IRARUTU KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Michiko Matsumura

Seperti barangkali pada kebanyakan orang di Irian Jaya, kekerabatan sangat penting bagi orang Irarutu, walaupun kelompok famili (sanak saudara) yang saya sebut marga tak berfungsi sebagaimana yang terjadi pada marga-marga lain di Irian Jaya, hal ini masih merupakan bagian dari identitas seseorang. Desa adalah bagian lain yang penting dalam hidup perorangan. Bagi orang dari daerah lain, individu itu juga mengidentifikasikan dirinya sendiri dengan desa sekitarnya. Dari hal khusus yang berhubungan dengan sikap, kekerabatan adalah ciri suatu hubungan khusus di antara saudara laki-laki dari ibu dan anak dari saudara perempuan yang tua. Beberapa upacara khusus menyandikut kedua hubungan itu menggambarkan makna hubungan tersebut.

As with perhaps all people in Irian Jaya, kinship is very important to the Irarutu. Though the kin groups called clans in this paper do not function in many of the ways that clans do in other parts of Irian Jaya, they are part of each person's identity. The village is another important unit in the life of the Irarutu individual. To people from another area, the individual also identifies himself by his village complex. Of particular interest in regard to kinship behavior, is the feature of a special relationship between mother’s brother and sister’s oldest child. Several special ceremonies involving this dyad dramatize the significance of the relationship.

THE IRARUTU

Irarutu is an Austronesian language spoken in an area north of Arguni Bay in Irian Jaya (Figure 1). Approximately 5,000 Irarutu people live in 44 villages, some in the interior but the majority located along the coast. Food staples are sago, cassava, taro, and bananas. Leafy vegetables, papaya, lemon, pomelo, pineapple, coconut and various kinds of fish also provide a varied diet in the coastal area. Occasionally they hunt wild pigs or deer. Nutmeg and eucalyptus oil are harvested and sold as cash crops.

Their traditional religion was animism, but, earlier in this century the southern Irarutu villages became Islamic. Then around forty years ago a Christian evangelist came from Maluku to the Irarutu area. Following this contact, villages in the northern Arguni bay area became Protestant. In the far northern inland area there are some Catholic villages.
Social Organization: Village and Clan

There are six groups of villages along the coast. Each group of villages I will call a village complex. Irarutu people often use the names of these village complexes. Currently these names are recognized as names of Desa (Indonesian) which term the government uses for a group of villages. The village complex names came from geographic features of the area, such as rivers, mountains, or islands. If asked who he is, an Irarutu will answer in reference to his village complex, saying, "I am a Tugarni man." (Tugarni is originally a name of the river, but is now used for the village complex.)

As Figure 2 shows, each village complex includes four or five villages. Further, in the Tugarni village complex, for example, each village has between two to four patricians, as shown in Figure 3. The patricians are not land-holding groups, nor are they exogamous (see Figure 9), but all clan members consider that they have descended from a common ancestor and that their clan originated in a specific geographical area.
Children customarily become part of their father's clan. However, an exception is made in cases where the mother does not have any brothers to carry on the family name. In such cases the mother's family name is given to one of her sons. A woman keeps her father's family name even after her marriage.

Land rights are passed from father to son. If there are two or more sons with both parents living, the oldest son, at marriage, looks for his own land on which to build a house for his new family. Subsequently, all but the youngest follows suit, only the last son remaining with his parents. If one of the parents has already died before the oldest son is married, he will continue in his parents' house after his marriage. The younger sons then seek their own land when they get married. If land is not available near their parents' house, they look elsewhere in the village. Should one of the sons desire to build his house in a different village, he must get permission from the headmen of both villages.

Rights to use garden land are passed from father to the oldest son. Other children may ask the oldest son to share the crops which their father planted. Individuals may choose where they will plant their sago. If someone needs help to clear a new field, the headman of his village may enlist other village members to help him. Occasionally, all villagers work together to clear a big new field, after which each man takes one part of the area to plant his own sago. Clans do not control land used for sago groves.

**IRARUTU KINSHIP TERMS**

The Irarutu kinship system is a combination of Iroquois and Hawaiian terminologies. In the first ascending generation, parallel and cross-kinsmen are distinguished in a bifurcate merging pattern, an Iroquois characteristic. On the other hand, in other generations, kinship terms extend bilaterally distinguishing neither lineal and collateral nor parallel and cross-kinsmen. In this sense the system is Hawaiian. In this paper, Irarutu kinship terms are defined by a generative approach which maps the primary and extended ranges of reference of each term over a field of genealogical relationships. The method here is that proposed by Merrifield (1983a,b) involving four underlying principles useful to the analysis of kinship systems. They are: Filiation—the relation of parent (P) to child (C); Priority—the notion of temporal priority of alter to ego, elder (e) or younger (y); Affinity—the relation to a spouse (S); and Sex—the sex of alter, ego, or linking kinsman, male (m) or female (f). Using these four principles and associated symbols, primary referential meanings can be defined by a 'PC (parent-child) string' for each kinship term. For example, the 'PC string' ePCm symbolizes parent's elder male child, i.e. elder brother. For other examples of the use of this system, see Merrifield, 1983.

The extended range of a kinship term is generated from its primary range by the application of extension rules. Three extension rules are needed to generate the extended ranges of Irarutu kinship terms.

1. The generational extension rule (G) extends reference collaterally to other kinsmen of the same generation.

2. The self-reciprocal extension rule (R) extends reference self-reciprocally, for example, the great-grandparent term is used for great-grandchild.

3. The affinal extension rule (S) extends reference to the affinal kinsmen. Affinal extensions may be designated by S- to indicate extension to the corresponding kinsman of a spouse, by -S to indicate extension to the spouse of a kinsman, or by S to imply both S- and -S.

When a kinship term itself does not determine sex or seniority, these distinctions can be made by the use of words which are not primarily kin terms. The term soi 'female' or the term mran 'male' is added to determine sex. Another set of terms is used to indicate seniority: bidd 'elder' [lit. 'big'] and kokon 'younger' [lit. 'small'].

Since there is widely extended use of consanguineal kinship terms, the term jari 'real' [lit. I own] is added to any of these terms to denote ego's true kinsman. On the other hand, frfar 'to rear' is added to indicate a stepkinsman.

**Consanguineal Kinship Terms**

Irarutu consanguineal kinship terms are presented in Figure 4. and Figure 5. These terms are presented in the first person singular possessive forms because kinship terms are inalienably possessed in Irarutu, as in the following set:

**Figure 4. Irarutu Singular Inalienable Possession**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-tagad</td>
<td>'my same-sex elder sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o-tabad</td>
<td>'your same-sex elder sibling'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-tagad</td>
<td>'his same-sex elder sibling'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5. I rarutu consanguineal kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grandkinsman terms:</th>
<th>PPPP (R,G,S)</th>
<th>great-great-grandkinsman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. a niyob</td>
<td>C (G,S)</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. awanus</td>
<td>P (G,S)</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. adat</td>
<td>P (G,S)</td>
<td>great-grandkinsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. agit</td>
<td>P (G,S)</td>
<td>great-grandkinsman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent and child terms:</th>
<th>PPCa (G,S-S)</th>
<th>same-sex elder sibling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. adie</td>
<td>P (G,S-S)</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. aden</td>
<td>P (G,S-S)</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ammit</td>
<td>P (G,S-S)</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. afuf</td>
<td>P (G,S-S)</td>
<td>aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. amo</td>
<td>C (G,S-S)</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sibling terms:</th>
<th>ePPcA (G,S-S)</th>
<th>same-sex younger sibling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10. atgfa</td>
<td>ePPcA (G,S-S)</td>
<td>same-sex younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. aguf</td>
<td>ePPcA (G,S-S)</td>
<td>same-sex younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. arui</td>
<td>ePPcA (G,S-S)</td>
<td>same-sex younger sibling</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grandkinsman terms,

There are four grandkinsman terms. Two of them are self-reciprocal (Rule R) terms which denote a senior grandkinsman and his respective junior grandkinsman of the third and fourth generations from ego. For example, awanus refers to both great-grandparent and great-grandchild. Another term, adat, is used for great-grandparent. This term is not, however, self-reciprocal, agit being used for grandchild. Each of these terms extend to all collateral kinsmen of their respective generations (by generation extension Rule G) and to corresponding affinals (by affinal extension Rule S) to the spouses of grandkinsmen and to the grandkinsmen of spouse.

Parent and child terms.

Four terms classify kinsmen of the first ascending generation above ego: adie 'father', aden 'mother' ammit 'uncle' i.e., 'mother's brother', afuf 'aunt'. i.e., 'father's sister'. These terms further distinguish bifurcate categories, the first two terms referring to parallel kinsmen, and other two to cross-kinsmen. Parallel and cross are defined, as in Seneca (Lounsbury: 1964), by the sex of kinsmen of the first ascending generation above ego. Within the genealogical chain that links ego to alter, if the sex of the two kinsmen of the first ascending generation is the same, they are parallel kinsmen, if their sex is different, they are cross-kinsmen. The sex of kinsmen of other generations is irrelevant for determining bifurcate categories. All four terms extend to all collateral kinsmen of the parent generation (Rule G). In order to indicate the seniority of the collateral kinsmen often bid 'elder' or keken 'younger' is added.

Seniority is defined by the relative age of the pair of siblings who are the lineal kinsmen linking alter and ego and the children of their nearest common ancestor. As Figure 6 shows, any kinsmen descended from elder siblings of ego's lineal kinsman within the same generation are called elder kinsmen. Some of them who are referred to as 'elder' mother, father or aunt are actually younger than ego.

Figure 6. Actual age and seniority terms.

![Kinship illustration]

Figure 6 illustrates how the system works. The double digit numbers are the actual ages. Thus, since A is older than B (ego's grandfather), E, who is 30 years of age, is called 'elder aunt' by ego, who is 32. Also, since D is younger than C, his son G is called 'younger father' even though G is older than ego's real father. The four parental terms extend to affinal kinsmen as well. (Rule S). The term for mother (aden) for instance, is extended to 'father's another wife' and 'father's brother's wife'. These terms cannot be extended to spouse's kinsman in the same generation.

The term amo 'child' is the reciprocal of aden, adie, ammit, and afuf. It indicates neither sex nor age, and extends collaterally to any kinsman of the first descending generation (Rule G). It also extends to step-children (Rule S). However, it does not extend to a child's spouse nor to the spouse of any other first descending generation kinsman.

Sibling Terms

There are three sibling terms. One is arui which denotes ego's opposite sex sibling with no seniority indicated. Two other terms are used for the same sex siblings to distinguish seniority. One of these is atgfaad 'same-sex elder sibling'. The other is aguf 'same-sex younger sibling'. If ego is male, all of his siblings are arui and his older brother is atgfaad, his younger brother is aguf.

These three terms extend collaterally in reference to any kinsmen of ego's generation (Rule G). Again, seniority in this generation is defined by the relative age of the pair of siblings who are the lineal kinsmen linking ego and alter as well as being the children of ego and alter's nearest common ancestor. These sibling terms are also extended (by Rule S) to co-sibling-in-law (SPCS) respectively. In other words, ego and alter are married to two persons who are real siblings.

Affinal Kinship Terms

Irarutu affinal kinship terms are presented in Figures 7 and 8.
In affinal relationships, as with co-wives above, those who become related affinally continue to refer to each other with the consanguineal kinship terms they used before their affinal connection. For example, if Ego’s cousin marries his uncle, Ego continues to use the term amín ‘uncle’ even after he becomes his ‘brother-in-law’. However, when one marries his consanguineal kinsman, the consanguineal terms can no longer be used for spouse, child’s spouse, or for one’s parent-in-law. Instead, parent/child-in-law terms and husband-wife terms are used to refer to each other. For example, if a woman marries someone she calls ađbe ‘father’, she cannot use that term any more, but must use the term amran ‘husband’. If she had previously called his parents ađa’i ‘grandparent’, she must now use ađgtonn ‘parents-in-law’ to refer to them.

There is in Iturutu, third person reference terms 2 for ‘husband’ and ‘wife’ which are used with the spouse’s name and with the third person possessive affix, e. g., Yabob itowbin ‘Jacob’s wife’, Yohanna itwam ‘Yohanna’s husband’. (I have also heard these terms used with second person affixes as address terms.) There is also a word which means ‘spouse’ with no distinction of sex.

Kinship Behavior

The basic idea in Iturutu kinship relations is sharing material things and helping each other. This idea is, in fact, extended to everyone in one’s village. When, for example, a man shoots a wild pig, he shares the meat with everyone in his village. He dare not divide it only with his kinsmen.

An Iturutu man once told me, “If someone saw me take a piece of meat to someone else, and I don’t give him any, he will get upset. So only my parents and someone who happens to be at my house can have the portions. If I have more than what my family can eat, then I must share with everyone in my village, even though they only get small portions.”

The work load is shared with other men whom Ego calls brothers—real or extended—who may not be in the same clan, but who live in the same village. Thus, jobs such as building a house or making a canoe, clearing a field, or making garden fences are often shared with all members of the village.

Taking care of children is the parents’ responsibility. A father takes his sons along when he hunts pigs or deer. He teaches them how to use spears, how to make a canoe, how to pound sago etc. Other men that a boy refers to as his ‘fathers’, ‘uncles’ and ‘grandfathers’ occasionally teach them as well. However, there is no obligation for them to teach collateral relatives.

A mother teaches her daughters how to make fire, how to cook, how to keep gardens, how to fish, how to weave baskets and mats, how to pound sago etc.

Mother’s brother: Sister’s oldest child

In Iturutu one particular dyad is associated with special rights and obligations, i. e., the relationship between mother’s brother (inim) and sister’s first-born-child (imq). This is not so much a reciprocal relationship, as a ceremonial obligation for mother’s brother. When a first child is born, the mother’s oldest brother prepares a feast. If the child is a boy, the feast is celebrated on the fifth day, if it is a girl, it is held one day earlier. A mother gives birth in a small temporary hut, where the mother and child will stay until this feast is almost over. The parents’ relatives and their entire

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**Figure 7. Iturutu affinal terms of reference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parent/child-in-law terms:</th>
<th></th>
<th>Sibling-in-law terms:</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ağıttan</td>
<td>SP (G, -S)</td>
<td>parent-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ağıttin</td>
<td>CS (G, -S)</td>
<td>child-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibling-in-law terms:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Spouse terms:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ari (ataguf)</td>
<td>SPC (R, G)</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse terms:</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. amran (abifin n)</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. așot (abifin n)</td>
<td>Sf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Figure 8. Iturutu affinal system**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Δ = 0</th>
<th>Δ = 0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>1 = 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4/5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
<td>Δ = 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Parent/child-in-law terms.

Two terms are used reciprocally, ağıttan ‘parent-in-law’ and ağıttin ‘child-in-law’. Both terms extend to collateral kinmen of their respective generations (Rule G). Ağıttan ‘parent-in-law’ further extends to persons who have married a kinsman of one’s spouse in the parent generation (Rule -S), e. g. a spouse’s aunt’s husband (SPCSm). Ağıttin ‘child-in-law’ also extends to the spouse of spouse’s child (Rule S), i. e., step child’s spouse (SCSm). These terms refer to both cross and parallel kinsmen.

Sibling-in-law terms.

The term ari is used for any sibling-in-law, without distinction of either sex or seniority. This term extends collateral (Rule G) and self reciprocally (Rule R). Ari is not extended to spouse’s sibling’s spouses. Instead, consanguineal sibling terms are used according to the person’s sex and real age relative to Ego. Ari has a correlate, ataguf, with the same meaning. No distinction of use has been noted. 1

Spouse terms.

Words for man (mran) and women (sot) are used with a first person possessive marker a- to refer to husband and wife. These terms are not extended to any other person. A man who has more than one wife refers to them by adding the terms funta ‘first’ or ntagor ‘next/second’ or mer ‘last’ to așot ‘my wife’. Co-wives may refer to each other as sisters, but often continue to use the same term they used for each other before becoming co-wives.
village come to the parents' regular house and eat together. They sing and dance all night until dawn. A little before dawn, the child's uncle ceremonially ties a string on the child's wrists. Then the child is carried by the father's sister to the parents' house. The child's mother, grandmothers and aunts join in the procession. When the child is brought into the house, the feast is over. When the child reaches one or two months of age, the uncle prepares a second feast. Here again, there is feasting, singing, and dancing until dawn. On that morning, the uncle cuts the string from the child's wrists and ties a string with two big antique beads around the child's neck.

When the child reaches one or two years of age, the uncle prepares a third feast. Again, the people feast, sing, and dance until dawn. On that morning, the uncle cuts the string from the child's neck and a little hair from the child's forehead with a razor blade. Then he gives the child a piece of wild pork. Before this time, wild pork has been taboo for the child and also the mother to eat. At each of these three feast, the child's parents give a small gift to his mother's brother to thank him for fulfilling this custom.

Traditionally, about one year after the third feast, the uncle prepares another feast. He does so with a pig he himself has raised. At the beginning of the celebration, the uncle paints the child's face with ashes. The child is first placed on the back of the pig and the uncle takes a sharp piece of wood and pierces the child's septum. Next he places a white plate on the head of the pig and breaks it with a hammer or a piece of heavy wood. An Irarutu says this is a way of confessing that he kills his own domesticated pig. But further study is needed to find out the reason for doing so. With the next blow, he kills the pig, and the child is taken off the pig's back. People pour hot water over the pig and take the hair and skin off with shells, then cook the animal. The uncle takes the child to a large stilt house which is used for various feasts. There the child's grandmothers dance to songs accompanied by drums. Holding long stalks of sugarcane in their hands, they pretend to spear pictures of food which are taboo for the child to eat. These taboo foods may include the meat of pigs, crocodiles, cassowaries, large lizards, turtles, various species of fish and certain kinds of sugarcane. As people eat the cooked pork and other food, the uncle gives a piece of pork to the child. This is his initiation to eating the meat of domesticated pigs. Again there is singing and dancing until dawn. However, this ceremony is now seldom practiced.

Now a substitution for the above ceremony is done just before the child's marriage, and for the guests' convenience, it is held the day before the wedding ceremony. The uncle takes a sago stalk and merely measures the child's nose with it. The child's grandmothers dance as described above. Then as people eat, the uncle gives the child a piece of tabooed fish or tabooed sugarcane.

This represents the termination of all food taboos. After the feast the child's father aghian gives gifts to the mother's brother. This time the gifts, though unrelated to the bride price transactions simultaneously in process, are constituted of the same sort of objects as the bride price.

The mother's brother: sister's child dyad is based on caring and trusting. The mother's brother takes care of the child in regard to matters such as food taboos and his sister's child trusts him completely, even allowing his uncle to cut some of his hair (a favorite object for use in sorcery).

MARRIAGE

The biggest event in an Irarutu's life is getting married. More than at any other time, his kinsmen are involved in preparing and celebrating his wedding.

Conception of Marriage

The Irarutu say a person can marry anyone he wants to marry. The only restriction is against someone with whom he can trace a consanguineal connection. One Irarutu told me that his daughter cannot marry anyone who shares a common ancestor up to the fourth generation. He told me, however, that his daughter's child may marry his sibling's grandchild. He also has a classificatory "sister" who married a man whom she called "father". Her fourth ascending lineal ancestor, i. e., amfibo, is her husband's third ascending lineal ancestor. When asked if such a marriage is acceptable, the informant said that it was "because both of them wanted to get married, even though they are a little too closely related." It should be noted that it is not unusual for a man to marry someone he calls amfibo 'sister'. A man is ready for marriage when he knows how to make a canoe and a house, to hunt wild pigs or deer, to spear fish, and to make a garden. A man usually gets married around 23 or 24 years of age, while a woman marries at about 20 years of age.

In choosing a wife, Irarutu tell me that two important qualifications are that she should be an Irarutu and that she be an adherent of a major religion, i. e., Protestant, Catholic or Islam, preferably of the same persuasion as the prospective groom. However, there are a few exceptions to these ideals.

Irarutu Marriage Patterns

In Irarutu it is customary for a man to find a wife for his son. To do so, he normally first looks in his own village, but if no suitable daughter-in-law is found there, he next looks elsewhere in the wider village complex. If this fails, he will look in other nearby village complexes. As a last resort he goes farther afield to even more distant Irarutu village complexes until he finds his daughter-in-law.

The Process of Finding a Wife

The search for a suitable wife begins in the center of Ego's world, his own village (1). If no woman is found, the search continues in an ever widening circle. Though a few (only 3% in my sample) take wives from outside of the language group, this is not the preferred arrangement. Figure 9 summarizes the distribution of marriages in the Tugarni village complex according to clan. Out of 98 married men 3 in the five villages of the Tugarni village complex, 16 men married women of their own clans. In the seven clans which had nine or more members who were married men, men from each clan took wives from between five and eight other clans with a mean of 6.5 for all seven clans. The result is that each clan has affinal connections with most of the other clans in the area.
Figure 9. Marriage distribution according to clan in the Tugarni village complex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Syskema</th>
<th>Wayara</th>
<th>Sasefa</th>
<th>Refideso</th>
<th>Werfete</th>
<th>Bary</th>
<th>Nega</th>
<th>Wania</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>husb.</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Syskema</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wayara</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sasefa</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data regarding marriages between men and women of different villages (see Figure 10) reveal that 27 out of 98 men in the Tugarni village complex took wives from their own villages. In addition, with only one exception, men from each of the five villages in the Tugarni village complex married wives from each of the other four Tugarni villages in addition to taking wives from the nearby village of Burgooba. (The only exception is that no man from Moyana took a wife from Bayeda.) The overall pattern therefore reveals strong affinal connections between all of the six villages as shown in Figure 10. Only four wives came from other Irarutu villages and three from other language groups.

Figure 10. Marriage distribution according to village in the Tugarni village complex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Aitsuau</th>
<th>Gusimawa</th>
<th>Bayeda</th>
<th>Moyana</th>
<th>Kokoro ba</th>
<th>Burgerba</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>husb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aitsuau</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusimawa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayeda</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moyana</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokoro ba</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arranging a marriage.

The father of the prospective groom typically looks for a woman who has a good nature, listens to her parents, and is eager to help her parents and brothers and sisters. After she gets married, it is hoped, she will likewise take care of the family well and listen to her husband and his parents. Once the father finds a woman, he asks his son’s consent. If his son agrees, the father goes to the woman’s father and asks for her, giving a small gift such as a pair of earrings. Then the father of the prospective bride asks his wife and daughter. If he gets their consent, he will inform the father of the prospective groom. If his daughter does not want to marry the man, she is allowed the privilege of refusing. Neither the bride nor the groom are forced to marry against their will. An Irarutu man expressed it this way, “If a father forces his son to get married, ignoring the son’s desires, he will have trouble. Therefore he is sure to get his son’s consent.” Currently, some men find their wives by themselves without their father’s help, but the other procedures are still followed. When the groom’s father has the couple’s consent, he tells the headman of his village. Then the bride price is prepared. This payment, which is set by the bride’s father, will be collected with the help of the groom’s kinsmen and the people in his village, although the latter need not be from the same clan.

Bride Price

The bride price usually is composed of a few large antique plates, dozens of modern china dishes, a pair of gold earrings, a bracelet and batik cloth. Sometimes money, a canoe, or an old cannon are included. We were told that the large antique plates and old cannons were originally brought from Europe, the latter perhaps being of Portuguese origin. These two items constitute a very important part of the bride price as they do among the neighboring Mairasi (cf. N. Peckham 1981: 265).

However, many of these plates and cannons have by now been broken or sold for cash, making it difficult for groom’s families to find them because of their current limited quantity. In one case, a man was asked to find a cannon and two large antique plates as well as other items. Unable to find them, he promised to procure them in the future and was allowed to marry. Now, four years later, he is still looking for them. It is possible, in fact, that he will need to substitute something else, such as making a canoe or a new garden for his father-in-law. His brother said, “People used to give a large bride price payment, but now it is getting less and less. Bride price gives a man a headache. For my daughter I might only ask for a canoe or a new garden.”

In another case, a man of the Werfete clan who married seven years ago gave for his bride price three large antique plates, seven pairs of earrings, ten dozen china dishes, Rp 20,000 cash, several pieces of cloth, clothing and a large canoe. Some of those who contributed are listed in Figure 11 below, but so many people contributed items that he can no longer remember who contributed the less expensive items.
Figure 11. Contributors of bride price

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Contributed by</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>large old plate</td>
<td>married real sister</td>
<td>Werfete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large old plate</td>
<td>extended brother FBS</td>
<td>Werfete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large old plate</td>
<td>himself</td>
<td>Werfete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earring 3</td>
<td>real father</td>
<td>Werfete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earring 1</td>
<td>extended uncle FMDBH</td>
<td>Ball(non- Irarutu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earring 1</td>
<td>extended aunt FMPBSD</td>
<td>Wani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earring 1</td>
<td>extended father FM2S</td>
<td>Nega</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canoe</td>
<td>himself, extended brothers</td>
<td>Nega</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Figure 11 shows, not only kinsmen from the groom’s own clan but also kinsmen from other clans contribute items for the bride price. All of the contributors, however, were from his own village.

The bride price is received by the bride’s father. He saves some for himself and more than half is distributed to relatives and friends who helped him when he got married, in return their help. If people don’t feel adequately compensated, they ask for more.

Due to the intricate patterns of indebtedness created by the bride price system, it is difficult to change.

The wedding ceremony

The night before the actual wedding ceremony starts, the bride and the groom celebrate with peers at their respective houses, singing and dancing until the next morning. If the bride or the groom is a first-born child, then he or she must have the “measuring nose” ritual. This is done by his or her mother’s brother as discussed above.

The next morning all the women of the bride’s village prepare food for the feast. Many men help to gather firewood and fetch water as well as hunting pigs or deer. In the early afternoon, they have a ceremony at church. Often a pastor is invited from the closest village to give a short sermon and pronounce them man and wife.

In the late afternoon two of the groom’s sisters take him to the bride’s house each holding one of his hands, accompanied by his parents, relatives and all the rest of the villagers. They have a traditional marriage ceremony there. The bride lights a cigarette and the groom and their sisters smoke from the same cigarette. After the ceremony the groom takes the bride to the large temporary structure that he has built with the help of his brothers and friends especially for the occasion. The bride and groom sit on a small stage decorated with coconut leaves and batik cloth at one end of the house. Then guests come into the house.

Usually the headman of the village complex and headmen from both the groom and bride’s villages offer words of advice to the young couple. Guests who have come from distant villages often are given a chance to give advice too. Then a meal of rice and meat is served to everyone. Sweet tea, fried bananas and sometimes cake are served for the dessert.

After the meal, all the guests shake hands with the groom and the bride. Then the guests and bridal couple dance with music, possibly including drums, usually until dawn.

Next morning the bride and groom each return with their parents to their respective houses. Then the groom brings the bride price to the large temporary structure. There the bride’s father receives it and if any items which he asked for in the bride price are missing, he asks the groom to bring them quickly. If the groom does not have the items, he promises to give them later.

The bride’s father then shares the bride price with his relatives and friends who helped him when he got married. Some of them, in fact, insist on getting back the same item they gave in some prior exchange. But often there are substitutions because the amount of the bride price is increasing.

After all of these events, the bride is escorted to the groom’s parents’ house by her parents, and siblings. If the bride’s house is on the other side of the bay, the groom stays in her parent’s house for three or four days. Then he returns to his parent’s house with his new wife.

CONCLUSION

Almost all Irarutu village members are related to each other through lineal or affinal connections. Even though there is a number of clans in each village, everyone feels an integral part of the group. Irarutu people feel the village unit is a framework for their behavior. In their basic perception of kinship relationships, sharing and helping are very important.

NOTES

1. The neighboring Wandamen also has the term arai for the first-person form of same-sex sibling-in-law (cf. Flaming 1983).

2. Third person terms of reference have been described in other languages of Irian Jaya (cf. Erickson 1975).

3. Eight husbands have two wives and two husbands have three wives in Tugarni village complex. The total number of marriages is ninety eight.

Information for this paper was collected in Tugarni village complex which includes five Protestant villages, mostly during 1987 and 1989. This paper was written during an anthropology workshop in September and October, 1989, led by Drs. Marilyn and Ken Gregerson. I appreciate their great help in making valuable suggestions and comments. I also wish to thank many Irarutu people who have helped me to get information, especially Moses Syakema, Heret Werfete and Aminadup Werfete.
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A Look at Cohesion, Mutual Obligation, Reciprocity and Social Interaction among the Meah of Irian Jaya

Gilles Gravelle

Kakeraatan dalam orang Meah menentukan dengan siapa seseorang kawin, kepada siapa seseorang dapat mengangguntang diari dalam hal pengumpulan harta maskawin dan dimana seseorang dapat memperoleh hak dalam struktur keluarga. Kakeraatan membentuk garis perkawinan baru dan pada umumnya menjaga keselamatan dan keamanan dalam masyarakat melalui hubungan timbal-balik dengan sanak saudara.

0. INTRODUCTION

Kinship among the Meah determines who may marry whom, whom one may depend upon for help in the collection of bride wealth, and where one stands in the authority structure. It establishes new marriage lines, and generally provides balance and security in society through the reciprocal relations of each kinship.

1. BACKGROUND

The Meah people live in the eastern part of the Bird’s Head, in the Manokwari district (kabupaten) of Irian Jaya. Numerous villages may be found deep in the highlands and valleys of the Arfak mountains. There are also many villages along the north coast of the Bird’s Head bordering the Amberdaren language area to the west, and extending east as far as the regional center of Manokwari. Due to the government’s translocation (trans-lokasi) program, higher population density may be found in the north coast lowlands as well the coastal zones. There are an estimated ten to twelve thousand Meah people, with 35-40% living within the urban areas.

Outside contact with the Meah dates from the time the very first ships came into Manokwari (Dorey) Bay in 1705 as well as in 1793 (Kamma 1981-85). The Meah, from early history until now, have been looked upon as an aggressive and war-like people. They formed alliances with the Hattam and warred against the Biak/Numfor people which resulted in their takeover of the Manokwari peninsula and surrounding coastal lands, where they still live today. Wallis (1869:504) makes reference to the Meah in his classic book, The Malay Archipelago.

Today the Meah still live a semi-nomadic existence. The poor soils of the Arfak mountains have forced them into low intensity agriculture with a mixture of hunting and gathering. Their main staple is the cassava root, supplemented by plantains and leafy vegetables. They usually plant one garden a year, and if that garden does not yield enough food, they will travel to different areas seeking relatives who may have a greater food supply. They also hunt birds, wild pig and tree marsupials, all of which are still abundant in the coastal areas.

The traditional Meah village consists of one Meah patriarch and his extended family. There are 4-7 houses that make up such a village. Due to the trans-location programs much larger population units (Indonesian Desa) have resulted in several extended families or lineages living together in one village. These newer Desa may number up to 300 people.
1.2 MEAH SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Meah trace their origin to a common ancestor. However that ancestor is too far removed to be traced within their genealogy. The common ancestor of all Meah people is widely believed to be a woman called Kjames. She is the offspring of a dog named Tibay. She married a man from what is now known as Igguomu, a Moskona area. It is popularly believed by the Meah that her offspring were the first Meah, thus they refer to her as their grandmother.

There are three levels that form the Meah social hierarchy. The first level is the tribe. The tribe in this case includes all Meah. The Meah tribe is segmented into three patrilineal descent groups called clans. The three clans, Mandacan, Meydota and Dowansiba, all have separate foundings and originate from a particular territory within the Arfak mountains. Each clan is comprised of several lineages. Those lineages are based on traceable ancestry that may go back four or five generations. The original ancestors of those lineages are frequently male siblings.

The Meah may marry within the clan level, but must marry out side of their own lineage. In other words, a Meah must marry out of his local blood line. Historically, the lineages went by one of three clan names, but were further distinguished by the name of their territory. This helped them to know which blood line a person belonged to. However, within the last 18 years many of the lineages under the Mandacan clan have changed their lineage name. This may be due to the modern geographical diversity of the Meah clans and lineages. Some also say that the Mandacan name carries a bad reputation because of the uprising of 1965-1971, in which the Mandacan clan were heavily involved.

As mentioned above, members of a lineage do not necessarily all reside in one local village or geographical location. Due to various reasons, several members may be living in the area of a different lineage. In the village of Nuni, of the 62 households, 13 belong to the one local lineage of the Mandacan clan. Six are from the Bomoi lineage of the Dowansiba clan, and 43 from the Youm lineage of the Dowansiba clan.

The lineages that have taken on new names, such as Isba or Salabai, are easier to identify. An Isba cannot marry a Salabai, and vice versa. However, for those lineages that still use their original

* The Dowansiba clan was originally called the Ejaemen. After forming an alliance with the Dowansiba clan of the Manikin tribe, they intermarried and the Ejaemen name was no longer used. The alliance is long since ended, but the Dowansiba name is still used by the Meah clan.
clan names, the lineage and territory must be first examined to see if they are of one blood or not.
(see Figure 1.)

2. MEAH KINSHIP TERMS

The Meah kinship system is basically a Hawaiian system on all generation levels for consanguineal kinsmen, but deviates only in the first ascending generation with a descriptive term for mother's brother. Terms for the spouses of parents' siblings are distinct from consanguineal terms. On Ego's generation, relative age and sex are marked for both consanguineal and affinal kinsmen.

2.1 CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP TERMS

Meah consanguineal kinship terms may be found in Figure 6. Meah consanguineal kinship terms cover three kinsmen generations and one grandkinsmen. Relative age and sex is marked in Ego's generation for both parallel and cross kinsmen.

Grandkinsmen Generation

Explicit lineal relations extend only through the first ascending generation. The term used for grandparents is also used for ancestors beyond the grandparents generation. An alternate term used for ancestors too distant to recall is ruina ensis 'the people of old'.

There are two terms denoting ascending grandkinsmen by sex. The terms extend bilaterally to all collateral relatives and their spouses of the grandkinsmen generation. The first term is indimowa which refers to Ego's male bilateral kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The second term is indawa which refers to Ego's female bilateral kinsmen of the second ascending generation. The reciprocal term for indimowa and indawa is edebesa 'grandchild'. It extends to collateral kinsmen of either sex in the second descending generation.

Parent-Child Generation

There are five terms that classify the kinsmen of the first ascending generation. These terms extend bilaterally to all collateral kinsmen of the parent generation, and denote sex. They are akeina 'father', ameina 'mother', edeina 'mother's brother', edkeina 'mother's sister's husband' and edmeina 'father's brother's wife'.

The term akeina applies to Ego's biological father as well as all his male siblings of the parent generation. The term ameina, applies to Ego's biological mother as well as bilaterally to all Ego's parents female siblings. The term edeina refers to mother's brother and extends to all males of Ego's mother's lineage of the parent generation. Any one that Ego's mother refers to as male sibling, is referred to as edeina by Ego.

The Meah use separate terms to distinguish their male and female collateral relatives of the parent generation from their spouses. As already stated, Ego's father's male siblings are referred to as akeina 'father', but the spouses of Ego's father's female siblings is edkeina 'father's sister's husband'. The term ameina extends collaterally to all of Ego's female relatives of the parent generation. However the spouses of Ego's mother's male siblings are referred to as edmeina 'mother's brother's wife'.

The term edesa is the reciprocal of akeina, ameina, edeina, edkeina, and edmeina. The term extends bilaterally to all male and females of the child generation. It also extends affinally to all offspring of Ego's spouse and his or her sibling. The term does not designate relative age or sex. Normally in discussing children the Meah just use the general term for child. But if the relative age must be distinguished, then the Meah use the term osumboka which means 'first born'; other subsequent terms delineate second born and third born. The rest of the children then are called by the corresponding number four and continuing. To distinguish sex the term oruna 'male' or ojaga 'female' is placed after the word child. Meah also has a plural marker -ir. When affixed to edesa it becomes eseser 'children'.

Sibling Terms

The Meah have two sets of sibling terms that extend bilaterally to all collateral kinsmen of Ego's generation. The terms form a reciprocal set and delineate sex and age relative to Ego. The first set of terms that determines sex and age relative to Ego are odkora 'older sibling same sex' and odkosa 'younger sibling same sex'. The second set of terms are ediera 'older sibling opposite sex' and ediesa 'younger sibling opposite sex'. These terms are literally used, in that the sibling must actually be older or younger than Ego in order to use the term. For collateral kinsmen there is no seniority granted relative to the age of parents siblings.
FIGURE 2
CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP CHART
MALE EGO

FIGURE 3
CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP CHART
FEMALE EGO

1. indimowa  grandfather
2. indawa  grandmother
3. akcina  father
4. ameina  mother
5. edeina  mother's brother
6. edeclina  mother's brother's wife
7. edeina  mother's sister's husband
8. edahena  wife
9. editola  younger sibling same sex
10. edikosa  older sibling same sex
11. edieina  younger sibling opposite sex
12. edetera  older sibling opposite sex
13. edecosa  sibling-in-law (ms) same sex
14. edeunia  sibling-in-law opposite sex
15. edeasa  child
16. edefina  son-in-law
17. edeta  daughter-in-law
18. edebesa  grandchild

19. edebesa  granddaughter
20. edeasa  child
21. edfa  sibling-in-law (fs) same sex
22. edesa  sibling-in-law opposite sex
23. edes  child
24. edet  brother-in-law
25. eden  son-in-law
26. edel  daughter-in-law
27. eder  grandson
FIGURE 4.
MEAH AFFINAL KINSHIP
(Male Ego)

8. edohina wife
13. edossa sibling-in-law (ms) same sex
14. eduisa sibling-in-law opposite sex
15. edesa child
16. edfina son-in-law
17. edgona daughter-in-law

FIGURE 5.
MEAH AFFINAL KINSHIP
(Female Ego)

8. edahina husband
13. ediffesa sibling-in-law (fs) same sex
14. eduisa sibling-in-law opposite sex
15. edesa child
16. edfina son-in-law
17. edgona daughter-in-law
parent-in-law (fs)
2.2 AFFINAL KINSHIP TERMS

Meah affinal kinship terms are presented in Figure 5-6. Those of Ego's generation denote sex of Ego and of alter Ego. For male Ego affinal terms are used for Ego's generation, for the first ascending and descending generation. The first ascending generation uses one self-reciprocal term and Ego's generation uses a set of two self-reciprocal terms. For female Ego there is one self-reciprocal term for the first ascending generation and two self-reciprocal terms for Ego's generation.

Parent/Child-in-law Terms

The term edfina 'parent-in-law' extends to all of Ego's spouse's bilateral kinsmen of the parent generation. The term identifies Ego's sex as male. Edfina is used self-reciprocally between a man and his spouse's parents and their siblings and their spouses regardless of sex. The term edgona 'parents-in-law' extends to all of female Ego's spouse's affinal bilateral kinsmen of the parent generation. Edgona is used self-reciprocally between a female and her spouse's parents and their siblings and their spouses regardless of sex.

Sibling In-law Terms

For male Ego, the term edcosa 'brother-in-law', is used self-reciprocally between Ego and his wife's male relatives of her generation. The term is used irrespective of age. The term also extends to his wife's sister's husbands.

For female Ego, the term edfesha 'sister-in-law', is used self-reciprocally between Ego and her husband's female relatives of her generation. The term also extends to her husband's brother's wives.

Ego uses the term eduisa 'sibling-in-law' in addressing his/her spouse's siblings of the opposite sex. It is irrespective of age.

There is one term used by both male and female Ego in referring to the offspring of his/her collateral affinal relatives of the child generation. The term is edesa 'child'. It is the same term that Ego would use for his own biological offspring. It extends collaterally to all of Ego's spouse's collateral relative's offspring of the first descending generation.

Spouse Terms

In Meah there are two terms of reference for spouse. The first one is edohna 'wife'. It is the term used by male Ego in referring to his spouse. According to their levirate marital customs, if a man's brother dies he must marry his deceased brother's wife. He then refers to her as other non-levirate wives using the Meah count nouns for human being. He would then refer to his wives according to who he married first, then second and so on. The terms are: for his first wife edohna osumbokka 'first wife', edohna endeis 'second wife' and edohna osura 'third wife'.

Other terms Ego may use to address his wives are edohna ojona 'woman or mature wife' for his first wife, and edohna oforoka 'immature or young girl wife' for his other wives. These terms are used irrespective of age. The second wife may be older than the first, but she is still referred to as the immature wife. This signifies a more servient position to the first wife.

The term edohna 'husband' is used by female Ego in referring to her spouse. All wives address their husband as edohna. The first wife refers to her co-wives who were married after her as mohona edkosa 'younger sister wife'. This applies even if the second and third wives are older than the first. Likewise the second and third wives refers to the first married wife as mohona edkora 'older sister wife'. This again demonstrates the seniority the first wife has over her co-wives.

---

**FIGURE 6.**

**KINSHIP TERMS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Nearest English</th>
<th>Consanguineal</th>
<th>Scope</th>
<th>Affinal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>indimowa</td>
<td>+2 grandfather</td>
<td>FF, MF</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indawa</td>
<td>+2 grandmother</td>
<td>FM, MM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akeina</td>
<td>+1 father</td>
<td>F, FB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armeina</td>
<td>+1 mother</td>
<td>M, MZ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edeina</td>
<td>+1 mother's brother</td>
<td>MB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edkeina</td>
<td>+1 aunt's husband</td>
<td>MZH, FZH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edmeneiva</td>
<td>+1 uncle's wife</td>
<td>MBW, FBW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edfina</td>
<td>+1 parent-in-law (ms)</td>
<td>son-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edgona</td>
<td>+1 parents-in-law (fs)</td>
<td>daughter-in-law (ms) fs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edohna</td>
<td>0 wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edcosa</td>
<td>0 husband</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edkosa</td>
<td>0 younger sibling same sex (MS)</td>
<td>same sex (FS)</td>
<td>B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edkora</td>
<td>0 older sibling same sex (MS)</td>
<td>same sex (FS)</td>
<td>B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edesha</td>
<td>0 younger sibling opposite sex (MS)</td>
<td>opposite sex (FS)</td>
<td>B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ediera</td>
<td>0 older sibling opposite sex (MS)</td>
<td>opposite sex (FS)</td>
<td>B, FBS, FZS, MBS, MZS, Z, FBD, FZD, MBD, MZD</td>
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<td>WB, WZH, WFBS, WMBS</td>
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### Kinship Terms Continued

<table>
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**Key to symbols:**

- F = Father
- M = Mother
- B = Brother
- Z = Sister
- S = Son
- D = Daughter
- H = Husband
- W = Wife

### 3. Reciprocal Behavior and Expectations of Key Relationships

In studying Meah kinship from an outsider's point of view one may choose only to elicit the basic terminology employed by the Meah in distinguishing kinship relations. Of critical importance, however, is how those key relationships interact with one another. As is the norm with most kinship oriented societies, the kinship terms are more than just a label to distinguish one individual from another. They are a type of flag that signals how one person is expected to relate to another. As was previously mentioned in the introduction, it is the kinship terms that decide who an individual may depend on, and who he may be obligated to. These kinship bonds are very strong among the Meah. They supersede any outside relationship with a non clan member, even if they share a common language.

For the Meah, every action, every request, and every form of assistance that is given, is strictly governed by the reciprocal relationship involved. From the time a child begins to know who his key relatives are, he is instructed to develop those relationships by assisting these key relatives in any way he can. Thus he is already starting to build liability in others, that he will be able to reclaim later on in life.

### 3.1 EDEYNA (Maternal Uncle) and EDESA (Sister's Son)

It is common in most Papuan societies as well as many African societies that the relationship between maternal uncle (MoBr mother's brother) and his sister's son (SiSo) is a highly important one. For the Meah it is also a crucial relationship.

Because the Meah are a patrilineal society, all nurturing, material wealth and assistance is provided to Ego by his father and his other agnatic relatives. Ego's mother is technically an outsider who does not help to provide for her own offspring from her consanguineal relatives. Ego's link to his mother's familial wealth and assistance is technically not through her but through her brothers. She has become the human property of another clan. And because of the great amount of wealth paid to her extended family for her, she must serve wholly her new affinal relatives.

But through the MoBr-SiSo relationship her familial relatives are still meeting her needs, although indirectly. The things that she cannot provide for her male offspring are provided by her brothers. Thus the material and emotional link is maintained.

Around the time Ego is five years old and knows who his MoBr is, he begins to develop his relationship with him. He now goes and lives in the same house as his MoBr for one to two months at a time. He is still quite small, so the relationship is one-sided. His uncle will provide food for him, take him along to the gardens and generally treat him as his own biological son. He gives him affection, and makes small bows and arrow for him to practice with.

Later on when Ego is more mature he will seek out advice and assistance in important matters from his MoBr. His MoBr will teach him about the spirit world, and about who their common enemies are. He will teach Ego the traditional songs and how to avoid improper contact with women. Later on when Ego is ready to marry he will approach both his father and his MoBr for help in the collection of bride wealth. This is where the material relationship is reciprocated back to Ego's
parallel relatives from the time that Ego's mother's relatives received the bride price wealth paid for her.

Once Ego has fully matured (about 18-20 years) he is expected to reciprocate for all the help and nurturing his uncle gave him while he was growing. He now must assist his MoBr by working in the garden, assisting in house building, as well as helping to provide the occasional wild meat. It is not uncommon for the MoBr to request his SisO's help in the collection of bride wealth for himself or another of his kinsmen or perhaps his own son. Even though Ego is not obligated to any of his mother's collateral relatives, he is obligated to his MoBr. Thus through his MoBr's request he is still meeting the needs of other members of his mother's lineage.

3.2 AKEINA (Father) and EDESIA (Son)

Because Meah is a patrilineal society the most crucial relationship is Ego's relationship with his father. Although Ego's relationship is very close to his MoBr, his relationship to his father is of greater importance.

The father holds the key to knowledge and experience that he will pass on to his son in order to help insure his survival in a complicated and sometimes hostile world. He teaches him the importance of being honest with others and assisting them in any way he can. It is of utmost importance that he develop a close relationship with as many of his father's relatives as possible.

The father begins to teach his son early on about how he should act around others in order to avoid offending someone in a serious way. The father and his brothers have the primary responsibility in disciplining Ego. It is Ego's father and his kinsmen that would suffer the wrath or anger of another offended clan. His mistakes could cost his father a large amount of wealth paid to compensate for the offense. If he doesn't, the offended party will resort to sorcery or poison, and offenses may result in sickness or death.

He teaches him the history of their lineage and clan kinsmen, where they came from, the important locations of their ancestral villages as well as the myths relating to those ancestors. He will be careful to instruct him concerning special food taboos as well as how to avoid offending certain spirits by his actions. He will tell him about their common enemies, and the history of ongoing vendettas in order to avoid further antagonism with those groups.

He will take him to the gardens and show him how to clear land and build pig fences around the new garden. He will demonstrate how and when to plant food. He will take him on hunting trips into the forest and teach him the technique of hunting birds or wild pigs. Because inheritance is handed down through the father, Ego's father will be careful to point out what land belongs to him, and what parts will be parcelled out to the son when he marries. The son will also inherit debts that are owed to his father. So the father will tell him to whom he may go to collect material wealth in times of need.

3.3 EDKORA, EDKOSA, EDIERA, EDIESA (Siblings)

Because the Meah do not distinguish between their parallel and cross cousins, the relationship between Ego, his siblings, and his cousins are much on the same level. Siblings and cousins are treated alike.

There is a fairly close bond between male siblings and cousins. They will frequently spend time together playing or making bows and arrows to take hunting. When one has a task to carry out, he will depend on his male siblings to help him in it. They will accompany each other when taking short or long trips to town or to the interior/coastal areas.

If Ego is angry at somebody or has done something wrong they will usually confide in their same sex siblings. They may even plan to carry out revenge against a person. There are cases in which a Meah wanting to murder another person, requested his own male sibling's help in carrying out the task. This later case was not necessarily in retaliation for the killing of a relative by another party.

If Ego is in need of an item of clothing, he may ask his siblings to help provide it for him. They will usually share most of their common household items.

In the case of older siblings and younger siblings, the older is given responsibility for his younger siblings. He must watch over them, and assist them in making toys or small play tools. He must also help provide for their food if the parents are not around.

3.4 EDESIA (Sister and Brother)

The sister and brother relationship represents a special one for the Meah. Because the Meah have no distinction for cousin, both his sisters and his uncle's daughters are treated a like. Before a sister is married she spends a great deal of her time assisting her brothers. If her brothers are younger, she is responsible for carrying them around, cooking for them and helping to guard over their general welfare. Frequently this is looked upon as a burden by the older sister who would just as soon leave her siblings behind during her outings.

If the brother is older, but not married, she must assist him in his garden, repair his clothes and make string bags for him. She makes his rain capes, tends his pigs, and generally provides the kinds of services that a wife would provide. Once her brother is married, she may help care for his children and other duties. However, once she is married, she is no longer obligated to help her brother.

Her older brother in turn is her protector. He watches over her physical welfare, and assists her in carrying out the more laborious tasks. She will eventually play an important role in enabling him to marry. Once she is married the bride wealth transferred to her kind group will later be used to provide a bride price for her brother's marriage. Thus her physical welfare is important to her brother.
Van Boal (1975-76) suggests that the sister has claims concerning her brother’s protection for her and eventually for her sons as well. This, he says, is due to the exchange of bride wealth between groups. This does provide a possible explanation of why the sister serves her brother so much before marriage, and why he becomes obligated to her and her children later on. He is her only link to her familial kinsmen that she may depend on for assistance.

3.5 OTHER RELATIONSHIPS

INDIMOWA, INDAWA (Grandkinsmen)

The relationship between Ego and his grandkinsmen is a close one. However, it is not really one of reciprocity. Ego’s grandfather will help in his nurturing, and provide a relationship of affection and joking. He will advise Ego in the areas of the spirit world, and recount historical events as well as popular myths. He will teach him the qualities of a good wife and how to go about choosing one. He may occasionally help in the collection of bride price for his grandson.

Ego will help his grandparents by bringing them food, fire-wood, and by providing folk medicines for them. He will occasionally live with them for several weeks at a time in order to enjoy their affection.

MENDES (Purchased child)

It is common for the Meah as well as other groups of the eastern Bird’s Head to purchase children. The child is called a mendes ‘purchased child’. The Meah only purchase children from the Moskona people situated to the south of the Meah area. The Moskona are considered poor, and they must occasionally sell children in order to attain the crucial eastern cloth (kain timor) that is an essential part of bride wealth. The Meah are considered rich in eastern cloth, as well as other forms of bride wealth, therefore they do not sell their children to other groups or even kinsmen.

Both male and female children are purchased. The female is the more valuable because of her service and eventually the bride wealth that her parents receive when she marries. It is for this later reason that wealthy Meah will purchase a female mendes. Then when she is married they will receive more material returns on their investment than they originally paid for her. The Meah use the phrase mendes meka (father of purchased children). It is a euphemism for men who own many mendes. The term also applies to other types of wealth such as pigs or eastern cloth.

Mendes are usually purchased at the age of 4-5 years old. Any older child may rebel and seek to return to his original kinsmen. Once the mendes is purchased, all ties are severed to his familial kinsmen. He or she has become the sole property of the purchaser and no longer has any claims to his or her blood relatives’ wealth or inheritance.

How the mendes fits into her new kinship relationship is strictly up to those who purchased her. One family may treat her as a slave, using her to perform tasks without receiving the affection or compensation that a biological daughter may receive. Others will treat her as a part of the family, giving her the same affection and benefits that the other children receive.

If a child is diligent and works hard, he or she may become well accepted by members of the family. If they are lazy or troublesome, they may be sold to another person.

Ego relates to his sibling mendes as he would his own biological sibling. They both use the terms of sibling for each other. The main difference between the two is that a mendes does not have the customary reciprocal relationships with his adopted collateral relatives. Neither MoBr nor any other consanguineal kinsmen have any obligations towards the mendes. His benefits, if any, come strictly from his nuclear adopted family.

In turn when the female mendes marries, all the bride wealth received for her does not have to be distributed amongst the father’s extended family. If a male mendes wants to marry, the adoptive father may not approach his key relatives for assistance in the collection of bride wealth. The burden is his alone.

EREIRIRI (Step Child)

If a widow with children remarries, her children, though they are called ereiriri ‘step child’ still belong to their father’s lineage and clan. If the child is female and is living with her mother’s new affinal kinsmen, once she marries, the bride price paid for her will go to her father’s relatives and not her step father and his relatives.

If the child is male, he still remains part of his father’s lineage. They will assist him in collecting his bride price. His step-father may also provide assistance, but he is under no obligation to do so. Once the child is older he will begin to develop closer relationships with his deceased father’s collateral relatives.

Within the step family setting, the child will still be treated as a normal part of the family by his step-siblings. They may develop a reciprocal relationship that falls more under cooperation than mutual obligation. They may eventually help each other in the collection or payment of bride price. The term ereiriri seems to signify to his mother’s affinal relatives that they do not have a reciprocal relationship and all that it entails even though he is living in their local kringroup.

EDFINA (Father-in-law)

Upon marriage male Ego establishes what seems like a one sided relationship with his edfina (father-in-law) and his other affinal kinsmen. Ego’s affinal kinsmen do not have any kind of reciprocal relationship with Ego’s collateral kinsmen.

Even though the main bride price has been paid, Ego will remain in debt to his edfina as long as his wife is alive. Ego’s edfina may make many requests of his son in-law whenever he wishes. Ego will frequently be called upon to help his edfina clear a garden, or build a house. He may
discover that Ego has come into some material wealth, and he will request part of that for himself.

The rationale behind elfina’s behavior is that he has lost a valuable helper as well as her progeny when his daughter marries. He now expects continual compensation for that loss. Ego cannot look to him to help him meet his own material needs. He may only look towards his own collateral relatives for assistance.

In the early days of his marriage Ego must be careful to show good will and generosity to his elfina. If he does not live up to his elfina’s expectations, then his elfina may decide to annul the marriage and give back the bride price. However, once offspring are born, Ego’s elfina may no longer annul the marriage. On the other hand, he can still make life difficult for Ego.

If Ego mistreats his wife through severe physical abuse, his affines, particularly his father-in-law and brothers-in-law, will be very angry and seek immediate retribution. This type of offense is compensated by the payment of goods by the husband and his family to his wife’s affines. If the marriage is of several years standing, the offender or one of his close relatives may be killed in retribution.

If Ego’s wife dies he is no longer obligated to his elfina as long as he remains single. If he decides to marry once again, he must first make a final payment to his elfina of bride price items. After making this payment he is released from his obligations to his elfina and is free to marry. Then he must again collect the bride wealth items for his new wife. Because this situation causes a material burden for the male, it often takes years before he can remarry.

4. MEAH MARRIAGE

Marriage is one of the most important events in a Meah person’s life. For a woman, it is a time when she breaks with her familial kinsmen and goes to live with a group of strangers that will always consider her an outsider. It is a time when a young man may begin to reclaim the many favors he has given to his key relatives for so many years. It is a time that he, with the help of his father and his mother’s brother, as well as other collateral kinsmen, work together to collect the large amount of bride wealth that will be paid.

During the collection of the bride wealth some people will have to pay off long standing debts. The groom and his close kinsmen will become indebted. It represents the formation of new kinship lines along with a new set of reciprocal relationships. Months of discussion amongst the consanguineal relatives of both parties will take place until a bride price can be agreed upon. It is a time of tension for both parties. If the two parties cannot come to an agreement over the amount of bride price, then the marriage never takes place, leaving disappointment or relief for the bride and groom, as the case may be.

4.1 CHOOSING A WIFE

There may be a number of reasons for arranging a particular marriage. Sometimes the kinsmen of two lineages may want to form an alliance, so they will arrange a marriage between a male and female member of the lineages involved. Sometimes two different families may want to match their children in marriage for economic reasons. Or as in most cases, the man has seen a woman that he is attracted to.

He will first approach his father and his mother’s brother and inform them of his desire to marry a particular woman. If the father is agreeable, he will approach the family of the woman he desires in order to discuss the matter. After a time of deliberation they will inform the man’s father of the amount of bride wealth they desire in exchange for the woman. The groom’s father will bargain with the woman’s family. If they can not come to an agreement, the marriage may not take place. Or the prospective groom may convince his father that the woman is worth the price.

4.2 THE COLLECTION OF BRIDE PRICE

The prospective groom’s collateral relatives are obligated to help him collect the bride wealth. He will approach his parallel and cross cousins, his father’s siblings, and, importantly, his mother’s brother. If the prospective groom also has lead the exemplary life style that he was taught by his father and his grandfather, he has built up a large amount of liability in his relatives and may now count on them to supply his needs. His relatives will travel great distances to contact other kinsmen in order to collect the eastern cloth and pigs that make up the bulk of the bride payment. One man’s extended family helped him collect the following items for his bride price: 6 large pieces of eastern cloth (kain timor) involving three different types, 13 large pigs, 50 bolts of store bought cloth, 15 arm bands, 13 antique necklaces, 2 watches, 2 large radio/cassette players, plus rupiah 200,000 ($115.00). Of all the types of bride price collected, the eastern cloth is the most crucial. Without it a man may not marry. The collection of this sort of bride wealth could span several years once the initial payment of the kain timor is made.*

Once all the items are collected together in one place, the father of the groom informs the bride’s father that everything is ready. The father of the bride along with many of his key relatives come to the groom’s village with the bride-to-be. After they arrive they begin to examine all the items. If they are satisfied they hand over the bride and collect their bride wealth.

Following the exchange a feast is provided by the groom and his extended family. Large amounts of food are provided to insure that nobody from the bride’s party goes back to their village hungry. This would result in a serious loss of face for the groom’s family.

Once the bride’s family has collected their wealth and left, the groom takes his bride into his house, or his father’s house if he has not built one yet. Soon after, the marriage is consummated. She assumes the name of her husband’s clan or lineage if the name differs.

In line with the patrilineal nature of their society, residence after marriage tends to be patrilocal. In some cases when a couple are first married, the groom will go and live with his father-in-law’s family. This is occasionally done so that the groom can start out his marriage relationship with his

* According to Meldema () this is the same reason the Kebar people who border the Meah to the west marry more women into the Meah than the Meah marry into the Kebar. It is due to the fact that the Kebar, like the Moskona lack enough eastern cloth to meet the marital needs of their young men. So they exchange their women for the crucial eastern cloth. *
affinal relatives on a good footing. He may spend 2-3 months with them assisting his father-in-law in the garden, or other labor intensive ways of helping. After a time the groom will return to his own village with his wife, and begin house building.

The wife's relationship with her edgona 'parents-in-law' is a close one. Since they are the ones who helped the groom collect his bride wealth, they also have claims to his wife's services. The relationship with the mother-in-law is even closer. The mother-in-law will treat her daughter-in-law as a daughter. She values the daughter-in-law's help around the house and in the gardens. The bond can become so close that tensions may develop if the husband wants to leave the area with his wife for an extended period of time. One case involved a man who got a job in the interior, but his mother would not allow him to take his wife, because she depended on her help and companionship so much.

4.3 EXCHANGE MARRIAGE

Exchange marriage among the Meah does not occur frequently. However at times a lineage from the mountain area will approach a lineage along the coastal areas and propose a marriage exchange in order to establish a trade relationship. The mountain lineage will purchase the wife from the coastal lineage. However the family supplying the bride will not directly purchase a bride back. That will be left to another family within the lineage. If this were not done, the wealth exchange would be kept within the same two families providing the brides. There would be no new items of wealth to distribute to other relatives.

The Meah have exogamous patrilineages and they are allowed to marry into other clans or language groups. In the village (Desea) of Nuni, out of 67 heads of house holds, only six have married into another language group. Most of the mixed marriages occur along the language group borders with the Manikion, Hattam, Mai Brat and Kebar peoples. The Meah do not marry into the Moskona.*

Sister exchange, that is, a brother and a sister of one patrilineage marrying a sister and brother of another patrilineage is reported to be rare.

4.4 MARRIAGE RESTRICTIONS

The Meah may not marry anyone in their own patrilineage. Also they may not marry anyone of their own generation, or the first descending, and first ascending generations who share a common ancestor in the +2 generation. Male Ego may marry the offspring of his wife's kinsmen of the parent generation and child generation, He may also marry his wife's female sibling, or his brother's wife or her female siblings. He may marry his cousin of the second degree of collaterality, i.e., one who shares a common ancestry in the +3 generation.

Also in accordance with levirate marriage, if male Ego's male sibling dies, he must marry his brother's (or cousin's) wife.* The wife may not marry anybody except one of her husbands kinsmen.

* The Moskona are the closest related language to Meah (68%). But the Moskona are considered poor and not a profitable group to marry into.

This is primarily due to the bride price that was paid for her. To marry into another lineage would upset the bride price balance that exists.

If there are no male affinal relatives to marry, she is then free to marry into another lineage. However, that lineage will have to pay the bride price wealth to her affines. This causes some complications with her consanguineal relatives as well. They will also seek payment as well as establish another reciprocal relationship with their new son-in-law. If the levirate marriage is made, all these complications can be avoided.

In some cases a person is forbidden to marry someone from a certain clan or lineage. It is not due to blood ties, but to certain myths or hostilities that exist between those groups. In the early days if a daughter married into a clan or lineage from another village and died within a short time, her lineage would avoid marrying into that clan or lineage again because of the bad omen.

4.5 DIVORCE AND OTHER COMPLICATIONS

The Meah use the term oroun sons 'bring back' or the euphemism odou sons 'my liver returns to me' for divorce. During the early months of marriage, if the groom's affinal relatives are making too many demands on him, he may decide his new wife is not worth the trouble. He will take her back to them and demand the bride wealth back. Conversely, if Ego is not meeting the ongoing material and physical expectations of his affines, they will bring the bride wealth back and demand the woman be returned.

If a wife commits adultery, the husband will take her back to her family and demand the bride price be returned and the marriage terminated. Her consanguineal relatives must return the bride price. They will then go to relatives of the man involved in the adultery and demand the payment of the same type of wealth for the offense. If the offender does not pay, it may result in blood shed.

If a husband discovers that his wife is not a virgin, her value has decreased in his eyes. He will go back to her relatives and demand some of the bride price items be paid back. Again her relatives will seek out the offending person and demand payment to balance out what they have just lost.

A Meah man will not divorce his wife once he discovers that she is infertile. Also it is not considered grounds for asking some part of the bride price back from her consanguineal kinsmen. The childless couple may seek out a relative who has several children, and ask to be given one to raise up as their own. On the other hand, the husband may marry a second wife for procreation. A third option is to accept the situation and go on living.

6. INHERITANCE

Since the Meah are a patrilineal society most of Ego's inheritance is handed down from the father to his son. However some land is also handed down to Ego from his MoBr. His contribution is less significant than Ego's father. Perhaps this represents MoBr's last form of assistance to his sister's son.

When Ego is ready to start his own garden, both his father and his MoBr will give him a portion of their own land. Once father and MoBr are dead, the rest of the land will go to the deceased' own
male siblings and sons. It is a way of ensuring that every one gets some land for gardens. Other physical assets such as houses, animals, debts owed, or bride wealth as well will be distributed amongst the deceased' male siblings and his sons.

6. SUMMARY

The Meah kinship system is basically a Hawaiian system on all generation levels for consanguineal kinsmen, but deviates only in the first ascending generation with a descriptive term for mother's brother. Terms for the spouses of parents' siblings are distinct from consanguineal terms. On Ego's generation, relative age and sex are marked for both consanguineal and affinal kinsmen.

It is clear to see that the interaction and reciprocal relationships between Ego and his key relatives are crucial. They provide a sense of balance and security, and they help to insure his survival as well as provide him with the basic material needs to marry and continue his own lineage.

Material wealth plays a very important role in this general balance in society. It is what maintains solidarity amongst consanguineal and affinal relationships. Without the payment of wealth for marriage and other social functions, many of the relationships would quickly dissolve. The wealth is what constrains individuals to cooperate with one another.

NOTES

1. Information for this paper was gathered over a period of three years during intermittent stays in the north coast Meah village of Nuni (Melunun). More intensive research was done during the months of July and August 1989 with Meah informants in Manokwari. I wish to thank our Meah friends who have invited us to live in their village and observe their way of life. I am especially grateful to Mesak Tibiyai, Bastian Salabay, and Yosef Dowansiba for their help in the research for this paper. Research was conducted using Meah as the principle medium of communication with the Meah.

2. The spelling of the Meah words in this paper reflects the Meirenkei and Meyes area dialects. Some words may have variation in spelling within other dialect areas. The spelling also reflects the phonological analysis done by Gravelle and Gravelle August 1988 and January 1989.

3. Kinship terms in this paper are written as first person singular possessive. All kinship terms in Meah are inalienably possessed. The word is formed by the combination of a stem plus a prefix for person. There are eleven pronouns that form nine different ways to inflect a kinship word stem. The stem for child is esa. Inflected for first person singular the prefix ed- is added thus deriving the root edesa 'my child'. (See appendix 1 for a complete list of inflected kinship terms).

5. A special thanks to Marilyn Gregerson and Joyce Sterner whose suggestions and editing remarks were of invaluable assistance in writing this paper.

6. Ketengban Kinship by Andrew Sims provided a helpful model in formatting this paper.
REFERENCES


Appendix 1: All Kinship Terms Marked For Person

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<th>2ps</th>
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<th>1 dual inc</th>
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<td>Mother's Brother</td>
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<td>eigeebas</td>
<td>eidebas</td>
<td>erdebas</td>
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Appendix 2: Marriage and Kinship Relation Census For Indogwej

The census in appendix 1 and 2 contains the name of each male resident, his wife’s name and her village, and how each male resident is related to the village patriarch.

Village Head: Solomon Mandacan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resident</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Wife’s village</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Relation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Boas Mandacan</td>
<td>Doretsy Dowansiba</td>
<td>Meyinga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>edebesa ZSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Simar Mandacan</td>
<td>Martha Wam</td>
<td>Warn</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>edokosa FBS</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Seni Mandacan</td>
<td>Yohana Dowansiba</td>
<td>Nenei</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>edesa BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Yusuf Mandacan</td>
<td>Emerina Mosoy</td>
<td>Meyof</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>edebesa BSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Pit Mandacan</td>
<td>Serina Mosoy</td>
<td>Meyof</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>edesa BS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Isik Mandacan</td>
<td>Susana Mandacan</td>
<td>Meyenkey</td>
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<td>edesa FBS</td>
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<td>7. Hendrik Mandacan</td>
<td>Minca Inomusi</td>
<td>Meyer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>edroy SWF</td>
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<td>8. Siras Mandacan</td>
<td>Ulana Meyduda</td>
<td>Meyenkey</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>9. Aser Mandacan</td>
<td>Saufrica Mandacan</td>
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<td>edroy SWSB</td>
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<td>10. Markus Mandacan</td>
<td>Rubeka Inomus</td>
<td>Meyenkey</td>
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<td>11. Sakius Mandacan</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Obet Mandacan</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Yulianus Mandacan</td>
<td>(not married)</td>
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<td>14. Mesak Tibayi</td>
<td>Musina Meyman</td>
<td>Meyof</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. Yansen Mandacan</td>
<td>Adolfina Meyduda</td>
<td>Meyenkey</td>
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<td>edesa MBSS</td>
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</table>

Appendix 3: Marriage and Kinship Relation Census for Nunli/Yoom

Village Head: Yosef Dowansiba

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Wife’s Village</th>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Relation Reference</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Yakobus D.</td>
<td>Wemina (m)</td>
<td>Meyes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>edcosa WBS</td>
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<td>2. Simond D.</td>
<td>Yosi (m)</td>
<td>Meyenkey</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>edebesa ZS</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Septinus D.</td>
<td>Marla (m)</td>
<td>Rimon</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>edesa BS</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Arganus D.</td>
<td>Ogwell (m)</td>
<td>Meyekir</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ecosa FBKH</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Benyam D.</td>
<td>Lidia (m)</td>
<td>Meyekir</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>edokora B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Aleks D.</td>
<td>Nal (m)</td>
<td>Isba</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ecosa ZH</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Benyam D.</td>
<td>Ikuyaki (m)</td>
<td>Yoom</td>
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<td>8. Simond D.</td>
<td>Otori (m)</td>
<td>Yoom</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>9. Thomas D.</td>
<td>Mating (m)</td>
<td>Meyekir</td>
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<td>10. Ruben D.</td>
<td>Engwey (m)</td>
<td>Meyes Efeg</td>
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<td>edeyena MB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Herman M.</td>
<td>O'Fkokos (m)</td>
<td>Yengon</td>
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<tr>
<td>12. Yullius M.</td>
<td>Mincl (m)</td>
<td>Mangguapi</td>
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<td>edokora FBS</td>
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<tr>
<td>13. Sem M.</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
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<td>edokora MZS</td>
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<tr>
<td>14. Marten M.</td>
<td>Yosi (m)</td>
<td>Meyes Efeg</td>
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<td>15. Dolfins M.</td>
<td>(Susana) (m)</td>
<td>Mangguapi</td>
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<tr>
<td>16. Komiles M.</td>
<td>(Etyoh) (m)</td>
<td>Bremi</td>
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<td>17. Sakarias M.</td>
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<td>18. Werhumus M.</td>
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<td>24. Ifakeni D.</td>
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<td>Alistina (m)</td>
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Appendix: 3 Continued

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<th>Child</th>
<th>Relation</th>
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D = Dowansiba  M = Mandacan  (m) = Meah  (mo) = Manikion
(k) = Kebar  ( ) = Deceased

Note: there are actually three lineages represented in Nuni. One falls under the Mandacan clan, the other two under the Dowansiba clan. The Mandacan lineage are the original residents of the Nuni area. The first Dowansiba lineage is from the Yoom area of the Arfak mountains, and the second lineage is from the Bomoi area of the same mountains. Also there are a few residents that belong to other lineages, but are living in Nuni for various reasons. The interesting thing to note is how Josef ties in all of the male residents into his genealogy. Many of the ones he calls “siblings” (brothers and 1st cousins) are actually second and third cousins. This may suggest fictive kinship. Also the husband and wife that share the same clan name are from different lineages.

Appendix 4: ITUR WAM AND EKERGUD

A Meah Folk tale of Kinship, Marriage and Tragedy

by Mesak Tibyal

I want to tell an eternal story about a woman named Ekergud and her husband Itur Wam.

Ekergud lived in the village of Inska Eytofi. She lived in that village while Itur Wam, the older brother of Iskunuk Wam and his two sister-in-laws Arodmijin and Ockojimij, lived in their village of upper Meymeska. They worked their gardens there. The women cleared the gardens and cut down the small trees, and the men cut down the large trees. They burned off the gardens and the smoke enveloped the upper part of Meymeska, then went as far as the top of Wam.

At the end of the day they would go to their house, and let the fire burn off the large tree trunks. At night Itur Wam sat around making string. He would sit on the porch and make string belts for the women’s loin cloth. He did that every day. He’d work in the gardens by day, and make string belts by night.

His sister-in-laws, Arodmijin and Ockojimij, kept the fire going and Itur Wam made those things everyday. By day they worked in the garden. Itur Wam would carry the firewood, and clean the garden, and at night he would just make those string belts.

While he was making those things, Ekergud was still living in Inska Eytofi. Then one day she saw the light of a fire. Then she began to wonder about that fire. But she didn’t know who it belonged to. So she thought to herself, "I will go up to the Meymeska river so that I can see the light of that fire better." She took some bamboo to help herself across the rivers, and some sugar cane. Then off she went.

She ascended to the upper Meyes river, then arrived at lower Meyeska Miyow. But the Meyeska Miyow river was cold, and the lower Meyeska was hot. So she ran from the Meyeska Miyow river and ascended to the upper Meyes, then arrived at the lower Meyjingga river. Then she stuck her foot into the Meyjingga river, but it was cold, and the Meyes river was hot. Then she went up further and arrived at the lower Meyjeriba river. She felt the water with her foot, but it was cold, and not hot like the Meyes river. Then she ran from the Meyjeriba river and climbed up to the Meyes river, then arrived at the lower Meymeska Irum river. She felt the water with her foot, but it was cold and not hot like the Meyes river. Then she went up to the Meymeska river and arrived at the lower Meydujuj river. Then she felt the water, but it was cold and not hot like the Meyes river.

Then she ran off from there and went up to the Meyes river. She went up through the middle then arrived at the lower Meyesma Wam river. Then she came into the area that Itur Wam owned. She did not see the Meyesma Wam river, so she went up to the Meyes river. She went up to that river, but the Meyes was quite hot. Then she arrived a the lower Meyesbira river. So she stuck her foot into it and it was slightly hot. Then she went up to the Meyesbura river. After arriving there she stuck her foot in. But it was cold, so she went back.
She sat there thinking, but still didn’t know what to do. So she planted her bamboo there to mark the spot, and turned around and went back. She went back and arrived at the lower Meymeska river. Then she stuck her foot into the river, but it was so hot that it almost scorched her foot. So she went up to the Meymeska Wam river and arrived at the Ineybi river. Then she stuck her foot into the Ineybi river, but it was cold and not hot like the Meymeska Wam river. So she went back to the Meymeska Wam river.

Then she went to the Mey Mosumfon river, but that river was cold and not hot like the Meymeska Wam river. So she turned around and went back.

She planted some bamboo around there until she was done, then she went back again. Later she came back to the bamboo. She looked and saw a path that lead to the river. So she followed the path upward, then she saw a fence that enclosed a pond of water. She mounted it and sat on one of the branches like a bird perched over the water.

The two girls had burned off the garden. Then later when the sun was striking them, Itur Wam became really thirsty. So he sent them saying, “You two go and scoop up some water for me so I can drink it! So they brought Itur Wam’s water ladle and went to scoop up some water. They went down to the river to use his ladle and scoop up some water.

They arrived at the river and bent down for some water. While they were getting water, they looked and wondered what kind of a spirit was looking at them from the water. They wondered what kind of spirit it was that lived in the water. So they stirred up the water, but it was still there. So they quickly scooped all the water away so that it was momentarily dry out. Then they looked but didn’t see anything. So they stood waiting and the water returned, and refilled the pond. Then the spirit returned again. Then they fell down again and scooped all the water away. They did this over and over, but the spirit kept reappearing. They kept at it until they were exhausted. Then they looked above them selves at the Meyesiki tree limb. That is where the girl was sitting. Noting the girl they both became very afraid saying, “It’s a ghost,” and “Go away from our tree.” But she said to them, “I’m not a ghost, I, too, am a human being. My name is Ekerugud and I come from Ineka below Makinbo. I was searching for the source of the fire light from Wam.”

After the two women talked with Ekerugud for a while they decided they wanted to call her their sister-in-law. Then Ekerugud came down from the tree and crossed over to them. Then the two women gave Itur Wam’s long handled water ladle to her. Then they said to her, “Take this water ladle”, then they took her to their house. Then Ekerugud hid inside a large container that Itur Wam kept drinking water, fire wood and other things in. She hid in their quietly waiting for Itur Wam to come.

Later when the sun was really hot, Itur Wam came back to his house. After he came in, he asked his two sisters in-law saying, “Where is the water I asked you to get? I need a drink!” They had already hidden Ekerugud and said to her, “Hang on to the ladle and hold it tight. Then when Itur Wam comes in and grabs the ladle, stand up hanging on to the other end of the ladle.” They warned her like that, then they waited quietly.

Then Itur Wam came along and said to the two women, “Where’s the water? I want a drink!” But they said to him, “Your own water ladle is here in the house. You can get the water your self.”

So Itur Wam went over to where the ladle was. When he grabbed the ladle to get some water, he also pulled up a young girl with it. Ekerugud stood up holding the other end of the ladle, then she jumped on to the floor. Itur Wam was frightened, then he looked and saw that he placed the ladle into her hand. (this signifies that they are now married). Then the ladle dropped to the floor. Then Itur Wam ran outside the house yelling, “Something has assaulted me!” But the two women said to him, “It’s something that’s been trailing you. She’s been following your shadow.”

So Itur Wam was angry, and he left the ladle behind and went away. He went and found some other water to drink. Then the two women brought Ekerugud to him. So Itur Wam started a garden. He carried some firewood. He worked fast in order to finish. Then he left searching for cloth (kain timor for his bride price). He went to the area of lower Mornum. He went traveling and looking for bride cloth for five months. So his wife and sisters in-law just planted seeds and made a garden.

Iskurun Wam, who is Itur Wam’s younger brother, was a hunter who sent his dogs out to trail wild animals. He would bring back pigs and tree kangerous. Then one day his dog chased a really large pig towards the gardens where the women were. So Iskurun Wam chased the pig in that direction. Then he yelled from afar, “Women, climb up on the fallen trees so that the pig doesn’t bite you! So the pig doesn’t run at you!” So the women climbed up on the fallen tree trunk. Ekerugud also climbed up, but one leg straddled one tree trunk and her other leg straddled another tree trunk. Then her loin cloth no longer covered her, and Iskurun Wam saw her. Then he began to taunt her saying, “The pig bit you. The pig bit you.” But Ekerugud shouted back in the Hattam language saying “The pig didn’t bite me; he hasn’t bitten me yet!”

Then Ekerugud felt ashamed because of the way she had straddled the logs and revealed herself. Then Ekerugud jumped down from the log and Iskurun Wam fell down with her (committed adultery).

Then Ekerugud was really ashamed over what she had done, and she just sat there silent. The others didn’t come, so she quickly finished planting her seeds. Then in the afternoon she went to her house, and she remained there. Then her sisters in-law said that they should go back to the garden and plant some more food. But she just bowed down and sat there not saying anything. She waited and waited, but Itur Wam still did not come back. So she just became more and more angry.

So Ekerugud returned to her own place of origin. She went to her house in her own village and remained there. On the way she drew some marks on a large boulder to pass the time while she waited to see if Itur Wam was coming. But still he did not come. She came down from Meyesika where she had earlier planted some bamboo. She planted some more bamboo, and some other plants and drew marks on the boulder. But still Itur Wam did not come. So she finally left that place and went back to her village of Inskia Imba.

After that Itur Wam returned. Then he asked his sisters in-law where Ekerugud was. They answered him saying, “Your brother was hunting with his dog. But the dog chased a pig into the garden. Iskurun taunted Ekerugud saying, “The pig bit you. The pig bit you.” Ekerugud was ashamed (because of what happened afterward), so she left.”

So Itur Wam went looking for his wife. He went to persuade her to return saying, “Lets go. Let’s go back together!” But Ekerugud didn’t want to and resisted him. Using the Hattam language she said to him, “No I won’t go. I won’t go.” But Itur Wam responded saying, “No, you have to
CLAN COMPETITION AND SIBLING RIVALRY - SOBEI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Joyce K. Sterner


ISTILAH ISTILAH MUNGKIN MENCERMINKAN JENIS KELAMIN EGO, GARIS UMUR SANAK KELUARGA, JENIS KELAMIN SAUDARA SEKANDUNG dari sanak keluarga dalam dua generasi diatas dan apakah alter merupakan hubungan matrilateral atau patrilateral.

INTRODUCTION

Abstract

People from the Sobei language group have a strong sense of identity and personal worth. Their kinship structure and social organization are subordinate to their central values of independence and personal rights. This creates an atmosphere conducive to clan competition and sibling rivalry. One's position in life is established through lineal relationships but one must struggle to achieve any status among one's siblings on the horizontal or generational level. Although cooperation within the clan does occur in some garden work, house building, hosting social gatherings and feasts, and in the allocation of children, competition characterizes the clans, lineages, and even siblings as they try to establish their clan's primacy of original residency, control the power of nature, preempt resources, and appear superior to others. None of these efforts, however, include manual labor any more than absolutely necessary. Wits and manipulation are the means commonly used to try to get ahead, leaving a residue of bitterness and resentment, which then leads to more competition.

Soebi kinship taxonomy encompasses nine generations. Utmost simplicity characterizes terminology for the top three and bottom three generations. Ego's generation, and one generation ascending and descending (the middle three generations), are in some aspects Hawaiian, but reveal Iroquois cousin terminology and relative age discrimination systems extending through two degrees of collaterality. Terms may reflect ego's sex, the relative age of the linking grandkinsmen, the relative sex of siblings in the upper two generations, and whether alter is a matrilateral or a patrilateral kinsman.
Sobei Language Group

On the north coast of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, approximately two hundred kilometers west of Jayapura, there is a town and government center named Sarmi. The original coastal dwellers there were the Sobei language group, who prefer to be known by the names of their three villages, i.e. a Sawar person, Bagaiserwar person or Sarmi person. About 2000 in number, these people are related by both language and kinship to those on the islands off the coast, Likiliki, Wakde, Yamnna, Anos and Podena. Grace (1955) classified them as being on the western border of the Oceanic sub-group of Austronesian languages and this has been borne out by subsequent research (Sterner, 1987). *

The people of Sawar take pride in being the "most superior" of the three villages and in their heritage as the original "ocean people" in the area. They have provided land for the government seat at Sarmi, as well as for the nearby Istirawa village of Mararena, and shared their fresh water supply with Sarmi and Mararena. Sago palms provide the staple food, with each family having its own sago groves as well as land used for gardens. Some also fish and hunt, although hunting is less and less of an option with the decrease in wild animals due to increasing settlement of the area.

Sawar is a long narrow village, bordered on the north by the ocean, on the south by a cliff fronting a ridge, on the east by the village of Bagaiserwar, and on the west by their cemetery and gardens (See maps 3 & 4) which extend to the Orei river.

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* This study has been done under the auspices of the Cooperative Work Program between the Summer Institute of Linguistics and Universitas Cenderawasih between the years 1972 and 1980. My husband and I and three children lived in the village of Sawar and on during those years and were adopted into the Ambani/Zeitan clan. (Sterner, 1981) Even though we moved to the city of Jayapura, we have kept in close touch with the people of Sawar and keep current on events in the village.

For this study the entire population (about 600 in 1984) of the village of Sawar and all the previous generations they could remember, while totaled five to six generations for each lineage of each clan, was used. Complete family and lineage trees were made, all of the inter- and intra-clan adoptions were recorded, as well all the marriages, which totaled 457. An attempt was made to get the nama tanah "earth name" for each resident, although there were a few families excepted.

In Sawar, when a person is not sure what to call another they mentally or verbally refer to what their parents call that person or his parents.
There were originally eight patrilineal exogamous clans which at some point became grouped into three fairly exogamous phratries. Each clan is made up of from one to five lineages. In cases where a clan has more than one extant lineage the lineages are ranked for seniority according to the imputed relative ages of the apical ancestors. The actual relationships of the apical ancestors is no longer known, but they are assumed to be brothers. Therefore the eldest member of each lineage calls the eldest members of the other lineages older or younger brother based on the relative ages of their apical ancestors. This older and younger sibling terminology between members of these lineages is continued down through each descending generation, except when there is a closer link between ego and alter.

Sawar traditional religion was anistic with such typical New Guinean features as men's ceremonial houses, sacred triton shells, initiation rites, and sacred flutes. Dutch missionaries arrived in the early 1900s and the Sobei accepted Christianity without hesitation, destroying the men's ceremonial houses and stopping initiations. All Sobei language speakers now consider themselves Christian and members of the denomination which was originally associated with the Dutch Reformed Church, although there are still some animistic beliefs and practices in evidence.

Political organization in Sawar takes place in three different, but somewhat overlapping spheres. Traditional leadership is provided by the clan elders, the Ondowai "Traditional Chief" and the Tokal Masyarakat "Tradition Leader." These positions are held for life and belong to individual clans. Church leadership consists of the church elders, who can be both men and women. Governmental leadership within the village of Sawar is elected by the residents and then approved by the Camat (top official in the sub-district) in Sarmi. It consists of a Kepala Desa "Village Chief," a village Safety Officer, a Secretary, and a Messenger, all of whom are men, and in 1989, were from the Merne, Weyasu, Sefa, and Ambani clans respectively.

CLANS AND COMPETITION

Origins

The generally accepted account of the origin of the people of Sawar is the following:

In the beginning there were only Senis* and Iroti at Sawar. (That much is agreed upon by everyone except Zejen, who says now that he was there too, but the others didn't see him.) Weyasu came from the west** at Ferkami and claims that he brought sago, river clams, tobacco, vegetables, and a bamboo and flint to make fire. (Iroti and Merne also claim to have brought fire.) Someone else (maybe Bera) came from the sea in sailing canoes and brought the sacred triton shells, and other goods. Merne originally came from Arbais, further west and brought sacred fire which had power to kill people and then raise them up again, which he taught to Senis and Iroti. They all built houses at Sawar and made foraging trips to the islands to kill people.

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* These names are both the current Sawar clan names today and the names used for the founders of the clans. Sawar people say that at that time those men only had the one name, or if they bad other names they have been lost through time.

** There are people with the family names Merne and Weyasu among the Isirawa and Kwerba language groups from the western interior Sarmi area.
Isai, attacked it and killed it with a knife in a wrestling match, an unusual event considered highly significant in light of his clan heritage.

The Iroti clan can control fire and certain fish. The Bers clan can control the ocean spirits and thus the ocean floor. If a Bers boat has a problem they call on these spirits which then make the ocean floor rise up so they can get out of their boat and fix it right there. Anyone else would drown if they got out of the boat. The Sefa clan can control the growth of sago trees, making them grow either fast or slow. They used to bury people near sago trees to speed up the growth. The Manipora clan can control any pigs, calling them for slaughter or for penning. They can also call people by mind control from great distances and they will arrive within a day.*

The Senis clan has control over all social affairs and one of their elders is always the Ondowafi, 'Traditional Chief', a position held for life.

Status

Each original clan has a relative ranking in the village which corresponds closely to the history and powers listed above. In descending order they are: Meme, Weyasu, Iroti, Senis, Ambani, Bers, Sefa, Manipora.

Locations

The location of the clans' land within and around the village of Sawar correlates with the directions of their original arrival there. (See Chart 1 and Map 4.) Weyasu/Ambani/Zeifan are at the west end of the village, having arrived from the west. Meme/Iroti/Senis, as the earliest residents, are scattered around the central part of the village together with Manipora, who arrived from the south. Bers is located near the waterfront toward the west end of the village and also on the small Sawar island in Sarmi Bay. Sawaeri, Tafai, Daufa, and Manipora are scattered but live mostly near the eastern end of the village, toward the village of Bagaiserwar. Sefa houses are in the central part next to Meme houses. But, as is stated in the section on residence, house locations can be dictated more by population pressures at a given time than by traditional ideals.

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* Derek Zeifan, although an Ambani and not a Manipora clan member, also claimed to use this mind control on one occasion when he was booked to fly to the village on a certain date, but wanted to go two days earlier. He says he caused the flight to be rescheduled by mind control and went on the desired date. Presumably he had this power because of his position as Tokoh Maumahat 'Traditions Leader' of Sawar.

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* Piethein Zeifan, Derek's son, says he has personally witnessed this delay of nightfall.

** One of our co-workers told us that to her knowledge the military had come and bombed and that was the reason the crocodiles were no longer taking people. No one in Rapak Derek's family has mentioned this and we don't know for sure what really happened as that co-worker was not present at the time.
Chart 1. Clan Origins, Locations, and Lineages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Original Clan</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Savar Location</th>
<th>Total Lineages</th>
<th>Extant Lineages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambani</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>slightly west</td>
<td>west end</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeifan</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Ambani interior</td>
<td>west end</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weyesu</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>Sami/west ocean side</td>
<td>west/ocean</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bers</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>villages east</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daufera</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>villages east</td>
<td>eastern end</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipora</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>south</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sefa</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>both east &amp; west</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroti</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>original west</td>
<td>west</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meme</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>original</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marbo</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senis</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafai</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarem</td>
<td>Bagaiserwar east</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawerri</td>
<td>Bagaiserwar east</td>
<td>east</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kantoli</td>
<td>Bagaiserwar</td>
<td>west/ocean</td>
<td>to Bers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phratries

Though the clans have long been grouped into relatively exogamous phratries, no one knows how this came about. The phratries have remained constant, but the number of clans within the phratries has increased over time. Three clans have subdivided into outsiders and outsiders have moved in from various places to add other family names. There are now fifteen clan or family names in Savar. In an attempt to simplify the situation, the government has declared that the phratries should be considered as single clans and should use one clan name each. To date no move is being made to follow this edict.

At present the three phratries are: 1) Weyesu, Ambani/Zeifan 2) Bers, Daufera, Manipora, Sefa 3) Iroti, Meme/Marbo, Senis, Tafai, Sawerri. (Slashes indicate two lineages within one clan)

Kantoli and Sarem have moved in, becoming integrated into the Savar community but are not yet included in any of the three phratries, although Sarem is considered a subdivision of the Tafai clan by some people.

Some Savar people say that the Sawerri clan were part of the Senis clan until after World War II when they split off. Ambani and Zeifan split into two lineages when Sarama Ambani changed his name from Ambani to Zeifan, around 1917. This was possible because he married Teb'oya Ambani from his own clan and wanted to legitimize the action. This possibility is not denied by anyone, and is supported by the fact that only his own children kept the name change and there is still much substitution of the Ambani name among the "Zeifan" lineage. Just before Sarama's son, Derek, died in 1987, for the first time he told his son the story mentioned above, that Zeifan was in Savar originally with Iroti and Senis, but that they did not see him. This story seems to be both an attempt to justify the clan split and also to gain status above Ambani, who would have been a later arrival in Savar. It does not explain why Zeifan pretended to be an Ambani for so long and will certainly do nothing to smooth already poor relationships between the Ambani and Zeifan lineages.

The Meme/Marbo split is not remembered by those living now but they all say they were originally Meme, and some who should be Marbo by lineage call themselves Meme by choice.

Chart 2. Clan Marriage Patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wives =&gt;</th>
<th>Amb</th>
<th>Zei</th>
<th>Wey</th>
<th>Ber</th>
<th>Dau</th>
<th>Man</th>
<th>Sen</th>
<th>Taf</th>
<th>Saw</th>
<th>Out</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambani</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeifan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weyesu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daufera</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipora</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sefa</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroti</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meme</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafai</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sawerri</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Iroti and Meme are said to be grouped with the clans following them, the statistics show that fourteen Iroti men took wives from the other four clans, as did three Meme men. Therefore Iroti and Meme appear to stand more alone as clans since they do not follow the customary rule of phratry exogamy. For this reason they are separated on the chart.

Savar people do say that although the clans and phratries should be exogamous, the nearness of the relationship within the clan is the more important criteria for determining whether marriage is permissible. However, it is clear from the chart that exogamy is an important consideration. Savar people may not marry their siblings or their cross-cousins, nor anyone with their parents' clan names. There are some more distant cousins they may marry but which degrees of collaterality are legal and which aren't is not clear and certainly no rules are strictly followed. The rule of individual independence and rights dominates the marriage patterns. One marriage recorded was between half-siblings and another was between cross-cousins, with no apparent shame resulting, although both had the camouflage of adoption into different clans, so in these cases the sociological reckoning would appear to have priority over biological reckoning.
Ignoring Iroti and Merne marriage statistics, from Chart 2 there are seventeen marriages within the phratries which are appear to depart from the rule of phratri exogamy and nine of these occurred within Ambani/Zefan/Weyasu. Of those nine only three had possible extenuating circumstances, such as being adopted in from another clan or from outside. The other eight exceptions to the exogamous groupings were from the Daufora, Manipora, Bers, Sefa grouping and six of those eight had adoption or outside lineage "excuses". Adopted children are allowed to choose their ultimate clan allegiance for themselves whenever they wish.

It is clear from the chart that there are no real preferential marriage patterns followed among the clans or phratries, and this confirms what the people say.

Social Traits

Each clan has traits which give insights into the Sawar culture and the changes which are taking place. For example, over one-fourth of the marriages documented in this study were between Sawar people and outsiders. No stigma attaches to marrying outsiders, nor is it particularly desirable to marry within Sawar clans. In fact, Sawar people are proud of marrying outsiders, and while there is some regret at gradually losing their own language and culture no one expresses the opinion that this could be changed if people would only marry within the village. But it is interesting to note which clans most frequently marry outside the Sawar clan system.

The value Sawar people hold most dear is personal independence. They do not work together well, either as a community, or as phratries, clans, or lineages. One's own needs and desires are usually given the highest priority. Having said that, it is still instructive to consider the ethos of each of the clans.

The Merne clan is the most "progressive" clan, demonstrated by having a record number (fifteen) of their women marry outside men, while four Merne men married outside women. More Merne/Marbo people have higher education than any other clan and they hold more wage-earning jobs than any other clan. This is consistent with their position as the most powerful clan and having been responsible for both religious and secular education in previous years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>No. of marriages documented (Males only)</th>
<th>No. of relatives adopted into clan</th>
<th>No. of children given from clan</th>
<th>No. of outside adoptations into clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ambani</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zefan</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weyasu</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daufora</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipora</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sefa</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroti</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merne/Marbo</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senis</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafai</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saweri</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarem</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outsiders</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Ambani/Zefan clan is the most outward oriented. They have had the most men marry outside women and have adopted the most assorted outsiders as family members. The Ambani clan has also given the most children away (to close relatives with no children). This clan seems to flout the Sawar societal norms more than any other clan. They have the only recorded intra-clan marriage and the most unexplained intra-phratri marriage. Polygyny is allowed but is considered to cause economic difficulties and conflicts between the wives. The only two cases in recent history are in the Ambani/Zefan clan. One of these is an Ambani man who has two separate households and lives with the second wife. Isai Zefan, who married a woman from another language group, had both in one household, then divorced the one who couldn't have children and has since taken another second wife, again from another language group. Derek Zefan, his father, and his wife, a Merne woman, flouted the norms in another way. She refused to have any woman attend her in childbirth, so her husband alone helped her in each of her fourteen deliveries.

The elders of the Ambani and Zefan lineages demonstrate a great deal of animosity and bitterness toward each other, complaining of ill treatment at each other's hands and avoiding associating with each other. Since Derek, the head of the Zefan lineage, died the leaders of the other lineages are taking his land away from his children. The children attribute this to jealousy because Zefan ancestors were diligent in planting gardens, sago, and coconuts whereas Ambani ancestors did nothing and now they have nothing. The Toreh Masyarakat 'Traditional Head' was Derek Zefan, and the Village Messenger is an Ambani. An Ambani was also the driver for the oil company that was based in Sarmi.

One Iroti lineage ancestor had no children of his own and adopted a boy from the Yanna language group, as well as a whole family of Isirawa group orphan children who eventually all became valued Iroti clan members. (One or two Sawar people have married Isirawa people, but generally the Isirawa are considered to be inferior people.) Iroti has also given the most children to other clan members within their clan and to other clans. (See Chart 3.) The Iroti clan is rather quiet.
and unobtrusive, not concerned in village leadership or with conflicts, even though they were one of the original clans.

Bers only has one extant lineage. They are the least educated in the village, with almost none of their children attending school. They have more fishermen than other clans, as befits their origins and powers.

Tafi is a small clan which still has many ties with Bagasserwar people as do Saweri, Daufera, Manipora and Sarem. None of these “immigrant” clans have the status that the original Sawar clans have, but the Tafi clan has intermarried with higher status clans and so gained in respect. One of the most notorious sorcerers is a Tafi, and another is a Saweri, which is worth noting since sorcery is normally attributed to other language groups and these two clans are considered “immigrants”.

The Weyusu clan has suffered the most attrition in terms of lineages. The oldest Weyusu man is the Sawar safety officer. There is another Weyusu man who is a mantri ‘village health official’, and another who is a school teacher. They are the second highest clan in status and do have power in the village.

RELATIONSHIPS AND RIVALRY

Positioning by Lineal Relationships

A Sawar person’s identity, position, and status is largely determined by the clan and lineage into which he is born. Subsequent adoptive heritage may determine inheritance, name, and residence, but birth heritage determines his life status and dictates his position in the various clan and lineage quarrels.

Ancestors/Descendants.

Ancestors provide a Sawar person with roots, origin status in the community, and establish his relationships to the other clans and lineages, but the individual identity of these distant ancestors is not important. Future descendants are even less important to Sawar people, who live emphatically in the present. Although some Sawar people are foresighted enough to plant trees for posterity, others are not. Some Sawar people have sold their family land to gain cash, although others do recognize the folly of this.

Parents.

Kinsmen of the parental generation are all considered caretakers in various degrees for ego, including collateral kin to the second degree. However, behavioral distinctions are made among those called “father” and “mother”. The biological parents are expected to provide food, shelter, clothing, training, and discipline for their children. Others carrying the parental classification may help in time of need, give small items on request, take over when children are orphaned, and give gifts and shelter at times, but do not carry basic responsibility for the child, nor can they punish by beating. In Sawar, personal preference and temperament do more to determine relationships than societal norms, and mother’s brothers, while ideally caretakers and helpers, have been known to defraud and steal from their sister’s children.

Caretaking in Lineal Relationships

It is a pattern of life that older people take care of younger ones until they themselves become of such advanced age that the younger ones must start caring for them. In Sawar society as in many others, degrees of relationship also indicate degrees of caretaking responsibility.

Children.

Children are a valued resource to Sawar people. They serve as helpers in the home, sago processors, comforters, hedges against loneliness, and old-age social security. The parent-child relationship is the least stressful relationship in Sawar culture. There is no competition and little observable conflict. If the children do not obey while small they may be physically forced to comply, but later on very few repercussions follow disobedience. Beatings are rare and if the child can escape, other relatives will help shield him from the angry parent. Parents make compensation sadly but willingly for their children’s misdemeanors or crimes if they have the wherewithal to do so, but children often disregard parental advice as to marriage, divorce and problems.

If children go away to work they are expected to bring back money for their parents. If they do not, verbal disapproval and shame are the only consequences, and these do not appear to make much difference to the erring children, even though shame in this type of culture is normally a powerful force. Young people are expected to sow some wild oats, and many do. However, once there are children from a union, most settle down and conform to the normal expectations for adults in the society.

Grandchildren.

Grandchildren are valued highly by the grandparents and are a comfort and a real resource of help and provision for them. Sawar grandparents indulge their grandchildren, but also play a secondary training role for them. As the grandparents get older, one or more of their grandchildren will live with them to help with errands, food and other jobs. This also takes caretaking responsibility off the children’s parents who must work to provide for their own families. Widows and widowers often live with their children, who may, however, build them a separate house nearby.

Special Lineal Functions

Inheritance

Inheritance of garden land, sago plots, house land, and sometimes stands of coconut trees, is patrilineal and equally divided among all the sons. These are part of clan land, passed down in lineages and families. However, if daughters marry outsiders and stay in the village they may also receive an equal portion.

If there are no male heirs, or no heirs at all, the last member of a lineage may designate someone from another lineage to inherit his land. This is inevitably a source of conflict with others who want the land, particularly if they feel they have more right than the one who was chosen. The topographical limitations of Sawar leave very little room for expansion, and this causes much competition over land allocation and adjustments in living patterns.
Adopted outsiders may also be given garden land and a place for a house of their own. For example, Piter "Ambani" had been adopted from another language group and married a Weyasu woman. In his old age, with no male heirs, he selected Derek Zeifan to be his heir. Derek named his fourth son to inherit Piter's property. However, Piter's Sawar land had been loaned to him by the Weyasu clan upon his marriage, so Derek's son's inheritance was in Piter's village of birth. Piter's Sawar land reverted to the Weyasu clan upon his death.

Derek Zeifan (1919-1987) had five living sons and four daughters. It is instructive to see how he, an ambitious but very tradition-minded man, allocated his property and tasks among his children. His first son received the clan words of power. He also now has the same church responsibilities Derek had, although that is more by inclination than inheritance. Derek arranged the second son's marriage in a very atypical autocratic fashion and probably had a hand in the son's joining the provincial navy and living away from home. The third son Derek gave to his childless sister and her Muslim husband. The fourth son received the Ambani inheritance as mentioned above and was told to continue Derek's work of teaching us the language and culture. The fifth son took over Derek's house land and dwelling, although this was not due to any known tendency to utlimogeniture, but rather to family circumstances. Derek's daughters all married outsiders and those choosing to live permanently in Sawar received some of his village land, garden land, sago plots, and coconut tree stands.

Exigencies due to the number of family members resident in Sawar have a great deal to do with land allocation within families. Little, if any, is reserved for the person who moves to another location, but their portion is used by their near kinsmen, who have the right to do so. Anyone using even one sago tree without right or permission is provoking a serious quarrel. Most Sawar disputes are over land, food resources, spouses or children.

Adoptions

In the pattern of Sawar adoptions, children are given or loaned to parental relatives who need them, sometimes with a letter of permission from the unrelated parent, though often not. Children can be loaned to outsiders who want them or who need help in their families, although this signifies special friendship and obligation. Sawar people distinguish verbally at times between children who are loaned to help and those who are truly given, but often it is difficult to formally define the situation.

Among the five generations of Sawar people studied there were more than fifty adoptions within Sawar clans. Fourteen people were adopted from outside locations who lived in Sawar, took Sawar names, and married Sawar people according to traditional clan marriage patterns. These outside adoptions were all from the earliest generations recorded. More recent adoptions from outside have not married into Sawar clans, nor have they changed their family names to that of the adoptive clan.

Within Sawar adoptions are frequent, but appear to be decreasing. Children have been given to others for the following reasons: death of a parent, divorce or remarriage of a parent, in lieu of the bride price, because the parents had too many children, because the parents felt sorry for someone with no children, no sons, or no daughters. (See Chart 4) Most of those given out of pity were given to blood siblings, but some were also given to cousins, parents' siblings, parents themselves, or by parents to their childless children. Upon the death of the adopted person, the birth family should pay compensation to the adoptive family for their care and nurturing of the adoptee.

The adoptive child is at liberty to take the name of his real parents or his adoptive parents. Those adopted as older children usually keep their birth name unless they are particularly fond of their second parents and want to please them. In cases where several siblings have been adopted out due to the death of a parent some have taken one family name and some another. But Sawar people remember both real and adoptive parents and relationships can be maintained in both lineages, if different. As mentioned above, some of the marriages which seem "illegal" in terms of birth into exogamous phratries are "legal" by adoptive lines, and vice versa.

The totals given for Chart 4 are not consistent with the total number of adoptions taking place because there is considerable overlap in the reasons given for adoptions. For example, parents who are dying tend to give their children to relatives with no children, or when the levirate is followed a man may marry his deceased brother's wife so the children follow their mother to the second husband. Thus one adoption may be entered under more than one row. The columns indicate which category of relative received the child, and the rows give the reasons for the child's move to the new family. These may be clarified as follows: 1) from pitty for a family with no children 2) & 3) death or divorce of a parent 4) given in lieu of bride price payment or 5) unknown causes. These figures do not include outsiders who were adopted into Sawar clans, as those seem to be motivated by other considerations, except for the one Iro man who had no children.

<table>
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<th>Reason</th>
<th>True Sibling</th>
<th>Collateral Sibling</th>
<th>Parental Relative</th>
<th>To subsequent spouse</th>
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<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brideprice</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Naming

As is typical for much of Irian Jaya, Sawar people have three types of names - their clan name, Christian name, and nama tanah 'earth name' or 'traditional name'. The oldest two generations studied had only traditional names. The next two generations had both Christian and traditional names. Some of the newest generation are being given two Christian names as well as their traditional and clan names. A person may have a number of traditional names and several Sawar people have three. Traditional names are of three varieties: 1) names of ancestors; 2) names of places, animals, things, or spirits significant to the parents; 3) names which have no special significance. A number of people have traditional names with phonetic similarities to their Christian names, e.g. Fitoria, Fitio.
Ancestral traditional names are descendants of the ancestor named with a slight majority on the paternal side. Outside people adopted into Sawar families are given traditional names, usually names belonging to ancestors or other family members. It is often the grandparents of a child who give the traditional names while the parents select the Christian names, which are then officially given at the child’s baptism into the Christian Reformed Church.

Traditional names are for use within the household or nuclear family, and are basically a parental-sibling prerogative. It is a sign of the distance in the marriage bond that husbands and wives do not use traditional names for each other, but only Christian names. As soon as a person marries, their family begins to use teknynomic terms instead of personal names. A child’s spouse is called “so-and-so’s spouse,” and as soon as a child is born both its parents become “so-and-so’s mother (or father),” frequently even to their own parents and siblings. However, other terms of address as described in the section on terminology may also be used.

The kin term selected for use is often key to the reason for addressing the person. For example, if a person wants something from a relative he will use the descriptive term which most specifically delineates rights and obligations, whereas if he merely wants the attention of the other person he will more likely use teknynomic or generational terms.

Avoidance Relationships

Avoidance customs characterize the relationships of ego to his spouse’s parents and to his children’s spouses. It is forbidden to pronounce their names or even say a word which is homophonous with the name, although some modern Sawar people will say the name if no other Sawar person can hear them. The traditional penalty for breaking this taboo is not known, but it is definitely considered rude to say their names. The term of reference for those relationships is dawon ‘taboo relationship’, but the terms of address for spouse’s parent are teman and tina ‘father’ and ‘mother’ or a teknynomic term. Children’s spouses are addressed with teknynomic terms. Daughters-in-law may not serve any food or water to their parents-in-law. Sons-in-law must serve their parents-in-law until the bride price is paid. There are no jokings relationships.

These in-law taboos make it easier for the individual nuclear families within one household to eat separately from each other, usually sequentially. However, this may lead to problems over food sharing. One sibling may get the sago, another the vegetables and another the protein, but there may not be enough of everything to go around to all the families.

* Our own family were given traditional names by Bapak Derek and his wife. My husband was given two names, one of which was the same as Derek’s younger brother, Harius, and the other a name of an Ambani ancestor, Derek’s grandfather’s older brother. I was given the name of one of their daughters, which was the name of a spirit that Derek’s wife saw one day on the beach. Our first son was given three names: the first one belonging to a very close friend who was related to both Derek and his wife; another name meaning a type of leaf; and another having no particular meaning. Our second son was given the name of another of Derek’s sons. Our daughter was given the name of a different leaf. We were frequently called by these names within the family.

** We observed that the head of the household received the best food (usually the protein) and if there was enough then it was shared with the others. Derek Zefian’s household contained twenty-one people in 1984, making food supply for everyone difficult.

Sawar Clan Competition and Rivalry

Paramount Generational Relationships

In ego’s generation sibling and marriage provide at once the closest ties and obligations, and also the most stress and competition. The sibling tie is the next closest after parent-child, and the brother-brother dyad is the closest sibling tie. The children of two brothers are considered to be “from the same womb”, but these same brothers may be continually jockeying with each other for position and status. Nevertheless, Sawar siblinghood and lineage structural dynamics would appear to be consonant with Kelly’s analysis of the Etoro social structure in spite of the sibling competition and rivalry, which he did not find. (Kelly, 1974) Ego’s marriage is usually based on mutual attraction between age-mates, but also has the potential to be an arena for conflict between spouses and also affines.

Sibling Rivalry.

Sawar siblings, particularly brothers, express rivalry primarily in terms of authority and status. Younger brothers try to prove that they have more authority over their siblings than do their elder brothers. Elder brothers disparage their younger siblings as irresponsible and flighty. Both male and female siblings are quick to point out any discrepancies between ideal behavior and any sibling’s actual behavior. They are equally quick to rationalize and excuse their own behavior, asserting their independence and right to make decisions which may go against the wishes of parents and older siblings. Siblings may share possessions, but usually do so with reluctance, and sometimes steal from each other or use up resources left with them for safe-keeping. They tend to act as if “What’s mine is mine, and what’s yours is mine, too.” Few repercussions attend such affairs except for hard feelings, which lead to more of the same behavior later.

When married siblings (usually brothers) are assumed upon overly much for shelter and food, putting a financial burden on his family, his spouse will make scenes, even to throwing out the visitors with a great show of bad temper. This doesn’t improve relationships and gives the spouse a bad reputation, but it serves to protect the surface sibling relationship while also saving the family finances. Derek Zefian’s son admitted that he had used this strategy on a number of occasions.

Sibling Cooperation.

Siblings do cooperate in two main areas—food procurement and preparation, and the sharing of children. Brothers and sisters, or husbands and wives, will go to process sago together, the male doing the chopping down of the tree and the pounding, while the women do the washing and kneading. If a sago tree is already chopped and split open, sisters may go together to get the sago. Siblings will also, however reluctantly, share tobacco, betel nut, food, and money with each other, if asked.

If someone does not have any children, a sibling of either the wife or husband will likely give them a child, sometimes more than one or one from each side. Children also move casually from

* This competition and rivalry has not been noted in other descriptions of New Guinea cultures that I know of. Oostervel mentioned this type of competition on the Tor River, but only between villages and language groups. (Oostervel, p. 190) Even in Dembu society, where sorcery was prevalent (Fortune, 1963) people felt safest with their consanguineal kin.
wishes. He took her in, but after a few weeks sent her back to the village saying he did not want her. However, she was already pregnant and after the baby was born he accepted her and the child and they have continued as man and wife.

Marriage Ceremony

Weddings are not usually held in the church due to the fact that the Dutch missionaries who evangelized Sawar taught that marriages in the church were irrevocable. In order to have a way out, the people marry almost entirely with traditional betel nut exchange ceremonies in their homes. The groom and his friends go to the bride’s home and get her, taking her to the groom’s house for the ceremony with a whole procession of the bride’s family, friends, and honored guests, as is typical for other groups in Irian Jaya (Merrifield, et. al.)

The ceremony includes addresses by various clan elders, family members, and village authorities as to the meaning of marriage and responsibilities involved in it. The amounts and items in the milk price and bride price (if paid) are publicly announced and sometimes displayed. Then the couple feed each other betel nut with lime, which comprises the actual wedding ceremony. Guests bring money gifts which are put in a special plate under a napkin. Following the ceremony a meal is served to all the guests, usually plates of rice topped by meat and noodles. Currently, this is often followed by the drinking of beer or liquor, sometimes excessively. This is also becoming a common practice among coastal Irian groups (Merrifield, et. al.)

Marriage Residence

Residence of a newly married couple is ideally patrilocal, unless the bride price has not been paid. In that case, the couple will live with the bride’s family and the groom will serve them in any way they ask until the bride price has been paid or the first child has been given to them. At that time they may move out and start their own home. But house room, land availability, needs of aging relatives, and compatibility all have higher priority than the ideal in determining residence and any sequence of residence is possible.

Marriage Roles

Roles in marriage are clear-cut, but not iron-clad. Women prepare food, collect vegetables, get firewood, pound and carry sago, carry water, assist in childbirth, take care of the children most of the time, and fish along the beach.

Men work with wood, making canoes, building houses, or logging. They also fish from canoes, hunt, dig, chop, pound sago, climb coconut trees, gather house materials, and deal with authorities.

Both men and women can be elders in the church, although women plan the social events and men plan new church construction, etc. Only men are village leaders in any secular capacity. Men are the ones who hold the secret words of power in their possession and now are the ones who do most of the sorcery. There is no evidence of the hostility or opposition between men and women that seems prevalent in some New Guinea cultures (Kelly, 1974; Brown and Buchbinder, 1976).
Marriage Relationship.

The marriage relationship imitates the society as a whole. The husband is boss and heads up the household, keeping his wife in line with beatings if necessary. However, he may also be kind, helping his wife with the children and even with cooking and washing if she is ill. This type of helpfulness is generally admired by the community.

Usually women attend each other during childbirth, although a more trained woman usually comes to cut the cord after delivery. Husbands do not normally attend births. However, as mentioned earlier, Derek Zefan attended his wife alone, by her choice, when she delivered their children.

Wife beating is permissible unless the wife is sick or pregnant, in which case others will intervene. This is particularly the responsibility of the Village Safety Officer who may then beat the offending husband.

If women are extremely angry at their husbands during a fight, they may strip off their clothes to humiliate him in front of the onlookers. Intervention only occurs in husband-wife fights if personal injury is imminent. Spouses will more often attack the house and knock down walls, etc., thus symbolically injuring each other. Marital fights may be caused by incompatibility with the parents-in-law, by lack of the husband's ability to provide well for his wife, by either one's slighting of the children such as not giving them food, or by unfaithfulness, real or imagined.

Marriage/Divorce

Most divorce occurs among young couples with no children and is caused by incompatibility (frequent fights and beatings) and unfaithfulness. Children from a divorced marriage are usually given away, either to the wife's parents or siblings. Men generally do not want to care for children other than their own, although in one case of unfaithfulness where the husband still wanted the wife, he claimed the baby. When an illegitimate child is expected, the girl's father will investigate the identity of the baby's father. If the baby's father refuses to marry the girl or claim the baby, then another family is looked for to claim the baby. Once claimed, the baby is no longer considered illegitimate. Two Sawar girls chose to keep their babies without a husband and those babies were considered illegitimate until the girls later married.

Rites of Passage

Payments

There are four rites of passage payments in Sawar. First, the siramai weyan 'milk price' is paid at the time of the wedding by the husband and his family (on behalf of the wife) to the bride's parents' cross siblings and their children. If they are generous they may divide it among other relatives as well. This payment is obligatory at the wedding, and as its name suggests, is to compensate the bride's parents' cross-siblings' clans for the loss of her nurturing ability. The payment usually consists of a combination of money, cloth, and dishes but the amount is voluntary. There has been no intimation that bargaining or negotiating take place in regard to the amount of these payments, but we have often heard complaints about stinginess in making payments or sharing of payments received.

A second payment, also ideally (but seldom actually) made at the time of the wedding, is the mesne 'bride price'. It is also paid by the husband and his family, but to the bride's father and brothers, presumably to compensate for the loss of the daughter's progeny and work in the home. If the groom cannot afford this payment he is in virtual bondage to his parents-in-law until it is paid. A possible alternative, which is still being taken today, is to give the first child to the bride's parents in lieu of the bride price. This is further evidence that the bride price is compensation for the loss of the children.

The third and fourth payments are made in relation to death. After a death, the coffin must be made and the grave dug by the deceased's cross-cousins or their oldest descendents. Some time (ranging months to years) after the burial, the dehu ai a weyan 'head price' is paid by the dead person's children and family to the ones who made the coffin and dug the grave. The amount of this payment is voluntary but is usually directly related to the quantity and quality of materials and time used in making the coffin and grave. When Derek Zefan clan died, none of those who should have made the coffin were willing or able to do so, therefore no head price will be paid. The fourth payment is the one mentioned earlier in the section of adoptions where a deceased adopted person's adoptive family is compensated by his birth family for their care and nurturing of him. In the case of an older person such as Derek Zefan, this payment is accompanied by a ceremony called etran iioti "burning the stick", and the person's cane is burned in a special fire. This refers to the resolving of the debt incurred by the family whose child was cared for by someone else. It is believed that if this is not done, none of the deceased person's children will have success in life.

Celebrations

Rites of passage celebrations other than those involved in the payments listed above are related to birthdays and menopause. At a child's first birthday, or at any birthday the parents wish to commemorate, they will give a celebration. This involves inviting both patrilateral and matrilateral kinsmen to their house on a designated evening and having one of the church elders hold a church service there. Then a meal is served, after which hymns are sung for part or all of the night. If the singing lasts until dawn a second meal is served around two or three a.m. Tobacco and betel nut are supplied freely throughout the celebration, even the church service part. Those invited bring gifts for the child which are usually food items, bead jewelry, handmade decorations, or money.

At menopause, or whenever a woman's family is sure she will not give birth again, her husband's clan may hold a traditional dance party (interestingly called merou samo 'late afternoon time') which can last for several days or as long as food supplies hold out. The woman's children are formally counted by her husband and his close male kin (in former times they were numbered with dog teeth on a string). During this celebration the husband's clan feed and give presents to the wife's birth clan in direct proportion to the number of children she bore, to compensate them for the loss of those children. However, this is not called "a payment" with the terminology of the other rites of passage payments listed above and it is optional. Such parties are usually held only for those women who have borne large families and are from clans with enough prestige and resources to be able to host such an event. Two such parties were held in December, 1988, one of the few times in recent memory.
Obligations

A person is obligated to give whatever is asked by one's closest relatives if one is able to do so. In order of priority these relatives are: parents and uterine siblings, then mother's brothers, sister's sons, and all cross-cousins. From these relatives food, betel nut, tobacco and other small items may be requested or even taken without asking, although money must always be asked for. Larger items such as stereo tape players can be requested, but may be refused. Other parental siblings, soni, are not obligated to give to ego. Affines of this close degree (sibling and parental) are, however, obligated to give what is asked if it is in their power to do so.

The entire clan and phratry are expected to share expenses and cooperate in hosting large social gatherings or feasts held for a variety of reasons. Lists of items needed from each family are made up and sent around. Affines of ego's generation are expected to help in giving small parties or in building gardens.

Social Interaction

Sawar people do not visit each other unless they have a specific purpose or are of the same matrilineal or patrilineal clan. When a visit to relatives is made, the relationship is emphasized in the opening greetings. Only women of the same clan (by either birth or marriage) go fishing along the beach together.

Prior to the 1980s all washing of clothes and dishes, and most bathing was done at the fresh water springs along the beach. But women of different clans did noticeably little talking and socializing. Then the government put in three wells in different parts of Sawar. When women of different clans or lineages had to share the same well, those who owned the land where the well was located humiliated the others until they refused to go back. The other women then got their husbands or brothers to dig their own wells, even though there was considerable apprehension that so many wells would dry up the underground stream supplying the fresh water.

There is great difficulty in getting the different clans to cooperate on anything for the village as a whole. Resources collected for the new church kept disappearing, as does any accumulated money. The church elders decided to allot each clan a certain amount of materials to contribute toward the new church, but even that was unsuccessful as different lineages refused to cooperate. Village workdays are very poorly attended.

SANDWICH KINSHIP STRUCTURE

The term "sandwich kinship structure" was chosen to describe Sawar kinship taxonomy because if the nine generations are viewed as horizontal lines on a page, the top three lines are identical to the bottom three lines but in reverse order, while the middle three lines or generations are varied, and differ from each other in terminology patterns. The middle three generations form the filling of the sandwich and the outer six generations are the "bread" that holds the filling in place. (See Charts 5 and 6) Most of the terms of reference are inalienably possessed (see Chart 8), and in this paper these are all given in the third person singular form.
Outer Layers

The outer six generations of Sobei kin, following the sandwich analogy, are completely classificatory and generational. There is one referential kin term, tapun debases, for all kinsmen four generations removed from ego. Similarly, all kinsmen three generations removed from ego are referred to as tapun deba, and all grandkinsmen are referred to as tapun. But a single term of address, tapun serves all six of those generations. Modifiers indicating male, tempo, or female, mefee, can be added if desired to any sex-neutral term, such as for grandkinsmen.

Sandwich Filling

The "sandwich filling" consists of three generations, here designated as parental, ego's, and children's, which have rather more complex terminology.

Again, a speaker may choose to use terms of address which are generational, as in a Hawaiian system, though in the middle three generations there are a number of alternate terms which may be used. The same two terms of address (mam 'father', and nen 'mother') may be used for all those in the parental generation including affines, and two terms of address (yai 'older sibling' and na'en 'younger sibling') may also suffice for all of ego's generation including affines. However, other terms of address are not only possible but frequently used. In the children's generation individual given names are used most commonly for address or reference, but a single term, naim, usually used as a term of reference, can be used for to all members of the first descending generation.
Parental Generation

Kinship terminology for ego's parents' generation consists of four terms used in a system which is partially bifurcate merging extending to two degrees of collaterality bilaterally. Two of the four terms are reciprocal and have different forms for reference and address, some of which are inalienably possessed. (See Chart 8) In descending generations males and females use the terms differently because of the mother's brother distinction.

Neswoni (addressed as soni, or as mam 'father' and nen 'mother') are parents' older siblings and their spouses, and the children of grandparents' older siblings, except for mother's brothers and their spouses.

Teman and tinan are the terms of reference for father and mother respectively, and for all their younger siblings and cousins and their spouses, again except for mother's brothers and their spouses. Spouse's parents, although in a taboo relationship and referred to as da consonant may also be addressed as mam and nen, the terms of reference for father and mother. These terms of address may be applied to step-parents, but the referential terms are not. Stepfathers are referred to as teman eyafse, and steppmothers as tinan eyafse 'caring for father/mother'.

Ewon are mother's brothers and male cousins and their spouses. The specific term of address for ewon is wawa, but as stated above, the terms for father and mother are more commonly used.

Siblings

There are three different, but somewhat overlapping systems of nomenclature for siblings and cousins: Hawaiian terms of address, Iroquois cousin terminology, and a relative age differentiation.

The most common form of address and reference in ego's generation are the age-distinctive terms, yai 'older sibling' and na'an 'younger sibling'. This importance of the age distinction is shown by the fact that these are the only relationships with two terms of reference each. Na'an and tasin, respectively, are additional terms for these siblings, as shown in Chart 8. Parallel cousins are called by these older or younger terms according to the relative ages of the linking parents. All cousins in the second degree of collaterality may referred to or addressed by these terms and the relative age of alter is determined by the ages of the linking grandparents. These older-younger terms may also be used for all affines of ego's generation and may be further extended to anyone in ego's generation from other lineages as described earlier. Due to the small size of the language group and the high degree of inter-relatedness, it is safe to say that everyone in ego's generation could be included under one of these two terms.

The second most common way of differentiating siblings is with terms of relative sexual identity. As has been previously stated, the brother-brother bond is the closest sibling relationship and significantly it is the only dyad which uses only age reference terms. Cross-siblings use the special term da consonant both as reference and address, and their relationship is basic to the mother's brother - sister's son bond which pervades New Guinean kinship. (Kelly, Brown, Oosterveld) Sisters have a special word for their relationship, using esdon as reference and sedon as address.

*Number 14 is not included on the charts
In Sobei cousin terminology, following Iroquois patterns, cross-cousins are called nabai fumau and older/younger sibling terms are used for parallel cousins. Nabai fumau are considered the closest non-uterine siblings. When Sawar people say that someone is their nabai fumau they do it with special emphasis and indicate the strength of the bond. We have seen no evidence of rivalry or competition in this relationship. For these reasons I have given this term individual ranking. There is no evidence that the term nabai fumau is extended collateral.

Nabai is the term of address for all those ego calls "cousin", including nabai fumau. But the other nabai terms, i.e. nabai with or without any of its other modifiers, are hard to define.

Nabai nemen'ato is a term which is used inconsistently for parallel cousins, cross-cousins of the second degree of collaterality, those of mother's clan, and for the grandchildren of both parallel and cross-cousins. The term nemen'ato derives from a term for younger sibling.

Nabai seba have been described as referring to all those of ego's generation in the clans belonging to mother's phratry. The term seba has reference to "mother's group". This term is very seldom used and just came to light after years of gathering and checking Sawar kinship data at sporadic intervals. It is uncertain whether it refers to the clans in mother's maternal or paternal phratries.

One last nabai term is manithwo. This has reference to all the nabai who are entitled to share in the head price after ego's death. Nabai fumau have first rights and may divide the head price with their children or with nabai nemen'ato if they feel so inclined. Many do not share the head price with others, putting their own interests first. (See Section 3.5 Rites of Passage)

Some Sawar people say that the term nabai without modifiers can be extended to refer to anyone having the name of either father or mother's clan if specific definition of their status is uncertain. For example, this term could be used of people from other villages and language groups with the same clan name, because it is assumed that they are relatives. With this much ambiguity in nabai 'cousin' taxonomy, perhaps it is sufficient to note that these terms seem to be related to the rites of passage payments and their recipients.

Affines

All affines of two or more generations removed from ego are called by consanguineal terms. Affines of the first ascending generation are all called akwon 'taboo relationship'. Affines in the first descending generation are referred to by the same terms as spouse uses for that person.

* Despite repeated and varied attempts to determine precisely what relationships are included in the nabai set of terms, the results are still contradictory and confusing. According to a few people there are collateral nabai fumau but no evidence could be found for it in real-life relationships. Three blood brothers named three different sets of people as their nabai nemen'ato. One source insisted that nabai nemen'ato were those from the mother's father's side, but since Sobei kin terms are reciprocal and balanced that seems unlikely.

The difficulties in eliciting these terms are caused partly by people being related to each other in several ways and partly by the fact that these are descriptive distinctions which seem to be falling into disuse, particularly among the young people, while the generational terms appear to be increasingly used. Further study would need to be done among the very old people to determine the traditional use of these terms.
Chart 7. Affinal Kinship Chart

Chart 8. Sobei Kinship Terms

Children's Generation

All of the first descending generation may be referred to by ego generationally as *natun* 'child'. If a descriptive term is desired, female egos still refer to the children of their older siblings and older collateral siblings as *natun*. But the children of their younger siblings and younger cousins are called *soni*. Males may refer to the children of female siblings (*defun*) as *ewon*, children of older male siblings as *natun* and children of younger male siblings as *soni*. Terms of address for the children's generation are simply their names until they have had children, and then teknonymy is used.

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<td>(reciprocal)</td>
<td>tapun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>great</td>
<td></td>
<td>tapun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>tapun</td>
<td>grandkinsman</td>
<td>(reciprocal)</td>
<td>tapun</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mam</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>tasin</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
<td>na'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>dafun</td>
<td>cross-sex sibling</td>
<td></td>
<td>dafun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>esdon</td>
<td>sister (female)</td>
<td></td>
<td>sedon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chart 8. Sobei Kinship Terms (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. on Chart</th>
<th>Reference Term (3rd p. sing.)</th>
<th>Approx. English Gloss</th>
<th>Term of Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>nabai fumau</td>
<td>cross-cousin (reciprocal)</td>
<td>nabai, yai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>nabai (nemen'ato) (not on charts) (seba) (manitwo)</td>
<td>type of cousin (reciprocal)</td>
<td>nabai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>matrilateral cross-cousin head price cousin</td>
<td>nabai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>eson</td>
<td>spouse</td>
<td>Christian name teknonymy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>dawon</td>
<td>parent-in-law child-in-law (reciprocal)</td>
<td>mam, na'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>ifan</td>
<td>sibling-in-law (same-sex) (reciprocal)</td>
<td>yai, na'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>kweisu</td>
<td>wife's younger brother &amp; wife</td>
<td>kweisu, na'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>fumwan</td>
<td>wife's sisters</td>
<td>fumwan, yai, na'en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>penabi (not on charts)</td>
<td>children's spouses' parents</td>
<td>penabi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chart 9. Specific Delineation of Sobei Kin Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B brother</th>
<th>F father</th>
<th>O older</th>
<th>W wife</th>
<th>Y younger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C child(ren)</td>
<td>H husband</td>
<td>P parent</td>
<td>X sibling</td>
<td>Z sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D daughter</td>
<td>M mother</td>
<td>S son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **tapun debases** - All kinsmen of ascending and descending generations four generations removed from ego, both affinal and consanguineal.
2. **tapun deba** - All kinsmen of ascending and descending generations three generations removed from ego, both affinal and consanguineal.
3. **tapun** - All kinsmen of ascending and descending generations two generations removed from ego both affinal and consanguineal.
4. **teman** - F FYB PYZ FH PYXS PP YXDH
   
   Father and father's younger male siblings and parents' younger sisters' husbands to the first degree of collaterality. This term is the same for male or female ego.
5. **tian** - M FYB FYB FYB FYB FYB FYB FYB
   
   Mother and the spouses of any man called *teman* 'father' as listed above. Parents' younger siblings and collateral younger siblings are all called 'father' and 'mother' except for mother's brothers and male cousins. 'Father' and 'mother' are the reciprocals for 'child'.
6. **ewon** - MB MB MB MP XS MP XS MP XS
   
   Both male and female egos use ewon as listed above and it is self-reciprocal.

Males only additionally call all offspring of female siblings and female cousins (or everyone they call *dahun*) ewon, and it is self-reciprocal. (Ego's wife also calls these ewon, e.g. HZC HPXDC)

**Note:** The term of address for ewon is wawa, but also all ewon may be addressed as 'father' and 'mother' if older, or as 'child' if in a younger generation.

7. **Neswoni** - FOX FOX FOX FOX FOX MOZ POZH FPOXS FPOXS FPOXS
   
   This term is the same for male and female egos in ascending generations and is self-reciprocal. It is used for parents' older siblings and their spouses, (except for mother's older brother) and for grandparents' older siblings' children and their spouses (except for mother's male cousins and their spouses). The term of address for this is soni.

Females call the children of all younger siblings and cousins by this term.

**YXC PYXS C PP YXCC HY BC HPYXSC**

Males call the children of all younger brothers and cousins by this term.

**YBC PYXS C PP YXCC WY XC WP YXCC**

8. **natun - female ego** C OXC POXCC POXCC POXCC HOBC HPOXS

   Ego's own child and all children of older siblings or cousins to the second degree.
natur - male ego COB POXSC POXSC WOXC WPOXCC

Ego's own child and all children of male older siblings or cousins siblings to the second degree of collaterality.

9. yai, na'ān - male ego
   OB OBW FOBS MOZS POXSW POXCSW POXSCW WOBW WPOXSW
   yai, na'ān - female ego
   OZH POXDH POXCDH HOBW HOZH HPOXSW HPOXDH
   Older siblings and cousins to the second degree of collaterality and their spouses. Older affinal siblings and their spouses also to the second degree.
   Note: 9 & 10 are the most common terms of address for these relatives.

10. tasin, na'en - male ego
    YB YBW FYBS MYZS PYXSW PYPXCS PYPXCSW
    tasin, na'en - female ego
    YZH PYXDH PYPXCDH HYBW HYZH HPYXSW HPYXDH
    All younger siblings and cousins to the second degree and their spouses. Affinal younger siblings and their spouses also to the second degree except for male ego.

11. dafun - male ego Z FBD MZD PXCD WZ WPXD
    dafun - female ego B FBS MZS PXCS HB HPXS
    Any cross-sex sibling or cousin to the second degree.

12. edson - female ego only Z FBD MZD PXCD
    Used by females for female siblings and cousins to the second degree of collaterality.

13. nabai fumau - male and female egos - FZC MBC. Cross-cousins.
    Note: This is a term of reference. The term of address for this and all other nabai terms is nabai if distinction is made, otherwise the older - younger sibling terms are used.

14. nabai (nemen'ato) - male and female egos - at least MFBC
    (sebā) - persons of ego's generation whose family name is from mother's phratry.
    (manetiwo) - all nabai having the right to share in the head price e.g. nabai fumau, nabai nemen'ato of deceased. (These terms are not on charts 5 & 6)

15. eson - spouse H W

16. dawon - taboo relationship - both male and female ego
    HP HPX HPBW HPZH WP WPX WPBW WPZH SW DH

SAWAR CLAN COMPETITION AND RIVALRY

Spouse's parents and all their siblings and their spouses. Children's and all classificatory children's spouses.

17. ifan - male ego ZH PXD F PPOXDH WB WPXS
    ifan - female ego BW PXSW PPXCSW HZ HPXD Spouse's cross-sex siblings and their collateral equivalent to the second degree.

18. kweisu - wife's younger brother and his wife. WYB WYBW WPYXS WPYXSW

19. furwan - wife's sisters' husbands. WZH WPXDH

20. penabi - children's spouses' parents. (not on charts) SWP DHP

CONCLUSION

Sawar kinship can best be characterized as paradoxical. It is both simple and complex, in some aspects following Hawaiian and in other aspects Iroquoian with added age complexities. The closest kin bond is brother-brother, yet here is also the greatest arena of rivalry. This primarily brother-brother sibling rivalry permeates the society from the sibling apical ancestors of the lineages down through to the smallest set of siblings. Additionally, the clans compete with each other for status, for primacy of original residence, for rank, for land, and for authority.

Sawar people have great independence of spirit, while being tied irrevocably to their kin. A Sawar person cannot achieve full identity alone, but they certainly try. If two brothers are identified so closely that their children are considered to be of the same womb, and yet brother-brother rivalry is a dominating motif, then perhaps Sawar society typifies Walt Kelly's Pogo’s famous expression “We have found the enemy, and he is us.”
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KAURE KINSHIP: OBLIGATIONS, RESTRICTIONS AND TABOOS

by Peter B. Dommel

Hal khusus yang menarik dari kekerabatan orang Kaure adalah harapan tugas dan perbuatan antar seorang dengan yang lain yang berkaitan dengan hubungan sanak saudara tertentu. Misalnya, apabila salah satu dari orang tua meninggal, kemungkinan besar anaknya dipukul oleh sepupu mereka karena perikusan mereka yang tidak sesuai terhadap orang tua mereka sewaktu orang tua tersebut masih hidup. Hubungan antara sanak saudara karena perkawinan diatur oleh penghindaran perbuatan ekstrim yang dengannya saksama digambarkan.

Terminologi deskriptif mendasari kekerabatan orang Kaure, walaupun mereka mempunyai pilihan untuk menggunakan terminologi pengklasifikasian kelau mereka kehendaki. Beberapa aspek yang luar biasa dari Kkerabatan orang Kaure adalah istilah matriilateral dan patrilateral yang digunakan untuk cucu-cucu, kurangnya istilah untuk sanak saudara dalam perkawinan dan ada kenyataan bahwa walaupun semua sepupu disebut "Kali". Pasangan mereka dibedakan oleh jenis kelamin dan umur sanak saudara dari sepupu terhadap "ego". Suatu ciri yang menarik adalah kebiasaan orang Kaure dalam tukar menukar saudara perempuan terdapat dalam terminologi mereka.

Of special interest in considering Kaure kinship are the role expectations and interpersonal behavior associated with certain kin relationships. When a parent dies, for example, his or her children are likely to be beaten by their cross-cousins for any disobedient acts toward their parent while he or she was alive. Relationships between affines are regulated by extreme avoidance behavior which is carefully delineated.

Descriptive terminology characterizes Kaure kinship, though they have the option of using classificatory terminology if they so desire. Some unusual aspects of Kaure kinship terminology are the matriilateral and patrilateral terms used for grandkinsmen, the lack of terms for certain affines, and the fact that though all cross-cousins are called "kali", their spouses are distinguished by both sex and the relative age of the cross-cousins to ego. Another interesting feature is that the Kaure custom of sister-exchange is frequently reflected in their terminology.
THE KAURE

The Kaure people of the Eastern Lakes Plain area of Irian Jaya (Indonesia) currently live in the three villages of Harna, Masta, and Wes around the Lereh airstrip about fifty miles southwest of Sentani, and in the recently rebuilt village of Aurina about thirty miles southeast of Lereh. All of these villages are in the Kecamatan Kaure, Kabupaten Jayapura (see Figure 1). A few Kaure people live in Irian Jaya's capital city, Jayapura. The total Kaure population is between 400 and 450 people. The traditional animistic religion was nominally replaced by Protestant Christianity beginning in the early 1960s when Dutch Reformed missionaries arrived in the area. Some Kaure converted to Seventh-Day-Adventism in the early 1970s through the work of American missionaries of that denomination. Now all Kaure belong to one of these two denominations, though the majority (perhaps ninety percent) adhere to the protestant denomination, Gereja Kristen Injil, fostered by Dutch Reformed Protestant missionaries.

Kaure is classified by Voorhoeve (1975:45) as a non-Austronesian language of the Kaure family, Kaure stock of the Trans-New-Guinea phylum. The people of Harna and Masta speak the same dialect, which differs slightly from the one spoken at Wes and Aurina. Kaure is the only known tonal language in the area.*

Kaure Clans

There are eighteen patrilineal clans in the Kaure language group. Eleven of these are "double clans" since at some point in the past they were joined by another clan. Many people today are still aware of the fact that they have descended from a clan that no longer exists (see Figure 2).

However, only part of the Hirwa clan joined the Nakabi clan and therefore, the Hirwa clan still exists. The same applies to the Wama clan which joined the Dalem clan, but still exists in the neighboring Sause language group. (See Figure 1). Consequently there is a restriction against marriage between the Hirwa and the Nakabi clans and also between the Dalem and the Wama.

As in the nearby Kentuk language group (van der Wilden 1976:10), most of the Kaure clan names have no meanings except the following three: Seh 'dog', Kasu 'kind of tree bark', and the former clan name Nowen 'hawk'. Those names which have meaning refer to the clan totems.

Eleven clans trace themselves back to a totem animal, bird, or insect which cannot be eaten by members of the clan. Any man who takes a wife must not only observe the food taboo of his own clan but, in addition, that of his wife's clan. The wife, however, does not observe the food taboo of her husband's clan and couple's children only observe the food taboo of their father's clan. If such a taboo is violated, it is feared that sickness will strike the offender. Notice that the Yamle clan has two totem animals.

* Tones are not written in Kaure terms in this paper. For further information, see P. and G. Domnel: Kaure Phonology, Workpapers on Indonesian Languages, Vol. IX, June, 1991.

Our research was conducted primarily with the people of Harna and Masta. We have been living at the village of Harna on a semi-permanent basis since we began our work in June 1985 under the Cooperative Program of the University of Cenderawasih and the Summer Institute of Linguistics.
After the government resettlement project all the Kaure moved into the villages of Harna, Masta, Wes (known as the Lereh area) and Aurina about thirty miles distant from Lereh. A strong tendency for patrilocal social organization can still be seen. Most clans that formerly lived south of the Yapa river and east of the Martaluk river moved to Wes and Aurina, some moved to Masta, but none to Harna. Clans that lived north of the Yapa river and west of the Martaluk river moved to Harna and Masta. The Yame clan is the only clan that lives in three villages.

Due to earlier migrations, at least eight Kaure clan names are found in surrounding language groups. All these names occur at locations near the former settlements of these clans (see far right column of Figure 3). Most members of these migrated Kaure clans now have little knowledge of the Kaure language.

At Witi three languages are spoken by all inhabitants: Kaure, Sause, and Orya, so Witi is not considered a Kaure village. Wes is a new village that was built by the government in the early 1980s to house some of those people who followed the government request to abandon their old areas of settlement.

---

### Figure 2. Kaure Clans and Totems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan Name</th>
<th>Former Clan Joined to Present One</th>
<th>Totem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bilaba</td>
<td>Tijja</td>
<td>species of saurian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seh</td>
<td>Kwanholai</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auru</td>
<td>Ajdel</td>
<td>kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yamele</td>
<td>Lidel</td>
<td>pig, womn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakabl</td>
<td>Hinwa</td>
<td>wild chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yapih</td>
<td>Tapok</td>
<td>sago grub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamun</td>
<td>Marti</td>
<td>waxw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasu</td>
<td>Kapai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masta</td>
<td>Haltelo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hirwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalem</td>
<td>Wana</td>
<td>wild chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pokoko</td>
<td>Nowen</td>
<td>cuckoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lai (Laidel)</td>
<td></td>
<td>hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwarje</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kormasi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koyao</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sita</td>
<td></td>
<td>hornbill</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Those clans without totems listed do not remember their totem.

Usually the oldest man in each clan is recognised as its headman, for it is he who has the most relatives that call him "father" and honor him as such. However there are some cases where a man's recognized expertise, knowledge or wealth have brought him the headman position.

The dominant clan is the Auru. Its ascendency goes back to mythological times when the Auru are said to have told all the other clans where to settle. Today they still own the most Kaure land, community leaders are often from this clan, and this clan name is found in the surrounding language groups and among Kaure who have moved away and long since lost their language and traditions. In spite of this dominance the only large grouping of the Auru is in Harna village, as shown in Figure 3.

The Kaure residence pattern is patrilocal and a household normally consists of a nuclear family and occasionally an additional widowed mother or father. This practice is similar to the neighboring Nimboran (May 1981:3).

### Clan Migrations

Before the government resettlement project of the late 1970s and early 1980s the Kaure lived in a rough triangle east of the Ihipo river, south of the Nawan river and north of the Idenburg river (see Figure 1).

Families were never organized in village units but were spread out along river and creek banks, near mountains or waterfalls, or near a sago plantation. Some clans used to live in more than one area, and some areas had more than one clan (see Figure 3).
KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kaure kinship terminology does not correspond to any of the standard types, but the cousin terminology is Iroquois, i.e. Kaure speakers differentiate cross-cousins from ego's siblings, but use sibling terms for parallel cousins. In the first ascending generation ego's mother's younger sister is equated with ego's mother, but distinct descriptive terms denote each of ego's parents' other siblings (mother's older sister, mother's brother, father's older and younger brothers and father's sister) (see Figure 4).

The Kaure may use either of two systems, a relatively descriptive system as in Figure 4 or a limited classificatory system as in Figure 5. While this paper will primarily describe the descriptive system, the Kaure prefer to use the classificatory system.
Consanguineal Kinship Terms

Kauure consanguineal kinship terms are in principle used for both address and reference alike, but actually only occasionally are these terms used in addressing people. They are all obligatorily possessed by either preceding personal names or prefixed pronouns, as in the following examples in which na-, ha-, ne- or nene- are prefixed to dok 'child(ren)'*

na-dok my child, our (excit.) children
ha-dok your child, your children
ne-dok his child(ren), her child(ren), their child(ren)
nene-dok our (incl.) child(ren)
Piter dok Piter's child(ren)

Forms throughout the remainder of the paper will be cited, however, without the possessive pronoun.

Grandkinsmen.

Kauure kinship terminology distinguishes seven generations of kinsmen. There are three ascending generations and three descending generations. The terms of the second ascending generation are identical with the ones of the second descending generation, (father's parents = son's children and mother's parents = daughter's children), except that the terms of the second descending generation can optionally be suffixed by -nya to indicate that it is a descending generation. In these generations sex is not differentiated, but matrilateral ascent and descent are differentiated from patrilateral ascent and descent. Assa refers to paternal grandparents as well as son's children. Apeuq refers to maternal grandparents and daughter's children. All collateral kinsmen and their spouses in these generations are also called by the same terms, asa and apeuq. Notice that in the second descending generation matrilateral kinsmen are called apeuq(nya) (brother's daughter's children, sister's daughter's children), and asa(nya) are all those patrilateral kinsmen in that generation (brother's son's children, sister's son's children) (see Figure 6).

A single term is used to refer to kinsmen three or more generations above or below ego. The term which is reciprocally used is kaueuk 'ancestor' or 'descendant' with the optional suffix -nya for the descending generations. Sex and matrilateral vs. patrilateral descent are no longer differentiated on these levels.

* Dok 'child' is the only kin term that can be used without a preceding name and without a prefixed possessive pronoun, referring to any male. No-nue 'mother' and de-jik 'father' always have the prefixed pronoun, even when preceded by a personal name (Piter nene 'Piter's mother', Piter de-jik 'Piter's father'). Notice that with the term de-jik 'father' the possessive pronouns usually change from na- to da- in the first person and from ne- to di- in the third person.
Parent and Child Generations

In the first ascending generation jik is the term used not only for ego's own father but also for the husbands of mother's younger and older sisters. This term is also used in an extended way for all men of any clan in the ascending generations as a term of respect. Father's brothers are usually differentiated according to relative age: aseik is father's older brother, and kadai is father's younger brother. Alternatively, the term for father, jik, may be used for both. Father's sisters are all designated by one term only: neba, and their husbands are called napan. Ego's mother is usually neba, but an alternative term for mother is ade. These terms (noa and ade) are also used for father's younger brother's wife and mother's younger sister. Furthermore, noa and ade can be extended to mother's older sister (ato), to father's older brother's wife (ato), and as terms of respect to all women of all clans in all ascending generations. There are two synonymous terms for mother's brother: baholai and kabwa. Mother's brother's wife is called dole. All of these terms are used by a male and female alike (see Figure 6).

Notice, however, that all these terms for parent's siblings can also be extended to one's parents' parallel and cross-cousins, for whom one's parents use the sibling and cross-cousin terms. Therefore, on the patrilateral side aseik is not only father's older brother, but also father's parents' siblings' older sons. Kadai is father's younger brother and also father's parents' siblings' younger sons. Neba does not only denote father's sister but also father's parents' siblings' daughter. On the matrilateral side the same applies. Besides mother's older sister, ato is also mother's parents' siblings' older daughter. Noa is extended to mother's parents' siblings' younger daughter. The two synonymous terms baholai and kabwa refer to mother's brother and also to mother's parents' siblings' sons.

In the first descending generation there is one term, dok, for ego's own offspring. Sex and relative age can be expressed by additional modifiers, like naplan 'girl', didok 'boy' (lit. 'bow child', as only men have bows), dipuk 'boy' (lit. 'with bow'), kolpi or subwa 'big' (i.e. older), and tainolin 'little' (i.e. younger). The term dok 'child' is also used to name one's same-sex older siblings' children and one's same-sex older parallel cousins' children and older same-sex cross-cousins' children. A further extended usage of the term dok is that the Kaurae sometimes refer to all members in all descending generations of any clan by that term. Same-sex younger siblings' children, therefore, may be called dok, but the term aseik is more precise. Since aseik is also the term used for father's older brother, it is self-reciprocal, i.e., ego calls father's older brother by the term and father's older brother calls ego, his younger brother's child, by the same term. Ego's cross-sex siblings' children are called kanon. The same terms apply to ego's cross-sex parallel cousins' children.

Terms used for the children of ego's keli 'cross-cousin' will be discussed under affinal terms in the following section since their designation is determined by the affinal term.

Siblings and Cousins

In ego's generation parallel cousins are classed with siblings. Siblings of the same sex as ego are named semlik 'younger sibling of the same sex' and dowi 'older sibling of the same sex'. Parallel cousins of the same sex are called dowi if they are older than ego, and those of the same sex that are younger than ego are called semlik. A male ego calls a female sibling neplai 'sister', and a female ego calls a male sibling and male parallel cousin nepli 'brother', not differentiating relative age. All siblings and parallel cousins of ego's lineage can also be called pala by speakers of either sex. Matrilateral parallel cousins (mother's sister's children) can alternatively all be called awan by a male ego. Spouses and offspring of parallel cousins are equated with spouses and offspring of siblings. All cross cousins are keli. Their spouses are discussed under affinal terminology.

Kaurae cousin terms are extended to second degree cousins. Generally speaking, a second degree cousin is equated with a parallel cousin when the genealogical link between ego and alter is through ego's and alter's parents of the same sex. If the genealogical link between ego and alter is through ego's and alter's parents of different sexes then ego and alter are considered with cross-cousins.

Figure 7. Kaurae Affinal Kinship Chart

Kaure Male Ego

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>F Father</th>
<th>H Husband</th>
<th>B Brother</th>
<th>O Older</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M Mother</td>
<td>W Wife</td>
<td>Z Sister</td>
<td>Y Younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. kaek</td>
<td>20. dok</td>
<td>24. neteik</td>
<td>28. asai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. asa</td>
<td>21. kanon</td>
<td>25. dekil</td>
<td>29. nalen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. apeuk</td>
<td>22. memai</td>
<td>28. dai</td>
<td>31. nimwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. aseik</td>
<td>23. kauekduk</td>
<td>27. noksai</td>
<td>32. sowai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* This term is cognate with Kembtek doj (c.f. v.d. Welden 1976:9).
Affinal Kinship Terms

Kauré affinal terms of reference, like the consanguineal ones, may also be used as terms of address (though rarely used in this way). They are also all obligatorily possessed as described above. In the paragraphs that follow, the affinal terms will be presented without the obligatory possessive pronoun.

Affinal terms are used basically on two generation levels: first ascending and ego's own generation. Spouses of parallel cousins are equated with spouses of siblings and are somewhat different for male and female ego. For a male, the wife of dowi 'older brother, father's brother's son, mother's sister's older son' is called awoke. For a female, the husband of her dowi is her sowai. Ninkwa is the wife of ego's senlik 'younger same-sex sibling and parallel cousins for both males and females. Male ego's sister's husband as well as the husbands of his parallel cousins are called asai. The same parallelism holds true for females. In a sister-exchange marriage system a male ego's sister's husband could be the same person as ego's wife's brother, i.e. memai 'wife's brother'. In such a case the consanguineal connection supersedes the affinal one, and ego refers to these people as the spouses of his siblings rather than as the siblings of his spouse.

The term keli is used for all cross-cousins, not differentiating sex, relative age, and descent. Sex and relative age of cross-cousins, however, are differentiated in the terms used for their spouses and children. An older female cross-cousin's husband is siwai. The offspring of keli and siwai are designated by the same terms as siblings' children according to sex and age relative to ego. The younger female cross-cousin's husband is sometimes called siwai, but more often ninkwa. The wife of a male keli who is older than ego ego is called by the same term as the wife of ego's older brother and that of the wife of ego's older parallel cousin: awoke. The wife of a younger keli is called by the same term as is used as for ego's younger brother's wife and ego's younger parallel cousin's wife: ninkwa. These considerations relating to keli and their spouses hold true for male and female ego alike.

Ego's wife is called ne-dai 'his married woman' (or na-dai 'my married woman'). When this term is extended to all married women, it is no longer obligatorily possessed by the possessive pronoun and is not used as a term of address. Instead, naa 'mother' is used.

There are three terms for the siblings of ego's wife. Ego's wife's younger sister is sowai and her older sister is ninkwa. Ego's wife's brother is memai and the same term is used for ego's wife's father and all male affinal kinsmen of the first ascending generation. A male ego's mother-in-law is neteik as are also all the female affines of the first ascending generation. This, however, is not the same term for the wife of the memai 'brother-in-law' of ego's generation. She is called neplai 'sister', 'female parallel cousin' or even keli 'female cross-cousin' because that is who she actually could be in a sister-exchange marriage system. If there is no consanguineal connection between ego and his wife's brother's wife, the same term, as for ego's child's parents-in-law, payan* (and its synonym apwa), is used.

Ego's wife's siblings' offspring are equated with ego's own siblings' offspring. The children of ego's ninkwa (wife's older sister) are called dok, those of his sowai (mother's younger sister) are

* The Kauré term payan is cognate with the term bayan used in the neighbouring Sauru and Orya language groups.
As pointed out above, *dai* is the term for ego's wife and for all women. The corresponding *nemalot* means 'man', 'men', 'people', and, like *dai* 'woman', cannot be employed as a term of address. Consequently, *nemalot* prefixed by the possessive second person pronoun *ha* 'your' stands for 'your clan (member)' and for 'your people group (member)', reflecting the patrilineal nature of Kaure social organization. *Dai* prefixed by the same pronoun always means 'your wife'. If one wants to refer to a female member of the clan or the people group, one employs *tawemalot* followed by the name of the person one is referring to, e.g. *tawemalot Selpi* 'your fellow member Selpi'.

**OBLIGATIONS AND RESTRICTIONS**

Kaure kinship terms are not merely lexical notations, but reflect structurally defined patterns of social interaction between individuals. We turn next to some of these social obligations and restrictions.

**Dyads**

The most important dyad in the Kaure culture appears to be that of father and son. The father is always the first to come to the aid of his son. It is he who instructs the boy in hunting, fishing, house building, garden work, and the like. The father, like all other male members of the clan, makes presents of betel nuts, money, clothing, and pork to his son. The son in turn reciprocates, but never with pork or game that he has hunted himself (Rubel and Rosman 1978:5.321). Such meat is taboo to his parents and to himself, and is given to his siblings and parallel cousins. If the taboo is broken, bad luck in future hunting is feared.

The father-son dyad has reciprocal obligations, as the son is expected to obey his father and help him in his daily work. He is also expected to help his brothers, uncles, and cousins if they live near.

If a man dies, neither his son nor any member of his clan is permitted to help with the burial of the corpse. When a woman dies, neither her natal clan nor her husband's clan may help. There are semi-professionals among the Kaure who perform this service for everyone else and receive food gifts for it. The eldest son inherits land and property from his father and, subsequently, will share appropriately with his brothers. Land is owned individually, not by clans, and hunting rights are free on all Kaure land. Inherited items, like tools and weapons, usually stay with the oldest son but they can always be borrowed and used by his younger brothers. The father's house is given to the son who at the time of his father's death has the greatest need for it. Personal things, like pillows, sleeping mats, stringbags, etc., are not passed on, but placed on the grave of the deceased.

A mother is the one who instructs her daughter in skills such as sago processing, making stringbags (not done any more), garden work, and cooking. Daughters do not inherit, but share in the inheritances of their husbands.

A number of authors have pointed out that in many New Guinea cultures the dyad between mother's brother and ego is the predominant one (Sims 1986:25f; May 1981:10). This does not appear to be true for Kaure, though there are social obligations between mother's brother and ego. Sometimes the *babolai* 'mother's brother' gives to ego his *bie na* 'traditional name' at birth. His
move in with the groom's parents until they have built their own house. In the afternoon of the day following the wedding the bride's parents come to see their daughter. They remind her of her duties as a wife and that she must obey her husband.

The following morning is also the time for paying the bride price. Formerly, various kinds of beads and shells for necklaces were given as well as stone axes imported from the highlands. Nowadays, beads and shells are still given, but stone axes are no longer used. They are replaced by steel axes, knives, machetes, clothes, cooking utensils, plates and silverware and, most importantly, by cash (formally about Rp. 100,000, but in 1991 it was as high as Rp. 1,000,000 or US$500 for outsiders to the area). These items are gathered together by all the groom's elders relatives, including older siblings and cousins. Bride price items are received by the bride's father who in turn will distribute them to all his relatives, regardless of age.

The bride price is not, however, always paid the day following the wedding. In fact, some men stay indebted to their wife's parents for a lifetime; never managing to pay the price fully. It is believed, however, that until the price is fully paid, the wife will remain barren. In cases of polygamy, another regular practice is to give to one's second wife's clan as bride price the newborn child of another wife (for whom the bride price has been paid in full). These children are adopted and never returned to their biological parents. They have inheritance rights like any other child in their adoptive clan, but their marriage restrictions are the same as for any member in their biological father's clan except that they also cannot marry into their foster clan.

There are exceptions to the bride price payment. For example, a widower marrying a second time into his deceased wife's clan does not pay a second bride price to the same clan. Nor does a man marrying an old widow have to pay a bride price, though he does for a young widow. A young widow is, however, married without a bride price if it is to a man of her deceased husband's clan. This practice, however, is rather the exception, and a widow is never married to her dead husband's older brother. Her children go to her deceased husband's clan, if her husband has paid the bride price; they go to her own clan if the bride price was not fully paid at the time of her husband's death. If the wife dies, the children are fostered by a relative of her husband until he remarries and then returned to him. Frequently, a widow is given to a man in another language group. This second husband pays the bride price for a young widow to her former husband's clan, if he had paid the full bride price to his wife's clan. If the deceased husband had not fully paid the bride price, the new husband pays the bride price to his wife's clan.

A second pattern for acquiring a wife is by elopement. Usually, however, the wife's father will go after the couple, take them back home, and insist on payment of the bride price.

Divorce is infrequent because the bride price is relatively high and is not returned in case of a divorce, forcing the husband to collect and pay a second bride price for a new marriage. A divorced wife returns to her parents, who will receive her back if no bride price payment has been made. If, on the other hand, the bride price was fully received, then she can expect to be beaten by her parents, and taken back to her husband. Husbands take second wives if the first one is infertile, but do not divorce the barren wife, though she may leave voluntarily. Relatively frequently, married women run away with men who are married to someone else. We have observed that these women usually return to their husbands after a few weeks or months, receiving only a possible beating or physical restraint for a time, since the husband is usually desperate to get her back to avoid paying another bride price.

During childbirth the following people typically give help: husband's mother, husband's older brother's wife, husband's sister, wife's younger sister. The husband, too, will be there, mainly to give moral support to his wife. If the older sister and mother of the wife are present payment for their help is expected; consequently, they are usually not asked to assist at the birth.

**TABOOS REFLECTING AVOIDANCE BEHAVIOR TOWARDS AFFINES**

The taboos described here are distinct from the marriage restrictions enumerated above because of their mythological origin. Also, they are distinct from the many other Kaure taboos since they apply only to certain affinal kinsmen. All these taboos define various patterns of avoidance relationships. They fall into three categories: a) verbal taboos, b) food taboos, and c) taboos concerning other interpersonal behavior.

Our informants indicate that these taboos are all being abandoned since the late 1950s when government and church contact was made. Some Kaure stated that they do not submit to these taboos at all any more. In actual practice, however, we have observed that the taboos are still very much a part of their life. In our collected tape-recorded text materials, speakers time and again avoided certain words and substituted for them either Indonesian loan words or neologisms. The point is to avoid saying words that are homophonous with the traditional names of the affines in Figure 11 even though they have been long dead. There is some disagreement over the question of whether the name taboo only applies to the traditional ble na 'earth names' or whether it also applies to Christian names. Some feel that it applies in either case, while others feel that the name taboo was restricted to traditional names only.

For example, Yordan Masita's traditional name is Koseikpo. Yohanes Yamile and Simon Yamile don't pronounce the word koseik 'crocodile'. They are both married to Yordan's older brother's daughters. Neither may they pronounce the following Kaure words and names: kejel 'deep' and Soar 'name of vacated village' (See Figure 1), as the names of Yordan's two brothers, Blejel and Soar-Soar, are almost homophonous with these words.

**The Myths: "Nahai" and "Ahwansekeuk"**

There are two myths which Kaure people always relate to kinship taboos, one about old "Nahai," and the other about "Ahwansekeuk." Both myths were told to us by several of the elderly or middle-aged men and it is believed that Nahai's visions still hold true today. An English summary follows:

Old Nahai lived in the days when the earth had just been created, and there were no kinship-related taboos. The people enjoyed great freedom. After the birth of his children old Nahai became paralyzed and his children had to carry him around in a basket. Whenever he wanted to go anywhere, he was carried by his children, even when he needed to urinate. One day old Nahai died. After two days, however, his children saw something moving under the sheet where the corpse had been put. When they lifted the sheet, they found that their father had moved and had come back to life again. So they sat him up.
Summary

Kaure kinship relations and the terms that represent them are extensive. Ego differentiates many of his consanguineal and affinal kinsmen by relative age, relative sex, and actual sex. Kaure speakers themselves use these many descriptive terms only reluctantly, and prefer rather the extended classificatory usages of dok 'child', noa 'mother', jik 'father', dowi 'older sibling of the same sex', semlik 'younger sibling of the same sex', neplai 'sister' and neplu 'brother'. Many of the behavioral patterns described for the Kaure have also been found in other New Guinea societies (c.f. Shaw ed. 1974:64,198), but the beating up of one's cross cousin upon his father's and mother's death and the legendary origin of kinship related taboos appear to be unique to the Kaure.

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