# ETHNOGENEALOGICAL METHOD[1]

Harold C. Conklin

## INTRODUCTION

In one way or another, all societies recognize assumed birth and mating relations. And virtually every modern ethnographer investigates "the kinship system" during the course of his fieldwork. It would seem appropriate here, therefore, to reconsider critically some of the more salient attributes of anthropological research on kinship, with particular focus on those procedures employed in the collection, description, and interpretation of genealogical information. The principal aims of this paper are to provide such a review of the genealogical approach to kinship, and to consider certain ways in which this approach may be improved. In reexamining various notions commonly used in this type of research and in discussing specific procedural details, I shall refer with some regularity to a sample set of kinship data taken from my recent field work among the Hanunóo. This material may also help to demonstrate, as well as to illustrate, the more general suggestions I should like to make for achieving greater analytic depth and precision in ethnography.

At this point, I feel I should be explicit about my assumptions regarding the nature and purpose of ethnography (Goodenough, 1956a; cf. Conklin, 1962a; Frake, 1962a, this volume). This seems especially important when one considers that ultimately all kinship data derive from ethnographic contexts.

An adequate ethnography is here considered to include the culturally significant arrangement of productive statements about the relevant relationships obtaining among locally defined categories and contexts (of objects and events) within a given social matrix. These nonarbitrarily ordered statements should comprise, essentially, a cultural grammar (Goodenough, 1957; Frake, 1962a). In such an ethnography, the emphasis is placed on the interpretation, evaluation, and selection of alternative statements about a particular set of cultural activities within a given

range of social contexts. This in turn leads to the critical examination of intracultural relations and ethnotheoretical models (Conklin, 1955; Goodenough, 1961c). Demonstrable intracultural validity for statements of covert and abstracted relationships is a primary goal. The structural description of such relationships should be based on prior analysis of particular and generalized occurrences in the ethnographic record (Lounsbury, 1955, pp. 163–164, 1956; cf. Morris, 1946). Criteria for evaluating the adequacy of ethnographic statements, with reference to the cultural phenomena described, include: (1) productivity (in terms of appropriate anticipation if not actual prediction), (2) replicability or testability, and (3) economy. In actual field situations, recording activities, analytic operations, and evaluative procedures (in short, the application of ethnographic technique, method, and theory) can, and I think should, be combined. The improvement and constant adjustment of field recording is, in fact, dependent upon simultaneous analysis and evaluation.

## GENEALOGICAL METHOD

One approach to certain problems in ethnographic description is known widely as the "genealogical method." This usually refers to techniques for recording and summarizing field notes on the kinship relations of some particular social unit. Despite the label, however, actual methodological (or theoretical) considerations are not always implied.

There is, of course, nothing intrinsically sacrosanct about genealogies, kinship, or any other traditional anthropological rubric. In ethnography, significant categories and relations are derived from intracultural analysis; they are not determined by the application of a previously designed typological grid. Prior category assumption is ruled out, and, instead, we try to base our work on such concrete realities as a local group of people and the kinds of objects and events the members of this group treat as culturally significant (Goodenough, 1956a; Leach, 1961c, pp. 4–5, 26–27, 104). After beginning a field investigation with kinship analysis, one may find that political alignment, economic activities, or religious demands are determinant of rights and duties among members of the society far more often than are kin ties. Nevertheless, there are three things which do make the study of genealogical relations important for the anthropologist:

1. Kinship connections are universally recognized, although the cultural significance associated with such recognition is not universally similar.

2. Kinship relations are almost universally discussed in contemporary ethnographic literature.

3. Attention to genealogical connections is a long-standing disciplinary tradition dating well back into the last century.

The "genealogical method" is often taken for granted, but this should not be considered as evidence for general agreement among anthropologists as to what this "method" actually includes. In a recent seminar on ethnographic theory, methods, and techniques, I found that among the advanced graduate student participants, the genealogical method was one of the least well agreed upon anthropological approaches we discussed. In part, this may be due to a time lag in that some of the questions now being asked had not been formulated in Morgan's time, or when Rivers was at work among the Toda.

Based on explicit statements by Rivers (1900, 1906, 1910, 1912), Radcliffe-Brown (1941), and others (e.g., Royal Anthropological Institute, 1951, pp. 42, 50–55, 79–82), one learns that the "classical" genealogical method included the following:

1. The study of social correlates of genealogical linkage within the system by the plotting of individuals and their respective social identities in time and space. (This sometimes included the study of associated rights, duties, and privileges with special regard for associated economic and political powers and liabilities.)

2. The taking of a sociological census in which a careful check is made of adoptions, local groups (households, residential units, etc.), deaths, marriages, births, multiple kin ties between relatives, and social group affiliations (including totems, etc.).

3. The analysis of various systems of folk taxonomy used in classifying individuals and in categorizing groups of individuals by noting the use of personal names, name taboos, name changing, different modes of specification (of relatives) and last, but by no means least, the terms of relationship themselves.

4. The perhaps accidental, but unfortunate, unilineal and historical bias of many investigators who had not worked ethnographically on the analysis of cognatic systems. [This has led some to consider "our" cognatic system as aberrant (Fortes, 1959, cf. Arensberg, 1961).]

5. Much concern with recording, but little attention paid to evaluations, testing, rethinking, and reworking of the analysis.

6. The use of dyadic and prearranged questionnaires, grids, and charts [which rarely allow the productive analysis of levels of contrast or hierarchic relations (Frake, 1962b), though they may provide some useful hints].

How does this approach stand up against our requirements for an adequate ethnography? As was already implied, some (namely, the first three of the characterizations just listed) stand up fairly well, but the last three obviously leave much to be desired. And, in practice, an "ethnogenealogical" component is noticeably lacking despite Rivers' early statements:

> In acquiring a knowledge of the pedigrees, the inquirer learns to use the concrete method of dealing with social matters which is used by the natives themselves and is able to study the formation and nature of their social classification and to exclude entirely influence in civilized categories [Rivers, 1912, p. 119];

and

> While actually working it would be fatal to attempt to use any other than the native name for any social group [Rivers, 1912, p. 144; cf. Radcliffe-Brown, 1941; Leach, 1961c, p. 29].

In discussing and rethinking ways in which genealogical recording and analysis can be made more effective ethnographically I should like to draw attention to four problems (none of which, of course, is limited to kinship):

1. *Criteria of Relevance.* How do we know the labeled categories or relations we speak about are culturally significant? Are the descriptive rubrics we employ derived only from a priori notions of expected occurrences on a prearranged grid? Ideally, we hope to describe "what the significant social categories are; not . . . what they ought to be" (Leach, 1961c, p. 27). Commitment to imputed definitions, past or present, cannot serve as tests of relevance in ethnography. While useful for certain kinds of subsequent comparative research, cross-cultural ethnological categorization and sociological typologizing—or substructuring—of various pertinent attribute spaces (Lazarsfeld, 1937) are of no great aid in increasing the analytic power or productivity of ethnographic methods (Conklin, 1955, 1961; Goodenough, 1956a, p. 37; Frake, 1961, 1962a, p. 54; Needham, 1962, p. 4).

2. *Domain Demarcation.* How do we recognize culturally significant boundaries? How are they established, checked, modified? Are there different types of delimitation, under varying circumstances? The mapping of domains is greatly facilitated by discovering locally important frames of reference and by testing for lexemically contrasted categories within such frames (Conklin, 1960, 1962b; Conant, 1961; Frake, 1962b).

3. *Analytic Categorization.* How can we achieve total accountability and maximum resolution of ambiguities, and still adhere to reasonable

canons of clarity and parsimony? Effective recording of particular events and of recurrences of culturally important classes of events depends partly on the precision and economy of the analytic operations employed (Lounsbury, 1956, pp. 158–168; cf. Lazarsfeld, 1961, pp. 142–157).

4. *Translation Labeling.* How can we translate category labels without distorting distinctive semantic relations? Abstract symbols may be helpful, and when translation labels must be used, they should be clearly distinguished from valid definitions (Lounsbury, 1956, p. 163; Conklin, 1962a, p. 124).

We should like especially to avoid the pitfalls of (1) *translation-labeling analysis,* wherein the *units* are provided not by the culture studied but by the metalanguage given before the investigation begins; (2) *translation-domain analysis,* wherein the boundaries and establishment of larger contexts are similarly provided by prior agreement instead of by ethnographic investigation; and (3) *etymological involvement,* wherein valuable space and time are wasted tracing down the putative and often highly incomplete and speculative history of particular technical terms instead of focusing on the data at hand and the socially and culturally relevant interrelations they reflect. Our task is not so much the prescription of accepted versus unaccepted meanings in the metalanguage (cf. Freeman, 1961, pp. 192–202), as it is the establishment of demonstrated versus undemonstrated social relationships (Frake, 1960; Leach, 1961c; Conklin, 1962a).

## "ETHNOGENEALOGICAL METHOD"

While the most efficient model for any particular cultural subsystem may be characterized as that which accounts for all and only those instances within that subsystem, the delineation and testing of such a model is rarely a simple task.

It is frequently highly instructive to examine the explicit models constructed by one's informants—especially when such abstractions are used by the informants themselves and in natural settings. Dimensions of contrast unfamiliar to the ethnographer and important cultural "distortions" of measurable or "etically"[2] discriminable contextual features may thus be revealed. As Lévi-Strauss has noted:

> Even if these models are biased or erroneous, the very bias and the kind of errors which they contain are an integral part of the facts to be studied; they may even perhaps be counted among the most significant models.
>
> [*Même si les modèles sont tendancieux ou inexacts, la tendance et la genre d'erreurs qu'ils recèlent font partie intégrante des faits à étudier; et peut-être comptent-ils parmi les plus significatifs* (Lévi-Strauss, 1958, p. 309).]

Ethnographically, the "inexactness" referred to here is often due to imprecise translation; but whatever the facts may be, one cannot afford to neglect such information. Both the explicit ethnomodels and the implicit principles on which they are based are well worth investigating. Where this is done systematically in the study of kinship linkages, and where intracultural validity is a goal in ethnographic inquiry, I consider the approach to be "ethnogenealogical." If the recording procedures employed in the field have built-in restrictions on the interpretation of responses, as would be the case in the exclusive use of a questionnaire for eliciting kinship terminology, one may never succeed in adequately describing the intracultural relationships of such a system. By reviewing various steps in my own work on Hanunóo social structure I shall try to demonstrate a few procedural devices which, I think, may help to avoid some of these pitfalls and which will permit more rigorous ethnographic analysis. Though not previously published, most of this analysis was worked out in its present form while I was still in the field (1957–1958; see Conklin, 1959).

Before turning to the genealogical corpus, we should first note for the Hanunóo that (1) everyday, obligatory social relations require an exact knowledge of kinship; (2) the most complete role network, affecting all segments of the society, is based on kin ties; and (3) the reckoning of precise degrees of relationship is of crucial importance in regulating marriage (as is well indicated below where I consider the apparent paradox in which an individual always marries a kinsman, though ideally he never should). Verbal recognition of kinship statuses is often obligatory, and there is almost unanimous agreement on the internal and external boundaries of the kinship system from one region to another within the Hanunóo area. Thus, on the basis of frequency, universality, and social significance, we may continue this discussion with the knowledge that kinship is a wide-ranging and important domain in Hanunóo culture (Conklin, 1954, pp. 45–47, 78–80, 1957, pp. 12–19, 1959).

It must be emphasized that in the following paragraphs many details have necessarily been left out. The analysis, however, is based on my attempts to account systematically for all available and pertinent information. To facilitate diagrammatic expression and evaluative criticism of the procedures used, I shall discuss four main stages or aspects of this analysis, in terms of:

1. Genealogical positions
2. Kin categories
3. Abstract principles
4. Correlates

At each of these stages, I have arranged in chart or list form at least a

sample of the results of my analysis up to that particular point (Figures 1 to 4). The sector marked *B* in each of these figures illustrates the use of different types of ethnogenealogical information derived largely from unsolicited Hanunóo statements (including overheard conversations) about kinship.

**1. *Genealogical Positions.*** Conventional charting devices including numbers and other symbols for proper names are widely used to map the interrelationship of the particular denotata in a kin network. An example of this first step of kinship investigation is shown in Figure 1*A*, which consists of a partial segment of an actual Hanunóo genealogy. As even casual inspection would suggest, this segment has been very much simplified.

Enclosures ($\triangle$ = male, $\bigcirc$ = female) represent specific genealogical positions occupied by particular individuals (numbers corresponding to personal names). They stand for concrete entities in a known social context. Single lines indicate cognatic linkage; double lines stand for links between spouses. The vertical grid on the left indicates generation in relation to that of ego (number 38). The original genealogy from which these 63 related positions were taken included 443 positions. Some notion of its general form may be gained from the observation that it resembles an expanded and cross-referenced version of the 200-odd-position Sinhalese genealogy recently published by Leach (1961a, chart *i*). All positions are or were occupied by identifiable individual kinsmen, of which only 39 were not known to ego by a specific personal name. [Included in this latter category are positions in the two most senior and the two most junior generations in Figure 1*A;* positions in generations 7 and 6 were identified by one of ego's elder kinsmen, those in generations −3 and −4 were added by ego as hypothetical (i.e., future) kinsmen.]

By generation, the actual distribution of kinsmen in this personal genealogy is as follows:

| *Generation* | : | *Number of kinsmen* |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | : | 1 |
| 6 | : | 2 |
| 5 | : | 4 |
| 4 | : | 9 |
| 3 | : | 16 |
| 2 | : | 60 |
| 1 | : | 118 |
| 0 | : | 141 |
| −1 | : | 71 |
| −2 | : | 18 |
| −3 | : | 2 |
| −4 | : | 1 |

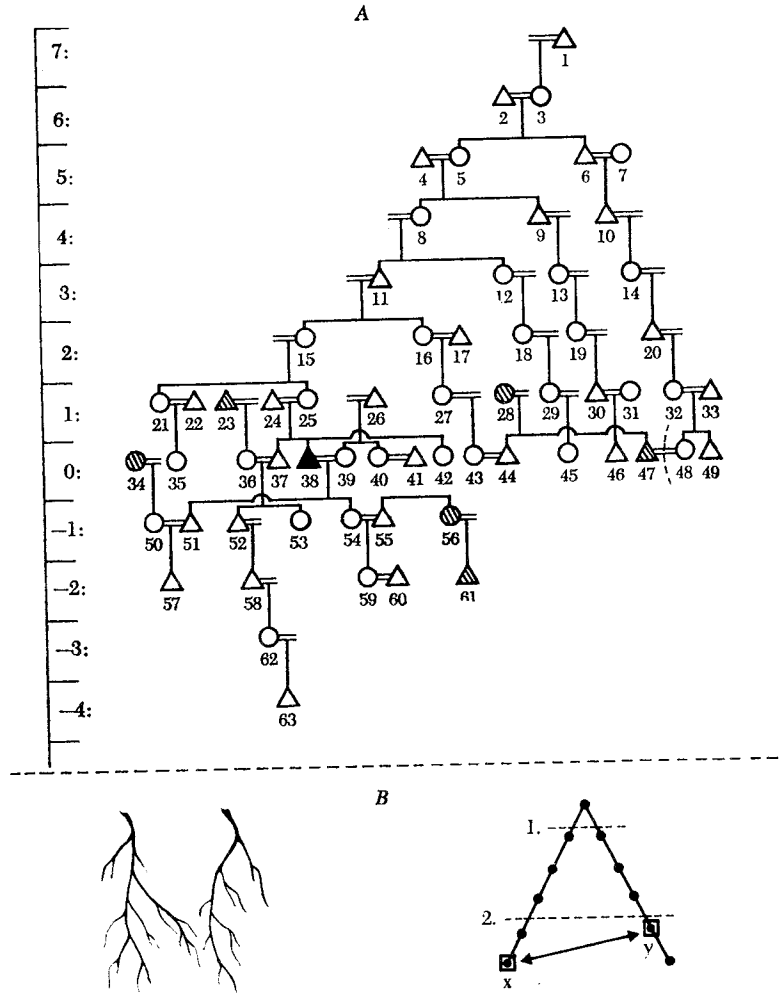



FIGURE 1. Genealogical Positions.

Thus, the main simplification was to leave out 85 per cent of the individual positions which were on the original chart. Secondly, almost all multiple and sequential linkages were dropped. Thirdly, such additional information as the indication of death, residence, and inheritance was excluded. Nevertheless, enough relational data remain so that every basic Hanunóo kin class is exemplified from one to several times. And though it is partial, this section of a personal genealogy does illustrate the difficulties encountered when one focuses on elements instead of on

relations within a system. Reading "raw" data from such charts is much like reading certain portions of Biblical narrative; by itself, such activity does not lead to ethnographic statements of general interest. Only particular details within ambiguous or boundless categories can be provided in this manner. Fortunately, this kind of necessary, empirical ground plan is only the beginning.[3]

The kind of evidence provided in Figure 1*A* does indicate that the Hanunóo probably have a personal- or ego-based kinship category system (Davenport, 1959; Murdock, 1960; Goodenough, 1961b), in which the criteria for membership in socially important kin classes do not depend on fixed lineage or lineage-like affiliation. Most importantly, it provides a map of the actual network within which there are as many potential ego-referents as one would need for testing structurally oriented hypotheses regarding kin categorization.

Before going further, we should note that in Figure 1*B* we have two indications of how the Hanunóo themselves handle genealogical problems of interconnection. On the left is a rough sketch of two *kāway* which may be glossed roughly as 'flowering branchlets (of certain plants).'[4] The Hanunóo refer to relations between such adjacent plant structures when discussing the boundaries of their maximal kinship groupings; in fact, the term *kāway* is used at at least two levels of contrast to designate such ego-defined social categories (Conklin, 1954). Marriages connecting a member of one's own *kāway* with that of the affine extend kinship linkage into, but not beyond, the in-law's 'branchlet.' Thus, for example, if ego (38) were not related to 48 and 49 as a fifth cousin, but only by 48's marriage to 47, 48 and 49 would be *nonkinsmen* with respect to ego. Then, from the standpoint of ego, the dotted line in 1*A* would be universally recognized as a finite boundary, beyond which individuals are excluded from the general category, *kinsman*. In this system a cousin's cousins are kinsmen, but a cousin's cousin's cousins (if not more directly related) are not. Theoretically, or ethnotheoretically at least, this is an open system (cf. Romney and Epling, 1958).

On the right is my diagram of a frequently observed practice of "tracing back" genealogical relations. When $x$ and $y$ meet but do not know what to call each other, they work "backwards" in their own *kāway* until siblinghood or a same-generation, finite degree of cousinship is established for specific ascendants of both parties. If a parent of $x$ is known to $y$ as a third cousin, at the level below broken line 2, the $x$-$y$ relationship is determined (see $d$ or $e$, Figure 2), and no further inquiry is necessary. They may have to push back to the original or "truncal" sibling pair (cf. Freeman, 1961, p. 204) at the level just below line 1. Whatever the situation, specification of the links separating the deter-

minant set is not required. This sketch reflects common knowledge and frequently observed practice among the Hanunóo. Of comparative interest is a remarkably similar diagram published together with an explanatory note on "The Mathematics of American Cousinship" in a recent issue of the *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* (Roark, 1961). There, the purpose in providing such a device is explicitly the resolution of a frequently met ambiguity and lack of common knowledge among American anthropologists as to the steps required in reckoning degrees of cousinship in English!

However illustrative it may be, the display of genealogical details in Figure 1*A*—essentially a case history (Leach, 1961a, pp. 11–12; cf. Gluckman, 1961)—does not in itself constitute a description or demonstration of structurally important kinship relations. The marked positions represent individual variants within a set of as yet unanalyzed but significantly more invariant categories (cf. Nadel, 1957, p. 8). Nevertheless, this type of overdifferentiated mapping of objectively determined denotata does permit at least a partial solution to the many problems of indeterminacy in translation envisioned by such writers as Quine (1960, pp. 26–79; cf. Naess, 1953). In fact, it provides the kind of information needed for a nonintuitive investigation of the proposition, which I accept, that all lexical domains are not equally indeterminate (cf. Quine, 1960, p. 78). This consideration leads us directly to stage two.

**2. *Kin Categories.*** In Figure 2 we move from the positions occupied by identified individuals, from the denotata of the system, to their folk categorization into contrastive kin classes; from individual exemplars to categories. Although we must skip many operations, failures, and retestings, several points should be emphasized. Depending largely on recorded conversations in local settings and on unintentional as well as intentional "mistakes," I tallied and checked the use of kin terms, personal names, nicknames, etc. with known genealogical positions. Nominal usage (specifying individuals) was distinguished from designative (class, category) reference; only the latter will be treated here in detail. Suffice it to say that, in Hanunóo, recurrent exchanges such as the example below yield a set [*z*] of maximally distinctive monolexemic responses which designate a finite number of mutually exclusive kin classes at one level of contrast (Conklin, 1955, 1962a; Frake, 1961, 1962a):

| | |
|---|---|
| A. *May kalabutan qaw si x sa kan y?* | Is *x* related to *y*? |
| B. *Huq.* | Yes. |
| A. *Kabitay?* | How? |
| B. *Kan y* [*z*] *si x.* | *x* is *y*'s [*z*]. |

At this most frequently used, basic level of contrast, 23 categories are distinguished under two general sets of circumstances: to classify indi-

viduals in relation to a given referent (as in the frame above), and to describe step-by-step genealogical linkages between individuals and categories of individuals. In other words, from the information included in—or added to—Figure 1, we derive the core of what is represented in Figure 2, a set of designata consisting of 23 kin classes. In passing from column 1 to column 5—and on to column 6—the intended progression is toward greater analytic rigor and ethnographic precision.

1. The numbers in column 1 correspond to those in Figure 1*A*. All positional numbers in Figure 1*A* are included.

2. In column 2 I list 23 Hanunóo kin terms (monolexemic designations for each of the contrastive categories in this set). In each case, the form given is the designative term most frequently recorded in the field; many referential synonyms were recorded but are not indicated here (cf. Schneider and Homans, 1955; Frake, 1960). That there is no one-to-one relation between morpheme and lexeme is well illustrated by the forms in this lexical set (one term is a compound, and seven others are morphologically—or at least etymologically—complex).

3. In column 3, to facilitate further and more formal analysis, each of the kin classes listed in column 2 is symbolized by an italicized lowercase letter.

4. In column 4 each of the 23 categories is given an English designative gloss or "translation label."

*a.* Abbreviations should be self-explanatory. A slash (/) may be read "and/or."

*b.* A useful cover term for nephew and niece, "nibling," was first suggested by Samuel E. Martin in 1951. It has since gained some acceptance by anthropologists, e.g., Frake (1954, p. 324).

*c.* The term "sibling" refers here only to brother or sister, not to cousins.

*d.* The precise meaning of "consanguineal" with respect to this system is discussed below (pages 43–44).

5. The formulas in column 5 are written in one of the commonly used notational systems for kin-type analysis (e.g., Murdock, 1949, p. 100): Fa, Mo, Br, Si, So, Da, Hu, and Wi for father('s), mother('s), brother('s), sister('s), son('s), daughter('s), husband('s), and wife('s), respectively. Single-letter designators are employed similarly by some writers (e.g., Lounsbury, 1956, p. 163; Needham, 1962, pp. 32–33).

*a.* Mn and Wm stand for man's and woman's.

*b.* A terminal period indicates that for this particular kin class there is a finite number of possible kin types. No further marking is provided where all possible kin types are listed (6 categories). The terminal period is preceded by a parenthesized figure where

FIGURE 2. Kin categories.

| A | | | | | B |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6)* |
| 51, 54 | *qanak* | *a* | child | So, Da. | C |
| 24 | *qāmaq* | *b* | father | Fa. | f |
| 25 | *qīnaq* | *c* | mother | Mo. | m |
| 22, 30, 33, 52, 53 | *bāpaq* | *d* | uncle/nibling | MoSiHu, MnBrDa, MoMoFaMoMoBrSoDaSoDaHu; FaBr, . . . | **P**b/*m*(w)SC |
| 21, 27, 29, 31, 32 | *bāyih* | *e* | aunt/nibling | MoSi, MoMoFaMoBrDaDaSoWi; MoBrWi, WmSiSo, . . . | Ps/*w*(h)SC |
| 17, 20, 57, 58, 59 | *lakih* | *f* | grandfather/grandchild | MoMoSiHu, MnDaDa, MnBrSoSo; MoFa, . . . | **P**f/*m***C**C |
| 15, 16, 18, 19 | *qiduh* | *g* | grandmother/grandchild | MoMo, MoMoSi; WmDaDa, WmBrSoSo, . . . | **P**m/*w***C**C |
| 11, 12, 13, 14, 62 | *qumput* | *h* | gr.gr.parent/gr.gr.child | MoMoFa, MoMoFaMoMoBrSoDa; SoDaSo, . . . | PP**P**/**C**CC |
| 8, 9, 10, 63 | *pūpuh* | *i* | gr.gr.gr.parent/gr.gr.gr.child | MoMoFaMo, BrSoSoDaSo; . . . | PPP**P**/**C**CCC |
| 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 | *qapuh* | *j* | remote ancestor/remote descendant | MoMoFaMoMoMoFa; . . . | PPPP$\mathbf{P}_n$/**C**CCC$\mathbf{C}_n$ |
| 42 | *qāriq* | *k* | younger sibling | YoSi; YoBr. | y-S |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 37 | *qākaq* | *l* | elder sibling | ElBr; ElSi. | e-S |
| 35 | *qinsan* | *m* | first cousin | MoSiDa; (7). | PSC |
| 43 | *qarwah* | *n* | second cousin | MoMoSiDaDa; (31). | PPSCC |
| 45 | *qatluh* | *o* | third cousin | MoMoFaSiDaDaDa; (127). | PPPSCCC |
| 46 | *bāliw-saŋah* | *p* | fourth cousin | MoMoFaMoBrDaDaSoSo; (511). | PPPPSCCCC |
| 48, 49 | *tarqāriq* | *q* | distant cousin | MoMoFaMoMoBrSoDaSoDaDa; . . . | $PPPPP_nSCCCCC_n$ |
| 39 | *qasāwah* | *r* | spouse | Wi; Hu. | M |
| 50, 55, 60 | *qumāgad* | *s* | child-in-law | SoWi, DaDaHu; . . . | $\mathbf{C}_n$M |
| 26 | *manūgaŋ* | *t* | parent-in-law | WiFa, HuFaMoSi; . . . | M$\mathbf{P}_n$ |
| 36, 40, 44 | *bayaw* | *u* | sibling-in-law | BrWi, WiSi, MoMoSiDaDaHu; . . . | MS/SM |
| 41 | *bilas* | *v* | spouse's sibling's spouse | WiSiHu; WiFaMoBrSoSoWi, . . . | MSM |
| 23, 28, 34, 47, 56, 61 | *balāyih* | *w* | consanguineal's spouse's consanguineal | BrWiFa, MoMoSiDaDaHuMo, SoWiMo, MoMoSiDaDaHuBr, DaHuSi, DaHuSiSo; . . . | BMB |

* C, child; P, parent; S, Sibling; M, spouse; B, consanguineal; f, father; m, mother; b, brother; s, sister; h, husband; w, wife; *m*, man's; *w*, woman's; y-, younger; e-, elder; /, and, or; $_n$, unbounded vertical extension, for *n* (may = O) generations, in the same direction indicated; **boldface**, unbounded horizontal extension to all of ego's collateral consanguineals of the same generation (and sex) indicated.

*Note:* Nonfinal, nonhyphenated letter symbols read: ___'s. And letter symbols in parentheses read facultatively; i.e., the formulas apply both with and without these symbols.

I give only a partial listing of the total but finite number of possible kin types (4 categories). In such cases, the figure indicates the missing number of kin types (676 in all).

*c.* A terminal sequence of three periods indicates that for this particular kin class, there is theoretically an infinite number of proper kin types (13 categories).

*d.* A semicolon separates kin types exemplified in Figure 1*A*, and hence also in column 1 in Figure 2*A*, from kin types not previously illustrated.

*e.* Note that it is impossible to give either a complete or economical listing of this kind. However, column 5 does provide a good example of what often exasperates the structurally oriented anthropologist who consults lexical sources which depend heavily on this device in "defining" kin terms (e.g., Leach, 1961c, p. 42).

*f.* More specifically, note the positions listed in column 1 for category *w*, and then check their positional plotting in Figure 1*A*. To help visualize the difficulty in attempting to define this kin class by means of kin types such as are listed at the lower end of column 5, I have—on Figure 1*A*—crosshatched the individual enclosures to which this category label applies.

By employing kin categories already noted in this basic contrast set together with other terms used by the Hanunóo in discussing kinship relations (including some superordinate kin terms like *guraŋ* 'parent') it is relatively easy to revise and improve our kin-type definitions. By combining certain of these Hanunóo relationship categories, selected partly on the basis of the results of detailed genealogical checking, one may derive the succinct and more powerful ethno-kin-type and ethno-kin-class formulas listed in Figure 2*B*. This reformulation reduces significantly the complexity and inefficiency of the kin typing exemplified in column 5, and allows us to go beyond the limitations of expanded but nondefining translation labeling. The result is a precise and verifiable set of "statements," symbolically noted in column 6. The notation is explained at the bottom.

One example may help to show the utility of this kind of relisting. The terminological categorization of all parent's brothers/parent's male same-generation cousins/parent's sister's husbands/parent's female same-generation cousin's husbands, as well as of all wife's sibling's children/wife's same-generation cousin's children, and, for a man, all sibling's children/same-generation cousin's children, as members of kin class *d* (*bāpaq*), is covered adequately and exclusively by the formula: P**b**/*m*(w)**S**C. [This reads: 'parent's brother (or male cousin), *or* man's (or man's wife's) sibling's (or cousin's) child.']

Although we have not yet indicated the elementary abstract principles underlying this system, we have reduced the endlessness of traditional kin-type listing. The categoric distinctions employed in Figure 2*B* are restricted to those whose explicit or implicit importance in Hanunóo usage has been repeatedly tested. [In fact, one of these distinctions—even at this stage—requires special comment. Consanguineals in the Hanunóo system, as in our own, must be defined so that spouses of collateral cognates in ascending generations are included (see category *w* in column 6 and the explanation of **boldface**).]

Before we move on to stage three, several points should be understood:

1. The 23 basic categories in column 2 comprise a single contrast set, one "rank" within one subhierarchy of a particular folk taxonomy (that which the Hanunóo employ for making decisions in the realm of kinship classification).

2. For any subhierarchy in a folk taxonomy (of artifacts, statuses, kin classes, plant segregates, etc.), the *basic level* of contrast is probably best defined as the lowest level at which all folk taxa are labeled by unitary lexemes (Conklin, 1962a, p. 122). In English, for example, the more specific term *first cousin* is a composite lexeme for which the basic-level unitary term *cousin* may be substituted; i.e., if *x* is a first cousin of *y*, he is also necessarily a cousin of *y*. Furthermore, even though there may be a superficial similarity between the paired terms, *grandfather : father* and *granduncle : uncle*, only the latter two kin classes are semantically related in the same manner as first cousin and cousin. Neither first cousin nor granduncle is a basic-level category, whereas grandfather is; i.e., we cannot substitute father for grandfather because it is never the case that if *x* is a grandfather of *y*, he is also necessarily a father of *y*. Testing to establish basic-level contrast sets, then, does not depend upon the morphological construction of linguistic forms, but upon the demonstrable semantic relations of generalization (or specification) and differentiation (Conklin, 1962a, p. 128).

3. To be useful, the distinctions referred to above (and elsewhere in this paper) must be clearly understood with respect to various alternative methods of classification (Kluckhohn, 1960). In very general terms, five kinds of arrangement (index, key, paradigm, taxonomy, and typology) may be distinguished by such criteria as inclusion, dimensionality, binary opposition, and arbitrariness.

   i. A *taxonomy*, or taxonomic hierarchy, differs from the other four in that its constituent entities, or taxa, are arranged vertically by nondimensional class inclusion (Gregg, 1954; Conklin, 1954, 1961, 1962a; Frake, 1961; Simpson, 1961). Hierarchic positions in a taxonomy—biological or otherwise—are not permutable, and so

far as folk taxonomies are concerned, the definition and arrangement of included taxa are nonarbitrary. The Hanunóo kin classes discussed in this paper are coordinate folk taxa, categories which are unambiguously and nonarbitrarily determined by Hanunóo usage. Such cultural entities are necessarily "given," not "imposed." In one sense they can be considered "natural."

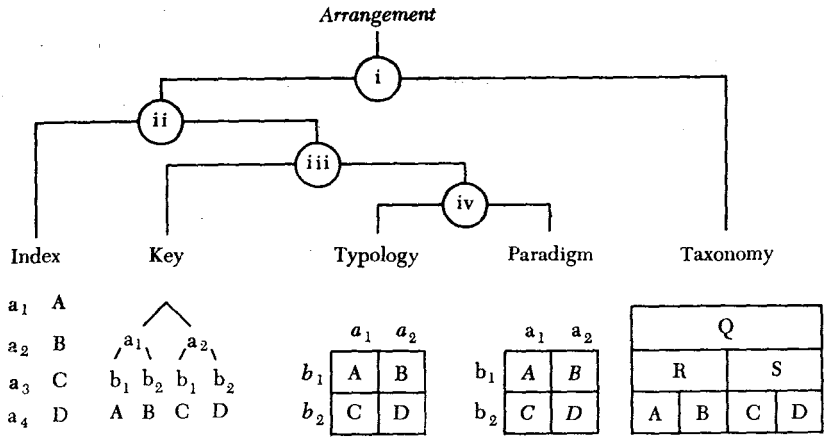
ii. Of the dimensional forms of arrangement, only an *index* can be considered unidimensional. This simplest form of catalogue (Conklin, 1962a), or finding list, usually appears as a sequence of entities arranged in accordance with one arbitrary dimension such as alphabetic order (e.g., the arrangement of names in a telephone directory, or of words in a dictionary).

iii. A *key* is a multidimensional, and hence often permutable, arrangement of attribute oppositions (couplets), which, by their hierarchic application, help to locate (key out) the entities being identified (Mayr and others, 1953; Conklin, 1962b; Schwartz, 1962). The selection and arrangement of dichotomous exclusions may result in a branching structure resembling a taxonomy, but the geometrical similarity is illusory. In the construction or "repartment" (Gilmour, 1961) of a key, the selection of the attributes and of a particular sequence of oppositions may be arbitrary.

iv. Both *paradigms* and *typologies* are multidimensional forms of arrangement organized by class intersection. Paradigmatic classification arranges entities which are known (1) to share a certain common feature (Lounsbury, 1956), and (2) to constitute a contrast set (Conklin, 1962a). Typological classification, on the other hand, is based primarily on extrinsically defined attribute dimensions. In a typology, the cells represent "attribute combinations" (Spaulding, 1960), subpartitions of an "attribute space" (Greenberg, 1957; Lazarsfeld, 1937, 1961). In a paradigm, the entities to be classified (e.g., folk taxa) provide the necessary contrasts from which relevant and defining attributes are derived; in a typology this process is usually reversed.

These distinctions can be illustrated quite easily if we let i to iv represent the major contrasts just outlined, and use capital and lowercase letters to indicate entities classified and attributes, respectively, with *italics* marking "given" or "natural" elements (as distinct from "imposed" ones) in the otherwise identical graphs under iv (diagram on page 41).

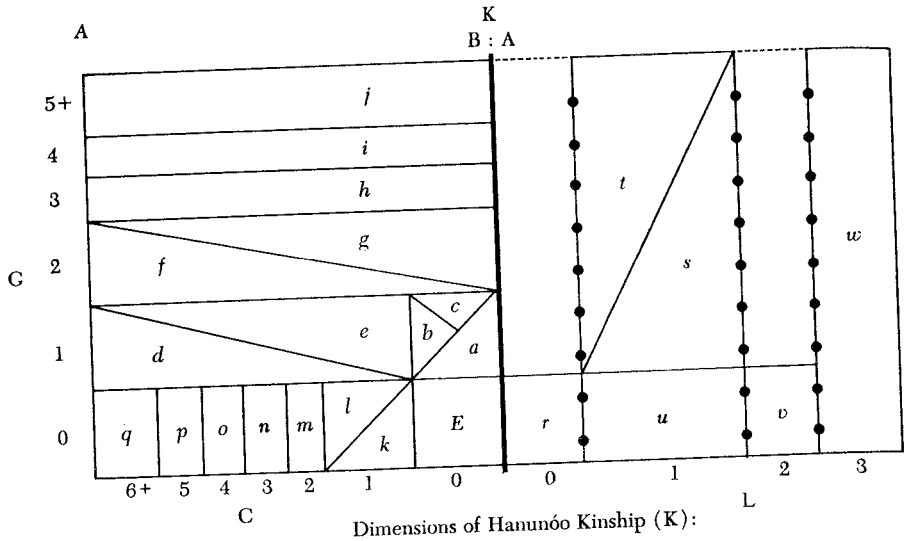
There is an obvious formal similarity between a paradigm and a typology, but not between either of these and a taxonomy. A coordinate set of entities such as A–B–C–D in a taxonomy may be internally ar-




ranged as in a paradigm. It may also be efficiently subdivided and differentiated with the aid of an arbitrarily constructed key, but a paradigm by itself cannot be transformed into a taxonomy (Conklin, 1962a, 1962b; cf. Leach, 1961c, pp. 2–3, 5; Wallace, 1961a, 1962). In other words, any taxonomy may contain one or more paradigmatic structures, but no paradigm can include or be equivalent to a taxonomy. If these distinctions are recognized, a three-way ambiguity in the anthropological use of "type" can be discerned: (1) type as *paragon* ("type specimen," archetype, etc.; not included above); (2) type as *attribute combination* (or bundle of attributes, as in a typology); and (3) type as *taxon* or kind (illustrated by kin categories, or by the entities in any taxonomy or paradigm).

**3. *Abstract Principles.*** At this third stage in our analysis (Figure 3), I attempt to reduce to a minimum the remaining complexities in our data, to move from extensional to intensional definitions by identifying the necessary and sufficient conditions for membership in each of the contrastive kin classes, and to represent parsimoniously and productively the abstract principles on which the terminological system is based.

I have tried to indicate in an effective and economical way the paradigmatic relations which obtain between and among these categories, as this set of categories appears to be generated by the intersection of certain dominant and nondominant dimensions. Note that the kinship space division is neither an arbitrary reduction of such a domain nor a direct replica of a Hanunóo model; but it is an analytic model (Leach, 1961c; Goodenough, 1957, 1961a; cf. Nadel, 1957) which has been tested and proved adequate to meet our criteria of economy, productivity,




Dimensions of Hanunóo Kinship (K):

1. Affinity (B, consanguineal: A, affinal)
2. Generation (G: degree)
3. Collaterality (C: degree)
4. Linkage (L: degree)
5. Age (+/−)
6. Sex (m\f)

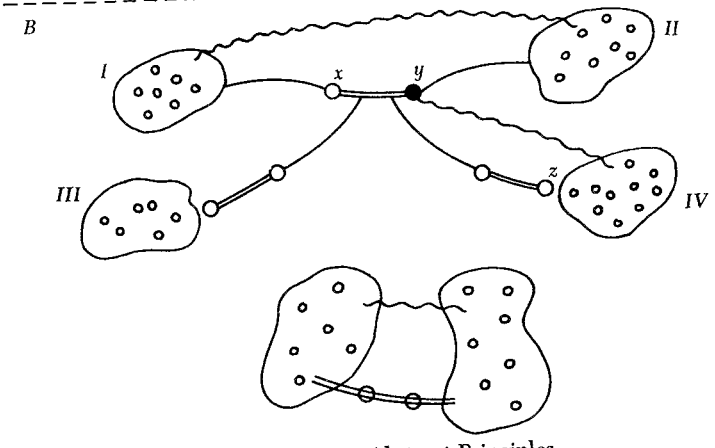



FIGURE 3. Abstract Principles.

and accuracy (i.e., replicability, making it possible to derive verifiable deductions from it semantically). In particular, note the following:

1. Each enclosure other than that marked *E* (for a given point of reference, or ego) defines one of the 23 categories derived from steps one and two (Figures 1 and 2). No category is represented more than once, and all 23 categories are indicated.

2. Unbroken horizontal- and vertical-line boundaries of these enclosures indicate, in addition to the B:A (consanguineal:affinal) opposition discussed below, three major contrastive dimensions:

*a.* G: *Generation,* i.e., degree of generational removal from ego's own (or zero generation, indicated by positions bounded by horizontal lines [0, 1, 2, 3, 4, $5^+$ (i.e. $\geqq 5$)];

*b.* C: *Collaterality,* i.e., degree of collaterality including lineality or zero-degree collaterality (Lounsbury, 1956, p. 168), indicated by positions bounded by plain vertical lines [0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, $6^+$ (i.e., $\geqq 6$)]; and

*c.* L: *Linkage* or *consanguineal linkage,* i.e., the status of linking set(s) of collateral consanguineals through which an affinal is related to ego, indicated by enclosed positions bounded on at least one side by "knotted" vertical lines (0 zero, 1 terminal, 2 medial, 3 double).

3. Slanting lines indicate minor contrasts by *age* and *sex* within four of the rectangular subspaces produced by the intersections of values of B, G, and C or L:

*a.* A Z-slant line (/) indicates the elder/younger age distinction based on the relative structural seniority of the elder member of the ego-alter pair.

*b.* An S-slant line (\) indicates a male/female sex distinction always based on the sex of the higher generation member of the ego-alter pair (or dyad).

Note that because the Z-slant distinction implies polarity, the kin classes within rectangular attribute spaces so divided are nonreciprocal categories:

| | |
|---|---|
| *b c* / *a* | (parents/children) |
| *l* / *k* | (elder siblings/younger siblings) |
| *t* / *s* | (parents-in-law/children-in-law) |

The S-slant distinction does not imply polarity. Therefore, all kin classes within rectangular attribute spaces which remain undivided, or are divided only by S-slant (or sex) diagonals, are characterized implicationally by the merging of polar types, or reciprocity.

4. Thus, six dimensions suffice to chart adequately the relevant kinship space. For accurate interpretation, however, the specific intracultural definitions of consanguinity and affinity must be made explicit. In this analysis, the following distinctions must be recognized:

*a. Cognate,* a kinsman by assumed birth linkage only

*b. Affine,* a kinsman by marriage

*c. Consanguineal,* a cognate or a kinsman in a cross-generational,

collateral dyad, the senior member of which is either a cognate or the spouse of a cognate

*d. Affinal,* an affine who is not a consanguineal

Although it appears that *a* and *b* contrast with *c* and *d* in more or less etic-emic terms, the distinctions involved in defining the latter pair of concepts are also of some comparative interest.

With supporting data derived largely from unilineal category systems, Radcliffe-Brown (1941, 1950; cf. Dumont, 1953, p. 39) and others have long stressed the unity, identity, equivalence, or solidarity of siblings. With reference to cognatic systems such as those reported from various parts of Malaysia, a working definition of consanguinity often appears to require recognition of the structural equivalence of spouses, or more specifically, of the structural equivalence of ascendant, collateral spouses. This certainly holds for the Hanunóo and it seems to do likewise for the Iban (Freeman, 1960, pp. 81, 83, 87), the Sagada Igorot (Eggan, 1960, pp. 32–34), the Eastern Subanun (Frake, 1960, pp. 60, 64), the Tagalog, and other similar kinship systems, including that shared by many native speakers of English. Essentially, this recurrent categorization seems to illustrate what might be called the "principle of senior spouse-set unity." (Note that where such conditions obtain there is no structural equivalence of spouses in ego's, or in a descending, generation.) This principle may be restated in several ways. Formally, the terminological situation may be accounted for by means of a single reduction or substitution rule (cf. Lounsbury, this volume; Keesing, n.d.): Let any ascendant collateral cognate's spouse be rewritten as that ascendant collateral cognate of the opposite sex; e.g., MoFaBrWi ⟶ MoFaSi. In a more generalized notation, this rule may be symbolized very simply (though with far-reaching consequences)

$$\text{-}C_x S_y. \longrightarrow \text{-}C_y.$$

where $C$ = child, $S$ = spouse, subscripts $_x$ and $_y$ indicate sex opposition but not specification, a hyphen stands for cognatic linkage, and a period indicates termination of the kin type in an ascending generation. Thus $PPPC_xS_y \longrightarrow PPPC_y$ (in which $P$ = parent) would be covered by the rule cited above.

5. Within any paradigm or paradigm-like structure (Lounsbury, 1956, pp. 162, 192), contrasting units can be described componentially. Thus, from the information provided in Figure 3*A* one could easily derive a list of componential definitions (in one of several possible notations) for this set of kin categories (cf. Goodenough, 1951, 1956b; Lounsbury, 1956; Wallace and Atkins, 1960; Wallace, 1961b, 1962).[5] Mere transcription, however, may not add significantly—or at all—to our analysis. For purposes of deriving valid ethnographic statements about the Hanunóo

kinship system, our Figure 3*A* diagram actually provides more readily visualized information regarding such matters as total accountability, boundary phenomena, and articulation of categories, than can be displayed by lists of conjunctive formulas (cf. Frake, 1960, p. 60, 1961). And just as it is possible to construct a number of alternative keys (see above), none of which may show a very close fit with the natural taxonomic units it "arranges," so also is it possible to use a number of componential dimensions, not all of which may be ethnogenealogically valid, in writing formulaic definitions of kin classes. In view of the increasing number of published "componential analyses" based on quite disparate criteria of relevance (cf. Conant, 1961; Epling, 1961; Grimes and Grimes, 1962; Pospisil, 1960; and Wallace, 1961a, 1961b, 1962), it is useful to refer back to the essentials of submorphemic, distinctive-feature analysis as first applied by linguists to relatively simple but complete contrast sets in the form of grammatical paradigms (e.g., Jakobson, 1936; Harris, 1948, p. 87). As similar efforts have been extended to more complex lexical structures (especially in kinship studies), there has been a tendency to analyze arbitrarily delimited segments rather than complete sets. While such a restriction may simplify componential treatment, its arbitrary quality may also lead to the distortion of significant ethnographic relations. In analyzing actual kinship category systems, the determination of relevant dimensions is achieved neither by the simple mastery of a notational device, nor by the multiplication of possible componential distinctions (cf. Atkins, 1959). Solution of such problems depends, instead, on the discovery of locally recognized contrasts, within recurrent ethnogenealogical settings.

6. From additional ethnographic information not provided in the paradigmatic structure outlined in Figure 3*A*, one could also place this set of kin categories within the larger framework of the overall Hanunóo folk taxonomy of kinship. In fact, several interlocking hierarchies would have to be described. In other words, for a complete ethnographic statement of Hanunóo kinship categorization, hierarchic (i.e., nonparadigmatic) folk-taxonomic definitions (Conklin, 1962a) would have to be provided for many terms not included in this discussion. It would be noted, for example, that some of the minor contrasts in Figure 3*A* are ignored at higher levels, while additional distinctions are obligatory under specified circumstances. Categorization of multiple linkage (*qūnuŋ*, if determined by ego's marriage; *dagqup*, if not so determined; etc.) and the initially confusing coexistence of fictive kinship designations (though restricted to relations between Hanunóo and members of other ethnolinguistic groups) could also be explored profitably. The important point to note here is that the basic set of kin categories we have selected to

discuss in some detail does have a folk taxonomic position with respect to other levels in the same subhierarchy as well as in relation to other kinds of social-identity networks.

7. Finally, it should be noted that the paradigmatic arrangement in Figure 3*A* allows a more precise and simplified investigation of social activities wherein kin categorization is essential. By holding certain dimensional contrasts constant while removing others, and by noting various types of articulation of clustered categories, this kind of arrangement provides many suggestions for further intracultural and comparative research (cf. Conklin, 1953, 1954, p. 80; Frake, 1960, p. 62).

The potato-like sketches in Figure 3*B* exemplify certain explicit Hanunóo principles in reckoning kinship. They were made by informants to illustrate the nature of membership in the *w*, or *balāyih*, kin class. In the field, and as I have indicated indirectly above, I had difficulty defining this category by kin-typing and traditional ego-alter-questioning procedures. In fact, partly because the semantic range of *balāyih* totally includes that of linguistically cognate terms such as *balae*, Tagalog for 'co-parent-in-law,' or more precisely, 'child's spouse's parent' (cf. Eggan, 1960, p. 36; Frake, 1960, p. 298; Freeman, 1960, pp. 83–84; and Suttles, 1960, p. 298), I failed initially to note that the Hanunóo category was not restricted to ego's generation (Conklin, 1953, p. 67; cf. Conklin, 1954, p. 79). Nor did I realize at first how important it might be to test kinship assumptions for various ego-referents and to phrase questions polyadically as well as within the traditional dyadic frame (cf. Leach, 1961b, p. 12). The drawings represented here did much to clarify my own thinking on these matters in the field and to increase my respect for the study of ethnomodels. In these drawings, large enclosures were sketched to indicate *kāway*, or maximal consanguineal categories. Small circles stand for individual kinsmen. As indicated by the informant's use of a wavy line, any member of *I* (*x's kāway*; I have added only the letter and number symbols) is a *balāyih* of any member of *II* (*y's kāway*), and vice versa. This relationship exists because *I* and *II* were linked by the marriage of *x* and *y*. Similarly, *y* and *x*, together with the combined membership of *I* and *II*, are reciprocally *balāyih* of all members of *IV* (*z's kāway*), because of *z's* marriage to a child of *x* and *y*. The lower sketch illustrates the same essential features of linkage (page 43) and of the *w*-category relationship. (These drawings were made by men[6] who had previously observed my diagrammatic efforts in recording genealogies. I had not, however, instructed or trained them in such details. The sketches reproduced in Figure 3*B* were proffered by them, not at my request, but at their suggestion, after my extensive but narrow type of questioning seemed to be leading nowhere.)

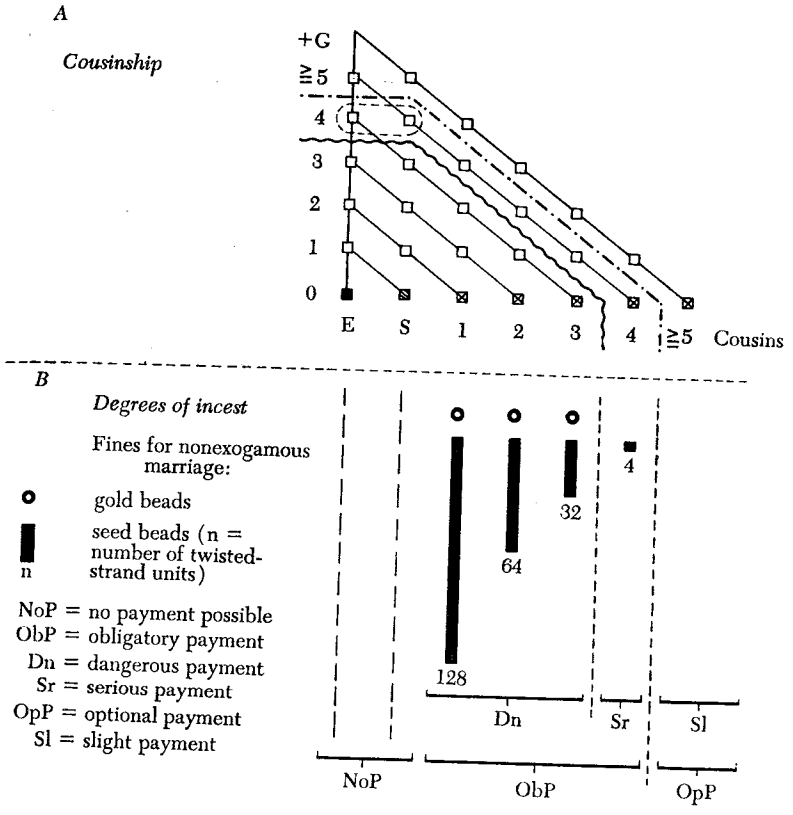



FIGURE 4. Correlates.

**4. *Correlates.*** Now that we have defined the basic kin categories in the Hanunóo system, we may examine briefly some of the nonlinguistic correlates of this particular set of distinctions. While complete isomorphism between semantic and pragmatic structural relations cannot be anticipated, and we do not expect to discover mechanical laws of causality in comparing such structures, we may hope to achieve a productive correlational analysis such that we will first be able to isolate major discontinuities (Kluckhohn, 1960) and then be in a position to demonstrate effectively *how* they are interrelated (Lounsbury, 1956, p. 189; Mayr, 1961, pp. 1502–1505).

By looking back for a moment at Figure 3, we note a very unexpected degree of vertical and horizontal differentiation. Why should this be? In part the answer is pragmatic or behavioral and thus a nonlinguistic and nonsemantic one.

This can be seen, partially, in Figure 4. Here we have abstracted the

essential cousin-differentiating feature of Figure 3A, in a way which displays a very interesting horizontal reflection of the vertical distinctions. Hanunóo "cousins," of course, are restricted to ego's generation—as is indicated by only the lowest row of boxes marked with X's (S, 1, 2, etc. standing for sibling, first cousin, second cousin, etc.). With reference to lineal ascendant- and zero-generation-collateral positions, note that:

1. The heavy broken line indicates the inner boundary in both directions (generationally and collaterally) of *unlimited* categories (*j* and *q* in Figure 3A).

2. The categories represented between the wavy line and the heavy broken line are the most "extended," or distant (in both directions), of the *finite,* consanguineal kin classes in the Hanunóo system (*i* and *p* in Figure 3A).

3. The two fourth-ascending generation kin positions encircled by a dotted line stand for the truncal sibling sets from which all members of any ego's determinable and finite cognatic stock (cf. Freeman, 1961) are descended. In ego's generation, this would include all fourth cousins and closer cognates and would exclude all fifth cousins and more distant cognates. For the Hanunóo, however, this unnamed grouping remains essentially an etic potentiality rather than a culturally relevant and pragmatically real social entity. As we have noted above, ascending collaterals are not set off from their spouses in terms of this possible cognatic grouping, and, in fact, the high degree of collateral differentiation indicated in Figure 4A does not extend obligatorily to kinsmen in other than ego's generation. Nevertheless, genealogical distance between same-generation cognates is apparently of considerable significance. Why?

One hint comes from a set of culturally explicit activities in an area where economic transactions, marriage regulations, and kin categorization are involved. This is illustrated in Figure 4B.

Here I have indicated the differential ritual (but real) payments in glass seed-beads and gold beads which are made by newlyweds in return for ceremonial services and feast food. These highly valued goods, the ideal quantities of which do not fluctuate, are paid as "fines" for non-exogamous marriage. It is clear that the precise amounts paid on such occasions are closely correlated with the degree of the particular incest infraction, which, in turn, is determined by the degree of cousinship. (English designations for the various types of payment noted in Figure 4B are glosses for single-term category labels in Hanunóo.) Careful reckoning of such relationships is far from being an esoteric matter for the Hanunóo. This can be more readily appreciated when it is remembered that the local rule of exogamy states that one should never marry a kinsman (cf. Freeman, 1961, pp. 208–209). As I have stated elsewhere:

> Marriage is traditionally proscribed within the bounds of personally-focused, bilateral, kindredlike categories, which are maximally extended to include all of Ego's consanguineals, their spouses, and the consanguineals of the latter (if not previously [i.e., prior to the connecting marriage] more closely related). Because the members of Hanunóo settlements are usually linked by close bonds of cognatic kinship and the population of Hanunóo hamlets is small (usually less than 50), this prohibition results in strict local exogamy at the hamlet level. However, a marked tendency toward regional endogamy at higher levels leads to frequent [marriages between known kinsmen], requiring ritual cleansing, for which the payment is commensurate with the closeness of the kin tie. There is no formal wedding rite or bride price, though marriage is usually preceded by a long period of courting and bride service, and followed by at least initial uxorilocality [Conklin, 1959, p. 634].

This maximal kin category, *katawūhan*, is well defined for any given ego in Hanunóo society. The membership of all 23 basic kin categories is included. It is interesting, but not surprising, to note that this highest-level kin category is never partitioned by the Hanunóo in a manner that would allow it—in part or in whole—to be equated with the restricted "kindred" as currently used by some anthropologists (e.g., Freeman, 1961; cf. Mitchell, 1959). Although degrees of incest within this maximal category are first calculated on the basis of cousinship in one's own generation, cross-generational marriages do occur, and appropriate extensions of "graded" incest ranges are well established. On a chart similar to but larger than Figure 4, it would be possible to indicate the explicit means of descriptively designating those kinsmen in adjacent generations who are structurally the incest equivalents of each cousinship degree noted. But even without further discussion of such correlates, the utility of the procedures followed above should now be apparent. It would seem reasonable to hypothesize that wherever the paradigmatic structure of a lexical set shows a high degree of obligatory subdivision we may expect to find external correlations of relatively greater cultural importance than for less divided portions of the same paradigm. Where the contrast set is part of a kinship system, one may anticipate correlations of general social significance.

## CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have reviewed some of the steps that may be profitably taken in an ethnographic analysis of one segment of social behavior. I have tried to emphasize that it is possible to put to some useful effect a number of the early aims of the so-called genealogical method. However,

I have also tried to demonstrate that it is often necessary to go somewhat beyond meeting those minimum requirements.

The sequence I have followed has led us from specific-to-general-to-abstract-to-correlational substatements of Hanunóo ethnography. We have moved from individuals occupying established genealogical positions in a well-recognized kin net, to the examination of types of kin classes, to the analysis and articulation of the defining features, or significata, which underlie the whole category system; and finally to a brief consideration of one set of significant nonterminological correlates of the more highly structured parts of this system. In each case, I have tried to draw attention to ethnographically effective ways of combining (or using in a complementary fashion) analytic and folk classificatory models. The more strictly ethnogenealogical information I have indicated diagrammatically in the *B* section of each figure.

In cultural contexts where genealogical connections are of demonstrable social significance, I think that a somewhat broadened and more critical use of the criteria of relevance that I have specified should become an important and continuing ethnographic responsibility. Procedures similar, or analogous, to those suggested here may also be helpful in the study of role networks (e.g., Goodenough, 1961c) and other culturally significant relationship patterns aside from those whose major structural features appear to lie within the realm of kinship.

## *Notes*

[1] Most of the research on which this paper is based has been supported by grants from the National Science Foundation and the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. I am also indebted to many students and other friends for their critical comments on various portions of this article, a brief version of which was first read at the Tenth Pacific Science Congress in Honolulu in August, 1961. For especially helpful suggestions in revising earlier drafts of this paper I should like to thank D. Crabb, R. M. Keesing, F. G. Lounsbury, and W. C. Sturtevant.

[2] *Etic* discriminations are presumably culture-free, in contrast to *emic* ones, which are structurally significant within a particular cultural system. This usage, derived and generalized from the phonetic-phonemic contrast in phonology, was first suggested by a linguist (Pike, 1954, pp. 8–28).

[3] Less fortunately, some of the nonproductive, nonessential, and redundant features just noted are occasionally carried over to the analysis of kinship categories. This is usually done in the form of symmetrically arranged kin-element maps otherwise very much like Figure IA. Two readily available kinship charts (Eggan, 1960, p. 33; Freeman, 1960, p. 78) may serve as illustrations of this tendency in the current literature. Without indications of category boundaries or defining principles, these charts show (*a*) a certain number of terminologically distinct kin classes, (*b*) a total number of kin-term occurrences, and (*c*) a total number of specified genealogical positions, in the following ratios, respectively:

| *a* | | *b* | | *c* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | : | 93 | : | 128 |
| 12 | : | 44 | : | 44 |

Repetitive and uneconomical charting, even with structural intent, can also lead to apparent error, as in an often-cited diagram of types and "structural groupings" of American families (Parsons, 1943, p. 23) where grandnieces and/or grandnephews are listed as *cousins* in one instance and as *cousins "once removed"* in three others. (For a diagram where this error does not occur, see Wallace and Atkins, 1960, p. 62.)

[4] Single quotation marks are used to set off translations or glosses of Hanunóo expressions.

[5] If, for example, we use the following notation:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | : $a_1\ a_2$ | (consanguineal, affinal) |
| B | : $b_1\ b_2\ b_3\ b_4\ b_5\ b_6$ | (zero to $\geqq$5 generations removed from ego's) |
| C | : $c_1\ c_2\ c_3\ c_4\ c_5\ c_6\ c_7$ | (zero to $\geqq$6 degrees of collaterality) |
| D | : $d_1\ d_2\ d_3\ d_4$ | (zero, terminal, medial, and double degrees of linkage) |
| E | : $e_1\ e_2$ | (senior in structural age, junior in structural age) |
| F | : $f_1\ f_2$ | (male, female) |

then we may define componentially the kin-category spaces *a* to *w* in Figure 3*A* as follows (**boldface** = $n^{th}$ or higher degree):

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a* | $a_1\ b_2\ c_1\ e_2$ | *g* | $a_1\ b_3\ f_2$ | *m* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_3$ | *s* | $a_2\ \mathbf{b_2}\ d_2\ e_1$ |
| *b* | $a_1\ b_2\ c_1\ e_1\ f_1$ | *h* | $a_1\ b_4$ | *n* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_4$ | *t* | $a_2\ \mathbf{b_2}\ d_2\ e_1$ |
| *c* | $a_1\ b_2\ c_1\ e_1\ f_2$ | *i* | $a_1\ b_5$ | *o* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_5$ | *u* | $a_2\ b_1\ d_2$ |
| *d* | $a_1\ b_2\ \mathbf{c_2}\ f_1$ | *j* | $a_1\ b_6$ | *p* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_6$ | *v* | $a_2\ b_1\ d_3$ |
| *e* | $a_1\ b_2\ \mathbf{c_2}\ f_2$ | *k* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_2\ e_2$ | *q* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_7$ | *w* | $a_2\ d_4$ |
| *f* | $a_1\ b_3\ f_1$ | *l* | $a_1\ b_1\ c_2\ e_1$ | *r* | $a_2\ b_1\ d_1$ | | |

[6] At the time of the Eighth Pacific Science Congress (November, 1953), I took Badu', who made the top sketch in Figure 3*B*, to Manila for a minor medical operation. He recovered rapidly, and between stints as a model for one of the art courses on the university campus, he attended various Congress functions. At one cocktail party held in the home of a Manila newspaperman, Badu' quietly made a floor plan of the apartment, and proceeded, via conversations with Tagalog guests, to record the functional differences associated with each room. Having completed that project to his satisfaction, he settled down with one congenial foreign delegate and through an interpreter began to work out some details of the American kinship system. A lasting friendship was established. Badu' still frequently inquires, *"Kabitay si murdak?"* (How is Murdock?)

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