears or lips are pierced, and when they are tattooed to become yahgid during their parents' waahlal. She assists the young girl during her puberty seclusion (tagwanaa). A woman who can be reckoned as one of the father's lineage is a preferred spouse. Throughout their lives, men are expected to do favours for their skaan.alang: They are obliged to

bring them fish and game and assist them in tasks. In return, they are granted favours. The wus7un (brother's child; mother's brother's child) is ritually inferior to the skaan, whom he is expected to honour: Murdock (op. cit.:365) notes how this is expressed in terms of inequality in reciprocal gifts of food: While the skaan receives lavish quantities of food from her wus7un when she is feasted by him, the wus7un, when invited in return, receives the left-overs he sent home with his skaan and is "further obliged to send a valuable present back with the dishes" (ibid.). Finally, upon a person's death, his or her skaan is responsible for washing and clothing the body. Some time later, before the headstone is taken to the cemetery, she is charged with ritually wiping it. The skaan, unlike relatives of the matrilineage, is paid for her services during ceremonies. Thus, she is both ally and helper in all life-cycle events. Moreover, the skaan has a say over matters concerning her wus7un. She can advise him on who to marry, what action to take or who is to be her wus7un's successor when he dies. As her kinship position vis-à-vis her wus7un is both senior and superior, i.e. respected, her advice is imperative.

Example #5 (Figure 7): Rebecca Chigias was Weah IV's skaan. She was of the same lineage as Weah IV's father, Skilhlang; in addition, she was the wife of his mother's brother and predecessor, Weah III. Thus, as both "uncle's wife" /kaa gyaa jaa/ and skaan, she was in a doubly authoritative role: "Rebecca Chigias wanted /Weah IV/ to marry Lizzie, because Lizzie's grandmother was the first Chief Weah's wife, and she wanted this Lizzie to take her naani's /grandmother's/ place". As we will later see, however, (Part 2), the proposed marriage with Lizzie did not take place, as Weah IV followed the advice of his adopted "mother" instead.

FIGURE 7: REBECCA CHIGIAS AS SKAAN OF WEAH IV

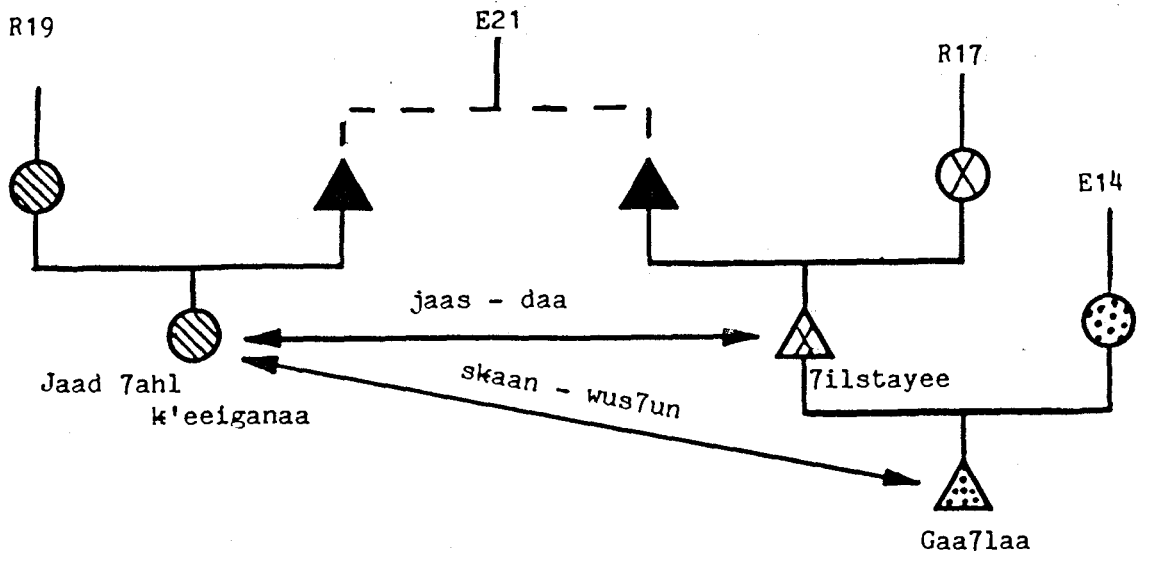


Another case shows the authority of the skaan in political decision-making and how, for this very reason, the term is extended beyond the actual father's lineage:

Example #6 (Figure 8): Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa officiated as skaan to Gaa7laa. She is neither a father's sister nor a father's sister's daughter, nor a classificatory relative of his father. Rather, her relationship with Gaa7laa is based on the fact that her father and his father's father were of the same lineage. Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa played a significant role during Gaa7laa's installation as village chief by supervising the preparation of foods. During Gaa7laa's funeral ceremonies three years later, in 1979, Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa acted as host: the coffin was taken to her house and the wake held here[6]. As his skaan, she subsequently became a consultant in determining his successor. The feasts during which the eventual successor to Gaa7laa, 7iljuwaas, was nominated, were held at her house.

This case points to the implicitly political role of a person who can legitimize herself as the skaan of another person. On the surface, the role remained a ceremonial one: Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa contributed goods to her wus7un's installation, she took care of an important part of the funeral. Her overtly ceremonial role, however, gave occasion to her role as host of the numerous feasts and meetings when his successor was selected, and her advice had to be respected. While her role was non-explicit and non-vociferous, it was an effective case of political manoeuvering. Beyond this, the above example points to an additional device in extending kin ties: the gud 7ahl keeiwa or ahl nang keeiwa ("those born together") relationship: Two individuals whose fathers are of the same lineage have a special relationship: they call each other

FIGURE 8: EXTENSION OF SKAAN



"dii 7ahl nang keeiwas", "he was born with me", or, when speaking English, "cousins". Objectively, they stand in a relationship of real or classificatory father's brother's children. They call one another by sibling terms, however, as k'waay - duun or daa - jaas. In aboriginal times, people who were gud 7ahl keeiwa grew up in the same village and referred to the same lineage as father's lineage. People who are gud 7ahl keeiwa have an informal and friendly relationship of solidarity and cooperation, even joking (c.f. Murdock 1934a). Judging by one of Swanton's texts (1905b:369), a person who could demonstrate a gud 7ahl keeiwa relationship with someone, even in times of war, went unharmed: In a story about a war between the Kaigani and West Coast Haida, the story teller mentions, "My grandmother was born among them. That was why they did not touch her people" (1905b:375)[7].

Importantly, gud 7ahl keeiwa ties serve as building blocks in further extending kinship relationships among descendants of individuals whose fathers were lineage mates. Thus, the children of two individuals who are gud 7ahl keeiwa extend this relationship to that between the children of a jaas and daa or k'waay and duun. This is the logic according to which Jaad 7ahl keeiganaa is Gaa7laa's skaan. Her mother Kwuuyang and his father, Skilgiaans, were gud 7ahl keeiwa, having fathers of the same lineage (Sdast'aas) and calling each other jaas and daa. Thus, by this extension, Jaad 7ahl keeiganaa is the daughter of a woman reckoned as Gaa7laa's "Father's sister"[8].

In another example (#7), a gud 7ahl keeiwa relationship is used as a means of extending, or rather, producing, a kaa - naad relationship: 7laanas sdang calls himself the "uncle" /k̲aa/ of Sgaana 7iiwans, the

recently installed hereditary chief of the village of Tian. They are of different and non-related lineages, however, with Sgaana 7iiwans being of the Dou St'alang 7laanas and 7laanas sdang being of the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas. The relationship was reckoned in the following way (see Figure 9): 7laanas sdang's father and Sgaana 7iiwans' mother Yaanans' father are siblings. This makes 7laanas sdang and Yaanans "siblings", who call each other jaas - daa. Sgaana 7iiwans is then reckoned as 7laanas sdang's "sister's" son, or naad. As a member of an unrelated lineage, however, Sgaana 7iiwans will play no role in succeeding 7laanas sdang; he succeeded to his own mother's /step-/ brother who had had the same name previously. 7laanas sdang did play a vital role in Sgaana 7iiwans' installation, publicly proclaiming his name and putting on his headdress.

7laanas sdang himself was in a delicate position having Gaa7laa's mother 7Ilstayee as his gud 7ahl keeiwa skaan, her father and his father reportedly being gud 7ahl keeiwa: this role permitted 7Ilstayee to play the role of senior female advisor to 7laanas sdang, and as a person to be honoured. These cases point to the present importance of the gud 7ahl keeiwa relationship as a viable route in claiming kinship relationships. While it is briefly mentioned by Murdock (1934a:368) as "alnanq'a.s", "child of father's clansman" and by Durlach (1928:85) as "qegawas", as well as in some of Swanton's texts as "those born with me", its practical application as a building block of legitimacy in reckoning kinship statuses has not been taken into account. Moreover, in extending the relationship to children of gud 7ahl keeiwa, it serves as a vehicle for creating even further ties. Particularly in situations where real or even classificatory "brothers", "sisters", skaan.alang or "uncles" are

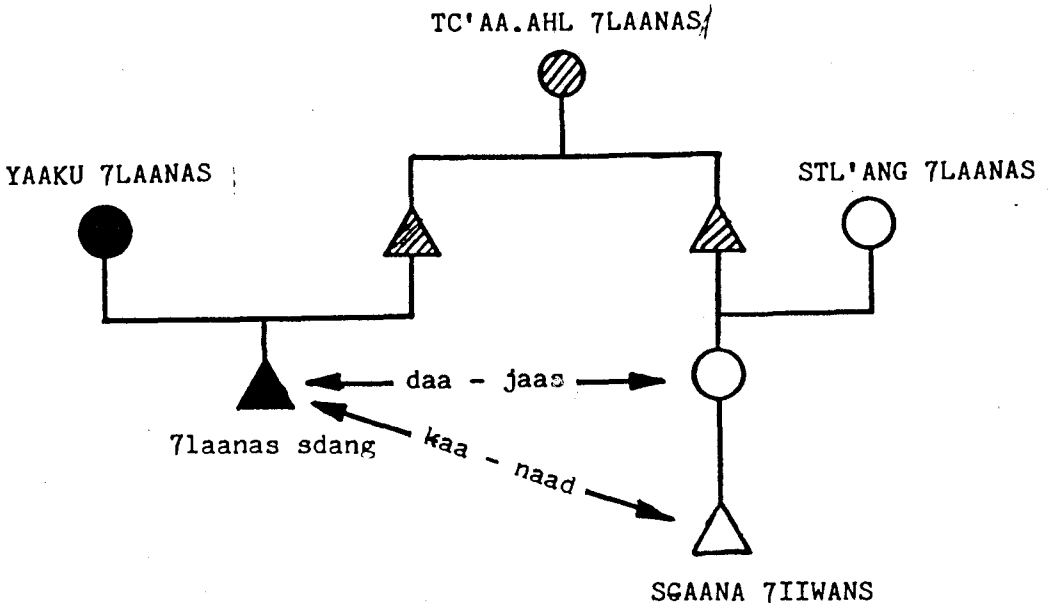


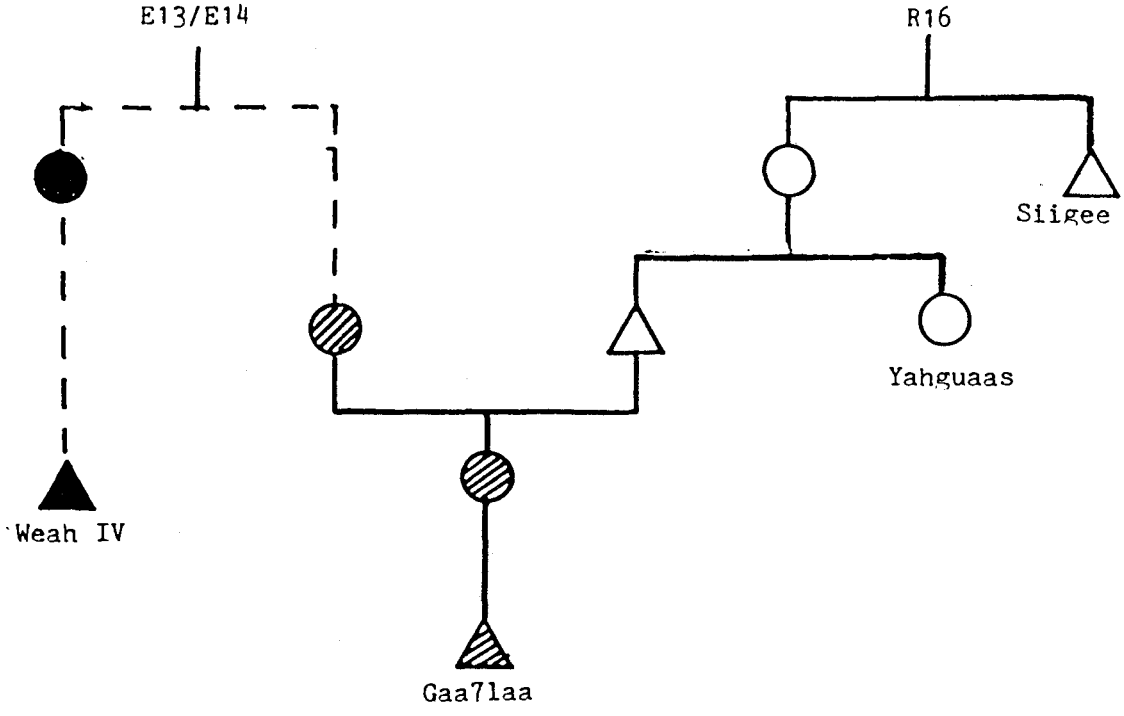
FIGURE 9:

A GUD 7AHL KEEIWAA RELATIONSHIP

unavailable or deceased, it provides a means of recruiting additional members to roles within or reciprocal to the corporate group for both ceremonial and instrumental purposes. Finally, to have fathers of the same lineage also ascertains a person a prominent position on the speaker's list.

A further case (Example #8/Figure 10) is noteworthy in this context, particularly since its sociopolitical use of kin ties is so evident. It was explained that Gaa7laa's "mother's father was chief Siigee's nephew". It was "his grandfather's 'uncle' who owned the village, chief Siigee". In examining the genealogical relationships between Gaa7laa and his forebears, we learn that the "mother's father" is actually a mother's father's brother, Yahguaas, who, although having the right to the name Siigee, never took it officially. The 'uncle' of his 'grandfather' is probably a mother's mother's brother (see Figure 10). This statement appeared in the context of me asking why Gaa7laa was chosen as successor by Weah IV shortly before he died: As we recall (Chapter III), Weah IV had no nephews available to whom he could pass on his name and office. His lineage was almost extinct in Masset, with only a couple of younger females and their young children alive. The only males of Weah's lineage, the S7ajuugahl 7laanas, lived in Skidegate and in Ketchikan, which made it impossible to select from among them. He thus resorted to selecting a "nephew" from a closely related lineage, the Git7ans. As we recall, Weah's "uncle's uncle's brother" (mother's brother's mother's eldest brother) had inherited the village from his father Siigee of the Skidaakaaw Raven lineage. The Skidaakaaw, however, still debate the legitimacy of this transfer. Therefore, by choosing a successor who had genealogical

FIGURE 10: GAA7LAA'S PEDIGREE



kinship connections with the Skidaakaaw, and even more particularly, with Siigee, the old chief Weah IV made a very strategic choice: He knew his selection was somewhat questionable within his own lineage; to return the village chiefship to the Skidaakaaw - who are now represented by a mother and her four grown sons - apparently was out of the question at the time. But the succession of a "nephew" from a related lineage who could consolidate his legitimacy by having genealogical ties with Siigee was a viable solution.

This kind of rationalization - which, we must not forget, was given a number of years after the transfer to Gaa7laa took place - easily gives the illusion that in the game of succession nothing is left to chance, that genealogical criteria and lineage closeness (i.e. classificatory kinship) are the sole criteria for selecting successors. It is precisely in this illusion of ascription and quasi-mechanical presentation of succession that the persuasive force of pronouncing kinship relationships, terms and statuses lies: It presents political processes as if nothing were left to chance, as if their outcome depended on following rules, or what Bourdieu (1977:22) has called the "fallacies of rules" (see p. 27).

While being defined by strategies and rationalizations, the applications of Haida kinship terms described above all make use of genealogical ties and/or lineage relationships, even if these are stretched to their limits. To go one step further in pointing out the political uses of kinship terms, we must turn to what the Haida call "adoption", and what objectively we will refer to as fictive kinship. The Haida employ the term kaaydaa, "to adopt", when speaking of traditional practices which

create an officially recognized bond of parent-child between two persons not naturally related as such. However, as the sparse comparative ethnographic literature on adoption and pro-parenthood acknowledges (see J. Goody 1976; E. Goody 1982; Carroll 1970), it is misleading to investigate indigenous modes of fictive kinship from the point of view of Western society's emotional and legal concepts of adoption. Instead, as both E. and J. Goody (op. cit.) point out, we must understand different modes of adoption on the basis of the prerequisites of particular social organizations. E. Goody presents us with a framework for the analysis of fictive kinship in terms of a universal set of parent-child role relationships (bearing/begetting; birth status identity; nurturance reciprocities; training reciprocities; sponsorship reciprocities). True adoption, in Goody's terms, involves the "transfer of all available parent roles" (op. cit.:34), and a break in the relationship with the natal parents. If we accept this definition, true adoption is rare among the Haida. The only instances of the entire transfer of all available parent roles in aboriginal Haida society may be the rare adoption of foreign findlings. On the other hand, numerous institutionalized social relationships provide for the partial replacement or sharing of particular parenting roles. The emphasis here is on the sharing rather than replacement and exclusiveness of parental roles. The extended family and the corporate group provided traditionally - and still provide, to a certain extent (Stearns 1981) - for joint nurturing and training responsibilities. Grandmothers and mother's sisters took and take an active part in parenting and supervising their grandchildren and nieces or nephews. Informal fostering of this sort has an important function during economic ventures and

subsistence activities: While mothers are engaged in cannery work on the mainland or at other points on the Island, while they are preserving fish at the food fishing camps, etc., small children are taken care of by mother's siblings, who, after all are terminologically equalized with the mother, gawwa, or by their grandmother. These shared nurturing responsibilities are not considered to be adoptions; they are both temporary and informal.

Further instances of the sharing and substitution of certain parent roles as defined by E. Goody include the ritual sponsorship by the skaan during life-cycle events referred to above (p.191) and the move of the nephew into the household of his uncle (MB) upon puberty.

Formal adoption has to be declared in public. It usually involves the bestowal of a name to the adoptee, and thus represents a change in status identity. However, as my cases below will demonstrate, this change in status identity does not involve adrogation (c.f. Maine 1931; Goody 1976; E. Goody 1982), i.e. the surrender of previous statuses and lineage affiliation. For the Haida, kaaydaa provided mainly an avenue for acquiring additional status identity. This situation seems to differ from that among the neighbouring Coast Tsimshian. In her description of Tsimshian practices of adoption, Garfield (1939:228-229) cites several cases of adoption as a means of recruitment to high office and as a means of strengthening lineages which had become numerically weak (see also Adams 1973). In several cases, adoptions of this kind involved the surrender of the adoptee's previous lineage status, i.e. they represent adrogation. In some cases, relationships, privileges and obligations within the natal lineage were maintained.

Early ethnographers of the Haida mentioned the possibility of adoption into the father's lineage as a possible way to manipulate succession to chiefly office. Thus Swanton (1966) noted that

> "According to some writers, the people throughout this region sometimes transferred a child to its father's clan by giving it to his sister to bring up, and such a custom may have been known to the Haida, but I did not hear of it. Chief's sons were, however, sometimes adopted by other chiefs of the same side as their own fathers."

The writers he refers to are probably Niblack and Dawson who previously had cited such possibilities (see Niblack 1888:369; Dawson 1880). While at first glance adoption into the father's lineage appears as a plausible solution to providing heirs where none exist, or where there exists an incentive to manipulate automatic succession by the sister's son, we have no actual cases of such adoptions. None of the above ethnographers reports incidences of this kind of adoption. No elderly informants during my own field investigation recalled any such cases. Also, if this type of adoption had been standard practice or even a viable solution, Siigee would likely have adopted his son as his nephew, and <u>then</u> made him his heir. But this clearly was not the case: Skildakahljuu maintained membership in his natal lineage, the S7ajuugahl 7laanas, and took a name, Weah, from his father's father's lineage, as we have seen previously. From the data I presented on the <u>kaa</u> - <u>naad</u> relationship, it seems evident that the Haida prefer to legitimate successions by extending lineage ties and even resorting to bilateral ties, and thus maintaining the illusion of kinship, rather than resorting to fictitiously producing heirs by adoption as the Tsimshian do.

From all cases of adoption I elicited, it emerges that primary lineage affiliation is not alienated. The most prevalent type of adoption

involves the transfer of a child from his mother to her real or classificatory sister:

#9 T'aatlaawaad and Skilee were adopted by their "mother's older sister because she could not have her own children".

#10 Jid guu singaas was adopted by her /real/ mother's sister Kunjiaas because Kunjiaas was barren.

#11 Sgun xanjuud was adopted by her classificatory mother's elder sister S7alaagudgaa. S7alaagudgaa was not barren, but at the time of her adoption, she likely was beyond her childbearing years and had no daughters of her own.

#12 A. A. was adopted by Nellie Itlagit. She is the classificatory sister of his own mother, Sarah, who was not married when he was born.

#13 Xuhliang was adopted by a classificatory mother's sister, Sandloaas who was the wife of Weah III. Sandloaas had lost all her own children during their infancy or early childhood, and at the time of the adoption was likely beyond her childbearing years. While Xuhliang was from a high-ranked family - her mother was Xuhlkayaang, her father Kawdii.yee, a chief of the Sdast'aas - she was a junior daughter of her natal mother. After her adoption she became the only daughter of the village chief's wife. It is noteworthy, however, that this adoption was not rationalized as a status elevation, as her descendants did not capitalize on it.

Rather, informants state that transfers from mother to mother's sister were frequent[10] and were made for social, economic and emotional reasons. Mothers who had numerous children often gave one or more to one of their sisters, especially if the sister was barren, to share the burden of childrearing. In addition, children are regarded as precious:

they are desired and welcome, and to be childless is a stigma. While an adoption by a sister, especially an elder sister, provides for a shift in status from child of junior sister to child of senior sister, this is not part of the exegesis for this kind of adoption. Some further cases move from the transfer within the lineage to adoption outside of the lineage but within the moiety. While all previous cases involved rearing and fostering the adoptee, the next set of cases (#14-17) involves no rearing; the adoptees are adults who are adopted on public occasions as a social replacement of deceased or absent children or siblings.

#14 Yas7wad of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas was adopted by M. D. of the Sdast'aas after she lost her own son. He called her gawwii, "mother".

#15 The same person, M. D., also adopted Skildakahljuu of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas as her "brother". "She was from Alaska and had no brothers here. That's how they couldn't get away from each other".

#16 M. R. of the Kun 7laanas adopted Sandlenee of the Yaaku 7laanas at the latter's wedding to the above Skildakahljuu. She had previously lost her own daughter, Flora. Flora, in turn, had been engaged to the groom, Skildakahljuu.

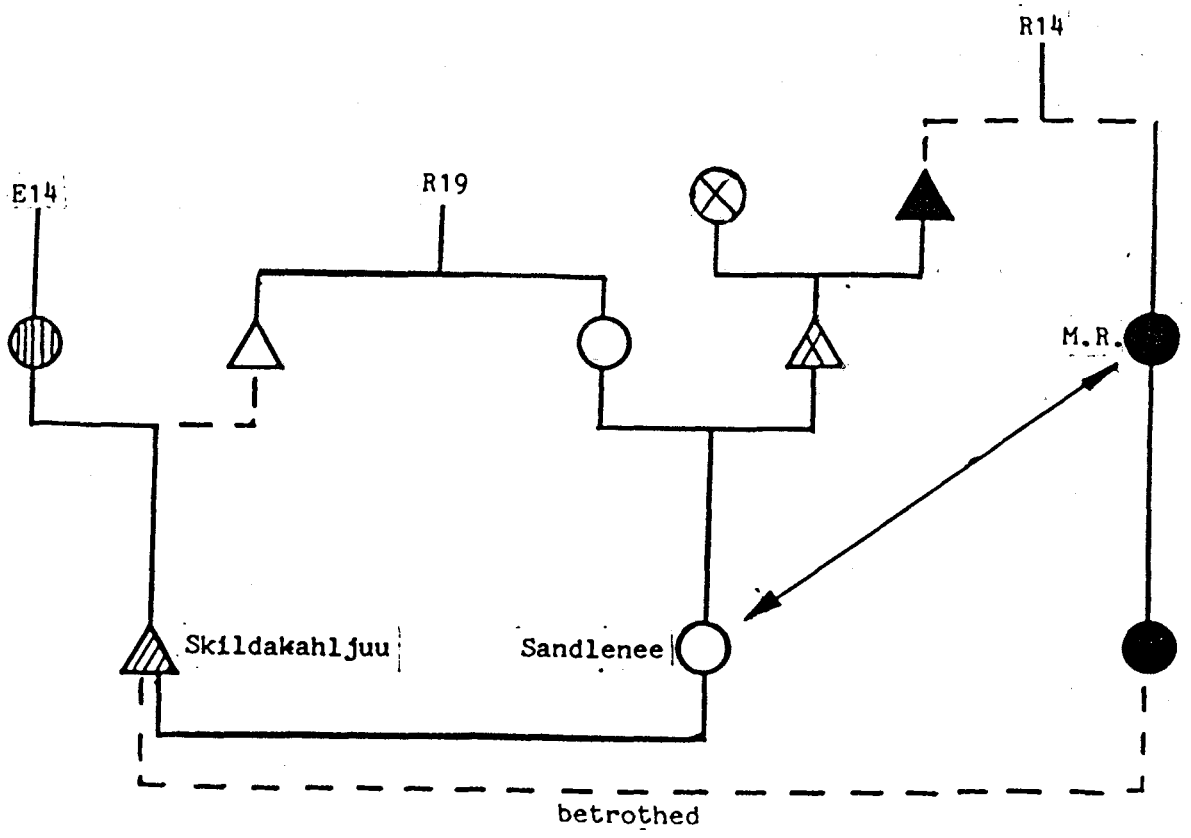
Particularly the last case points to the idea of social reproduction involved in this kind of adoption. It has nothing to do with the idea of fostering, but represents ritual parenthood, recruiting members of other lineages of own moiety to "take the place" of deceased ones. Importantly, in the three cases above, at the time of adoption the adoptee's parents were still alive, and the adoptees retained membership in their natal lineages. Through being adopted by a member of another lineage of their moiety, they attained additional ties with members of other lineages.

These ties, which become public and official by being announced at doings, may act as a further consolidation of already existing alliances with the adoptee's lineage. Thus, Sandlenee's father's father's lineage was Kun 7laanas, the same she was adopted into, and she already had a name from this lineage, Xuhlduung (see Figure 11).

Names which are received through adoption, revert back to their owners' lineage upon the death of the adoptee and can not be used further by him or his lineage without permission: "When you adopt someone, you give them a name. When something happens to that man, the name goes back." Thus, (#17) Skilhlang of the Stlang 7laanas was adopted by the Yaaku 7laanas because he was believed to be the rebirth, xanj, of a previous Skilhlang. The present bearer of the name, though, is his son's daughter's son, who is of the lineage owning it, Yaaku 7laanas.

Finally, we must mention the adoption of non-Indians and Indians of other tribes: Formally, their adoption corresponds to the cases cited above: The adoption of outsiders involves the bestowal of a name from the inventory of the adopter's lineage, along with a kinship-status, usually as daughter or son of the adopter[11]. In this manner, Haida Elders have adopted a number of long-time white residents, Members of Parliament, even the Prime Minister, and the occasional ethnographer[12]. The most interesting cases of the adoption of outsiders involve white inmarrying women or men. Because the ideal of moiety exogamy is upheld, they must be adopted into a lineage other than their spouse's mother's or maternal grandmother's. However, in a number of cases I witnessed or know about, it was still the spouse's mother or mother's mother who acted as

FIGURE 11: THE ADOPTION OF SANDLENEE



adopter, giving her newly acquired son or grandson-in-law a name from her own father's lineage or husband's lineage. Thus, Sandlenee adopted her daughter's two white son-in-laws, giving them names from her own deceased husband's lineage, the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. Jaad7ahl kéeiganaa similarly gave not one, but two names to her daughter-in-law, when adopting the white wife of her son Tliijee dang nang ahl kingaas: One name from her own father's lineage, Sdast'aas, one from her deceased husband's lineage, Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas. These incidences show the present volitional power of some elderly women, although the validity of some of these transfers as formal adoptions is contested by members of the lineages who own them, as the name transfers in some cases were made without their consent. This makes the legitimacy of some names held by adoptees questionable: Names have been given in public but without the approval of their actual owners, their legitimacy remaining contested, often without the awareness of the adoptee.

In reconsidering all cases of adoption which involve no fostering, one might ask what, beyond the mere ceremonial realm, is the practical significance of these. Certainly, bestowing a name means publicly honouring the adoptee, although the name does not become property of the adoptee and his/her group. The adoption of individuals into a lineage other than their own does not involve formal title to the property of that lineage; however, adoption of this kind invokes a sense of obligation primarily to the adopter, for not only a name is given but also a kinship status. The adoptee is thus recruited into the corporate group of the adopter, or more particularly, the household. "They couldn't get away from each other" (p.206) invokes this idea. The adoptive mother can

solicit help and gifts from her "son". With the terms gawwa / gid goes the formal and tacitly instrumental role relationship of mother - son. Moreover, the "mother" has the right to give advice to her child: This happened in the case of M. D.'s adoption of Yas7wad, as she advised him not to marry the spouse his skaan had proposed, and he followed his "mother's" advice.

This brings us to the strategic use made of kin ties created through adoption. While the initial reason for adoption may be the replacement of deceased children and siblings, they can still be put to practical use as they allow for decision-making roles, for soliciting corporate support and for acquiring temporary control over names. In addition, we must not forget that ties created through fictive parenthood, just like the extension of genealogical and classificatory ties, represent post hoc explanations: Yas7wad may have had good reason to follow his "mother's", M. D.'s, advice, aside from the fact that she was his "mother". What is important is that her decision-making power was rationalized as being a consequence of her kinship status.

In this chapter we have progressively moved from real to extended to fictional kinship. All point to the political uses and negotiability of kin ties, calling into question the models of kinship as a set of fixed roles. Rather than merely establishing the set of normative roles and their terminology, we have examined the modus operandi of their use; how "nominal kin" are turned into "practical kin".

> "The logical relationships constructed by the anthropologist are opposed to 'practical relationships' - practical because continuously practised, kept up and cultivated - in the same way as the geometrical space of a map, an imaginary representation of all theoretically possible roads and routes, as opposed to the network of beaten tracks, of paths made ever

more practicable by constant use." (Bourdieu 1977:38).

As "euphemized" relationships, that is, as relationships presented in the guise of ascription, kinship categories are implicit political instruments. By having no explicit political meaning, they, like the rhetoric of rank and reciprocity, serve as tools of symbolic violence, of hidden persuasion.

2. Marriage "according to rule"

To further expand our understanding of the strategies involved in social reproduction, we will turn to Haida marriage patterns by re-examining the ethnographic data on marriage rules and preferences, and by analysing records of the marriages of the present old age set, their parents, parents' collaterals and grandparents.

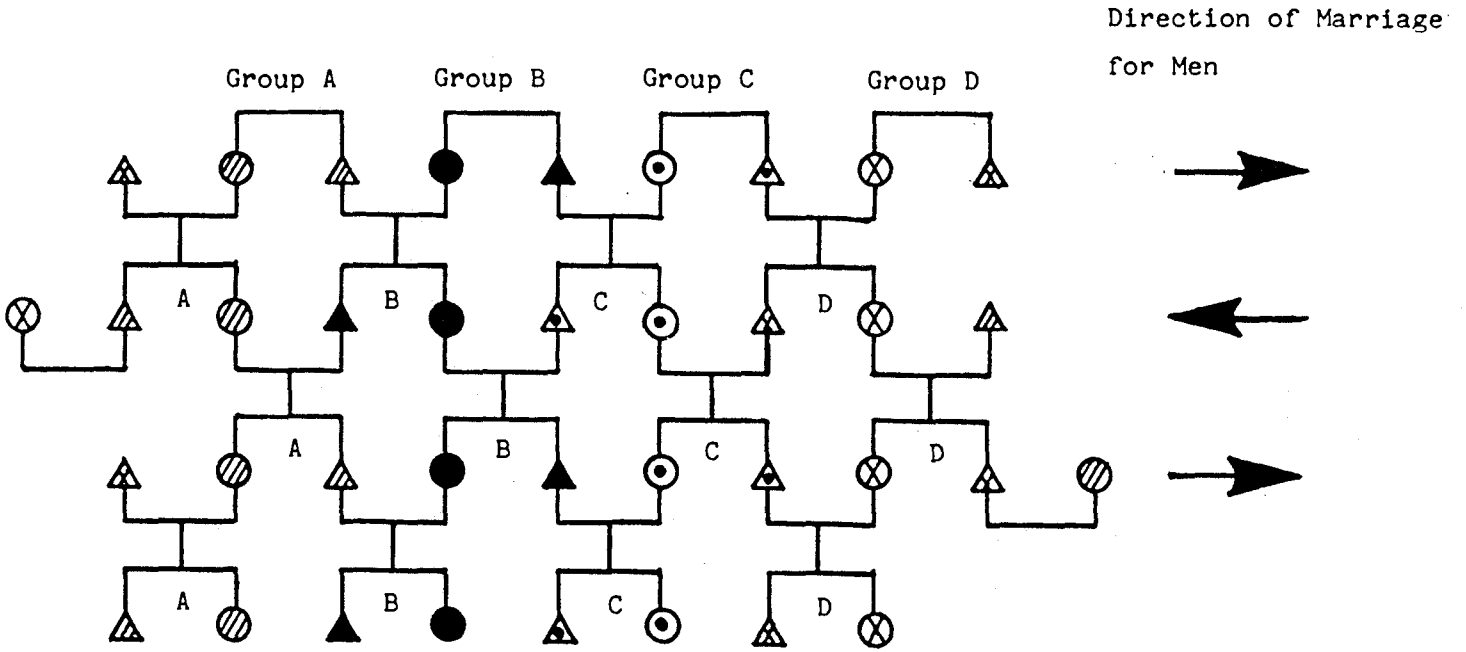
The only marriage prescription of aboriginal Haida society was moiety exogamy: An Eagle must marry a Raven and vice-versa. Although moiety exogamy imposed a framework on marital alliance, the marriages themselves were arranged for individuals as members of lineages. The crucial role of lineages in marital alliance has been succinctly demonstrated by Stearns (1981) in her detailed demographic analysis of contemporary and nineteenth century marriage practices: She notes that moiety exogamy, although still stressed as an ideal by Elders, discontinued to be practiced as a rule in the early decades of this century; lineage exogamy, on the other hand, continued to be practiced much beyond this date (op. cit.:182-84). Stearns discovered only 13 breaches of lineage exogamy among 354 marriages of female birth cohorts between 1860 and 1959 (Table 31, p. 182). With the corporate function of the lineages continuing in many contexts, members of the same matrilineage grow up in a network of mutual kin

obligations and are taught to call each other by sibling terms; thus, they continue to show a tendency to seek a spouse from other lineages[14].

Within the framework of lineage- and moiety exogamy, cross-cousins were traditionally regarded as the preferred spouses. Both Swanton (1905a:68) and Murdock (1934a:367; 1934b:250) state that the Haida prefer to marry their skaan (FZD): "It was quite common for a man to marry the daughter of his father's own sister (English reckoning), the motive being apparently to keep property within the same set of people" (Swanton op. cit.), and, "In any case the preferred marriage is with a skaan of the same generation, though not necessarily a first cousin" (Murdock 1934a:364). But, as Murdock continued, chiefs' successors married their maternal uncle's daughter (MBD): "A nephew who is in line to succeed to a chiefship, however, usually married his kaa gid, i.e. the daughter of the maternal uncle whose place he is to take" (ibid.). Similarly, Swanton added in another work, "often he married the daughter of the chief he was to succeed" (1966:332). The possibility of marriage with the MBD led Murdock to subsequently (1967) refer to Haida marriage as "duolateral cross-cousin marriage" with preference for the father's sister's daughter.

Ever since the Elementary Structures of Kinship (1949/1967/1969), father's sister's daughter marriage has become a debated theoretical problem. As opposed to marriage with the matrilateral cross-cousin, which, at least on the level of the model, creates continuous triadic relationships between own group, wife-taker group and wife-giver group, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, according to Lévi-Strauss, (op. cit.: 438f) creates short cycles of exchange, as wife-givers and wife-takers alternate in each generation (see Figure 12).

FIGURE 12: THE STRUCTURE OF RECURRING PATRILATERAL CROSS-COUSIN MARRIAGE



In elaborating on the analysis of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage from a formal point of view, Needham (1958) concluded that as a prescription, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage is impossible because

> "a patrilateral prescriptive marriage system would require an alternating exchange relationship between the component descent groups of the society which are corporately concerned with the marriages, but there is no theoretically satisfactory means of effecting this alternation. Without such an alternation it is not possible, with this rule, to make a structural distinction between the patrilateral and the matrilateral cross-cousin; and without this distinction the prescription is not applicable. A prescriptive marriage system based on exclusive patrilateral cross-cousin marriage cannot exist in theory and does not exist in fact." (Needham 1958:217).

Because of its structural handicap, Needham postulated, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage is reducible to a moiety system "in which the FZD is structurally identical with the MBD" (op. cit.:210). In the above essay and consequent works (see 1962; 1972), Needham insisted on the conceptual separation of preferential alliance and prescriptive alliance; the former implies that "there is choice, and in the context of marriage that there is choice between a number of persons who may be married" (1962:8), and the latter implies that "the category or type of person to be married is precisely determined, and this marriage is obligatory" (op. cit.:9). In this sense, "elementary structures" (see Lévi-Strauss, op. cit.) imply prescription, whereas "complex structures" imply preference. This distinction was later rejected by Lévi-Strauss himself. In the preface to the second edition of the Elementary Structures (1969), Lévi-Strauss blurred the distinction between "preferential" and "prescriptive":

> "I maintain, on the contrary, that an elementary structure can be equally preferential or prescriptive. Neither prescription nor preference is the test of an elementary structure. Its one and only criterion rests on the fact that, preferred or prescribed, the spouse is the spouse solely because she belongs to

> an alliance category or stands in a certain kinship relationship to Ego ... We enter the realm of complex structures when the reason for the preference or the prescription hinges on other considerations, e.g., the fact that the desired wife is blond, or slim, or intelligent, or belongs to a rich or powerful family ... Consequently, in the case of both elementary and complex systems, the use of the term 'preferential' does not suggest a subjective inclination on the part of individuals to seek marriage with a certain type of relative. The 'preference' expresses an objective situation."
> (op. cit.:xxxiv).

The apparent truism "the spouse is the spouse solely because she belongs to an alliance category" can be read as an exposé of actor definition of marriage, as the spouse being defined as belonging to a certain socially relevant category. Therefore, the definition, whether expressed as a preference or prescription, is the crucial point. However, Lévi-Strauss sees this definition as a function of the objective structure of alliance, rather than as a conscious instrument of social and political negotiation.

Rosman and Rubel (1970; 1971) tried to apply Lévi-Strauss' concept of social structures generated through the exchange of women between groups by examining the marriage preferences of Northwest Coast Indian societies in congruence with patterns of exchange in potlatching. For the Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit, they claim "elementary structures", as all three have a quoted preference for cousin marriage. Selecting FZD marriage as the marriage "rule" - i.e. the "explicit statement for preference of marriage" (1971:7) - among the Haida and Tlingit, they argue that a FZD marriage structure is made possible and maintained by the additional exchange of goods in potlatching to the two affinal lineages. A social structure generated by patrilateral cross-cousin marriage and verified through exchange in potlatching thus would refute Needham's verdict on this type of marital exchange.

As "evidence" of a FZD marriage structure among the Tlingit and Haida, Rosman and Rubel cite quotes of marital preference for the father's sister or father's sister's daughter, a supposed "series of distinct triads" (op. cit.:44) of intermarriage; and the exchange of gifts in potlatching with affinal lineages.

Their model of "elementary structures" among the northern societies has been criticized in particular because of ill-fitting data for the societies in question. Kassakoff and Adams (1973) have charged them with "model-building of the butterfly collecting sort", and Kassakoff, in a detailed essay (1974) has pointed to the lack of statistical evidence of unequivocal marriage rules among the Tsimshian, Tlingit and Haida, and to the fact that actual marriage patterns among these three societies were indeed quite similar, that all have "open systems" of marriage. Reanalysing ethnographic data, Cove (1976) has also questioned Rosman and Rubel's model and has pointed out the structural ambiguity of Tsimshian marriage. Vaughan (1976) challenged Rosman and Rubel's interpretation of Haida marriage "rules" in particular, quoting the lack of ethnographic evidence of FZD marriage (see Allen 1954), and the alternate possibility of MBD marriage, the latter especially prevalent among chiefs, i.e. those who potlatched[15].

The question that arises from Rosman and Rubel's work and its criticism is whether structuralist models of exchange can adequately explain stated marriage preferences among the Haida and their neighbours. With the following ethnographic analysis I will attempt to throw light on the puzzle of Haida cross-cousin marriage from the point of view of empirical evidence, i.e. both the native viewpoint on marriage and statistical data,

and then return to the adequacy of theoretical models in dealing with them. The question is whether Haida marriage patterns can be explained solely from the unconscious logic of matrimonial exchange structures, which regard types of marriage as finished products or immutable phenomena. The alternative is to ask whether quoted marital preferences are not a matter of actor definition (i.e. Cohen and Comaroff 1976; Bourdieu 1977; Bledsoe 1981). The latter would imply that public definitions of marriages are outcomes of political and social discourse, representing modes of expressing the status quo of relationships between individuals and lineages. Ultimately, this means that we must redefine the meaning of marriage "rules" and "preferences" as not given, but as constructed for purposes of legitimation and rationalization.

In order to understand the phenomenon of cross-cousin marriage among the Haida, we must first return to the overall meaning of marriage within their social organization.

As I noted above, marriages were aboriginally contracted between two members of different lineages of opposing moieties, that is, between two people with rights to different tangible and intangible property[16]. While children are and were automatically reckoned as belonging to their mother's lineage, a formally recognized alliance was the basis for establishing crucial ritual and practical relationships with the father's lineage. As we saw in the preceding chapters, it was the father's waahlal that was crucial for establishing yahgid status for children. The father's father's lineage provided names, and the father's sister provided assistance during all life-cycle events. Thus, while inheritance and succession were

independent of marital ties, personal rank and ritual reciprocity necessitated an officially sanctioned marriage (see also Stearns 1981:175).

Marriages were formally arranged by the mothers of the groom and bride in consultation with the respective mothers' brothers and sisters (Swanton 1905a:50; Murdock 1934b:250)[17]. Sometimes this occurred while the prospective spouses were still children. When the time came for the wedding, the groom and his lineage were invited to the bride's house, where the couple sat down in the seat of honour against the rear wall. The girl's lineage then distributed tobacco to the groom's lineage, followed by speeches made by the Elders of the groom's lineage, which spoke of the girl's family in "high words". Finally, the girl's mother gave property to the young man's mother and her sisters followed by further property exchange between the groom's and the bride's lineage (Swanton op. cit.:51). These exchanges again point to the matrilineages as the effective units in contracting marriages.

Marriage transformed members of lineages of the opposite moiety - whether these were genealogically related or not - into affines[18]. In general, relationships with in-laws were marked by respect (guudaang) expressed as gift-giving and the obligation to help. These relationships, however, were not informal, as within the lineage (see Chapter IV), but were formal and accompanied by payment. Only the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law was characterized by avoidance (see Murdock 1934a). Between sister and brother-in-law of the opposite sex existed a licentious joking relationship (ibid.).

Between betrothal and marriage, sometimes shortly after the wedding (Murdock 1934b:251; Swanton 1905a:51), the young man went to live with the

parents of the bride and worked for them. Eventually, the couple resided in the husband's maternal uncle's house, which the husband would inherit. Polygyny was possible, although not very common (Swanton op. cit.:50). Murdock reported that, in 1932, "an aged Masset informant could only report two cases" (1934a:372), and while polygyny was certainly suppressed by the missionaries, it seems to have been rare at the time they arrived at Masset (Dawson 1880:130B). Mythical chiefs of unsurpassable wealth and rank were said to have had ten wives; ten wives, like having "ten uncles" or having given "ten potlatches", being the number associated with social completeness.

Equal rank of spouses was a major factor in arranging marriages (Murdock 1934b:250). Indeed the children of chiefs sometimes married members of geographically distant lineages or mainland tribes, implying that there was no one available nearby who was high enough to marry[19]. Stearns (1981) has shown the continuing concern among Elders for compatible rank of spouses.

Arranged marriages for girls were frequently with much older men who were real or classificatory father's brothers or the widowers of a deceased older sister or mother's sister. Stearns (1981:178-79) has noted the memories of emotional trauma associated with these kinds of marriages, expressed as an exaggeration of the youth of the child bride. The same apparently holds true in converse cases of young men or boys marrying much older women. Swanton (1966) noted that a chief's nephew was expected to marry his uncle's widow when the latter died (see also Murdock 1934a; Curtis 1916:127). This was to ensure that the deceased chief's widow could maintain residence in her husband's house, and that her livelihood was

provided for. Blackman (1982:33) reports such a case in informant narrative: T'aahl7anaad, at age ten or eleven was forced to marry an "old, old lady, his uncle's wife", and the narrative reports his resentment felt about this enforced marriage. The Anglican Church record shows the groom to be a mere 15 years younger than the bride. Hence, I believe that, as in Stearns' case of a child bride (supra), the informant narrative must be read as a symbolic statement reflecting the trauma of an arranged marriage to a much older woman.

The social obligation to marry one's maternal uncle's widow was apparently extended beyond the wife of real mother's brother and predecessor: The widow of A.E. Edenshaw, S7alaagudgaa, upon her husband's death married 7iinaaw, a classificatory nephew who did not become Edenshaw's successor. Marriage with the maternal uncle's, or elder brother's widow could also serve the purpose of manipulating rank and heredity, as we will see below.

Re-marriage into the deceased spouse's lineage and generation was frequently practiced and was considered as an obligation for the widow or widower. Upon a spouse's death, the lineage of the deceased would demand that the deceased's sibling would take his or her place, sometimes against the wishes of the individuals concerned:

> "Giidii's[20] older sister Kand7waas was Skilhlang's first wife. After Kand7waas died, her mother wanted Giidii to marry Skilhlang. They had no church service then, and all of Giidii's people got together. They went to get Skilhlang. They wanted this Giidii to get married to him. His mother turned away. She didn't want them to come in. Skilhlang had a girl, Jistaalans, staying there with him already, but the others came in and they took Skilhlang away from her. They took Giidii by the hand and started to the house. Skilhlang's mother was so mad, but nobody took any notice. They just told Jistaalans to get out of there.[21])

This case, again, reflects the precedence of lineage rights over individual choice, and also the notion that vacant statuses and roles must be filled by junior kin group members. It is noteworthy that in the above case the rejected mate, Jistaalans, was of the lineage Skilhlang's own habitually intermarried with, and she was related to his father's lineage. Moreover, her own father was a chief of Skilhlang's lineage. We must therefore conclude that the norm of social replacement through sororate was stronger than the norm of cross-cousin marriage. We must also add that Giidii and Kand7waas were the sisters of the Masset town chief Weah, and allowing Skilhlang to by-pass the sororate may have been considered an insult to the town chief's lineage.

The ideal of social replacement through marriage goes beyond the levirate and sororate, but is also based on the status identity of alternate generations. Thus, as I already noted (p.192), the great-granddaughter of the first chief Weah's wife was to have married the fourth Chief Weah, the proposed marriage being rationalized as the bride taking her "grandmother's place".

A marriage pattern which results in the reproduction of marriages in alternate generations and where the mother's mother's brother's wife's lineage is the same as the wife's lineage, is marriage with the patrilateral cross-cousin. As I pointed out above, the Haida have a much-quoted preference for marrying their skaan, or father's sister's daughter. Recurrent patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, while asymmetric in any one generation, is symmetric in alternate generations; a man marries in the same direction as his father's father or name-sake, thus "taking his place" in a double sense. Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage must also

be viewed in connection with residence rules: While villages were aboriginally owned by segments of matrilineages, the residence rule was viri-avunculocal. Women moved into the household of their husbands, often in different villages, and their children inherited property not in the village they were born in, but in their mother's village. When a man married a woman from his own father's village and lineage, his own children would eventually return to live in the village he himself was born in. His sons were of the same lineage as their paternal grandfather and had rights to the latter's resources, house, crests, and could inherit his names. Marriage with the skaan thus "kept property within the same set of people", as Swanton (1905a:68) pointed out, although not in the matri-line but through a succession of males.

The problems with patrilateral cross-cousin marriage as a structure arise, first of all, when we turn to stated marital preferences for women: Whereas a structure of patrilateral cross-cousin marriage would have required women to marry their mother's brother's son, women, instead, also preferred to marry into their father's lineage. In the words of one female elderly informant, "they married their aunties /ˌskaan.alangˌ/ on their father's side. They married their father's nephews, too, if they were girls"[22]. Thus, there existed a preference among both males and females for marrying into the father's lineage[23]. Swanton, indeed, alluded to this female preference in noting that, "girls were often married in the same town in which they were brought up without ever going back to their own people" (1966:54). Significantly though, both Murdock and Swanton neglected to stress the female preference for marriage, resulting in both an over-emphasis and misinterpretation of marriage with

the skaan.

Females and males both marrying into their father's lineage can be translated into a model of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, as Vaughan (1976) has noted. A general tendency to marry into the father's lineage has been stated for the Tlingit also. De Laguna (1972) reports that

> "...it was considered especially appropriate for the spouse to be a member of the father's lineage or sib. That is, a paternal aunt or her daughter was preferred as a wife, and a paternal uncle or paternal aunt's son as a husband. Equally or perhaps even more desirable when chiefly lines were involved was the marriage between a man and his mother's brother's daughter, especially since previous unions in the parental generation are likely to have made the girl the daughter of a paternal aunt" (de Laguna 1972:490)[24].

This concurs with Oberg's statement that "In fact, the fundamental marriage pattern is one with a woman who is at once the father's sister's daughter and the mother's brother's daughter, for the father's sister is often married to one's mother's brother" (1973:35; see also Jones 1914). We have thus, for both the Haida and the Tlingit, an ideal of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, which is, however, never stated as such. Cross-cousins are never classified as bilateral cross-cousins, or as cross-cousins per se[25].

Turning to Haida cousin terminology, we see that parallel cousins are termed as siblings and are terminologically distinguished from cross-cousins. Cross-cousin terminology, however, is more complex. In agreement with Crow terminology, the term skaan is extended from father's sister to father's sister's daughter. The reciprocal to FZD is wus7un, or MBD, BD, although it also applies to mother's brother's son (MBS). The same holds for the alternate descriptive term kaa gid, 'maternal uncle's child". Its referents are both MBD and MBS. A third compound term, 7laan, exists,

which, according to Murdock, denoted both types of male cross-cousins (MBS/FZS) (1934a:365), although it is highly probable that formerly, 7laan only designated the father's sister's son[26]. 7laan has been replaced by the descriptive terms gong naad ("father's nephew", m.sp.) and xaad naad (f.sp.). Descriptively, the 7laan can also be referred to as skaan gid, depending on whether his relationship to one's father or one's skaan is stressed. Thus, formerly there probably existed a clear terminological distinction between matrilateral and patrilateral cross-cousins, with those on the father's side again distinguished by sex. By Swanton's and Murdock's time, cross-cousin terminology - if we can trust Murdock's ethnographic data - had largely become merged as far as compound terms were concerned, with the exceptance of skaan. We thus have no evidence of an antecedent bilateral cross-cousin terminology[27]. In addition, there was no reciprocity between preferences: From the female point of view, the preference was for marriage with the 7laan, from the male point of view it was with either the skaan or the kaa gid (wus7uun), or, optimally, with a woman who fulfilled both roles.

This leads us to the alternate male preference for marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter (MBD), especially among chiefs' successors. Vaughan (1976) has pointed out the incompatibility of MBD marriage with Rosman and Rubel's model: Even if it is, ideally at least, "restricted to chiefs" (Rosman and Rubel 1971:40), it presents "a puzzling situation, since one might suspect that it is the marriages of chiefs that are of utmost importance since it is they who sponsor the potlatches" (1976:7). The MBD, like her mother, was a member of the household a man was to inherit; she was of the opposite moiety, as required, and, as the

predecessor's daughter, she was an equal in rank, or even higher in rank.

It is interesting that myths singularly emphasize marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. One myth - although Tlingit in origin - goes so far as to state,

> "At that time they married only their uncle's children /kaa.ang gidalang/. They did not want others to take the things their uncles owned. Therefore /a man/ did not allow anyone else to marry his uncle's child" (Swanton 1908:654).

The above reads as though it is implied that chiefly legitimacy could be obtained by marrying the predecessor's daughter; thus, to ensure succession by a sister's son, the "uncle's" daughter was married.

The most frequently recurring theme of mythical MBD marriage involves a young boy who is evicted from his mother's brother's village, then acquires supernatural help, becomes rich, potlatches and becomes chief, and then marries his youngest maternal uncle's youngest daughter, who had brought him food and "was kind to him" while he was banished from his uncle's village (e.g. Swanton 1908, #33; #35; #70; #76; 1905b, #3; #9; #23; #48).

Marriage with the youngest uncle's youngest daughter, of course, represents a contradiction to the reality of succession and normative MBD marriage, where the likely candidate spouse would be the eldest mother's brother's eldest daughter. The contradiction with reality here, I think, expresses the non-equivalence of siblings on the one hand, and the moral tension with the successor's line on the other.

In noting the mythical emphasis of mother's brother's daughter marriage, Levi-Strauss (1975) concluded that both modalities of generalized exchange - MBD and FZD marriage - coexist, and that the divergence between "practice" (FZD marriage) and "ideology" (MBD marriage) expressed the

tension between the lineages concerned (Levi-Strauss 1975:233)[28]. Rather than insisting on the a priori of the structure of either or both forms of generalized exchange, however, one can argue that from the point of view of stated preferences, Haida marriage is much more complex than mere generalized exchange, patrilateral cross-cousin marriage or an "elementary structure". Instead, it appears that the kinship categories of prospective or retrospective spouses are not immutable but are open to more than one definition or redefinition: The bilateral cross-cousin, in the context of political succession, can be defined as the "uncle's daughter", stressing her relationship to the predecessor; in the context of obligation to the father and his lineage and of patrilineal succession of names, she can be defined as the skaan. From this perspective, marriage with a certain category of kin, be it the matrilateral or patrilateral cross-cousin, is not explainable as resulting from the structure of matrimonial exchange itself, but from the social and political significance of the category which is employed.

In order to determine Haida marriage practices, we must move beyond quotes of preferences to the evidence of actual marriage patterns. Aside from the quotes cited above, there exists virtually no evidence of aboriginal, that is, pre-contact marriage practices. However, marriages at Masset were recorded by the Anglican missionaries between 1877 and 1907, and, for the early years involved many couples who had been married according to Haida custom for many years before the church ceremony. Many of the couples were in their forties, fifties, even sixties, when the church weddings were performed, meaning we have evidence of actual marriage

practices for cohorts dating back to the 1820's. Stearns (1981) has used these data, augmented by her own field-data and further census materials, for her demographic analysis of Haida marriage practices. Her data show the occurrence of, and changes in, moiety and lineage exogamy, age at first marriage, relative age of spouses, etc. The missionaries' marriage records also note the names of the spouses' fathers. Since moiety and lineage affiliation could be determined for all but nine of the 158 church marriages up to 1907, the next step was to determine the lineage affiliations of the spouses' fathers[29], and the genealogical connection between the spouses. Added to the 158 church marriages were an additional 87 marriages which took place for females born up to 1909, the latter sample also including remarriages of individuals from the earlier church record sample[30]. In total, 245 marriages were analysed with respect to moiety exogamy, outmarriage, and in particular, cross-cousin marriage. The vast majority (see Table V), 226 marriages or 92.2%, were marriages between Haida, and the majority of these, 93.5% (of 226) were moiety-exogamous[31]. Of the 19 outmarriages, eleven were with whites - in all cases a Haida woman marrying a white man - and eight with mainland Tsimshian or Nishga.

In 41 marriages (16.7%), at least one of the spouses' father's lineage was indeterminate. 92 of the remaining marriages (37.6%) were with non-cross-cousins, that is, the spouse was selected from a lineage other than the father's lineage of either groom or bride. 77 marriages (31.4% of 245) were with cross-cousins. As cross-cousin marriage I am here defining marriage into the father's lineage for either the male or the female. The latter of course amounts to marriage with the mother's brother's daughter. However, while marriage into the father's lineage

TABLE V

TYPES OF MARRIAGE, MASSET, 1820's - 1909

Total Number Recorded:	245	100.0%
with non-Haida	19	7.8%
moiety endogamous	16	6.5%
father's lineage indeterminate	41	16.7%
non-cross-cousin marriages	92	37.6%
cross-cousin marriages	77	31.4%
Types of Cross-cousin Marriages:		
Total:	77	100.0%
bilateral cross-cousin marriage	25	32.5%
real or classificatory FZS	34	44.1%
real or classificatory FZD	18	23.4%
Genealogical Closeness of Spouses:		
Total:	245	100.0%
real father's sister's daughter	0	0.0%
real mother's brother's daughter	3	1.2%
brother's daughter	4	1.6%
mother's brother's widow	1	0.4%
others	237	96.7%

unambiguously refers to a single lineage - i.e. that of one's own father[32] - classificatory MBD marriage can refer to a number of different lineages, as each classificatory MB may have married into a different lineage. Therefore, I will refer to classificatory MBD marriage as it can be determined from the records, as FZS marriage (f.sp.).

Of the 77 cross-cousin marriages, 43 were with the FZD. Only 18, however, were marriages with the unilateral FZD, the remaining 25 (32.5%) involved both spouses marrying into the father's lineage, i.e. they were instances of classificatory bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Surprisingly, the overwhelming proportion of cross-cousin marriages, 59 or 76.6%, involved women marrying into their father's lineage, with 34 of these unilateral cross-cousin marriages.

It must also be stressed that only a small proportion of the cross-cousin marriages, i.e. 10.4%, were with a first cousin, true brother's daughter or mother's brother's wife: I could not detect a single marriage with the true father's sister's daughter, only three marriages with the real maternal uncle's (predecessor's) daughter, four brother's daughter marriages, and one marriage with the true maternal uncle's widow.. Thus, we can conclude that Haida cross-cousin marriage in the vast majority of instances involved marrying a person classified as a skaan, wus7un or 71aan, but not genealogically related. Moreover, the high incidence of FZS marriage corroborates the female preference for marriage into the father's lineage quoted by Haida Elders.

In my sample I included members of lineages closely related to ego's father's lineage, who would refer to each other by kin terms. Thus, the S7ajuugahl 71aanas were merged with the Git7ans; the Tciitc Git7ans

with the Dou Git7ans, and different branches of the Yaaku 7laanas (Gawa Y., Daadans Y. and Yahl naas Y.) and of the Sdast'aas (i.e. Kaawas, Sdast'aas and Hliielang Keeagwee) and of the Kun 7laanas (Neikun Keeagwee and Kun 7laanas proper) were merged. However, gud7ahl keeiwa relationships producing extensions of terms (see p. 194f) were not taken into account: As I pointed out before, the term skaan was extended in some cases by means of a gud 7ahl keeiwa relationship. Neither were step-fatherhood or adoption, both of which provided additional ways of manipulating cross-cousinhood, taken into account. How marriages can be rationalized through the manipulation of kinship status is a point I will return to at the end of this chapter.

How does the statistical sample for the Masset Haida compare with the data presented by Rosemary Allen (1954) for the Alaskan Haida? Allen's data lend themselves to comparison, as her Group III and Group II of marriages comprise the era between the early 1800's and 1911, and thus roughly correspond to my own sample. Allen reports that about 10% of all marriages of males in these two groups were into the father's lineage /"clan"/, and less than half as many (4.3%) were of females into the father's lineage. She adds that she found no marriage with the "true father's sister's daughter" (1954:200), and no marriage with the true mother's brother's daughter; those that came closest to the latter were two marriages with the MMBDD and MMMBDD respectively.

In summary, Allen's data show a lower incidence of marriage into the father's lineage for the Alaskan Haida than for the Masset Haida, in particular for women. Any existence of classificatory or true bilateral cross-cousin marriage does not emerge from her data, and she states,

"on the basis of these genealogies, any attempt to identify, first the mother's brother's daughter with the father's sister's daughter, the theoretical result of symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, or alternatively, to show a differential 'relative incidence of marriage with one or the other of these cousins, must return the Scot's verdict of "not proven"'(op. cit.: 201). Thus, while both Allen's and my own data show the low frequency of first cousin marriage, our data differ with respect to the frequency of FZS marriage and especially bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

It is important to stress that statistical evidence of cross-cousin marriage does not necessarily yield information of recurrent patterns of such marriage. The entire case of FZD marriage as an elementary structure (Rosman and Rubel) rests on the assumption that FZD marriages are not isolated instances but that they are part of a recurring pattern which achieves symmetry only in alternating generations. For this purpose, we will move beyond the statistical analysis of single marriages to the investigation of marriage patterns in a genealogical and localized context. This will a) provide us with time-depth in marital alliances, b) show us distinct, recurrent patterns of cross-cousin marriage, if they indeed exist; and c) provide us with clues to the impact of territoriality in alliances. It must be pointed out that every single case of bilateral cross-cousin marriage in my sample involved marriages between either the Tciitc Git7ans and Stl'ang 7laanas from Yan, or the Yaaku 7laanas and K'aawas/Sdast'aas from the K'yuust'aa/Daadans area. Marriages from the multi-lineage town of Masset show a much more complex structure; and marriages of individuals who had no or few houses in the major towns, or those which involved migrations by individuals, showed other patterns yet,

but can all too easily be mistaken as evidence of 'rules' of certain kinds of cousin marriage.

We will therefore turn to the analysis of marriage among sibling sets - i.e. localized segments of matrilineages - in three distinct areas:

1. Yan, which, according to statistical evidence, shows a high proportion of bilateral cross-cousin marriage.
2. K'yuust'aa, which features the alliances of 7iidangsaa (Albert Edward Edenshaw) and his kin.
3. the marriage alliances of four successive Weahs and their collaterals from Masset.

#1: Yan

Yan is the village opposite Masset at the western entrance of Masset Inlet (see Figure 1, p. 47). It is owned by the Gawa Stl'ang 7laanas, who, according to Swanton (1905a:271) occupied 7 of its 21 houses. Swanton lists "Qaɬwaga" /Kaahlwaagaa?/ as its town chief, although within present informants' memory, the town chiefship has been associated with the names Na.aahlang and now Skilkwiitlaas.

Two closely related lineages, the Yagun Stl'ang 7laanas from the southern portion of Masset Inlet, and the T'iis stl'ang 7laanas from the rocky coast northwest of the village owned another six houses. Of the remaining houses, four were owned by the Tciitc Git7ans and two by the T'uuhlk'aa Git7ans who were closely related with the former, and, like the resident branches of the Stl'ang 7laanas, have since become merged. A final house is listed by Swanton as belonging to Hlunaagad /"ɬunagut"/ of the Tciitc Git7ans; however, the name belongs to the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas,

TABLE VI

Marriages of Yan chiefs during the 19th century:

Chief	Lineage	Wife	Lineage
1. Skil kingaans	St'lang	1) Xuhlkingaaw 2) ?	Tohlkaa Git7ans S'ajuugahl 7laanas
2. Kingaagwaao	"	St'aatlk'awaas	Tciitc Git7ans
3. Kwaa 7iiwans	"	?	Tciitc Git7ans
4. Yahl naaw	"	Elizabeth	Tciitc Git7ans
5. Gwaay g'iihl	"	Emma T'aadluwaad	Tciitc Git7ans
6. T'algaas	"	?	Sahguaa Git7ans
7. K'oud	"	a) Martha Nahlang b) Telguadat	Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas "
8. Skilkwiitlaas	"	Grace Stl'akingan	Tciitc Git7ans
9. Skilkwiitlaas II	"	a) Xuhlkangwaas b) Fanny	Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas Git7ans
10. Naahlang	"	Eliza Gaudgas	Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas
12. Neylana	"	a) ? b) Louisa c) Eliza Gaudgas	Tciitc Git7ans S7ajuugahl 7laanas Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas
13. Skil gyaa tc'aas	"	?	Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas
14. Hlunaagad	Tc'aa.ahl & l.	?	Stl'ang 7laanas
15. 7iljuwaas	Tciitc Git.	a) ? b) Kueigee 7iiwans	Stl'ang 7laanas Daadans Yaaku 7laanas
16. Naa xaldaant	Tciitc Git.	?	Kun 7laanas
17. Stl'akingaan	Tciitc Git7ans	Dorcas	Gawa Yaaku 7laanas
18. K'iaalgwan	Tciitc Git7ans	Edith	Git7ans
19. 7ihlgiigaa	Tciitc Git7ans	Sarah kueigee 7iiwans	Stl'ang 7laanas
20. Sdiihldaa I	Tciitc Git7ans	?	Stl'ang 7laanas
21. Ganyaa	Tciitc Git7ans	?	Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas

and all known bearers are Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas; quite likely this house passed to the latter lineage some time ago.

One way to account for the marriages of people from Yan is to account for the marriages of house- and town chiefs. As is evident from Table VI, all but two of the 21 first marriages of bearers of chiefly names from Yan during the nineteenth century were with women of lineages who owned property at Yan. In cases of multiple marriages (see #1, 7, 9, 12, 15), the first wife was of a resident lineage, whereas additional or subsequent wives were from lineages from other towns.

In order to discern patterns of intermarriage among these resident lineages over time, we will turn to the analysis of sibling sets over time.

Figure 13 shows marriages as they occurred between the early 19th century and the early 20th century among members of a segment of the Gawa Stl'ang 7laanas at Yan. The segment is focused around the wife and five sons of Ganyaa, a Tciitc Git7ans chief of the town[33]. Ganyaa's wife, whom we know only by her Christian name Mary, was quite possibly the sister of the town chief, Na.aahlang, as her eldest son David took this name.

The four elder sons were all married to Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas women, likely the sisters' daughters of the resident chief Hlunaagad. The eldest son, David Na.aahlang, married Eliza Gaudgas, whose father is listed as Neylans, another resident lineage chief. Upon Na.aahlang's death, his widow married her own father's sister's son and successor, Richard Neylans, rather than one of her deceased husband's brothers. R. Neylans was both younger than she and inferior in rank to Na.aahlang, which, despite the fact that she was his real MBD was conceived of as a rank-promotion on his part. It was said of him, "he's so brave, he knows medicine, that's why.

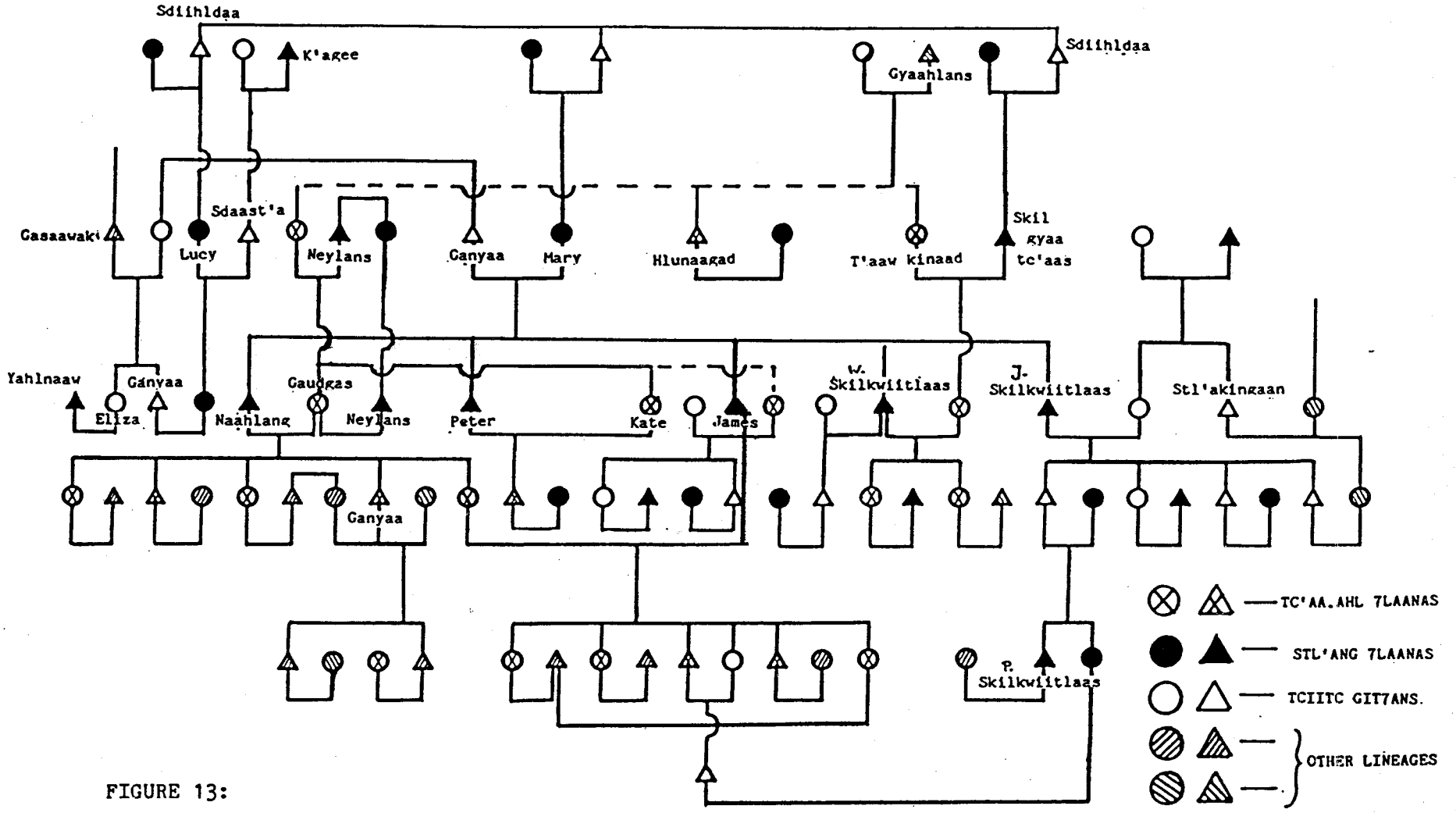


FIGURE 13:

STL'ANG 7LAANAS MARRIAGES AT YAN

He can marry anyone" (Enrico 1979:20)[34].

The next brother, Peter, who took the name Na.aahlang after his brother, married Eliza Gaudgas' younger sister Kate T'aaw xanjuud; the third brother, James K'oud, married a Git7ans woman, and two Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas women: T'iihlgyad7aad and his oldest brother David's eldest daughter, Martha. The fourth brother married Susan, the daughter of Stl'ang 7laanas chief Skil gyaa tc'aas, himself the son of Tciitc Git7ans chief Sdiihldaa.

Only the youngest son, Jimmy Jones, who took the name Skilkwiitlaas, married into his father's lineage, although his wife was not genealogically related. As Jimmy Jones' son George also married into his father's lineage, his grandson Peter could eventually inherit the name Skilkwiitlaas (e.g. Stearns 1981:224).

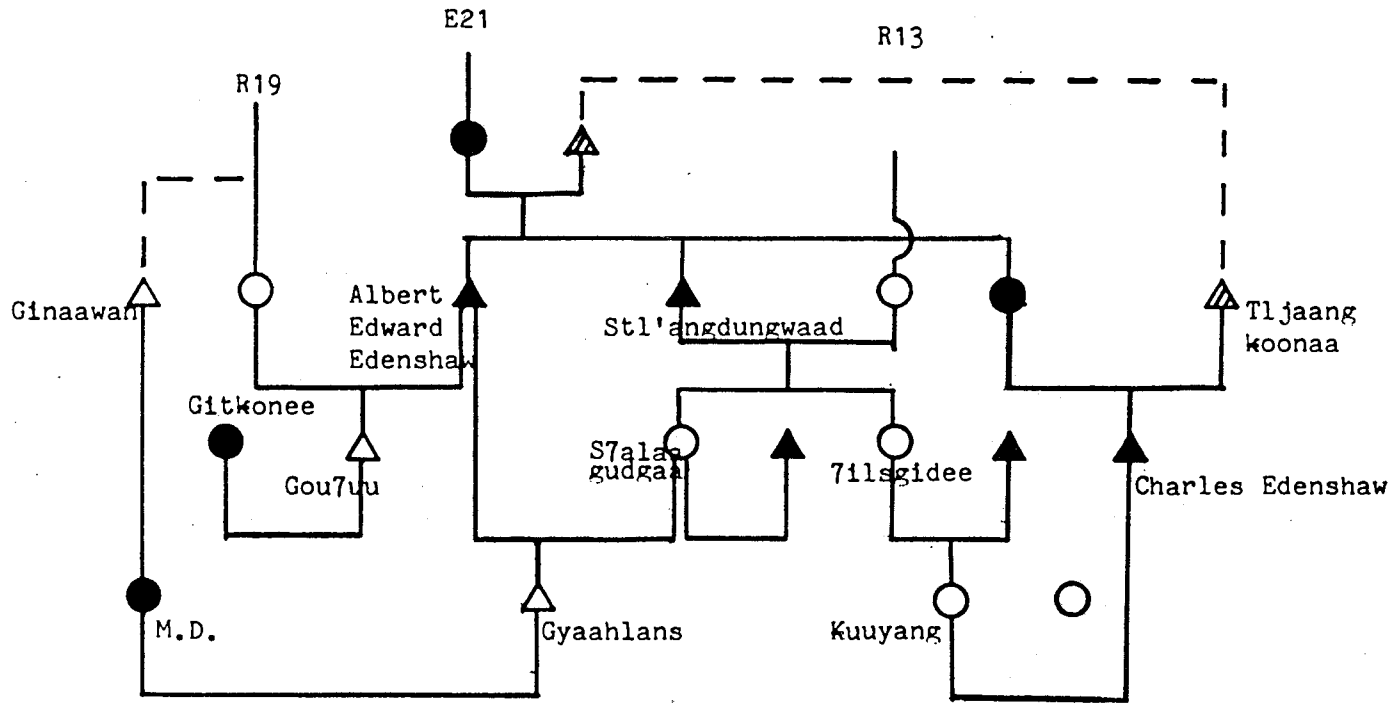
The pattern of marriage is different, however, for the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas children of the elder siblings: Only one of them married back into the father's lineage; the others, along with their own children, married into lineages resident at Masset or Alaska, where some Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas had also moved and owned the town of Howkan. Aside from historical changes in marriage practice, I think a major reason for the outmarriage of Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas descendants may have been the fact that their lineage only had a single house in town. One of David Na.aahlang's sons, Robert, inherited his father's father's name, Ganyaa; however, any claim of his to "ownership" of Yan was always rejected by Stl'ang 7laanas and Tciitc Git7ans (e.g. see Chapter III).

If we look at the entire web of intermarriage in Figure 13, we see that first cousin marriage - even with the high degree of intermarriage

among the resident lineages - was rarely practiced, thus corroborating the statistical analysis above. Instead, the kinship diagram shows the interconnection through marriage of the different house chiefs of the town. This small segment of Yan residents is genealogically connected with no less than six house- and lineage chiefs of the area. In addition, some sisters of chiefs were married out to create further alliances with chiefs outside of the village: In this example, Ganyaa(I)'s sister married Gasaawaak of the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas, and her son, the next Ganyaa, married back into his maternal uncle's wife's lineage, taking as his wife the daughter of chief St'aasda of Yan. Another Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas woman, the mother of Skil gyaa tc'aas' wife, was married to chief Gyaahlans of the Kun 7laanas. Both the network of alliances among chiefs and the occasional out-marriage of women in particular, underline the importance of rank in selecting a spouse.

This example from Yan gives no evidence of systematic FZD marriage, or bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Instead, it demonstrates that, although many marriages take place among members of the resident lineages, their underlying purpose - whether conscious or unconscious - is not to create a structure of FZD alliance, but to create a wide network of affinal alliance with other resident chiefs. In addition, the example underlines the importance of residence and land ownership in connection with marriage. The connection between territorial claims and marriage patterns is even more obvious in our next example, which involves the marriages of 7iidangsaa of the Sdast'aas at K'yuust'aa.

FIGURE 14: MARRIAGES OF EDENSHAW AND HIS KIN



#2 : K'yuust'aa

K'yuust'aa was the only Masset Haida village owned by members of only one moiety. As we noted earlier, it was aboriginally occupied by the K'aawas, until, sometime during the earlier part of the 19th century, it was "taken over" by Albert Edward Edenshaw, /7iidangsaa/, of the Sdast'aas proper (see Chapter III). Both the K'aawas and the Sdast'aas proper showed a high frequency of intermarriage with the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas, who owned Daadans on North Island, within visible distance from K'yuust'aa. Old people state that "they used to marry across there", i.e. Daadans women marrying and residing at K'yuust'aa, and K'yuust'aa women marrying and residing at Daadans. Accordingly, nine of the marriages in our above sample of 245 involved classificatory bilateral cross-cousin marriage between the two lineages.

In examining the marriages in the genealogy of Albert Edward Edenshaw, his ancestors, collaterals and descendants, however, a more complex pattern emerges. Edenshaw himself married two Yaaku jinaas. The first one's name is unknown; she was a chief's daughter from one of the Yaaku 7laanas branches which had migrated to Alaska. The second one was S7alaagudgaa, possibly a brother's daughter. A. E. Edenshaw's sister's son and successor, Charles Edenshaw, also married a Daadans Yaaku 7laanas woman, his MBDD (?) Kuuyaang. Both of the elder Edenshaw's children, George (Gou7uu) and Henry (Gyaahlans), married Sdast'aas women, i.e. bilateral cross-cousins, although it seems that none of them were first cousins[35)].

If we move back one generation to Albert Edward's parents, however, we see that both his own mother and his sister married into Raven lineages of the area they were born in: A. E. Edenshaw was reportedly from

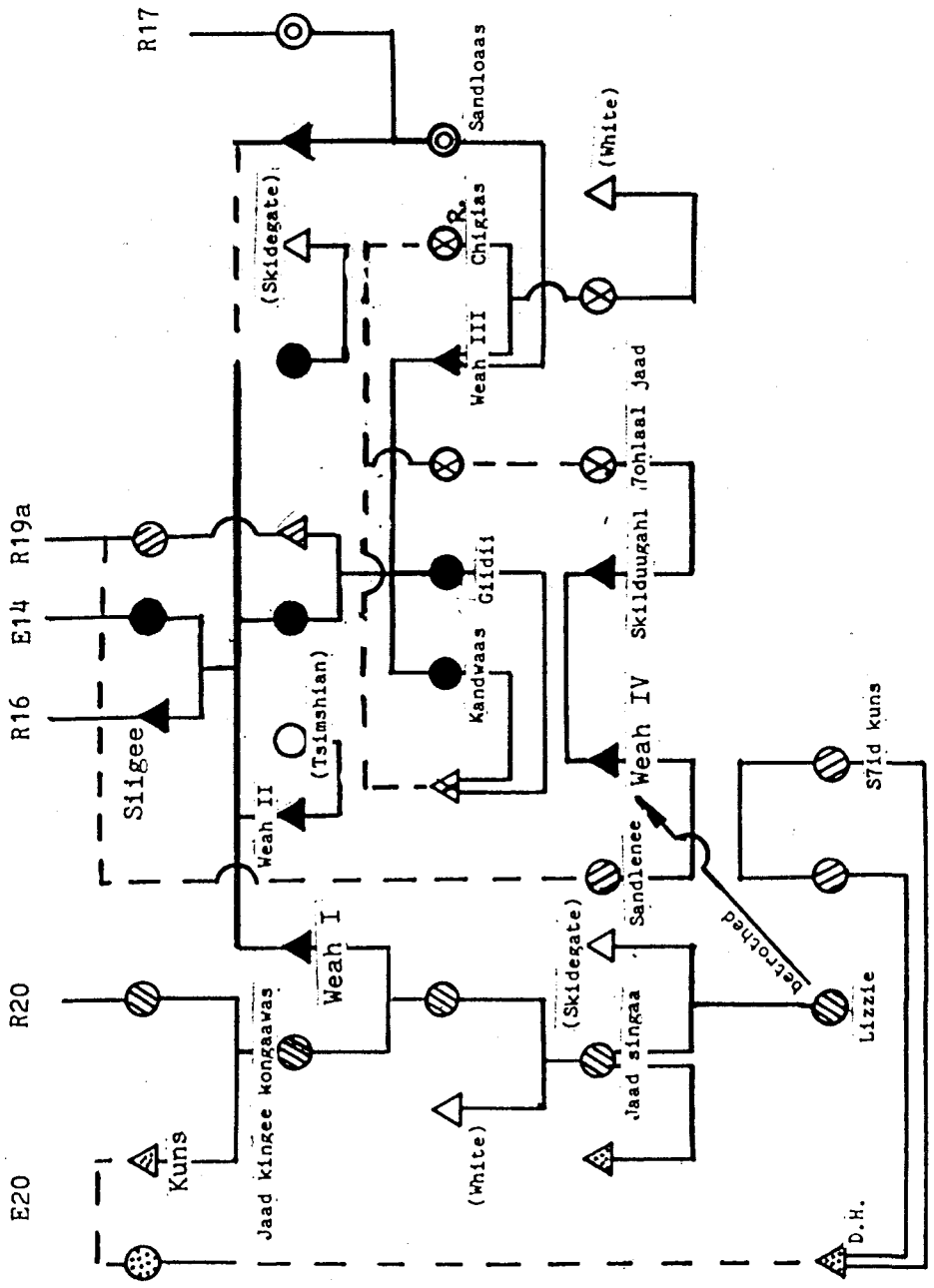
Gaahlans kun on the east coast of Graham Island (see Chapter III, p.85). His mother likely was from the Nee Kun branch of the Sdast'aas, which intermarried with the Nee-Kun based Kun 7laanas and Neekun keeagwee[36]. Edenshaw himself, in what seems to have been a predatory move (Chapter III), migrated to K'yuust'aa as an adult and "took over" the village from the descendants of chief 7ihldiinii. Thus, while his own mother and sisters (see Figure 14) married locally in the Hliellang, Neikun and Gaahlans kun area, he married into the lineage that the K'yuust'aa K'aawas, whose place he had taken, traditionally married into. We here have a case of territorial expansion followed by marital alliances that are appropriate in the town or area which is newly occupied. This interpretation, I believe, is corroborated by a look at other marriages of the K'aawas and Sdast'aas: While the K'aawas certainly intermarried with people from Daadans, or sometimes with their descendants who had migrated to Alaska, those Sdast'aas who had hereditary names from Kang at Neiden Harbour - an area owned by the local branch of Sdast'aas and the Kianuusilee/S7aganguushilee - intermarried not with the Yaaku 7laanas but with the Kianuusilee. Sdast'aas with hereditary names from the Neikun/Hliellang area intermarried with Kun 7laanas. In fact, one Elder indeed doubted the legitimate transfer of the ownership of that area from the Sdast'aas to the Kun 7laanas (see Chapter III), but stated, "/The Sdast'aas/ had no right to Tow Hill /i.e. the above area/. They only married with the Kun jinaas. That's how they thought they owned it." Whether it is accurate or not, this statement does reflect the possibility of territorial expansion through marriage which goes only one step farther than territorial expansion accompanied by marriage, as in the case of A. E. Edenshaw.

The two examples I have analysed so far concern villages that are occupied by a small number of lineages. How did marriage operate in a multi-lineage town such as Masset?

#3 : The Weahs at Masset (7Ad7aiwaas)

The S7ajuugahl 7laanas, owners of Masset since the transfer of the village from Siigee to his son, were originally from S7uljuu Kun across the Inlet. They came to own five houses at 7Ad7aiwaas (Swanton 1905a: 290). Our record of their marriages starts with the first chief Weah's mother marrying into the Skidaakaaw, then the owners of Masset, which resulted in the transfer of the town. The Skidaakaaw themselves, apparently drastically reduced in number since the small-pox epidemic, had a complex record of intermarriage with the Tciitc Git7ans, Tsimshian and with Skidegate Haida. Weah himself, however, did not marry back into his father's lineage before or upon assuming the chiefship. Instead, as I showed earlier (p. 81), he married Jaad kingee kongaawas, the Taas 7laanas daughter of chief Kuns of the West Coast Git7ans. The latter, as head of a lineage considered related to the S7ajuugahl 7laanas, was likely considered an "uncle" of Weah; but, more importantly, Kuns was wealthy and was a geographically distant chief, therefore Weah's marriage with his daughter - who was given two slaves as a dowry - was rationalized as an alliance with a distance chief; it was a symbolic expression that Weah could not find anyone high enough in his town, or in nearby towns. The context in which this marriage was related - i.e. that of chiefly legitimacy - gives the impression that it was primarily a political alliance which was to sanction his irregular succession (see p. 81f). Weah himself, or possibly his brother (see Figure 15), later

FIGURE 15: THE MARRIAGE OF FOUR WEAHS AND THEIR COLLATERALS



contracted another marriage with a foreigner, this time a Tsimshian woman. Weah's sister in turn married a man of the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas, owners of the hill-village 7iijaaw, south of 7Ad7aiwaas. Another sister was married at Skidegate.

His successor, Harry Weah, married Sandloaas of the Kianuusilee, another lineage that owned houses at 7Ad7aiwaas. She was also his classificatory mother's brother's daughter, as her father was Skilkaadgan, a house-chief of the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. After her death, Harry Weah married Rebecca Chigias of the Stl'ang 7laanas, whose father was of the Mamim Git7ans, a lineage related to the S7ajuugahl 7laanas. Harry Weah's sisters Kundk'aayinstlaas (Giidii) and Kand7waas both consecutively married Skilhlang of the Gawa Stl'ang 7laanas, whose father was of the Sahguaa Git7ans, i.e. related to the S7ajuugahl 7laanas (see above, p. 220).

The fourth Weah was to marry Lizzie Russ from Skidegate. This was seen as a reproduction of his mother's mother's brother's, the first chief Weah's, marriage: Lizzie was the great-grand-daughter (DDD) of Jaad kingee kongaawas. This marriage did not take place; instead, the last chief Weah married Sandlenee, who, while of compatible rank, did not stand in an objective cousin relationship, although she was of another branch of the lineage Weah IV's mother's father, and probably his father's father's father, had belonged to. Weah IV's only brother Skilduugahl married into his father's lineage, although his wife 7ohlaal jaad had no genealogical connection with him. Weah IV's eldest daughter's marriage, and that of her younger sister S7id Kuns to the same man, was explained as marriage with the "uncle's daughter": S7id Kuns's husband was a classificatory maternal nephew of chief Kuns and he thus married his "uncle's daughter" (see p. 187).

Example #3 involves a) a village which has an extreme number of resident lineages, and b), an abnormal chiefly succession. The data reveal that a balance was sought between status-enhancing alliances with the outside (Tiaan, Tsimshian, Skidegate) and siblings' and children's unions with resident lineages and with members of prominent lineages of the neighbouring towns. Cross-cousin marriage is only one of many means of effecting such alliances. There is, again, no evidence of stable triads produced by FZD marriage. Other S7ajuugahl 7laanas individuals not included in Figure 15 intermarried with Kun 7laanas, Stl'ang 7laanas and Kianuusilee, all of whom had houses at 7Ad7aiwaas or nearby K'aayang. It is also striking that no further intermarriage occurred with the Skidaakaaw, the original owners of the village.

Particularly from the cases of social replacement (Lizzie Russ, S7id Kuns) in the above example emerges the point that relationships which legitimize marital unions as appropriate ones are in some cases farfetched and are constructed through an extension of kin ties beyond the lineage. In some respects, this possibility denies the accuracy of statistical analyses as a tool of determining marriage patterns: What is objectively the father's lineage or the mother's brother's wife's lineage is not necessarily the one in terms of which a marital alliance is rationalized. The following case will serve as a further demonstration of this:

Flora Ridley of the Kun 7jinaas was engaged to Skildakahljuu. He was of her father's lineage, S7ajuugahl 7laanas. When Flora died, Skildakahljuu married Sandlenee of the Yaaku jinaas. She was not a cross-cousin of his, nor a sister of the deceased fiance , but the marriage was rationalized as

follows:

> "The reason he wanted to do that [i.e. marry Sandlenee] to his tribe was, his mother came home from Victoria [where she had born Skildakahljuu. He was an illegitimate child and had a white father]. This uncle (MB) of mine was married to Gang 7ilwaas, and she had two girls by him, they were both fair haired. My uncle and Skildakahljuu's mother sneaked to Alaska by night-time and stayed there for a long time."

In other words, Sandlenee's mother's brother - whose name was Skilkayaas - was married to Gang 7ilwaas. He left her and went to Alaska with K'aydang gaww, Skildakahljuu's mother, and with Skildakahljuu himself. Skilkayaas acted like a father to Skildakahljuu during this time. Hence, Skildakahljuu wanted to marry his "father" Skilkayaas' niece, Sandlenee, a fictive skaan, stating that he wanted to "look after her" in reciprocity to her maternal uncle having looked after him during his youth. To add to this, Flora's mother adopted Sandlenee during the wedding ceremony, so Sandlenee would "take the place of Flora", which she had already done in another way by marrying the man Flora had been betrothed to[37]. Fictively, then, Sandlenee also married a man from her /adoptive/ "father's lineage".

These kinship ties, produced by adoption and quasi-adoption, are not recoverable from statistical analysis. But even more than true genealogical ties, they betray the notion that marital ties must be rationalized in terms of socially preferred or acceptable unions.

Gud 7ahl keeiwa relationships can serve this purpose, too: 7laanas sdang married his k'waay, (elder brother)'s widow, jid kiaahl heeigans. The k'waay, Sgaana 7iiwans, was actually a father's brother's son. After his death, 7laanas sdang started making gifts to jid kiaahl heeigans and started visiting her. While the subsequent marriage with 7laanas sdang resulted from romantic involvement, the latter did not fail

to mention in the context of relating the marriage to his wife that she was the widow of his k'waay; thus he could officially present the marriage as a case of levirate, although it was probably not motivated by the duty to marry a "brother's" wife.

Another interesting case concerns the Yaaku 7laanas. A cross-cousin relationship between prospective spouses, whether an objective one or a manipulated one, does not always serve as an acceptable rationalization. Rank differences play an important part as well, and concerns of rank may override those of kinship. The following case is intriguing in this respect:

Gid heeigans of the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas wanted to marry Jid kuyaag of the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas. She was his MBD, for her father, Hlunaagad, was his mother's true brother. However, this was not considered as a legitimate reason for marrying her. Gid heeigans was considered as "not high enough" for her: As we recall, Jid kuyaag was the niece of Xilaa, the "big shot from the hill" /i.e. chief of 7iijaaw/. Jid kuyaag had been selected as Xilaa's successor (e.g. p. 90), but as a woman, she had not been able to give a memorial potlatch for him. Consequently, Jid kuyaag and Gid heeigans eloped. He obtained work on a schooner for nine months, where he earned $900. He then gave the money to his wife, who used it to buy a headstone for her deceased maternal uncle and to give a memorial potlatch. It was this act which sanctioned the marriage in public opinion, not the fact that she was his MBD. We see here that the respective rank of spouses plays an important role. The husband in this case was seen as "good enough" only after he, as a member of the household, provided the financial resources to legitimate her social status.

What has the ethnographic evidence presented in this chapter revealed about Haida marriage from an ethnographic and theoretical perspective? My statistical data have shown that FZD marriage is NOT the most prevalent form of cousin marriage. It is exceeded in number by both FZS marriage and bilateral cross-cousin marriage. The numerical frequency of FZS marriage corroborates the preference cited by the Haida females, namely that they also preferred to marry into their father's lineage. The evidence from stated preferences, statistical data and sibling sets have shown that the Haida have no unequivocal "rule" of FZD marriage. It is but one of various preferred marriages, and moreover, occurs less frequently than other forms of cross-cousin marriage.

While originally denying the structural existence of other forms of cross-cousin marriage (1971:40), Rosman and Rubel have recently (1983) readjusted their model to fit the alternate preferences of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage and bilateral cross-cousin marriage. For the Haida and Tlingit, they now postulate a "bilateral cross cousin marriage antecedent" followed by patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, with matrilateral cross-cousin marriage lingering on as a <u>remnant</u> of a former social structure (1983: 233). However, we have no concrete evidence that among the Tlingit and Haida, dual organization, exemplified by bilateral cross-cousin marriage, indeed preceded corporate group organization. In fact, Swanton (1966) and de Laguna (1952) argue to the contrary, i.e. that lineage organization was antecedent, <u>followed</u> by moiety organization. Moreover, Haida cross-cousin terminology, in my opinion, supports this viewpoint, as it shows decreasing, rather than increasing, differentiation between matrilateral and patrilateral cross-cousins. Thus, I think Rosman

and Rubel's newly revised structuralist model does not reflect Haida and Tlingit marriage practices any better than the previous one.

The shortcomings of Rosman and Rubel's model(s) raise the question whether Haida marriage practices can be adequately explained in terms of structuralist models. A lack of empirical adequacy has often been cited as the major shortcoming of structuralist analyses. (see Vaughan, Kassakoff and Adams, supra). Levi-Strauss has replied to empirically-based critiques by postulating that only a small proportion of marriages must conform to the marriage "rule" in order to produce specific structures of alliance among groups (1969:xxxiv; 1976). However, the data I have presented in this chapter point to the fact that the mechanical model of structural exchange theory is inadequate. First of all, the very ambiguity of sanctioned forms of marriage (FZD; MBD (FZS)) is of interest. Particular marriages can be defined according to more than one genealogical model, depending on which aspect of the prospective or retrospective marriage is worth emphasizing: the respect for one's father's side, the spouse's filiation with one's "uncle", her genealogical closeness or remoteness. Moreover, as we have seen, what on the surface appear to be identical or similar forms of marriage have different functions. They may be territorial expansion (Edenshaw), alliances with a network of co-resident chiefs (Yan), or the groom's legitimacy over a chiefly name (Kuns): In all cases a matrilateral cross-cousin was married. In other cases (Weah), a mixture of geographically close and remote marriages was to consolidate political and social legitimacy; or, what is objectively a non-cross-cousin marriage is rationalized as one through the manipulation of kinship ties. Conversely, as the case of Jid kuyaag showed, a kinship relationship may not be a

sufficient ground for marriage. The diversity and complexity of cases shows that Haida marriage is not most adequately explained as guided by the mechanics of rules; instead, "marriage rules" expressing the kinship status of the prospective or retrospective spouses are, if opportune, used to rationalize particular marriages whose underlying motives are of a social, political, economic or romantic nature. To understand the complexity of meaning of traditional Haida marriage, it was necessary to examine not only the statistical frequency of objective forms of marriage, but also the relationship between the form and generation of marital alliances.

Footnotes:

1) See Comaroff and Roberts 1980; Comaroff and Cohen 1976; Bourdieu 1977; Van Velsen 1964, for similar theoretical stances. The cases cited below which point out the versatility of kin term usage were collected during my field-work with living Elders, although some of them go back to their ancestors. They thus span the time from roughly the turn of the century to the present. It can be objected that these utilizations of kin-terms were recent adaptations. However, I think the data on Haida kin-terms collected by Swanton and Murdock point to the fact that aboriginal Haida kinship terms were very versatile due to their extreme classificatory nature and due to intergenerational skewing. Moreover, the gud 7ahl keeiwa relationship discussed below was mentioned in Swanton's texts and was pointed out by Murdock.

2) Anker (1975) is an ethnosemantic analysis of (Skidegate) Haida Kinship. One of the reasons that Anker postulates Haida kinship terminology as "weak, weak" Crow is that, according to him, Skidegate Haida terminology extends the term skaan (FZ; FZD) to MBD. Whatever the case in Skidegate, this certainly is not done in Masset. Another objection to Anker is that his formal analysis cannot do justice to the irregularities and changes in Haida kinship. In his analysis, they are properties of the logic of the system; according to mine, they are properties of social changes, transactions and processes.

3) This means that, for example, tcinn yahk'yuu, or "real grandfather", refers not only to a father's father, but also to a father's father's brother. My field-notes list several examples of such applications which are of course misleading at first when one tries to construct genealogies. Possibly, this is a practice which started during the late 19th century.

4) According to Murdock, the plural denotes all speakers of a moiety, or at least lineage, while the singular is restricted to descendants, collaterals and ancestors. Murdock notes a special vocative for classificatory relatives, e.g. "dii kaa isis". The phrase "dii x isis", however, simply means "this is my x" (uncle, sister, etc.), and is applied when pointing out real or classificatory relatives.

5) The term wus7un has become obsolete in Masset; it has largely been replaced by the compounds daa gid ("brother's child") and kaa gid ("uncle's child").

6) The circumstances of this event played a role: Gaa7laa had no children in the village. The house of his brother was probably considered too small. His mother, while still alive, does not live in Masset. For practical reasons, Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa's house was a good choice as it is large and close to the house of his brother, who is moreover married to Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa's daughter.

7) i.e. his grand-mother's father and the attacker's father were from the same lineage.

8) Blackman (1982) also notes this relationship between Jaad 7ahl keeiganaa and Gaa7laa. She only refers to it in a ceremonial context, though, disregarding its practical political significance. See also Boelscher, in press (Review of Blackman, During my Time).

9) This is the somewhat mysterious "Chapman" whom Barbeau (1957) cites as the archrival of Charles Edenshaw. Edenshaw (see op. cit.) reported Chapman to be a slave; Masset informants, however, certainly denied this.

10) The demographic data collected by Mary Lee Stearns verify the frequency of this kind of adoption.

11) During my period of field research it was largely elderly women who adopted outsiders. In matrilineal descent systems, men of course cannot adopt persons into their lineage as children, at best as nephews or nieces.

12) The former Prime Minister P. Trudeau was given the name Kil guulaans of the Yaaku 7laanas lineage; Local MP Jim Fulton received the name Skil kayaas of the same lineage. Mary Lee Stearns was adopted into the Kun 7laanas, the lineage of two of her principal informants. I myself was adopted into the Yaaku 7laanas by the two Elders I worked with most closely. In all cases it was elderly women who adopted, although with the consent of the male Elders of the same lineage.

13) e.g. After I was reckoned as of the Yaaku 7laanas, the appropriate lineage for my husband was chosen to be the Tciitc Git7ans, my adopter's father's lineage.

14) To this must be added that in recent years, even lineage exogamy has increasingly ceased to be practiced. An analysis of marriages performed between 1965 and 1979 showed only 60% of marriages among Masset Haidas to be lineage exogamous, whereas 40% were lineage endogamous (tabulated from field-notes; Department of Indian Affairs, membership report, North Coast District, Masset Band).

15) Another point raised by Vaughan is Rosman and Rubel's (op. cit.) confusion of Swanton's usage of the term clan: As he uses it, it denotes a moiety; however, Rosman and Rubel apply his data as though it stood for lineage.

16) Adams (1973) has defined Gitksan marriage as between people with rights to different resources.

17) Note, however, the inofficial decision-making role of skaan.alang and adopted gaww.alang (mothers) in selecting spouses, discussed in Part I of this chapter. While the formal and official arrangement of marriage was undertaken by the respective mothers, other relatives had a say in the selection of spouses, although not formally expressed. Nonetheless, the inofficial decision-making roles may have played a very vital role.

18) Again, the question arises whether in-law terms (see Murdock 1934a; Swanton 1905a) are applied only to actual in-laws or are applied in a classificatory sense. While Murdock seems to take the former view, Swanton takes the latter. In many cases, individuals could be referred to by both consanguinal and affinal terms: Thus, a father-in-law sometimes was also the kaa, or maternal uncle; a skaan was also the mother-in-law. See Swanton 1908, Witxao and his Grandmother, for an example of kaa.alang also being fathers-in-law.

19) The actual frequency of outmarriage is very low. Of the 19 marriages to non-Haida recorded on Table V, page 228, 12 were of Haida women to white men (no incidence during this time of marriage of white women to Haida men).

20) The remainder were two marriages with Fort Simpson Tsimshian; one marriage with a Kitkatla man; one marriage with a Metlakatla woman, and three marriages with Nishga. Of marriages with distant Haida groups, the majority (5 cases) were with Alaskan Haida, and there occurred only 4 marriages with Skidegate Haida. In view of the fact, however, that it took longer to travel by canoe to Skidegate than to the mainland or to Alaska, this is quite understandable. Giidii is a Haida corruption of the Christian name Kitty. Giidii's Haida name was Kundk'aayinsdlaas.

21) Giidii herself had had a child by Mark Spence of the Stl'ang 7laanas before marrying Skilhlang. She was Xanaajaad, the only sister of Chief Weah IV, but tragically, she died in an accident while only twelve or thirteen years old. Weah IV thus had no sister's children.

"There was no church service in those days" is actually incorrect, as this marriage took place during the 1880's. However, I think it betrays the fact that during this time, weddings in the traditional aboriginal style were still performed, later to be sanctioned by mass marriages in the church during periodic visits by the Bishop of Caledonia.

22) Emma Matthews, personal communication.

23) Vaughan (1976) also drew attention to this preference by women.

24) Rosman and Rubel (op. cit.) regard de Laguna's statement on MBD marriage as "erroneous" (p. 40); this, however, seems highly unlikely as it was based on extensive field-work among the Tlingit. Moreover, it is supported by the quotes from Oberg and Jones.

25) Anker (1975) reports skaan as referring to both MBD and FZD in Skidegate. This, however, certainly does not hold true for Masset Haida.

26) Murdock reports FZS as the only referent of 7laan at Skidegate.

27) This point is important, as Rosman and Rubel have recently claimed Haida bilateral cross-cousin marriage was antecedent to FZD marriage (1983). see p.247 below.

28) In the French original, "soit qu'une certaine divergence se manifestait entre l'idéologie et la pratique traduisant à sa façon cette tension entre les lignées sur laquelle nous avons appelé l'attention" (1975:233).

29) As the Indian names were recorded for fathers of spouses, the latters' lineage affiliation could be established by determining the lineage affiliation of their names and cross-checking the result with the lineage membership of previous owners. The latter was necessary, as names sometimes did not belong to the lineage of the bearer but to that of his/her father's father (see Chapter VI).

30) I would like to express special thanks at this point to Mary Lee Stearns for generously making all her demographic data, census documents and church records available to me for research. 1909 was used as the cut-off date for two reasons: a) people born before 1910 roughly represent the old age set at Masset serving as informants during my field-research; b) in tabulating the frequency of cross-cousin marriage, lineage- and moiety exogamy for the post-1909 cohorts I detected a rapid decline in lineage and moiety exogamy as well as cross-cousin marriage. This is corroborated by Stearns' data for the same period (1981:182-83).

31) Compare with Stearns (1981:183). In Stearns' sample of marriages of female cohorts born between 1860 and 1909 it fluctuates between 90% and 76%. The higher moiety exogamy rate in my own sample is probably due to the fact that it includes earlier cohorts.

32) Some restrictions apply even here: I learned of at least one case where what was pronounced and publicly acknowledged as a certain person's father's lineage was actually his step-father's.

33) Ganyaa is not listed in Swanton's list of houses and house-owners. He was, however, reported by Masset Elders to be the owner of a Tciitc Git7ans house at Yan.

34) Richard Neylans had at least five consecutive wives: one a Tciitc Git7ans, two S7ajuugahl jinaas, and after Eliza, he married her sister. Richard Neylans is also well known and remembered as one of the last composers of songs at Masset (see Enrico 1979).

35) Gou7uu's father-in-law (his wife's father) bore the same name, Gou7uu, although he was not his true MB. Gyaahlans' wife was the daughter of Yaaku 7laanas chief Gīnaawan from Alaska. She was his MMBDD.

36) Note that he is thought of as "from Skidegate" (Chapter III), Gaahlans kun being closer to Skidegate than to Masset.

37) See part one of this chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE FLUX OF SYMBOLIC AND MATERIAL PROPERTY

As we have seen, much of the reputation of the Haida corporate group depends on its accumulation of both material and symbolic property. In fact, its symbolic capital can be defined as the status quo of its members' inherited and attained social prestige, displayable through the symbolic as well as material wealth it controls, which beyond goods, emblems and titles consists in the ability to recruit assistance and group support.

The Haida have no single word for what is embraced by the English word "property". Ginaa means "things", and refers mostly to tangible, material property which is countable, storable and amassable, although quantifyable property, in Haida conception, can be supplied by supernatural forces and agents. Another term is gyaa, as in gyaa 7isdla, which is also a possessive suffix, seemingly emphasizing the notion that things belong, that objects must be tied to subjects to have value. A third term is skil, which is translatable as "property" or "wealth", or the symbolic dimension of property. Skil jaadee, the "fairy" (Swanton: "Property-woman") is the embodiment of this aspect of wealth and property. Whoever saw her passing by became wealthy, therefore he could potlatch and become chief. According to Swanton, she had been caught only "three times" (1905a:29). A Masset informant noted, that Skil jaadee could only bring quantifyable property, whether names or things; human qualities could not be acquired from her. Skil is also the term designating the property hat, i.e. the tall spruce-root hat worn by chiefs during potlatches; with each potlatch, a section was attached to the top of the hat, symbolizing another successful

property distribution.

Material wealth or property distributed at potlatches consisted of such items as surplus food, furs, utensils, houses, slaves and coppers, in more recent times, blankets, bone china cups, crocheted pillowcases, socks, towels, stockings and dollar bills and coins, i.e. things that lend themselves to be given away in quantity and can be displayed. Symbolic property represents "totemic: crests, names, and titles of persons, houses, canoes, and coppers, myths, and certain songs, and dances, as well as the rights to perform certain rituals, in particular those associated with the "secret societies"[1)]. Rights to these items are held by the lineage, the chiefs controlling the rights to their display, inheritance, exchange and alienation. In this sense, the lineage leaders function as "copyright holders" of their group's intangible property.

Certain material items provide a close link between material and symbolic property. Objects of art - masks, dishes, head-dresses, poles, etc. - display their owners' crests and symbolize his rank within the social hierarchy, while at the same time having value as material objects. Native coppers represented no utilitarian value, but by virtue of their rarity, were symbols of their owners' wealth, and moreover, metaphors of chiefly power and human energy (de Widerspach-Thor 1979).

Importantly, there exists a constant flux between symbolic and material property. Symbolic property must be validated through the giving away of material property. As I have detailed in Chapter IV, goods must be given away in order to sanction names and titles signifying changes in social status. Moreover, members of ego's opposite moiety who display or confer symbolic property to ego's group are paid for this in material goods. Thus,

guests who sing and perform their own lineage's songs and dances, or who confer one of their lineage's names upon a member of the host group, expect to be paid for this. As we have seen, in indigenous ideology, encounters with supernatural powers result in the bestowal of symbolic property to the protagonist, and/or the bestowal of food, both of which are subsequently translated into higher status in the social context. In order to remain valid and activated, names, crests, songs, etc. must be used and displayed in public, which calls for the further distribution of material property.

An important aspect of symbolic property is that it is storable by being passed on to following generations and is thus preserved much beyond the life-times of individuals and beyond the material transactions accompanying individual acts of succession and inheritance. Symbolic property thus provides for continuity where it remains with the corporate group. Where it became alienated from the group, it symbolizes positive or negative transactions. Along with these transactions, the meaning of the symbolic property is re-evaluated by following generations, resulting in conflicting narratives of origin or etymologies.

On the following pages, crests and personal names as prime examples of symbolic property will be examined from the point of view of form, meaning and function in the social rather than aesthetic context. The emphasis will be on the modus operandi of the transfer and succession of these symbols, as they are determined by individual and collective strategies. These, in turn, help to explain the non-systematic character of their distribution.

1. The Transaction of Crests

In order to understand the social meaning of crests, we must turn to

the past. While the major crests of each lineage (see Table VII) are remembered by today's Elders, many of the minor crests and the stories surrounding their origins and transfers are no more actively known. Although there has been a resurgence in the usage of crest designs through the revival of native art, this resurgence is of an aesthetic nature rather than taking place within the context of group membership, ownership and social status. Most artists now use whatever design pleases them aesthetically rather than using only those owned by their lineage, although, if known, the latter may be especially frequently used and cherished. One exception are button blankets[2] which feature the major crest of the wearer, i.e. Killerwhale, Beaver, Eagle, Raven (see Table VII), and silk-screen prints distributed during recent potlatches involving the inauguration of chiefs, totem pole raisings, and memorial potlatches. Both usually feature the crest marking the moiety affiliation of the donor[3].

In order to learn of the indigenous social context in which crests operated as symbolic property conveying messages of social distinction, group membership and transactions between individuals and groups, we must turn to Swanton's (1905a:107ff; 1908:268ff) ethnographic data on their distribution, origins and on changes in ownership.

The following analysis of crests was influenced by Worsley's (1967) analysis of Australian Groote Eylander totemism, which was in answer to Lévi-Strauss' theory of the formal logic of "totemic" classification (1963; 1966), and by Bourdieu's (1977) formulations on the practical logic of schemes of classification (see above, p. 24). It will show that the Haida inventory of crests cannot be understood from the point of view of its formal logic; instead, its meaning is only revealed through the

dynamics of its genesis and existence over time. The crests of the Haida - and other Northwest Coast peoples - are sets of emblems owned primarily by the lineages and displayed on their members' personal property. In fact, the word denoting the corporate group, gwaay gaang, is also applied to "crest", providing for a conceptual identity between the lineage and its prerogatives.

As stylized art motifs, crests were painted two-dimensionally on canoes and paddles, drums, bentwood boxes, house screens and articles of clothing. As three-dimensional carved objects, crest designs were featured on totem poles, spoons, headdresses, masks and many other utilitarian and ceremonial items. Even a person's body served as a surface for crest-designs: Aboriginally every Haida of elevated social rank had his lineage crests tattooed on his body, the tattoos usually being carried out in a series of waahlal potlatches between childhood and adulthood. The individual's skin thus marked his social identity and social value, and crests accompanied a person's entire life-cycle from the carved designs on his cradle to the memorial pole erected in his honour by his successor.

In the aesthetic dimension, crest designs signified the pervasiveness of artistic expression in everyday and ceremonial life, furthermore connecting an individual and his group to the mythical world they illustrate. In their social dimension, which is of primary interest here, crests symbolized their owners' social identity; the nature and number of crests an individual had access to and therefore was allowed to display publicly marked his position as a member of a moiety, lineage and moreover his status within that lineage.

As the majority of crests are animal images, they invite being

considered as "totemic" specimens and Haida crests, in fact, were frequently cited in early anthropological theory as examples of "totemism" among Northwest Coast Indians (c.f. Frazer 1910; Durkheim 1976 [1915]). It was hence assumed that animals became crest-objects because of their "subjective utility" (Lévi-Strauss 1963), that they were transposed into "totemic" objects because they were, as natural species, feared or admired, economically useful, or valued because their owners thought themselves to be descended from the animals the crests represent. As we will see below, it can be demonstrated that the particular crests the Haida own belong neither to a utilitarian nor to a magical-religious class, and thus do not meet the requirements of early totemistic theories.

In rethinking the concept of totemism, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963; 1966) has since redefined "totemic" categories as part of the universal human attempt to intellectually impose order on observed diversity and differences in the natural and cultural environment. Totemism is therefore to be understood as the classification of human social groups in analogy to species and categories in the natural environment. In other words, not the likeness between humans and animals or natural objects if emphasized, but the differences between categories of people as they are metaphorized in the differences between species: "It is not the resemblances, but the differences which resemble each other." (Lévi-Strauss 1963:77). Therefore, totemic species are "good to think /with/", rather than being "good to eat" (ibid.: 89), or perceptively similar to their owners in appearance, or feared because they are tabooed for one reason or another.

To view Haida crests within the structuralist framework, however, still presents its problems. Indeed, in Totemism (1963), Claude Lévi-Strauss

largely refrained from using examples from the Northwest Coast[4]. At least as it existed during the late nineteenth century, the Haida collection of crests (see Boas 1898; Swanton 1905a) can hardly be understood as classifying social groups according to how they differ from one another; it does not represent a system of oppositions. Rather, its chaotic nature reflects the practice of its genesis, i.e. the history of the acquisitions and alienations of crests, which is actually very much the point of view Franz Boas took in his discussion of totemism (Boas 1910; 1916; 1920). In the Haida inventory of crests are also reflected the dynamics of its uses for social and political purposes, which allow to turn crest-emblems as symbolic property into material property, which, in turn, enhances the owner's and his group's symbolic capital or prestige. Therefore, to clarify the social and political nature of the crest inventory - rather than "system" - I will begin by pointing out what they are not.

First of all, while most crests do indeed represent animals, other animate and inanimate objects are also represented. These include the Moon, Clouds (cumulus, cirrus and stratus clouds), the "Girl-in-the-moon", the "Fairy" (see above, p.254), the Copper, the Rock-slide, the Rainbow, Cedar-limbs, the Tree, and stars. Even supernatural monsters, such as the Wasgo, "sea-bear", Tcamaos and the Sganguu are represented in crests[5].

As far as animal crests are concerned, the animals represented form neither a zoological, nor a utilitarian, nor a magical class, nor any other specific category or categories in the natural environment in analogy to categories of human beings. Crest animals are land-animals as well as sea-animals; they comprise mammals, birds and insects, fish and mollusks. Moreover, they are not distributed according to classes of species among

the lineages who own them. They comprise animals that are eaten as well as animals that are not eaten; those that are economically useful, and those that are not utilized; those that are hunted as well as those that are not hunted (see Table VII).

The first major anomaly is that, indeed, some of the most prominent crest animals[6], i.e. beaver, grizzly-bear - major emblems of the Eagle and Raven moiety, respectively - and also wolf and mountain goat do not even occur on the Queen Charlotte Islands as natural species (see p. 52). Swanton's informants (1905a; 1908) accounted for their origin as having been obtained from the Tsimshian[7]. Tcebasa, the famous Kitkatla chief, thus "gave" the Grizzly Bear to the Hliieland Kun 7laanas, and both the Grizzly Bear and the Moon to the Skidaakaaw (see below, p.268). According to Swanton's list of crests as they were owned by lineages in 1900 (1905a: 270ff), however, the Grizzly Bear was then also owned by the Stl'ang 7laanas, the Yaaku 7laanas, the Kianuusilee and the S7aganguusilei, although it is not mentioned how the crest spread to virtually all northern Raven lineages. The town chief of Skedans, who was a "close friend" of Tcebasa, also obtained certain crests, songs and features of the potlatch from the latter (ibid.:108). The children of a woman who was taken to Fort Simpson as a slave and there married a chief's son, took along with them the Beaver and the Hummingbird when they returned to their mother's country (ibid.). The Wolf was also said to have been obtained from the Tsimshian, although it was not remembered how.

Of the crest animals occurring on the Queen Charlotte Islands, certain ones, such as sculpin, frog, heron, dragon fly, eagle, raven and cormorant, are of minimal economic importance, and are not under a food taboo. Others,

such as black bear, sea-lion, halibut, certainly are and were of economic importance, i.e. "good to eat", however, they do not rate as major crests. As to the Haida nearly every animal had some value - be it economic, as food, fur or feathers, or be it aesthetic and thus favouring artistic representation - one can also ask the question: Why is it that this item is a crest and not another? Thus, certain animals frequently occurring in the natural environment are not represented as crests at all; among these are the seal, the sea-gull, the goose, duck, and clam[8]. Of these, especially the seal was of major economic importance. Certain other animals of great economic importance, i.e. the sea-otter and the salmon, play minimal roles as crests.

Turning to the possibilities of a magical/taboo class, none of the crest animals, with the possible exception of the killerwhale (Swanton: 1905a:17) were tabooed. While Eagle and Raven, after whom the moieties are named, are not reported to be food animals, they are and were killed, although not eaten[9]. As we will see in Chapter VII, all animals are in fact conceived of as having a dualistic but ambiguous nature: As animals they can be hunted and provide food when suitable, but every animal is also potentially a supernatural being in animal disguise (Swanton 1905a). Rather than falling into the categories of sacred/profane or edible/inedible, virtually all animals have a profane and a sacred aspect in this sense.

What, then, is the nature of the relationship between crest animals and the humans who own them, or, in other words, how do crests originate? As might be expected, the accounts and types of their origins are heterogeneous. While, as the above examples of Tsimshian origins illustrate, some crests were transferred from humans to other humans as emblems, a number of

TABLE VII

Crests of the Gawa Xaadee

Crest:	Haida Term	No. of Lineages owning it
RAVENS:		
Killerwhale	sgaana	all lineages/branches
Grizzly Bear	xuuj (Ts) *)	8
Dog-fish	Kaad *)	2
Hawk	skamsam (Ts.)	2
Moon	kung (Ts.)	1
Cumulus Clouds	?	1
Cirrus Clouds, Stratus Clouds	?	1
Wolf	gouj *)	1
Sea-lion	kaay	1
Ravenfin	Tc'iiliaalaas *)	1
Black bear	taan	1
Stars	k'aaihldaa	1
Thunderbird	hiilingaa (Ts.?)	2
New Moon	?	1
Flicker	sgaljid sgahljid	1
(Raven)	yahl *)	2 (formerly)
Tc'amaaos	tc'amaaos (Ts.)	1
EAGLES:		
Eagle	goud	all lineages/branches
Beaver	tc'ing (Ts.)	4
Frog	hlkian k'oustaang	4
Sculpin	k'aal	4
Hummingbird	dakdakdiiyaa	2
Black whale	kun	3
Skate	Tc'iidaa	2
Raven	yahl *)	2
Sganguu	Sganguu	2

Ts. - Tsimshian origin of crest.
*) - Haida term is Tlingit loan word.

Source:
After Swanton 1905a:268ff

other crests were thought to have originated from individuals' encounters with supernatural beings in the guise of animals. Thus, the Killerwhale, the oldest and most widely distributed Raven crest, originated as a result of a young man being transformed into a killerwhale after drowning[10]. His lineage /the Dou Stl'ang 7laanas/ subsequently adopted the killerwhale as their emblem, and from them it is said to have spread to all other Raven lineages (Swanton 1905a:111; 1908:#81), although we do not know how. The Dogfish, a Yaaku 7laanas crest, was obtained in a similar fashion:

> A woman made fun of dogfish. She is taken down under the sea by one of them; there she discovers that they are actually people. She grows fins, but her face is unchanged. After many years her husband finds her. She does not return home, but since that time her lineage use the dogfish crest and their house is called K'aad naas ("dogfish house"). (Swanton 1908:755)[11].

Further crests were obtained by individuals from supernatural animals after a person "helped" the animal, or in memory of being given food by the animal. One Masset version (1905a:111) attributes the origin of the Raven crest to such an incident. In some instances it is the "place" controlled by a supernatural being/animal which is said to have "given" the crest (op. cit.:112). An inverted example of this type of adoption of a crest is how the Black bear came to be used by the Skidaakaaw.

> "The chief of /this lineage/ had a large store of food in a provision house in the woods. Once all of this was stolen by black bears, and, as he could not get his food back, he adopted the black bear as a crest." (op. cit.:111).

In this case, the animal takes away something, and the man substitutes his loss of property by adopting the likeness of the bear as a crest, maybe to shame him, or maybe to adopt some of his supernatural essence in revenge.

Some natural phenomena whose images were adopted as crests are said to be the "dressing up", or attire, of certain supernatural beings. Thus, "the

cumulus and cirrus clouds were the 'dressing up' of The-one-in-the-Sea /the highest Killerwhale supernatural being/" (Swanton 1905a:109), and since he was a Raven, the Ravens adopted them from him. Similarly, the Rainbow is the 'dressing up' of Supernatural-being-upon-whom-it-thunders, the chief supernatural being of the woods (op. cit.:108).

A few crests were not obtained through personal encounters with animals as supernatural beings, but were adopted by the individual who first "found" or first hunted and killed a particular animal (op. cit.:108; 110). In these instances their fur or feathers were used as potlatch dress, and from this resulted the animal image eventually being introduced as a crest.

On account of those crests believed to have been received from supernatural animals, Swanton concluded that the crest system is "rooted in religion" (op. cit.:112), that "indications point to its having developed from the idea of the personal manitou" (ibid.). Similarly, Boas, in his theory of the origins of Northwest Coast "totemism", noted that "the origin of /these/ crests is due to a socialization of the guardian-spirit idea" (1916:530).

Involved in this type of adoption of crests is the shift from an individual experience with a single animal to the social group's ownership of the animal species as a crest. Significantly, where a crest originated in a particular supernatural animal "helping" a human, this relationship was not continued once the animal's image, as a design, became a crest conferred to the group and was passed on to future generations. In other words, what started out as a spiritual relationship between supernatural animal and human became the secularized ownership of an emblem. Hence there

is "no religious respect of the crest, but only to the supernatural being that bestowed the crest" (ibid.). Among the Haida at least, this "religious respect" is not extended to the crest animal as a natural species, but only to its supernatural aspect, although, as we will see in Chapter VII, the relationship between the natural and the supernatural aspect of the animal is an ambiguous one, as every natural creature is potentially a supernatural one.

The individual guardian spirit quest is therefore the key to future enhancement of symbolic capital of the group. The animal encountered is subjectively transformed into supernatural potential, which subsequently is transposed into an emblem commemorating the power it conferred upon the individual who encountered it. As an emblem it later conveys social prestige to the members of the lineage who inherit it, but only through the distribution of material property does it maintain its value as an emblem. The crest incorporates aspects of sign - as an emblem commemorative of an event and indicating group membership - as well as signal, triggering social prestige by being displayed and accompanied by property distributions.

In no way is there any notion of imaginary descent from or a kinship relationship with the crest animal. While to the owners, having the same crests or sharing some crests signifies classificatory kinship links, these links are not imagined as common descent from the crest animals, but are either known consanguinal ties within the lineage, or they are ascribed on the basis of the joint knowledge over ancestors and inherited names (see Chapter III, p. 79). When individuals encounter members of remote Haida villages or Tlingit or Tsimshian people, they also establish quasi kin-ties with those that bear the same crests as they do. They are recognized as

moiety members, and the moiety exogamy rule is extended to them (see p. 66). Conversely, the above-mentioned surrender of some crests by the Kitkatla chief Tcebasa to a Haida chief established classificatory kin-ties between the two, which, in turn, entailed reciprocal obligations expected among kinsmen.

Although members of the Eagle moiety call Eagle their "grandfather", just as members of the Raven moiety call Raven "grandfather", (Swanton 1905a: 28) this must not be understood as a statement of imagined descent, but as a metaphorical application of kinship terms. Nowhere are there to be found myths of descent from the eponymic animals, neither in recorded texts nor in informants' statements (c.f. Swanton 1905a:111; 28; Boas 1910). It was often one of the mythical lineage-ancestresses (supra, Chapter III) or her children who reportedly first obtained a crest, but these ancestresses were not seen as descended from the crest-animal/supernatural being: They acquired the privilege of the use of their images.

Further crests seem to be of entirely profane origin, i.e. they did not originate as a result of an encounter with the animal depicted. These crests seem to have been more directly and arbitrarily selected as symbols of the introducer's social prestige. One of the more curious examples is the /M̄asset̄/ origin of the Frog crest:

> "A chief of the Wiijaa Git7ans called Ihlgiiga once invited the Sahguaa 7laanas to a potlatch. A chief named Hldanjee, whose presence was particularly desired, came last, and when he appeared, wore a necklace of live frogs tied leg to leg. Since that time his family have used the frog as a crest, and it has spread from them to the other north coast Eagles." (Swanton 1905a:111ff)[12].

The Kianuusilee adopted stars as a crest in memory of their chief Skilaawee, who "had his house filled with holes, so that, when the light shone through, it looked from the outside as if covered with stars" (ibid.). The name of

Skilaawee's - and his successors' - house was K'aaihldaa naas ("star house"). It must also be mentioned here that certain crests were attributed to differing origins by Swanton's informants, usually with the Skidegate version varying from the Masset version. While some crests were probably acquired by more than one lineage independently of one another, there also seems to have been a tendency to attribute the prestigious acquisition of a crest to one's own group, much like the narratives of lineage origins imputed the priority of the narrator's lineage.

The most secular way of obtaining crests is certainly their bestowal as emblems from group to group, or from individual to individual. Swanton's Masset Text #82 (1908) stresses the property-transaction-like manner in which the above-mentioned crests Grizzly Bear and Moon were obtained from the Tsimshian:

> "Xinaaw /chief of the Hliielang Kun 7laanas/ went to the /Kitkatla/ town-chief, whose name was Tcebasa. He was with him many days. And Tcebasa questioned Xinaaw 'What did you have in mind that made you want to come to see me?' said he to him. And Xinaaw replied, 'I wanted to see you to get a crest'."

Both Xinaaw and Xanaa, chief of the Skidaakaaw who also approached Tcebasa about a crest, were given their crests in the shape of material objects (a grizzly bear war-coat and a moon-shaped doorway) bearing designs of both emblems.

Crests were also given away on occasion among Haida lineages. This seems to have occurred primarily as indemnity payment to wipe out shame, in the same manner as material property and resources were alienated from their owners (see Chapter III). One incident of this sort mentioned by Swanton is how the Ravens of Skidegate had to give away their Raven crest as atonement for an injury to an Eagle-moiety member.

> "One of the Git7ans of Skidegate, while living in the Tsimshian country, was poisoned by eating clams, and to atone for it his friends /lineage mates/ were given a Raven hat. Thus the Eagles obtained the Raven crest." (Swanton 1905a:109).

Again, we have another account of the transfer of this crest which is substantially different: Here (1905a:107) it is said to have been due to a man giving the crest to his children "although the circumstances are as much of a puzzle /to the Haida/ as to us." As I have noted in Chapter III (p. 81), the transfer of crests from father to his children for use throughout their life-time was an accepted possibility. Murdock also noted that "/In Masset/ a man or a woman is said to possess the right to use the crests of his paternal grandfather's clan /lineage/ when different from his own" (1934b:357), a right that is similar to the inheritance of "father's side names". As Swanton added, such crests loaned to children and grandchildren for life-time use only became the permanent property of the borrowers in some instances (ibid.). The spread of at least some crests beyond the lineage with which they originated can thus be explained in this manner.

Rather than emphasizing the importance of transactions in the genesis and perpetuation of the crest inventory, Swanton (op. cit.) tried to make sense of the anomalies in the distribution of crests from an historical/evolutionary perspective. He postulated that the Killerwhale, as the oldest emblem, is the most "totemic" crest, while those crests owned by single families only are more recent, void of religious origins, and reduced to pure emblems. However, the distribution of the Grizzly Bear and the Beaver seem to run counter to this theory, as they were acquired from the Tsimshian as property (see above), not as religious objects, but are at the same time shared by virtually all lineages of the Eagle and Raven moieties, respectively.

Ideally, the crests a moiety and the lineages within the moiety own, should serve to distinguish it from the other moiety and its lineages. With the exception of the Raven, this holds true for the principal crests within each moiety: Grizzly Bear and Killerwhale are only owned by the Ravens, while Eagle and Beaver are the Eagles' exclusive principal crests[13]. However, if we look at the actual distribution of crests among lineages within the same moiety, it becomes evident that in fact, few crests serve to distinguish the lineages; instead, the ownership of most crests overlap (see Table VIII): The Killerwhale is owned by all lineages of the Raven moiety and the Grizzly Bear by all but one. All Eagles own the Eagle, and all but one own the Beaver. Many crests are owned by two or more lineages. The Dogfish is owned by the Yaaku 7laanas and the Kiannusilee; the Black whale is owned by the Tciitc Git7ans the the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas, and so forth. Generally, there are only one or two crests which distinguish a particular lineage: For the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas, this is the Wolf; for the Kun 7laanas, the Stratus and Cirrus clouds; for the Stl'ang 7laanas the Thunderbird and the Cumulus clouds; for the Kianuusilee the Stars, and for the Skidaakaaw the Black Bear and the New Moon; for the Dou Stl'ang 7laanas Raven Fin, a supernatural Killerwhale. Among the Eagles, the Tciitc Git7ans are the sole owners of the Skate and Hummingbird. The Sdast'aas and the K'aawas share sole privilege over the Raven and the Sganguu, although at least the latter was probably seized by the Sdast'aas from the K'aawas; the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas own no exclusive distinguishing crest. While in some instances - e.g. among the branches of the Git7ans, among the K'aawas/ Sdast'aas and among the branches of the Yaaku 7laanas - sharing crests means being closely related, joint ownership of crests among other lineages does

TABLE VIII

Distribution of Crests Among Lineages

	R19	R19a	R19e	R14	R15	R15d	R16	R17	R20
Raven Crests:									
Killerwhale	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Grizzly Bear	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-
Dogfish	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Hawk	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-
Moon	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cirrus/Stratus Clouds	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Wolf	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sea-lion	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	X
Raven-fin	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-
Black-bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Stars	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-
Thunderbird	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-
New Moon	-	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Flicker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	X
Raven	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-
Tc'amaaos	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-
Cumulus Clouds	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-

	E13	E14	E17	E21	E21a	E23
Eagle Crests:						
Beaver	X	X	X	X	X	X
Beaver	X	X	X	X	X	-
Frog	X	X	-	X	X	-
Sculpin	X	X	X	-	-	-
Hummingbird	-	-	X	-	-	-
Black whale	-	-	X	-	-	X
Skate	-	-	X	-	-	-
Raven	-	-	-	X	X	-
Sganguu	-	-	-	X	X	-

Source: After Swanton 1905a:268ff.

(For lineage names and corresponding numbers, see Table II).

not point to genealogical relatedness or "closeness", but only to individual transactions of crests and other property which took place at one point in the past.

The non-systematic distribution of crests, then, implicitly marks the history of individual or collective transactions that occurred between lineages of the same and of opposing moieties. Therefore, a change in the symbols of each group marks a change in the relationship of that group with others (c.f. Oberg 1973:51), and vice-versa. We thus can refer back to the congruency in terms of lineage and its crest-symbols, not in the sense of a static correlation, but in the sense of a dynamic one.

So far it has mainly become evident what crests are not: They are not a closed system of classifications, neither in the conventional sense of "totemic" classification, nor in the Lévi-Straussian sense of intellectually ordering similarities and differences in the natural and social realm. While Lévi-Strauss (1966) admitted to the possibility that history plays havoc with ordered systems of classification, and that symbolic classification - unlike language - ultimately moves from arbitrariness to motivation, he left it to others to examine the conditions of the possibility of this "motivation" and its manifestations. I maintain that among the Haida neither the agglomeration nor function of crests is an attempt to order the universe according to an urge towards intellectual tidiness. While the moiety and its lineages are the social matrix within which crests are distributed, it is not the social structure per se that determines the allocation of crests, but, at least in the many cases of crest-alienation I have enumerated, it is the status quo of inter-group relations which is responsible for the distribution of crests. Crest distribution is one aspect of property

transactions among groups, and these transactions are manifest in the particular inventory of crests a lineage owns. Much like among Worsley's (1967) Groote Eylanders, then, among the Haida it is the social order which structures the distribution of emblems, rather than vice-versa: "The totemic collection accretes, accumulates, forms agglomerations of items unconnected in systematic logic or in Nature, according to a variety of principles of associations" (Worsley op. cit.:151).

Crests are examples of social classification as defined by Levi-Strauss (1966) only in one respect: They do convey social messages about the ordering of social relations. However, these messages do not place emphasis on the crest as a symbol of distinction in a pure classificatory sense. Rather, they establish it as a symbol of transaction. They mark the history of interpersonal and interlineage relationships in that they symbolize the success of the crest owners in accumulating material and symbolic capital.

Although Leonard Adam (1913) viewed crests within an evolutionist framework as a "degenerate totemistic" type - a designation that neglects the main function of crests as privileges and emblems (see Boas 1916:528f) - he nevertheless made an interesting observation about the function they have come to fulfill since their "degeneration":

> "/Haida crests/ have nothing to do with what the group 'is' but are only concerned with what it 'has' ... The members of the degenerate totemic group do not say 'we are something different from you others,' but 'we have something different from you!', and, as soon as crests are valued differentially, 'We have more than you!' And quickly a process develops whereby crests become emblems of social rank, even pieces of property which can be exchanged against others" (Adam 1913:250; my translation).

To the Haida, the crest incorporated numerous aspects. It was a symbol of contact with the supernatural world which had become secularized as a

prerogative and was socially inherited, while its supernatural origins could be re-evoked through retelling the myths narrating its acquisition. As a symbol of its owners' acquired and/or inherited wealth it must be used, i.e. continually displayed on totem-poles, house-fronts and other pieces of property. The public display, however, must be accompanied by the distribution of more property to the validating public. As we have seen, however, ownership could be disrupted and alienated through voluntary or involuntary transactions.

The social meaning of the Haida collection - I think it is preferable to speak of a "collection" or "inventory" rather than a "system" - of crests can thus only be understood in connection with the transactions involving ownership and changes in ownership. The logic of its distribution is not recoverable from the formal logic of binary opposition and distinction. Instead, it is a practical logic, expressed in conflicting versions of acquisitions, alienations, and overlapping rights. This practical logic, in turn, must be understood as determined by the interests of collective and individual agency over time.

The following section will examine the act of naming and the semantic content of naming as another instance of the negotiation of the value of symbolic property. Names differ from crests in that they are still widely remembered and carried by individuals. We can thus return to the present and to informant narrative to describe and analyse the meaning of names.

2. Names and Naming

Ethnographic evidence shows us that personal names as part of proper names are not void of meaning, mere tags or entirely arbitrary, as some linguists and language philosophers have argued (see Sørensen 1963); rather, above all, personal names are social facts. Through either the act of naming or being named, individuals socially classify the person they name or themselves.

For Claude Lévi-Strauss, then, proper names "form the fringe of a general system of classification" (1966:215). In a formal sense the name bestowed upon a single person at a particular time classifies him as an individual whose name is different from others while at the same time integrating him as a member of his group. However, as Elizabeth Tonkin has pointed out, names have not just semiotic functions. "They can be signs, symbols and deictic classifiers at once, but not all these functions are simultaneously of equal importance" (Tonkin 1980:660). Besides intellectually classifying a person, naming is a communicative act. The conventions of naming and the semantic content of names are codifications of the social, political and cosmological order, exhibiting both its underlying properties and its inherent dynamics.

Among the Haida names are of prime importance in expressing the social and political order, and in linking the social order to both the supernatural and the material world. Being owned by matrilineages, the names an individual receives during his lifetime provide a social record of his inherited as well as acquired social status. Since social status is closely tied to the giving away of property, in the sense that one gives away property in order to validate one's new status expressed in a new

name, names can be considered the symbolic property of the lineages which is validated against material property. The act of naming thus provides a link between symbolic and material property. Names also mediate on various other levels:

- Temporarily, they link past generations with present and future generations. They classify a person as an individual by having him carry a name synchronically, but diachronically being one of a series of holders of this name.
- Spatially, they link a name to a lineage, and thus to a place owned by that lineage. This link is expressed through the oral history of the name origin, which maps out the relations between the ancestor who first bore the name, his and other lineages, and the territory they occupied.
- Cosmologically, names mediate between the supernatural and the social world. Many names are thought to have originated in supernatural experience and then are conveyed for social purposes and in a social-political context, reinforcing the constant exchange between information from the supernatural world and social-political activity.

It must be pointed out that a Haida does - or did, as naming is not as widely practiced as it used to be - not simply bear a name, but during his lifetime accumulates numerous names, some of which are more adequately described as titles. Moreover, some names that were initially given to children became titular names in following generations, while other chiefly titles were passed on as appellative names (c.f. Swanton 1905a:118). There hence exists a flux between appellative names and titular names.

Personal names are termed kyaa- in Haida. However, this stem is primarily used as a verbal stem, both actively and passively, as in

"x hinuu dii kyang" (I am called x) or "y hinuu dang kyaadaang" (I name you y). In other words, names as social facts are seen as inextricably linked to the acts of naming and being named, which in turn are expressions of the rights of the name giver conferred upon the name receiver.

Haida personal names[14] fall into the following categories:

a) Childhood names. These are given to babies and young children and are primarily used as referential and appellative terms, at least during childhood.

b) Potlatch names. They were bestowed at ego's[15] parents' potlatch or assumed at ego's own potlatch.

c) Chief-names, or titles. Like the office, they are succeeded to younger brother or sister's son.

d) Teknonyms: Father/mother of x; grandfather/mother of x. These are used as names of reference during a person's adulthood.

e) Nick-names.

f) For the past one hundred years, also Christian names.

Childhood names are given soon after birth, and are publicly announced and validated at the parents' next potlatch, "thereby invested with an honorary or ceremonial significance" (Murdock 1936:9). We must distinguish between what I shall call primary and secondary childhood names. Primary childhood names are "mother's side names". They are owned by ego's mother's lineage and are passed on in alternate generations. A child therefore receives his real or classificatory MM(Z)'s or MMB's name. Closely linked to the bestowal of primary childhood names is the idea of reincarnation. Swanton (1905a), Dawson (1880), and the missionaries Collison (1915) and Harrison

(1925) reported on the pervasiveness of this belief in association with naming. In recent years the parapsychologist Ian Stevenson (1975) investigated cases of reincarnation among the Haida[16]. References to what are believed to be reincarnated persons were similarly made to the local physician[17] and to the author herself. Briefly, the belief in reincarnation or "rebirth" (xanj) as it is commonly called by the Haida, entails that a person's soul (xanj) (see p.312) will re-appear in a baby to be born after that person's death. Sometimes, a person chooses a woman of childbearing age who will bear the reincarnated child. Thus, Collison reported,

> "Visiting a chief believed to be dying, I found he had called his sister and delivered to her a slave girl, who was to act as his nurse on his reincarnation and birth, as her child. He believed that after his death his spirit would again return in the first child born afterwards in his family. He strictly charged his sister to superintend his nursing, and to be careful that he received no injury. I was thus led to inquire concerning this belief and found it was entertained generally by the Haidas. I have since discovered that it is not particular to the Haidas, but that it is held by the coast tribe generally. Very often the name of the deceased is given to the new-born child in recognition of this belief." (Collison op. cit.:204).

In addition, a mother's dreams during pregnancy are said to indicate who her child is to be reincarnated as. Formerly, a seeress or shaman would forecast whose xanj was reincarnated in the child to be born, and would be paid for the prognosis. As evidence after the birth of the child are taken birth-marks, behavioural traits, and most commonly that someone "looks like" the deceased.

As far as giving names as rebirth names is concerned, they are never passed on to the next succeeding generation. Childhood names always link individuals of alternating generations. By being someone's xanj, a reincarnated person imputedly assumes the character traits of his or her

name-sake. Having his soul, he is like him, which entails likeness of name. This notion concurs with the Haida belief that "if a shaman changed his spirit he changed his name" (Swanton 1905a:38), or similarly, "if a person were given a name the land-otters liked, they would try to steal him" (op. cit.:26).

On the social level, a person who gets another person's name "takes his place". He assumes the social position of the previous name-holder. However, with names being lineage property, a person is - in theory at least - confined to being reincarnated within his own lineage, which evokes a rather socialized notion of rebirth. On the other hand, the parents of a child have a vested interest in giving him or her as high a name as possible from the names available to them, and thus there seems to be an overt contradiction between the spiritual idea of reincarnation and the social-political value of the name. Indeed, at least in recent years, names as social positions and as spiritual "soul-links" seem to have diverged. One possibility is to adopt a person who shows signs of being a reincarnated person into the lineage owning the name of the name-sake:

> "One time a man of /the Yaaku 7laanas/ was out getting devil-fish. While he was working on a smaller one, all of a sudden he felt he was being grabbed by a big arm. It was so strong he couldn't get rid of it. The arm was from a big devil-fish. While he was still fighting against being choked by it, the tide came in and washed over him. They said /my husband's/ Dad looked just like this man. That's why they adopted him into our tribe and gave him this man's name, Skilhlang." [18].

Some elderly Haida and their now deceased siblings or parents have or had rebirth names of a different, non-related lineage because they "look like" the previous bearer of the name. Thus, a man of the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas was given the name Skilkwiitlaas as a "rebirth name", because he was believed to have been the rebirth of a former Skilkwiitlaas. As we recall, Skilkwiitlaas

is the name of the chief of Yaan. The reincarnated Skilkwiitlaas, it was explained, could not pass on the name to his descendants, and he had no rights to the chiefly office that goes with the name. Another man of the Gawa Yaaku 7laanas was considered the rebirth of his father's maternal uncle, Hlunaagad of the Tc'aa.ahl 7laanas, which is a lineage of the opposite moiety. Similarly, Hl7ongdlii.skilaa of the Sdast'aas has a "rebirth name" from the Stl'ang 7laanas, Kwaa 7iiwans, because as an infant, he was thought to "look like" his name-sake. In the latter case, the rebirth name was often referred to as a "nick-name" (see below), probably because the bearer was not matrilaterally or patrilaterally related to previous name-bearers.

Besides the primary "mother's side names", many individuals bear a secondary childhood name, or "father's side name" which is usually not associated with reincarnation. While the "father's side name" stems from the same lineage-owned inventory of names that is transferred to matrilineal kinsmen in alternating generations as "mother's side names", the former is received from ego's father's father's sister (FFZ) or father's father's brother (FFB). "Father's side names" are therefore not actually from the father's lineage or even moiety, but belong to the same moiety as ego. Where FZD marriage took place in previous generations, ego's FF's lineage is identical with ego's own. In such cases, a "father's side name" is a name from the matrilineal inventory of names. As we have seen, however, FZD marriage was rare. Most "father's side names" therefore belong to a lineage other than ego's. Indeed, the existence of a separate term, "father's side name", reveals that conceptually the father's father's lineage and ego's lineage were <u>not</u> considered as identical. Instead,

"father's side names" stress the concept of complementary filiation. Besides receiving symbolic and material property from his mother's lineage, a child also received a name bestowed by his father which was obtained from the latter's skaan.alang and gong.alang (FB). As I have already mentioned (Chapter III), the custom of giving "father's side names" constitutes an implicit instance of patrilineal inheritance combined ideally (through patrilateral cross-cousin marriage) with matrilineal inheritance. In cases where the "father's side name" is obtained from outside ego's matrilineage, the name bearer's lineage has no right to it beyond the bearer's own lifetime. Like rebirth names from outside the matrilineage, such names revert back to the owner lineage upon the bearer's death.

Potlatch Names:

These are additional names bestowed to children at a parents' potlatch, often accompanied by tattooing or lip-piercing. They marked a child's or adolescent's transition rites and elevation to yahgid status. Often the potlatch giver's classificatory children (children of his lineage) would also be given names, and other relatives or children might be adopted into the potlatch host's lineage to receive a name (c.f. Murdock 1936:19; see Chapter IV, p. 106), thus enhancing their social rank.

Potlatch names can also be assumed by a chief giving a potlatch after having assumed his chiefly position and name: "After that he could add a new /name/ every time he made a potlatch" (Swanton 1905a:118). Potlatch names seem to be the most creative names. Frequently they were created to commemorate an event, emphasizing the glory and acquired prestige of the name-bearer. Instances of this are "Unable-to-buy" or "The-report-of-him-goes-a-long-way". Or, they were taken from another chief who was unable

to successfully meet a challenge; the name transferred to the new owner was thus intended to shame the previous owner of the name. Murdock reports how chief Skilkingaans, a Stl'ang 7laanas house-chief of Yaan, "at his house-building potlatch assumed the name Skaaxwad from a Tsimshian chief who had failed to pay him a debt" (1936:9)[19]. This custom is reminiscent of the chief who makes "a likeness of" (niijaang = carving) another chief to shame him (Swanton 1908:756). The name is treated like property which is seized in lieu of obtaining property payment. Another name, however, also cited by Murdock (ibid.) was received from a Tlingit chief "with whom he had established a formal guest-friendship (st'aaguuhl) relation". These names, then, are highly contextual, either verbally alluding to the episode which resulted in their owner assuming them, or linguistically incomprehensible, and thus needing explanation, which will of course be given when they are conferred or assumed. Potlatch names are used during potlatches to introduce the name-bearer. However, they do not truly represent appellative names, but are cited like titles, even series of titles.

Chief Names:

While many of these overlap with potlatch names - Swanton reports that a chief could always choose between several possible chief-names within his lineage (1905a:268) - a chief would usually assume the name his predecessors had carried as heads of lineage, household or town. "These names determine the lineage's internal organization of statuses and roles" (Stearns 1975: 39) as well as signifying to the outside who is in control of its property and resources. Chiefly names would officially be assumed at a house-building potlatch (waahlal) following the memorial potlatch to the predecessor. Both potlatches had to be organized and paid for by the new incumbent in order to

validate his chiefship. Like the chiefship itself, the name passes from incumbent to younger brother or sister's son, or, in lack of any of these, to a classificatory nephew.

Which chiefly name a successor would successfully adopt was and is often a matter of political dispute or delicate manipulation, especially where we are dealing with irregularities in succession. Thus, as we have noted, Chief Siigee, who conferred his village to his son, fell short of passing the chiefly title on to him. The latter instead adopted a "father's side name", Weah, as his chiefly title. Before the last in the line of Weah's passed away, he decided his name should die along with him. His successor, a "nephew" of a closely related lineage (see Chapter III, p. 82) took the name Gaa7laa, a "mother's side name" of his own lineage, previously held as a childhood name by his mother's elder sister's son, who had died during childhood. Gaa7laa's successor, in turn, who was from the same lineage but not a true sister's son, took yet another name. He became Chief 7iljuuwaas, the name of an "uncle", which had previously also been a chiefly name from a related lineage.

Reversely, Albert Edward Edenshaw, the chief who seized the village of K'uyuust'aa, also "took over" a name of the lineage he supplanted, 7iidangsaa. Since his chiefship was and is considered illegitimate by many, the bearing of his name is considered illegitimate. Having legitimate access to a name is referred to as "having a right to a name". This right is reinforced through being able to cite the oral histories about the acquisition of the name and the lineage which owns it. This is done publicly during the name-taking ceremony, where the audience, receiving formal payment (gyaa 7isdla) for its witnessing, tacitly validates these citations and the

conferral of the name itself, thus declaring it one which is justly carried.

A further interesting case is the name-taking reported by Stearns (1975:38ff; 1981:263). The name Skilkwiitlaas was given to a younger member of the Stl'ang 7laanas lineage over three real brothers of the deceased title holder. "It is likely that they were influenced by the request of /the candidate's/ father to return his name, which had formerly belonged to /the candidate's/ paternal grandfather" (1975:39). In this instance, then, the chiefly name was passed on like a "father's side name", legitimating the selection of a junior candidate over three senior candidates who were genealogically closer to the deceased title holder.

As these examples illustrate, taking a different name than one's predecessor is a political statement as much as an expression of "choice", as Swanton claimed. At times, particular genealogical links are emphasized at the cost of others; or in the case of irregular successions, the new incumbent cannot dare to continue the name of his predecessor, for a continuation of names would signify an indisputed continuity of chiefship.

Teknonyms:

Once a person's children have received names, this person is generally known as "x gawwa" (mother of x), or "y xaad/gong" (father of y), particularly to the members of the child's generation. With the next generation, this is extended to "x tcinn" (grandfather of x) and "y naan" (grandmother of y). Curtis (1916:122) notes,

> "if after a reasonable period a married couple have no children, the husband is named as the father of their pet dog. The woman retains her maiden name much longer than a childless man, but if she becomes old and childless, she also takes a name from a pet dog or cat."

One Masset informant remembered a man being called Skuujgee gong after his

pet dog "Bones" (skuuj = "bone"). Krause (1965:152) notes similar practices among the Tlingit.

Like childhood-, potlatch-, and chief-names, teknonyms reflect a change in status, in this case a double change: as the child is given a name and thus becomes a ranked member of his lineage, the teknonym expresses this change in the parents' name. It implicitly acknowledges that they are the ones who put up the feast or potlatch which conferred yahgid status on their children.

Nick-names:

The name a person is most often called by on unofficial occasions is his or her nick-name, although not every person has one. Nick-names are used in everyday interaction, often affectionately or jokingly. They refer to physical or behavioural traits of the individual, i.e. Sguii, "flea" - given to a girl of small size - Gogiid, "boogaboo, wild/crazy man" (see p.332), Tc'aa 7amjuuwee, "wide face (cheeks)"; Kilsdlaa xidguns, "flying chief" - given to a man who had the reputation of "travelling all over the place, always going between Masset and Skidegate". Sometimes nick-names represent sounds produced as baby-talk when the name bearer was small, and fondly remembered: K'ap, Guubii, etc., similar to nick-names in many other languages. Another kind of nick-name is a personal name of an unrelated individual used on someone else because of resembling behavioural traits and attitudes. In this case, the personal name is used like a proper noun; rather than pointing at a particular person, it refers to someone as "a so-and-so". In this manner it is often used in a joking or mildly chiding manner. For instance, an informant noted that she sometimes calls her daughter's teenaged son Yahguaas after a man of that name who had the

reputation of being "stingy", always asking for food at other people's houses and then stockpiling it at home. Her daughter's son has the reputation of putting all his money into the bank and not sharing it, as is expected of him.

Christian Names:

Most of the Haida surnames evolved during the late nineteenth century, when missionaries gave baptismal first names to Haida, and last names had to be used for legal purposes and censuses. In most cases, the childhood or chief-name was initially used as a surname. During the next generation, the baptismal first name of the father was adopted as the last name by the child, with the Haida surname being dropped. This derived surname was then passed on patrilineally - in opposition to the indigenous matrilineal succession of names - as was called for by Indian Agency and Church registration. For example, a man named Skilhlang received the baptismal Christian name Matthew. Skilhlang's son Christopher then took his father's first name as his surname and became Christopher Matthews. This procedure eventually eliminated the Indian names from being anywhere represented in legal documents, although both childhood- and chief-names have continued to be passed on to the present generation of Elders, who in turn continue to give names to their grandchildren.

An interesting feature of naming is that, where suitable, Haida indigenous names were translated into English Christian first names and passed on as "mother's side names": Sandlenee, "dawn", was thus given as the baptismal first name Dawn to a daughter's daughter. In many other cases, a mother's mother's Christian first name was passed down to a granddaughter or grandson, thus transposing the indigenous pattern of naming onto

baptismal first names.

Another question that needs to be asked is how the semantic content of names reflects the social and political messages conveyed by naming. While approximately one third of the names I collected were said to be "just names", i.e. their meaning was forgotten and etymologies could not be produced, the translation of names whose meaning was recognizable was proudly cited as marking the high social status of the bearer. Further names are Tlingit and Tsimshian in origin, lending themselves to hear-say or post hoc etymologies (see below, p. 297).

Personal - and all other proper names - are generated according to a variety of principles. Some - but not all - are morphologically recognizable as names in that they end in the suffix -s, which performs the function of indicating that "everything in the preceding clause or set of words is to be taken as a unit" (Swanton 1911:254). Combined with the prefix nang, it functions similarly to a definite article, singling out one member of a class of human beings. Many names include the noun stems gid, (male) child, jaad (female, girl, woman), or guujaangaa (daughter), these features also defining the gender of the name which is otherwise not marked but simply a matter of convention.

Some names are mere nouns, others are verbs, but most feature combinations of verb-noun, noun-adjective, noun-noun, or longer predicate terms. A considerable number of names are ellipses of longer statements. Some examples are:

Noun:
Guulaas - "abalone"
Hluuwee - "body"
Siigee - "the open sea"

Verb:

Gyaahlans - "standing"

Ganiihlaas - "going to drink"

Predicate term/Noun-adjective:

Daa heeigan - "noise on the steps"

Skil tiis - "fairy lying down"

Stiit kingaan - "heavy labrett"

Ellipses:

Skilkaadgan - "going to see the fairy" from "skil da kaad.agan".

Ginaaskilaas - xaat ginaa "is the name of a common plant which a man mistook for xaat which was eaten to bring fortune; still he became wealthy and assumed this name, xaat being dropped. Skil signifies 'property'"(Swanton 1905a:120).

G'uusk'an - "seagull diving under water to catch fish" (Swanton 1905a:119) guu- (?) + sk'an, "sea-gull"[20].

Hluunaagad - "short for 'hlimaal naagad', house made of limal-skins" (Swanton 1905a:276).

As far as the content of the messages conveyed by the names is concerned, it is remarkable that very few names make reference to animals as crests, supernatural beings or natural species. In my entire collection of names, only about a dozen such names appeared. Most of them refer to yahl, Raven:

Yahl sgoansins - "one raven"

Yahl gwaawaas - "Raven not wanted/lazy Raven" (see below, p. 296).

Yahl kangwaas - "Raven looking about"

Yahl 7inkuu - "Raven calling" (probably Tlingit)

Yahl naaw - "dead Raven" (Tlingit) [21].

Sgaana, meaning "killerwhale" but also "power" and "supernatural being" (see p. 308), appears in:

Sgaana guujaangaa - "killerwhale daughter"

Sgaana 7iiwans - "great killerwhale"

Some others make reference to particular features of the killerwhale, such as:

Hlgan hiildaans - "dorsal fin moving"

Kwaa 7iiwans - "big blowing of the killerwhale" (see below, p. 296),

and finally, one name making reference to Eagle, Goud 7iiwans, "big Eagle".

The majority of childhood names present symbols referring to the name-bearers (and thus name-giver's) social rank. In some cases they assimilate the child to valuable potlatch property, mentioning t'aaw, "copper", as in

T'aaw kingaandaas - "the copper they tell news about"

T'aaw tliigangwaad - "holding up a copper"

T'aaw xanjuud - "the copper they sent away" (probably referring to an episode where a copper was given away at a house-building potlatch involving a naming ceremony).

T'aaw gudanang kaas - "walking over copper", again, referring to the ceremonial giving away of a coppershield, which was walked upon as a sign of the owner's wealth. The owner was said to have owned so many coppers that his child could walk on them during the potlatch.

T'aaw gyad7aad - "copper blanket".

Another symbol of wealth is abalone, guul, as in

Guulaas - "abalone"

Guulee - (same)

Gulkeeihlgad - "abalone shell dish"

or stiit, "labrett", as in Stiit kingaan, "heavy labrett", the term "heavy" itself being another metaphor of richness. In this manner, the names express the social value of the child in terms of the material value against which the social value is measured and validated.

Numerous names include the verbal stem kuuyaa-, meaning "valuable", "precious" (both materially and emotionally), and also "to love". Gid kuyaa can thus be translated as "precious child" as well as "loved child". Kueegee 7iiwans can be translated as "greatly loved" or "very precious".

Another prominent symbol is the stem skil-, meaning "property", "property hat", as well as being an abbreviation for Skil jaadee, "fairy" (Swanton: "Property woman"), the latter also being a female personal name. In some names are included metaphors of rank which are only evident from the socio-cultural context. Some of these are:

heeigan-,"to make a noise": it refers to the noise made by Killerwhales and groundswells, that is, to supernatural noise; moreover, it refers to the noise made while distributing property. Such names are Daa heeigan, "noise on the steps", Skil heeigan, "property making a noise". The stem daa- refers to the steps inside the longhouse, or "basement". Daa jaad is thus translated as "basement woman", but the direct translation does not reveal how the name is symbolically loaded: Only chiefs could afford to build houses with many daai, steps; daa is therefore an attribute of a

chief's child.

Terms meaning "to spread news about someone" equally refer to the fame gained through potlatching:

Jaad kingee kongaawas - "woman much talked about"

Jaad 7ahl k'eeiganaa - "woman they tell stories about"

Guusuu jingwaas - "long speech".

The stem xuhl-, "bright", "shining", also metaphorically used (brightness = wealth), appears mostly in female names:

Xuhl kayaans - "hanging-shining" (?)

Xuhlduung - "something bright", etc. It might be added here that stems indicating brightness or light, as in "bright", "dawn", "sun" seem to be favoured as female names, although there are some exceptions. Names referring to darkness, such as Tc'is galgaas, "darkness", Gal naas, "night house", are male. Similarly, women are more likely associated with fair weather (jaad 7ahl singaangaa, "fair weather woman"), while hiilang-, "thunder", xeew, "southeast wind"[22] are components of male names, their natural force also symbolizing the power of the name-bearer to effect things.

What about such names as Waahlal kingaas, "heavy potlatch", and Waahlal keeyaas, "light potlatch"? Both seem to bear an implicit message not transmitted in the literal meaning. While "heavy potlatch" is obvious from my remarks above, "light potlatch" deserves explanation: It was at a parents' potlatch (waahlal) that names were given to children, and social rank (yahgid) conferred upon them. Yet, rank which was legitimately inherited needed to be accompanied by less distribution of property than rank assumed solely by giving away property, which called for large amounts of property, while making the distributors liable to be accused of "buying

chiefship" (see Chapter IV.4). Stearns (1984) and my own data about chiefly behaviour and chiefly succession seem to substantiate this interpretation. A "light potlatch" is therefore not necessarily an inferior potlatch, but a name of this sort infers the already high rank of the bearer's parents and consequently the bearer herself.

The metaphors referred to above are similar to those used in Haida oratory and gid kagaan (cradle-) songs. They are what is called in English "high words". Gid kagaan songs are lineage-owned songs, performed at the waahlal potlatches when names and yahgid status was conferred on the children. The songs spoke proudly of the children and, in a wishful-thinking manner, evoked great deeds they would do one day (c.f. Swanton 1912)[23]. As we have seen (Chapter IV.5), they often involve rhetorical inversion and the parents' self-mockery.

Certain names are highly contextual, that is, they are socially meaningful only as part of a syntagmatic chain of statements, i.e. the story that accompanies them. This story of the origin of the name, or an episode in the life of the first bearer, usually is recited during the name-giving ceremony.

The name Sandlenee, "dawn", is thus accompanied by a story signifying that a girl of the Yaaku 7laanas at K'yuust'aa - where her mother was married - was of such high rank that she was allowed to sleep in every morning. As opposed to common people, high persons' children are so "precious" that they are allowed to sleep in, rather than commence work early in the morning. (see Chapter IV.4).

Many of these contextual names refer to episodes of seeking a supernatural encounter through fasting and eating medicine, in order to gain

material wealth and promotion to chiefship, or they were simply created to "commemorate events" (Swanton 1905a:118), which maximized a person's wealth and rank. The name Ginaaskilas mentioned above is an instance of this, and so is a series of names beginning with skil-, which were acquired in the following manner:

> "They were living at Awun River. /The S7ajuugahl 7laanas/ own it. This guy went up and wandered around. Once in a while he took roots out, and that's what kept him alive. Then he came around to where a big devil's club was. He was standing there looking. He took the skin off the devil's club tree and ate it. He took four strips of skin. That's when the fairy with a baby on her back came. He couldn't touch the fairy because she was too far away. That's when he got all the names with skil: Skildakahljuu "waiting for the fairy", Skildakeeidlaas, "Looking up to the fairy," Skilduugahl, "Being invited in by the fairy," Skilk'yuuwat, "Fairy in the way", Skilkaadgan, "Going to /see/ the fairy". 24)

A number of chiefly names are reported (Swanton 1905) to have been adopted from the supernatural being encountered or defeated who bore the name of a prominent land-mark he was said to "live underneath" (ibid.). Examples are:

Tljaang kona, - "Great breakers" (Cape Bell, East Coast of Queen Charlottes)

Hl7aajiiwaas - "Stones piled up", a rock at Yaan

Sgaana kajii stans - "Killerwhale with two heads", a cliff at North Island.

Such names are double metaphors in that they stand both for the cliff/cape and the supernatural being occupying it. The chief assuming the name is thus linked to the place as well as to the supernatural being, and the place, of course, is claimed by his lineage.

This brings us to an important feature of naming and names: As I mentioned earlier, the name is linked to a lineage, and thus to the resources and property of this lineage. In the stories of name-origins, recited during feasts, this link to land and lineage is always stressed, providing the

audience with a reminder of its ownership, and a cognitive map of the territory the name-bearers have a right to as members - or, in the case of chiefs, head - of the lineage owning the name. Especially chiefly names maximize the high standing of the name-holder, and they do this with their semantic content; duplification is one of the devices used. Certain names make direct reference to chiefship:

Nang kilsdlaas - "chief", honorary term: "one who can do things with words".

7iitlgee - "chief", "rich man".

k'ol keyaas - "they found a chief".

Other names double this chiefly status by adding stang-, "two":

Nang stans - "one who is /equal to/ two".

7laanas sdang - "two towns/townchiefs".

Kilsdlaas stang - "two chiefs", or, in the words of an informant: "Kilsdlaas means someone is high, two of those high people means he's even higher than one."

Another device occasionally used is inversion, such as in "Poor Chief's son", really meaning to designate a high chief's son.

The most curious names are slave names. While slaves are heavily stigmatized in Haida society, to the extent that the word "slave", xaldaang, is barely mentionable, the names of slaves are favoured as childhood names. They are said to bring luck to the children and ensure a long life for them. Some of the slave names are Tsimshian in origin (Galiij, Wiisha), others are Haida language names, such as Xaa.hlgaan, "wild dog". Of course, it is possible that they represent mere inversions, as these are a fairly common device in Haida symbolic classification. Another possible clue to choosing slave names, however, is a statement by Niblack (1970:369): "...during the

period when slaves were held, a number of them equal to that of the children for whom the celebration was given at this point received their liberty." In other words, slave names, like the elliptic names referred to above, may represent another instance of syntagmatic names, where the name of the slave is picked to commemorate the potlatch event during which the slave - most valuable of all material properties, except copper - was released, that is, symbolically destroyed as property to validate the child's new elevated status. Other explanations were that slaves were always treated well and that they were formerly high-ranking individuals in their own towns or tribes (see p.116).

Two instances in which a white seafarer exchanged names with Haida chiefs are reported. The Haida pass these on like other chiefly names commemorating events. As G. M. Dawson tells us, in the nineteenth century "Captain" seems to have become a Haida title synonymous to "chief" (Dawson 1880:119B).

Thus, chief "Blakow Connehaw" of K'yuust'aa exchanged names with the English Captain Douglas in 1788 (Meares 1790:305), and thirty years later, the "head chief of Masset, Itemchou" (?) exchanged names with the French Captain Camille de Roquefeuil (1823:89). While "Loki", the Haida corruption of the French name, seems to have dropped out of the Haida inventory of names, "Douglas" was passed on to future chiefs of K'yuust'aa. G. M. Dawson reported in 1878 that A. E. Edenshaw, who had assumed the chieftaincy of K'yuust'aa, had inherited the name along with the name 7iidangsaa (= Edenshaw), the title from his lineage (Dawson 1880:160B). Interestingly, "Douglas" was passed down to A. E. Edenshaw's son's son - in the manner of a "father's side name" - who was christened Douglas Edenshaw. It was

explained by informants in this context that the name Douglas was "given to them", meaning they had a right to use it. Here we thus have a double transformation of a white name assumed by a chief as a title, and finally ending up as a Christian name with a Haida again, but succeeded like a rightful Indian name.

As far as the transgression of the sacred/profane and spiritual/material boundaries is concerned, I have so far explained how the transmission of names transcends these. Names acquired spiritually become secularized to maximize the name-taker's social rank and are even acquired from supernatural beings to accumulate material wealth. Chiefly names are passed down to children to anticipate the child's social rank. In addition to this, the meaning of names themselves is played with, transcending the supernatural/natural and sacred/profane divisions. Some names lend themselves to puns, and Haidas love puns, using them jokingly in a familiar setting to make "bum names" out of "high names". Done publicly, this could of course be taken as a serious insult.

Yehl gwaawaas, "Raven not wanted", referring to an episode in the mythical Raven cycle, thus becomes "Lazy Raven" (gwaa- being a homonym, besides "not wanted", "ostracized", "banished", "refused", it means "lazy"). Kwaa 7iuuwans, officially "the big blowing of the killerwhale", becomes secularized to "big bum/rearside" through a slight alteration in pronunciation (kwaa- "bum"). K'oud, a curious name meaning "dead" is reported to be "made fun of" at instances in referring to a person who passed out while drinking alcohol.

In addition to these puns, non-Haida names lend themselves to being re-etymologized in later generations, their meaning often being totally

altered. The change in meaning corresponds with the social-political evaluation of later name-holders. Wiaa (Weah), given by Swanton (1905a:118) as Tsimshian for "great wind", has been relegated as "slave" (!) by the Tsimshian-born wife of a successor to the first Weah. 7iidangsaa, by Swanton translated as originating from Tlingit Itinacu,"glacier", was translated to me by an elderly Haida as "I guess it means the greatest from that tribe" - which was what A.E. Edenshaw, in whose connection the name was mentioned, was trying and pretending to achieve.

In conclusion, then, Haida names are neither mere deictic devices, nor formal social classifiers imposing structure on generations and social relations. Rather, people DO THINGS WITH NAMES, be this on the level of action (naming), or semantics, or both. While a name marks a person's position in life, his social personality, or even the reincarnated soul inhabiting him, all these are dynamic and open to manipulation, rather than one-dimensionally incorporating a person into his group.

Footnotes:

1) The "Secret societies" were imported by the Haida from the Kwakiutl via the Bella Bella and Tsimshian. They were not "secret societies" in the usual sense, but were prerogative performances. (see p. 172 fn29).

2) Button-blankets are ceremonial blankets which have a crest-design. Formerly made of Hudson's Bay blankets and mother-of-pearl buttons, they are now made of wool fabric or felt and plastic buttons. With the spread of neo-traditional ceremonies during the last few years, the manufacture and wear of these blankets has become wide-spread recently.

3) As before (Chapter III; IV), we must note the shift to an increased importance of the moieties in social classification and ceremonial duties, expressed also in an increased use of the moiety crests. The Raven is no more regarded as a crest alienated from the Raven moiety (see p.269 below).

4) In her doctoral dissertation (1973), Marjorie Halpin undertook a detailed examination of the Tsimshian crest system, based on the unpublished data collected by William Beynon and Marius Barbeau (see also 1984). She adopts structuralist principles for the analysis of Tsimshian crests. However, she notes that "The Tsimshian system of totemic classification proved upon analysis to be both more subtle and more extensive thatn previously suspected" (1984:17).

5) The Tc'amaaos is of Tsimshian origin. Note the function and structure attributed to "Monster crests" by Halpin (see 4) above). The Sganguu is a Haida indigenous crest. It is based on a K'aawas/Sdast'aas myth about a man who went wild and crazy, demonstrated by various symbolic reversals of behaviour (see Swanton 1908:#23). The Fairy, Copper, Rock-slide, Rainbow, Cedar-limbs, Tree and Wasgo are Skidegate crests and not represented in Tables VII and VIII.

6) In the following text, animal names as crests will be capitalized.

7) Note, however, that many species names of animals are Tlingit loan-words. This led Swanton (1904) to speculate about the origin of the moiety and crest system of the Tsimshian and Haida as partially derived from the Tlingit who, according to his reasoning, formerly occupied the area now inhabited by the Coast Tsimshian.

8) Traditional crests. Present-day carvers frequently use non-traditional designs. Seal-pup and clam are among these.

9) Boas (1916:501f) gives a list of tabooed animals for the Tsimshian, and indigenous reasons why they were considered forbidden to eat.

10) See below, Chapter VII.4, p. 328, for an abstract and analysis of this myth.

11) A very different version is given in Swanton (1905b:320) for the origin of this crest.

12) Swanton's Skidegate informant gave a different account of the origin of the Frog crest: according to him, it was first "used" by the mythical ancestress Djilaqons. This is understandable in the light of the fact that it plays a significant role in the Djilaqons myth (see Swanton 1905b:#34). As to the actual occurrence of frogs on the islands, Deans (1899) states that frogs did not occur on the islands, citing a myth which explains why they left. However, elderly informants state that a kind of "toad" is indigenous to the area. Note also the role of the frog in symbolic classification, where it is generally conceived of as bringing good luck (see p. 123).

13) In the original: "Deren Abzeichen haben nun nichts mehr zu tun mit dem 'Sein' der Gruppe, sondern mit ihrem "Haben". Die Mitglieder der degeneriert-totemistischen Gruppe - eine solche ist die Haida Sippe - sagen nicht mehr: 'wir sind etwas anderes also ihr anderen', sondern: 'wir haben etwas anderes; und, wenn erst verschiedene Bewertung der Crests Platz ergriffen hat: 'Wir haben mehr also ihr!' Mit erstaunlicher Raschheit vollzieht sich nun der Prozess, dass die Crests zu sozialen Rangabzeichen werden, geradezu zu Vermögensstücken, die man gegen andere eintauscht".

14) Naming is very pervasive among the Haida. Besides human beings, houses, canoes, salmon traps, and spoons (Swanton 1905a:117) were given names, all these being privileges or prerogatives of the lineages owning them.

15) Ego here refers to a person receiving or assuming a name.

16) Stevenson tried to prove that reincarnation as a "real" phenomenon exists among the Haida and elsewhere. He therefore neglected to investigate the social implications and foundations of the belief in reincarnation.

17) George Deagle, M.D., personal communication.

18) See p.331f, Chapter VII.4, on land-otters.

19) "Our tribe" refers to the Daadans Yaaku 7laanas. "My husband's Dad" was a Stl'ang 7laanas.

20) The name Skaaxwad seems to have been passed on within the Stl'ang 7laanas lineage as a childhood name afterwards. It was one of Skilhlang's (p.279) names.

21) guu- is possibly a nominal classifier referring to "flat and thick objects", including bottom fish (c.f. Swanton 1911:230).

22) Yahl, the Masset Haida term for raven, the natural species, and Raven, the Trickster-Transformer, is Tlingit in origin. In Skidegate Haida, a raven is xoyaa, while the story name for Raven, the Trickster, is Nang kilsdlaas.

23) xeew, south-east, is the violent storm-rain wind on the Northwest Coast. xeew is personified as a mythical being (c.f. Swanton 1908:#14). It is also the title of the chief of Kloo on Moresby Island, Kloo being the anglicized corruption of xeew.

24) Additional Gid kagaan songs sung by Masset Elders are on the record Gawa Sgalaangaa, Songs from Masset. Copyright 1979, Masset Band (see Chapter IV.5, p.158).

25) Emma Matthews, personal communication. Names making reference to Skil (jaadee), however, are also owned by other lineages. Skil jaadee itself is a Daadans Yaaku 7laanas name.

CHAPTER VII

POWERS AND THEIR TRANSFORMATIONS

The last four chapters have focused on the consciously maintained ambiguity of the symbols of social classification. The world of Haida social classification has emerged as a world in constant flux, whose meanings are continuously blurred in order to be renegotiated in implicit discourses over social power.

I will now expand this analysis to include the classification of "other worlds": that of nature and that beyond nature, which in Haida symbolic thinking are not separated but are seen as merged, as different aspects of the same entity. As I have already shown especially in Chapters IV and VI, the (super)natural world is related to the social world not only as a reflection or refraction, but is instrumentally connected with it. In mythical ideology, power obtained through contact with supernatural beings can be transformed into symbolic and material property, which in turn translates into social status. This means that the standard dichotomies of Western epistemology, such as natural and supernatural, sacred and profane, animal and human, material and immaterial, do not apply to Haida symbolic thought. Instead, to the Haida, all beings and objects in nature had, and in some respects still have, multiple identities and multiple realities. The form and the intent of beings and objects encountered in nature is ambiguous, depending on the perspective of the human being encountering them, on his or her intent and subjective state of mind.

The Haidas' relationship with the (super)natural world is shaped by the concept of power, sgaana, which is also the term for supernatural beings, and for those thought to be the highest among them, the

killerwhales. Everything in nature is seen as a potential source of power, which can be harmful or beneficial to the person encountering it.

This chapter will analyse the native exegesis of power as it is narrated primarily in myth. After a brief examination of the function of style, I will detail the meanings of supernatural powers and their relationships with humans. I will then turn to an analysis of the Trickster-Transformer figure, Raven, as a metaphor of social and moral marginality and liminality. Finally, I will devote some analysis to Haida mythical and symbolic images of Killerwhales, who have a special relationship with humans, and who are considered the most forceful of all supernatural powers. The beliefs in and images of killerwhales, in turn, are logically connected with those of Land-Otters, stlaguu, who are conceived of as trying to rob human beings of their senses.

1. The Language of Myth

Most of the discourse about nature and its (super)natural powers takes place through the medium of myth, or "stories". Thus, in order to analyse the Haida concepts of powers and their relationships with humans, we will turn to the analysis of myth. The object of my symbolic analysis is not that of structuralist analysis. I will not be concerned with the logic of Haida mythology as it relates to the universal structure of unconscious symbolic thought, but with the context and meaning of a specific cultural idiom. This idiom, in turn, will be shown to be parallel to, as well as conceptually and instrumentally connected with, Haida social relations.

Mythology "is, and has been, anybody's plaything" (Burridge 1967:91). "Myth" itself is a multi-purpose category, having dimensions of literature, entertainment, of text and performance, of explaining moral, spiritual,

natural and social concerns. In preceding chapters, I have quoted myths to point out Haida ideology, both on the level of the legitimation of the overall social order, and on the level of the justification of particular interests by individuals and corporate groups. Haida myths as prerogatives of lineages have the acknowledged function of legitimating rights to particular places which are mapped out in them, and to names, crests, etc., whose origins are narrated in them. Still, these functions tell us little about the internal meaning or the system of knowledge connected with myths.

Haida Elders often translate their word for "myth" or "story", k'eeiganaa, as "it's like a parable in the bible", implying that it is a form of allegory and comparison through which relations of social-moral and spiritual concerns are set forth. Myths are narratives which relate those concerns through images taken from nature and social life.

When I arrived in Masset in the fall of 1979 in order to collect myths from Elders for a projected textual and contextual analysis of the texts collected by Swanton over eighty years ago, I was told that "the stories are all gone" (i.e. forgotten). However, texts emerged with contexts: The narration of Raven cycle episodes was triggered off by natural phenomena, or by the consumption and collection of certain foods; other stories were recalled following remarks and jokes made by individuals, by reminiscences of the past, or by current events. The mentioning of names, places and lineages brought back stories which were seen as linked with them. In the flux of informant narrative, stories merged with life-history, revealing that conceptually, the two were placed on a continuum. Stories were metaphorical excursions serving to explain and illustrate present and past events and concerns.

Most such stories were nonetheless fragmentary compared with Swanton's Masset Texts (1908). In the context of informal performance, they were often mere allegorical vignettes rather than elaborate narratives. With television, radio and magazines having replaced story-telling as a source of entertainment in public or during long winter evenings, the art of elaborate performance has become all but lost. Only two or three of the oldest Elders "know stories" and can present them in elaborate Haida. In the course of field-work, about a dozen elaborate versions of myths were collected[1]. All but four of these were recorded by Swanton in his Masset Texts in slightly different versions[2]. For the sake of comparison, and for different versions of details, they are nonetheless interesting (see Appendix).

In addition to recording contemporary versions of myths, many of Swanton's Masset Texts were read to informants to check content, receive commentary and annotation[3]. Swanton's texts are not the only sources of Haida myths. Aside from his collections (1908; 1905b), we have numerous other collections and fragments of Haida myths. They include brief summaries of a few myths by Dawson (1880), by Curtis (1916), the Haida myths in Boas' Indianische Sagen von der nordpacifischen Küste Amerikas (1895), some notes by Hoffmann (1885), and the collections by Harrison (1892; 1925), Deans (1899), and Barbeau (1953), although the latter is largely compiled from the other sources. Most of these are interpreted through the eyes of the collectors, and are retold rather than recorded.

Besides being exhaustive and of high general quality, Swanton's texts are especially valuable as they are bilingual. They allow us to consult, check and analyse the original. Translations, or even more so, summaries

of myths like those presented by most of the above authors, never do justice to the intricacy and complexity of the message of the original. Hymes (1981) has called attention to the importance of working with the original, of considering the literary value of the myths under analysis; meaning is in artistry: "The poetic purpose is to come as close as possible to the intended shape of the text in order to grasp as much as possible of the meanings embodied in this shape" (op. cit.:7). The method followed in this chapter will be one of (emic) ethnographic faithfulness, guided by philological interpretation[4)].

Especially where the message of the myth involves play with words, this message is easily lost when only relying on a brief summary or translation. Haida myths teem with puns. I have pointed out (Chapter IV, p.163; Chapter VI, p.296) the Haida fondness of inversion, allusion and puns in oratory, song and joke. It is no wonder, then, that many myths feature or include puns. An excellent example is Masset Text #25, Skandaal, the story of a young man who takes metaphors literally. He goes fishing with his friends and

> "after he had fished for a while, he had a bite. When he had drawn the halibut near him, they said to him, 'Skandaal, lie in the water with it' /Lie (in the water) with it means 'be very careful'/[5)]. Then Skandaal lay down in the water with it. And his friends rescued him. /.../ And after a while, he went to look for things on the beach. 'Where are you going, Skandaal?' they said to him. 'If you find a whale, carve it all (up)'[6)]. And he said 'Yes'. And when he started, he went a long way. And he came to where a whale lay. Then he began to carve its skin only. He carved all sorts of figures on it. And he carved the whole of it. And he went back. And when he came home, they said to him, 'Did you find a whale?' 'I found one', he said. 'Did you carve it (up)?' they said to him. 'Yes', he said. And next day the whole town went to the whale. And Skandaal went with them. When they came to the whale, they saw that it was all carved in designs. Then all laughed heartily"....

The myth comes to a macabre end when Skandaal takes another metaphor

literally: When women dig a hole in the ground to place fern-roots in it for cooking, they say "7aadlan.an hl dlu.udaa.asgaa", "I will lie (them) here". Misunderstanding this remark - probably for an indirect invitation - Skandaal eagerly says the same, "I will lie here", and lies down in the fern-root pit, where he dies after the fire is lit.

Another example is #61, The Half-head that married a Certain Person. In translation, the pun at the beginning of the story and in the title is obscured. The myth involves a chief's daughter (nang yahgid) whose parents refuse to let her marry any of her suitors, because "they wanted a wise man (nang k'adaangaa) to marry their daughter". Then, quite literally, she marries a human head (kaj ; nang kaj); not only that, but a "half-head" (nang kaj 7iinawee). The pun here rests on the fact that she was told to marry someone wise, and quite literally, she marries a "head". Moreover, the word-play rests on the phonetic similarity between 7iina7awee ("want to marry") and 7iinawee, ("half").

A somewhat macabre pun is related by Swanton (1905b:362) in a Skidegate "Children's Story":

> "Hababeeeeee, here is younger brother /or sister, duun/ crying. 'Give your younger brother the large clam's head (k'ong.uskajaa) that I put away for him.' 'Where is younger brother?' 'I don't know. I destroyed him (kong.uskajiggan) as you told me to do.'"

The pun here rests on the phonetic similarity between "I destroyed him" and "large clam's head". It is interesting that the pun here appears in a children's story, thus instilling a sense for punning in children through story-telling.

As these examples show, an accurate understanding of the meaning of particular myths involves its accurate philological understanding. The latter is not just a matter of style, but of the essence of what makes a

good story in Haida understanding.

Another stylistic device which we frequently encounter is allusion. I have detailed the social meaning of allusion in Chapter IV: Statements made in public are highly allusory and implicit, expressed through hints, or through not saying rather than stating explicitly. This is because clear and overt statements can be taken as boasting, or as insults. Or, as Guédon, in referring to the Tsimshian, puts it:

> "As a rule, one does not voice anything important in clear terms, for anything which is thought, and more importantly, spoken aloud, can be reclaimed in some way by other people. Nothing is hidden." (Guédon 1984:141).

My analysis of Raven, the Trickster (below, part 3 of this chapter) will reveal the continuation of social allusion in myth. Moreover, allusion as a combined stylistic and rhetorical device plays an important role in myths about encounters with supernatural powers. The latter are easily insulted by "bad" thoughts and words. Animals who are potential supernatural beings are therefore addressed carefully and indirectly, for fear of offending them and of the consequences of such offence.

Puns and allusion imply that meaning is ambiguous, that it depends on context and performance. Moreover, as Leach (1964) has demonstrated, they are vehicles for dealing with the tabooed, the sacred, the dangerous. In this sense, then, stylistic devices such as pun and allusion which bring about multiple interpretations, are congruous with and reinforce the cosmological content of Haida myths in so far as they deal with ambiguity and multiplicity of physical form and intent.

Finally, the above literary devices reinforce the place of Haida myths as along a continuum between the sacred and the profane, where seriousness alternates with laughter, and mundane and earthy episodes are quickly

followed by those featuring encounters with forceful supernatural beings.

2. The Potentiality of Power

To understand the Haida concept of supernatural power and the agency of supernatural powers on human beings, we must turn to the verbal and functional categories of what we translate as power[7]. The term sgaana stands for "power"; it is also the word which applies to supernatural beings in general and killerwhales in particular. There thus exists a conceptual identity between the supernatural being and its power. "Power" in this sense refers to all beings and things which have the ability to cause things to happen by means which are normally not accessible to humans. Such power is intrinsic to supernatural beings, who can confer it upon humans voluntarily or involuntarily. It includes the ability to change shape, to overcome spatial and temporal boundaries, to extend sensory perception and control the forces of nature. All of these, if applied in the human context, have the objective to provide goods for human consumption, and/or to exert social, political and spiritual control over others.

Power is therefore not innate to humans, but it can be obtained by them. Lay persons can seek to obtain supernatural power through fasting, secluding themselves, taking medicine, and thus providing visions which will reveal sgaanwee (def.) - usually in animal disguise - which then confer their power upon the humans. Myths also relate the conferral of power to the individuals who do not intentionally seek it, but who accidentally encounter sgaanwee while alone in nature. Especially in the latter cases, the agency of the sgaanwee is unpredictable; it can be harmful or beneficial.

Humans who obtained supernatural power through experiences which continued to manifest itself were shamans[8]: "A shaman was one who had

obtained power from some supernatural being /sgaana/ who 'possessed him' or who chose him as the medium through which to make his existence felt to the world of men" (Swanton 1905a:38). The native term for shaman is sgaaga which includes the same root, sgaa- as the term for power. The distinction is between the being conferring power (sgaana) and the human being permanently possessed by it (sgaaga). The shaman became the "mouth-piece" of the sgaana. It spoke through him in foreign (Tlingit, Bella Bella, Tsimshian) or animal tongues[9] which the shaman did not remember when not in trance (ibid.). The capacity to be a sgaaga was hereditary in the matriline (ibid.), although the novice had to apprentice the manipulative skills and rituals from his predecessor in order to become possessed and to remain a sgaaga. Shamans had to be particularly clean; supernatural beings preferred them to be "clean as glass" (ibid.), a state which could be reached through drinking salt water, fasting, taking medicine, and avoiding contact with polluting items, especially menstrual blood. They had to keep their 'shaman's box' - which included charms obtained from and representing their spirit helper, a rattle, a dancing blanket, "head-scratchers" (Swanton op. cit.:40) - away from the village, that is, away from possible contact with menstruant women (e.g. 1908: 575). Yet women, although they had the passive capacity to pollute, could become shamans (see Swanton 1908:570f). Shamans, through enlisting the help of the sgaanwee who spoke through them, could detect and cure disease, they were called upon to ensure success in hunting and fishing, they could predict future events, and they could detect witches.

A third type of power must be mentioned in this context, although it will be discussed in detail in Chapter VIII: This is kuganaa, or evil

power, which is obtained by humans through the magical manipulation of objects and directed at other humans to cause them harm.

The entire natural world is seen as populated by sgaanwee. The latter most frequently appear in animal shape:

> "According to Haida spirit theory, every animal was, or might be, the embodiment of a being who, at his own pleasure, could appear in the human form. They seem to be looked at from two entirely different points of view. As animals, they were called Ginaa teeiga, birds, salmon, herring, devil-fish, etc.; as supernatural beings in disguise, sgaana kedaas, Forest-People, Salmon-People, Herring-People, etc. As animals, they might be hunted, or given as food to man by another animal who was a supernatural being; as supernatural beings themselves they might entertain men in their towns, intermarry with them, help or harm them..." (Swanton 1905a:16).

Supernatural beings are divided into Ocean-People (tcaan xaadee) who comprise all fish, sea mammals and shell-fish, headed by killerwhales; and Forest-People (hlkyaans xaadee), including Bear-People, Land-Otters, Mouse-People, Deer-People, Frog-People, etc.: "Every kind of quadruped and bird seems to have had a human form as well as an animal disguise, and each might help or harm men" (op. cit.:25). In addition, there were further sgaanwee not directly associated with animals. The ultimate source of all supernatural power was thought to be sins sgaanwee, "Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens" about whom rather vague notions existed (op. cit.:13f). Furthermore, sun, moon, stars, winds, thunder and lightning were thought to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Creeks were guarded by Creek-women (see p. 70); in the swamps lived Canoe-People, and further Patron-spirits who each patronized particular powers were conceived as populating the universe (op. cit.:29ff). In addition, all animate and inanimate objects in nature were potential sources of power: "It would appear that not only animals and trees, but bushes, sticks, and stones, were alive with spirits; for when one of the great heroes is about to break a taboo or commit some

similar error, 'everything in the forest cries out to stop him'" (op. cit.: 29).

The social world of supernatural beings was seen as parallel to that of human beings. Rank differences were thought to exist among supernatural beings, both within and between species. They were imagined as living in houses, as having chiefs, as marrying humans and other animals, and as being able to talk. In their own houses and villages, they were thought to eat food similar to that of humans, tend fires, etc.; outside, they made war and travelled in canoes. In addition, there exists a conceptual continuum between humans and animals/supernatural beings: Animals as supernatural beings can assume human form; they can appear in human shape by taking off their animal skins, a property which is illustrated in numerous myths. Masset Text #40, The Man with the Fish Trap, tells of a man who is abducted by the Black-Bear-People. During the day, they appear to him as bears, but "in the evening they came out of their skins. And they became like human beings. And they hung up their skins in the house" (1908:5120). In The Woman who married a Devil-Fish (#47), the transformation takes place in the reverse way: "The morning after they were real human beings. And at night, they became devil-fish" (op. cit.:563).

The multi-facetted image of animals is also evident in #44, The Man who was carried off by the Land-Otters: Here, the protagonist is abducted by the Land-Otters (see also p.332 below), who keep him in their town. After he escapes, he and his lineage mates kill them, take their skins and sell them to the Steamer "Otter". Here, land-otters (stlaguu), in quick succession, are treated as supernatural beings, animals, and as commercial property which is sold to the crew of the steamer bearing the same name.

In some myths, supernatural beings transform themselves into, or act through, other animals, plants or objects. In #49 a Devil-Fish transforms himself into a mouse to act upon a human being; in #31, it is a Skunk Cabbage (hlgun) which "gives food to" the protagonist of the story. Other stories tell of the involuntary transformation, sometimes only partial, of humans into animals (e.g. 1908:755; #38; #81). The essence of personality which survives physical changes is the soul, gaadhlandee or xanj. The xanj (lit. "shadow") is the soul that can be reincarnated in another person's body after death (see Chapter VI.2, p.278). The gaahlandee - which, according to Swanton (1905a:34) refers to the same entity - continues to exist after a person is transformed into a supernatural being/animal. It acts according to manners and wishes of the previous personality (see p. 330 below); where it does not inhabit a human or animal body, it can be seen only by shamans (Swanton 1908:581). Terms which refer to different concepts are k'atgan, "ghost" or "appearance": It denotes the outer appearance rather than the soul-essence, Tcik'iid kaaw was explained by one Elder as "it's like a shadow. That's how we turn out after we pass away. It's just like you're sleeping and then you're waking up". Swanton also added the word gyat for the disembodied soul after death, which goes to gyat tlagee, the "Land of Souls" (1905a:34). Thus, this term seems to apply to the soul without body, while gaahlandee refers to the soul with a different or humanly invisible body.

The means by which the change from human to animal state is effected is usually the skin, (k'al), the outer wrapping. Mythically, the skin provides the wearer with the powers and features of the animal embodied[10]: After shooting a duck, Raven acquires the ability to swim by putting on its

skin (Boas 1916: 626); the young man who killed the Wasgo, a supernatural monster half bear, half killerwhale, assumes its powers after the deed. He

> "took out the monster's body and skinned it. He made a fire near the water and dried the skin. Then he put it on. Now he himself had assumed the shape of the Wasgo, and he went into the water. He walked along the bottom of the water down to the sea. There he saw many whales. He caught them, and carried them ashore to his town." (Swanton 1908:622).

In #38, The Man who became an Eagle, the protagonist marries an Eagle woman. His father-in-law gives him an eagle skin, and with it, he is able to fly like an eagle and take revenge on his maternal uncle, who had banished him from his home village, transforming him into a devil-fish.

Conversely, in #40 (see above), the supernatural bear is rendered helpless by having his bear-skin stolen by the man whom he had abducted:

> "Then the man threw the bear-skin into his canoe. And he went away in haste with it. And after he got well out to sea, the Bear came down running. He was like a human being and said to him, 'Give me my skin.' And while he was speaking, he began to melt. But his skin in the canoe grew. And he made himself melt. But his skin became a whole bear in the canoe. And he came to the town with it....Then he cooked the bear-meat. And when it was cooked, he called the people for the food." (1908:521f).

The skin thus gives power to the animal or to the human being stealing it. Without it, the supernatural animal is reduced to a mere animal. Thus, form gives power. Conversely, power also gives form: The Haida term used for the concept of transformation is 7iihldaa, "to cause to become", which is a faculty of the sgaanwee. The transformation between animal and human states is therefore "not so much a process as a quality corresponding to multiple identities or to multiple points of view" (Guédon 1984:142). Transformations are matters of perception. In this context, it is important to point out that in myths, incidents which reveal the supernatural being under the animal hide, take place away from the village, away from human

habitation. As experienced in solitude, Nature - whether this involves the forest (diidguii) or the open sea (siigee), (see above, p. 56) - has many potential realities, depending on the perspective and the observer's frame of mind. What appears as an animal shape in fog or at dusk, turns out to be a log on the beach upon closer inspection; a piece of kelp in the water looks like a sea-serpent; a rock appears to be a human profile; a dead-head is taken for the splashing and blowing of a killerwhale. The sound of the surf or the blowing of the wind is perceived as songs sung by super-natural beings; the pounding of the waves becomes the beating of their drums. The natural world is perceived as a potentially supernatural one, its interpretation shaped by the subjective state of mind of the individual experiencing it. Informants often told of incidences where, while hunting or fishing, they had perceived things differently, although upon closer inspection they turned out to be natural phenomena or objects. Swanton (1908; 1905b) gives some stories where the perception of reality alters throughout the myth. In #47, after the supernatural Devil-Fish who married the chief's daughter disappears, her father sees that his "grease-boxes were sea-anemones ... that the canoe they had come in had become a big log with roots on it" (1908:562). Moreover, in Haida conception, to perceive or make a likeness of (niijaang) something in shape or name is to release its power, which can then act positively or negatively upon oneself and the environment (e.g. #43; #44).

Human experiences with supernatural beings are triggered off by acts of communication. In a positive sense, they involve acts of reciprocity between humans and animals/supernatural beings: In #17, a boy feeds an eagle against the wishes of his people, and the eagle gives him food in

return when the people in the village suffer starvation (see also #76). In #67, a man finds a killerwhale lying on the beach which has a whale rib caught between his teeth. After the man removes it, the killerwhale "gives him" ten whales.

Where, however, communication with animals is disrespectful, the animal/supernatural being harms the protagonist in return: In #36, a woman is abducted by the Black-Bear People after she steps into their bear-dung and screams out in disgust; in #40, a bear-hunter is abducted by Black Bears after they eat the salmon in his fish trap and he insults them as "eaters of raw flesh"[11]. Pointing at anything with spread fingers "was one of the most serious insults that could be offered" (Swanton 1908:573 fn.3). Therefore, when someone pointed his/her fingers at a black cloud in the sky (which is associated with stormy weather caused by the Southeast Wind, who is one of the Ocean-People), the chief of the Ocean-People causes famine in the town (#62).

However, it is not only manifest actions that count; thoughts and intentions also matter. The sgaanwee sense beyond what is immediately said. Guudaang, respect, is also the word for mind, which, in contact with supernatural powers must be "clean". In this context, then, intent has as much causality as physically or verbally manifest deeds (c.f. Guédon 1984: 141). To demonstrate good intention and a "clean mind", the person who is to come into contact with (super)natural beings offers gifts to the sgaanwee to please them. He gives them tobacco and flicker-feathers - the sgaanwee are said to be especially fond of these - or food. The hunter must cleanse himself by fasting and drinking salt water, abstaining from sexual intercourse, and eating medicine[12].

Fire was seen as a means of communication with supernatural beings. Thus, the shaman walked around the fire to communicate with the power that possessed him. An elderly informant noted that "people used to be scared to say something bad by the camp-fire", alluding to the idea that supernatural beings would hear and act upon such words. The actual communicator with the sgaanwee was imagined to be "Woman-under-the-Fire", who "repeated to the supernatural beings everything that was said near it. But if charcoal were constantly rubbed upon the lips of a person who had said anything he did not want the supernatural beings to hear, Woman-under-the-Fire knew that it was not intended" (Swanton 1905b:fn50). She was thus imagined as a mediator between the supernatural beings and humans, who could be ritually convinced to collaborate with human beings.

Another such mediator was Mouse-Woman, or "the woman who was stone from the hip down" (see p. 172fn34) who in many myths (e.g. #44; #35; #40), gives advice to the protagonist who is abducted by a supernatural being, so he manages to escape with her help.

Despite their powers to cause things to happen, supernatural beings were not seen as omnipotent. The most effective weapon against them was a whet-stone: If placed between a supernatural being which had been cut into two, the two parts would "grind themselves to nothing" in their endeavours to coalesce (Swanton 1905a:17). "Otherwise, a supernatural being quickly reweaves the fragments of its body" (ibid., see also p. 328 below). Supernatural beings were also thought to be afraid of and to be incapacitated by polluting items, such as menstrual blood and urine. The latter, as we will see, was thought to be particularly effective against Land-Otters (p. 332). Finally, blue hellabore (gwaayk'aa), the most powerful of all medicines,

could turn supernatural beings away (Swanton 1905a:19).

In summary, I have shown that for the Haida, the natural and supernatural world are seen as placed on a continuum. As experienced in Nature, the human and non-human worlds are permeable; the appearance of beings and objects in Nature depends on the perspective, or state of mind, of the person encountering it[13]. The permeability of the natural and supernatural world is expressed in the notion of power, sgaana, which is the power of supernatural beings to transform themselves as well as humans encountering them, to be beneficial or harmful, which in turn depends on human communication and intent. This power, in turn, can be conferred on or acquired by human beings.

3. Raven

Yahl, the Raven, "plays a conspicuous part in Haida mythology" (Swanton 1905a:27); yet, as Swanton continued, "they did not appear to have reverenced it very much" (ibid.). People sometimes left food on the beach for him, and the members of the Raven moiety called him "grandfather" in metaphor. On the other hand, "he stole too much" (ibid.), and did not deserve reverence and deep respect.

Raven's most prominent role is that of Trickster-Transformer-Dupe, as told in the episodes of the Raven Cycle[14], where, through his acts of selfish trickery in the ceaseless pursuit of food, he changed the world into its present state, transforming himself into an array of shapes and transforming the environment. Through his mischievous play with natural and moral boundaries, through his marginality, his ambiguous form and waywardness, he ultimately comments on notions of morality and order. Raven is "betwixt and between" (Turner 1967) categories. His deeds arouse laughter,

yet he predicts death. He has decidedly human qualities, yet he plays tricks on human beings and has the ability to transform himself. His intent is selfish, yet the present world owes its shape to him.

The raven as a natural species (Corvus corax) is both common and prominent along the Pacific Northwest Coast. Its heavy bill, black colour and prominent wedge-shaped tail are its distinguishing features, along with its repertoire of calls, ranging from aggressive caws and mocking chuckles to eerie clucks. It is a carrion-eater and omnivore; more than most other quadrupeds and birds, it lives both along the ocean and in the woods, and frequents human villages. All these features lend themselves to being transposed into symbols for human concerns and activity: The personified Raven is a metaphor of voracity, he is quick with words and persuasive[15], and full of sexual energy. Through his deeds, he mediates between Nature and Culture, the human and the (super)natural world. His liminality (Turner op. cit.) also makes him marginal, that is, a violator of commonly held boundaries and taboos[16]. These qualities, in turn, give him powers. They make him inadvertently creative and productive, as he causes light, fire, tides, fresh water and foods to become released from supernatural control.

Raven as a mythical character is not unique to the Haida but is shared by other societies along the North Pacific, from Siberia to Vancouver Island (e.g. Boas 1916; Chowning 1963). For the Pacific Northwest Coast, Boas enumerated a total of 250 episodes, 50 of which are wide-spread, dealing with the origin of light, fire, tides, fresh water, etc. The remainder are local versions accounting for the existence of specific locations, land-marks, animals and social values and customs.

Early works on the Trickster figure dealt with it from a diffusionist perspective (Boas 1916), or a psychological one as "a faithful copy of an absolutely undifferentiated human consciousness, corresponding to a psyche that has hardly left the animal level" (Jung 1956:200; Radin 1956). In recent years, the Trickster as a structurally marginal figure has received renewed theoretical and comparative attention. For Lévi-Strauss (1958) the Trickster takes the position of mediator, who solves contradiction between conceptual opposites, although this approach "sacrifices form to content" (Jablow 1979:62). Babcock-Abrahams (1975), taking a Turnerian perspective, addresses herself to the socio-culturally productive function of Trickster's paradox and marginality, emphasizing that Trickster does not solve oppositions during the course of the narrative; instead, ambiguity of form and intent is an essential part of him. In Trickster narratives, opposites coexist and merge. To explain them away as structural mediation, or to refer them to a primeval incapacity to differentiate thus misses the point. She insists on the "generative situation of ambivalence and contradiction that the very basis of culture engenders" (op. cit.:164 ; see also Makarius 1969; 1970).

However, explorations of the universal function and attributes of Trickster figures tell us little about the culture-specific content and uses of ambiguity and marginality. Thus, Beidelman (1980) has questioned the usefulness and validity of subsuming such culturally divergent forms as Ture the Spider (Azande), the Northwest Coast Raven, Hermes, even Easy Rider and Butch Cassidy under one heading: "Instead", he suggests, "we may ask what texts suggest about a particular mode of thought and form of organization" (op. cit.:28; emphasis mine). There is no room here for a

theoretically and ethnographically exhaustive treatment of the Haida Trickster figure; yet, I think that a brief analysis of Yahl, the Haida Trickster, is relevant within my overall model of Haida symbolic thought, as it emphasizes the consciously maintained ambiguity and permeability of social and mythical categories. Raven can be seen as one embodiment of this mode of thought and social organization, or, in Willis' (1974) terms, as the "ultimate value" of Haida social and cultural life. As Willis (op. cit.:128) suggests, animals, as symbols, "have the convenient faculty of representing both existential and normative aspects of human experience as well as their interrelation"[17]. The adventures of Raven are a metaphor of both inter-human relations and relations between humans and Nature; they illuminate them through inversions and parody, and thus allude to what is morally acceptable and what is not. While inversion and parody are universal features of Trickster narratives (see Babcock-Abrahams op. cit.), we must address ourselves to the specific function they have in Haida culture: They allow people to say what can otherwise not be said.

Having set forth the functions and meanings of the Trickster figure, we can now return to the sources. In his summary of the Haida Raven myth, Boas (1916:625ff) tried to establish a developmental structure: He portrays Raven as a fallen supernatural being, the son of Hole-in-his-Fin, one of the highest Ocean-People, and Flood-Tide woman[18]. Raven is banished from his father's house after seducing his father's sister; then, after he seduces the wife of Great-Breakers, his maternal uncle, the latter causes a deluge, whereupon Raven flies to sky-country, then returns and starts his travels.

In the Masset version (Swanton 1908: 297f), there is no such

development. Rather, it is an agglomerate of loosely connected episodes, some of which are repeated numerous times. Throughout these episodes, Raven's doings are determined by his voracity and his lust, although sexual ventures often are means to obtain more food. A recurrent motif is eating animals from the inside out. Sometimes he obtains food by pure rudeness, disregarding others' property rights, even killing them. In other episodes, he obtains it through tricks and lies. In the course of his endeavours he causes the existence of present natural phenomena. Many episodes therefore serve as metaphorical explanations of why certain natural phenomena, landmarks, rivers, etc., exist. When he steals the fresh water from Eagle, its guardian, and subsequently spits it out to establish rivers and creeks, he spits out the water in the Masset area last, thus causing it to be brownish-red in colour (1908:294). In another episode, he "spears the wind" at Kaisun on Moresby Island, therefore it is always still in this area (op. cit.:323). He tears off two of Devil-Fish's arms, therefore, devil-fish only have eight arms instead of the "complete" set of ten (op. cit.:320), etc.

Throughout, he changes his own physical shape in order to manipulate things and beings around him: He "makes himself dead" to be reborn from the thigh of Moon-woman in order to obtain light (op. cit.:309). He makes Nang kilsdlaas - a supernatural chief[19] - his maternal uncle and "makes him die", then "makes himself like Nang kilsdlaas" (op. cit.:308). He kills Butterfly, his companion, "cousin" and servant, eats him, and makes him alive again (op. cit.:335), makes himself old and then young again (op. cit.:336). Similarly, he kills and revives animals as he pleases, makes human beings out of herring or sea-weed, or transforms himself into animal or human shape. Indeed, Raven's own physical identity is so ambiguous

that "People did not know that he was Raven. He was like a human being. And only when he got through doing something did he turn himself into a raven. And when he saw human beings, he made himself like human beings" (op. cit.:312) He controls supernatural time by cawing at dawn to announce the break of day, which he uses to his advantage: By causing supernatural beings to stay out beyond day-break, he destroys them. Significantly, the only being he cannot manipulate is Xanj, "Shadows": While he can change the shape of animals and humans, including his own appearance, he cannot manipulate the soul or essence (see above. p.312).

However, some of his transformations and manipulations fail or misfire, and his true voracious nature is revealed, arousing laughter and shame. In numerous versions, he changes himeslf into a woman, but he cannot conceal his "tail" (penis):

> "Then he came to a town. At that time he changed himself into a woman. Then the son of their chief came to her (Raven)[20]. She said to him: 'I come to marry you.' She said this to him when she saw that he was good-looking. And he took her into his father's house. Then his mother and his father were glad. In the evening she (the mother) went out with her son's wife (to defecate). Then her mother-in-law stood up and shook her blanket. Her son's wife did the same thing. Then her mother-in-law saw the tail under his blanket. 'My child's wife, why do you have a tail?' 'The women of the Tailed-People family /lineage/ are that way', she said. She said so because she was ashamed. Then her mother-in-law told her father-in-law that she had a tail. And her father-in-law did not like her. And when they told her to go away, she went."
> (op.cit.:332; e.g.333).

In another mishap, while Raven tries to steal the bait off a halibut fisherman's hook, his beak is pulled off. In this case, he tricks the fishermen into believing that his beak is a dangerous object, and, as they leave town, consumes all their food (op. cit.:339).

Very revealing in the context of social values are those episodes where Raven pretends he is "high class", and is caught up in his own

pretense, that is, in the contradiction between his insatiable hunger and wanting to act like "one of a high family who never eats much" (op. cit.: 306). It is usually Butterfly/Eagle, his companion and servant, who beats Raven at his own game in these episodes. When they enter the house of a chief (nang 7iitl'daa), who, to honour Raven, wants to serve him food, Butterfly is his spokesman. When food is placed before them, Butterfly instructs their host that Raven does not want it (op. cit.:297). One of my informants explained the episode in the following way: "It wasn't that Raven couldn't talk. But because Butterfly talked of him as 7iitl'gee /the term of address for 'chief'/, he couldn't say anything. He was talked about as so high that he couldn't admit how hungry he was". (see also op. cit.:314).

In another episode, Raven, having transformed himself into a pretty woman again, is invited into the chief's house and given the seat of honour and some food. Instead of looking down and showing diffidence and modesty, as is expected of a chief's daughter, he/she looks around at the faces of all those present, and then consumes all the food placed before him/her: "Then they were astonished at her. Chiefs' daughters /yahgid jaadaa/ did not eat much then. Therefore they wondered at her" (op. cit.:341).

In these episodes we encounter the theme which I have detailed in Chapter IV, namely that individuals who want to be respected as of high rank must "live up to it". It is in the context of refined chiefly behaviour which is marked by the ethos of moderation, that Raven reveals his true nature. These episodes are clearly moral in content: By parodying false attempts at being "high class" and letting his voracity and insatiability shine through his façade, they point to the qualities of authentic

chiefly behaviour.

In summary, the Raven myth as narrative has multiple functions. It is moral parable, it serves as entertainment and as metaphorical explanation of natural phenomena. Meanwhile, it points not only to the existence of boundaries (Kerenyi 1956) but also to their flexibility and permeability. Raven as a metaphor of Haida moral values and symbolic thinking plays with categories, boundaries, and with words (e.g. op. cit.:298). However, as the narrative reveals, the play with the social and natural surroundings can misfire, much like reciprocity itself can misfire. While Raven continually violates boundaries and breaches taboos - and in most cases gets away with it - he must remain outside of the set of accepted and respected Chiefs; or, where he is momentarily accepted among them, he soon falls from grace and becomes an outsider again. Raven thus metaphorizes the unpredictability of outcomes. Finally, Raven is timeless. While the events of the Raven cycle occurred in mythical time, they are evoked as metaphors of present phenomena and incidents. Moreover, he lives on in the presence of the physical animal which reminds humans of his tricks, powers and failed attempts. Like the "fool" in other myths, he has the last word.

4. Killerwhales and Land-otters

While Raven represents the wayward and manipulative aspects of power, killerwhales portray the solemn side of power. The ocean is and was of paramount economic importance to the Haida; it gives food, but it also takes lives. No wonder, then, that the Ocean-People rated as the most powerful of all sgaanwee, with the killerwhales the highest of all. Also called sgaana, they represent supernatural power at its purest. The Haida

term for Killerwhale/killerwhale, incidentally, is an entirely different lexeme than that for other species of whales, such as humpback and grey whales which also feed in the waters off the Islands during their migrations. The great whales are called kun[21]. Although there were kun xaadee among the Ocean-People, the great whales, in myth and practical life, were principally regarded as big lumps of meat that were washed ashore in times of food shortage.

Of all animals, the killerwhale was the one that was most respected. It was considered the oldest crest (Swanton 1905a:107; supra, Chapter IV.1), and Swanton remarked, "so far as I could learn, these were the only creatures they had supernatural dread of hunting, and in their case the dread may not have been entirely supernatural" (ibid.). The Haida are keen observers of killerwhales, which are frequently sighted from boats, and sometimes as they travel up the Inlet. Killerwhales are known to be "touchy" /sensitive/ and intelligent; people can hear and see them communicate and observe their intensive group life. An Elder narrated,

> "One time when I was travelling with my Dad /near Daadans/, killerwhales went under our row-boat, then they turned around. All the killerwhales came up, my Dad was talking to them. When he quit talking they went under. They went up and down real slow. /My mother and I/ were really scared. We never saw them afterwards. My father told them to go away. Any place you get stuck, you ask the killerwhales for help."

In their capacity as supernatural beings, they were said to "appear like killerwhales to humans, but in their submarine towns, they were like men" (Swanton op. cit.:1905a:17). The killerwhale body was thought to be their canoe. Thus, when a man once struck a killerwhale with a stone while passing near it in his canoe, the following morning, he and his friends saw a man mending his canoe at a nearby point. "The man called out to him

saying, 'Why did you break my canoe?' From that they knew that killer-whales are really the canoes of Ocean-People" (Swanton 1905a:17).

Their abodes were thought to be underneath the bottom of the ocean near prominent land-marks. The most powerful of them lived at Nee Kun, at Gangaad goud kun, at Mea Kun, Cape Ball, etc.[22]. The chief of them all is The-One-In-the-Sea, who was sacrificed to, and called "my Chief" /dii kol/ by the members of the Raven moiety, to which he also belonged, and "my father" by people of the Eagle moiety. The killerwhales bore names, which were claimed as symbolic property by the lineages owning the land near the land-marks associated with them, and often held by the lineage chiefs.

It was believed that people who drowned or got lost at sea were transformed into killerwhales. They were taken to the house of the One-in-the-Sea, where they had their dorsal fins /hlgan/ fitted. This act was seen as completing the transformation. Afterwards, when killerwhales "appeared in front of a town, it was thought that they were human beings and took this way to inform people" (op. cit.:37). This belief is still active today. Whenever killerwhales travel up the Inlet, everyone drops what he is doing to watch and wonder, recalling people who drowned within recent memory. An Elder noted on the prevalence of this belief when she was young:

> "In those days they take things like that [i.e. drowning accidents] so hard. They just go into the fire and got their hair burnt. At Yan a woman was baking bread. Those killerwhales come up and get to that place. They came up every day and she dropped all the bread and sugar. And she was talking to them, 'don't come up this way again, you make it real hard for us'. Because her husband got drowned, she believed it."

With the ocean still playing an important part in the life of the Haida, it is not surprising that killerwhale myths, as well as autobiographic stories

relating to the sighting of killerwhales and to drowning or near-drowning incidents are more often told today than most other kinds of stories. Death through drowning is and was an ever-present possibility to the Haida people. In many instances, whole families were wiped out by boating accidents. There is hardly a family that has not lost a member at sea at some point. Thus, the killerwhale continues to have a special role in Haida symbolic thinking. As one Elder, who has been a fisherman all his life, remarked, "killerwhales have a social life just like people; they visit each other. Every time someone drowns here, a couple of weeks later, the killerwhales travel up the Inlet." And, he added,

> "We got a different life in our body. That thing turns over into killerwhale. If you see killerwhales, you talk to them and they will listen to you. That big fish is really touchy. I think there's lots of killerwhales around now with that big Japanese boat that tipped over. Maybe they'll start talking Japanese, too."

The "Japanese boat" he referred to was the Li Wang Zin, a Panamanian freighter with a Taiwanese crew which had sunk off the North Coast of the Queen Charlotte Islands on Christmas 1979, with dozens of sailors having been lost at sea.

Probably the best-known and most often illustrated killerwhale myth is that of Nanasimgit, originally a Tsimshian tale (c.f. Swanton 1908:#35; Boas 1916:#45). It tells the story of a woman who is abducted by killerwhales. Her husband follows her "under the ocean", and, after a series of adventures, brings her back home[23]. A less famous, but genuine Haida myth which illuminates the killerwhale-human transformation theme is the Story of the Two Boys at Tiaan. It is especially interesting because it is the story of an incomplete transformation. The myth is available in three versions:

1) Swanton, Masset Text #81, collected from Isaac Haayaas of Hliielang,

2) A version told by Adam Bell of Masset collected by the author in 1980, (see Appendix No. 1),

3) A version told by Henry Geddes of Masset, and published in a Queen Charlotte Islands magazine (All Alone Stone 1976:23).

Swanton's version is said to explain how the killerwhale was first obtained as a crest. The second version was told to me as a parable of what happens when a person drowns. The third version was to explain the food and hunting taboo on killerwhales. Swanton's and Adam Bell's versions are very similar, except for the ending, and are equally elaborate. Henry Geddes' version is much shorter and different in some details. The following is a summary, mainly from versions 1) and 2):

> Two boys go hunting for ducks, breaking their wings after each catch to facilitate collecting them. Then fog envelops the shore and they are lost on the ocean in their canoes. They are invited into the house of the Killerwhale chief underneath Tiaan point and "go under". As it turns out, the Killerwhale chief is the ducks' father. Under the ocean, the Killerwhales set out to transform the boys into their kind by fitting them with dorsal fins. The elder brother is thus transformed, while the younger brother does not want to become a killerwhale, but only wants to go home to his parents. Flinging his whetstone onto his back, he prevents them from transforming him completely, although they have already put a killerwhale skin on him. He returns to his village. Since however, he has been under the sea, it is only his spirit (gaahlandee) which makes it back to the village, so his parents do not recognize him. Only after the rain washes off his killerwhale skin, and he regains human shape, do they recognize him. However, at night he makes noises like a killerwhale and finally cannot resist going hunting for whales and sea-lions with his Killerwhale-turned brother. This time, it is only his spirit that is Killerwhale; while his human body sits in the house at night, he hunts with his elder brother. In the morning, his parents always find blackwhales (kun) on the beach. Finally, his elder brother is killed in a war with the Killerwhales of Nee Kun, and his killerwhale body is washed up on the beach. His parents, however, recognize him as their son and bury him in a human grave box.

Swanton's and Henry Geddes' versions end with the elder brother's death and

readmission into human society by being buried in a grave box. In Adam Bell's version, the younger brother subsequently has to succeed his elder brother. He must "take his place" analogous to the mode of succession in human social organization.

On the geographic and economic levels, the myth refers to "real" places and activities. Tiaan and Nee Kun are actual places, Tiaan being a formerly noted village on the West Coast of Graham Island. It was inhabited by the Dou Stl'ang 7laanas, the Dou Git7ans and Taas 7laanas. Hunting sea-fowl from canoes was a frequent pursuit. In old times, informants report, great whales were occasionally washed ashore, and their meat and blubber used. Similarly, sea-lions were numerous off the shores of the Queen Charlottes and were hunted for meat and fur. They were also favoured prey of killer-whales.

What sets off the Killerwhale transformation is the act of showing disrespect to the ducks by breaking their wings. As it turns out, the ducks are supernatural Ducks in disguise, and Duck is the son of the Killerwhale chief. This act of disrespect triggers the subsequent events, and the change from one reality to another. On a "real" level, fog sets in, the boys capsize in their canoe and the older one drowns, while the younger one barely escapes drowning. From here on, the story is told from the perspective of the younger brother. His brush with drowning-death is symbolically expressed as a change of perception; it is the hinge to the change into the world of supernatural beings. In the context of relating this myth, its narrator described an autobiographical near-drowning incident earlier in his life, when his fishing boat had capsized: He reported seeing "flowers under the water", and "seeing" his brother, who had drowned some time before. The

younger brother of the story, by almost drowning, gains access to the world of supernatural Killerwhales, but at the same time does not become part of them. By spending time in the Killerwhale realm, the younger brother becomes the mediator between the living and the dead, between humans and supernatural beings. He returns to the human world, but his previous experience among the sgaanwee makes his spirit (gaahlandee) drift between the two worlds, and it makes his body undergo the double transformation of Killerwhale with human spirit/human with Killerwhale spirit, depending on the sphere the story is subjectively (through the younger brother) perceived from. The sphere changes from the realm of humans to the realm of Killerwhales and back to the realm of humans.

Again, it is his shape and skin that determine his state and his fate: By escaping to be fit with the dorsal fin, he is able to return to the realm of human beings. And only when his killerwhale skin, which he could not remove during his escape, is washed off him by the rain-water does he re-acquire his human shape. Rain-water, as opposed to salt-water, is commonly used in myth to wash off the physical manifestation of an animal-transformation. In another myth (Swanton 1905a:84), it was used by a man to test whether he had been turned into a supernatural being: "No killer-whale skin washed off him, ... and he knew that he had not changed" (ibid.).

In the myth of the Two Boys at Tiaan, the younger brother escapes drowning, but his brush with death and his brother's fate bring forth the change into the Killerwhale world. In many other myths, and in general belief, the fate of people who escape drowning after having capsized in their canoes is thought to be a different one. Rather than being transformed into Killerwhales - after all, they do make it back to shore - they

run risk of being transformed into Gogiids. These are thought to be a kind of wild and marginal creature that roams the forests and shores away from human habitations. They are said to have bony faces, full of fish and sea-urchin spines, wide nostrils turned up, land-otter hair, and skins between their fingers[24]. Swanton notes about Gogiids:

> "When a person had been upset in his canoe and barely escaped drowning, on reaching shore, cold and wet, he would see a bright fire burning and people standing around it. But it was really lighted by land-otter people, and if he went thither, he lost his reason and became a gogiid. This change seems to have been directly produced by a small animal which entered the unfortunate by the anus. Five years after a man had become a gogiid, he began to walk upon his elbows and to act like an animal, and ultimately he seems to have become a land-otter" (op. cit.:26).

Harrison (1925), who lived among the Haida for thirty years after resigning his ministry, adds some information on perceptions and cases of alleged Gogiids. He mentions that they were thought to be people who had escaped drowning, and "It then sometimes happened that when they recovered their strength they were in a demented condition, and would run off into the woods where they became like animals" (1925:131f). They were said to live on roots and berries, grew black hair on their bodies and had enormously grown fingernails and hair. As he adds,

> "It is related that /after the physical change/ a change gradually came over them and they became possessed of a spirit which gave them the power to fly about the country by night, especially when a bright moon was shining; as soon as daylight appeared, they would hide away in their accustomed lair..... Whenever they breathed upon those they came in contact with they had the power to cast a spell upon their victim and condemn it to share their fate" (op. cit.:131).

He mentions several alleged Gogiid sightings in the Masset area, including one who was seen "flying over houses", and another one who turned out to be a man who pretended to be a Gogiid to frighten his house-mates.

Gogiids, he explains, "had great fright of water, especially salt-water"

(op. cit.:134), which is not surprising in view of the fact that they are thought to represent humans who barely escaped drowning in salt-water.

Land-Otters had their own language, when among themselves. In contact with humans, they "pronounced words differently, that is how one could recognize them" (op. cit.:143)[25]. Swanton also noted that, "if a person were given a name that the Land-Otters liked, they would try to steal him" (e.g. 1908:#41). These names were often names thought to be carried by the Land-Otters themselves, and because of the likeness in name, they wanted to turn their human name-sake into a likeness in kind. Land-Otters are in many contexts conceived of as females, or as having female helpers, especially Mink. According to Harrison,

> "The female of the land-otter was credited with the power of transforming herself into a handsome woman who approached the hunting camps and sat at the foot of a tree nearby, awaiting any of the hunters as they returned from a long day's toil. Anyone who noticed her would be invited to rest by her side, and if he acquiesced would soon become enraptured by the charms she would gently breathe over him (this reminds one of the practice of the Ga-gits) and immediately he became transformed into a male otter that would follow wheresoever she went" (op. cit.:143).

Swanton and Harrison added that this belief was vigorously held some eighty years ago, and Gogiids are certainly still acknowledged today.

With their rat-like appearance, as creatures dwelling in rivers, creeks, swamps, lake and underbrush, land-otters, stlaguu, lend themselves to their mythico-symbolic role as beings lurking about, trying to transform solitary individuals and betray them of their senses. Again, it is thought that they appear to people when the latter are most susceptible to "seeing things": After nearly drowning, when being wet and cold. In this state, the stlaguu provide the victim with the illusion of the sort of comforts he lacks and is longing for, a warm fire, light and company. Their activity

vividly portrays the kind of hallucinations he suffers from while close to dying of hypothermia, which was, and is, a very real danger in the lives of the seafaring Haida. The victim would see the fires of the Land-Otter-People in the distance, and when he got there, they had disappeared, and there were other fires far away, and so on. This search for warmth would cause him to go on wandering around forever. One Elder knew of a Gogiid who had been turned human again, by having been "caught" and having the spines, hair, and skin removed from his body. But another one, she added "was too far gone".

An amusing story of the struggle against becoming a Gogiid was recorded by Swanton (1905b:358). It is a Skidegate story, but it vigorously portrays the general beliefs associated with Land-Otter-People, and the protagonist's loss of senses, as well as the comic aspects of such a state:

> A man declares that he would never allow himself to be transformed into a Gogiid. One day, he is upset in his canoe while out at sea and just escapes with his life. When he gets to shore, he builds himself a small house. He always sits upon a flat stone, so that the small creature that "makes people mad" cannot invade him, and he does not dare sleep. By and by, a woman appears to him, offering him food. But when he puts the food into the fire, it turns into wood-ticks. This happens for many days. One day, a canoe-load of people, among whom he recognizes his friends, land in front of his place. But when he strikes the canoe with the leg bone of his pet dog which he had killed, the canoe proves to be soft and permeable. When the "friends" go into the house and he gives them urine to wash their faces, they turn their heads away. Then he throws their paddles into the fire, and minks run off from it. Thus he knows they are actually land-otters in disguise. He starts clubbing them, and after they change into land-otter shape, kills them. The same event occurs for four days in succession, until finally, his lineage mates arrive. He puts them through the same tests, much to their distress, and it takes them a long time to persuade him that they are not Land-Otter-People in disguise.

Thought to be effective against supernatural beings in general, urine was a common means to try to fight off land-otters, who are allegedly

particularly sensitive to it. The powers trying to invade the protagonist's body are kept at bay by exuviae from the body. Interesting is also the function of the carcass of the man's dog in this context: The dog is his link with human society, and its blood, bones and skull serve as additional means to avert the Land-Otters. Interestingly, the protagonist who struggles to maintain his sanity from the perspective of his contact with the Land-Otters, must certainly seem like an actual madman to his friends, when they finally find him: Not only has he smeared himself with the blood of his pet dog and decorated himself with its skull in order to fight off the stlaguu, but he also burns his lineage mates' paddles, pokes holes into their canoes and then pours urine over their hands. As is added in the myth, he still does not trust reality when he arrives back home in his village, trying to kill his wife, and testing all things put before him to eat to ensure they will not change appearance and thus betray their Land-Otter affiliation and his immanent transformation. When he is in touch with human reality again, he also realizes that the canoe of the Land-Otter-People who had attempted to "get him" has turned into a log on the beach (see above, p. 314). His altered sense perception after he has escaped drowning and during his state of subsequent paranoia have led him to perceive his surroundings differently.

This leads us to the idea that the Stlaguu concept involves more than an actual change from human to Gogiid to land-otter; beyond this, it involves the idea that, according to one's subjective state of mind, evil forces portrayed as land-otters can be inherent in anything of obscure shape, sound, etc. in one's surroundings (e.g. supra, p.314): Hence, a log becomes a Land-Otter canoe, food becomes wood-ticks, paddles become Mink;

behind them all is the stlaguu trying to cause one to lose one's senses. Stlaguu will reach out to anyone who, as a result of capsizing, or as the result of other temporary weaknesses or special states of mind is prey to being victimized. Thus, Swanton remarked,

> "When one of the Land-Otters came to anybody, it would assume the shape of whomever that person was in love with, to make him speak to her. If he did speak, he soon began to act strangely, faint, etc., and soon after died" (op. cit.:26; see above, Harrison, p. 143).

Or, as related by a Haida woman,

> "One time when I was young and living with K.T., I was out berry picking with Auntie Yaanans. K.T. was out fishing and I felt real lonely for him. So Auntie Yaanans told me I shouldn't think of him so much, for, if I did, the Stlaguu would try to get a hold of me and make me crazy. That's because I was longing for K.T. and he wasn't around, and we were out in the woods. Sure enough, I kept on picking and was some distance away from Auntie Yaanans. Suddenly, on the road, I saw K. coming towards me. I screamed and yelled, 'Auntie Yaanans, Auntie Yaanans', for I thought that I had truly gone out of my mind. As it turned out, it was really K., and he had just come back from his fishing trip."

Thus, stlaguu is a source of evil power which tries to invade people's minds whenever they are especially vulnerable, to cause them to lose their senses, act abnormally, become sick and eventually die.

We have so far moved from transformations between two states, or those alternating between states, as symbolizations of the agency of supernatural powers, to imagined changes of physique and behaviour during times of physical and emotional stress. When we examine the concept of stlaguu in its more abstract forms, it is only a question of asking for the agents behind the stlaguu: Who wants to do one harm? and for what reasons? - and we are back in the field of social relations.

Footnotes

1) Narrators were Emma Matthews and Adam Bell.

2) This does not mean that the informants had read Swanton's texts. On the contrary, they had no copies of the Masset Texts, nor previous access to them. Besides, one of the informants is functionally illiterate.

3) John Enrico, Linguist at the Haida Museum, Masset, has extensively revised and re-transcribed the Haida originals of the texts. Some of these are published in Enrico 1979.

4) See Seguin (1984) for a similar approach using Tsimshian field-data and published materials.

5) "Lie with it", hl la7ahl tiigaa, also bears sexual connotations which are not overtly intended here, it seems, but which can nonetheless be read into the text or story by those hearing it.

6) In the Haida language, "to carve" and "to carve up": are denoted by the same term, k'iddlaa.

7) For analyses of power among other groups on the Northwest Coast, see for example, Elmendorf 1970; 1984; (Coast Salish); Guédon 1984 (Tsimshian).

8) The past tense is used here because institutionalized shamanism vanished soon after the arrival of missionaries. At least in fragmentary versions, the belief and knowledge about supernatural beings still exists among some Elders.

9) Animal species as supernatural beings were thought to each have their own distinct language (c.f. Swanton 1905b:94ff).

10) For an interesting and little-known essay on the motif of the skin and the principle of form, see Krause 1931. Krause makes much use of Northwest Coast ethnographic data, especially Swanton's.

11) Swanton remarks, "It is worth noticing here, that it was considered insulting to call one an 'eater of raw flesh'" (519:fn1).

12) See Swanton(1905a:57ff) for a brief description of hunting ritual.

13) See McNeary (1984) for a similar explanation regarding the Tsimshian.

14) The Raven myths are here quoted from Swanton's Masset Text (1908). For the Skidegate version, see Swanton (1905b); alternate, although fragmentary retold versions can be found in Deans (1899); Hoffman (1885); Boas (1895) and Harrison (1925).

15) It was said that a child would become a good speaker if one rubbed a raven's tongue inside his mouth. Note also the Skidegate name for Raven, Nang Kilsdlaas, "one who can do things with words".

16) Note the difference between marginality as a phase, as primarily discussed by Turner, and marginality as a type, a difference to which Babcock-Abrahams (op. cit.) has drawn attention.

17) von Hopffgarten (1978) is a thesis about the symbolic and zoological aspects of the Haida raven. Unfortunately, it largely ignores the social and cultural context of Raven's ambiguity and marginality.

18) Flood-tide woman here appears as the daughter of Foam-Woman. As we recall (Chapter III.1), Foam-Woman is the mythical ancestress of all members of the Raven moiety.

19) In the Skidegate, Raven the Trickster-Transformer is called Nang Kilsdlaas (see above, 15); while raven, the natural species, is xoyaa. Yahl appears to be a Tlingit loan-word (see Swanton 1911:274).

20) In the Haida language, the third person singular personal pronoun has no distinct gender. laa applies to he, she and it.

21) Kun is a homonym. Besides great whales, it denotes a point, or reef, and also "nose".

22) See Swanton (1905a:19ff) for a list of Killerwhale supernatural beings and the locations associated with them.

23) The Skidegate version of the Nanasimgit story (Swanton 1905b:336ff) has a curious ending: after the hero of the story retrieves his wife from the Killerwhales, he takes her home and puts her in the bottom of a box, which fits into another box, and another, etc. so that she is kept inside a total of five boxes. One day, however, he discovers that she is gone from the box through a hole in the bottom.

24) Land-otters and Gogiids play an almost identical role in Tlingit mythology and collective imagination (see de Laguna 1972:747ff).

25) Land-otters reputedly replaced "o"- and "u"- sounds by i's (Harrison 1925:143).

CHAPTER VIII

OF MICE AND MEN

As I have shown in the last chapter, the Haidas' relationship with the (super)natural is based on the notion of the potentiality of power. Everything encountered in Nature can be a supernatural power in disguise. The agency of supernatural powers is conceived of as depending on acts of communication through words, deeds, even thoughts. Implicit in this world-view is an indigenous theory of causation, namely that not only physical manifestations but also words and deeds can change the course of events. Conversely, this means that no act or occurrence is random; rather, everything is caused by something, if not directly, then indirectly, through malevolent intent, words or ritual acts. This idea is especially important in the context of interhuman relations in so far as the causation of negative events is concerned.

I have noted above several terms and concepts referring to agents, acts and objects which can manipulate the course of events and their outcome. To reiterate, these are:

- Ritual manipulations involving xil, "medicine", which includes herbs, charms and other concoctions used to cure diseases, to bring good luck in fishing and hunting, and/or to provide property which can be used to advance one's social position.
- Intentional or unintentional contact with sgaana can produce good or bad results, which cannot be reached by "normal" means.
- Sgaaga as agents in contact with supernatural powers can cure disease, predict events, bring forth favourable weather, luck in hunting, etc.
- Self-inflicted bad luck, 7iisanyaa, involves becoming destitute through

the neglect of ritual observance.

A final concept in this connection is kuganaa, evil power directed by humans against other humans, and involving magical techniques. Elmendorf (1970) has referred to similar practices among the Coast Salish as "victimizing magic". By the Haida, kuganaa is usually translated as "witchcraft". Literally, it is derived from the stem for "mouse", kugan-. As we will see, mice play an important role in the Haida system of beliefs in the practices and effects of victimizing magic.

Since Evans-Pritchard (1937), the anthropological literature on practices of this kind has distinguished between witchcraft as an innate quality and sorcery as a technique. Haida kuganaa, as it relies on techniques which can be applied by anyone, can best be termed sorcery. However, a person who has once been accused of being kuganaa, or has been "detected", is always a potential kuganaa. Besides being a technique, kuganaa seems to be associated, by some at least, with a quality inherent in certain individuals. In this respect it falls between the two categories witchcraft and sorcery.

In his classic study of Azande witchcraft and sorcery, Evans-Pritchard (ibid.), instead of merely describing the techniques involved as earlier exponents of the topic had done, focused on these types of victimizing magic as a system of knowledge and action. As such, they provide a native exegesis of causation, and also a mechanism for expressing disputes and hostilities; and, through detecting the witch, a vehicle for social control. Since Evans-Pritchard, the literature on African witchcraft and sorcery has emphasized its social functions as both expressing and regulating social conflict (see Marwick 1970). Although we are here dealing with a very

different ethnographic area, these approaches are relevant to my analysis of Haida kuganaa: While it depends on and puts into practice beliefs which can only be understood on the basis of the overall Haida exegesis of power and the relationship with the (super)natural, it is used in a social and political context. In other words, its final ends and the human agents involved in it are determined by the status quo of social and political relationships.

Aside from some early ethnographic descriptions of witchcraft and sorcery techniques (e.g. Boas 1916), the anthropological literature of the Northwest Coast is relatively sparse regarding this topic. Elmendorf's (1970) and de Laguna's (1972:728ff) writings are the exception. Again, this sparsity has partly to do with the approaches of the earlier anthropologists studying the area, which focused on cultural norms and values rather than social interaction, and partly with the fact that more than any other topic, witchcraft or sorcery is a concealed topic. While still active beneath the surface of inter-village life, it is not talked about to outsiders, and it is not mentioned in public, except maybe in joking[1]. Sometimes other words, such as "gangsters" are used to refer to imputed witches; or mere allusions to rats or mice are made, or to people "sneaking around behind the village" or "flying over houses". To insiders, these hints suffice as serious accusations. To outsiders, they may seem as so preposterous that they are shrugged off as meaningless.

John Swanton (1905a) briefly described some beliefs and practices regarding "wizardry". Curiously, the concept kuganaa eluded him. He noted the screech-owl, st'aaw, as associated with witchcraft[2], a belief not shared by contemporary Haida. Swanton also distinguished "wizardry" from

shamanism, explaining that anyone who possessed himself of the "proper formulae" could become a wizard (1905a:42). While in his description, the screech-owl appears as the major medium of wizards, he did briefly report on the association with mice:

> "One became a wizard because there were mice inside of him. Of these, there might be as many as ten, and when they were expelled - as they might be by some friend - the last to come out was a white one" (1905a:41f)[3].

Curtis (1916) reported that in order to detect a witch or sorcerer,

> "two friends of the sick person would go into the woods and capture a mouse in a box trap. After fasting for two days, they began to ask the mouse, 'what person has made our friend sick?' One after another they repeated the names of the suspected men, and when the mouse's ears twitched, they stopped and began again. If at the repetition of the name the ears twitched again, it was taken as a sign that this was the guilty man. They secured a bone from a human body, broke it up and thrust the splinters through the mouse, expressing the wish that the sorcerer might die."

Niblack (1888) described an almost identical ceremony, noting that the "mouse is the judge by which the Haida detect the persons who work bad magic and cause sickness and death". (Niblack 1888:348). In his version, the mouse "nods its head" (ibid.)[4]. Harrison (1925:70) similarly described what he called the "mouse ceremony":

> "The mouse was supposed to possess great wisdom, and if a person was ill and did not wish the services of /a shaman/ the father of the patient would turn his goods and chattels out of doors and then catch a mouse to instruct him where he could find the person who was the cause of his child's illness"...."The old inhabitants believed that shortly after the mouse ordeal the accused person would be found dead in the woods if the patient did not recover."

Moreover, Harrison noted that the mouse was believed to contain "the wicked soul of an adult, and yet become so small that it could enter into the stomach of the living" (op. cit.:129). According to Harrison, a "very old chief" had told him he had seen mice disappear down a woman's throat in a

secluded place: "Most of the old people firmly believed this story, and they would confidentially assert that every mouse was an evil spirit and that when a person was very wicked, he must have swallowed a great number of mice" (ibid.). Collison (1915:131) corroborates this belief, mentioning that individuals could be possessed of "evil spirits" in the form of a "mouse".

We thus find the mouse, on the one hand, as the embodiment or physical manifestation of evil powers which reside in the sorcerer: It can enter and leave his body and thus serve as his medium. The sorcerer can also cause it to enter his victim's body and act upon him. On the other hand, if we trust the descriptions of the "mouse ceremony", mice could be used by the victim - or his/her friends, or a shaman - to reveal the sorcerer. The mouse here is the medium of an oracle to detect the source of evil action. It is not the embodiment of evil powers but it points to them and thus reveals them.

From Curtis', Harrison's, Swanton's and Niblack's descriptions, we further learn about the properties of witches and their ritual acts and imputed effects: According to Niblack, all severe diseases were ascribed to sorcery, "and, in the case of the death of an important personage, a victim is usually found who has presumably charmed away the life of the deceased" (op. cit.:348). Collison (1915:131) mentions a case where the "medicine men" accused one of Chief Sdiihldaa's slaves of having caused the chief's severe illness. Consequently, the slave had been tortured for three weeks, as he was thought to be possessed by mice, and he had been ordered to be killed should the chief die. Causing severe disease and death were thought to be the principal acts of sorcerers. In order to

bewitch individuals, sorcerers would secure spittle or feces (Curtis op. cit.:138), pieces of clothing (Collison op. cit.:112), or hair-combings (Swanton op. cit.:41) of the intended victim. In acts of contagious magic, these were ritually manipulated in a secret place. Alternately, a "likeness" (=carving,doll) was made of the victim, and it was manipulated, uttering a curse (e.g. Swanton 1908:#83). Collison reported that the "medicine men", who were his primary adversaries, had "succeeded in obtaining some articles of clothing belonging to me over which they had exhausted all their orgies in vain" (op. cit.:112).

Witches/Sorcerers were said to have the ability to fly[5]. They could thus overcome spatial and temporal boundaries, and their physical absence during events allegedly caused by them could thus be explained. If an accused sorcerer admitted his guilt, the victim's disease would cure itself, and the sorcerer would have to make a restitution payment of blankets or money (Niblack op. cit.:348), or, as Swanton remarked (1905a:42), the detected and confessed sorcerer would have to return the saliva, etc., to the patient, whereupon the patient recovered. If the sorcerer did not admit his agency, the shaman who detected him ordered the victim's relatives to kill him:

> "Very often, fights result from such causes. Sometimes they try to drown him; but, if the sorcerer who has bewitched the patient is very powerful, they are not able to do so, and they tie his hands on his back, fastening the hair to the hands in the same manner as the Tlingit do, and expose him at low water on the beach." (Swanton 1905a:42).

The favourite counter-medicine against sorcery was bathing in salt-water or drinking it (e.g. Collison op. cit.:117).

The most interesting ethnographic reports on kuganaa can be found in Collison's (op. cit.) and Harrison's (op. cit.) works. Both spent lengthy

periods living among the Masset Haida and experienced social interaction among them. In addition, their social role as missionaries predisposed them to be subjected to accusations of using sorcery against Haida (e.g. Collison op. cit.:101) and to becoming intended victims of sorcery, especially by the shamans (see above). At the same time, both Collison and Harrison tried to eradicate kuganaa accusations and actions. A most revealing case is the following, reported by Collison in a letter to the Anglican Church Missionary Society in London[6]:

> "A young man was brought home very sick and I went to see him and found him to be suffering from a severe attack of 'Brain Fever' brought on by his swimming for some time in the cold salt water in order to cure a severe head-ache which he had. I did all I could to alleviate his sufferings and instructed his relatives as to how they should nurse him. This resulted in his resting more easily and in his attaining some sleep to which he had been a stranger for several nights. Not satisfied with this however they sent off for the medicine man who was encamped up the inlet. He arrived at midnight and at once commenced his whooping and rattling. This he continued at intervals until the following day when I paid a visit. The house was full and the patient evidently much worse. The medicine man or 'Scahaga' as he is called in their own tongue had just finished another performance and sat down exhausted as I entered.
> All appeared surprised at my intrusion but I knelt down beside the sick man and took his hand to feel his pulse. I shook my head and informed them that he was much worse. The medicine man then answered in his own defence and commenced by informing me that he had found out the cause of his sickness. A man from the other village had caused it by snatching the cap from the head of the sick man when up the inlet together which had led to his being smitten or bewitched by land otter. To this statement several agreed as they stated the nervous twitches and convulsive movements of the sick man were exactly similar to the movements of the above mentioned animal.
> I replied informing them that this was untrue and proceeded to acquaint them of the real cause of the sickness after which I informed the medicine man that the days for such stories had passed away as God's word. - The Word of Truth - had come amongst them...."

In this case, then, the ultimate cause of the disease (meningitis?) is seen by the Haida to have been an act of sorcery whereby someone seized a piece of clothing from the sick man, and acting through a land-otter, bewitched

him. As "evidence" in this case were taken the land-otter-like convulsions and twitches of the sick man. While to Collison the immediate cause of the disease was the victim's swimming in the cold salt water, and the ultimate cause was God's will, to the Haida the ultimate cause had to be sought in human agency, i.e. sorcery. It was this cause of the disease which had to be diagnosed, and the latter would then lead to the cure.

In summary, the early descriptions of Haida kuganaa stress the role of mice - or, in the above case, a land-otter - as media of sorcerers. Moreover, they mention the manipulation of exuviae or objects belonging to the intended victim, i.e. acts of contagious magic. Mice, exuviae and objects are used to cause disease and eventual death to humans; conversely, as "evidence", they reveal the action of the sorcerer.

In order to learn more about kuganaa, especially in so far as it relates to the Haida concepts of (super)natural powers discussed in the last chapter and to the management of social relationships, we can turn to what is known and practiced today. Kuganaa are still associated with mice, but more particularly with rats (also kuganaa) which are not indigenous to the Queen Charlotte Islands but were introduced early in this century from a ship beached for repairs (Harrison 1925:178). In addition, stlaguu, land-otters, are associated with kuganaa, and so are big devil-fish (nou 7iiwan). The latter are thought to sometimes take the lives of people by seizing them and their canoes, and dragging them under. Finally, cats are seen by many as media of witchcraft kuganaa, probably because they are both nocturnal and they eat mice. In a case that dates back about 75 years, it was related that an infant had been thought to have been bewitched through a cat in the house, and it had subsequently died. There exists an ambivalent attitude

towards cats: Because of their association with kuganaa individuals are suspicious of them and fear them; yet, they are seen as useful in getting rid of mice and are kept by many people for that purpose.

As one person reported on kuganaa, "they're like real people; they're on all fours, waiting to get you, though. They're trying to get you when you're most vulnerable, ...alone, or at night." He reported that one night, while alone in his house, he had seen a box in front of his house, which appeared to move across the street and back. He attributed it to someone trying to use kuganaa on him. Another person mentioned that they could be in the form of land-otters or rats. "Behind them could be someone who was trying to cause you harm. He or she assumes the power of that animal; and if you saw a rat across the street, you would know who it was."

The agency of kuganaa is here seen as quite similar to that of stlaguu. In fact, kuganaa and stlaguu are often jointly mentioned as concepts of evil powers, where, through the agency of animals, the mind of an individual is "invaded". The difference between the two is that whereas stlaguu involves unspecified sources of evil, or those resting in Nature, in the capacity of the supernatural animals themselves, kuganaa involves human beings as those who assume control over rats, mice, otters, cats or devil-fish to harm other human beings. This control of others' minds, it was said, is successful only if the victim allows him/herself to be controlled: "It can harm you only if you believe in it".

Evil magic is seen as also existing through getting control of human corpses (c.f. Oberg 1973:21). Sorcerers were repoted to have been seen "dancing on graves" at night. The notion that they "sneak around behind the village", aside from its association with diidguii, the woods, is

probably derived from the fact that formerly, the grave-houses holding the remains of human corpses stood behind the village. In some cases, sorcerers were thought to have seized human bones and utilized them in their magical practices.

The techniques and beliefs involved in kuganaa put into ritual practice the indigenous belief in the vulnerability of humans to the influences of powers, and the notion that humans, their acts and fates, are manipulable if their state of mind lets them. Every human being is potentially a sorcerer; as I indicated, this kind of power is not restricted to specialists, but is available to everyone. Conversely, anyone is vulnerable to being accused of having been kuganaa at one point in time. Even if the case has come to rest, or was not treated as a case of sorcery at the time, the accusation can be activated or re-activated during subsequent conflicts, or can result in further accusations. This leads us to the function of kuganaa in the social context. In so far as the causation of disease or death is concerned, it involves that potentially, someone can be held responsible for their occurrence. This causation through kuganaa is not immediate or direct: The victim may "objectively" have died of natural causes, or by drowning, by a self-inflicted wound, through a car-accident, etc. Kuganaa, however, is seen as the ultimate cause underlying the physical cause. It is the intended and directed power to cause things to others. Much like Azande witchcraft "explains unfortunate events" (Evans Pritchard op. cit.), kuganaa establishes ultimate causes in intended human agency, rather than in unspecified luck or chance. The sorcerer works through ritual practice, mainly contagious magic, and through intent. He only needs to have obtained pieces of clothing, hair combings, even food-left-overs containing saliva -

as one informant remarked, "Does this mean that you have to k'aawkaahl your turkey bones after a dinner?" - in order to manipulate them to harm the intended victim; he can thus be spatially removed from his victim. This means that upon the detection of "evidence", persons who were not present at the time of accident or death can be accused.

When examining the social relationship between the alleged sorcerer and the victim, it was remarkable that out of nine cases involving accusations, seven were directed against classificatory kin. The remaining two were unspecified, i.e. they involved merely the suspicion that kuganaa had been used. The most specific cases[7)] involved remote lineage mates: individuals of branches of one lineage, or classificatory siblings of the same lineage but not genealogically related. Typically, they involved individuals and their families who were engaged in life-long status rivalries. This is similar to de Laguna's findings about Tlingit sorcery; she states,

> "Deep-seated rivalries and resentments smoldering within sib or lineage may find expressions in accusations of witchcraft. Especially, if a man of rank were dying or if illness has stricken several members of the line, the ultimate treason of witchcraft might be suspected, and the witch is traditionally a blood relative" (1952:8).

In Masset, this competition was carried out on the one hand in public through feasting and/or speech-making; just as importantly, however, it was carried out in secret through kuganaa accusations. These were, of course, not uttered in public but through gossip, often through mere allusions and hints which would eventually reach the accused. These would state that so-and-so was seen "flying on the roof of the house back there", or that a piece of clothing of a recently deceased person had been found on so-and-so's clothesline; or that some hair /of a recently deceased person/ had been found in a place often frequented by the alleged sorcerer. Importantly, these

accusations are always made post hoc: The evidence is produced some time after the death of the alleged victim, which means that there is ample opportunity to manipulate it and produce it in a strategically important place. This raises the possibility that individuals consciously use kuganaa accusations in order to manipulate social relationships to their advantage, where these cannot be successfully manipulated by legitimate means.

The potentiality of being accused as kuganaa implies that individuals must be careful not to make any statements in private or public which could be interpreted by their adversaries as an involvement in acts of sorcery. Opinions, predictions or admonitions can be interpreted as curses. An informant reported that his former physician had told him many years ago to quit smoking by saying something like, "if you don't quit smoking you will die soon". This admonition had promptly been interpreted as a curse by the narrator, and he dryly remarked, "The doctor is dead now, while I am still alive"[8]. In other words, he had, probably by countering the curse in the physician's absence, turned it against the curser - successfully, in his mind, as the "evidence" proved.

In former times, shamans acted as institutionalized mediators of sorcery disputes. As the remarks and descriptions by Harrison, Collison, Swanton and Niblack (supra) show, they would be called upon to detect the kuganaa and to detect the cause of sickness or death and thus the sorcerer. Moreover, they often were the ones who conducted the "mouse ceremony", and they had the power to order the detected and unconfessed sorcerer killed.

After the elimination of shamanism by the missionaries, kuganaa accusations and allegations became uncontrolled; accusations were voiced

without the mediation of shamans. No live informants remembered the "mouse ceremony", although cases of the exorcism of mice out of the sorcerer's body were reported. Moreover, I think it is very possible that the social and individual stresses of the late nineteenth century population decline produced by epidemics brought about an increase in sorcery accusations, subsequently witnessed by Collison and Harrison. It is plausible that the numerous deaths in the village, in Haida thinking, had to be attributed to ultimate causes, i.e. kuganaa. As Collison remarked, slaves were often held responsible, and became scape-goats of sorcery accusations.

In addition, the nucleation of all Gawa xaadee lineages at Masset probably provided for an increase in kuganaa accusations. It seems likely, that kuganaa was not only instrumental in manipulating social disputes, but also expressed the frequency of social interaction and dispute. Tensions between communities became tensions within the community. In Marwick's terms, sorcery can be viewed as a "social strain gauge" (1970:280ff). It expresses both tensions and sheer frequency of interaction in certain relationship categories.

Similarly, in 1980-81, when a series of arson-fires occurred in the village and the arsonist went undetected for a long time, kuganaa accusations multiplied. With no one knowing who the culprit was and pressure mounted that he be caught, accusations became an outlet of expressing the tensions among individuals and groups, and the imputed agency behind destructive events that remained mysterious.

With the analysis of kuganaa beliefs and practices, we have spanned the realms of supernatural causation and human agency. Both are connected

to the idea of power as it can conceptually be acquired by human beings to manipulate the state of mind and consequently fate, of others. It provides a theory of causation which leaves no event to mere chance, but attributes every occurrence to intentions by supernatural beings or humans. Where occurrences involve death or disease, they are attributed to the evil and illegitimate agency of other humans. As a theory of causation, it provides a means of assuming social and political control over others[9], especially where this control cannot be attained by public and legitimate means. Finally, the occurrence and frequency of kuganaa accusations represent a social strain gauge expressing social tensions which result from social changes, high frequency of deaths, or massive destructive events.

Footnotes:

1) For example, in the movie Those born at Masset (written and produced by Mary Lee Stearns and Eileen Stearns, 1978), a joke is made about white men who landed on the moon as being "kuganaa". The association is that of flying witches/sorcerers.

2) Curtis (1916:138) also mentions the term st'aaw as "witchcraft, a power which is obtained by sleeping outside and communing with mice, which became their guardian and informing spirits for evil. Their work was done at night". Owls, of course, prey on mice.

3) See Swanton 1908:#59; 1905a:#11 (Kaigani series) for stores involving mice emerging from a wizard's belly.

4) Niblack, as he mentioned, quoted Judge Swan in some of his remarks on Haida witchcraft (op. cit.:138).

5) Harrison also asserted that Gogiids had the power to fly (1925:131f).

6) Collison, letter to C.M.S., March 20, 1879. Church Missionary Society Archives, London, England.

7) Because kuganaa is a sensitive and delicate subject with contemporary Haida, I am here not citing cases, as these, even if pseudonyms or Haida names were used, could easily lead to the identification of individuals. I am aware that it makes my analysis less precise and somewhat vague. However, I think in view of the implications and meaning of the subject, this is justifiable.

8) George Deagle, personal communication. After receiving this communication, I found this very case in my own field-notes, and from the context it was mentioned in, it was clear that it had implications of sorcery and/or a curse. However, I had missed its meaning. It can be regarded as typical of the implicit statements made by informants whose meaning is much deeper than the words themselves reveal.

9) See Ridington (1968) for an analysis of Beaver Indian "medicine" (witchcraft/sorcery) in the context of social and political control.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND AFTER-THOUGHTS

This thesis has presented a model of the Haida social values and cosmology, and how these translate into social action. As such, it has spanned a wide range of topics concerning the Gawa xaadee: We have moved from the analysis of the manipulation of social relationships and their symbols to the conceptual manipulability of humans by supernatural powers, and finally to the illicit utilization of such powers for social purposes.

Central to my model has been the notion of the conscious ambiguity of symbols of social relationships, which is paralleled by the conceptual ambiguity of the (super)natural world. As far as the communication with other human beings and with Nature is concerned, this means that words, deeds, even intent, in the case of communication with Nature, must be delicately and carefully phrased. All discourses about one's own and others' social status are verbal tight-rope acts, for every word or deed not carefully chosen can be held against one. Social relationships hinge upon the negotiation of one's own and others' standing. At the same time, the meaning of words, symbols and events is negotiated to the effect that it appears as if guided by rules, as if nothing is left to chance. The world is in constant flux, yet it is presented as if orderly, as if nothing were left to chance and manipulation. Maybe it is these ideas and values that one of the last town chiefs in his inaugural address intuitively referred to as an "ordered anarchy".

From the perspective of contemporary Haida life, this thesis is about a small slice of Haida social organization and values, and, in being limited to the analysis of the management of traditional symbols and

relationships, it does not explicitly touch upon many issues of current Haida concern. It is about a world that is almost one of the past. It deals with linguistic expressions only understood by a handful of people, and actions and values that are becoming increasingly diluted. However, I think it has some relevance for those who observe and reflect on contemporary Haida affairs. Much of this work has dealt with a style of discourse and action and thought which, for reasons I have detailed, thrives on ambiguity, allusion, even silence. It is striking that this style, in my observation, is passed on to those who do not speak the language, those who are of my own generation. Likely because of the traditional values and style I have analysed, younger Haida grow up with a sense of the allusive quality of social and political discourse, of the importance of implicit negotiation, and many of the types of symbolic action, or gestures, I have detailed in Chapter IV. From this perspective, this work has made explicit some values that do bear upon contemporary relations among younger Haida and between Haida and Whites. Presented in the model I have chosen, they result from values connected to an entire collective scheme of classification and action. There is no space here to explore this aspect of continuity further. My intention was to point it out as an implication which was not explicitly intended, but which may have resulted simply from the intuitive insights and experiences of fieldwork.

Finally, in retrospect, this analysis leaves me with somewhat ambivalent feelings, as it makes explicit what, in the context of Haida culture, has its major importance through remaining implicit. Through analysing the modus operandi of Haida social and symbolic relations, it has exposed

what in the Haida style of discourse must be read between the lines. In this sense, from the point of view of the subjects, it has made explicit the unspeakable. Just as jokes lose their effectiveness by being explained in detail, discourse and actions which thrive through their allusiveness and elusiveness seem displaced when explicated.

APPENDIX

1. Story of the Two Boys at Tiaan, told by Adam Bell of Masset. (Recorded January 22, 1980).

"Two boys, they were brothers, were hunting birds and breaking their wings. Then fog came in. They got lost. They ran into kelp and did not know where to land, so they took kelp on the boat and tied it up. They started crying, and while they were out there, there was someone calling, 'The rich man /nang 7iitl'gaas/ tells them to come in'. It said that quite a few times, and the older brother stepped off to the water. Then he went down into the water. He stayed there, under the water, for quite a while, on the bottom of the ocean. He had told his brother before he went down, 'If I don't come back, you come down, too.' Then his brother came after the boat. His older brother was still waiting at the longhouse /below/, and then his younger brother came down and went under the water.

They turned into Killerwhales, although they were just like humans. Then those young people went into the big house under the water. Their parents started to cry because they were not coming back. After that, those brothers went into the house /of the Killerwhale Chief/. Where they had hit the birds, they had broken their wings on the one side. The birds' father, /i.e. the Killerwhale chief/ was sitting way up and his son was in front of him. He had all sizes of killerwhale fins on the wall. They made fire. And they warmed them up, the fins. While they put up a big fire, they told /the younger brother/ to hold his back towards them. He did not know he had drowned, he thought he was alive yet. The older brother had got a fin already. The second one, they were going to give him a fin, too.

He did not know they turned into Killerwhales. And while the younger brother was in that big house under water, the older brother swam out just like a killerwhale. And while the younger one was sitting down, he started thinking. He heard a big noise: His brother was out at sea. Then he found out his brother had turned into a Killerwhale. The younger brother's time came, too, to get a big fin. He had got his grinding stone around his neck. They carried that around with them all the time to sharpen knives. The Killerwhale-People started a council, and they hit him with the fin. But he put his grinding stone in the place where the fin goes, and the Killerwhales did not see that. He did it four times, then they gave up. He did not want that fin. They went out, and they kicked out the brother.

The youngest boy walked around the village. In the last house, a real old man was sitting. The brother wanted to know the way to the village. Then the old man tried to help him, and he told him the trail to the land, to Tiaan. Then he went in /to his parents' house/. But only his spirit /gaahlandee/ made it. His Dad and Mom were sitting down beside him, crying. They did not see him, but he saw them. While they were sitting there, he said, 'Mother, I have come back'. When he came back, there was a big camp-fire in the longhouse. His parents were crying /i.e. they were mourning him/. 'Mom, I am here', he said. When he started talking, there was a noise in the big camp-fire. He tried to talk lots of times, then he went out crying. He was sitting outside of the house. Then it started to rain real heavy. His father saw the water running down the corner. And the boy stood up. Where the water ran down real heavy, he was sitting under it. Finally, it was getting pretty cold, he could feel it all right. It was getting too cold; the water came to his knees. He was shaking real hard,

he felt the water coming down. When it got past his knee, he stood up, and that big killerwhale skin fell off him. Then he walked away from it. His parents were still sitting in their place. Then he sat down by his father's side. Then his sisters came out of the house. The youngest brother has been sitting outside /they said/. Then he told his mother what happened. His mother just got mad at him and spanked him, because his brother had drowned. She did not know he had got a killerwhale skin. Some of the people from the house had come by outside. They had seen the brother sitting there, and they had brought him in.

After a few days, the younger brother got excited. He said he was going out hunting with his older brother. His older brother came to go hunting with him. All the while /the younger brother/ was human, his older brother came over, and the big Killerwhales were over there at Tiaan. Then he put something around his legs and went hunting with them. Then he came back with sea-lion. He split it half and half with his brother. They killed whales, too, and the people in the town really liked it. Not too long after, the Killerwhales at Nee Kun killed the oldest brother, and the younger one took him home. As soon as /the younger/ brother got up, his parents asked what happened. He said the /older/ brother had got killed. Those Nee Kun people /i.e. Killerwhale-People/ did it. The Nee Kun and Tiaan /Killerwhale/ People hated each other. Then the people went out and they got the older brother's body. His /older/ brother was gone, and the younger brother took his place. He became a Killerwhale. The end."

2. Story of the Blind Man at Gweiskun, told by Adam Bell.
(Recorded February 5, 1980).

"Gweiskun was a big village. A lady there had a husband. She had two boys. When the people went fishing, the husband would sit down, and she would go around to the fishermen. They went away out to the ocean to fish for halibut. They got halibut, then they came back. When the weather was low, her husband tried to get sea-food, that was the only thing he could do. Listening to her husband, his wife started crying, because he could not get onto a fishing boat. They went out without that man who could not see. Then he went besides his house.

The blind man went besides his house. He went up, he touched the water. When he touched the water, he sat down and someone was talking to him. There was a Sea-gull flying high above his head and it started talking. That Sea-gull had heard the news that no one helped him and that he had nothing to eat. 'You come into the house', the Sea-gull said to the man. The Sea-gull brought him into his house. There was an old man sitting down in the corner. He brought him in, then he fed him. The food they gave him was herrings and ooligans, and he ate it. After that they gave him all kinds of food. The man ate the herrings right down to the bone. They gave him the food that they had put away. When he quit eating, they took the dishes away. They gave him different foods. After he had finished eating those, he ate on for a while. Then they took his dishes away. The old man was sitting in the corner of the house. He was staying in the house. That old man said, 'I heard you'. He knew that while the others were fishing, he never got anything. 'We are just getting ready to help you. If you will lie down for a little bit, the Sea-gull People will pull

the blood out of your eyes'. They said they took one out, and the second time they took the other out. 'Do you see something?' the Sea-gull People said. They asked him again. 'Yes, I see real good this time,' he said. 'When I look far away, I can see real good', he answered. They pulled the blood a third time out of his eye. 'Can you see now?' 'Yes, I can see real well now, I can see far away. I can see the point very good.' When they got his eyes all fixed up, he went back to his house.

The Sea-gull People had told him not to look down, that is what they had said. When he came back to the village, he acted as if he was blind. When he came back, his wife asked, 'Where were you?' and he said he went around behind the house. After he had come back, he tried to get on a fishing boat again, but all the fishing boats had left already. When it was a fine day, the blind man told his wife that he wanted to go out with the family. He told his wife to push the boat out. He wanted the two kids with him out fishing. They started out fishing. Right at the end of North Island, they started fishing for halibut. He dropped his hook and started fishing for halibut. He asked for halibut bait, and the Sea-gulls gave him herring. The (other) people were out fishing and he rode his boat right down before the people came back. And the people did not know he had got lots of halibut. And his house was all filled up with halibut, and his wife sliced it, and then she dried it. When his house was all filled up with dry halibut, he took his boat way up. That was the Sea-gulls' order. And the Southwest started to blow and a big ground-swell started to come in, too. No one went out fishing at all. In the winter-time, the big ground-swells were coming in all the time. The weather was very bad in the fall-time, and in the winter-time they ran short of food. The blind man

was the only one who had food that winter. The other ones ran short of sea-food and halibut. While the weather was so bad, they ran short of all foods. And the blind man sold his dried halibut. And in the spring-time, when he had sold all his dry halibut, he became the richest man in the village. The Sea-gull People had told him not to take his hat off. They told him that, after he would potlatch ten times, he could take his hat off.

After he potlatched ten times, he took his hat off. After he took his hat off, he walked around in the front of the village, and the people saw that he was not blind. The people asked him if he could see, and he answered, 'Yes, I can see. The Sea-gull People helped me. They also told me to do ten potlatches and then to take my hat off.' He became the richest man in the village. Anything other people did, the blind man did way better than that. That is the end of it."

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