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THE KINSHIP
TERMINOLOGY OF
THE BANNOCK INDIANS

By ROBERT H. LOWIE

THE Bannock (pana'kwat)¹ have long been known to belong to the Shoshonean family, but their precise position within the stock was not cleared up before 1909. Powell and Mooney, indeed, had suggested their affiliation with the Mono-Paviotso group; but a brief vocabulary secured by Kroeber at Fort Hall, Idaho, led him to throw them rather into the Ute-Chemehuevi group, though he inclined to the opinion that the term "Bannock" had been loosely applied to two linguistically distinct bodies of Shoshoneans.² Fullér data from a Fort Hall Indian led to the rejection of this view, and Kroeber came to group Mono, Paviotso, and Bannock together as Mono-Bannock, a caption retained since then.³ This classification was subsequently adopted by Waterman and Sapir.⁴

Even in this later paper, however, Kroeber did not feel certain that "the material secured represented the only Bannock dialect on Fort Hall reservation, though this seems to be the case." In December 1928 and January 1929 I made a brief trip to Fort Hall and Blackfoot, Idaho, in order to obtain additional information. This bears out the conclusions arrived at by Kroeber in 1909.

The Fort Hall Indians at present include the former occupants of the Lemhi reservation, Idaho, some distance north, whom I visited in 1906 and who were removed to their present location in the following year. There is complete agreement that these "Northern" Shoshoni speak exactly the same language as the Fort Hall Shoshoni proper. The same applies to the so-called "Sheep-eaters" formerly at Lemhi. I secured no evidence that the Fort Hall people recognize more than one form of Bannock speech. Thus the investigator has to deal with two distinct languages, Shoshoni and Bannock. Of these, the former is numerically preponderant. The U. S. Census for 1910 gives the Shoshoni and Bannock population in Idaho as 1259 and

¹ The term "Panai'ti" given in the Handbook of American Indians, 1: 129, 1907, is evidently the *Shoshoni* word pa'n'aite for the Bannock tribe.

² Univ. Calif. Publ. 4: 105, 115, 1907.

³ Kroeber, The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages. Am. Anthr., n.s., 11: 266, 1909.

⁴ T. T. Waterman, The Phonetic Elements of the Northern Paiute Language. Univ. Calif. Publ. 10; 13, 1911. E. Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan. Journ. de la Soc. des Américanistes de Paris, 10: 381, 1913.

363 respectively, the total number of Bannock being then 413 (23 in Montana, 9 in Wyoming).⁵

Owing to the close affiliations of the two tribes during the last century and also because of the indefiniteness of early references to Shoshonean tribes, I regard it as unlikely that the precise geographic limits of the Bannock as a separate political entity, say in 1800, can now be ascertained. My informants spoke vaguely of the area between Boisé and Pocatello as the home of the Bannock.

Bilingualism is common, at least so far as *understanding* both languages is concerned; and my impression is that the Bannock can generally speak Shoshoni. Indians, as well as white residents, seem to favor the view that Bannock is much the harder of the two tongues. George Stone, a Shoshoni who dictated words in both, amusingly pointed out that the Shoshoni words were "straight" as contrasted with their Bannock equivalents.

As check-data for the assignment of Bannock to its place within the Shoshonean family, kinship terms are most serviceable because through the previous researches of Kroeber, Gifford, Sapir, and the present writer, virtually all principal members of the stock have had their relationship nomenclatures recorded.⁶ Hence this paper will be devoted exclusively to this set of vocables.

My Bannock data were first secured from John Racehorse, a Bannock youth, and a collaborating young man, Charlie Coby, who may have some Bannock blood but is predominantly Shoshoni. Some of the information they supplied (such as the failure to distinguish maternal and paternal uncle) aroused my suspicions and I obtained an independent list from a middle-aged Bannock woman, Sarah Pokibro, whose data are given below.

The point at issue being the closeness of Bannock to Paviotso and Ute, respectively, I will collate Bannock, Mono, Paviotso, Ute, and Paiute terms. Shoshoni data are added in order to have each main group of the Plateau branch represented. Since the English renderings for the Bannock terms

⁵ Indian Population in the United States and Alaska, 17, 96, 1915.

⁶ Kroeber, California Kinship Systems. Univ. Calif. Publ. Am. Arch. Ethn., 12: 358 sq., 1917. E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 49 sq., 1922; *id.*, Tübatulabal and Kawaiisu Kinship Terms, 12: 221, 229, 1917 (Sapir's Kaibab Paiute and Uintah Ute data are included in this paper). Lowie, Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography, Anthr. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 20: 287, 1924. I have published the Hopi system in the same series, 30: 365, 1929. Dr. A. H. Gayton kindly permitted me the use of unpublished Western Mono data.

do not always wholly coincide with those for the nearest equivalents in other Shoshonean tongues, I premise the Bannock terms with the translations recorded at Fort Hall.

Bannock Terms

ina'	my father, father's brother
ivi'a	" mother, mother's sister
itu'a	" son; brother's son (m.sp.); sister's son (w.sp.)
ivádö	" daughter; brother's daughter (m.sp.); sister's daughter (w.sp.)
ivávi	" elder brother, elder male cousin
ivaña', ivaña''a	" younger brother, younger male cousin
i'a'm'a, i'am'a'	" elder sister, elder female cousin
ivöni' ⁱ	" younger sister, younger female cousin
iva'wa'	" father's sister
i.ä'ts	" mother's brother
imido''	" brother's child (w.sp.)
inanák' ^{wa}	" sister's child (m.sp.)
igönu'	" father's father; son's child (m.sp.)
'utsi'	" father's mother; son's child (w.sp.)
idoγo'	" mother's father; daughter's child (m.sp.)
imū'a	" mother's mother; daughter's child (w.sp.)
igūma', igū'ma	" husband; husband's brother (non-vocative); ⁷ sister's husband (w.sp.)
inöri'k' ^{wa}	" wife; wife's sister
itca''i	" spouse's parent
itoγóna	" son-in-law
gönū'pia	" daughter-in-law
imaci'	" sister's husband (m.sp.); wife's brother; husband's sister.

A few kinship usages may be noted. Repeated inquiry failed to find any trace of a parent-in-law taboo, which seemed a novel idea to my informants. According to Sarah, a man might fool with his sisters-in-law while they were young. Marriage is forbidden with all cousins, in consonance with their classification as siblings.

I will now present these Bannock terms with their nearest equivalents in Paviotso, Mono, Ute, Paiute, Shoshoni, as well as the presumably primary meaning in English.

⁷ Sarah Pokibro said that in direct address a woman would use her brother-in-law's name or descriptively call him "my husband's brother."

<i>English</i>	<i>Bannock</i>	<i>Paviotso</i>	<i>Mono</i>	<i>Ute</i>	<i>Paiute</i>	<i>Shoshoni</i>
father	ina'	ina'' ^a	na ^a	móan' ⁱ	moan' ⁱ	ā'pō
mother	ivi'a	pi'a	ibi'ya	píen' ⁱ	pi'e'nn ⁱ	pi'ō
son	itúa	dū'a	du ^a	towa'tsin	tuwatsin' ⁱ	nō-ru'ō
daughter	iva'dō	ba'do, pā'rō	vāde	pā'tcin' ⁱ	pā'tcin' ⁱ	nō-pā'di
e. brother	ivavi'	bāvi'' ⁱ	bāvi	bavi'tsi	pavi(tsi)n' ⁱ	nō-bā'bi
y. brother	ivaŋga'' ^a	baña'' ^a	waña	tc'' ^{ex} qai'tcin	tc'' ^{ax} qa.itcin' ⁱ	nō-ta'mi
e. sister	i'a'm'a	ama''	iha'ma	badzi'dzin	pātsitsin' ⁱ	nō-ba'dzi
y. sister	ivōni' ⁱ	bōni'' ⁱ	ibuni	nami'dzin	namintsin' ⁱ	nō-na'mi
pat. aunt	iva'wa'	pa'wa'	bahwa	pān' ⁱ	pāan' ⁱ	ba'ha
mat. uncle	i.ā'ts	a'ts' ⁱ	atsi; ibu	sina'tsin	cinan' ⁱ	ā'ra
br's. child (w. sp.)	imido''	imido''	mido ^o ; ada ^a	pātcin' ⁱ	pāatsin' ⁱ ; pahā'ts	
sis's. child (m. sp.)	inana'k'' ^{wa}	Inana'k'' ^{wa}	inaha'k'' ^{wo}	sina'tsin	cinatsin' ⁱ ; qo'qo'itsin	ā'ra
fa's. father and recipr.	igōnu'	qōnu'' ^u	gunu'	kōnū'tsin	toxon' ⁱ ; qōnu'n ⁱ	kō'nu
fa's. mother and recipr.	hutsi''	hutsi'' ⁱ	hutsi	'' ^{ew} tsi'tsin	qāxun' ⁱ ; u'tsi'n	hútsi
mo's. father and recipr.	ido'yo'	iro'yo'	ido'k	to'yo'tsin	to'yo'n	dōko
mo's. mother and recipr.	imū'a	Imu'a	mu ^a	qa'yun' ⁱ	qaxun' ⁱ ; u'tsi'- tsin (?)	gā'gu
husband	iguma'	igū'ma		piwan' ⁱ	quma'n ^{ai}	gwa'hapō, gwū'apō
wife	inōrik'' ^{wa}	inori'g'' ^{wa}	nodūkwe	piwan' ⁱ	piwán ^{ai}	gwō', gwū'ahō
spouse's parent	itca'hi	iyahi'	yahi	yaitcin' ⁱ	ya.i'tsin	nō-mōndō'gotsi; nō-mōgā'gutsi
s-in-law	ito'yo'na	iro'yo'na	tokona	tata'wavin; muna'tcin' ⁱ	monatsin' ⁱ	mū'napō
d-in-law	gōnū'pia	gōnū'bia	kunupbiye	yai'tcin' ⁱ	u'tsimbian ⁱ	hu'tsōmbi'ō
sibling-in-law	imaci'	ara'toi	waic ⁱ ; yadatohi	tata'wavin	naiñquman' ⁱ ; anta'muan	nō-re'dz; baha'mbi'ō

A comparison of the Bannock and Paviotso lists at once establishes their virtual identity from a linguistic point of view, whether Kroeber's or my Paviotso terms are examined for the purpose. Of my 22 Bannock terms, 21 have obviously the closest phonetic affinity with their Paviotso equivalents. The phonetic *closeness* with Mono is naturally less, yet the number of unchallengeable equivalents is 19. Against this there are at best only 9 clear-cut Ute-Paiute homologues—the words for mother, son, daughter, elder brother, father's sister, paternal grandfather (only Ute and Moapa), paternal grandmother (Ute and Moapa), maternal grandfather, husband (only Kaibab and Moapa).

The differences between Bannock and Paviotso are interesting. The Paviotso have a separate term for father's brother, *hai'*, and for mother's sister, *piru'*, though the latter is derived from that for mother. Correlatively, there is a specific word, *hū'sa* for a man's brother's child. In other words, the Paviotso tend to separate lineal from collateral relatives, while the Bannock tend to merge them, in that respect showing some resemblance to the Wind River Shoshoni. These three Paviotso words lacking in Bannock occur in Northeastern Mono, but the Southeastern Mono rarely use *haiyi* and substitute child terms or *datsaana* for *huza*. The Western Mono, according to Gifford, rarely use *haiyi*, for which the father term is usually substituted, and call the mother's sister "mother;" *husa* is rare and generally replaced by the son term. Dr. Gayton, however, gives a special paternal uncle term, *inadzago* (derived from the father term?); and *bidu* for the maternal aunt.

Another Paviotso word without Bannock cognate is *aratoi*, *arādoi*, brother-in-law (m, sp.). It corresponds to Mono *arādohi* and *yadatohi*. On the other hand, Bannock *imaci'*, unrepresented in the Paviotso terminology, probably corresponds to Mono *waisi*, *waic'*, which still further corroborates Bannock membership in the Mono-Paviotso group.

Considering the intimate contacts of the Bannock and Shoshoni during the last century, the paucity of plain cognates is striking. Only the words for mother, son, daughter, elder brother, father's sister, father's father, mother's father, father's mother—8 in all—are obviously related, but cognates also appear in the Ute-Paiute group. Of the remaining Shoshoni terms, those for elder sister, younger sister, mother's mother, are closely related to the Ute-Paiute equivalents.

It has sometimes been supposed that kinship terms represent a singularly conservative department of speech, but the American data do not seem to give much support to that view. It certainly does not hold for the Siouan family, for even such closely related languages as Crow and Hi-

datša exhibit far more differences than might be expected. The Uto-Aztecán phenomena have a similar bearing. It should be remembered that the table here presented summarizes the facts only for one branch—the Plateau division—of the old Shoshonean stock, and not for all the several tribes of that branch. Yet there are manifestly 3 distinct stems for father; 3 for younger brother; 2 for elder sister; 2 for younger sister; 2 for maternal uncle; 3 for brother's child (w. sp.); 3 for sister's child (m. sp.); 2 for mother's mother; 2 for husband; 2 for wife; 3 for son-in-law; 3 for daughter-in-law; and at least 5 for sibling-in-law. The stems shared by the Mono-Bannock, Ute-Chemehuevi, and Shoshoni-Comanche groups are those for mother, son, daughter, elder brother, paternal aunt, father's father, father's mother, mother's father. Of these the stem for mother is evidently very old, for in the sense of elder sister we encounter it even in Nahuatl *pi*-.⁹ Kern River "tumu," child, seems to correspond with the son term so widespread in the Plateau branch. Kern River "patci," elder brother, and "pauwan," father's sister, seem cognate with the Plateau stems, while "utsu," mother's mother, represents a change in meaning from the usual Plateau stem for *father's* mother. It is strange that the universal Plateau stem for maternal grandfather does not appear in Kern River speech.

So far as can be judged, the reasons for persistence are quite capricious. Why should "mother" be retained in virtually identical form and "father" change? Or why is there preferential conservatism on behalf of the elder brother rather than the other sibling terms? Why, within the Mono-Bannock group proper, does the northern division of the Eastern Mono cling to "atsi" for maternal uncle, while the Western Mono and the southerly Eastern Mono prefer the stem "bu?" Such whimsical divergencies lend all the more cogency to the overwhelming number of Paviotso-Bannock correspondences. The linguistic affiliation must be reckoned of the closest possible order to account for the similarity between the kinship terminologies when we consider the centrifugal tendencies of these stems among Shoshoneans as a whole.

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⁹ Sapir, 39 sq.