"THE BUSH KOIARI PEOPLE"

of the Sogeri Plateau,
Central Division.

by

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Government Anthropologist
Territory of Papua

1930

Prepared in roneo form for the use by Administration Officers.

THE "BUSH (OR INTERMEDIATE OR FOREST) KOIARI OF THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF THE TERRITORY OF PAPUA

SEX AFFILIATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

By F.E. Williams

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INTRODUCTORY

The present paper discusses a form of social classification which may be referred to provisionally as sex affiliation. The essence of it is that male children are classed with their father's group and female children with their mother's. I shall first endeavour to give an account, in its more or less relevant aspects, of the social organization of the people among whom this sex affiliation is practised; after that we may discuss the practice itself in greater detail and consider its implications.

I am not in a position to define the distribution of sex affiliation in Papua. It may prove to be wider than it is at present though. But I have met with it myself only among the Koiari-speaking people of the central division, and I am not aware that it has been reported from any other district in the Territory.

The Koiari[1] country extends from the immediate hinterland of Port Moresby and the neighbouring Motu villages to the main range and even beyond it. Its inhabitants sometimes divide themselves according to their environment into three groups. They speak of (1) the Grasslanders or Isu-bia; (2) the Forest-men or Idutu-bia; (3) the Mountainieers or Movota. The first of these divisions occupies the rolling plains near the coast, where savannah alternates with wide stretches of lalang grass. Leaving the grasslands one passes - almost at a stride, for the transition is so abrupt - into the rain forest which clothes the foothills. Finally, crossing a boundary which is less clearly defined, one leaves the home of the Idutu-bia and enters the rugged country occupied by the Mountaineers, Movata.

It was among the intermediate division of forest-men, or, as we might better call them, hillmen, that most of the data for the present paper were collected; and among these hillmen I shall refer especially to in inhabitants of what is roughly called the Sogeri district.2 The same social structure, with the special character of sex affiliation, is said to exist among the mountaineers, and this statement has been verified by various witnesses whom I have met. But except for a short trip in the Uberi district I have not checked the information by personal enquiries on the spot. Among the grasslanders the date are somewhat conflicting, and it becomes evident that there is here a strong tendency toward a purely patrilineal condition such as that of the Koitapu, 3 the Koiari-speaking people who nowadays dwell on the coast.

1 The name Koiari belongs properly to one of the local groups of the grasslanders. It has been applied loosely to all who speak similar dialects right up to and beyond the central range.

2 Like Koiari, Sogeri is really the name of a local group only, but has been extended to a general neighbourhood. In this popular sense the Sogeri district is included in and forms only a small part of the Koiari country.

3 See Seligman, Melanesians of British New Guinea.

ETHNOGRAPHICAL

The Koiari have continued to speak a Papuan language [1], but racially they are mixed to no small extent with the Melanesians. The population is scanty - a mere fraction of what the land might support - and the standard of culture is comparatively low and poor. The small villages are situated on minor hill tops or spurs. Seven or eight houses (sometimes fewer), built on the edge of the slope so that their back piles must be much longer than their front ones, face inward and surround a clean patch of red clay. The centre may be occupied by a varo, or what remains of it, i.e. a degenerate form of the coastal dubu. Further in the mountains this gives place to the naga, the high platform on which food has been stacked and pigs slaughtered for a bygone feast. On the hillsides, sometimes at a surprisingly great distance, may be seen the gardens, principally of yams, which form the staple diet. Game is plentiful enough, especially in the grasslands, but the Koiari are very definitely gardeners and quite dependent on the soil. Being a scanty population in a comparatively fertile, forest-covered country, they continually clear and burn off fresh patches of bush and abandon them after cultication. Fire is made by the "saw" method. Their weapons are the spear and the club. Their decorative arts are best exemplified by the poker-work ornamentation of bamboo pipes and by the patterned bags of netted string, stained in various colours.

Their dead are exposed in inaccessible rock clefts. They do not go in special fear of the ghosts (hua) of their dead, and do nothing to conciliate them; but they recognize local spirits (dirava) which inhabit great trees in the forest and are placated by formal offerings. The bull-roarer is not known and there is no seclusing of youths or girls.

The coastal people are afraid of the Koiari, and give them a great reputation for sorcery of the particular kind which is usually called vada in Papua. The sorcerers are supposed to confront their victim in a place of solitude to strike him senseless and actually to disembowel him; next to piece him together and send him back to his village, where he is doomed to die without being able to recollect who assaulted him.

The Koiari resisted the early whites with great bravery and tenacity. Partly in consequence, no doubt, they have been called treacherous and bloodthirsty, and native murder cases have certainly been relatively common in their district. On the other hand they are given a good character by employers as honest labourers and pleasant men to work with. A further point in this rather mixed reputation is that of their secretiveness in their own homes. I was warned before going amont the Koiari that I should find them hard nuts to crack, and my own experience has done nothing to prove the contrary.

However, during several short trips in 1929, 1930 and 1931, I found two subjects of special interest, one that of their primitive rock-paintings and carvings, the other the unusual form of social organization which forms the subject of this paper.

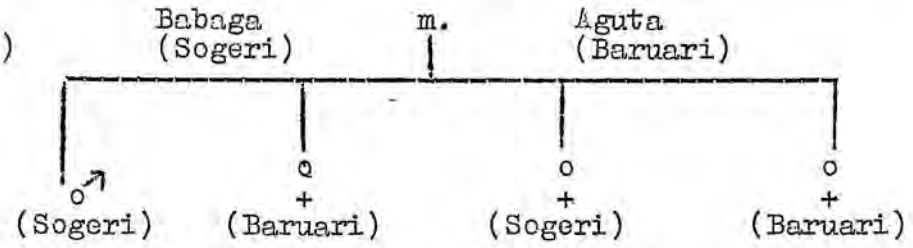
[1] S.H. Ray Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., vol. lix, Jan.-June (1929), pp. 65 ff.

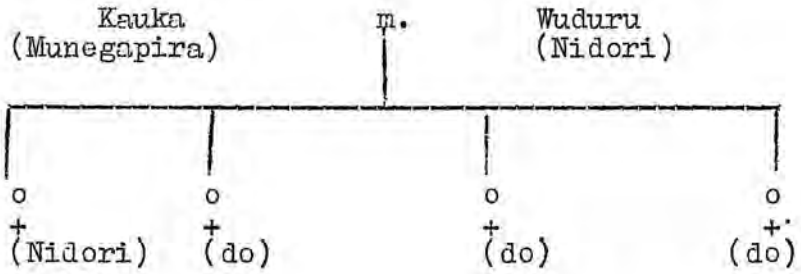
THE RULE OF SEX AFFILIATION

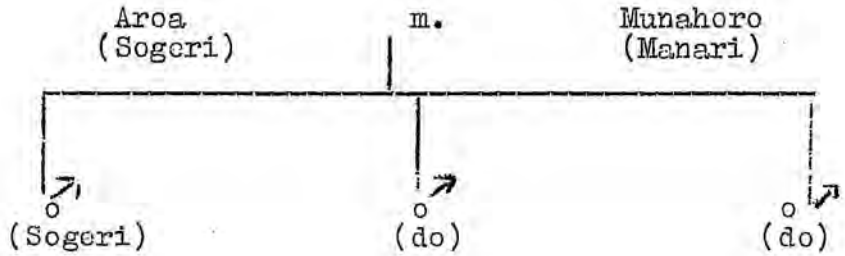
When paying a short visit to any part of the Territory, I take the opportunity of filling in a technological survey form, mainly dealing with points of material culture. One of the facts to be ascertained is themode of descent, whether patrilineal or matrilineal. This, of course, is usually settled very easily. Having discovered the mode of social grouping one takes a number of concrete cases of families, and it will be found that all the children pass as a rule into one group, whether that of the father or that of the mother.

When however, I approached this matter in the usual way at Sogeri, I found the male children classed with their father's group,and the female with their mother's. The following are typical cases. (The group-names are in brackets.)

(1)







As these instances show, there is no question of making a fair division between the two groups; even when all the children are of one sex no exception is ordinarily allowed.

(d) THE NATURE OF THE GROUP

Such is the stated rule, and it seems hardly reconcilable with the main rules of descent as we know them. It should be our business therefore to discover what the rule amounts to in effect; and the first question is that of the nature of the group.

As we have seen, the Koiari are roughly divided into grasslanders (Isu-bia), forest-men or hillmen (Idutu-bia), and mountaineers (Movota). These are general divisions which do not concern us here : they are based primarily on differences of environment, though they involve also differences of language and certain other cultural factors. There is no definite social cohesion within the environmental division.

But, those main divisions are split up into a number of small groups with definite names, and the member of such a group is well aware of its identity. The Idutu-bia, whom we shall be mainly discussing, are thus divided into the following groups :-

Sogeri (proper)	Manari	Adori
Munegapira	Yaritari	Umudori
Nidori	Borebere	Senari
Baruari	Korohi	Mofiri
Haveri	Maiari Bereri	

The list is probably not complete; at any rate, it makes no mention of certain previously existing groups which have been disrupted since the occupations of the Sogeri plateau by plantations. Having sold their land many years ago these groups have split up and settled with others. Occasionally still their names crop up in discussion.

It is sometimes more difficult to draw the line between the hillmen and the grasslanders [1], than between the kind of country they respectively inhabit: e.g. Taburi, Nadeka, Dauri and Ekiri, although they are called Isu-bia, might be included in the Sogeri district, and I discovered no essential difference between them and the hillmen except that of dialect. Many of the notes for this paper were collected among these four last-mentioned groups.

The names listed above belong to groups of people, not to villages. It is true that the population is so sparse and the groups so small that one whole group is very commonly concentrated in one village, possibly with one or two garden settlements in the neighbouring hills. But the village (yaga) has its own name, which is not to be identified with that of the group. The life of the village is more or less limited, and the country abounds with abandoned sites of villages in which groups have been settled in the past; but the group itself and its name survive these changes.

The nearest approach to a generic name for "group" in the sense in which that work is here used may be found perhaps in the native word uhea. Uhea was not actually given me as a generic term; nevertheless at feasts, when the guests arrive at different times and more or less according to their groups, a man will speak of datuhea - "my group", or say to another, "Here comes atuhea !" - "Your group". It is obvious, however, that uhea is not strictly synonymous with our word "group", since it appears in such compounds as dadimuhea, "my nephews andnieces", or daghoghohea, "my younger brothers", both spoken of en bloc. There is no such clearly defined concept as that of the Motu and Koitapu iduhu of the coast. The group as we find it is not a compact, cut-and-dried section of society, and I can only conclude that there is no real generic term in the vernacular to describe it. I shallcontinue for the present, therefore, to use the most non-committal work, viz., group. For those who are beyond the pale of the group I have only heard the phrase yaga gaita bia, "people of another village."

The word "clan" would not, I believe, be applicable. In the first place the group is not exogamous. In actual fact the large majority of marriages take place outside the group, but the opposite cases are not few enough to be dismissed as exceptions to a strict rule, and I have even noted some cases where the intra-group outnumbered the extra-group marriages. Furthermore, I have been confidently assured that young people may marry within the group if they wish. In short there is not even theoretical exogamy in the Sogeri district.

1 Groups of the grasslanders (Isu-bia) : Taburi, Nadeka, Dauri Ekiri, Bemuri, Aghoberi, Wanoari, Mogibiri, Monatori, Chasiri, Omani, Derikeia, Yanari, Kerakadi, Ehara, Vadiri, Dabanari, Daghoda, Seme, Veburi, Etc.

(former page)

(e) THE PLANT EMBLEM, IDI

Secondly there is no true totemism. Since, however, we are endeavouring to form an idea of the nature of the group we must not pass over an institution which certainly has something in common with totemism. It is that of the Idi, literally "the Tree", for which may be suggested the name plant emblem.1

By way of example the Haveri group has Wofunia, a kind of banana; Manari has Wurewure, a grass; Yaritari has Mahai, also a kind of grass; Baruari has Otiara, a red-leaved ornamental shrub. In some instances the group name reappears in the name of its Idi: Nidori, e.g. has Nidoridubu, a kind of lily; Wanoari has Wanoa-gagari, the creeper called "Dutchman's Pipe"; and Korohi has Korohi-dubu (unidentified).

But there is no little vagueness regarding the plant emblems, and the plain fact is that many a man is quite unable to name his Idi if you ask him. It is only after thrashing the matter out in full discussion that a group of informants are prepared to give definite answers, and then the doubt remains whether their answers are reliable. Some groups, it would appear, have alternative Idi, for different informants on different occasions have given names which failed to agree, while in other instances two plants were named as alternatives at one and the same time, e.g. Waha and Urema for Taburi, Alai and Bemu (as well as Korohi-dubu) for Korohi. The existence of such alternatives may point to minor groups, but on such points I was unable to obtain any satisfaction. The people seem both ignorant and indifferent regarding their Idi.

The main function of the plant emblem is that of a mark of identity. A sprig might be left on the track to show that one of the owners of the Idi has passed; or if a Wanoari man, for instance, saw a fine bunch of bananas be night take it and leave behind a piece of Wanoa-gagari as a sort of receipt. When the owner of the bananas in due course saw this he would realize that the man who took them belonged to the Wanoari group and would know whence to expect a return. Since informants were so often not only uncertain as to their own Idi but quite ignorant of those of other groups, it follows that the practice of leaving a mark of identity as a receipt could not easily extend beyond a single group. However, this use of the Idi as a mark of identity was amply verified.

Another use of the Idi is for the feast rack. Pyramidal structures called taru-idi are erected as means of displaying food and as alternatives to the more solid varo and naga. When the Idi happens to be of a sufficiently substantial kind it may be used for the poles of the taru-idi or the posts of the naga.

Only one other function of the Idi has come to my notice. For purposes of divination the corpse is examined after death, and any scrap of bark or dirt found upon it is taken away and buried. The spot where this is buried is marked, and if any particular Idi should spring up there it will indicate the group of the sorcerer who was responsible for the death.

It may be added that no sacredness attaches to the plant emblem. If it be of an edible nature it may be eaten by those of the group to which it belongs as well as by everyone else. If it be practically useful in some other way, it may be used by all. The Taburi group has two Idi: Waha, a tuber, and Wirima, a kind of tree. They eat the one and adze out floorboards for their houses from the other. Lastly I have never heard that the Idi was regarded in any sense an ancestor.

If men are often uncertain of their Idi or ignorant of it, women are still more so. When questioning a group of women on

The Plant Emblem, Idi (continued)

the matter I have seen them look despairingly at one another and wait for male prompting beofre they will commit themselves. The unmarried girl will probably giver her Idi as that of her mother, as we might expedt. But a married woman in her husband's village will sometimes say that she belongs to her father's group and name his Idi instead of her mother's. One such married woman said that she belonged to her mother's group, but giave her father's Idi as her own. These are only further evidences of the confusion regarding the plant emblem, and they reveal its unimportance. When the matter has been thoroughly discussed it is invariably agreed that the girl belongs to her mother's group and that in consequence she possesses her mother's Idi.

[1]The Idi of the Koiari evidently has something in common with the Horatu or Plant Emblem of the Orokaiva, but the system is by no means so exact or thorough-going. See "Plant Emblems among the Orokaiva" (Jounr. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., vol.IV, 1925, July-Dec.) and Orokaiva Society. chap.viii.

(f)

LOCAL CHARACTER OF THE GROUPS

The majority of the group-names appear to be of local origin, being derived in most cases from the hills (numu) of the district.

Sogeri from Sogenumu of Hogenumu, near Yaritari.
Bemuri from Benu, in the Astrolabe range.
Haveri from Havenumu or Favenumu, near Javareri.
Taburi, from Tabunumu.
Nidori from Nidonumu.
Dauri from Daunumu, in Loitaki plantation
Ekiri from Ekinumu
Ienari from Iena, a certain stream.
Yaritari from Yaritari-bei, a spur near present situation of the group.

Tradition points to a migration from the east into the Sogeri district, viz., from the direction of Yovi and Seramina; and there is little doubt that there has been such a movement. It is seen that some of the local names do not correspond with the present habitat of the groups to which they belong: Sogenumu. e.g. is near Yaritari to the east, and Favenumu near Javereri, also to the east. Nevertheless the fact that the group-names, as far as they can be explained, seem all to be of a local character may well point to the assumption that the groups themselves are primarily local. At present each group owns its particular territory, defined by boundaries are (tamagava) which usually take the form of streams. Land ownership pertains to the group, though we find here and there a tendency for the group territory to be split up nominally among family groups. It is not, however, divided among individuals; a man may clear and make a garden wherever he pleases in his group land. Informants are usually ready to say who will take over their land when they die, but the examination of a number of cases has convinced me that there is no definite system of bequest. The land continues to belong to the group, while they live on it. If any person who by birth has a nominal claim to the land goes to live in some distant part, then his claim eventually lapses. The same holds good when the group itself migrates. The movements of the various groups cannot be traced in detail. When, as is sometimes the case, their names refer to places at some distance from their present homes, this may well give a clue to their respective provenances, but it does not indicate that they have any claims of ownership over the original land. Each group is closely bound up with the land it occupies at present.

There is little doubt, I think, that the groups have always been local in character. The fact that they have in some cases drifted away from the regions whence they got their names and in which they presumably came into being as groups does not prevent us from still regarding them as local. This is undoubtedly what they are, for, as we shall see, membership of the group is decided ultimately and in theory by residence; its members in fact are those who live on and cultivate its land. Since then there is no exogamy, and since the rules governing membership are not to be reconciled with those of clan-descent, it seems unavoidable to reject the word "clan" and to refer to the unit as a local group. It must be understood then that "group" in this paper means "the local group".

(g) MEMBERSHIP OF THE GROUP

As stated above, the rule governing membership of the group is that the male child belongs to that of his father and the female is that of her mother. Marriage is with very few exceptions patrilocal, so that the male child belongs to the group in which it is born, whereas the famels, nominally at least, does not.

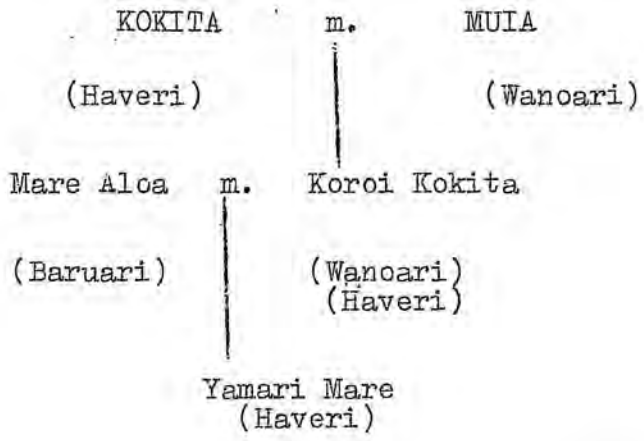
I have recorded only three instances in which a male child was classed with the mother's group. One remains without explanation; but in the two others it appears that the men in question, having lost both father and mother as children, were for some reason brought up among the mother's people rather than the father's people. Now each is referred to as belonging to his mother's group; and one of them, a man of perhaps 35 years, classes his son in the same way.

A number of cases show that an individual may be absorbed into a group to which neither his father nor his mother belonged. Among the Korohi people, for example, are two adult males who were originally Nidori. One of them stated that he had been brought up among the Korohi since his childhood, and therefore now reckoned himself as one of that group. The other gave the same explanation, and it was recalled that his father, a Nidori man, had taken refuge with the Korohi after a tribal raid and had remained with them. The sons of these two men are now counted without hesitation as Korohi. Similar cases have arisen from dispersal of certain groups, due partly to the sale of their lands to white settlers in the Sogeri district and partly to the ravages of epidemics. A man, e.g. of the defunct Wakari group, which occupied what is now Koitaki estate, settled and married among the Munegapira. The name Wakari is now hardly more than a memory, and this man is called Munegapira. Another man, one of the now scattered Dauri group (who speak an Isu-bia dialect) had also settled among the Munegapira. His son is now referred to as a Munegapira, having, as informants explained, been brought up on the Munegapira language. It seems therefore that to be born and reared among any particular group suffices to make one a member of it; in fact that the social groups of this district have a local rather than a lineal constitution.

When we come to consider the case of the female child, who should be classed with her mother's group, we again find a few exceptions. These will be considered fully later on; they will be found to throw a valuable light on the problem before us. In the meantime we may note the important fact that the affiliation of the female with her mother's group usually goes back no further than one generation. In the ordinary case, informants will state that a daughter belongs to her mother's group; but, the mother will say that she belongs to her mother's group, and this may prove to be quite a different one. If the classing of the daughter with the group of her mother were a matter of true descent, then a girl would belong to the group of her mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, etc. But, obviously we are not dealing with descent of female children in the female line. The fact is that the girl is classed with her mother's father's group, or, what is the same thing, with the group of her maternal uncle. Beyond that the antecedents of the mother in the female line are not counted. Unless there happen to be some elderly informants present with good memories, the group of the grandmother is probably forgotten altogether.

A concrete instance will show how far this sex affiliation goes and where it lapses:

Membership of the Group (Continued)



The girl Yamari was classed, not of course, with her father's group, Baruari, but with that of her mother. She was referred to as Haveri, and she spoke of her mother as Haveri. But, Koroi Kokita herself declares that she is Wanoari, because that was her mother's group; and everyone is ready to back her up in this. If we were dealing with true descent in the female line we should find both Koroi and Yamari to be Wanoari. Since this is not so it appears that the affiliation of the female with the mother's group is not part of the hard-and fast regulation of descent. It is something much less permanent, lasting not the lifetime of a people, but onlythe lifetime of an individual.

It should be noted that a husband speaks of his wife as belonging to the group of her father and brothers rather than to that of her mother. Very often, particularly when she hails from some distant part, he will be quite ignorant of what her mother's group actually is. In the concrete instance given above Mare Aloa would on the spur of the moment speak of his wife as a Haveri women, although he would be quite ready to admit that she was also, or in strictness, Wanoari. It is certainly more usual, however, for the husband to speak of his wife's group as that in which she was domiciled before he married her; and this group is normally that of her father and brothers.

(h) DOMICILE AND CONTROL OF CHILDREN

Since marriage is patrilocal, children in the normal instance care brought up in the village of their father. Naturally, however, they will see something of their mother's village also, for, unless it happens to be very distant, the married couple are accustomed to make gardens on the wife's ground as well as the husband's.

During their childhood, sons and daughters are the responsibility of their parents, and the free and easy control of the children belongs to them. While the father lives, he, not the waiuku (maternal uncle), is responsible for keeping them, the girls no less than the boys. When, however, the father dies leaving a young family, we see some practical application of the rule of sex affiliation. Then, while the male children remain in the deceased father's village, the females may become the charge of their maternal uncles and be thenceforward brought up in the mother's original village. This at least is the stated rule; individual cases are decided by the wishes of individuals, and the rule is, perhaps, more honoured in the breach than in the observance. When the orphan (gori, m. or f.) is old enough to have a will of her own she usually remains in her father's village.

Until her marriage, then, the girl is domiciled in her father's village provided he is still living, and to all practical purposes she is a member of his group despite her nominal affiliation with that of her mother. We may, I think, leave the question of group descent out of the discussion. It has already been found that the groups are local rather than lineal, and that the individual belongs to the group by virtue of living in its midst and sharing its social and economic life. Except in the cases of some orphans, the Maiogoho, or unmarried girl, belongs in this sense to her father's group. When she marries - and this is a point of some significance - she virtually transfers her allegiance to the group of her husband. How then, it may very well be asked, does the group of the mother come into it? We shall have to examine the social organization of the Koiari a good deal further before, in the second part of this paper, an attempt is made to answer that question.

To continue in the meantime, the waiuki does not possess any special authority over the children, either male or female, except in so far as he sometimes becomes responsible for rearing an orphan girl. I once suggested by way of hypothesis that father and maternal uncle might each want possession of the girl, and asked who would previal. Characteristically, my informatns found it difficult to deal with a hypothetical case, and they could not imagine such a direct contest of will or authority; they declared that one would say to the other, "Ah no, you take her if you want to!! But when I pressed the point they finally agreed that the father would have his way. The fact is, of course, that the maternal uncle never takes the girl from the father; the real authority lies with the latter. Fathers and mothers may smack their children, though assuredly they do so very rarely; I am told that a maternal uncle would never do such a thing. He would be too "belly-sore" or compassionate. Again, if the father were angry the child might run for temporary refuge and consolation to its maternal uncle. In fine, it appears that maternal uncles are very fond of their nephews and nieces, but it is obvious to the observer that the father's affection for his children and his sense of responsibility for them are altogether stronger.

When he is old enough to work effectively, the youth will do service from time to time in his maternal uncle's garden, at fencing etc.; and it is after such a period of work, when he has tested the lad's diligence and skill, that the maternal uncle is supposed to offer him his daughter in marriage.

Domicile and Control of Children - (Continued)

Among the Isu-bia (though not, as far as I could discover, among the hillmen) the young men after a dance are accustomed to make ceremonial presents to their maternal uncles. These take the form of a strip of cane, called konama, which they have won about their waists during the dancing, hung with fragments of coconut, betel, pig-fat, and tobacco. On similar occasions girls wear over their backs the patterned string bags called yago, stuffed full of yellow betel nuts, and these also are given to the maternal uncle. It is explained that since a man has given his sister to another in marriage it is fitting that her children should remember him.

[1]There is at present no ritual bestowal of the first perineal band in the Sogeri district, and the nasal septum and ear lobes of the child may be pierced, it is said, by any relative. There is no direct evidence that these were formerly ritual deformations or that the offices were performed by the maternal uncle.

(i) RELATIONSHIP TERMS

The terms of relationship are shown in the following list:

Y

	RELATION	MEN SPEAKING	WOMEN SPEAKING
1.	f.f;m.f.;f.m.;m.m.;sn.ch;s.ch.;br.(class) ch;sis.(class)gch.	ivahike	ivahike
2.	f.;f.br.(class);m.sis.(class)h.... ...	baba	baba
3.	m.;m.sis(class);f.br.(class)w.	inei	inei
4.	m.br.;f.sis.h	waiuki	waiuki
5.	f.sis.;m.br.w.	yayaika	yayaika
6.	br.;f.br.sn.;m.sis.sn.;(senior to spcaker)	danane	danane
7.	sis.;f.br.d.;m.sis.d.;(senior to speaker)	datate	datate
8.	br.pr.sis.;f.br.ch.;m.sis.ch.(junior to speaker)	daghoghe	daghoghe
9.	m.br.ch.;f.sis.ch	nubagha	nubagha
10.	son(own)..	damoi	damoi
11.	daughter (own)..	damai	damai
12.	br.(class)ch.;m.br.d.ch.;f.sis.d.ch ...	damoi damai	dadime
13.	w.sis.ch..	damoi, damai	-
14.	sis.(class)ch.;m.br.sn.ch.;f.sis.sn.ch .	dadime	damoi, damai
15.	h.br.ch.	-	damoi, damai
16.	wife	damabare	-
17.	husband	-	damobore
18.	wf.;w.m.	daware	-
19.	d.h.	dawarc	daware
20.	sn.w.	dawarutane	dawarutane
21.	h.f.;h.m.	-	dawarutane
22.	w.br.	hiba	-
23.	sis.h.	hiba	dataname
24.	w.sis.	dataname	-
25.	h.br.	-	dataname
26.	br.w.	dataname	da'ene
27.	h.sis	-	da'ene
28.	w.sis.h...	abere	-

An important collective term should be noted:-

	Man Speaking	Woman Speaking
Brothers(class) senior or junior ...	-	Dakahide
Sisters (class) senior or junior ...	dakahide	-

The possessive form has been given in almost all cases, with da, "my", prefixed. Thus moi = "son"; damoi = "my son". The words ivahike, baba, inei, waiuki, yayaika, nabagha and hiba are heard more often without the possessive prefix, being thus used as genuine terms of address. When the prefix is used they appear as davahike, damame, danine, daghaiumi, dayaye, danubai and dahibagi.

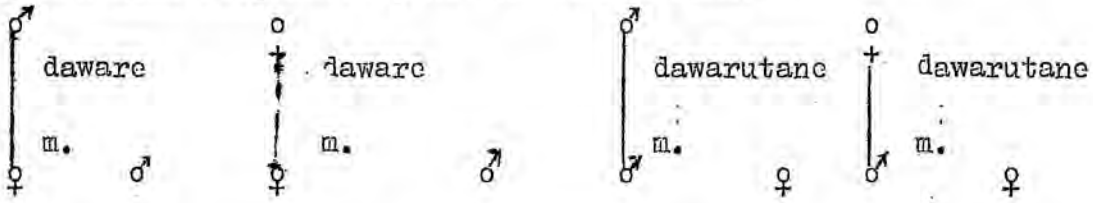
There are some collective terms, formed mostly by the use of the word uhea (see p.55), senior brothers (class) are dananuhea; junior brothers daghoghohea; children (class) daghamohea; nephews and nieces, dadimuhea. As already stated the general term dakahide is used reciprocally by men for their

Relationship Terms (continued)

classificatory sisters and by women for their classificatory brothers.

The relationships have been arranged so as to draw attention to the difference in connotation in some cases between the man's and the woman's use of the same term. The most striking instance is that of damoi and damai, son and daughter. Both men and women use these terms for their own children; but the man extends them to his classificatory brothers' children and the woman to her classificatory sisters' children. This is a common phenomenon, but none the less striking. Together with the converse rule (by which men call their sisters' children, and women their brothers' children, dadime, or nephews and nieces instead of classificatory sons and daughters), it calls for some explanation other than as a mere formal convention that the sexes should use different terms for certain identical relatives. Such an explanation will be attempted later (see p.79).

The reciprocal terms used between parents-in-law and the spouse of son or daughter are daware and dawarutane. They are used respectively as indicated below.



The same two terms are said to be used between the maternal uncle and the paternal aunt on the one side, and the spouse of the dadime on the other. The husband of the female dadime is daware, the wife of the male dadime is dawarutane, both terms being reciprocal. Informants were consistent on this point, though one may doubt whether the relationship term is actually employed for such distant relatives.

Hiba is a term used only between men; da'ene only between women. The latter was said to mean nubagha (woman speaking of woman).

There is no parallel on the female side for abere, the reciprocal term used by the husbands of two sisters. I could discover no functional relationship between the men who call one another abere.

The words for brother and sister, viz., danane, datate and daghoghe are sometimes heard instead of nabagha for the cross-cousin. A man may say that so-and-so is daghoghe when he is his mother's brother's son, or father's sister's son; but he will admit that he is also, or properly, nabagha. Such a use of the word "brother" to describe a cross-cousin is not met with, of course, in taking down genealogies. But it is common enough in everyday use. It happens that I have observed it usually among members of the same community, though I would not say that it is always so restricted. There is certainly, however, a tendency to refer to all of one's generation in the village as "brothers and sisters".

It should be noted that these terms are used in the classificatory sense. The waiuki, e.g. are the mother's own brothers and the other men of her father's group, whom she calls brothers; hiba are the wife's own brothers and her father's brother's sons; nabagha are not only the true children of the mother's brother and the father's sister, but

Relationship Terms (continued)

the children of all those whom the mother would call brother and the father call sister. The extent of these categories is sometimes rather disconcerting to the ethnographer. Although as proper terms of relationship-they should technically be limited to true kindred, it is certainly a fact that they are often applied to people with whom the speaker is quite unable to trace his relationship. This is very noticably the case with the nabagha.

There is, however, no mere lumping together of all the relatives, who are classed under one term. The native is perfectly sensible of nearness and distance of relationship. Although a number of men may be waiuki to the speaker, it is his mother's own brother who is his real waiuki; similarly, it is his wife's own brother who is his hiba in especial; and he distinguishes his own brothers from his parallel cousins, his first cross-cousin from more distant cross-cousins, etc., by the word maite, "real". The word gaita, "other" or "different" is used to mark off the remoter relatives. Thus, danane maite, "my own elder brother"; danane gaita "my classificatory elder brother", etc.

1
There are terms for a number of generations of ancestors, but I found the greatest confusion regarding them. No two lists were quite the same; always some terms would be omitted or transposed. The following is, so to speak, a composite version in the Sogeri dialect:-

f	baba
ff	ivahike
fff	davavore
ffff	daidike
fffff	dateteke
ffffff	datigitia
fffffff	dararave

The same terms are used for the sequence: mother, grandmother, etc. Sogeri natives as far as I know them cannot have much use for these terms, so that the confusion is not surprising. Feats of genealogical memory seldom go back as far as the daidike, great-great grandfather.

PERSONAL NAMES

(j) Patronymic Surnames

Every child has two personal names; its own distinctive name, and that of its father. A catalogue of ancestors - usually long - given by the principal man of the taburi group will serve as an example; Kuana Wafuru; Erisu Kuana; Numu Erisu; Yana Numu; Magara Yana; Yofia Magara; Daube Yofia. The last mentioned was my informant.

The girl is named in precisely the same way, her second name being that of her father, not her mother's (It is interesting to note incidentally, that many, if not all, personal names may be used for either male or female).

Occasionally the mother's name may be used for surname instead of the father's and this is the case with boys as much as with girls. Sometimes both surnames are well known and used without preference. The use of the mother's name as surname may arise from the circumstance that the mother is better known in a certain district than the father; when, for instance, a woman marries into a distant group, her children are sometimes known to her own relations by her name, rather than that of her husband. But another quite plausible reason has been given more than once; if the father's name does not run euphoniously with the personal name, then the mother's may be substituted. Gomara, the son of Borakape and Inoa, is known as Gomara Inoa because "Gomara Borakape" would be gorogoroa, "crooked" or "awkward". It should be added that the occasional use of the mother's name for the surname does not imply that the boy is classed with the mother's group.

This use of the father's name as surname for both sexes is sufficient to show that there is a strong tendency for both to reckon descent in the male line.

Name Avoidances

The names of certain relatives by marriage are tabooed. A man may not utter the names of his daware (woru); hiba; or dataname; a woman those of her daware or dataname. There is no taboo on the use by a woman of her da'ene's name; and none for either sex on the name of the dawarutane. It is thus to be noted that a woman may address her parents-in-law by name, but a man may not do the same to his. To both man and women the name of the daughter's husband is taboo; the name of the son's wife may be uttered.

The native knows no reason for these name avoidances. It is sufficient that their use would be in some manner offensive to the person concerned. But it is evidently not a serious matter. When a lapse occurs, the guilty one will turn aside his head and bite the back of his forefinger with an expression of consternation mingled with amusement onhis face. He has dropped a rather harmless brick. To utter one of these forbidden names, however, brings bad luck. When a man misses a pig with his spear, his companions will say, "Ah, you must have used your brother-in-law's name". There is no actual avoidance of the society of relations by marriage.

1 Names are offered by ihimeni, "godparents," before the birth of the child. The term ihimeni is reciprocal. The senior makes the offer of his name together with a yago, or bag, for carrying the baby. Since the same names are used for male and female it does not matter what the sex of the child should turn out to be. Between senior and jinior ihimeni there are mutual gifts and other attentions when the latter grows up. It is not necessary that the godparent should stand in any set relationship to the godchild.

(k) MARRIAGE

Courtship

Marriage is usually preceded by a period of courtship during which the girl receives night visits (woto) from her lover in her father's house. Before this can commence, the lover will have some sign of favour, such as a fragment of tobacco slipped into his hand during the dance. Small lovers' presents known as komuni and consisting of tobacco, betel, armlets, etc., pass between them, and they are, so to speak, engaged. If, during the period of courtship, one or the other of the parties grows tired or is supplanted by a rival, the affairs comes to an end. Otherwise it will conclude in marriage. We need not suppose that love-making of this kind is innocent, although informants often protest it is. When it leads to premature conception, it is said that the young man always marries the girl and avoids the shame (nati) of default.

In the usual event, when the pair have made up their minds to marry, the suitor will make some present to the girl's parents. He may hang up a cuscus or wallaby on their house verandah. If they accept the gift it is a sign of acquiescence. The boy will come openly to help in their gardens for a few days. At the end of what purports to be a time of probation, he will remain to a meal in their house. The girl shares tobacco and betel with him and they eat together; then he stays the night with her in the house. After several more days of work in the gardens of the parents, he will take his bride home to his own village.

I am told that there is something in the nature of a wedding feast. It is not quite clear when this occurs, but it is comparatively small affair and unconnected with the subsequent feast made at the time of payment. At this wedding feast, the piles of food are laid out and taken by the more prominent guests as their names are called, but the last of them is reserved for the daughter, i.e. the bride. Her father will say, "These are the yams for you and your husband", and this is the only dowry she receives.

More often, it is said, the girl goes to her lover's house without any such preliminaries. It is still necessary for him to secure the goodwill of her parents, and he goes about it again by making a gift; If they do not care to accept it they follow their daughter to his house, upbraid him as a thief, and try to get her back. But I do not hear of any case where they have not finally acquiesced.

An early sequel tothe union is the payment for the bride (either in goods or by the giving of a girl in exchange). This will be discussed presently.

I think that Koiari marriages are usually preceded by mutual attraction and courtship. It is at least true that girls are not driven into matrimony against their will; and even when a brother wishes to give his sister in exchange for a girl he has already married, it is only with a free consent of the sister in question that the transaction can be completed. On the whole, since girls commonly take the initiative in courtship and since they are acknowledged to be fickle and hard to please during its course, we should be right in concluding that they show a good deal of independence. It should be observed that the normal marriage is between young men and young women of approximately the same age. Girls do not marry very young; in fact, I have been struck by the number of young women, some of them attractive, who for reasons entirely their own have avoided the lure of matrimony.

MARRIAGE AND KIN

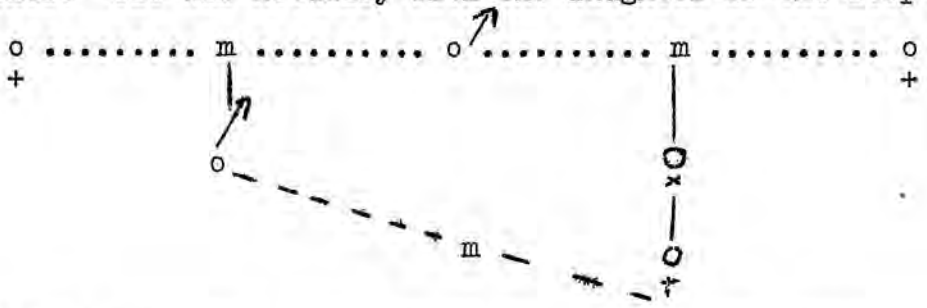
It is frequently affirmed that girls may marry where they please - into the group of their father, or into that of their mother, or into any other. As informants will tell you with a kind of tolerant amusement, there is no saying what girls will do; if she sees a boy who takes her fancy, she will go anywhere. In practice, then, there is at present no strict positive regulation of marriage. As we shall see, however, there is such a regulation in theory.

Marriages within the local group are common enough, but nevertheless they represent on the whole a rather small minority of cases. Such marriages may be between dakahide (classifictory brothers and sisters), but this is not necessarily the case with all intra-group marriages. Although as we have seen, there is a tendency for all of the same generation within a group to refer to one another loosely as "brothers and sisters" it turns out that some stand to others in the relation of nabagha rather than that of danane, daghoghe, etc. Indeed, such a situation arises inevitably from any marriage between dakahide in the group : the husband and the wife's brother, who were formerly "brothers," now become hida; and to the offspring the mother's brother is both baba (paternal uncle or "father") and waiuki (maternal uncle); while his children they will call both danane, etc., and nabagha. Intra-group marriages may therefore prove to be between nabagha.

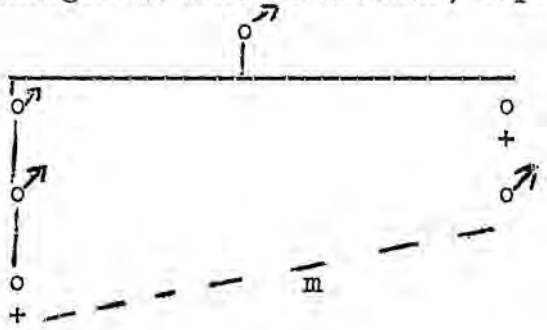
Informants have not been very consistent in naming the relations between whom marriage is permitted, some being much more liberal in their views than others. These free-thinkers have said that a man might marry nabagha, dakahide, dadime, and namai. Others cited a case where a man had married a woman whom he called inei (mother) but they were unable to trace the relationship definitely.

Amont the hillmen proper I was unable to discover a single case in which a man had married a girl whom he called damai; and nearly all informants agreed in saying that such a union was forbidden. It was among the Nadeka and Taburi groups of the Isu-bia (Grasslanders) that I met the only cases I have recorded; they numbered four out of nineteen in which the previous relation of husband and wife was known.

Of these last-mentioned nineteen marriages, two others had been between a man and his dadime; but among the hillmen proper I could obtain news of only two such marriages altogether. One was actually with the daughter of the step-sister.

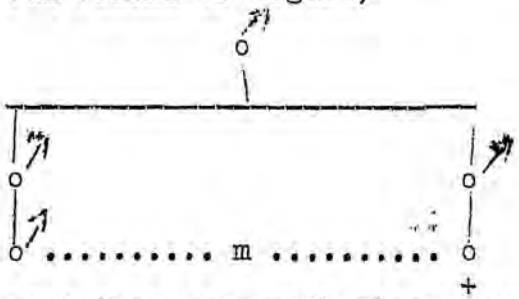


and this was condemned outright as bad. The other, represented as follows :-



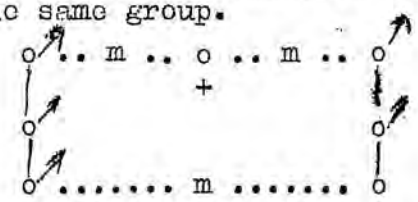
was regarded as rather an amusing episode and evidently as rather an improper one also. The bride and bridegroom belonged to the same village, and the woman was referred to as the man's "daughter" as well as his dadime. Informants were unable to rake up any other cases of marriage with the dadime, and some declared outright that it was not a proper thing. It must be very rare, and we shall probably be right in regarding it (as well as marriage with the domai) as against customary law.

Marriages between dakahide are not so uncommon. One well known instance, that between a man Wuiena and his first parallel cousin Oua Nanuka of Sogeri,

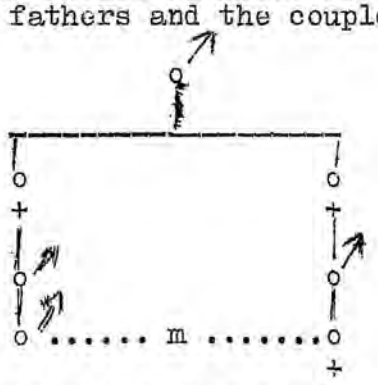


was referred to more than once with disapproval, not unmixed with that sort of sly amusement we take in a not-very-serious scandal. Neither the principals in the marriage nor their fellow-villagers show anything like shame over the transaction. [1]

Two instances, precisely similar to one another, showed the marriage between children of step-brothers, both belonging to the same group.



These were condoned as between dakahide, who were "a little bit different." The same excuse was made for a marriage of the following type (the fathers and the couple belonging to the same group).

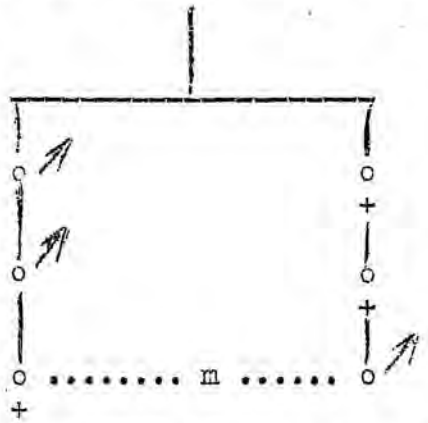


Such unions are spoken of as uyawia, "little bit good," i.e. "not altogether good but good enough." Marriages between dakahide, however, are relatively rare. They certainly cannot be regarded as having genuine social approval, for if one asks a youth (or a girl) whether he will marry his dakahide, he will reply with an emphatic "No !" accompanied by mild but unmistakable

Marriage and Kin (continued)

signs of aversion.

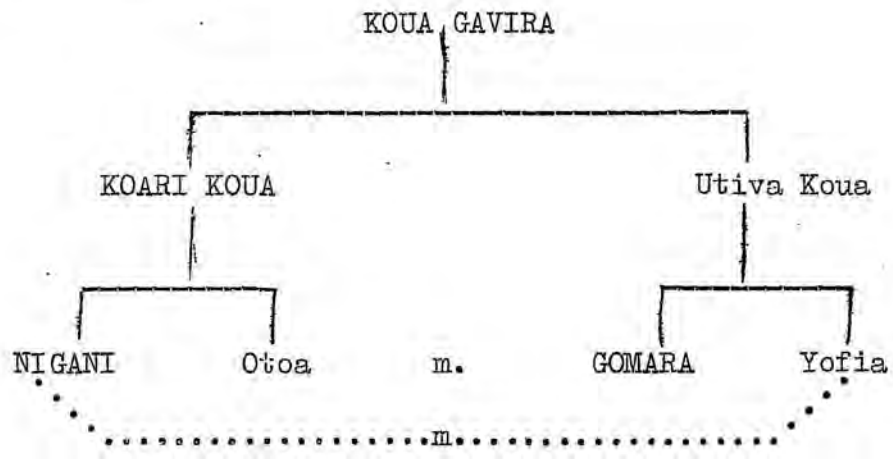
It remains, therefore, that there is only one class of relatives with whom marriage may be properly contracted, viz., the nubagha; and investigation proves that nubagha marriages are in an overwhelming majority. Now the term nubagha is, as we have seen, a very wide one, embracing cross-cousins in every degree. Owing to the absence in present practice of positive marriage regulations and the consequent freedom to marry in any quarter, a man is likely to have nubagha in a number of different groups. When he wishes to marry, therefore, he is not likely to have any difficulty in finding a girl who stands, at least nominally, in the right relation to him. If you ask a man what was his wife's relation to him before marriage he will nearly always answer nubagha. Quite often, however, when you try to elicit the genealogical connection he finds himself unable to trace it; and I am convinced that in many instances the relation is a fictitious one. It may even prove to be definitely false; the bridegroom in a marriage of the following type,



said that his bride was nubagha to him, whereas to judge from the pedigree given she technically stood to him in the relation of daghoge, "younger sister" (i.e. she was one of his dakahide). Some men who have married girls from more or less distant parts confess that they do not know what relationship formerly existed between them; they make no bones about it and are honest enough to abjure the pretence that the girls were their nubagha. One man, a Nidori native, who had met and married a girl from the Korohi group, confided to me that she, in making the characteristic advances, had informed him that she was his nubagha dogodogoa - "Nubagha little bit," i.e. in small degree but sufficient for a match. While then it is evident that some men contract marriages with girls other than their nubagha, it is equally evident from the general consistency of their replies that the marriage should be with the nubagha. As one informant put it, the best marriages are between nubagha; but if youths and maidens are attracted by one another, then they will marry no matter what their relation. It is probably not too much to say that these other marriages are exceptions, and that the original marriage law is that a man should marry only his nubagha.2

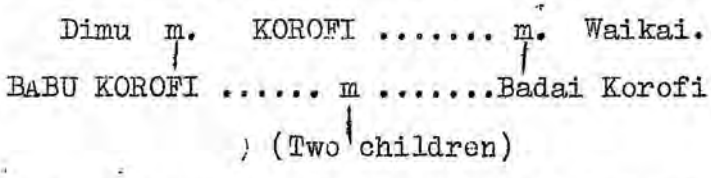
Marriage with the first cross-cousin, either mother's brother's or father's sister's child, is permitted. The following concrete case shows an exchange between two cross-cousins:

Marriage and Kin. (continued)



It is constantly stated that there is no rule against the matings of first cross-cousins of either kind. Indeed, as will presently be shown, there are some grounds for believing that such unions represented the original ideal. Nevertheless, they are not very common, and sometimes we come upon traces of a prejudice against them. This prejudice is apparently based upon economic grounds; as we have already seen, some informants have used the argument that to marry the first cross-cousin is to sacrifice one's claim to a share in the payment for her.[3] The prejudice, in so far as it exists, does not seem to reflect any intrinsic objection to the marriage of near kin.

[1] A marriage between brother and step-sister occurred not long ago.



The husband, wife and children are still living. Informants were both ashamed and amused at the mention of this case. "What sort of body," one of them exclaimed, "had this Babu to cohabit with his own sister ?"

[2] If any further evidence is required, it may be pointed out that in the slightly different terminology of the Isu-bia (Taburi group) the term for brother's wife (m.s. or w.s.) is di-nubaghe (for danubai), the same word as is used for the cross-cousin.

[3] It is interesting to note that one man used the same argument against marriage with the "sister." He would be "eating the pay for her".

(m) EXCHANGE AND PURCHASE

We have discussed the preliminaries to marriage and the question of marriage and kinship. There remains the important economic question, viz., that of squaring up after the marriage, of compensating the family and group to which the girl belonged.

A woman or girl is attached to the group as much by economic as by sentimental ties. She is a potential child-bearer, and she plays an important part in producing food and preparing it. When a girl marries she becomes, for all practical purposes, a member of her husband's group and family. Together with her husband she may return to cultivate a plot in the village of her childhood, but henceforward who spends most of her time and does most of her work among her husband's people.

Compensation is made either by giving another girl in exchange, or by payment in valuables. The former transaction is called damuna, the word signifying "pay back" or "equivalent payment." It could be well enough applied to the payment in valuables for the bride, but this may be referred to more specifically as tohe, the word for native ornaments in general, because these ornaments figure largely in what may be called the bride-price. A native therefore obtains his bride either by damuna - "exchange," or by tohe - "valuables." The contrast is sometimes expressed merely by the expressions damuna - "exchange" and damuna vehite - "without exchange."

In exchange the girls are normally, though not invariably true sisters of the two men concerned. It is not necessary that the two marriages should take place simultaneously. There appears to be nothing like a celebration in connection with marriage, much less a joint celebration of two marriages. In a straight-forward case that came to my notice a man Gudu, from Naduri in the mountains, had married a Taburi girl named Borskape about one year before the second marriage could be negotiated and the exchange rendered complete.

Exchange marriage is always, I believe, accompanied by formal payment and repayment of native valuables (and nowadays money). The two groups are at pains to see that they give and receive exact equivalents. Various relatives of the bridegroom will contribute pig-tusks, armshells, and so on; and when the amount is handed over it will be distributed among the relatives of the bride. But these latter bear in mind that they will presently have to make return payment, so that any man who accepts any item must be in a position to pay back its equivalent. The main receiver and distributor will in fact make sure that he gives away the articles only to such as are in a good way to pay their debts. He will ask "Have you an armshell ?" "Yes". "Then take this armshell." When the time comes the recipient will furnish another armshell as contribution to the return payment. (Since this all seems rather fruitless I suggested that a man might keep and eventually hand back the same armshell. But my informants were very much amused at the idea.) If, as nowadays it sometimes does, money forms a part of the formal payment accompanying exchange, the same return, detail for detail and pound for pound, is demanded.

When, as very often happens, a man has no sister to offer in exchange, he buys his wife outright. The prices are variable. One man named two pigs and £3.5s, together with a quantity of vegetable food and smoked wallaby; another, five knives, some native grass skirts, some calico cloth, a pearl-shell ornament and one pig; a third (fresh from European employment) £5., a table cloth, a native mat, six calicoes, a boar's tusk, and five wooden dishes.

I am assured that in these cases of direct purchase there is no obligation on the part of the bride's people to make any return present. This seems entirely reasonable, since they have exchanged the person of the bride for the price received.

EXCHANGE AND PURCHASE (cot'd)

Yet it is not unusual for them to make a very substantial return; and at any rate for an indefinite period after the marriage there will be reciprocal feasts given by the husband and his people to the wife's brother and his people and vice versa, i.e. presents of food passing between the two hiba. It is said that a man must keep on good terms with his relations-in-law.

The question of the original return by the bride's people in cases of outright purchase proves to be quite a thorny one. The final solution is, I think, definitely, that no such return is obligatory; and yet various informants have actually maintained that the return is no less than exactly equivalent to the original payment. Various explanations have been offered; the return payment anticipates any dissatisfaction or "rowing" on the part of the husband's people; or again it absolves the bride's people from the responsibility for replacing the bride with another girl if the former dies; or, generally speaking, the husband's people would be "wild" and the bride's people "ashamed" if such a return gift were not made.

In one or two cases I have discovered that the return of an equal amount in what was ostensibly a case of outright purchase really assumed the subsequent giving of a girl; that is to say, they were not genuine cases of purchase but really exchange deferred; and it is possible that all these apparently illogical transactions are explicable on the assumption of a contemplated exchange of girls. It may be also remarked that, as natives are so vain of their resources in wealth and food, there is no question on which they are more inclined to draw the long bow, or to give false information with a grandiose thoughtlessness for the truth.

Attention should be drawn to the argument above mentioned that the return of the full equivalent of the bride-price relieved the bride's people of the necessity of submitting another girl if she died. This explanation was offered on only one occasion, and I think it may be dismissed as a piece of sheer sophisty. No instance could be furnished of such substitute for a deceased bride, and in response to many enquiries as to the practice of the sororate I have always received firm and consistent denials. Indeed it has been said that if the bridegroom demanded another girl the parents would answer, "No fear, you killed one girl, you are not going to get another !" It should be noted that the levirate also, even in the widest sense, is not recognized. The widow does sometimes marry another man of the husband's group and village, but she is in no way bound to do so. If still young, she commonly chooses to go back to the village of her parents, and she may remarry when and where she pleases. Even when, as in the normal or ideal case, she has married into the group of her waiuku, that group has no rightful claim upon her as a widow.

Nowadays at any rate it would appear that marriage is much more commonly by purchase than by exchange. Yet when I raised this question and old and trusted informant confidently answered that exchange was the usual fashion. When we tested the matter by examining 24 cases of marriage on the spot and found that 17 had been by purchase and only 7 by exchange, he affirmed that exchange was in his day much commoner than it is now. Even today, when purchase marriages are so much more numerous than exchange marriages, informants have declared that the latter form, when feasible, is to be preferred. The reason given is that a girl's parents are thereby assured of help and attention in their old age; they will at least have a daughter-in-law when they lose a daughter. Should their daughter be bought outright, then their son might fail to produce a wife later and so they would be stranded. This is the only argument I have heard for preferring exchange marriage to marriage by purchase. It is noteworthy that, although it represents the standpoint of the parents, it was

EXCHANGE AND PURCHASE (continued)

advanced by a young bachelor. We may be right in viewing exchange marriage as the ideal Sogeri form, and in assuming that the alternative, viz, purchase is a later development which, whatever the reason, has supplanted the original in popularity.

1

His was probably a love match, though it is doubtful whether the same could be said of the marriage between his sister Gigina and Borakape's brother, Moio. However, Gigina had given her consent to equalize matters by marrying the young man Moio, who would appear to be some years her junior, and who still finds a good deal of difficulty in understanding her language. In such a case, viz., the second of a pair of exchange marriages, the bride may virtually have to go where she is told. In most others, as we have seen, she follows her own choice.

(n) THE RECIPIENT OF THE BRIDE-PRICE

Now in the case of marriage by purchase we may enquire who is the proper recipient of the bride-price. This is a matter of some importance in regard to the problem of sex affiliation, but it is unexpectedly involved. The evidence would at first appear to be flatly contradictory. Some informants have declared that the bride's father is the proper recipient; others, with equal assurance, that it is her waiuki. There is agreement on the point that both paternal and maternal relatives usually share in the distribution; but some have it that the father's people retain the major part of the goods and give the remainder to the mother's people; others put the thing vice versa. It is probable that informants are here thinking of particular instances and rather thoughtlessly converting them into generalizations. From all the evidence I collected , however, it becomes evident that while the main recipient is sometimes the waiuki it is far more frequently the father.

One of my earlier notes (taken at Borebore, where it was hoped that the girls would marry in their own group) recorded the native ruling that "if they marry into the father's people the waiuki takes the pay; if they marry into the waiuki's people the father takes the pay; if they marry into some other people the father takes the pay and gives some to the waiuki." It appeared later, however, that the girl never marries into her father's people in the narrow sense. Even when she marries into her father's local group, as happens often enough, it is not, of course, into her father's immediate family; and it never happens that the waiuki takes the pay to the exclusion of the father. In cases of intra-group marriage the family of the bridegroom pays the family of the bride, who share with the waiuki.

In the other clauses the original note is substantially correct. When a girl marries her first cross-cousin (true waiuki's son) it would be absurd to give the pay as well as the girl to the waiuki's family. As one informant put it, such a marriage "closes the way" to payment to the waiuki. The payment is then made to the girl's father alone.

In the usual marriage, which is neither into the father's group nor into the immediate family of the waiuki, the payment is made to the father, who shares more or less equally with the true waiuki.

The outstanding fact is that both the father and the waiuki have a claim to the girl (the latter, of course, on behalf of his son). If she happens to marry into the waiuki's actual family then they have the girl herself and cannot demand any pay; but if she marries elsewhere, then the claim of the waiuki must be compensated by payment. This claim is a very real one, so much so that some groups, as we have seen, gave the rule that the waiuki was the principal, and the father only the secondary, recipient.[1] Another point may be recalled to illustrate this claim. It should be understood, of course, that the sons of the waiuki share with their father, and more than one set of informants have pronounced against marriage between first cross-cousins for the reason, which seems to be an odd one and not entirely logical, that the nubagha by marrying the girl would lose his share in the bride-price.

It is apparent that in respect of payment or squaring up, marriage is primarily a transaction between families rather than local groups. Various members of the local group of the bride-groom may assist him in payment, and on the other hand, that payment will be distributed among various members of the bride's father's group and that of her waiuki. But it is for the man himself and his immediate relatives to get the payment together, and it is to the true father (and brothers) of the bride and to

THE RECIPIENT OF THE BRIDE-PRICE (continued)

her true waiuki (and true nubagha) that the payment is made; classificatory relatives of the father and maternal uncle only share in it by virtue of the generosity of these individuals.

[1]Taburi and Haveri groups were as strong in maintaining this rule as the others were in denying it.

(o) PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Man and wife are said to be joint owners of their dwelling and their pigs. Other property they hold separately, according as the various items pertain to the one sex or the other. Thus, men own pig-nets, weapons and dogs, and a variety of ornaments (dog's teeth, shell frontlets, a dance or fighting ornament held in the teeth and called mimisa, and feather headdresses. etc.) which are commonly worn by males only. Women, on the other hand, have their own kinds of ornaments, their pots, dishes, and water vessels, their string, their grass skirts and their bark-cloth blankets. All these they hold and bequeath as individuals. Moreover, some of the objects previously mentioned as normally pertaining to males may be owned by their wives independently, and this is often the case with European articles like billy-cans and trade knives. Thus one woman, thanks to a generous present from her son on his return from indenture, could give a much longer list of personal property than could her husband.

The rule of inheritance with regard to such personal property is that a man bequeaths to his sons and a woman to her daughters. With regard to land the position is not so clear. We have already seen that the land (despite a tendence to divide it amongst family groups) is owned by the local group rather than individually by its members; and that while it is commonly stated that the child will live upon and cultivate its parent's land, this does not mean individual inheritance. At any rate land inheritance (if we may use the expression) is dependent upon the child remaining a member of the local land-owning group.

But, while endeavouring to follow up the subject of land-inheritance I have again and again met with the statement that the son receives his father's land and the daughter her mother's. This cannot be taken as a genuine regulation, for men, enumerating the areas to which they have a claim, will sometimes give those that belong to their mother's as well as those that belong to their father's people; they will professedly bequeath to daughters as well as sons; and even when they name their sons as successors they also say that their daughters "can have the land too if they please".

Nevertheless, even if it is constantly broken or disregarded, the rule is stated persistently enough, and occasionally it may be definitely observed. The Sogeri group, who sold their land to the Itiki Rubber Plantation, have now settled in lands that belonged formerly to the Manari and Baruari groups, but which have been left unoccupied by them. (This is an entirely friendly transaction, without payment as informants say, there is more than enough land for everyone, and this no doubt accounts for the laxity of the land-laws.) Nowadays the Sogeri gardens are made mostly on the old Manari ground; the Baruari area is said to belong in particular to the Baruari woman Aguts, the wife of Babaga, the chief man of Sogeri, she is named as the Biagua, or owner, of it. Now whereas Babaga's sons and the other males of the group will inherit the other lands, informants stated explicitly that the Baruari area would be left to Agut's two daughters; and at present it is Aguta and her two daughters who make gardens on it.

But, should these daughters marry at a distance then, my informants declared, they would ipso facto abandon their claim to the land, and it would be taken over by their brothers and the other males of the group. We have seen that when an individual leaves his group permanently and goes to live at a distance, his claim to part-ownership of the old

Property and Inheritance. (continued)

land is eventually neglected and forgotten; and it is made clear that this happens very commonly in regard to a girl's claim on her mother's land. After her marriage, most of her gardening will be done on the land of her husband, and if she cultivates another plot it is usually on the land from which she came as a girl, viz., her father's. Her mother's land she may never see again. It is evident therefore that the supposed rule that daughters receive their mother's land will not work out as genuine inheritance in the female line.

When informants say "mother's land" they mean the land of that group to which the girl's mother belonged as a girl herself. The girl does not actually inherit this land; and yet under ideal conditions it is just the land she will eventually live on and cultivate. The ideal conditions are those of her marriage into the group of her mother's brothers.

(p) RECAPITULATION

After the foregoing more or less general sketch of Koiari social organization, we may now examine more closely the particular feature of it which I have called sex affiliation. We have yet to discover and define in what sense the female offspring belong to the mother's group rather than to the father's. After that we may briefly discuss the implications of this rule.

It may be as well to recapitulate the more strictly relevant features of the organization. We have found that the principal social units are non-exogamic and non-totemic; they are best described as local groups, of which the membership is ultimately decided by residence and by participation in group life. We cannot speak of clans and clan-descent. Within the family and the local group, however, descent is virtually patrilineal. With males this is quite obvious : there is a system of patronymic surnames and the male offspring normally and almost invariably belong to the father's group. Incidentally, property is inherited by sons from their fathers.

With female offspring the position is not so clear. They likewise use patronymic surnames; they are normally brought up by their fathers; and in some connections they are spoken of as belonging to their father's group. Evidently there is a strong tendency towards patrilineal descent with females as with males. Nevertheless, they are constantly said to belong to their mother's group. Inheritance is also normally from mother to daughter in respect of paraphernalia and nominally in respect of land.

When we examine the statement that the daughter belongs to her mother's group, however, we find that it holds good for only one generation back; and it really means that she belongs to the group of her mother's father and brothers, or to use the usual expression, to the group of her maternal uncle. Her mother by the same rule may be found to belong to quite a different group. This is therefore no case of the true descent of females in the mother's line, and I have ventured to adopt, instead of "descent", the term "affiliation".

We have also found that, although girls marry much as they please, the proper marriage is with the nubagha, i.e. the cross-cousin in any degree. Marriage may be with the first or true cross-cousin, either mother's brother's child or father's sister's child, but it is usually with the nubagha further removed. Exchange and purchase are both practised as forms of marriage, but there is some evidence that the former is regarded as the ideal. The maternal uncle (waiuki) has a claim over the girl on behalf of the son, her true nubagha. If the latter does not marry her, then he is entitled to a share with the waiuku, in the bride-price by way of compensation.

(q) THE NATIVE EXPLANATION OF SEX AFFILIATION

Now, when we ask a native why the girl belongs to her mother's group and the boy to his father's he will answer that the thing is obvious; the former has the sex characters of the female, the latter of the male. If we ask what it means, or what it amounts to in effect, he will say that the girl, when she marries, must go back to the place her mother came from. These two explanations have been repeated again and again. I have never heard of any reference in this connection, to the obvious sex division of labour; nor again to the nominal inheritance rule of son from father and daughter from mother, though information has sometimes laid emphasis on the assumption that the girl will go back to use the land of her mother. As a rule, however, native explanations may be summed up under these two points : (1) the girl-child has the sex characters of her mother, and (2) she is destined in marriage to go to the place of her mother.

(1) the first is certainly a very obvious means of classification, hardly requiring any explanation out of native theories of genetics. It is fully recognized that the male plays a part in fecundation and contributes something to the make-up of the child. It is thought that repeated acts of coitus are required. Some informants have maintained that the child's body is made up of semen; others that it is compounded of the father's semen and the mother's blood; and one suggested that the offspring would be male or female according as one or the other component predominated. I heard no other explanation of the mystery of the child's sex and I could not discover whether any kind of magic were used to influence it during pregnancy. The plain fact of sex is accepted as determining whether the child is to be affiliated to its father's or its mother's group; as one informant put it, "I have my father's body and so I belong to my father's group; my sister has her mother's and so belongs to hers." From its sheer obviousness this classification might well enough represent a very elementary or primitive idea.

(r) THE FUNCTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF SEX AFFILIATION

(2) It is the practical application of the idea, however, its functional significance, that interests us most. The girl belongs to her mother's group in a practical sense because she is destined to live there as an adult: she is to be the wife of one of its members. This is expressed by such phrases as "she must go back to her mother's place", or "her mother's land"; or "she must go straight along the path her mother came by". (The custom already noted of rearing an orphas girl in her mother's village is not commonly cited in explanation of sex affiliation; at any rate it should hardly be spoken of as a custom but rather as a permissible practice.

Although this explanation was given again and again it was not till I was confronted by some exceptions to the rule of sex affiliation that I fully realised its significance. In the Borebere group, when I visited it, there was a predominance of young females, though the population had for one reason or another, been much depleted. The principal man of the group, one Bore, had married a Veburi woman; he stoutly maintained, however, that his two daughters by her, as well as his two sons, belonged to the Borebere group. Another man, Babaga, who had married a Maiari woman had five unmarried daughters. Bore, who evidently ruled the roost in Borebere and could speak for all, declared that these also were Borebere and not Maiari, a decision in which Babaga fully acquiesced. Now these men and the others present were fully aware, they professed, of the ordinary rule that daughters were classed with their mother's group.[1] But Bore had made up his mind that his own daughters and those of Babaga at any rate were Borebere. And he gave this explanation they were to remain, even when married, in their father's village. That is to say, he would require their husbands to forgo the regular custom of patrilocal marriage, and to come and settle in the village of their wives. His reason was that he wished the population of his group to be built up again. He admitted that it might be impossible to carry out his wish since so much depended on the will of the young women; but since he was a man of undoubted influence and personality he might well have his way.

I came across a parallel case among the Uberi group. The chief man of these scattered people, who was also the village constable, had recently formed a small village on a good site. He had no daughters himself, but his brother had two, the offspring of a Moroka woman. The village constable and his brother, who seemed to be overborne by him declared that these girls were Uberi rather than Moroka. I did not succeed in getting an explanation from him, but as a matter of fact one of the daughters in question does continue to live in her father's village though married - - one of the very rare exceptions to patriological conditions that I have met with. It is also worth recording in regard to the other daughter that her father remarked, in quite a different connection, that he wanted her to remain in the village to look after him, since he was an old widower. It should be emphasised that these also were regarded as exceptional cases: the brothers of the two women did not hesitate in their father's absence to class them as Moroka, thus following the rule of sex affiliation.

i. By way of verification I called upon one of the women who had married into the Borebere group. She had come from Maiari and had a little daughter. Having warned all present to let the woman make her own answer I asked what group her child belonged to. For a long time she was silent, petrified by shyness; but after looking despairingly for guidance to the men who sat around, she whispered the single word "Maiari".

2.

These cases show that, since the daughter may be in exceptional cases affiliated to the father's group because of her prospective residence in it as a married woman, there should be no difficulty in accepting the explanation given in the normal case, viz., that the girl is affiliated to the mother's group because she is destined to marry there.

We have seen the wide popularity of marriage with the nubagha. It amounts to more than preferential mating, for it is generally conceded that the nubagha is the only proper mate. Further, while the term nubagha is very liberally interpreted it is sufficiently clear that it is among the nubagha in the actual group of her mother's brother that the girl should make the ideal marriage. For this we have the constantly reiterated statement, and also the fact that the mother's brother and his sons (if she does not marry one of the latter) claim a share in the bride-price as an alternative.

Whether the ideal marriage was ever considered to be with the first cross-cousin can only be decided by inference. It may well have been the case, however, since marriage, as we have noted, seems in its economic aspect to be transaction between family groups rather than between the larger units I have called local groups; and the claim to part payment belongs first to the true "waiuki" and "nubagha" rather than to the group at large. The very argument which is used sometimes against the marriage of first cross-cousins, viz., that the "nubagha" husband would thereby sacrifice his claim to a share in the bride-price, might be turned to show that he was nominally entitled to the girl herself. Moreover, it is said that when a youth goes, as he ordinarily does, to help in the garden of his maternal uncle, the latter keeps an eye on him as a prospective son-in-law. If his work is up to the mark, the maternal uncle says, "My daughter is yours". The young man either accepts what would thus appear to be his right, or if he wishes to evade it, says "No, let her marry someone else and give me a share in the bride-price instead of her". That such candid offers and refusals take place in actual fact may be considered very doubtful, but they would appear to represent the theory that the ideal, or "first choice" marriage should be between first cross-cousins, and that other unions are a substitute for them.[1]

But, leaving this point aside for the moment, I think it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the functional meaning of the affiliation of the girl to her mother's group is that she is nominally destined to belong to it in marriage. Having passed her childhood with her father, she should spend the greater part of her useful life as wife, mother and food producer in the village of her maternal uncle. We need not consider the highly frequent exceptions in present-day marriages. The above is the rule as it is given and the explanation.

[1] I am indebted to Mrs. Seligman for pointing out what may appear an inconsistency. If the young man marries the daughter of his mother's brother, then the girl marries, not into the group of her mother's brother, but into that of her father's sister. It is only on the supposition of previous brother-sister exchange that the girl, under the above conditions, can be said to marry into her mother's group.

It will be plain, however, that the hypothesis of reciprocating pairs does postulate marriage by exchange, and thus presupposes that by marrying her father's sister's son the girl is at the same time marrying into her mother's brother's group.

(s) THE IMPLICATIONS OF SEX AFFILIATION

Reciprocating Pairs

By the rule of sex affiliation, when a woman born in one group (A) married into another group (B) her daughter should go back to the original group (A) to marry; their daughters again should go back to (B) and so on. That is to say (A) and (B) constitute a pair bound permanently together by a succession of unions.

There seems still to be some trace of such pairing of groups; Haveri and Manari, Nidori and Munegapira, Nadeka and Ienari, for instance, might be respectively paired off together, for they still intermarry to some extent. But such alliances between groups would necessarily be disrupted by the actual freedom of marrying out in all directions.

It is not necessary to suppose, however, that any one of the present-day local groups was ever solely attached by such marriage ties to any one other local group. It might form alliances with a number of groups at the same time; but once begun, then according to strict rule the process of sending each generation of daughters back and forth would continue. It is as if, when a girl married, her brothers should say, "Remember your girl children belong to us. You and your husband will keep them while they are young, but when they are of an age to marry, they must come back to us. They are to marry the young men of our group".

So far it has been shown that according to the rule of sex affiliation certain females of one group would in each generation marry into another group with which the former had the sort of marriage alliance we have envisaged. Now marriage by exchange is still common in the Sogeri district; there is some evidence that it is preferred when feasible to marriage by purchase, and that in the past it was commoner than it is now. We need only assume one exchange between two groups and, if the rule of sex affiliation is strictly carried out, those two groups would thenceforward be committed to perpetual interchange of girls. They will constitute, as far as marriage was concerned, "a reciprocating pair".

Group (A), as I have already implied, is not of necessity bound solely to group (B); it may have formed a marriage alliance with group (C) and a number of others as well. (A) and (B), (A) and (C), etc., are then reciprocating pairs. In any generation certain girls of (A) should marry into (B), and certain into (C), because their mothers came from those groups. At the same time, certain girls from (B) and (C) must marry into (A) because their mothers came from that group, and so on. This organisation of society into a system or multiplicity of reciprocating pairs, is, I think, the logical outcome of sex affiliation combined with marriage by exchange. Nowadays, it is true, marriage rules are lax and marriages almost indiscriminate. Yet the nominal rules remain: the girl should marry her "nubagha" and he should be a "nubagha" in her mother's group.

We have noted that at the present day marriage in its economic aspect is a transaction between family groups rather than between local groups. The responsibility for payment and the right to participation are more or less diffused through the local group of which the family groups are respectively members. If this has always been so, then the reciprocating pairs would be constituted originally by family groups, which might in course of time develop or merge

with others into the larger local groups. Although nowadays we find a tendency to avoid the first cross-cousin in favour of a "nubagha" somewhat further removed, it would eppear that in theory a man is actually entitled to his first cross-cousin; and this may be taken to imply that the reciprocating pair consisted originally of two family groups.

The constitution of the groups, however, is not of any great importance. The general hypothesis remains, viz., that as a result of sex affiliation and exchange-marriage, society would form a system of units arranged in reciprocating pairs. The units would presumably be small ones viz., small village communities not unlike those that constitute the present day Koiari population.

(t) RELATIONSHIP TERMS AND RESIDENCE

Let us see how such a hypothetical system would square with the relationship terms. It seems reasonable to suppose that when under the classificatory system a number of relatives are referred to by one and the same term, they should have something in common to justify it. There are the obvious factors of sex, generation and age (seniority and juniority) but under a system of reciprocating pairs of small units such as I have assumed to be at the basis of Sogeri society, it could be argued that the classificatory term is largely accounted for by residence.

It is important to recognise that certain terms are first used by the speaker when he is a child; others only come into use when he has reached something like marriageable age or is himself married. In the list of terms (p.61) numbers 1-9 are those used first in childhood (with the exception of "ivanhike" i.e. grandchild); the remainder are terms used normally by adults (though, of course, a child could use the terms for brother's wife, brother's son, etc., when brothers and sisters are widely separated in age).

Now to a child living in a small more or less isolated community, all the males of its father's generation would represent a class by themselves. They are the full-grown men whom he sees about him every day. His father is one of them and, of course, by far the most important, and the child extends the word "baba" to the other lesser fathers because they live and work together with his true father in the same small community. Similarly his "inei" are the women of his mother's generation who live in his community. They are like his mother; they constitute a class by themselves as the working women who garden, fetch wood and water, cook, and look after infants like himself, all within the bounds ofhis little world in especial, the small community in which he lives. But the child knows another little world, not quite so familiar as his own community but much more so than all the others scattered about in the hills: it is the community of his mother's father and brothers, where his parents may take him from time to time for fairly long visits. This is of course the other community of the reciprocating pair. The child has one name "waiuki" for the males, and one "yayaika" for the females of the previous generation living in that community.

The children of his own generation in his own community form a distinct class to him. They are like his true brothers and sisters, his regular playmates, and he extends to them the term "danane", "daghoghe", etc. The children of the other community are a class apart, and he has one name for all of them, "nubagha".

So far, the brothers and sister, having been brought up together in their father's household and being subject to the same social contacts, have used the same terms as one another for the various relatives in their own and the preceding generations. But now they marry; they assume the same status as the other married adults, and they beget or bear children of their own. At this stage, normally they begin to use a whole series of new relationship terms - (1) for their relatives-in-law, and (2) for the generation of their children. But, in marrying, the sister has parted from her brother; she has gone to live in "the other" unit, and it is now found that brother and sister no longer always use identical terms for the same relatives.

(t) continued.

Both men and women call their own children (m. and f.) "damoi" and "damai". But whereas a man applies these terms to his brother's children and not to those of his sister, a woman applies them to her sister's children and not to those of her brother. This, I suggest, is because the husband and wife, who call their own children "damoi" and "damai" are equivalent to "my children and their village playmates". To the husband these are his brother's children; to the wife they are her sister's. The youngsters of the other village (from which the wife came) they both call "dadime"; these are the man's sister's children, and the woman's brother's children. By the fact of altering her residence for the sake of marriage, the woman has to adopt terms different from those used by her brother.

What I wish to suggest isthat residence in one community may be one of the essential factors justifying a common relationship term for a number of people. This appears most strikingly in the case of the terms for the younger generation. The children of "my" village (m.s. or w.s.) are the sons and daughters; those of "the other" village in the reciprocating pair are nephews and nieces. But it is possible to put the same interpretation on certain of the terms for relations-in-law. "Dawarutane", used by man and woman for the son's wife, and by woman only for the husband's parents, refers in each case to relatives in "my" village. "Daware", used by a man for his wife's parents, and by man and woman for their daughter's husband, refers to relatives in "the other"village. [1] Similarly, the term dataname (m.s. or w.s.) is applied to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in "my" village whereas the terms "hiba", used by men, and "Datene" used by women, refer to the corresponding relatives in "the other" village.

It is probably impossible to discover the actual meanings or derivations of the relationship terms. It is my object here merely to demonstrate that their application to a number of people may in part result from the circumstance that those people reside in one or other of the two small communities which together constitute a reciprocating pair. It might be claimed at first sight that the relationship system of the Sogeri district implied the former existence of a Dual Organisation, but there is no positive trace of such organisation there; and I think the terms of relationship are fully in keeping with the system hypothesised, viz., a number of small communities which have fallen naturally into reciprocating pairs.

[1] It has already been stated that the terms for the husband of the female "dadime" was given, when asked for, as "daware", and that for the wife of the male "dadime" as "dawarutane". These do not square with the explanation put forward. I do not place complete reliance on these terms, however, for I doubt whether the native is greatly interested in the wife of his "dadime" and whether the term of relation is ever applied.

(u) CROSS COUSIN MARRIAGE

I have spoken of the rule of sex affiliation as if it has led up to such a system. It is true that it may on the contrary have been evolved out of it as a sort of wisdom after the event, though if we assume this we abandon a feasible explanation of certain common phenomena of social organisation.

Viewed, however, as a true cause, of which the system of reciprocating pairs is the natural result, it would account also for the practice of cross-cousin marriage. The daughter belongs to her mother's unit in the sense that she is expected to marry into it; and in view of the special claims of the "waiuki" it would seem that the unit may be in strick theory the family. Further, it should be recalled that among the people with whom we are dealing, marriages are nowadays normally between young men and women of approximately equal age; it is not necessary to assume that any preposterous unions between different generations were ever customary. The natural mate would, therefore, be the cross-cousin, and in a fully reciprocating pair this would be either the mother's brother's child or the father's sister's child. Such a marriage, however, can only be taken to represent the "first choice". We need not suppose that it was ever strictly enjoined. Nowadays, young people show a great deal of freedom in selecting their mates, and probably they were always allowed some latitude. A youth might not want his first cross-cousin, nor a girl hers; in that case they would take another cross-cousin, one to wit who offered the necessary sex attraction. Thus the rule is observed at least nominally, and the economic obligations are met by payment.

It is conceivable that the idea of sex affiliation might be a very primitive one, preceding the idea of rigid descent in either one line or the other and the development of the clan system. Moreover, such a conception might underlie the system described as bilateral descent. But until what I have called sex affiliation has been discovered and recorded among other peoples it would no doubt be unwise to claim too much for it as a clue in sociological theory.