

Appendix 5 Tuqługautit Kinship Terms

For the Iñupiat, kinship is a social system wherein individuals have familial and ancestral ties by blood, marriage, or adoption. A **tiguaq** “adopted child” is considered a full-fledged member of the adoptive family but at the same time is expected to maintain all connections to his/her biological family. A **tiguaq** had two sets of parents—the adoptive and the biological. This system still holds, although the responsibilities and benefits of belonging to a particular kinship group are not as pronounced as they were around the beginning of the twentieth century.

In traditional times, individuals as members of an Iñupiaq kinship system were expected to cooperate in support and protection of the extended family, the **ilagiit**. The **ilagiit** in turn provided each member with the basic human needs of food, shelter, and companionship. The Iñupiaq term **ilagiit** “those involved in a relationship where each is/has a part” indicates that each person and his/her role is essential in the maintenance of the **ilagiit**. The relationship that is maintained is a kinship one.

Before the influence of the non-Iñupiat in the homeland of the Iñupiat, kinship ties formed the basis of an individual’s participation in his/her community. Burch, in his study of changing family relationships in Northwest Alaska, found through interviews with Iñupiat that in traditional communities (as opposed to present communities), “kinship ties were emphasized at the expense of all others.” For example, kinship ties determined one’s membership in a hunting crew. Analyses of memberships in hunting crews showed that most traditional crews were composed of siblings, their siblings’ spouses, and their respective children, and this pattern persisted “long after the end of the traditional period” into the transitional period (Burch 1975: 22–24).

Kinship relationships involving two members in the **ilagiit** from different generations such as the **ataatagiik** “grandfather or granduncle and grandchild” and **aanagiik** “grandmother or grandaunt and grandchild” were fostered. The **ataata** “grandfather or granduncle” or **aana** “grandmother or grandaunt” would look after the grandchild, who in turn would run errands or do other chores for the **ataata** or the **aana**. Each child was raised to be on the lookout for the needs of elderly people.

Kinship Terminology

The following kinship charts from the perspective of the female and from the perspective of the male, respective-

ly, show a nine-generation spread in terminology from the **ilummiq** “great-great-grandparent” to the **ilummiq** “great-great-grandchild.” The repeated use of the terms **ilummiq** (in levels 1 and 9) and **amau** (in levels 2 and 8) may reflect the traditional Iñupiaq practice of naming children after one’s deceased relatives and subsequently calling them by the kinship name instead of the personal name. Jenness (1991: 7) described the naming system as follows:

Every person has a soul (**nap.an**), which wanders about until the time of birth, when it enters the child and stays with it through life. But the **nap.an** is inexperienced and unable to look after the child. At birth, therefore, the child is called by the name of the past person—man or woman—who died in the neighbourhood, or if several have died since the last birth, by all their names. Now when a person dies the body is buried the following day, but the **nap.an** (or **nap.ata**) lingers in the house till the fourth day (if a man) or the fifth day if a woman. Then it is expelled, but remains at the grave until the child is born in the neighbourhood. When the child receives the deceased’s name, the deceased’s **nap.an** at the same time enters the child and becomes its **atka** or guardian spirit (kina **atka** = what is his name). The child has now a double relation to the people in the neighbourhood... It embodies the **nap.an** of the deceased, so in addressing the child you address it as if it were the deceased. Thus a woman may call her own or another’s child ‘mother’ or ‘grandmother.’

The **atka** protects the child until its own **nap.an** is sufficiently developed to maintain its own person. Because of the practice of **atka**, parents were “loth [loath] to punish their children, though they do punish them at times” (ibid.: 7, 85).

According to Jenness, Mrs. Brower informed Stefanson that she addressed her oldest son with the kin term **atchaag**, literally “my dear aunt,” which referred to her “father’s elder sister”; and she addressed her second son with **ataataruaq**, literally “my dear grandfather.” In another instance, Jenness reported that a brother and sister called the son of their brother **apaag**, literally “my dear father,” since he was named after their father (ibid.: 33, 69).

The term **ilummiq**, which refers to either “a great-great-grandparent” or “a great-great-grandchild,” has as its base meaning the stem **ilu**, which translates into “interior.” The term **ilummiq** indicates that a cycle is now complete. The relational distance from a “core” to another “core” has been reached.

The term **uvaja**, which translates into “I,” has three morphemes: **uv** “here, confined to this space,” **a** “space and position marker,” and **ja** “first person singular.” This person is usually identified as the “ego” in kinship terminology (cf. Burch 1975: 64–65).

From the perspective of a male **uvaja**, the wife is identified as **nuliaq**, literally “one whom one has sexual intercourse with”; whereas from the perspective of a female **uvaja**, the husband is identified as **ui**. The closest linguistic relative of **ui** is **uigu** “an extension.” The Iñupiat term **ui** suggests the genitor role of the male, in contrast to the English term “husband,” which is defined in the *American Heritage Dictionary* as “manager or steward, as of a household.”

In addition to **nuliaq** “wife” and **ui** “husband,” the terms **aġnaat** and **aġutaat** are used to designate the wife and the husband, respectively. The terms **aġnaat** and **aġutaat** indicate a social role rather than a sexual one. The plural possessive ending **at** “their NOUN” attached to the nouns **aġnaq** “woman” and **aġun** “man” emphasize the roles that women and men play in their families. The plural possessive ending indicates a responsibility not just to the spouse but to the rest of the members of the household. The literal translations are **aġnaat** “their woman” and **aġutaat** “their man.”

Bilineal Kinship and Qataġutigiit “Children of Partnerships”

Iñupiat trace their ancestral lineage from both parents.

Both sets of relatives are important to one’s identity and standing in a community. The same terminology is applied to each set (matrilineal or patrilineal) of great-great-grandparents, great-grandparents, grandparents, granduncles, grandaunts, and aunts and uncles. The **uvaja** could count on either set of relatives for support.

It was to the benefit of one’s kindred to extend one’s kinship through the practices of marriage and **qataġutigiit**. **Qataġutigiit** are kin whose parents exchanged spouses to produce children based on this relationship. As an alliance mechanism, the exchange of spouses “often had to take place at a fair or messenger feast, the only two occasions on which individuals from different societies met with any regularity. In any case, once the union had been established, it continued for the lifetime of the members, regardless of whether or not sexual relations that established it were ever repeated” (Burch 1975: 106).

The custom of **qataġutigiit** is no longer openly practiced by the Iñupiat. It began to die out at the turn of the twentieth century, when Iñupiat accepted the authority of the missionaries and adopted Christian ways of behavior.

Tuqluġautiniq “Kinship Naming”

Tuqluġautiniq is a social custom wherein members of a kinship group call each other by their kin names, showing love, respect, and warmth toward that particular individual. **Tuqluġautiniq** reinforced ties of kinship and fostered special relationships between different members of a kinship group.

Each kin term can be transformed into a **tuqluġaun**, a vocative form of a kin term. The following chart presents the Iñupiat kin terms, the English translation of the kin term, the vocative form in Iñupiat, and the English translation.

Iñupiat Kinship Term	English Translation	Vocative Form of Iñupiat Kinship Term	English Translation
ilummiq	“great-great-grandparent” or “great-great-grandchild”	ilummiġ	“you, my dear great-great grandparent” or “you, my dear great-great grandchild”
amau or amauluk	“great-grandparent” or “great-grandchild”	amauġ or amauluġ	“you, my dear great-grandparent” or “you, my dear great-grandchild”
ataata	“grandfather” or “granduncle”	ataataġ	“you, my dear grandfather” or “you, my dear granduncle”
aana	“grandmother” or “grandaunt”	aanaġ	“you, my dear grandmother” or “you, my dear grandaunt”
aġak or akkaaka	“uncle”	aġaġ or akkaakaġ	“you, my dear uncle”

atchak or ayaaluk	“aunt”	atchaang or ayaaluug	“you, my dear aunt”
aḡutiqaḡ	“paternal parallel cousin”	aḡutiqaang	“you, my dear paternal parallel cousin”
aḡnaqaḡ	“maternal parallel cousin”	aḡnaqaang	“you, my dear maternal parallel cousin”
iḡluq	“cross-cousin”	iḡluug	“you, my dear cross-cousin”
aatauraq or aakatchiaq or ayaayak	“elder sister”	aatauraang or aakatchiaḡ or ayaayaang	“you, my dear elder sister”
aapiyaq or aniḡak or aḡayu	“elder brother”	aapiyaang or aniḡaa or aḡayuug	“you, my dear elder brother”
aqqaluk	“younger brother” (<i>of a woman</i>)	aqqaluug	“you, my dear younger brother”
nukaaluk	“younger brother” (<i>of a man</i>) or “younger sister” (<i>of a woman</i>)	nukaaluug	“you, my dear younger brother” (<i>of a man</i>) or “you, my dear younger sister” (<i>of a woman</i>)
nayaaluk	“younger sister” (<i>of a man</i>)	nayaaluug	“you, my dear younger sister” (<i>of a man</i>)
iḡḡniq	“son”	iḡḡniḡ	“you, my dear son”
panik	“daughter”	paniḡ	“you, my dear daughter”
nuaḡaaluk	“niece” or “nephew” (<i>of a woman</i>)	nuaḡaaluug	“you, my dear niece or nephew” (<i>of a woman</i>)
uyuḡu	“niece” or “nephew” (<i>of a man</i>)	uyuḡuug	“you, my dear niece or nephew” (<i>of a man</i>)
tutik or tutaaluk or tutitchiaq or iḡḡgutaq or iḡuttaliuraq	“grandchild”	tutiḡ or tutaaluug or tutitchiaḡ or iḡḡgutaang or iḡuttaliuraang	“you, my dear grandchild”

List of Kinship Terms

Kinship Terms	Iḡatigun Taiguusit
relative	iḡa or iḡauraag
mother	aaka
stepmother	aakaksraq
father	aapa
stepfather	aapaksraq
grandmother	aakaaluk or aanaaluk or aana
grandfather	aapaaluk or ataata or taata (Nu)
great-grandmother	amau or amauluk or amauluk
great-grandfather	amau or amauluk or amauluk
great-great-grandmother	iḡummiq or iḡulliḡiaq (Ti)

great-great-grandfather	ilummiq or ilulligiaq (Ti)
spouse	tuvaagan
wife	nuliaq or agnauniq or agnaat
head or first wife	nuliaqpak
secondary wife	nukarak
husband	ui or agunnuniq or agutaat
co-husband	agutauqan or nuliaqan
daughter	panik
adopted daughter	paniksraq
son	igñiq or iññaaluk
adopted son	igñiksraq
granddaughter	tutik or tutaaluk or tutichiaq or iñgutaq
grandson	tutik or tutaaluk or tutichiaq or iñgutaq
great-granddaughter	amau or amauluk or amauluk (Ti)
great-grandson	amau or amauluk or amauluk (Ti)
great-great-granddaughter	ilummiq or ilulligiaq (Ti)
great-great-grandson	ilummiq or ilulligiaq (Ti)
sibling	aniqan
elder sister	aatauraq or aakatchiaq or aataq (Nu) or agitchiaq (Ti) or ayaayak (Ti)
elder brother	aapiyaq or aniqak or aqayu or aniqaaluk or aapiaq
woman's younger sister	nukaaluk or nukatchiaq or nukaq
man's younger sister	nayak or nayaaluk
woman's younger brother	aqqaluk
man's younger brother	nukaaluk or nukatchiaq or nukaq
twin	malgi
step-sibling through spouse exchange	qatanqun or qatanun (Ti)
aunt	atchak
paternal aunt (father's sister)	atchaaluk (Nu) or ayak (Ti) or ayaaluk (Ti)
maternal aunt (mother's sister)	attuaq (Nu) or ayaqgruksaaq (Ti)
paternal aunt-in-law (father's brother's wife)	asuqaq
uncle	aqak, aqaaluk
paternal uncle (father's brother)	akkaaka
maternal uncle (mother's brother)	aqatchiaq or akkaaka (Nu)
cousin	aññaq or suunaq (Nu)

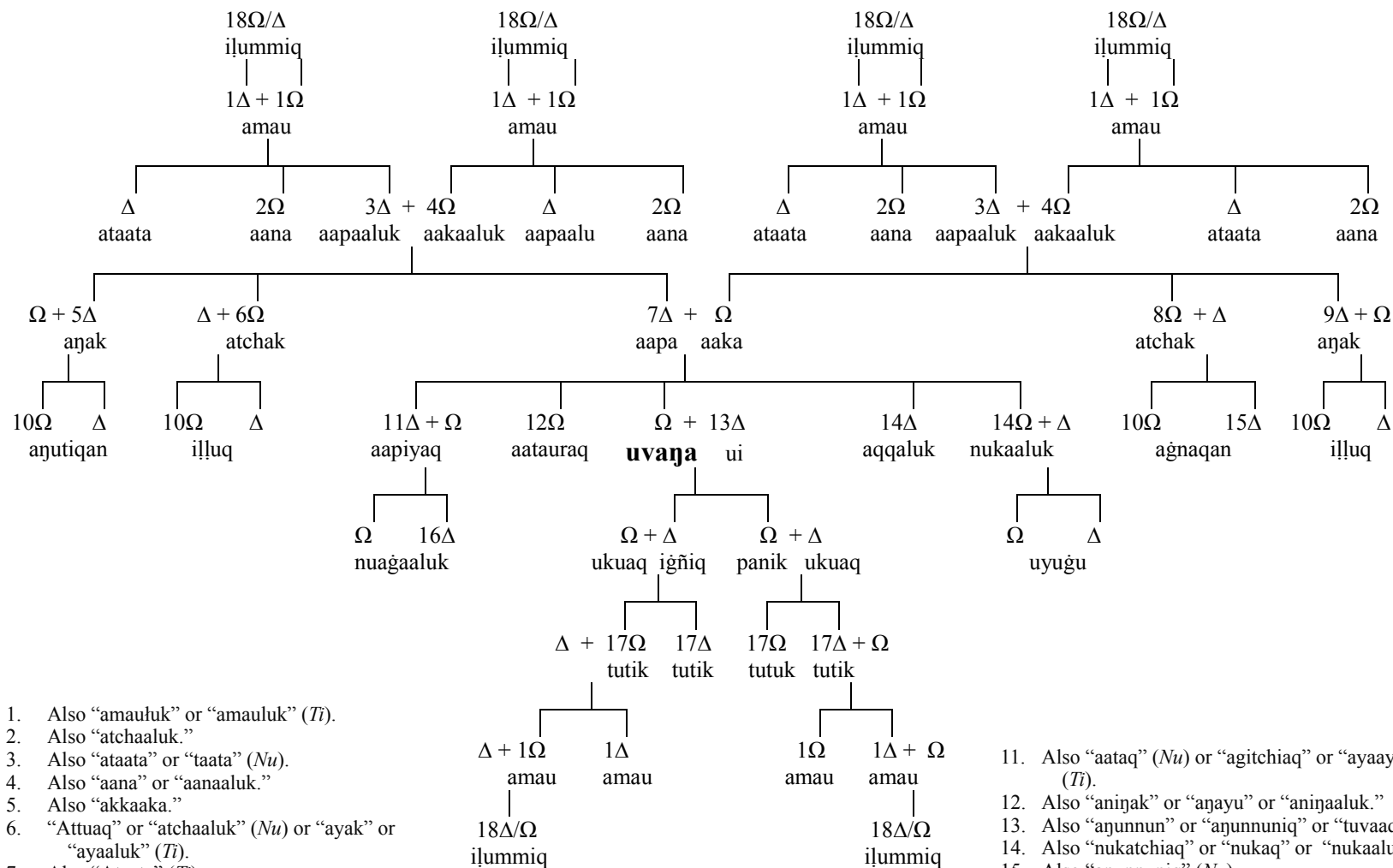
matrilineal parallel cousin (child of mother's sister)	aġnaqan
patrilineal parallel cousin (child of father's brother)	aġutiqan
cross-cousin; joking partner	iļluq or iļļualuk
woman's female cousin; woman's female friend of same age	uumaaq
mother-in-law	aakaruaq or aanaruaq
father-in-law	aaparuaq
husband's older brother	aigaaaluk
husband's older brother's wife	aġayunguq
husband's younger brother	sakiġaq or sakialuk
husband's younger brother's wife	nukangūq
sister-in-law/daughter-in-law/ wife of grandchild	ukuaq
sister-in-law	ukuāġaaluk
brother-in-law/son-in-law/ husband of grandchild	niġau
nephew or niece (<i>of man</i>)	uyuġu
nephew or niece (<i>of woman</i>)	nuāġaaluk or uyuġu
one of two co-wives or co-husbands	aippaq
step-relative	agitchiaq
namesake	atiq
one's namesake's wife; (<i>Ti</i>) one's namesake's spouse; married couple's namesake friend; sweetheart's namesake	uuma
(<i>Nu</i>) man's male friend of same age; cousin	suunaaq
girlfriend (<i>of man</i>)	nuliuraq
widow (female)	uiļġaġniq or uiļġaġniq (Ti)
widow (male)	nuliġniq or nuliilġaġniq (Ti)
spinster, unmarried woman who refuses to marry	uiļġasuk or uiļuaqtaq
bachelor, unmarried man	nuliilġasuk or nuliyyasuk
boyfriend	aġutaun (Ti) or uiguraaq (Nu) or uinguaq
bridegroom, fiancée	uiksraun
parent of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law	nulliq

In the following kinship charts, the **uvava** “I” marks the “ego” traditionally used in the development of kinship charts. The numerals in front of the Iñupiaq kinship terms refer to footnotes.

Iłagiił IŃUPIAQ KINSHIP CHARTS

Consanguineal (related by blood) Kin Terms from the Perspective of a Female.

Ω indicates a female; Δ indicates a male; + indicates a bond by marriage.



1. Also “amauluk” or “amauluk” (*Ti*).

2. Also “atchaaluk.”

3. Also “ataata” or “taata” (*Nu*).

4. Also “aana” or “aanaaluk.”

5. Also “akkaaka.”

6. “Attuaq” or “atchaaluk” (*Nu*) or “ayak” or “ayaaluk” (*Ti*).

7. Also “Ataata” (*Ti*).

8. Also “Attuaq” (*Nu*) or “atchaaluk” (*Ti*) or “ayak” (*Ti*).

9. Also “aqaaluk” or “aqaatchiaq” or “akkaaka.”

10. Also “aññaq.”

11. Also “aataq” (*Nu*) or “agitchiaq” or “ayaayak” (*Ti*).

12. Also “aniñak” or “añayu” or “aniñaaluk.”

13. Also “añunnun” or “añunnuniq” or “tuvaaqan.”

14. Also “nukatchiaq” or “nukaq” or “nukaaluk.”

15. Also “añunnuniq” (*Nu*).

16. Also “uyuġu.”

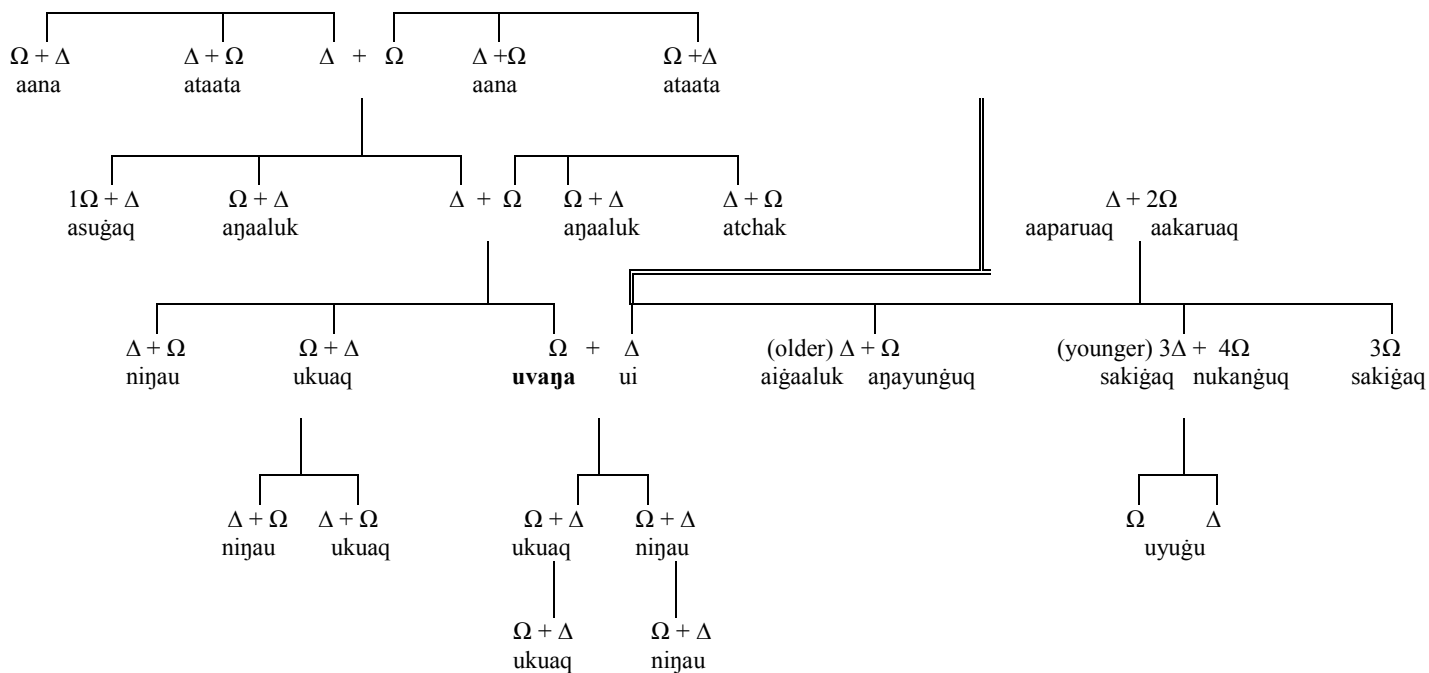
17. Also “tutaaluk” or “tutitchiaq” or “iñgutaq.”

18. Also “iļulligiaq” (*Ti*).

Iḷagiit IṆUPIAQ KINSHIP CHARTS

Affinal (related by marriage) Kin Terms.

Ω indicates a female; Δ indicates a male; + indicates a bond by marriage.



1. Also “ayak” or “ayaaluk” (*Ti*) or “atchak” (*Ti*).
2. Also “aanaruuaq.”
3. Also “sakialuk” or “sakigauraq” (*Ti*).
4. Also “nukaunguq” (*Ti*).