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The main intent of this paper is to do a structural semantic analysis of kinship terms in the Squamish Language. Such an analysis aims to discover the structure of the system, i.e., the criteria of 'rules' of kin classification in the Squamish Language that distinguish the several categories belonging to any particular system, and at the same time relate them to each other. My goal is to formulate a model of the semantics of certain Squamish words as they are employed to designate categories of kin. The primary denotata (or focal types) for each term will be analyzed.

The Northwest coast was the second most diverse linguistic area of aboriginal North America, after California, representing forty-five distinct languages (Thompson & Kinkade 1990:34-35).

A number of linguistic features occur over the Northwest coast culture area and tend to define it as a distinct linguistic diffusion area. Most of these features do extend into the Plateau culture areas where the Interior Salish languages are located. Some features are found only in the Northwest and are rare elsewhere in the world, making the area as a whole unique. All the languages have richly developed consonantal systems. Unlike languages in many parts of the world, sounds such as nasals, /l/, /w/, and /y/ function as a single series of resonants, each of which corresponds to a point of articulation pertinent for the obstruent systems. In these obstruent systems, all Northwest languages oppose a glottalized (ejective) series with an unglottalized series of stops and affricates. All languages of the area have extensive series of voiceless spirants, but labial spirants are entirely lacking. The labial set of consonants is less developed than sets produced farther back in the mouth. There are a set of affricates of either the /c/ [ts] or /ç/ type, and they are generally both used. All Northwest languages have the voiceless lateral [ʄ], and the glottalized affricate [λ'] is found in most of the languages (Thompson & Kinkade 1990:43).

These languages, in contrast to their elaborated consonantal systems, usually have relatively few distinctively different vowels. Only three or four vowel positions are usually contrasted. Six is the maximum number of vowel position contrasts anywhere in the area (Thompson & Kinkade 1990:36).

The languages are predominantly polysynthetic, morphologies are generally complex and reduplication is extensively used.

The study of kinship has a long history in both anthropology and linguistics with varying points of view along the way. "...a kinship terminology, consisting as it does of elements of language, is a linguistic phenomenon, one which exercises a special fascination because it constitutes what is perhaps the most highly organized part of the lexicon...the referents of these elements are precisely those individual relationships and group structures which are significant in all societies..." (Denning and Kemmer 1990:310-311).

Crane (1984:44) asserts (and I agree): "While it is true that in modern, highly developed societies kinship ties are generally less important for large-scale organization, kinship remains an important aspect of social relations."

In a formal analysis of kinship terms one aims to discover the structure of the system, i.e. the criteria or rules of kin classification. There are two sides of kinship terminology, one from the language-internal point of view, the other looking outward toward the referents of kinship terms. Linguists have tended to analyze kinship terminology in terms of how it relates to the rest of language, while anthropologists have regarded kinship as a part of society and analyze it for its cultural components. The one treats kinship terminology as one domain of language, and the other assumes that kinship terms are a cultural construct that relates people in unique ways. I hope to bridge this dichotomy in my analysis. In this study I have attempted to bring together the best of linguistic and anthropological analyses.

The crux of the issue is aptly stated by Holmes (1971:358): "The family is man's most basic, most vital, and most influential institution. It is the foundation of society, the molder of character and personality, and the mentor of cultural values...Family is what makes the differences between a 'house' and a 'home'. It is in the family that man first learns to walk, to talk, and to function as a human being. It is where he learns the values that will influence his behavior all his life as he deals with the grater society. And it is where one acquires his self-image and his goals and his ideas of what he himself will someday seek in the way of a spouse and a home."

In my analysis of Squamish kinship terminology, I have combined the two in order to understand its kinship system as it relates to the language and to the people who speak it. Both approaches recognize that kinship terminology exists in all languages, and that all peoples have approximately the same concept for 'relative', in the generic sense, e.g. mother, father, child, sibling, etc.

The Squamish kinship system is based on bilateral descent. Equal importance is attached to kinship on both maternal and paternal sides. All coastal groups agree in differentiating ParPar and ChiChi. The South Georgia group, which includes Squamish, has simplified the system even further. This group, which forms a linguistically closely related branch of Coast Salish (Squamish, Halkomelem, Straits, Klallam, Nooksack) has single ParPar and ChiChi terms. Thus the sex of the ParPar or ChiChi is not specified, thus /imats/ 'grandchild m or f', /si7i/ 'grandparent m or f'. This aspect of ∅ (zero) gender is unique to the South Georgia group. The

other Coastal groups use two terms for ParPar, i.e. ParFa, ParMo, thus gender is distinguished (Elmendorf 1961).

In analyzing the Squamish, I will do an overall analysis, then do independent analyses of grandparent/grandchild terms, affinal terms, condition terms: living or deceased, step- terms, and others.

The Squamish counted kinship up to six generations on both the father's and mother's sides, and equal importance was attached to both sides. "The widest kinship unit (known as) /xwnc'a'yawam/ was a bilateral kinship unit consisting of relatives up to the sixth degree on both father's and mother's sides" (Squamish Nation Citizenship Committee).

In Squamish, kinship terms are determined by gender only in unmarked first ascending generations, e.g. mother /chesha/, father /man/, aunt /sata(t)/, uncle /sisi(t)/. If the aunt or uncle is deceased the suffix /-t/ is added.¹ We have an exception to this in husband /kwtams/, and wife /chewash/. Otherwise, there is no gender distinction.

Squamish kinship terms are basically determined generationally, consanguineally, affinally, conditionally, step- relationally, and by elder/younger distinctions.

Let's first look at general kinship terms in Squamish. Following is a list of the fifty-one basic Squamish kinship terms:²

I.1 General

Squamish	English Equivalent
/stelmexw/	person; Indian
/swi7ka/	man
/slhanay/	woman
/skakal/	baby
/siyan/ ³	chief; highly respected person
/kwtams/	husband
/chewash/	wife
/newa/	spouse (address)
/sya7tn/	widow/er
/chesha7/	mother

¹ The suffix /-t/ is the morpheme meaning 'deceased or late' (Kuipers 1967:125).

² Squamish kinship list supplied by my consultant, Peter Jacobs.

³ from *√han?* which means 'be covered'.

/man/	father
/chi7cht/	any parent
/men/	child (son or daughter)
/se7x/	daughter-in-law; son-in-law; mother-in-law; father-in-law
/sxwse7x/	stepmother/father of spouse; spouse of stepson or stepdaughter
/ch'emash/	sister-in-law; brother-in-law; spouse's cousins; cousin's spouses
/snch'inek/	wife or husband of spouse's brother, sister, or cousin
/skw'ikw'iwes/	parents of living daughter-in-law or son-in-law
/kw'elh we chet xaam/	group of four composed of the parents of a deceased daughter-in-law or son-in-law and the parents of the surviving spouse
/kw'enlh wa xaam/	group of three composed of the parent(s) of a deceased daughter-in-law or son-in-law and the parent(s) of the surviving spouse
/slha7elkw'/	general term for all in-laws or affines
/ayish/	brother, sister, or cousin
/elashtel/	group of two composed of siblings and/or cousins
/ekw'i7tel/	group of more than two composed of brothers, sisters, and/or cousins
/ch'ayay/	spouse of deceased brother or sister
/ska7k/	younger brother or sister; son or daughter of mother's or father's younger brother or sister
/kwupits/	older brother or sister; son or daughter of mother's or father's older brother or sister
/s7ayakw'a/	younger brothers and sisters; children of mother's or father's younger brother or sister
/kwepkwupits/	older brothers and sisters; children of mother's or father's older brother or sister
/sata/	sister or female cousin of living mother or father

/sisi/	brother or male cousin of living mother or father
/satat/	deceased sister or female cousin of mother or father
/sisit/	deceased brother or male cousin of mother or father
/welh sayxwelh/	brother or sister of deceased mother or father
/skw'iwes/	mother or father of brother's or sister's spouse
/sxwman/	stepfather; husband of mother's or father's sister
/sxwchesha7/	stepmother; wife of mother's or father's brother
/sxwmen/	stepchild; child of spouse's brother or sister
/stayalh/	child of living brother, sister, or cousin
/swenimaylh/	child of deceased brother, sister, or cousin
/si7l/	grandparent; granduncle; grandaunt
/imats/	grandchild; grandniece/nephew
/sxw7imats/	grandchild of spouse's brother or sister; grandchild's spouse
/sxwsi7l/	grandparent, granduncle, or grandaunt of spouse
/sch'amikw/	great-grandparent, great-grandchild; great-granduncle/aunt
/sxwch'amikw/	great-grandparent of spouse
/ts'ep'iyikw/	great-great grandparent/child
/sxwts'ep'iyikw/	great-great grandparent of spouse
/hekwiyyikw/	great-great-great grandparent/child
/sxwhekwiyyikw/	great-great-great grandparent of spouse
/temixwiyyikw/	great-great-great-great grandparent and other generations beyond

1.2 Grandparent/child Analysis:

As we analyze grandparent/child terms we will first look at a list of 24 terms which includes parents, parents siblings, offspring of parents/parents siblings, and grandparents to the fifth generation:

English Equivalent	Squamish Lexemes	Denotata
1. mother	/shesha7/	Mo ⁴
2. mama, mommy	/teh7/	Mo (address/endearment)
3. father	/man/	Fa
4. dad, daddy	/mam/	Fa (address/endearment)
5. any parent	/chi7cht/	Fa, or Mo
6. son or daughter, child/offspring	/men7/	Da, or So
7. children	/men7mn/	
8. brother; sister; or cousin	/ayish/	Br, Si, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, FaBrSo, FaBrDa, MoSiSo, MoSiDa, MoBrSo, MoBrDa
9. group of 2 composed of siblings and/or cousins	/elashtel/	Dual of #8
10. group of more than 2 composed of brothers, sisters, and/or cousins	/ekw'i7tel/	Pl of #8
11. younger brother or sister; child of parent's younger brother or sister	/ska7k/	Br, Si... (same as #8 only younger)
12. older brother or sister; child of parent's older brother or sister	/kwupits/	Br, Si... (same as #8 only older)

⁴ Mo=mother, Fa=father, Par=parent (m or f), So=son, Da=daughter, Br=brother, Si=sister, Pl=plural, Chi=child (either sex), El=elder, Yo=younger, ParPar= grandparent, ChiChi=grandchild, Sib=sibling, FaFa=paternal grandfather, MoFa= maternal grandfather.

13. younger brothers and sisters; children of mother's or father's younger brother or sister	/s7ayakw'a/	Pl of #11
14. older brothers and sisters; children of mother's or father's older brother or sister	/kwepkwupits/	Pl of #12
15. uncle	/si'-si7/	FaBr, MoBr
16. aunt	/s-(h)a'ta7/	FaSi, MoSi
17. aunty	/hatc'h7/	FaSi, MoSi (address/endearment)
18. grandchild; grandniece; grand-nephew	/imats/	FaFaCh, FaMoCh, MoFaCh, MoMoCh FaFaBrCh, FaFaSiCh, FaMoBrCh, FaMoSiCh, MoFaBrCh, MoFaSiCh, MoMoBrCh, MoMoSiCh
19. grandchildren, grandnieces, nephews	/umernuts/	Pl of #18
20. grandparent; granduncle; grandaunt	/si7l/	FaFa, FaMo, MoFa, MoMo,FaFaBr, FaFaSi, FaMoBr, FaMoSi, MoFaBr, MoFaSi, MoMoBr, MoMoSi
21. great-grandparent; great-granduncle; great-grandaunt; great-grandchild	/sch'amikw'/	FaFaFa,FaFaMo, FaMoFa,FaMoMo, MoFaFa, MoFaMo, MoMoFa,MoMoMo, FaFaFaBr, FaFaFaSi, FaFaMoBr,FaFaMoSi, FaMoFaBr, FaMoFaSi, FaMoMoBr, FaMoMoSi, MoFaFaBr, MoFaFaSi, MoFaMoBr, MoFaMoSi, MoMoFaBr, MoMoFaSi, MoMoMoBr, MoMoMoSi (also includes children of all of the above)
22. great-great grandparent; great-great-grandchild	/ts'ep'iyikw'/	FaFaFaFa, FaFaFaMo, ChiChiChiChi etc.

23. great-great-great-grandparent; great-great-grandchild	/hekwiyk'/	FaFaFaFaFa, FaFaFaFaMo, ChiChiChiChiChi etc.
24. great-great-great-grandparent and other generations beyond	/temixwiyk'/	FaFaFaFaFaFa, FaFaFaFaFaMo, ChiChiChiChiChiChi etc.

There are no gender distinctions in the ascending generations of *ego*, i.e. there is only one lexeme for grandparent, etc. There are no terms to distinguish grandmother from grandfather. Also ascending generations' siblings are included in the ParPar terms. For example the same lexeme /si7l/ is used for grandparent or granduncle or grandaunt, etc.

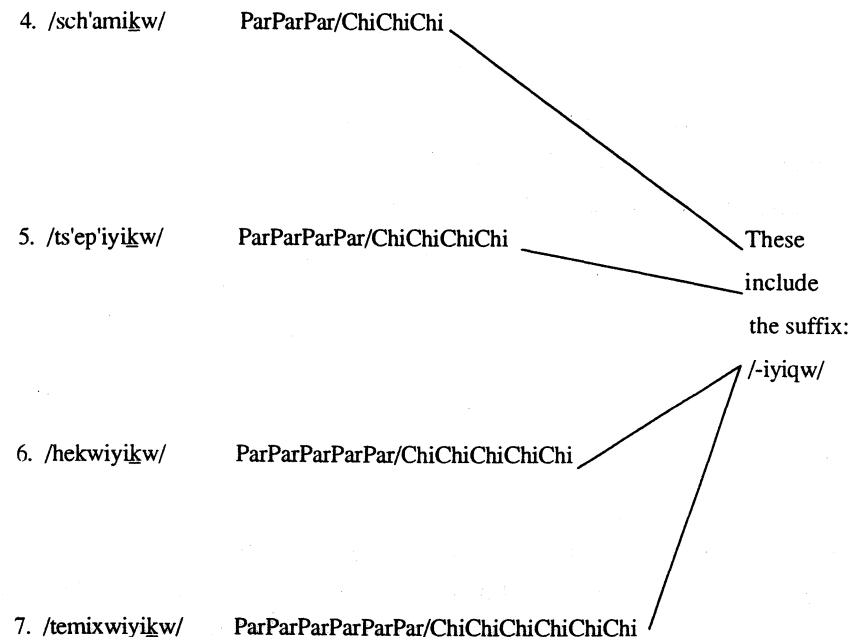
An interesting fact to note is that the great-grandparent term /sch'amikw/ and ascending generations also include the great-grandchildren and their cousins in the same term. However, the closer one is to *ego*, the more there is a gender and generational distinction. There is a separate term for ParPar /si7l/ and one ChiChi /imats/ (nos. 18 & 20). Also, there is gender distinction in the ParSib lexemes, i.e. there are separate lexemes for ParBr and ParSi (uncle and aunt):

/sisi7/ = uncle /s(h)ata7/ = aunt

In analyzing the basic grandparent terms in Squamish let's look at the lexemes for: 1) grandparent (ParPar), 2) great-grandparent (ParParPar), 3) great-great grandparent (ParParParPar), 4) great-great-great grandparent (ParParParParPar), and 5) great-great-great-great grandparent (ParParParParParPar). These are as follows:

I.2.1 Grandparent/Grandchild Analysis :

1. /si7l/ ParPar
2. /imats/ ChiChi
3. /sxw7imats/ ChiChi of Spouse's Sib, ChiChi Spouse



The somatic suffix /-iyiqw/ is attached to the second, third, fourth, and fifth ascending and descending generations. According to my consultant PJ, this suffix refers to the top of the head. Examples that are not a kinship term are:

- /nq'its'-iy'iqw/ 'soft spot on baby's head'
- /ts'aq'-iy'iqw/ 'get hit on the top of the head'

Each of the generational lexemes has a separate root:

- /sch'am/ , /ts'ep'/, /hekw/ , /temixw/

The meanings of the first three are not known, but /temixw/ means 'earth, land, dirt'. The semantic derivation is unclear.

I.3 Affinal Analysis:

In Squamish there are seven affinal kinship terms:

1. /se7x/
This term includes both genders of first ascending and first descending generations marked affinally.
2. /ch'emash/
This includes *ego's* siblings marked affinally, e.g brother- or sister-in-law spouse's cousins and *ego's* cousin's spouses.
3. /snch'inek/
Spouse of *ego's* spouse's brother, sister, or cousin; the English equivalent is a brother/sister-in-law, cousin's wife/husband.
4. /skw'ikw'iwes/
Parents of child's spouse [condition/spouse: living]
5. /kw'elh we chet xaam/
Parents of child's spouse [condition/spouse: deceased]
6. /kw'enlh wa xaam/
Parent(s) of child's spouse [condition/spouse: deceased]
Also includes parent(s) of child [condition/child: living]
7. /slha7elkw'/
General term for all affines

I.4 Condition Analysis:

Boas (1890:688) noted, "The most peculiar features of the Salish system of relationship, particularly among the Coast Salish, is the use of distinct terms for indirect affinities, when the intermediate relation is alive and when he is dead. This seems to imply that after the death of the intermediate relative the mutual relation between the two indirect relatives undergoes a change."

In Squamish kinship terms, the condition living vs deceased occurs as we have seen in affinal terms 4,5, and 6. It also occurs in:

/ch'ayay/ 'the spouse of deceased brother or sister'

/satat/ 'deceased aunt, or female cousin of Par'

/sisit/ 'deceased uncle, or male cousin of Par'

It has been noted previously that on the aunt/uncle terms above the suffix /-t/ is added. This does appear to occur in the other terms of condition.

/swenimaylh/ 'child of deceased Sib or cousin'.

I.5 Step- Analysis:

In Squamish there are three terms to indicate, what is known in English as, a step relationship. These are:

/sxwman/ 'stepfather or husband of mother's or father's sister'

/sxwchesha7/ 'stepmother or wife of mother's or father's brother'

/sxwmen/ 'stepchild or child of spouse's brother or sister'

Here we can analyze these terms by means of the prefix /x-/ 'step' combined with the nominalizer /s-/, thus /sx-/ is affixed to the lexemes /man/ 'father', /chesha7/ 'mother', and /men/ 'child'.

I.6 Other Miscellanea:

I.6.1 Endearment

I have only found terms of endearment for 'mother', 'father', and 'aunt':

'mom, mama' /teh7/

'dad, daddy' /mam/

'aunty' /hate'h7/

The semantical derivation of these is unclear, except that /hate'h7/ clearly comes from /teh7/.

I.6.2 Dual vs. Plural

There is one dual vs. plural form that occurs in kinship terms:

/elashtel/ 'group of two'

/ekw'i7tel/ 'group of more than two'

Both refer to siblings and cousins with the only distinction being the number.

I.6.3 Older vs. Younger

The distinction between older and younger occurs in the terms for siblings and cousins:

/ska7k/ 'younger sibling/cousin of Par younger Sib'

/kwupits/ 'older sibling/cousin of Par older Sib'

I.6.4 Plural

Plurals are generally formed by means of reduplication of the root:

/s7aya^kw's/ is the reduplicated form of /ska7k/

/kwepkwupits/ is the reduplicated form of /kwupits/

Conclusions :

In order to indicate some of the difficulties encountered in obtaining native data and to give a taste of the frustrations and urgencies in trying to preserve the Native American languages, I want to share a quote by an anthropological linguist, Charles Hill-Tout (1900:472) written in 1900. It could have been written today.

"There are, indeed, insuperable difficulties in the way of making really exhaustive reports on any of our ties at the present time. There are, in the first place, many invincible prejudices to be overcome. Then there is the difficulty of communications and when these have been partially overcome there yet remains the difficulty of finding natives who possess the knowledge you are seeking...only the older men or women remember the old practices, customs, manners, and beliefs of the tribe, and even these have forgotten much that is important to know. These and other difficulties stand in the way of complete and exhaustive investigation; and I cannot better illustrate the need of pushing on our work among these interesting peoples without further delay, than by stating that since my last report was sent in my principal informant... Chief Mischelle, from who I secured so much valuable information a year or so ago, has passed away and can render us no further aid. In a few years, all those who lived under the conditions in pre-missionary days, and who now alone possess the knowledge we desire to

gather, will have passed away, and our chances of obtaining any further reliable information of the past will have gone with them.”

In my analyses I hoped I have been able to show some of the intricacies and unique qualities that are involved in kinship terms as they apply generally to the Salish languages and to Squamish in particular; also some of the beauty and depth of the language itself. I hope it can play some little part in the preservation of that language so that it can continue to be passed on to generations to come.

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