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Languages of the Western Lakes Plains
Duane Clouse

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Languages of the Lakes Plains

Duane A. Clouse


Tujuan saya sebenarnya adalah dapat mengklasifikasikan bahasa Kirikiri lebih tepat dan mengerti bagaimana bahasa ini cocok dalam lingkungan linguistik secara luas (umum). Pada akhirnya dengan ini dapat mengantarkan kami kepada suatu penelitian yang mendalam tentang hampir semua bahasa di
Introduction

Until recently, little has been known about the languages in the western Lakes Plains region of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. This large region of mostly sago swamp remains isolated from the rest of the province, as the access into the area is by foot or by single engine aircraft only. The area around the headwaters of the Wapoga river has not yet had any contact with the outside world.

In 1991 the Irian Bulletin published the second edition of the Index of Irian Jaya Languages (Silzer and Clouse). In that edition, several languages in the western Lakes Plains region remained unclassified, several others were little more than rumored and some others were grouped together with the Geelvink Bay Phylum and others with the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. My wife and I began linguistic research in the Kirikiri language of the Lakes Plains area in 1989. After discovering several unusual phonological features (for non-Austronesian languages) in Kirikiri (Clouse and Clouse 1993) and a few other Lakes Plains languages, the need for a wider, comprehensive investigation became apparent. This was followed by a linguistic survey of the Wapoga River area.

My original, limited goal was to be able to more accurately classify the Kirikiri language and to understand how it fits in to the wider linguistic environment. However, this ultimately led to a comparative study of almost all of the western Lakes Plains languages and an attempt at a historical reconstruction of Proto-Lakes Plains.

The languages in the Lakes Plains not included in the study are Kweris and Papisena in the Central Lakes Plains Family and Taworta, Dabra and Foua in the East Lakes Plains Family. The data available for these languages was considered insufficient for drawing any conclusions. This paper constitutes the results of my findings to date. All of my conclusions must be taken as tentative as most of my data consists of wordlists (some taken monolingually by non-linguists). Since very little grammatical information was available, no attempt was made at a comprehensive comparison of the grammatical features of these languages. Despite the inherent inaccuracies that are bound to occur in these circumstances, it is hoped that this initial attempt at reconstructing and classifying the Lakes Plains languages will be of some use to those interested in non-Austronesian languages and will prompt further study of this lesser known area of the island.

Names

The area in question has been known by many names: Lakes Plains, Lake Plains. Lakes Plain and Lake Plain. I will use Lakes Plains. When the term western Lakes Plains is used in this paper, it refers to the area from the juncture of the Tariku (Rouffaer) and Manberamo Rivers westward to the Cenderawasih (Geelvink) Bay.

Many geographical names were changed when Irian Jaya became a province of Indonesia. I have retained the older names when they coincide with recognized linguistic classifications (e.g. Geelvink Bay with Geelvink Bay Phylum) or have been used extensively in other literature. Otherwise, the Indonesian name has been used.

The language names used are those found in the second edition of the Index of Irian Jaya Languages (Silzer and Clouse 1991).

Locations

No attempt was made at placing villages. Most of these people are semi-nomadic and villages are constantly moving. Only the villages in which the wordlists were taken are plotted with a large dot (•) on map 2 to give the reader a sense of possible second language influence. Dialect boundaries are marked on map 2 by a dotted line.
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLP</td>
<td>Proto-Lakes-Plains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFW</td>
<td>Proto-Far-West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Proto-Tariku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PET</td>
<td>Proto-East-Tariku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWT</td>
<td>Proto-West-Tariku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCT</td>
<td>Proto-Central-Tariku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN-D</td>
<td>Proto-Austronesian - Dempwolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POC-Gr</td>
<td>Proto-Oceanic - Gracc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POC-BLAA</td>
<td>Proto-Oceanic - Blust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aw</td>
<td>Awera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa</td>
<td>Saponi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>Rasawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wc</td>
<td>Wcirate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De</td>
<td>Deirate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>Tausc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>Faia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki</td>
<td>Kirikiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Se</td>
<td>Schudate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Consonant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V^</td>
<td>Extra high or fricative vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Vernacular morpheme boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td>unreleased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>Either/or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>Dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>å</td>
<td>Low back rounded voweloid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dn</td>
<td>Dani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bk</td>
<td>Berik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or</td>
<td>Orya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kr</td>
<td>Kaure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fy</td>
<td>Fayu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>Edopi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ia</td>
<td>Iau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du</td>
<td>Duvle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>Waritaie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do</td>
<td>Doutai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>Kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi</td>
<td>Biritaie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ob</td>
<td>Obokuitai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Er</td>
<td>Eritaie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>Sikaritaie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bz</td>
<td>Bauzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ds</td>
<td>Demisa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Map 1 - North Irian Jaya

(according to Voorhoeve 1975 and Silzer and Clouse 1991)
Map 2 - The Western Lakes Plains

Languages of the Lakes Plains

The paper will be discussed based on the following preliminary tree diagram.

Avera

Rasawa

Saponi

Sekudatso

Fayu

Weirate

Delrate

Tause

'ala

Kirikiri

Doutal

Kai

Waritai

Sikanitai

Eritai

Obokuitai

Biritai

Iau

Edepi

Duvie

Proto-Lake Plain

PFW

PT

PCT

PET

PWT
1. Borrowed vs Cognate

Foley (1986) has stated in his book *The Papuan languages of New Guinea* that we face a "daunting assignment" as we try to reconstruct Papuan languages. With no written documents before the twentieth century and, more significantly, because the languages are small, contiguous and "nearly exhibit a pattern of enormous cross-influence in all areas" (1986:209), I have found with this study that sorting cognates from borrowings is at best a "tricky undertaking". Therefore, in my study of Lakes Plains languages, I have tried to use core vocabulary (pronouns; nouns referring to body parts; simple kin relations; natural phenomena and basic verb-roots) to lessen the chance of borrowing.

2. Proto-Lakes-Plains

Proto-Lakes-Plains was spoken a millennium or so ago in the southern Van Rees mountains East of Cenderawasih Bay in what is now the province of Irian Jaya, Indonesia. The people were typical of other Melanesians found along the north side of the island of New Guinea, relatively tall and slender. Although this could be due more to nutritional factors than to genetics, their current diet is poorer than that of those in the central mountains who are short and stocky. Little else is known about these people. Although we know nothing of the area from which they migrated, based on the findings of this study we can make an educated guess as to their movement since the time Proto-Lakes-Plains was spoken.

2.1 Consonant System

The PLP consonants were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*t</th>
<th>*k</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*(w)</td>
<td>*(y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most notable feature of the PLP consonant system is the small number of phonemes, in particular the lack of nasals. In all of the languages studied, nasals (if existing) were non-contrastive with their corresponding voiced stop. This feature of PLP remains in the eastern Tariku languages where there is a lack of even a phonetic nasal and in Rasawa where the nasals are very rare.

Because of limited data, it is inconclusive, at this point, whether a flap *r was really a separate phoneme from *d. The flap seems to have occurred exclusively as the second member of a consonant cluster or intervocally and never word initial. In the modern languages, the flap is not contrastive with d. If it was a separate phoneme, it is likely that its phonemic status weakened as the syllabic structure simplified.

I chose to include the semivowels *w and *y in the PLP consonant inventory above, though parenthetically, to reflect the wordlist transcriptions, to which many of the references in this paper apply, and to raise the possibility that they existed in PLP. Several phonologies have been done in Lakes Plains languages and in none of them have *y and *w been posited as phonemes nor have they had a bearing on the syllable structure. Therefore, in the reflex charts, where the word lists used *y and *w, *i and *u were reconstructed.

2.2 Vowel System

I found that it was impossible to reconstruct the PLP vowel system by using all of the wordlists. Vowels are perhaps the most difficult of sounds to transcribe accurately. The wordlists available to me were transcribed by several different people and since it is more likely that each ear will hear vowels slightly differently, I chose to use only those lists where a reliable phonological analysis had been done in the language. Fortunately, a phonological analysis of some kind has been done in at least one of all the major language groupings; PWT, PCT and PET (with the exception of the Proto-Far-West group). It was from these wordlists and dictionaries that the reconstruction for PLP and PT vowels was made.

PLP had a five vowel system:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*i</th>
<th>*e</th>
<th>*o</th>
<th>*u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most of the present day languages the quality of *e and *o are realized as e and a.

2.3 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The syllable structure of PLP was V, CV, and CCV. There are closed syllables (or evidence for an underlying closed syllable) in the current languages. However, several factors argue against suggesting closed syllables in the earliest forms. 1) Only voiced obstruents close the syllable in the modern eastern Tariku languages. 2) In other contexts, voiced obstruents only occur intervocically. 3) It is a universal tendency that if voiced obstruents close a syllable, voiceless ones will too. So, by the time PT was spoken, the deletion of the word final vowel was complete, producing the extra syllable types *CVC and *CCVC. It is uncertain whether this final vowel was deleted after PLP or whether this deletion happened at an earlier stage.

The only other phonotactic constraint in PLP was that the second member of a consonant cluster could only be a flap. It was also likely that the *k became labialized; *kuV>*kwV.

2.4 Phonological Changes from Proto-Lakes-Plains to Proto-Far-West and Proto-Tariku

The most notable changes occurred in Proto-Far-West. PFW simplified the PLP words in a number of ways. One noticeable change was the deletion of most instances of the word initial *ku sequence (unless it was the entire word); PLP *kubadi > PFW *podi 'a fly', PLP *kupade > PFW *pare 'stone' among others. It can be seen that some changes happened before others. One of the first changes to occur was to delete a flap *r between vowels; PLP *kurire > PFW *kire 'rain'. After this change, the *ku was deleted and then the intervocalic *d became a new flap *r; PLP *kudaide > PFW *tairo 'fire' and PLP *dia-dau > PFW *ta-rau 'to stand'. The syllable structure was simplified in two ways: by inserting an echo vowel between the consonant cluster; PLP...
instance are there cognates where the reflex *s is chosen for all of the languages; *t is always chosen as the reflex in one or more of the languages, but not consistently the same language. In the Lakes Plains languages [s] can occur with any vowel, but in the Tariiku languages in the Wapoga headwaters area (Deteate, Weirate, Fain, Seladate), the sequence [si] does not occur. In addition, with one exception, there does not exist in the Far-West or central and western Tariiku languages the sequence [sV] and in the eastern Tariiku languages it is exceedingly rare. This evidence prevents the positioning of *s in PFW and PT, although it is evident that its status as a full phoneme is becoming more certain.

The sound changes in PT were less pronounced and more confusing than those in PFW. Perhaps this is because there are few intermediate proto forms possible to reconstruct between PLP and the current Far-West languages and so the changes seem more dramatic. Similar to the change from PLP to PFW was the weakening of intervocalic *d to become a flap *r in PT. However, this only happened within a morpheme in PT. PLP *di-dau > *PT *di-de 'to stand' but PLP *diadi > PT *diari 'cassowary'. The intervocalic flap *r remained unchanged at this point PLP *kuria > PT *kuria 'stomach', but will be seen to delete in later reflexes. These phenomena are a common trend and do not seem to apply at all times. Regrettably, the data is insufficient to determine what specific rules applied in each instance.

The most puzzling change that occurred was the emergence of *s in PFW and PT. Although the phone [s] occurs in all of the languages, it is not shared by any of the languages. In PT, however, the phone [s] is common in all of the languages, but not consistently. In the Lakes Plains languages [s] can occur with any vowel, but in the Tariiku languages in the Wapoga headwaters area (Deteate, Weirate, Fain, Seladate), the sequence [si] does not occur. In addition, with one exception, there does not exist in the Far-West or central and western Tariiku languages the sequence [sV] and in the eastern Tariiku languages it is exceedingly rare. This evidence prevents the positioning of *s in PFW and PT, although it is evident that its status as a full phoneme is becoming more certain.

### 3.1 Consonant System

The PFW consonant system was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PL</th>
<th>PFW</th>
<th>PT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>*d</td>
<td>*d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*V</td>
<td>*V</td>
<td>*V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*V</td>
<td>*V</td>
<td>*V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Syllable Structure and Phonotactics

The syllable structure of PLP began to simplify in the PFW languages. In Saponi the change was complete and

3.4 Phonological Changes from PFW to Aweria, Saponi and Rasawa

Although the lexicostatistical cognates percentage are lowest between Saponi and Aweria (27 percent) they show the greatest similarity in sound changes from PFW.
Table 5 - PFW to languages reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PFW</th>
<th>Sa</th>
<th>Ra</th>
<th>Aw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>#p-</td>
<td>#p-</td>
<td>#p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pV</td>
<td>pV-</td>
<td>pV-</td>
<td>pV-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*VbV</td>
<td>Vb-</td>
<td>Vb-</td>
<td>Vb-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*#MV</td>
<td>#M-</td>
<td>#M-</td>
<td>#M-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VbV</td>
<td>VbV</td>
<td>VbV</td>
<td>VbV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*#t</td>
<td>#t-</td>
<td>#t-</td>
<td>#t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tiV</td>
<td>sV</td>
<td>sV</td>
<td>sV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*#d</td>
<td>#d-</td>
<td>#d-</td>
<td>#d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*VdV</td>
<td>VdV</td>
<td>VdV</td>
<td>VdV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*iV</td>
<td>iV-</td>
<td>iV-</td>
<td>iV-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Vdis</td>
<td>iV-</td>
<td>iV-</td>
<td>iV-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As stated earlier, the exact nature of the emergence of [s] in the Far-Western languages remains a mystery to me. Its occurrence is rare in all of the languages and its distribution is limited. Although there exist examples of VbV in Sa and VbV in Aw, there are no contrasts between VbV and VbV.

Another innovation is the appearance of the affricate j in Saponi. This only occurs in a final suffix. Considering the absence of *tiV in PFW and its resulting form, the absence of the sequence *VdV from Saponi also is not surprising. Since these sequences result in [s] and [j] in other Lakes Plains languages, it could have happened in Saponi. However, because the sequence VdV exists in Saponi, the palatalization of *d would have to have occurred before the flapping of intervocalic *d. Another possible source is the sequence jV.

A final possibility is that Saponi [j] was formed from more that one source.

4. Proto-Tariku

PT was more conservative phonologically than PFW. The phonemic inventory and the syllable structure and phonotactics were nearly identical to PLP. This suggests that when the PFW group and PT group diverged, the PT people remained linguistically homogeneous and conservative for a few centuries. The only significant change in the syllable structure is the deletion of a final vowel (quality unknown) producing a word final unreleased voiced obstruent and the additional syllable patterns *CVc and *CCVC as discussed in 3.3. Irrefutable evidence for this vowel is hard to reconstruct from the modern languages.

4.1 Phonological Changes from PT to PWT, PCT and PET

In the consonant system, the most pronounced change came in PCT, perhaps because this group diverged from PWT and PET earlier than did each from other. PT *k became *b in PCT; PT *kure > PCT *bre 'fire'; PT *kuri > PCT *bra 'mouth'; PT *kuri > PCT *bra 'rain'; PT *kaunak > PCT *baukai 'chin'. There is also an intervocalic flap *delletion reflex, which precedes the *ku > *b reflex in these examples. This sound change is nearly complete in PCT. In the other PT languages there is evidence for the intervocalic flap *delletion, but also for its creation. When an epenthetic or echo vowel is inserted between C sequences, the result is an intervocalic flap *r; CVr. It is likely that, in time, this flap will delete as it has in PCT; PT *tre > PWT *tre, PET *tre. PCT tere > tere > *te 'mosquito'.

In the vowel system, two extra high vowels were created in PWT and PCT when the final consonant in closed syllables merged with the preceding vowel. This process in Kiriki is discussed in fuller detail in Clouse and Clouse 1993.

Proto-Tariku reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PT</th>
<th>PWT</th>
<th>PCT</th>
<th>PET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td>*i</td>
<td>*i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tiV</td>
<td>*tiV</td>
<td>*tiV</td>
<td>*tiV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*b</td>
<td>*b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>*d</td>
<td>*d</td>
<td>*d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*VdV</td>
<td>*VdV</td>
<td>*VdV</td>
<td>*VdV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*VrV</td>
<td>*VrV</td>
<td>*VrV</td>
<td>*VrV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Duvle Isolate

The very meager word list available at this writing for Duvle is insufficient to adequately discuss the phonological changes from PT to this language. In view of lexicostatistical evidence, it seems apparent that Duvle is more distantly related to the other Lakes Plains languages than any of those languages are to one another. It is possible that the Duvle language was the first to diverge from PT. Evidence from remembered history, discussed in Section 13, would also point to this hypothesis. In the near future, more linguistic data is expected from Duvle, which should shed light on this isolate.

6. Proto-East Tariku

Although PET was not the most conservative of the PT languages in word innovations, it was the most conservative in phonological innovations: the phonemic inventory and the syllable structure and phonotactics. One minor difference is that PT *tiV is retained in a very few instances in East Tariku languages (on numbers), except in Sakiratari where it has been completely replaced by sV.

The two languages furthest to the east (Sakiratari and Waritai) also show some unusual initial consonant clusters. Besides the cluster Cr, there are:

East Tariku consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sakiratari</th>
<th>Waritai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kg</td>
<td>pg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pg</td>
<td>fg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Martin (1991) claims that in Sakiratari the g in each of these cases is phonetically 2 and is underlying ik, (though he does not state why he chose the vowel i), thereby maintaining that
only flap [r] can be the second member of a consonant cluster. There is some evidence that a vowel did precede the $y$, Si lviŋ- Ob lkaŋ- Do, Wa, Ka lkiŋi 'one'. The one occurrence of $i$ is cognate with the Obokuitai and Eritai sequences $tis$.

A change that does not seem to be taking place in east Tariku languages is the deletion of intervocalic flap [r]. Although there are a few instances of it in Doutai and Wariitai, this deletion is far less common than in either west or central Tariku languages.

The question arises, did PET diverge from PT later than PWT because it was phonologically more conservative or did PWT diverge later, because there are, lexico-statistically, more cognates with PT? Whether PET or PWT diverged later has implications for determining the migration patterns of the Lakes Plains peoples. More research into grammatical typology may shed some more light on the subject.

### 6.1 Phonological Changes from PET to individual languages

As stated earlier, the PET languages are most like PT in terms of phonology. The merging of the syllable final consonant with the preceding vowel is evident in all of the languages. However, Obokuitai and Sairaitai have retained the syllable final consonants but as voiced and unreleased. In addition, the fricative [s], most likely derived from an earlier *t*$s$, has received full phonemic status. There is some evidence as well that this is continuing to change toward [h]. The affricate [j] is coming into prominence from the sequence $d*$+$i$ and/or from the following sequence, extra-high vowel (created at the loss of syllable closure) or high vowel in a closed syllable, this followed by a non-extra-high vowel. This conclusion is drawn from the absence of *diV and *i*iV in these languages and cognates like the following.

### Cognates in East Tariku

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sairaitai</th>
<th>Obokuitai</th>
<th>Kai</th>
<th>Biri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ig-ju-a</td>
<td>ig-je-kwa</td>
<td>i'ja-ya</td>
<td>i'a-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beju-a</td>
<td>badub-kwa</td>
<td>bara-wa</td>
<td>badi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Obokuitai</td>
<td>Kai</td>
<td>Doutai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kug-ju-wa</td>
<td>ki'ju-wa</td>
<td>sudu-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ig-jukik-</td>
<td>suswik-</td>
<td>sere-wa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-Φed</td>
<td>a-sai</td>
<td>a-hai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asito</td>
<td>ahigik-</td>
<td>atahai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like all Lakes Plains languages, the eastern Tariku languages lack phonemic nasals. In all of the other languages, the phonetic nasals that do exist do not contrast with their voiced stop counterpart. A phenomenon is found in these eastern languages which is most unusual: the lack of even phonetic nasals. A more detailed discussion of this phenomenon is given in Clouse and Clouse 1993. A final point of interest is that where in the west and central Tariku languages the nasal $m$ and $n$ are only morpheme initial and fluctuate with $b$ and $d$ (usually before low vowels), in the east Tariku language of Doutai, $b$ and $d$ word initially are, according to McAllister 1991, implosive.

### Proto-East Tariku reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PET</th>
<th>Do</th>
<th>Wa</th>
<th>Ka</th>
<th>Bi</th>
<th>Ob</th>
<th>Er</th>
<th>Si</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*p</td>
<td>p-Φ</td>
<td>p-Φs</td>
<td>Φ</td>
<td>h-Φ</td>
<td>Φ-h</td>
<td>p-h</td>
<td>p-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b#</td>
<td>Ω#</td>
<td>Ω#</td>
<td>Ω#</td>
<td>Ω#</td>
<td>Ω#</td>
<td>Ω#</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d-ı</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*diV</td>
<td>jV</td>
<td>jV</td>
<td>jV</td>
<td>jV</td>
<td>jV</td>
<td>jV</td>
<td>jV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*r</td>
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<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
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<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Cr</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>Cr</td>
<td>Cr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kuk</td>
<td>ku</td>
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<td>ku</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kV</td>
<td>kV</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*C#</td>
<td>C#</td>
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<td>g#</td>
<td>C#</td>
<td>d#</td>
<td>d#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ic</td>
<td>ic</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ic</td>
<td>ic</td>
<td>ic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*uic</td>
<td>u'c</td>
<td>u'c</td>
<td>u'c</td>
<td>u'c</td>
<td>u'c</td>
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<td>u'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
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<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1McAllister (1991) claims this is true, though no example is seen in the word lists.

### 7. Proto-West-Tariku

With regard to the PT daughter proto-languages, PWT was the least innovative lexico-statistically. The PWT consonant system was identical to PT, except that the voiceless bilabial consonant underwent lenition in all positions and two extra vowels were created as a result of a final consonant merging with the preceding vowel.
Proto-West-Tariku phonemic inventory

| *t | *k | *i | *u |
| *b | *d | *i | *u |
| *Φ | *g | *a |

In addition, PWT *tiV became [sV] and intervocalic flap *r (that is, intervocalic *d within a morpheme) began to delete. A major change that did occur in PWT was in the syllable structure and vowel system.

7.1 Syllable Structure and Vowel System

When PWT diverged from PT the syllable structure simplified, resulting in only V, CV and CCV. The final consonant in syllables that became closed, as a result of a final vowel deleting, merged with the preceding vowel. This affected only the preceding high vowels. These high vowels, *i and *u, became higher, fronted, and constricted or fricativized and two extra contrasting vowels were created. However, the resulting seven vowel contrast applies, in Kirikiri at least, only to single vowels. The seven vowels contrast in some VV sequences but not all (Clouse and Clouse 1993).

Kaye (1989:56-57) states in effect that a language without closed syllables cannot have consonant clusters (a "001" language). Although this seems to contradict evidence from the Lakes Plains, Kaye's statement seems to be coming true for West-Tariku (and other Lakes Plains) languages, for the CCV syllable type is in the process of simplifying further by inserting an epenthetic or echo vowel unconditionally between the consonant cluster. If this process continues as it has in Central-Tariku languages, the resulting intervocalic flap *r will eventually delete and the resulting VV sequence will assimilate.

7.2 Phonological Changes from PWT to Kirikiri, Faya and Tause

Proto-West-Tariku produced three daughter languages, each with two or three dialects. I will call these three languages Kirikiri (with Faia dialect 90% cognate), Faya (with Sehudate dialect 88% cognate) and Tause (with Weirate dialect 85% cognate and Deirate dialect 82% cognate). It is worth mentioning that the three languages mentioned have, until three years ago, had very little, if any, contact with their dialects. In 1990 for instance, the Kirikiri did not know the Faia existed. This was undoubtedly due to the mountain range and no-landsland that separated those living in the west Tariku River watershed from those in the Wapoga River watershed. It is not surprising, then, that we find reflexes shared by the dialects in the Wapoga watershed that are not shared by their corresponding sister dialects in the Tariku watershed.

The most notable features of these three languages are 1) the emergence of nasals word or morpheme initial, 2) the creation of [s] from *ti, *t, the creation of [i] from *di, and 4) the further simplification of syllable structure to V and CV only (though the processes in 3) and 4) are not complete).

As stated earlier, how the [s] emerged in these languages is uncertain. The only thing clear is that in most of the languages the sequence tiV does not exist but in the Wapoga watershed dialects the sequence si does not exist either. Other things that could be happening are a consonant (flap *r or *k or both) deleting intervocically in the sequence tiCV, (there is plenty of evidence of this happening in *tiV becoming sV). Though, in other instances it looks as though the *CV or *IC in the *tiCV sequences were deleted. Perhaps all of these processes happened to some degree or another at different times, feeding or bleeding the change conditions. Other than that, with the data available, it appears that the [s] in the west Tariku languages emerged randomly. I doubt that this was the situation, but more accurate data will be needed to find the answer.

8. Proto-Central-Tariku

PCT shows a greater number of sound changes from PT than either PET or PWT. This argues for an earlier divergence from PT than PET and PWT. Most of the sound changes that can be seen taking place in PET and PWT seem to have carried through to the greatest extent in the PCT languages. This is especially true for dropping consonants and syllables. This has produced in the modern languages an overwhelming percentage of monosyllabic words and many more contrastive tone patterns compared to modern east and west Tariku languages.

8.1 Central Tariku Phonology

The PCT consonant and vowel systems are similar to those found in
PET and PWT, including the two extra high vowels from the merging of a high vowel and a syllable final consonant and the emergence of *s from the PT sequence *ti.

**Proto-Central-Tariku phonemic inventory**

- *t
- *k
- *l
- *u
- *b
- *d
- *i
- *u
- *s
- *e
- *a

However, lexicostatistically, the central Tariku languages share fewer cognates with east and west Tariku than east and west Tariku do with each other.

Phonetic nasals have come into use in the modern central Tariku languages. The nasal m is present morpheme initially as a variant of b in both languages. The nasal n is present in Edopi as a morpheme initial variant of d, and in lau as a variant of l in this position. Edopi is also developing the affricate j from the sequence di and/or from the extra high vowel i. (giving credence to the idea that the vowel is a result of the merging of a final consonant in a closed syllable with the preceding vowel).

PCT has simplified the syllable structure of PT to V, CV and CVC. An echo vowel was inserted between the PT *Cr sequence; PT *kiri > PCT *kiri > Ed kiri ‘banana’. In modern lau a further simplification occurred where the resulting intervocalic *r was deleted and the identical vowels assimilated; but the tone pattern remained unchanged: PCT *biri > *bii > la bi ‘teeth’; PCT *fære > *fære > la fæ ‘eye’.

### 8.2 Phonological Changes from PCT to Edopi and lau

Edopi was phonologically more conservative than lau in regard to sound changes. Edopi further simplified the syllable structure by deleting the final syllable consonant. (in lau the syllable final consonant is very rare), whereas lau deleted all occurrences of flap *r. Lau also deleted word initial *k and many final syllables on words. The result was a language of mostly monosyllabic words with combined tone patterns.

**Central Tariku reflexes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCT</th>
<th>Ed</th>
<th>lau</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C#</td>
<td>G#</td>
<td>C#(</td>
</tr><tr>
<td>are)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV#</td>
<td>CV#</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Φ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ə-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*b#</td>
<td>#m-b</td>
<td>#m-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*d</td>
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<td>*da</td>
<td>#d-#l</td>
<td>#d-#l-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*di</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>di</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*yrV</td>
<td>VrV</td>
<td>VOV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*s</td>
<td>s-t</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*k</td>
<td>k</td>
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</tr>
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<td>#Ø</td>
<td>#Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*au</td>
<td>au</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Although there are no phonemes marked u’ in the word lists, both Kim (1991) and Bateman (1989) make a three-way phonemic distinction in the back rounded vowels.

### 9. Grammatical Typology

Because of a lack of data, not much can be said about the grammatical typology of the Lakes Plains languages. It is obvious that all Lakes Plains languages are verb final non-Austronesian languages. Also, a feature of all Lakes Plains languages is only a small amount of verbal affixation. This is in contrast to what is typical of languages of the Trans-New-Guinea Phyllum.

It also seems evident that a fair amount of borrowing of pronouns occurred among the languages. The blanks in the chart below are a result of lack of data, not necessarily indicating that the particular pronoun does not exist. Three dashes indicate that the pronoun does not in fact exist, but is made by using the vernacular word ‘person’.

#### Lakes Plains pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>1pl</th>
<th>2pl</th>
<th>3pl</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>ba</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>mamire</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ra</td>
<td>ebe</td>
<td>debe</td>
<td>kibie</td>
<td>dubbi</td>
<td>kiai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>yai</td>
<td>nai</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>koro</td>
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<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>te</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fy</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>e/i</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fa</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ki</td>
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<td>de</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ed</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Is</td>
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<td>au</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>di</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ob</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>oi</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si</td>
<td>di</td>
<td>ba</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bz</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 10. Tone Typology

Unlike languages of the Trans-New-Guinea Phyllum in the area, tone is a prominent feature of all Lakes Plains languages and therefore was most likely a feature of PLP as well. All the modern languages have at least high and low tone. Sikaritai has only these tones and Martin (1991) analyzes the system as pitch-accent. The remainder of the languages also have combinations...
of high and low (or contours); Obokuitai has a fall (Jenison 1991), Doutai (McAllister 1991), Edopi and all the western Tariku languages have a fall and a rise (Clouse n.d.), and Iau, because of deleting the segments of a syllable but not the tones, has more than one tone pattern on a syllable.

11. Proto-Austronesian influence

There are several PLP words and many more words in these languages that have striking similarities to Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Oceanic. Although only a few forms are listed below, someone with more expertise in the field of Austronesian reconstruction will undoubtedly find more. Most of the similarities I have listed are in monosyllabic words (in PLP). Since the Lakes Plains languages have a high percentage of one and two syllable words and a very low number of phonemes, the chance for coincidental similarity is high. If these words are in fact borrowings, the question arises why such seemingly core vocabulary would be borrowed.

The following POC-GR and PAN-D reconstructions were taken from the Wurm and Wilson (1975) English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesian Languages.

### Possible Austronesian influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLP</th>
<th>POC-GR</th>
<th>PAN-D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*du</td>
<td>*manu</td>
<td>*manuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tou</td>
<td>*tut'u</td>
<td>*tutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dati</td>
<td>*mata</td>
<td>*mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pada</td>
<td>*panua</td>
<td>*panu[y]a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tuC</td>
<td>*uti(n)</td>
<td>*bu(i)uh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*tai</td>
<td>*tau</td>
<td>*[t][au]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ku</td>
<td>*kau</td>
<td>*kaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ti</td>
<td>*tiRi</td>
<td>*i'e[h]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proto-East-Tariku

| *wari | *wai(R)  | [dd]anum | 'water' |

POC-BLAA

| *bo  | *mpo mpo | -----    | 'firewood bundle' |

12. Toward a Classification of the Lakes Plains languages

It is clear in the data presented so far that the languages discussed are related, and their interrelatedness has been shown. Now I attempt to place these languages in the context of a Phylum. The introduction stated that most of these languages were classified in Voorhoeve (1975) and Silzer and Clouse (1991) as belonging to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum, Tor-

Lakes-Plains Stock. Therefore, a comparison was made of the major languages bordering the Lakes Plains (Bauzi and Demisa to the north and Dani to the south), languages in the Tor-Lakes-Plains Stock (Berik and Orya) and a language in the far eastern part of the Lakes Plains (Kaure). The percentage matrix and tree diagrams below are based on lexicostatistic similarity (obtained by the computer programme LEXISTAT version 2.1 by Thilo C. Schadeberg) with a margin of error of five percent.

The criteria used in the classification given in the chart below are based mostly on those used for sub-groupings in Voorhoeve (1975:16) with some modifications.

100% - 76% of shared cognates: dialects of one language
75% - 40% of shared cognates: languages of the same family
39% - 20% of shared cognates: languages of the same stock
19% - 11% of shared cognates: languages of the same supershock
10% - 5% of shared cognates: languages of the same phylum
Several observations can be made from the evidence given that would lead to a reclassification of some of these languages. First, the Lakes Plains languages are not in the same stock as the Tor languages. In fact, they are not in the same phylum. Second, the Lakes Plains languages clearly belong to the Geelvink Bay Phylum, but they are a different stock from East Geelvink Bay. Finally, the Lakes Plains languages divide into two distinct stocks with five families within the Tariku Stock. It is quite possible that the languages previously classified as East Lakes Plains Family (Foua, Dabra and Taworta) would constitute a sixth family. No attempt will be made to reclassify the languages outside of the Lakes Plains Superstock.

Based on this information, the following tree diagram was made (generated by the computer programme LEXISTAT).
Therefore, I offer the following as a preliminary reclassification of the Lakes Plains languages.

GEELVINK BAY PHYLM

Lakes Plains Superstock
Awer Stock
Awer-Rasawa Family
Awer
Rasawa
Saponi Family-Level Isolate
Tariku Stock
Tause Family-Level Isolate
Tause
a)Tause
b)Weirate
c)Deirate
West Tariku Family
Fayu
a)Fayu
b)Schudate
Kirikiri
a)Kirikiri
b)Fia
Central Tariku Family
Edopi
Iau
Duvle Family-Level Isolate
East Tariku Family
Doutai
Waritai
Kai
Biritai
Obokuitai
a)Obokuitai
b)Eritai
Sikatitai
Kwerais?
Papasea?
East Lakes Plains Family?
Foua?
Taworta?
Dabre?

East Geelvink Bay Stock
Bauzi Family
Bauzi
Demisa
etc.

13. Migratory Prehistory

I will add a brief note about a possible migratory prehistory based on my linguistic findings to date.

It has been shown that the Lakes Plains languages belong to the Geelvink Bay Phylum. This presupposes that at some time in the distant past, the members of this Phylum were homogeneous, linguistically and otherwise. Although the point of greatest diversity in this Phylum is in the Lakes Plains area, several factors would argue against naming this area as the point of origin for the Lakes Plains languages.

Memorable History

The Iau people, according to Bateman (interview), claim that they came from the area near the junction of the Tariku and Tarikiki (Idenburg) rivers. About two generations ago the Iau people settled where they are today, displacing the Duvle people, who were there before them and the Duvle moved eastward. The Iau also say that their ancestors did not make canoes but rather rafts. This could presume a mountain people rather than a river people.

The first exploration of the Lakes Plains was done in 1926 by the American explorer M. W. Stirling on his way to discovering the "Pygmy" people of the Nassau Mountains (known today as the Wano people). He records having made contact with people at SPLITZINGBIVAC which is at the junction of the Tariku and Kiki rivers. Although he did not record any linguistic data, from his photographs and written description of the people there is little doubt that his references were to west Tariku people.

When Holster and Bouwman took the Saponi wordlist in 1986 they included the following note.

Saponi people originally came from [the headwaters of the Rombak River]. It's only a small tribe as approximately 50 years ago [when the language informant was a child] all their women were killed and the men were forced to take Mubuat [Waropen dialect] women.
(Holster and Bouwman 1986)

Finally, there are Faia speakers in the village of Fokidi and Biri (less than ten) who claim that in their lifetime they used to live in the foothills north of Fokidi but were decimated by a group of Bauzi people and were scattered in several directions.

Geographical Factors

To the North and West of the Lakes Plains are the foothills of the Van Rees mountains. Three river systems have their source in these foothills; the Rombak, which drains northwest, the Wapoga, which drains west, and part of the Kiki-Tariku watershed, which drains east and south. All of the Lakes Plains languages can currently be found on these rivers.
some groups moving into the lowlands, and became the modern east Tariku languages. Two groups (Aweria and Rasawa) from the far west settled on the coast via the Rombak and Wapoga rivers while one group remained. From the central area, one group (PWT) moved west to the foothills of the Wapoga headwaters, with some groups moving into the lowlands east and west of the foothills, and became the modern west Tariku languages. In recent history, Time 3, the central Tariku languages moved to their current location, perhaps because of pressure from the incoming east Tariku language groups, and displaced the Duvle. And because of recent warfare, the Saponi moved down the Rombak river and any remaining Lakes Plains peoples living in the original western PLP area were decimated with only a few left in Fokidi and Biri.

Possible migratory patterns of Lakes Plains peoples

[Realizing that this theory has many flaws, I offer it as a means of partially explaining the data presented in this paper. Much further study is need in this area of Irian Jaya, and as yet undiscovered languages in the area may give more clues to solving the complex linguistic situation found in this little known corner of the world.]

ENDNOTE

The languages discussed in this paper were classified there as follows. The number following the language is the approximate population:

Trans-New Guinea Phylum
  Dani-Kwerba Stock
    Dani Sub-Family
      Western Dani
        Northern Sub-Phylum-Level Superstock
          Tor-Lakes Plains Stock
            Tor Family
              Bertik
                Orya Family Isolate
                  Orya
                    Central Lakes Plains Family
                      Doutai
                        Eriai
                          Obokuitai
                            Sikaritai
                              Biritai
                                Kai
                                  Waritai
                                    Duvle
                                      Kwerisa
                                        Papasena
                                          East Lakes Plains Family
                                            Taworta
                                              Dabra
                                                Foau
                                                  Turu Family Isolate
                                                    Edopi
                                                      Iau
                                                        Kaure Sub-Phylum-Level Stock
                                                          Kaure Family
                                                            Kaure
                                                              Geelvink Bay Phylum
                                                                East Geelvink Bay Stock-Level Family
                                                                  Bauzi
                                                                    Demisa
                                                                      Aweria Group
                                                                        Aweria
                                                                            Saponi
                                                                             Rasawa
                                                                             Unclassified
### APPENDIX 1 - VOCABULARY OF PROTO-LAKES-PLAINS

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In 1975 when Voorhoeve published Languages of Irian Jaya, the Edopi language 1 (also now known as Dou or Elopi) was not included. It is only within the past decade that the Edopi people, who are traditional hunters and gatherers, have had some contact with outsiders and the vast majority of Edopi are still monolingual.

The Edopi people, numbering about 750, live in the Western Lakes Plain in Kecamatan (sub-district) Mulia, Kabupaten (district) Paniai in Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

The word Edopi is made up of two morphemes O- ‘we’ and dopi the vernacular name for the Tariku river, and means, literally, ‘we of the Dopi river’. Until recently they lived along that river, which was formerly known as the Rouffaer river. From the mid-1970's, the Edopi have been encouraged by several mission groups to form villages, which was also in line with standard government policy. There are four main villages: Kordesi, Dofu, Iratoi, and Duesia. (See figure 1).

As mentioned above, the Edopi are hunters and gatherers. Their staples are sago, bananas, and breadfruit. River fish, wild pig, and sago grubs supplement their diet from time to time. Recently, gardening of peanuts, maize, and sweet potatoes was introduced from the outside. Though Edopi in some areas are planting these crops, the terrain near Kordesi is swampy and not very suitable for gardening, so only a few attempt to do so.

This paper is a description 2 of social structure, kinship, and marriage among the Edopi people. Data for this paper was gathered from the village of Kordesi.

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Villages of the Edopi language group

Social structure

The concept of forming villages is a new one to the Edopi. Just a little more than a decade ago, there were no villages; the Edopi lived in isolated hamlets on the land belonging to their clan. Even now the village is a secondary residence as they shift back and forth between the village and their traditional hamlets. The village of Kordesi, for example was formed in 1977 when an airstrip was built and Dani evangelists arrived from the highlands to live and work in the area.

The Edopi are divided into two territorial divisions. Within each division certain other clans, with whom they unite for common defense and the exchange of women. I call these groups of allied clans "phratries."

Divisions.

The whole group in Kordesi is divided into two territorial units: theburi 'the upstream people' and thebe 'the downstream people'. (See Figure 2). The Usa, the Uri, the Hoiti, the Touna, the Doho and the Siri comprise the "upstream" group, while the Korobai, the Hoisa, the Tou, the Kariota, the Baisi, the Touborosi, the Sita, and the Toru comprise the "downstream" group.
There is no history of war between the two groups, rather they united for war against outsiders. However, there has been fighting between some of the smaller groups within each division. There is no cultural or dialect difference between the two groups.

The village of Kordesi was formed on land near the border of the two divisions. This village is basically organized accordingly to this binary divisions, that is, the downstream people live on the downstream side of the village, and the upstream people live on the upstream side of the village (Figure 3). Actually this idea was suggested by a Dani evangelist who was involved in the founding of Kordesi village, but I believe that the Edopi accepted his suggestion because it also fell in line with their own way of thinking. Although, five men from the upstream group built their houses in the section occupied by the downstream people, in every case it was because they had married women from the downstream group, and had promised to build their houses in that half of the village which was where their parents-in-law lived. Additional evidence for these divisions is found in their marriage patterns. Also, each of the two groups has their own separate bachelor's house, one upstream and one downstream, as sleeping quarters for boys from the age of about eight until they marry.

Traditionally, there was no concept of a headman among Edopi, all the members of a clan having equal status. Recently, however, village representatives (Koranu) were appointed by the Indonesian government. In Kordesi, four representatives were appointed. However, the koranus do not have much real authority in regard to village affairs.

Phratry.

An Edopi phratry is an unnamed cluster of clans, consisting of two or three clans (see figure 4). In the past, when one clan had a problem with another clan from a different phratry, the other clans within its phratry would immediately banded together against the other phratry. Also at times, two or more phratries banded together to protect their common interests against any outside group. Most of the problems arose from disagreements over the marriage of widows (see the section on marriage which follows), and stealing food from another clans' land. For example, when hostilities broke out between the Touda clan and the village of Dohu, the Dohu and the Siri banded with the Touda against Dohu. But when an attack came from outside the language group, all the phratries banded together against that common enemy.

Clan.

The unit I call clan is not exogamous, but is a land-holding unit whose members feel that they have descended from a common patrilineal ancestor. There is no Edopi word for clan, but a person can be identified as belonging to a certain clan by saying, "te Hoisa", "He is a Hoisa man." Each clan has its own territory for living, food-gathering and hunting. All the men of the clan go hunting together, all the women go fishing together, and they share all the food gathered. Sharing is an important aspect of their life, however, even apart from clan connections. If anybody comes to the door during meal time, the Edopi always share their food with the visitors. Before the village was formed at Kordesi, the Edopi lived in longhouses on their land. Each clan had one longhouse for everybody except bachelors, who had a separate longhouse used for sleeping. In the family house, all married women, older girls and babies slept on one side of the longhouse, husbands and small children slept on the other side. Now, because of the influence of the Dani from the highlands, they have a small house for each family in the village as well as another house on their own land.

The name of the clan comes from the name of the land they control. If a man is
adopted by a different clan when he is a baby, his original clan name is changed. There are 14 clans who have at least one house at the village of Kordes. There is no strong sense of a lineal principle that binds together individuals who belong to a certain clan. They simply use their rights to the land which is controlled by their clan. A man can go hunting on both his parent's and his wife's parent's land, but he cannot go to another clan's land unless someone from that clan (or who has rights to the land) accompanies him. The Dauta, Siharu, Berita and Tara clans have no surviving male clan members, so anyone can go to their traditional lands for sago and hunting, because there is no one living who can claim ownership. Land rights are normally inherited from one's father.

**Figure 4. Kordes social structure.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Phratry</th>
<th>Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tee bu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Usa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uri</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hoiti</td>
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<tr>
<td>tee be</td>
<td></td>
<td>Touda</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Doho</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Siri</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korobai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Baisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kariota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hoisa</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tou</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Touborosi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Toru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family.**

A nuclear family lives together in one house. It consists of a husband, one or more wives and their children. Occasionally, however, members of their extended family, such as a widowed mother or sister, son and his wife, or orphaned female relatives may be added to the household. Boys begin to stay at the men's house when they are around eight years old. Each family has two or more houses, one is located in the village, the other on the land belonging to their clan. A family frequently travels by canoe along the river to get food from their land.

**KINSHIP TERMS**

In the pages that follow, Edopi kinship terms are:

- **Grandkinsman**: PP(1), CC(1)
- **father**: MP(G)
- **mother**: FP(G)
- **mother’s brother**: FPM(G)
- **child**: C(G)
- **elder sibling**: ePC(G)
- **younger sibling**: yPC(G)
- **man's sister**: mPCf(G)

The extended range of a kinship term is generated from its primary range by the application of extension rules. Two extension rules are needed to generate the extended ranges of ... [Edopi] kinship terms. The generational extension rule (G) extends reference collaterally to other kinsmen of the same generation. This rule applies to the Edopi parent-child terms and sibling terms.

The second extension rule required for ... [Edopi] is Merrifield's Extension Rule 1, which defines unlimited bidirectional extension, both lineal and collateral. This rule applies to the ... [Edopi] grandkinsman terms. (Bateman 1983:196)

For more complete discussion of this system, interpretation of its symbolism, and further examples of its use see Merrifield (1983a: 1983b).

**Filial kinship terms**

Edopi consanguineal terms can be divided into four categories (see Figure 5): (1) Grandkinsmen, (2) Parent and child terms, (3) Siblings, and (4) Cross-cousin terms.

**Figure 5. Edopi filial kinship terms of reference.**

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>ai</em></td>
<td>PP(1), CC(1)</td>
<td>Grandkinsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>awa</em></td>
<td>MP(G)</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>fa</em></td>
<td>FP(G)</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td><em>soi</em></td>
<td>FPM(G)</td>
<td>mother’s brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td><em>sao</em></td>
<td>C(G)</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td><em>boi</em></td>
<td>ePC(G)</td>
<td>elder sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td><em>ira</em></td>
<td>yPC(G)</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td><em>oit</em></td>
<td>mPCf(G)</td>
<td>man's sister</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9</th>
<th>huru</th>
<th>fPCm(G)</th>
<th>woman's brother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>urarei</td>
<td>xPC(G)</td>
<td>cross-cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grandkinsmen.

All kinsmen more than one generation distant from ego are classified together under the single, reciprocal term ati 'grandkinsman'. Its primary referent is a parent's parent or a child's child, irrespective of sex. As stated, it extends without limit to any known collateral or lineal kinsman beyond one generation distance from ego (Rule 1).

Parent and child terms.

There are three terms for kinsmen of the first ascending generation in Edopi: awa 'father', ja 'mother', and soi 'mother's brother' (See Figure 6). The term awa 'father' has the male parent as its primary referent, but it extends to all of father's kinsmen of his generation, irrespective of sex (P(G)). A brother's brother is categorized with father, and father's sister is also called by the same term awa 'father'. The term ja 'mother' has the female parent as its primary referent, but it extends to any of her female and male kinsmen of her generation (P(G)). Parallel to father and his siblings, mother's sister and brother are called by the same term ja 'mother'. The term soi 'mother's brother' is an alternate term, but denotes only mother's male siblings, never her female siblings. The term sno 'child' is the reciprocal to the three parent terms. Its primary referent is ego's child, irrespective of sex and it extends to the child of any kinsmen of ego's generation.

Figure 6. Parent and child dyads.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta & \Delta & \Delta \\
\text{awa} & \text{awa} & \text{awa}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{ja} & \text{ja} & \text{ja}
\end{array}
\]

(or soi)

Siblings.

In distinguishing the kinsmen of ego's generation, Edopi terminology follows the Iroquois pattern of cousin terminology (Schusky 1965:21), equating parallel cousins with siblings and distinguishing cross-cousins. In sibling terms we find two sets of reciprocal terms determined by seniority and the second by sex.

1) The terms indicating seniority, boi 'elder sibling' and ida 'younger sibling' are defined respectively as ePC(G) and yPC(G). Their primary referents include any sibling of either sex who shares at least one parent of ego. In reference usage, they can be extended to any kinsmen of ego's generation (Rule G), though cross-cousins are ordinarily referenced by a separate term. In direct address, however, these two relative age terms are used only when ego addresses same sex siblings. When addressing opposite sex siblings, the opposite sex terms are used.

The relative seniority of alter and ego is indicated by using boi to designate a sibling born before ego, and by using ida to designate a sibling born after ego. In their extended usage, it is not the temporal order of birth of ego and alter that is indicated by boi and ida, but rather the order of birth of the original set of siblings in the genealogical chain that links ego to alter.

Figure 7 is based on data taken from a specific Edopi genealogy. It shows the relationship between temporal seniority and conceptual seniority. The numbers represent the actual order of birth.

Figure 7. Determining seniority.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{O2}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

Bobekida

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{Oba}
\end{array}
\end{array}
\]

Thus, Bahaiha is boi 'elder sibling' to Oisa, because he was born prior to Oisa. But Bahaiha is ida 'younger sibling' to Esaya and also to Kita, even though Bahaiha was born prior to Kita, because Kita's mother, Oba, is boi 'elder sibling' to Bobekina, who is Bahaiha's mother. Thus, the choice of terms is based on the relative age of ego's and alter's linking kinsmen.

2) The two terms which are used between siblings of the opposite sex are used both for reference and in address. Ota is a man's term for his sister, and huru is a woman's term for her brother. When seniority between siblings of the opposite sex is in focus, the terms boi and ida are used for reference, but not in direct address. Instead, huru and oita are used in direct address between siblings of the opposite sex.

Cross-cousin terms.

The term urarei 'cross-cousin' is self-reciprocal (See Figure 8). It denotes a mother's brother's child or a father's sister's child, is defined as xPC(G), and extends throughout ego's generation. The children of ego's parent's same sex siblings. (i.e. ego's parallel cousins) are classified with his siblings. In Figure 9, A and B are cross-cousins (urarei) to each other as are C and D.

Figure 8. Parallel cousin and cross-cousin

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{1. boi}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{2. ida}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{3. oita}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{4. urarei}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{1. EGO}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{2. EGO}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{3. EGO}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\Delta \\
\text{4. EGO}
\end{array}
\]
Enopi Kinship, Marriage and Social Structure

**Figure 9. Second cross-cousin dyads.**

```
O  Δ
Δ A  OB
Δ C  Δ D
```

Affinal kinship terms.

In Edopi, only five terms are used exclusively for affines, as shown in Figure 10.

**Figure 10. Edopi affinal terms of reference.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Primary Referent</th>
<th>Rough English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11. teesi-awa</td>
<td>SP(G)</td>
<td>wife's parent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. sai</td>
<td>SP Sor(G), PC(G)</td>
<td>man's brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. tee-sao</td>
<td>CI(G)</td>
<td>daughter's husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. tee</td>
<td>Sm</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. si</td>
<td>Sf</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The term teesi-awa [lit. 'wife's father'] is used both in address and as a term of reference for one's wife's parents. The reciprocal of teesi-awa is tee-sao 'the husband of my child'. A woman calls her parents-in-law awa 'father' and ja 'mother' and they call her sao 'child'.

Man's brother-in-law.

The term sai 'a man's brother-in-law' is used reciprocally between male ego and his wife's brother. Thus, sai denotes wife's brother or male ego's sister's husband.

**Spouse.**

The term tee 'man' denotes 'husband', while si 'woman' also denotes 'wife'.

The affinal kinship terms presented above are used after marriage, but they do not necessarily preclude use of the filial terms used prior to marriage. For example, if a man calls his wife oita 'sister' before marriage, he may still call her oita even after marriage.

Other affinal terms.

All other affinal kinsmen are referred to by the filial terms used prior to the marriage. Figure 11 presents a specific example of this from an Edopi genealogy.

Thus, Toroku calls Suru ida 'younger sibling', because Toroku's grandfather, Obara, was born prior to Koue who was Suru's grandfather. Later, however, when Suru married Hoibara, who is Toroku's father's brother, she still continues to use the same term of reference as she did before, that is, she still calls Suru ida 'younger sibling'.

Since the Edopi people are patrilocal, that perspective can be seen in the choice of kinship terms when two people are related in more than one way. Figure 12 presents such a case.

**Figure 12. Patrilineal vs matrilineal relationship.**

In Figure 12, Tobias has two 'grandfathers (ai), Bore and Bue who each married one of his cross-cousins (urarei), Ta and Hasa his father's sister's daughters. Ego calls Kirikau ja 'mother', who is a daughter of Bore, but he calls Oba sao 'child'. Because Bore is Tobias' maternal grandmother's brother, so Bue is not in his mother's kin group. Therefore, ego's kin relationship with Oba is reckoned from Oba's mother, Hasa, who is his cross-cousin.

**Edopi marriages**

There are two varieties of marriage in Edopi culture. One involves a type of
woman exchange while the other does not.

**Woman exchange.**

To obtain a wife, a man may exchange anyone he calls sister (oita), his own daughter (sao), or his siblings' daughters (also sao) or sometimes even one of his cross-cousins (urare). Figure 13 shows two cases in which men exchanged kinswomen for wives. In the first case Horia exchanged his own daughter, Hori, for Heya's sister, Aihi. As shown in the second example, Aurahere exchanged his sister, Tepu, for Hua's cross-cousin, Horu.

**Figure 13 - Two examples of woman exchange marriage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Horia</th>
<th>Δ</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horia</td>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aihi</td>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hora</td>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horu</td>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepu</td>
<td>Δ = O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horu</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Non-exchange marriage.**

If a girl's father sees a young man he thinks would make a good son-in-law, he keeps him in mind as a prospective husband for his daughter. When his daughter becomes old enough to marry, he gives her to that man. If the man has no woman to exchange, he will be grateful for such an offer. Nowadays, it is also possible for a man to approach a girl directly and ask her to marry him.

**Choosing a wife.**

The Edopi say it is good to choose a woman from a clan whose territory is close to one's own (See Table 1). Considering the 59 marriages in Kordesii, in 48 marriages (82%) both spouses were from the same division (either upstream or downstream), while only 11 marriages (18%) are the spouses from outside the division. Of the 48 intradivision marriages, 12 involved spouses from the same clan.

**Table 1 - Edopi marriages patterns.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>US</th>
<th>UR</th>
<th>HT</th>
<th>TD</th>
<th>DH</th>
<th>SR</th>
<th>KO</th>
<th>HS</th>
<th>TO</th>
<th>BS</th>
<th>KRT</th>
<th>ST</th>
<th>TBS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UPSTREAM</td>
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**Table 1 - Edopi marriages patterns.**

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**Abbreviations:**

US : Usu
UR : Uri
HT : Hoitti
TD : Touda
DH : Dolo
SR : Siri
KO : Korbai
HS : Heisa
TO : Tou
BS : Baisi
KRT : Kariota
ST : Sita
TBS : Touborosi
TR : Toru
OLG : Outside Langage Group

Edopi say that a man should avoid choosing a sister as his wife, though, in Edopi all females in male ego's generation are called oita 'sister'. However, when referring to someone whom ego can marry, they mean that there is no traceable patrilineal connection. In Figure 14, for example, Si and Esay are a married couple from the same clan and also are second cousins whose maternal grandfathers were brothers. However, in tracing their patrilineal connections, they shared no common ancestor, hence there was no reason why they could not marry.
**Figure 14. Patrilineal concept in Edopi marriages.**

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**Bride-Price**

Traditionally, there was no bride-price, since the exchange of women was considered the only compensation deemed necessary. However, a man has always been expected to work for his father-in-law and to bring in game and sago. A parent-in-law has these expectations regardless of whether the marriage is an exchange or non-exchange marriage. Recently the notion of bride-price has been introduced to the Edopi by the Dani from the highlands. As the Edopi have instituted it, however, the bride's parents do not demand a fixed bride price. Rather, the man simply offers gifts to his parents-in-law to whatever extent he is able. Items such as cooking pots, kitchen knives, plates, machetes, fishing nets, clothes and money are, of course, highly valued by his parents-in-law.

**Residence patterns**

When a man chooses a wife from his own clan, the couple continues to live in the area controlled by the clan. However, if she is not from his clan, because of the heavy responsibilities of the husband to his wife's parents, the new couple typically moves back and forth between the husband's land and the wife's land, that is, a more or less bilocal residence pattern.

**Polygyny**

Taking more than one wife is widely practiced among the Edopi. People say if a man is so successful at hunting that he is able to kill many wild pigs, then he can have two wives.

The levirate. If a man dies, one of his married brothers, either older or younger, may marry the widow. A brother who is still a bachelor, cannot take his brother's widow.

Mother and daughter as wives. It is quite common in Edopi society for a mother and daughter to share the same husband. In all cases, it involves the second or third marriage of the mother. The scenario is that a man first marries a widow that has a daughter, whom he treats as his stepchild. Later, however, when the daughter becomes old enough to marry, the stepfather may take her as his second wife.

**Sororal polygyny.** It is a common practice among the Edopi people for one man to marry women who are sisters. If a father-in-law is happy with his son-in-law, because he often brings him game, sago, and sago grubs and works hard for him, then he may give his son-in-law another daughter. The Edopi say that in polygynous marriages, if a mother and daughter or two sisters share the same husband, there is less conflict between the two wives, as opposed to other polygynous marriages in which the wives have no close blood relationship to each other. To get more of a longitudinal perspective on the incidence of polygyny among the Edopi, I compared 36 marriages recorded in one of the genealogies I collected with the data concerning 48 marriages involving people now living in Kordesí. Based on these data, I see a changing ratio of polygynous and monogamous marriages. As shown in Table 2, of the 36 marriages recorded in one genealogy, 15 (around 42 percent of the) men had more than one wife. This contrasts with the data from current marriages in Kordesí as presented in Table 3, in which only 10 out of 48 (about 21 percent of) marriages are polygynous.

**Table 2. Marriages from one genealogy. (Collected at Kordesí)**

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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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In the above sample, there was an overlap of thirteen marriages which were both in the marriages from the genealogy as well as current marriages in Kordesí. The trend toward monogamous marriage is highlighted further if only the nonoverlapping marriages are considered. Of the 13 marriages which overlap, ten were monogamous and three were polygynous. This means that about 52 percent (12 of 23) of the nonoverlapping marriages in the genealogy involved polygyny, compared to only 20 percent (7 of 35) of the "new" (nonoverlapping) marriages presently in Kordesí.

**Division of labor between husband and wife.**

Hunting, house building, cutting trees, and making canoes are men's jobs, while fishing, most gathering activities, making fishing nets and string bags, are women's jobs. When they travel by dugout canoe, women pole the canoe in the front, while men paddle the canoe at the back. The husband cuts a sago tree, and pounds the sago to get out the pulp, then the woman processes the sago pulp. In Edopi metaphorical speech, the bow and arrow are always symbolic of men, while a fishing net inevitably refers to women.
Marriage of widows

The marriage of widows often causes fighting among the clans. This is because the ideal is for a widow to stay single for the rest of her life as a sign of grief for the loss of her deceased husband. However, if she wants to remarry, she is supposed to wait for several years after her husband dies. If she marries too soon her deceased husband's clan will take out their anger on her and her new husband. Nevertheless, remarriage is very common, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Marital status of the females in Kordesí.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Marriage</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(husband still living)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Marriage</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(husband deceased, no remarriage)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second marriage</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third marriage</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 55 women in Kordesí who have been married at least once, two have been divorced and 27 have been widowed. Of the widows, only two have remained single and 25 have remarried at least once.

Summary

Membership in patrilineal land-based clans is a key element of Edopi social structure. Clans in turn are grouped together in phratries for mutual defense. Among the Edopi who operate out of the relatively new village of Kordesí, a binary division is recognized both in the village and in the territory where the clans' lands are located. These two groups, as well as the phratries within the groups, tend toward endogamy.

The Edopi practise polygyny including levirate marriages, sororal polygyny and marriages where co-wives are mother and daughter. Exchange of kinswomen (usually called "sister exchange") is the preferred way of obtaining a wife. Traditionally there was no bride price, but recently the custom of bride price was introduced by the Dani.

Notes

Acknowledgements.

I wish to thank our good friends Hokuhea and his wife Kore, Tobias and his wife Toroku, Taitera, and other Edopi speakers from the village of Kordesí, for their willing help. Also I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments by Ken and Marilyn Gregerson and David Brooks as well as the valuable suggestions and encouragement from Janet Bateman and my husband while drafting this paper. Ivor Green (1986) presents a list of Edopi (Dou) kinship terms. Edopi patterns of kin behavior share much in common with the neighboring lau (cf. Bateman 1983).

1. According to the Index of Irian Jaya Languages (Sulzer and Heikkilä 1984), Edopi is classified as a Papuan language, Trans-New Guinea Phylum, Northern (Border-Tor-Lake Plain) Subphylum-Level Superstock. Neighboring languages are Tausu, Kirikiri, and Turu 1. The lau dialect of Turu is the most closely related language. For a discussion of Edopi phonology see Kim and Kim (1989).

2. My husband, Eui Jung Kim, and I began our study of the Edopi language in October, 1987, under the auspices of the cooperative program of Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Data for this paper included a comprehensive analysis of all kin relationships of people now located in the village of Kordesí. It was written during a six week workshop held in September and October 1989, led by Dr. Ken and Marilyn Gregerson.

3. Since both clans and phratries are really also territorial units, I might have used the term "hamlet" for "clan" and "allied hamlets" for "phratry" (cf. Shaw 1974).
REFERENCES CITED


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YAWA MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP: A TWO-SECTION IROQUOIS SYSTEM

Linda K. Jones

Terminologi kekerabatan Iroquois dan Dravidian serupa seperti dalam membedakan sanak sejajar, tetapi beda penyililangan dan hubungan parallel lebih dibedakan, lebih khusus dalam menghargai seputu dari orang tua ego dan seputu kedu dan lebih (diatasnya) dari ego dan anak-anak dari seputu ego. Sistim Iroquois tersebar dan berhubungan dengan variasi pola-pola perkawinan sementara sistim Dravidian lebih khusus berhubungan dengan apa yang disebut sistim "dua bagian" (two-section) atau kadang-kadang "gabungan". Keseling (1975:107) mengatakan sub-tipe Dravidian adalah biasa (tetapi tidak selalu) berhubungan dengan ketentuan bahwa ego laki-laki kawin dengan seorang wanita yang termasuk kategori seputu dan nampaknya beberapa terminologi Iroquois dimana ekuivalensi dibuat antara suadara dekat dan ipar-ipar yang diperkirakan cocok dengan sistim gabungan Dravidian walaupun dia tidak memberikan contoh yang spesifik.

Dalam tulisan ini diuraikan suatu kelompok masyarakat, lebih khusus masyarakat Yawa, Irian jaya, Indonesia, yang mempunyai suatu terminologi kekerabatan dan pasti hal ini merupakan gabungan ciri Iroquois dan Dravidian. Sistim "dua-bagian" dari Yawa bukanlah sistim "moeity" tetapi lebih merupakan "dua bagian" adalah egosentrik dan berhubungan dengan pola dari perkawinan wajib seputu sehingga setiap bagian adalah "jenis orang dari saya" (orang saya) dan bagian kedua adalah "orang jenis lain" (orang lain) dengan siapa kita kawin, dwi organisasi orang Yawa diungkapkan dalam terminologi.
Introduction

Iroquois and Dravidian kinship terminologies are alike in distinguishing from parallel cousins, but differ in the way parallel and cross relatives are distinguished among more distant kin, particularly with respect to ego's parents' cross-cousins. Ego's second (and more distant) cross-cousins (Keessing 1975:108) and the children of ego's cross-cousins (Scheffler 1971:238-239). Iroquois systems are widespread and are associated with a variety of marriage patterns, while Dravidian systems have been especially associated with what has been described as "two-section" or sometimes "alliance" systems (Dumont 1957, Keessing 1975:108) says "the Dravidian requirement that a male ego marry a woman who falls in the cross-cousin category" and that (p. 111) "there are apparently some Iroquois terminologies where the equivalence are made between consanguineals and in-laws that are supposed to be a concomitant of Dravidian alliance systems, although he does not list specific examples.

This paper describes a society, the Yawa of Irian Jaya, Indonesia, which has a kinship terminology with precisely this combination of Iroquois and Dravidian features. The "two-section" system of the Yawa is not a moiety system, but rather the "two sections" are egocentric and related to a pattern of obligatory cross-cousin marriage, so that one section is "my kind of people" and the second section is "the other kind of people, with whom we marry" (cf. Keessing 1975:108). The dual organization in Yawa is expressed in kinship terminology through the distinction between parallel and cross-relatives (Rosman and Rubel 1989:210). The terminology is Iroquois in type, yet there are terminological equivalences between consanguineals and in-laws.

1. Ethnographic Setting

The Yawa people, numbering about 6000, occupy the center of Yapen, a long mountainous island lying off the north coast of Irian Jaya, Indonesia (see figure 1.) Originally they resided mostly in tiny hamlets in the interior of the island, but at the behest of the government during the Dutch administration in the early decades of this century, they were gathered in villages, most of which are located along either the north coast or the south coast of the island, but with one very large village and one smaller one in the interior. Despite the very rugged mountainous terrain and lack of roads, there is considerable traffic between the mountain villages and the coastal villages, and between neighboring coastal villages.

There are multiple clans among the Yawa, which are patrilineal and exogamous. Men marry their distant cross-cousin, and then reside patrilocally, first with the man's parents and later independently in their own house. Traditional political structure is no longer extant, having been replaced by Indonesian provincial and district infrastructure.

The Yawa subsist by slash-and-burn agriculture and hunting game in the rain forest. They market surplus garden produce in one of the nearby towns, but the far greatest source of cash for coastal people is selling the sago that they process. For the mountain people, coffee is the primary cash crop.

The Yawa speak a Papuan language, but they are surrounded by Austronesian-speaking peoples on all sides. There has been considerable intermarrying between the Yawa and their neighbors and indeed, some family names are found all over the island. Because of the high degree of contact between these different language groups, their culture have become homogeneous. Furthermore, there has been a long history of sporadic contact with other peoples, such as the Chinese many centuries ago, followed by the Sultanate of Tidore, later the Dutch, and most recently western Indonesians. Although the Yawa are formerly animists in their beliefs, Christianity was introduced about 50 years ago, and today the Yawa claim to be 100% Christian. There are two principal denominations, both Protestant.
2. Clan organization

A Yawa's social identity is keret, i.e. his family name. Family names in six Yawa villages are listed in figure 2. Some of these names represent only one family in the village, whereas others represent several. It can be seen that family names are not localized; for instance, the names Maniambo and Paai occur in four of the villages, while Karubaba and Rumansara are found in none.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arioibu/Insari</th>
<th>Rosbori</th>
<th>Artaneng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andere</td>
<td>Ayeri</td>
<td>Kuwei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba</td>
<td>Imbiri</td>
<td>Maniambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imbiri</td>
<td>Karubaba</td>
<td>Rawai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapanai</td>
<td>Paai</td>
<td>Rumansara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniambo</td>
<td>Rumansara</td>
<td>Sembai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paai</td>
<td>Wanggori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tindareti/Kiriowi</td>
<td>Amboiru</td>
<td>Mambon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aba</td>
<td>Atewa</td>
<td>Karubaba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andit</td>
<td>Karubaba</td>
<td>Paai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maniambo</td>
<td>Maniambo</td>
<td>Rumansara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mera</td>
<td>Mora</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paai</td>
<td>Paai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rawai</td>
<td>Rawai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turanat</td>
<td>Sembai</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yawandare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yawa family names do not correspond neatly with any anthropological category: they are not always clan names and they are never just lineage names (there are no named lineages). Actually, all Yawa have two keret names, a kereto akoe 'big family names' and a kereto manaum 'small family name'. However, the particular keret that an individual identifies with in everyday usage may be either one of these. It is not, however, the individual's choice; rather he goes by whichever of the family names is used by the larger group to which he belongs.

The largest social grouping among the Yawa corresponds to kereto akoe 'big family name', which I will call 'clan'. Each clan is a non-overlapping grouping of two or more subclans, the latter term corresponding to kereto manaum 'small family name'. Figure 3 shows some of the clans and the subclans comprising them. By comparing these with the family name in Figure 2, which are those used in daily life, it is evident that sometimes the everyday family name is the clan name and other times it is the subclan name. In one case, the Paai clan, all member subclans except one (Yawandare) go by the clan name. In other clans, e.g. Sembai, the situation is more split, with one of the member subclans going by their subclan names, while other member subclans are only identified by the clan name. And in yet other cases, all the subclans within the clan go only by their subclan name, e.g. the subclans in the Mindim clan. The conventions regarding which name is used, whether clan or subclan have apparently existed for some time, since people of one clan do not always know the subclan names of another clan if the latter people only use their clan name.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paai</th>
<th>Rumansara</th>
<th>Mindim</th>
<th>Sembai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kapitarau</td>
<td>Aenbuga</td>
<td>Andei</td>
<td>Kapanai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mambo</td>
<td>Karutut</td>
<td>Baba</td>
<td>Maniambo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pajuri</td>
<td>Kuwei</td>
<td>Imbiri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radivun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantaniy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wanawatani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yawandare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 3. FOUR YAWA CLANS AND THEIR INCLUDED SUBCLANS.**

Clans figure significantly in Yawa social structure because of the rule of clan exogamy and also because of the bonds which commit clan members to one another. The significance of the clan in the economic structure is principally as a land owning group. Individuals or families do not own any land, whether in the village or in the forest. The land all belongs to the clans. Just as the clan endures, regardless of whether particular clan members die, so the land tenure continues. (There are, however, sometimes disputes over land claims.) Land is not divided up to clan members, it is not inherited, and it may not be sold. Clan members merely use the land for gardening and hunting. However, it is also common for families...
3. Village structure

While clans and subclans are organized along kinship lines, villages are not. Clan distinctions are not represented spatially in the villages. Segments of each clan may, in fact, be scattered over a number of villages, and conversely, in every village, there are several different clans represented (see Figure 2). Furthermore, within a village, there is no particular clustering of the households of one clan or even of one subclan. As houses deteriorate, new ones are constructed in some unoccupied space, not necessarily nearby, and thus the physical layout of the village is constantly changing.

The only significant factor in the spatial organization of a village is a religious one. Within a village, the basic unit is the household. The nucleus of the household is generally a man, his wife, and his unmarried sons and daughters. If a man has more than one wife (still true of some older men), his wives and their children all live with him under one roof. Since the Yawa are patriarchal and a man brings his new wife to live in his parents' home, there may also be one or more married sons and their families in the household. The new couple occupy their own room in the parental home generally until several children have been born, at which time, space pressures push the young family out on their own.

Besides the male head of household, his spouse, and descendants, there are often other relatives who also live (temporarily or permanently) in the household. Perhaps there is a child or two of some near kinsmen who has temporarily come to reside with the family. Children of brothers are especially apt to be traded back and forth like this, and a man's younger unmarried brother often comes to live with him. This fostering may lead to a long-term arrangement. There is often a widow in the household as well. She is usually related to the male head of household, either his mother or the widow of a brother, since widows are supposed to be taken care of by their deceased husband's clan. Only rarely is the widow a sister or a daughter of the head of household.

A widow may also be head of household. Especially in cases in which she has older children at the time of her husband's death, a widow may continue living in the same home rather than move with her husband's close kin. It is rare that a widow would return to live permanently in her home village or remarry into a clan other than her deceased husband's, because if she does, her children must remain in her husband's close kin. Her children belong to their father's clan, not to her. Consequently, a widow head of household is not uncommon, and sometimes two widows whose husbands were brothers live together.

Statistics from one village surveyed (Araneng) will illustrate these typical household patterns. There are 23 households (excluding outsiders, such as school teachers), 17 of which are headed by a married man and one by a widower. The remaining five households are headed by women: one by a divorcee and four by widows. One of the latter households consists of a widow and her five children, two are headed by a pair of women who are the widows of brothers, and one has three women who are the widows of three brothers. Besides these widows, there are nine other widows in this village, all of whom are living with relatives. Six of these are living with a married son, one with her deceased husband's parents, one with her deceased husband's brother, and one with her own brother (this latter case was considered temporary because her deceased husband's brother's present house is too small). The data regarding the widows make it clear that the rule of patrilocal residence is strong, since all 16 widows are residing in the village of their deceased husband. Even if the case of the widow living with her own brother, she is able to reside with him because her family to be from the same village as her deceased husband's.

Completing the statistical account of households in other residents include one handicapped woman who never married and who lives with her brother, one adolescent boy living with his married older brother, and several "foster" children, that is, children temporarily residing with their relatives.

4. Consanguineal kin

4.1. Terminology

Consanguineal kin in Yawa society are classified disjunctively as taundave "close" kin [lit. 'very own'] and randani "distant" kin. Not all Yawa set the boundary between taundave and randani kin in the same relative place. As a minimum, however, everyone would agree that taundave refers to those kin who belong to the two descent groups defined by a person's two sets of grandparents and all their descendants.
That is, all those persons descended from ego’s paternal grandparents, as well as those descended from ego’s maternal grandparents, are ego’s taundave ‘close’ kin. On the other hand, ego’s randani kin, are related more distantly, they are the collateral lineages of second ascending (grandparents’) or higher generations. These include kin on both mother’s and father’s side.

However, some Yawa classify at least some of the kinsmen of the second degree of collaterality as taundave. It appears that in cases, the criterion is not a matter of lesser or greater genealogical distance, but rather whether the links connecting a particular kinsmen to ego are known or not. If all the links are known, then some Yawa insist that kinsman is taundave, regardless of the genealogical distance; if the links are not all known, the kinsman must be randani. However, I have found no Yawa who knows the names of all his/her great-grandparents and none who knows the identities of all his/her grandparents’ siblings. Knowledge of these kinsmen is either partial or lacking altogether. Consequently, the extension of the taundave classification into the second degree of collaterality is never more than partial. Perhaps this lack of knowledge may be explained by the fact that it is not in one’s self interest to know the links since admission of such knowledge would limit marriage choices.

The significance of the distinction between taundave kin and randani kin lies in the marriage rules. That is, a person should never marry a taundave kinsman, including a cross-cousin who is taundave.

The Yawa begin reclaiming their kinship with their patrilineal clan affiliation. The system is classificatory and bifurcate merging, distinguishing cross from parallel relatives in each of the middle three generations (+1, 0, -0 generations), what Keesting (1975:105) has called the Dravidian-Iroquois type. The terminology for taundave kin is shown in Figure 4, and for randani kin is set forth in Figure 5. Figure 5 shows all the kin of the second degree of collaterality for Father’s Father and Mother’s Father, which represent the two descent groups that include the cross-cousins most important in Yawa marriages. (Terminology for the kin of Father’s Mother and Mother’s Mother is similarly reckoned.) For each distinct term in the kinship charts, the closest relationship that ego has with a kinsman designated by that term is taken to be the core meaning of the term, which then is given in the nearest English translation. Thus, while there are a number of kinsmen that ego refers to as his awani, the closest one is his mother’s brother, which in English would be translated as ‘uncle’. Hence, the core meaning of awani is listed as ‘uncle’. Extensions of the terms to other kinsmen can be seen in Figure 4 and 5, and are also spelled out in Appendix 1. There are alternate terms in some cases, which appear to have exactly the same denotata. These alternate terms may be due to dialectal differences or to borrowing from other languages. Symbols used in the figures are explained at the end of the paper.

FIGURE 4. CLOSE CONSANGUINEAL KIN. Reciprocal terms are bracketed together.

TERM | CORE MEANING
--- | ---
1. anena | grandkinsman
2. ajavti, anena | grandchild
3. ajap | father
3a. ajayo anuija | older father
3b. ajayo rijata | younger father
4. akoyam | mother
4a. akoyo anuija | older mother
4b. akoyo rijata | younger mother
5. kavo, arikainy | child
6. awateap, awani, kamoki | uncle
7. andam, ara | aunt
8. augai, viaki, kamoki | nephew/niece
9. anuija | older sibling (same-sex)
10. rijata | younger sibling (same-sex)
11. anakavo | woman’s brother
12. anamam | man’s sister
13. arakova | sibling
14. aetaka | cross-cousin
descending generation, this yields two basic categories, roughly glossed as 'child' and 'nephew/niece'. There are two terms for the former category and three apparently alternate terms for the latter category, only one of which distinguishes sex, and that distinction is strictly optional. By the addition of a suffix -p 'masculine' or -m 'feminine', sex may be specified with the term augai (these suffixes are optionally added to certain other kinship terms as well). In the first ascending generation, the sex of the kinsman is obligatorily factored in, which yields a set of four terms with core meanings of 'father', 'mother', 'uncle' and 'aunt'. The kinsmen to which all these terms are extended may be seen in Figure 4 and 5.

In ego's generation, there is an additional category besides sex and the parallel versus cross relationship. As is common throughout Indonesia, siblings are categorized by their relative age with respect to ego. Anuia means 'older', while rija means 'younger'. Used alone, these terms refer to siblings of the same sex as ego. Thus, when a woman speaks of her anuia, she means an older sister, but when a man speaks of his anuia, he means an older brother. For an opposite-sex sibling, there are special non-reciprocal terms: a woman refers to her brother as anakavo, while a man uses anamam for his sister.

In addition, the terms anuia 'older' and rija 'younger' may be added as adjectives to other kinship terms. Thus, for clarification, a girl may speak of her anakavo anuia 'older brother'. The 'younger' descriptions are almost always added to 'father' and 'mother' terms when ego is referring to other than his/her biological parent. e.g. ajivo rija is taken to mean 'father's younger brother' or 'mother's younger sister's husband'. In fact, there is another term vasvin 'middle', which is used to refer to the second of three or more siblings of the same sex. For example, if one's father has three brothers, the middle one would be called ajivo vasvin 'middle father'. To refer unambiguously to one's biological father, a descriptive phrase pinawaki "who bore me" is added to the term for father.

Only among true siblings do the "younger" terms accurately reflect actual chronological seniority. For other parallel kinsmen of the same generation, what is crucial is the birth order of their two linking kinsmen. Thus, ego calls his same-sex cousin anuia 'older' or rija 'younger' depending on the birth order of the ancestral siblings that constitute the link between them. For example, if the two linking kinsmen were their fathers who were brothers, then the children of the older brother are all referred to by the 'older' terminology, regardless of which are older in an absolute sense. There is a special term, mambe netaive, which refers to the 'older-younger' relationship that two parallel kinsmen of the same sex and the same generation have. A mambe netaive relationship is considered special, particularly between males.

Cousin terminology is also bifurcate merging, in that terminology for parallel cousins is the same as for siblings, but distinct from cross-cousin terminology. Because of Yawa marriage patterns, cross-cousin is a
very important category. There is a single term *tetaka* which applies to cross-cousins of either sex and is irrespective of relative seniority. The term always refers to a same-generation kinsman whose linking parent was of the opposite sex to ego's linking parent. Consequently, with respect to the classification of second and more distant cousins, the same system is like Iroquois, because, as Lausnoby (1964:1079) carefully noted, "the sexes of intervening links, when present, are irrelevant to the reckoning"; only the sexes of the first and last link are relevant. (This contrasts with Dravidian-type terminology where the sex of all known intervening links is critical in affecting the classification. This distinction between Iroquois and Dravidian kinship types was first pointed out in Lausnoby's paper.)

Having said this, however, it must be added that all cross-cousins may also be referred to by sibling terminology, and everyday usage, such terminology often predominates. To make the categorization precise, the Yawa frequently compound sibling and cousin terms into one descriptive phrase, e.g. *sya anamo sya tetak* 'my cross-cousin sister'. The closer the kinsman, the more likely that only sibling terms will be used. As one language assistant explained to me, among close kin, sibling terms are *makoewe* 'big' (i.e. 'important'), while cousin terms are *manman* 'small' (i.e. 'unimportant'). Since Yawa prescribe cross-cousin marriage, but only between *randani* 'distant' cross-cousins, the regular use of sibling terms instead of the cross-cousin term for *taundave* 'close' cross-cousins can be understood as functioning to underscore the status of such kinsmen as unmarried by ego.

There is one category of kinsman that is a problem in the analysis. This is the category of ego's parent's same-sex cross-cousin. By Iroquois-type reckoning, this kinsman would be predicted to be 'parent' (that is, 'father' or 'mother', depending on the sex). Indeed, many of the genealogies I collected did categorize this kinsman according to the prediction. However, there were some cases in otherwise reliable genealogies where the kinsman in question was instead termed 'uncle' or 'aunt', and where this classification did not appear to result from a different, but closer, genealogical path. Perhaps one source of confusion is that, because of residence patterns after marriage, kinsmen of this category usually reside in some other, perhaps distant, village, so that ego very possibly has had no contact with that person and thus had no need to calculate a kinship term for him or her until I requested it in the genealogy.

Furthermore, I recorded several marriages between offspring of same-sex cross-cousins. Since these marriages were deemed totally proper, it must be the case that the linking parents were conceptualized as cross-related and therefore the offspring were, too. Thus, the way in which ego categorizes parent's same-sex cross-cousin has automatic consequences in the categorization of that kinsman's offspring. The problematical categorization of these collateral kinsmen is indicated by question marks in Figure 5.

Only the middle three generations (+1, 0, and -1 generations) distinguish among kinsmen. In higher or lower generations, there is only a single term. All kinsmen of higher generations (+2 or higher) are lumped together as *anena*, which refers ambiguously to grandparents, great-grandparents, and so forth, and also means 'ancestor'. Actually, it is a rare Yawa who knows any names of kinsmen beyond his grandparents, or even the name of his grandparents' siblings. This term *anena* may be used reciprocally for kin of the second descending generation; that is, a grandparent and his grandchild refer to each other as *anena*. There is also a special term *njava* which is not reciprocal and refers only to the grandchild (or great-grandchild, etc.)

The term discussed above and those given in Figures 4 and 5 are all terms of reference. Terms of direct address may be formed from most of these terms simply by suffixing -e or suppleting the final vowel with this suffix, e.g. *anena* 'grandkinsman [direct address]' Possessive markers are not used with direct address, except for the bound markers which occur with the words for 'father' and 'mother'. Neither are descriptive adjectives such as *amunia* 'older' used in direct address, e.g. father's older brother is addressed simply as 'my father' rather than 'my older father' which is a translation of the usual term of reference. Kinsmen of the first and second ascending generations are always addressed by their kin term modified into the direct address from in the way just described.

On the other hand, a close kinsman of ego's generation is generally addressed simply by his (or her) given name until he marries and bears his first child, after which he is addressed by tekonymy, e.g. 'father of so-and-so', using the name of his firstborn child. This is the pattern between spouses as well: they use given names until the first child is born, after which they use tekonymy in addressing each other. For distant kinsmen of the same generation, the address form is *grakowe*. (Actually, while this term has 'sibling' as its core meaning, it may be extended to anyone of the same generation where the genealogical relationship is either unknown, such as a Yawa from a distant village, or is assumed nonexistent, such as an outsider. For example, this is the way I am addressed). Kinsmen of the first descending generation are generally addressed by their given names if they are unmarried, otherwise by tekronymy as described above. With nieces and nephews, however, kin terms are occasionally used. Grandchildren are called either *anena* or by their given names.

4.2. Kinship Behavior

The bonds of kinship are strongest to one's *taundave* kin and involve mutual support, material reciprocity, and assistance in crises. Adult have asymmetrical ties of "sororance-dependence" (cf. Keesing 1980) with their kinsmen who are still children. However, the ties are symmetrical ones of reciprocal support between adult kinsmen. Support may be given in small ways, such as splitting a sago log with a kinsman or offering hospitality to a visiting kinsman, or it may be offered on major projects, such as helping a kinsman fell trees in a new
garden or assisting him in putting on a new roof.11

Taundave kinsmen are a guarantee of social security, whether it be providing foster care to a child or providing long-term care for the handicapped, a widow or widower, or elderly parents. When it is simply a child that needs to be watched for a few hours, an older close kinsman is called upon. In times of crisis, such as a serious illness or a death, close kin rally around.

Material reciprocity both expresses and forges close ties between kinsmen. The most common material items are food gifts, especially surplus garden produce, fish, or wild pork. But other kinds of material goods are also given to a close kinsman. A woman might weave a bag or roofing thatch for her brother, while a man might bring firewood to his sister. A woman might give her sister a new dress, and a man might carve a canoe for his brother. A man might take a bamboo-full of palm wine to his cousin, or make a bow and arrow set for his sister’s son. A niece gets medicinal leaves to place on the aching limbs of her mother’s brother. A grandparent gives a sago tree to his newly-married grandson. A young man sends a bottle of homemade coconut oil to his father’s brother. In cases of financial strain, a sister lends money to a needy brother, and a brother gives money for school expenses to his younger brother. The greatest financial strain if, of course, the bride price, and all taundave adult kinsmen, both patrilateral and matrilateral, are expected to contribute to the bride price. Conversely, when a bride price is received, it is distributed to these same close kin. (Besides tapping close kinsmen for the bride price, the groom’s family solicits contributions from all their fellow villagers, as mentioned above).

Formerly, the mother’s brother’s-sister’s child relationship was quite important, but it is less so today. For example, formerly, when sister’s child died, the child’s mother’s brother took some or all of the deceased’s belongings. This is not practice nowadays. However, among some Yawa, there is still a special ceremony that the mother’s brother performs for his sister’s daughter when she “comes of age”. There is a big party, with feasting, singing and dancing. The climax of the party occurs when the girl’s ears are pierced by her mother’s brother, and he presents her with her first earrings.

Of the various paired relationships among taundave kin, the most significant is the brother-brother relationship. As mentioned above, there is a special term for such a relationship: mambe relative. For the Yawa, the brother-brother relationship is the “dominant dyad” (cf. Hsu 1971) among consanguinal kin, its dominance has already been glimpsed in the previous discussion regarding widows. When a man dies, the expectation is that his widow will be cared for by one of his brothers. If her children are older, she may choose to live in her own residence, but nonetheless one of her deceased husband’s brothers will be the guardian for her children, and also their primary benefactor. If the deceased man had an unmarried brother (or even a classificatory brother of his patri-clan) of suitable age, it is likely that brother will marry the widow. On the other hand, if the widow chooses to remarrry into a different clan, she forfeits the raising of her children to her deceased husband’s clan, which in practical terms, usually means the children go to one of the brothers of the deceased man.

While they are alive, older brothers look after their younger brothers. If a younger brother goes for further education, he can count on financial help from his older brother. When their parents die, a younger brother who has not yet married cannot count on living in his older brother’s home. When the brothers are all grown men, they look to each other for assistance in major projects, such as felling trees in a garden or building a house. If one brother has a special skill, such as making canoes, his brothers expect to benefit from that skill.

5. Affinal kin

Affinal kin terminology in Yawa presents a curious, blend of terminology which is unique to affines, with terminology which is not at all unique to affines, but in fact is the same terminology which is used for consanguineal kin. Thus, it would appear that in some way, the Yawa perceive some of their affines as being related to them analogously as their own consanguineal kin. Indeed, in many instances affines who are referred to by consanguineal terminology are not even blood-related, or at least not related in any way that the people can actually trace. How is it that these affines are classified as consanguineal kin? An explanation will be explored in Section 7. First, this section will lay the groundwork by discussing the terminology of affines. The overall system is detailed in Figure 6.
Terminology for Female Ego (where different)

\[
\Delta = O
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{20a,6} & \text{20b,7} \\
\hline
\Delta = O & \Delta = O & \Delta = O & \Delta = O \\
\text{11} & \text{22} & \text{20a,6} & \text{9} \text{ 5} \text{ 10} & \text{EGO} \text{ 21} \text{ 22} \\
\end{array}
\]

**FIGURE 6.** AFFINAL KIN. Reciprocal terms are bracketed together

**ADDITIONAL TERMS**

| 15. | vainy | co-parents-in-law |
| 16. | anap | husband |
| 17. | anamu | wife |
| 18. | anu | man and his parents-in-law |
| 18a. | anup | son-in-law, man's father-in-law |
| 18b. | anumam | man's mother-in-law |
| 19. | tamaisya | child-in-law |
| 20. | ajama | woman and her parents-in-law |
| 20a. | ajamap | woman's father-in-law |
| 20b. | ajamam | daughter-in-law, woman's mother-in-law |
| 21. | amai, araki | sibling-in-law |
| 22. | arema | woman's sister-in-law |

The set of terms which are unique to affines is actually quite small. There are terms for 'husband' and 'wife' and then two sets of terms relating these individuals to their parents-in-law. One set of terms, based on the morpheme amu, is used between the husband and his parents-in-law, and a different set of terms, based on the morpheme ajama, is used between the wife and her parents-in-law. In other words, these morphemes are the basis for self-reciprocating terms between a child-in-law and his or her parents-in-law. To the basic morphemes amu and ajama may be added suffixes which specify the sex of the referent. Thus, -p 'masculine', added to amu, gives amup, which may refer to either of the masculine members of this son-in-law/parents-in-law threesome. Since the mother-in-law is the only female in this threesome, the feminine form anaman refers unambiguously to her. The situation is reversed with ajama which denotes a daughter-in-law and her parents-in-law. In this threesome there are two females, the daughter-in-law and the mother-in-law, both of which are referred to by the feminine form ajamam, while the masculine form ajamap refers unambiguously to the father-in-law. However, the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law terms may be disambiguated by the addition, interestingly enough, of the adjective kove 'living' and kakai 'dead', respectively.\(^{13}\)

In addition, there is a non reciprocal term tamaisya which means only 'child-in-law' (that is, either 'daughter-in-law' or 'son-in-law'). Also there is a special term vainy which the two sets of parents of the married couple use to refer to each other.\(^{14}\)

For siblings-in-law, there are only three terms in Yawa that are strictly affinal, and not consanguinal, terms. These are amai, araki, and arema. The first two denote various affines, such as 'wife's sister', 'wife's brother', and 'sister's husband'. Both amai and araki are self-reciprocating terms, but they may be made specific for sex by the addition of a gender suffix. The term arema is a self-reciprocating term which is used only between two women who are related to each other as husband's sister/brother's wife.

In summary, there are nine terms that are unique to affines, three of these for sibling-in-law relationships, three for child-in-law/parents-in-law relationships, two for the husband/wife relationship, and one for the relationship between the two sets of parents of the couple.

By contrast to the relatively small set of terms unique to affines, fourteen terms used for affines are basically consanguinal terms (cf. the lower portion of Figure 6). In fact, the only consanguinal terms that are NOT also used for affines are just these three: 'father', 'grandkinsman', and 'cross-cousin'. Furthermore, if we consider that a Yawa's spouse is normally his/her cross-cousin, we see that only two consanguinal kin terms are not relevant to affinal relationships. The pervasive use of consanguinal kin terms for affines can be partly explained with respect to social function, as we shall see next in Section 6.

6. Marriage

6.1. Marriage patterns

This section examines more closely the marriage pattern among the Yawa. There are three basic rules: clan exogamy, cross-cousin marriage, and no marriage among taundawe kinsmen. These are essentially summed up by the Yawa stating that they must marry their aetako randani 'distant cousin'. (Although this phrase does not exclude fellow clans persons, clan exogamy goes without saying for the Yawa). The marriage system is "prescriptive" in Maybury-Lewis's sense (1971: 201) as one "in which there is a rule of marriage with a prescribed category of relative".\(^{15}\) The Yawa prescribe marriage with a cousin (who is appropriately distantly-related).

There are, of course, marriages that do not conform to the marriage rules. Most common is the case in which a Yawa has taken a spouse that is vatano maran 'outsider', that is, someone from a distant area, such as Waropen, Manokwari or Jayapura. Such a spouse is outside the kinship network and so could not be a cross-cousin, but such a marriage is socially acceptable. However, other marriages that violate the marriage rules, such as a marriage between a man and a woman of the same clan, or a marriage between a woman and her classificatory uncle, or a marriage between cross-cousin who...
are first cousins, are considered koveramu 'no good' or tutugadi 'bad'. Such couples are accepted into the community, but the people chide disapprovingly when referring to the marriage and are not surprised if the couple has some misfortune, such as being barren or one of them dying prematurely. Even so, almost every genealogy I recorded had at least one such 'bad' marriage.

Before Christianity, polygyny used to be common, but now is found only among older men. One man told me his grandfather had at one time been married to five wives. In cases of multiple wives, each one was supposed to be from a different clan, although this was not always the fact. As already mentioned, levirate marriages are common, in which a widow remarries her deceased husband's brother. There are also marriages which involve exchanges of sisters.

Formerly all (first) marriages were arranged by the parents, or if the parents were both dead, by the closest elder kinsman who is the guardian. Many marriages were arranged when the prospective mates were very young children, or sometimes not yet born. Nowadays parents still arrange many of the marriages (the term for which is vaiyve raye), but it is more usual to wait until the girl reached puberty. The two sets of parents seal the agreement by sharing a meal (nasiyo vaiyve) together and shaking hands. This establishes a special relationship between them and they henceforth refer to each other by the special kinship term vaiyve 'co-parent-in-law'. When parents have promise their children to each 'other in this way, such engagements are not lightly broken. However, nowadays young people are not forced to marry against their will, and so sometimes the engagements are broken (vaiyve rostar). When this happens, there is supposed to be compensation paid by the party who breaks the engagement. Since engagement periods are often lengthy, a bride price may not be negotiated until the marriage is near. Women are typically in their late teens and men in their twenties when they marry.

In recent years more and more young people have arranged their own marriage. The usual method is for a young man to write a letter proposing marriage which he sends secretly to the young lady of his choice (who should be a distant cross-cousin). Before she responds, the girl may seek someone's advice, most likely a brother. If she replies affirmatively, the couple then exchange letters negotiating when and how the marriage will take place. Sometimes they even go so far as to inform the political leader of the village of their plans, but not their parents.

Yawa marriages are not celebrated by any special ceremony. In both types of marriage -- those arranged by the parents and those arranged secretly by the couple -- the man and the woman simply begin living together. There is no wedding party, no ritual, no marking of the occasion in any way. A date is simply agreed upon, and then the man brings the woman to live in his parents' home. If the couple had secretly agreed to the marriage, the parents may simply wake up the next morning to find the new bride in their home. The reaction by the parents is sometimes disappointment or anger, but the marriage is nonetheless accepted. "What else can you do?" the people say. It seems that if the couple has already had sexual intercourse, the union is considered irrevocable.

All marriages, regardless of who arranges them, involve a bride price (roman). If the couple "elope" by living together without the parents' prior agreement, then after the act, a bride price will have to be negotiated. All the groom's matrilateral and patrilateral taundave kin, plus all the people from the groom's village (whether or not kinsmen), are expected to contribute so that he can wawajamavu ('buy a wife'). Kin who reside in distant villages are not expected to contribute. Usual bride price items are dishes, clothing, cloth (ordinary kain, not old or traditional pieces), and money. Formerly, very old Chinese porcelain dishes were included, but these have become scarce. Sometimes one of the bride's kinsman makes a special request, such as for a radio or a pressure lamp, and these items are ordered in the bride price negotiation. The cheapest bride prices, calculated as the total value of all the items including money, run about Rp 200,000 to 400,000 (approximately US $112 to $225 in 1989 prices). Expensive bride prices run double this and usually involve marriage to a person who is not from Yapen Island. The bride price is not paid at the time of the marriage, although a food gift is usually given by the groom's family to the bride's at that time. Indeed the bride price is seldom paid before several children have been born to the couple, if there are no children, the groom's family may refuse to pay the bride price. When the bride price is finally ready, a date is set when the groom's kinsmen and fellow villagers gather to bring their contributions to the bride price, the groom's family throws a party, and hands are shaken all around. At some later time the groom's father (or an appropriate substitute) delivers the bride price to the bride's brother, who divides everything up as evenly as possible to the bride's kinsmen. This distribution is informal, and not marked by any special occasion.

6.2. Marriage and kinship terminology

It is in the patterns of residence upon marriage that we can see the social functions of some of the terminology for affines. The Yawa are strongly patrilocal, and furthermore, a newly married couple almost always lives with the groom's parents, usually for a period of several years. The new bride becomes an important part of the labor force and is expected to do the sorts of tasks that an older daughter would do.

In this regard, an important question is how the bride addresses the members of the new household, and how they address her. In the previous section, I listed ajaman and ajaman as the terms for 'father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law'. However, I everyday speech, the new bride calls them awate 'uncle' and anda (or ara) 'aunt'. As the parents of her aetaka, these are the terms she called them even before marriage. The parents-in-law may reciprocate with 'niece' terminology.

This is an important caring relationship that the new bride has with her husband's brothers, which is a natural extension of the caring
relationship that is usual between brothers. Throughout childhood, the older brother had been looking out for his younger brother, and this continues when the older one marries and brings his new wife to live in the family home. The older brother, now an adult, is almost like a father to the younger brother, and the older brother's wife is like the boy's mother. These roles are reflected in the affinal terms used. The boy calls his older brother's wife akyana 'mother' and she calls him kayo or arikaim, both meaning 'child'. When the boy ultimately marries and brings his new wife into the home, for the older brother, it is as if his son got married, and he calls the new bride his ajamama or tamaiya, 'daughter-in-law'. She reciprocates with the terms for 'father-in-law'.

Consider another relationship the new bride in the home has, namely, with her husband's older brother's wife. If both women are living in the same house (because the older brother has not yet moved out), then the woman often form a bond. They help take care of each other's children, they share food, they may share their tasks. They are married to two brothers and thus their futures are intertwined. If both their husbands die, they may live together as widows. Not surprisingly, then, they refer to each other as sisters (even though it is exceedingly rare that they actually are). The older brother's wife calls the younger one's wife riiata, 'younger sister' and in turned is called anuua, 'older sister'.

Thus, many of the consanguineal terms that are used for affines relate to the new relationships created by a man bringing his new wife to live in his parents' home. Living in this home are the husband's parents, his brothers and their wives, and his sisters. The sisters will eventually marry and leave. But the other members of the husband's family remain there, if not always in the same house, at least nearby. With these "permanent" member of her husband's family, the woman uses the closer consanguineal terms, which symbolically represent the closer social ties.

7. The social logic of Yawa kinship terminology

7.1. The Yawa two-section system

As we have just seen, social function can explain the use of consanguineal terms for affines in some categories of relationship. However, there remains a residue of consanguineal terms used for affines that are not so easily explained. The residue includes the sibling terms which are used for relationships such as 'husband's sister's husband', 'wife's sister's husband', and 'wife's brother's husband'. Also in the residue are the consanguineal terms which are used for the spouse of a classificatory child or a classificatory nephew/niece.

To explain this terminology, we must first look at the married couples involved in each case. These are arranged in Figure 7 with one couple listed per line. Using genealogical notation relative to ego, the member of the couple whom ego calls by the "closer" term is listed on the left, the other member is on the right. By "closer" term, it is meant that if ego refers to one member of the couple by a consanguineal term and the other by an affinal term, then the consanguineal term is considered "closer". If ego refers to both members of the couple by consanguineal terms, then the parallel term is considered "closer" than the cross term.

### TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR MALE EGO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WBW</th>
<th>anama</th>
<th>kayo</th>
<th>BD</th>
<th>kayo</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>anama</th>
<th>ZSW</th>
<th>kayo</th>
<th>ZDH</th>
<th>kayo</th>
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<th>riiata</th>
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<td>yBW</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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### TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR FEMALE EGO

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**FIGURE 7. TERMINOLOGY FOR SELECTED MARRIED COUPLES, arranged so that the member of the couple with the "closer" reference term is on the left.**

Notice that I have added to the figure a number of other married couples besides the ones whose members were mentioned at the beginning of this section as constituting a residue. That is because the terminology for the residual affines is really just a part of a larger terminological system. Examining the figure, one can see that all the terms to the left are strictly
"parallel" consanguineal terms, while all the terms to the right are either "cross" consanguineal terms or affinal terms. What this means is that the spouses of parallel kinsmen are cross-kinsmen and affines. In other words, in some sense, cross-kinsmen are conceptually equivalent to affines.

This is precisely the way two-section systems operate (Dumont 1957). It would appear that conceptually, the Yawa divide their social world into two sections: "my kind of people" and the "other kind of people, with whom we marry" (cf. Keesing 1975:108). From ego's perspective, "his kind of people" are his classificatory fathers and mothers, his classificatory siblings and their offspring, his classificatory children. "The other kind of people" are ego's classificatory uncles and aunts, ego's classificatory cousins, and his classificatory nieces and nephews. Also included in "the other kind of people" are affines such as father-in-law, mother-in-law, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and sibling-in-law. Grouping cross-kinsmen with affines is natural in a social system, such as the Yawa system, in which there is a prescriptive rule that a man marries his cross-cousin. Essentially, for the Yawa, cross-kinsmen are potential affines.

It is important to emphasize that the two-section system is not based fundamentally on genealogical distance, such that persons who are genealogically closer to ego are in one section (ego's), while in the opposing section are those persons who are genealogically more remote. That this is not the case is easily demonstrated in Figure 7. Since every symbol in the genealogical notation represents one more link distant from ego, if the system were based strictly on relative genealogical proximity to ego, then for every couple, it would have to be the case that the member of the couple who is in ego's section (always on the left) would be denoted by a shorter notational string than that used to denote the member of the couple who is in the other section (always on the right). However, this does not hold for many of the couples. For example, WBW is a longer notation than WB (reflecting the fact that WB is closer genealogically to ego than WBW is). However, in Yawa conceptualization, WBW is closer, since she is categorized as ego's 'sister', while WB is merely a 'sibling-in-law'. Another striking example is ZD and ZDH. ZD is ego's "niece", but her husband is conceptually ego's "child". Hence, niece's husband is conceptually closer to ego than the niece herself. What this means is that no matter who ego's niece marries, that man is classified as ego's child, even if he has no known kin relationship whatsoever.

Two-section systems are sometimes associated with exogamous moieties, but there are no such moieties in the Yawa system, either named or unnamed. In fact, it can be proven quite simply that moieties could not exist by considering the marriages involving three populous clans, the Kanubaba, the Rumansara, and the Pali clans. If Yawa society were divided into two exogamous moieties, then two of these three clans would have to be in the same moiety, and therefore marriage would be prohibited between those two clans. However, there are numerous marriages involving each of the possible combinations of these three clans, and all are considered proper marriages.

Dumont (1957) has interpreted the two-section systems in Dravidian societies as being "symmetrical alliances", i.e. "mutually exclusive and intermarrying units" (Scheffler 1971:231). This term implies two fixed sections which have a sort of compact between them. Dumont's analysis has been disputed by others (ibid) and this most certainly is not the sort of model that best fits the Yawa system. Rather, it seems that for each individual Yawa, his social world is divided into two sections, which are simply described by the phrases already used above, "my kind of people" and "the other kind of people". This division of the society is unique for every Yawa (besides true siblings) because each individual has a unique genealogical history which determines his/her two "kids" of people. There are not two "affixed" sections of any sort in Yawa society. Rather, the Yawa two-section system is EGOCENTRIC in that it is totally relative to the individual member of the society.

7.2. Marriageability as the organizing principle of Yawa kinship

We may now turn to what could be called the social logic of Yawa kinship terminology. The salient organizing principle for the kinship terminology is marriageability. It is on the basis of marriageability that a Yawa categorizes the people in his/her social world into two sections.

Because a Yawa must marry aetaka 'cross-cousin', it is imperative to identify who one's aetaka are. Having established who the persons are in the aetaka category, ego assumes everyone else in his/her generation to be arakova 'sibling'. Thus, in ego's generation, there are really only two categories, everyone may be categorized as either aetaka or arakova. Of these two categories, aetaka is the mark one, being reserved only for the category of potential spouses. The other category, arakova, is unmarked, and includes everyone else of ego's generation (i.e. everyone not known to be a potential spouse).

To sum up, the two sections of a Yawa's social world are established on the basis of marriageability. Ego and all his arakova are in one section (non-marriageability), while all ego's aetaka (marriageable) are in the other. Further, also in ego's section are all the classificatory parents and children of ego and his arakova, while in the other section are all the classificatory parents and children of ego's aetaka.

7.3. Multiple clans in the Yawa two-section system

We may ask now how this all relates to the organization of Yawa society into numerous clans. As already shown, it is not possible to divide the clans up into two non-overlapping moieties that would be exogamous. However, from the perspective of any particular Yawa individual, his social world could be said to be divided into just two clans, "his clan" and "the other clan". This is a theoretical model or construct that is helpful in explaining how ego categorizes his kin and affines.

Labeling 'ego's clan' as Clan A and 'the other clan' as Clan B, for
convenience of reference, we can examine how this model works. There are four basic rules needed at this point. (The fourth rule will be elaborated more below.)

1. Patrilineal descent, i.e. when A is male, his children are A's and when B is male, B's children are B's.

2. Exogamous marriage, i.e. an A must marry a B.

3. Same-generation marriage, i.e. A must marry a B of his/her generation.

4. Dual classification of a married woman of the first ascending generation, i.e. she is classified by ego as belonging to her birth clan when she is a link in, a genealogical chain, but she is classified as belonging to her husband's clan when she is the end point of the chain between her and ego.

Assume, then, that ego is male and belongs to clan A. Then ego's true father and all his true siblings are also clan A. (Cf. Figure 8 throughout this discussion.) Because of the exogamy rule, ego's father must have married a woman from clan B. Therefore, ego's mother is a B, and so then must be his maternal grandfather (because of patrilineal descent). Also mother's brother must be a B, and since he is "other kind" of the first ascending generation, ego calls him 'uncle'. Because of patrilineal descent, mother's brother's children must also be B's. This means that these children are potential spouses for ego and his sister (who must marry B's of their generation). These potential spouses ego calls his acek (cross-cousin). If an acek (who is a B) marries someone other than ego, that spouse would have to be an A, in other words, someone from ego's own clan. Not surprisingly, then, ego calls his acek's spouse his own sibling.

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When ego marries, his wife will have to come from the B clan. His wife's father must be a B also (because of patrilineal descent), so he is "other kind" of the first ascending generation, same as his mother's brother. Accordingly, ego extends the term for MB, 'uncle', to his father-in-law.

Now consider what ego calls his mother-in-law. Since ego's wife's mother is married to ego's wife's father (of clan B), she must be from clan A. However, from ego's perspective as a generation below, wife's mother is not functioning in her birth clan, but rather in her husband's clan. In this model, she is like a B to ego. Thus, the motivation for the fourth rule given above is that from ego's perspective, a married woman of the next ascending generation functions as a unit with her husband in the husband's clan. She belongs now to her husband's clan because she was 'bought' (ramavan) from her birth clan. Therefore, when ego refers to her, he uses the female term that corresponds to whatever term he uses for her husband.

Now we can understand the terminology ego uses for women of the first ascending generation. His own mother, although from clan B, is seen...
as now belonging to clan A, and so it is appropriate that ego call her 'mother'. Ego's wife's mother is viewed by ego as belonging to wife's father's clan, and son ego refers to her by female terms that correspond to the terms he uses for wife's father. Since ago may refer to wife's father either as 'father-in-law' or 'uncle', then wife's mother may be variously, 'mother-in-law' or 'aunt'. Another significant woman of the first ascending generation is father's sister. Although her birth clan is A, from ego's perspective, she now functions in her husband's clan which must be clan B. Therefore, ego calls her 'aunt', which is the female term that corresponds to the 'uncle' term he uses for her husband.

Next consider ego's siblings-in-law on his wife's side. Ego's wife is a B and so are her sister and brother. When ego's wife's sister marries, her spouse will have to be an A. No wonder then, that ego calls WZ1 his 'brother', since the two men are from the same clan. Similar reasoning explains why WBW is called 'sister'.

Next consider ego's sister. She being an A, must marry a B. So ego calls him by a sibling-in-law term since he is "other kind". The children of this man and ego's sister will be Bs, so they are "other kind", too, hence, ego calls them 'niece' and 'nephew'. However, when ego's nephew marries, being a B, he will marry a same-generation woman from ego's own clan A, i.e. a clan A woman of the first descending generation. This woman, who is nephew's spouse, is therefore, appropriately called ego's 'child'. Again, similar reasoning explains 2D and ZDH. The reverse situation explains BS and BSW as well as BD and BDH.

Consider some rather distant relationships, such as the relationship between the two sets of parents of a couple. When ego's son (clan A) marries a woman from clan B, the woman's father is, of course, a B, but her mother must be an A (because of clan exogamy). However, ego is an A too, so he calls his son's mother-in-law (SWM) his 'sister' (even though in reality she may be from totally different clan from him).

In the Yawa system, sometimes seemingly remote kin or affines are categorized with terminology that is basically close consanguineal kin terminology. With the model just proposed, this is easily explained. If everyone is conceptualized as belonging to either Clan A or Clan B, then if a particular genealogical category happens to end up in Clan A by the way the rules work, then a person in that category may be called by a close consanguineal term, even if the actual genealogical connections are either remote or unknown. In one striking piece of evidence of the validity of this analysis, one Yawa informant whom I asked about his son's mother-in-law could not recall the woman's given name, or even clan name, but he confidently said she was his anama 'sister'!

Now we are in a position to circle back to the question raised in the beginning of this section, namely, how a two-section (or two-clan) system relates to the organization of Yawa society into numerous clans. For in reality, there are not just two clans in Yawa society, but many, each with its own keret 'family name'. However, the two-clan model I have proposed still applies in the following way. Since the system is egocentrically-defined, ego begins with his own keret A as identifying Clan A and his mother's birth keret B as identifying clan B. He refers to persons with keret A by "parallel" kin terminology and to persons with keret B by "cross/affinal" kin terminology. When ego relates to someone (alter) who has a different keret, whether C,D,E,F, or whatever, he traces the shortest known genealogical chain between alter and a person of keret A or keret B. Depending on the links in the genealogical chain, ego is able to categorized any alter, regardless of his keret, as standing in an analogous relationship to himself as do either persons of keret A or persons of keret B. If the relationship is determined to be like a keret B relationship (the "marked" relationship), then "cross/affinal" terminology appropriate to alter's generation and sex is applied. Otherwise "parallel" terminology is assumed. The net result of categorizing all persons as having a relationship to ego like keret A relationship or like keret B relationships creates two "super-clans", or two egocentrically-defined unnamed moieties.

7.4. Marriage Preferences

Theoretically, a Yawa may marry any aetaka randani not of his own clan. Examining Figure 5, which shows the structure of ego's kinsmen of the second degree of collaterality, we see that, for a male ego, four such categories are FFBDD and FHZDD (from FP's chart) and MFBS and MFZSD (from MP's chart). If we had MF's chart, we would also get FMBDD and FMZDD and from MM's chart we would have MMBS and MMZSD. For the second degree of collaterality, there would be eight categories of female aetaka. With higher degrees of collaterality, there would be additional categories, but these would not be substantially different, there merely differing in how remote were the ancestral siblings that formed the original links.

Although there are eight categories of female aetaka who represent potential spouses for ego, in practice, Yawa generally take wives from only two of these categories: FFBDD and MFBS. It is not prohibited to take a wife from another category and I have recorded some marriages in which the wife is from another aetaka category. But the vast majority of wives in Yawa marriages are taken from these two categories.

These two categories are actually the most obvious choices for ego's spouse. Women of the MFBS category type (as well as similar categories involving a more remote name (keret) as ego's mother's birth clan name (this can be seen by tracing it out on the MP's chart in Figure 5). And in practice, this is one way Yawa men decide that a woman is an aetaka even though they have no idea of how to trace, the actual genealogical connection to prove it: if a woman of ego's generation bears the clan name of ego's mother's birth clan, she is assumed to be an aetaka. This is because this woman is the daughter of a man of mother's clan. whom ego's mother would therefore have considered to be a classificatory
brother. This aetaka is then a classificatory MBD.

The other category which is an obvious choice for a spouse is FFBDD. Women in this category are also easily identifiable because they are the daughters of women whose birth clan name is the same as ego’s father. The actual clan name of these aetaka does not matter. What is crucial is that the woman’s mother belonged to father’s clan, i.e. she was father’s classificatory sister. Hence, the daughters of father’s sister’s clanwomen are equivalent to classificatory FZD.

To summarize, the two preferred categories for ego’s wife are classificatory MBD and classificatory FZD. The Yawa marriage system is thus a prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage system (Maybury-Lewis 1971).

In practice, this functions as follows: a Yawa man knows that a woman of his generation is an aetaka whom he could marry if either (1) she has the same clan name as his mother, or (2) she is the daughter of a woman with his own clan name. These two very simple rules-of-thumb identify women of the two basic preferred categories, FFBDD and MFBSD, as well as women of related preferred categories of higher degrees of collaterality. (Women in the other six categories listed above for aetaka of the second degree of collaterality are less simply identified: they involved a granddaughter and/or grandnephew relation or else a cross-cousin relation to one of ego’s parent.)

A hypothetical, but realistic, example is shown in Figure 3. In the figure, only persons relevant to the example are included. The women of ego’s generation, being most relevant to the marriageability question, are shown with full names, but all other persons are named only by their clan name, or, if the clan name is irrelevant, are left unnamed. The broken lines with dots at the grandparent generation represent that these ancestors were not necessarily true siblings, but merely belonged to the same clan. Ego is Isak Paai and his cross-cousins include all the women shown in ego’s generation. Of these women, two are taundave ‘close’ cross-cousins: Torsina Rumanarsara (MBD) and Naomi Atewa (FZD). Another woman, Yubellina Pani, while technically a cross-cousin, is not a potential spouse because she is of ego’s own clan. Furthermore, ego may not realize that Antonia Rawai is a cross-cousin he could marry, since she is related to ego at the level of his maternal grandmother. If ego is a typical Yawa, he probably does not know the identities of his maternal grandmother’s siblings, especially their sisters, nor whatever became of them. Thus, this leaves as ego’s known potential spouses Aplena Karubaba, Sopja Sembai, Dortea Wanggori (all FFBDD) and Alponsina Rumanarsara (MFBSD).

Figure 9. HYPOTHETICAL KINSHIP SHOWING SOME OF EGOS FEMALE AETAKA ‘CROSS-COUSINS’. Isak Paai’s known potential spouses are Aplena Karubaba, Sopja Sembai, Dortea Wanggori, and Alponsina Rumanarsara. Antonia Rawai is a potential spouse, but Isak may not know this.
8. Conclusion

Analysis of the Yawa kinship terminology, including terms for kinsmen of the second degree of collaterality, shows that it is Iroquois in type. However, the terminology also reveals a striking two-part structure that is analogous with the two-section systems generally associated with Dravidian terminologies. I have suggested that indeed, the Yawa kinship system is best analyzed as a two-section system and, like the Dravidian two-section systems, it is associated with bilateral cross-cousin prescriptive marriage.

The Yawa two-section system operates in the context of multiple clans which are not organized into moieties. The complexity of multiple clans is handled conceptually by dividing the social world into only two "super-clans", which are totally relative to ego: "ego's own super-clan" and "the other super-clan" is the marked case, and consists of ego's mother's birth clan plus all those persons, regardless of their clan name, who ego reckons are related to him in an analogous way as ego's mother's clansmen's are related. "Ego's own super-clan" consists of ego's own birth clan plus all those persons who ego reckons are related to him analogously as his own clansmen. Also in "ego's own super-clan" are any persons he does not otherwise know how to classify. I have suggested four rules for reckoning a person's "super-clan" relative to ego.

The Yawa two-section system is reflected in the kinship terminology. Parallel kinship terminology is used for persons in "ego's own super-clan", while cross kinship terminology is reserved for persons in the "other super-clan". This same distinction applies to most affines as well. Rather than using special affinal terminology for affines, generally parallel or cross kinship terms are used, depending on "super-clan" membership. Thus, many affines are terminologically equivalent to consanguineals.

The organizing principle for the kinship terminology is marriageability. All ego's potential spouses are in "the other super-clan". In choosing a wife, ego usually chooses same-generation woman from his father's clan. Superimposed on ego's "two-clan world" is another important division: the division of ego's kin into taundave 'close' kin and randani 'distant' kin. In choosing a wife, ego is forbidden to marry any taundave 'close' kin, as well as any woman of his own clan.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
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</tr>
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<td>f</td>
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<td>=</td>
<td>marital tie</td>
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<td>male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ω</td>
<td>female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{}</td>
<td>reciprocal terms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ENDNOTES

1. My husband Larry and I have been studying the Yawa language and culture since 1983 under the auspices of the Program Kerjasama Universitas Cenderawasih dan Summer Institute of Linguistics (the UNCEN-SIL Cooperative Program). We have visited virtually all the Yawa villages and lived for extensive periods of time in two of them—Rosburi on the north coast of Yapen and Sarawondori on the south coast.

While many of my Yawa friends have helped in my understanding of the kinship system, those who contributed most significantly were: Yabelina Baba, Dominggus Kapanai, Elfraim Karababa, Borden Paai, Kornelius Paai, Neli Paai, Zet Paai, Oktofina Rawai, Betuel Rumansara, and Kornelia Rumansara.

I wish to thank Marilyn Gregerson for her helpful comments. I am grateful for the forebearance of my husband and two young sons during the writing of this paper.
Finally, I am also thankful for my baby, Charis, who kept me reminded of my own kinship obligations at home.

2. Speakers of the Yawa language reside in the following districts: Kecamatan Yapen Barat, Kecamatan Yapen Selatan and Kecamatan Yapen Timur, all in Kabupaten Yapen-Waropen.

3. The Yawa language has been classified by Voorhoeve (1975) as a stock-level isolate in the Geelvink Bay Phylum.

4. Since this list covers only six Yawa villages out of a total 25, it is far from a complete list of all the Yawa family names.

5. While this is true in the majority of Yawa villages, in at least one large village, Ambindiru in the interior, there is a tendency for some clustering of households of the same clan.

6. Actually, the taundave is an adjective which simply means 'very own'. However, in the context of kinship terminology, it means 'close kin', e.g. mother's brother would be awani taundave.

7. The terms are generally given in the fullest non-possessed form. In everyday speech, shortened forms are more usual. For example, the suffix which specifies sex (p 'masculine' and m 'feminine') is usually dropped, unless needed for clarification. In usage, these terms are always preceded by a possession marker. Only two terms, those for 'father' and 'mother', take bound prefixes, indicating inalienable possession. For first person singular, these forms become injava and ingkoan. All other terms take a separate possessive word.

8. Only one of these terms is a strictly speaking a kinship term. That is kavo, which must be preceded by a possessive, while arikainy is simply a generic term for 'child'. In the sentence, 'I saw a small child', where kinship is not asserted, only the world arikainy may be used. But 'He is my child' could use either word.

9. This is a cognate with the Wandamen word netawava 'same-sex elder sibling' (Flaming 1983:248). Although Wandamen is not linguistically related at all to Yawa and is geographically quite distant, being in the 'Bird's Neck' area of Irian Jaya, it is closely related linguistically to the Austronesian languages of Yapen which surround the Yawa. Furthermore, the Wandamen kinship system, as described by Flaming, appears to be in many respects similar to the Yawa system, indicating some cultural links.

10. The linguistics structure marks the noun aetaka as modifying the noun anamono, which is why I have glossed it as 'my-cross-cousin sister'.

11. All examples of kin behavior in these next few paragraphs were by personal observation or were reported to me by language assistants.

12. In everyday parlance, a man's wife is also called his wana 'woman' and she calls him her anay 'man'.

13. It was explained to me that the mother-in-law is called 'dead' because it is presumed that she, being older, will die first.

14. This term has apparent cognates over a widespread area in Irian Jaya, including unrelated languages, e.g. in Wandamen the term is bai (Flaming 1983:253), in Orya it is bavan (Phil Fields, p.c.) and in Kaure it is payan (Peter Dommel, p.c.). The Indonesian word is besan.

15. Maybury-Lewis is at great pains to be precise in the definition of prescriptive marriages. At this point, I am not defining the Yawa rule of marriage so carefully. However, it will become clear, especially in Section 7, that the Yawa marriage system is indeed 'prescriptive' even in Maybury-Lewis' careful sense.

16. In these cases, the two sets of parents will not establish the special vaiative relationship.

17. If the groom's parents are already deceased, the newlyweds usually reside with whoever had become the groom's guardian.

18. Flaming (1983:251) analyzes the corresponding Wandamen affinal terminology similarly in terms of their social function.

19. Actually, there is no single way to classify spouses of an aetaka. Some Yawa call an aetaka's spouse by sibling terms, others by sibling-in-law terms. The difference is probably due to the dual status of MBC and FZC as both cross-cousin and also sibling. Recall (Sec. 4) that the two terms may even be compounded into one phrase, e.g. sva anamo sva aetaka 'my cross-cousin sister'. Viewing MBZ/FZC is categorized as 'sibling', then the spouse is categorized as 'sibling-in-law'; if MBZ/FZC is categorized as 'cross-cousin', then the spouse is 'sibling'. Either way, the kinsman and his/her spouse end up in opposite categories of each other, which is what is significant.

20. The conceptual split into two sections is only relevant for the middle three generations (ego's +1, and -1). For +2 and -2 generations, there is only one section -- everyone is essentially "my kind of people".

21. Since ego calls both male and female cross-cousins aetaka, the category actually includes potential spouses for both ego and ego's true siblings, both male and female.

22. See note 19.

23. FFZDDD is "granddaughter of a woman of ego's clan", or alternatively, "daughter of father's cross-cousin". MFZSD is "granddaughter of a woman of mother's clan" or "daughter of mother's cross-cousin". MMBSD is "daughter of a man of grandmother's clan" or "daughter of mother's cross-cousin". MMZSD is "granddaughter of a woman of grandmother's clan". Lastly, FMZDDD is "granddaughter of a woman of grandmother's clan".

I have attested marriages involving some of these six categories. I believe that in each case the spouse was identified as a marriageable aetaka through reckoning via
granddaughter/grandmother relations rather than reckoning through cross-cousins of ego's parent. However, these definitions are not really precise enough, as they do not include qualifiers such as "maternal/paternal" before "grandmother" or "male/female" before "cross-cousin". This makes a considerable difference in a purely theoretical sense. When the qualifiers are NOT added, reckoning through the above definitions may in fact yield an incorrect categorization: a woman is reckoned to be a "cross-cousin" although, in a pure Iroquois system, she is a "sibling". For example, one Yawa marriage, considered proper, involved a woman of FFZSD category in a purely consistent Iroquois system, should be a "sibling". But since she was "granddaughter of a woman of ego's clan", the couple believed she was a "cross-cousin". Perhaps this explains why the question-marked categories in Figure 5 are ambiguous to the Yawa.

REFERENCES


APPENDIX:

YAWA KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

This list gives all the basic terms used by the Yawa for their consanguineal and affinal kin. Compound terms, e.g. ajayo anujja ‘older father’, are not included, but are discussed in the paper. Also not included are anya ‘man/male’ (for ‘husband’) and wanata ‘woman/female’ (for ‘wife’), which are not specifically kin terms.

The first column denotes the generation relative to ego. The second column gives the Yawa term with the nearest English translation for its primary reference. The third column lists the kin category which is presumed to be primary referent of the Yawa term. The last two columns list the kin categories to which the Yawa term may be extended; the first of these columns is for extensions consanguineal kin and the second is for extensions affinal kin.

My aim in this listing was not only to be technically precise in the representation of kin categories, but also to make the presentation ‘reader-friendly’, so that the general kinship structure would be readily apparent. To this end, I have used full genealogical notation only for the first few terms (actually just for the consanguineal kin of the first few terms, not for the affinals). Later terms are frequently listed in prose descriptions, e.g. the consanguineal extended reference of kavo is described as ‘child of brother’. In all such prose descriptions, a word ‘x’ enclosed in quotes is to be read as, ‘ego’s classificatory x’. Thus, ‘child of brother’ is to be read as, ‘child of classificatory brother’.

I feel that these prose descriptions probably more accurately reflect the way the Yawa reckon kin categories than using full genealogical notation, in that the way a Yawa reckons how a particular person is related to him is by considering the category of that person’s nearest kinsman for which he already knows the kin term. The kinship charts presented in Figures 4, 5 and 6 may be consulted if full genealogical notation is desired for terms where it is not given in this appendix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GENER-TERM</th>
<th>PRIMARY REFERENCE</th>
<th>EXTENDED REFERENCES</th>
<th>CONSONGUELAL</th>
<th>AFFINAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+2, +3, aena</td>
<td>PP</td>
<td>spouse of grandparent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1 ajap</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>spouse of 'mother'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+1 akoyam</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>spouse of 'father'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yawa Marriage and Kinship

+1 awateap, awani, kamoki 'uncle' MB
MPB (or Z)S, MPPB (or Z)CS, MPPPB (or Z)CCS, etc
spouse of 'aunt'; spouse's 'father'; husband's 'older brother' (HoB)

+1 andam, ara 'aunt' FZ
FPB (or Z) D, FPPP (or Z) DCD, FPPP (or Z) CCD, etc.
spouse of 'uncle'; spouse's 'mother'

+1 amup 'son-in-law/ father-in-law' DHF
m:WF
--
spouse of 'daughter'; wife's 'father'

+1 anumam 'mother-in-law' M:WM
--
wife's 'mother';

+1 ajamap 'father-in-law' f:HF
husband's 'father'; husband's 'older brother';

+1 ajamam 'daughter-in-law/ mother-in-law' SW, f:HMF
--
spouse of 'son'; husband's 'mother'; m:spouse of 'younger brother' (m:BW)

0 anujja 'older same-sex sibling', e.g. man's older brother/woman's older sister m:OB
m:FOBS, MoZ, PFOCS, PMOZCS, PPFOCS, etc.
f:wife of husband's 'older brother' (HoBW); 'younger brother' (HyBW); 'sibling' (YB)

0 riwata 'younger same-sex sibling' f:OZ
f:Z
except substitute y for g in notations
wire of younger brother (HyBW);

0 anukavpo f:B
husband of husband's 'sister' (HSH); f:husband of 'sister' (HSH);
husband of 'younger brother' (HSH); f:husband of 'sibling' (YSH);

husband of 'younger brother' (HyBW);
f:husband of 'younger brother' (HyBW);
husband of 'younger brother' (HyBW);
0  anama  m:Z  m:daughter of 'father'/mother' (WBW); but also m:FZD,MBD (because of dual classif. of aetaka as 'cross-cousin' and 'sibling')
     wife of wife's/brother's spouse (m:ZC)
     m:mother of spouse's 'child' (SWM,DHM); m:wife of 'cross-cousin' and 'sibling' (f:BC)
0  aetaka  MBC  child of 'uncle'/'aunt'
     m:father of spouse of 'child' (m:SWF,DHF); f:mother of spouse of 'child' (f:SWM,DHM)
0  anap  H  --
     'husband'
0  anamu  W  --
     'wife'
0  araki,amai  ZH, WB, WZ  --
     'sibling-in-law'
     spouse of 'sister's/wife's brother, but also can be: spouse of 'cross-cousin' (because of dual classif. of aetaka as 'cross-cousin' and sibling)
0  arema  f:BW, HZ  --
     'sister-in-law'
     f:spouse of 'brother' (not known to be aetaka)
     husband's sister; but also can be: f:wife of 'cross-cousin' (because of dual classif. of aetaka as 'cross-cousin' and sibling)
0  arakova  B, Z  any same-generation kin not known to be aetaka
     spouse of spouse's 'sibling', esp. WZH
     spouse of 'cross-cousin'
-1  kavo, arikainy  C  m:child of 'brother'
     m:child of 'brother's spouse (S,D)
     ('son','daughter')
     spouse of nephew/niece husband's 'younger brother' (HyB)
KOROWAI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

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0. INTRODUCTION

The topic of this paper is the kinship terminology of the Korowai language of southern Irian Jaya, Indonesia.

First, we give some general information on Korowai language and social organization. Then we mention some notions from kinship theory needed for our description. After these preliminary sections we present the Korowai kinship terms.

Since this is the first publication on Korowai, based on initial research, this paper is of a tentative nature.

1. KOROWAI LANGUAGE

Korowai is a member of the Auyu-family. This family belongs to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum of Papuan languages (Voorhoeve 1975: 27). Korowai is spoken by about 4000 persons. The location of the language is in the Kouh district of the Kabupaten Merauke, in the area between the upper...
Becking and Eilanden Rivers. Korowai villages are Manggol, Ferman, and Mabul. In Yaniruma and Yafuata both Korowai and Kombai are spoken. The dialect described here is that of the clans living on the western banks of the Becking River in the proximity of Yaniruma.

2. KOROWAI SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Korowai society is divided into localized patrilineal clans living on their traditional territories. The clans consist of extended patrilineal families living in treehouses some ten meters high. The Korowai people are primitive horticulturalists with sago and bananas as major food items.

The clans are exogamous with polygynous marriage and patrilocal residence. Marriage is an elaborate transaction between clans involving extensive brid al payments. A man has to show respect to his bride-givers. Towards his mother-in-law this respect takes the form of strong avoidance.

The mother's brother's son dyad is important in Korowai society (avunculate); it expresses itself in the way marriages are arranged and in compensation-payments when one of the dyad dies.

3. THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

Many lexical items of natural languages have more than one meaning. Kinship nouns are no exception to this rule; they are generally polysemic with a basic meaning and one or more additional meanings.

The range of meanings of kinship terms can be extended in two ways:

a) by extension-rules which tend to have a certain cross-cultural generality, and

b) by equivalences of a more limited generality.

Extension-rules extend the primary range of reference of a term to include other ranges. The generational extension-rule for example extends the range of reference of a term collateral to include all other kinsmen of the same generation and of the same sex (Merrifield 1983a: 182, rule G). This rule is operative in very many kinship systems all over the world. The term ate 'father' in Korowai has ego's father (F) as basic meaning, but generational extension extends ate to FB, FFBs, FFBss, etc.

Another extension-rule is the half-sibling rule according to which the terms for full siblings are extended to half-siblings (Fs=B; Fd=S, etc. cf. Lounsbury 1964: 357).

In addition to generational and half-sibling extension, we find self-reciprocal and affinal extension-rules in Korowai. We shall use these well-known concepts of extensionist kinship theory as defined by Merrifield (1983a: 182-186) and Lounsbury (1964).

The second, far less general, way to extend the range of kinship terms is by equivalences. These equivalences may reflect specific cultural institutions. E.g. Vries (1987) linked the equivalence MB=MBs in Kombai to the avunculate in that society.

The Korowai kinship system is an Omaha system. Lounsbury (1964) has described the types of equivalences that occur in Omaha systems. His Omaha Type I equivalence of ... Q Bw... Q B and ... Q Bd... Q S is operative in Korowai. In the words of Lounsbury (1964: 360):

"One's female linking relative's brother's child is therefore to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that female linking relative's sibling."

This equivalence results in 'skewing' of natural and terminological generations and therefore Lounsbury (1964) has termed this equivalence the Skewing Rule. Table I below (see p. 14) displays the skewing patterns in Korowai filial kinship terms.

The last formal notion we shall need is the cross and parallel distinction which is defined by Merrifield (1983b: 295) as follows:

"Parallel (Seneca): Within the genealogical chain that links ego to alter, the two kinsmen of the first generation above that of the junior member of the ego-alter dyad are of the same sex. Cross (Seneca): Within the genealogical chain that links ego to alter, the two kinsmen of the first generation above that of the junior member of the ego-alter dyad are of the opposite sex."

4. KINSHIP TERMS OF KOROWAI

4.1. GENERAL REMARKS

Possessive prefixes are optionally but usually present with kinship nouns.

Kinship nouns are the only category of nouns in Korowai which bear suffixes expressing the plural. There are five plural forms of this type:

Stem + -DEM, stem + -ALIN, stem + -KHUL, stem plus -EL and special plural stem. Sometimes the plural is expressed by the reduplicated stem. Only the plural suffixes -DEM and -ALIN can be used interchangeably. Since the plural formation is unpredictable, we shall give the plural forms for each kinship noun.

Thus far we have not found different forms for terms of reference and of address.

Since the terms for adoptive relationships are not yet examined thoroughly, particular attention will not be paid to it within the framework of this article.

The last general remark concerns order of birth. There are three modifiers of absolute seniority: -ALOP
'firstborn', -khaja 'lastborn' and -alîfekha 'born in between'. Examples:

1. ne-mom-khaja 'my lastborn uncle' my-uncle-lastborn
2. nemomalop 'my firstborn uncle'
3. nemomalîfekha 'my middleborn uncle'

4.2. FILIAL KINSHIP TERMS

A. Parent generation

Korowai distinguishes in the parent generation fathers (parallel males), mothers (parallel females), uncles (cross males) and aunts (cross females).

âte father (plural: âtekâhû)

âte primarily denotes ego's F. By generational extension, âte is extended to ego's father's brothers and classificatory brothers (FB, FFBS, etc.). Affinally, âte is extended to include the husbands of mother's sisters (MSH). There is a special affinal term for FSH, sôp (see below).

Até is also extended affinally to MBH. The background of this extension is the Omaha Type I equivalence ... Bd=... S. This rule makes MBD structurally equivalent to MS and MBH to MSH. Above we saw that âte extends affinally to MSH. Similarly, âte is extended to MBSDH. By Omaha Type I skewing, MBD=MB and therefore MBf=MBH. (CTable I, p.14)

ni 'mother' (plural: nikîhû)

Ni primarily denotes ego's mother. By generational extension ni is extended to mother's sisters and classificatory sisters. Ego uses ni also for the co-wives of his father. Affinally, ni is extended to the wives of father's brothers (FBW) and of mother's brothers (MBW), thus neutralizing the cross and parallel distinction in these affinal relations.

Ni is also affinally extended to MBsW. The background of this extension is the equivalence MBs=MB which follows from the Omega I skewing rule. If MBs=MB, then MBsW=MBW. Above we saw that ni extends affinally to MBW.

Also based on Omaha Type I skewing is the extension of ni 'mother' to MBd; MBd=MS=OM (Omega Type I) and MS=M (generational extension). Similarly, because MBs=MB, MBsd=MBd and MBsSD=MBd (CTable I).

mul 'father's sister' and sôp 'father's sister's husband'

Mul primarily denotes the paternal aunt (FS). By generational extension, mul is extended to father's classificatory sisters. We have not found other extensions.

Sôp is the special affinal term for the husbands of father's sisters.

The plural form of mul is mulîkâhû, of sôp sôpâlîn.

mom 'uncle' (plural: momêl)

Mom primarily denotes the matrilineal uncle (MB). Generationally, mom is extended to the classificatory brothers of mother. By Omaha Type I skewing, mom is extended to MBs, MBss, etc.

B. Child generation

In the child generation Korowai distinguishes sons (parallel males), daughters (parallel females), nephews (cross males) and nieces (cross females).

mbam 'child' (plural: mbambam)

Mbam is the sex-neutral and bifurcational-re-ciprocal term to the parent terms given above.

abûl 'son' (plural: abûlêm)

Abûl is the male reciprocal term to the parallel parent terms ni 'mother' and âte 'father' in all their extensions.

Primarily, abûl denotes ego's son. Generally, abûl extends to male ego's classificatory brother's classificatory sons (FBs, etc.) and to female ego's classificatory sister's classificatory sons.

Affinally, abûl is extended to Hs, HBs, WS and WBS as reciprocal term to the affinal extensions of âte 'father' and ni 'mother' and to the special affinal parent term sôp (FSH).

By Omaha Type I skewing, the parent term ni 'mother' is extended to MBd, MBsd, MBSD, etc. (See sub ni and Table I). Being the male reciprocal to ni, abûl is accordingly extended to female ego's Fs, FFs, FFS, etc.

Até 'father' is affinally extended to MBd, MBsd, MBsdH, etc. (See sub abûl above). Accordingly, abûl 'son' as the reciprocal to âte is extended to WFS, WFFs, etc.

lal 'daughter' (plural: lalêdêm)

Lal is the female reciprocal term to the parallel parent terms âte 'father' and ni 'mother' in all their extensions.

Primarily, lal denotes ego's daughter (d). By generational extension, lal is extended to male ego's (classificatory) brother's (classificatory) daughters and to female ego's (classificatory) sister's daughters.

Affinally, lal is extended to Hsd, HBD, WSD and WBD. By Omaha Type I skewing, ni 'mother' is extended to MBd, MBsd, MBsd, etc., being the female reciprocal to ni, lal is accordingly extended to female ego's Fs, FFs, FFS, etc. Similarly, since até 'father' is extended affinally to MBd, MBsd, MBsdH, etc., (see sub até above), lal as the reciprocal term to até is extended to WFS, WFFs, etc.

sabûl 'nephew' (plural: sambâbûn)

Sabûl is the male reciprocal term to the cross parent terms mom MB and mul FS in all their extensions.

Sabûl primarily denotes male ego's sister's son and female ego's brother's son (cross male child). By generational extension, sabûl is extended to male ego's classificatory sister's son and female ego's classificatory brother's son.

By Omaha Type I skewing MBs=MB=MB=MB and therefore sabûl as the male reciprocal to the cross parent terms is extended to male ego's Fs, FFs, etc.

salal 'niece' (plural: salalêdêm)

Salal (cross female child) is the female reciprocal term to the cross parent terms mom MB and mul FS in all their extensions.
Salat primarily denotes male ego's sister's daughter and female ego's brother's daughter. By generational extension, salat is extended to male ego's classificatory sister's daughter and female ego's classificatory brother's daughter. By Omaha Type I skewing salat is extended to male ego's FSd, FFSd, etc.

The opposition cross versus parallel is formally expressed by sit 'cross' in the contrasts lal (parallel female child) and salat (cross female child) and in abūl (parallel male child) and sabīl (cross male child).

C. Grandparents generation

andūp (or ndatē) 'grandfather' (plural: andiōfalun)

Andiōp is used primarily for parent's male parent (FF, MF, MFB, MMB. Generationally, andiōp is extended to parent's male classificatory parent (FFb, MFB, etc.).

Affinally, andiōp is extended to the husbands of parent's female parents (FMH, FMSH, FFSH, MMH, MFFH, MMSH).

When ego's parents call somebody mom 'uncle' or atē 'father' because of Omaha I equivalence (see sub mom and atē for these extensions; 4.2.Α.), then ego calls that person andiōp (PMBs, PMBb, PMBDH, PMBSdh, PMBSddH).

makh 'grandmother' (plural: makhdēm or mahkalin)

Makh primarily denotes parent's female parent (FM, MM, MFS, FFS).

By generational extension, makh is extended to ego's parent's classificatory female parents (MMS, FMS, etc.).

Affinally, makh is extended to the wives of ego's parent's male parents (MMBW, MFBW, FMBW, etc.).

By Omaha Type I skewing, makh is extended to PMbd and PMBsd, PMBsW, PMBsd, PMBSd, etc., i.e. to all those for whom ego's parent uses the parent term nj 'mother' on the basis of Omaha skewing (see Table I). Since marriage to MMbd is quite common and to certain extent preferred, quite a few Korowai men are married to their makh 'grandmother'; in such cases, the man uses makh for his wife.

D. Grandchildren generation

khaftun 'grandchild' (plural: khaftulan or khaftundém)

Khaftun is the sex-neutral reciprocal term to the grandparent terms andiōp 'grandfather' and makh 'grandmother' in all their extensions.

Khaftun may be replaced by lalkaftun 'child of female (cross or parallel) child' and abūlkaftun 'child of male (cross or parallel) child'.

E. Grandgrandchildren and grandgrandparents

yebom 'grandgrandchild/grandgrandparent' (plural: yebomdēm or yebomālin)

Yebom is the sex-neutral, self-reciprocal term for ego's child's child's child and ego's parent's parent. Affinally, yebom is extended to spouse's CCC/PPP.

By Omaha Type I skewing, male ego uses the child terms sabīl 'cross male child' and salat 'cross female child' for his FSs and FSd who belong to his own natural generation (see sub sabīl, salat). As a consequence of this, ego uses classificatory child terms (khaftun) for his FSs, FSd, FSdS, FSsd and FSsddd and grandclassificatory child terms (yebom) for his FSs, FSsd, FSsdS, FSsdD, FSsdD, FSsdSd and FSsdDd although these belong to ego's second descending natural generation. (For this skewing of natural and terminological generations, cf. Table I, p.14).

F. Ego's own generation

afē 'elder brother' (plural: afēkhiil)

Afē 'elder brother' primarily denotes ego's older brother (eB). By generational extension, afē is extended to the sons of ego's FB and MS (if elder than ego).

By Omaha Type I skewing, afē is extended to MBdD and MBsdD inasmuch as they are elder than ego.

(by the corollary of this rule for the reciprocals was given... Bb→... B and... Bd→... S), of the half-sibling rule (Fs→B, etc.) and of the generational extension-rule (FB→F, MS→M, etc.). These rules form an unsorted set: There is never more than one rule applicable at the same point (Lounsbury 1964: 364).

We give only one example of a derivation:

MBsds→MBs (Omaha I, MB=MB)

MBs→M (Omaha I, second application, MB=d=MS)

Msd→Ms (generational extension, MS=M)
4.3. AFFINAL TERMS

A. Introductory remarks

When a man marries, his status in terms of clan-membership does not change. In contrast, when a woman marries, she becomes to quite an extent a member of her husband’s clan. For example, when her husband dies, his brothers have rights over her sexuality and children, provided that the bridals payments have been completed. One of them may take her as his wife or they may marry her out to a different clan, receiving bridals payments.

These status differences between man and woman are reflected in two ways in the terminology for affinal relations. In the first place, there is a special pair of terms, khaimon (HB) and khamokh (BW) rooted in the levirate. Secondly, whereas a man tends to use special affinal terms for his wife’s relatives, a woman tends to use either filial terms following her husband terminologically or non-kinship terms (like ngge’ ‘friend’ for HS). The only specific affinal term from the wife’s perspective that we found thusfar is mbolop ‘husband’s father’.

B. Parent Generation

ban ‘wife’s parent’ (plural: bandem, banalin, bananego)
A man uses ban for all those for whom his wife uses a filial parent term (até ‘father’, ni ‘mother’, mom ‘maternal uncle’, mul ‘paternal aunt’) except WM(S).

Primarily, ban denotes WP except WM(S) (WF, WMB, WFS). By generational extension, ban is extended to include wife’s classificatory parents (WFB, etc.).

Affinally, ban extends to the spouses of WP except WFBW (because WFBW=WF=WM).

By Ohma Type I equivalence, ban is extended to include WMBS, WMBD, WMBSs, WMBSD, i.e. for those for whom ego’s wife uses parent terms on the basis of the Ohma Type I skewing rule (See Table I on p. 14, the G’1 terminological generation).

bandakhol (plural: bandakholalin, bandakholém)
Bandakhol primarily denotes WM. By generational extension, bandakhol is extended to WMS (WM classificatory S). We have found no other extensions.

mbolop ‘husband’s male parent’ (plural: mbolombolop, mbolofalain)

MBolop primarily denotes HF and HMB (H male P). Gene-rationally, the term is extended to husband’s classificatory fathers (FB, etc.) and maternal uncles. Thusfar we have not found other extensions for mbolop. For HMB a woman often uses the filial term mom ‘mother’s brother’ following her husband terminologically.

One informant consistently used nanin for HMB (See sub nanin below) whereas another used nanin only for the child generation. Given the uncertainty in the data, further research on mbolop and HMB is needed.

lebakhop ‘husband’s female parent’ (plural: lebakhofalin, lebakhondém)

Lebakhop primarily denotes husband’s female parent (HM, HFS). By generational extension, the term is extended to include husband’s classificatory mother (e.g. HMS) and classificatory FS. We have not found other extensions. Lebakhop is also used as a spouse term for ego’s wife. The term lebakhop has ‘(respected) old woman’ as basic meaning. A woman can choose lebakhop for HM and HFS as an alternative to using filial terms like ni ‘mother’ and mul ‘paternal aunt’ thus following her husband terminologically.

C. Ego’s own generation

nabul ‘wife’s sibling’ (plural: nabulém)

Nabul primarily denotes ego’s wife’s sibling (WB/WS). Generationally, the term is extended to include the classificatory siblings of ego’s wife. Nabul is a self-reciprocal term and therefore also refers to SH.

Affinally, we have not found extensions; the compound nabuldefol (nabul + defol ‘wife’) occurs in the data for WBW.

khaimon ‘husband’s brother’ and khamokh ‘brother’s wife’

There is a special pair of terms for the relationship between a man and his brother’s wife, viz. khaimon ‘husband’s brother’ and khamokh ‘brother’s wife’ with the last term presupposing a male ego. Generationally, these terms are extended to include husband’s classificatory brother and male ego’s classificatory brother’s wife.
Khamon has khaomonalin and khaondondém as plural forms, khamokh has khamokhdém as plural form.

Because these terms express the levirate (with the wife of ego's brother being a potential wife for ego and vice versa) some people are embarrassed to use them and use descriptive terms instead like naféfandol (nafé 'older brother' + defol 'wife') 'my older brother's wife'.

négé 'husband's sister' (plural: négékhol)

Négé and nokho (plural: nokhoalin) both mean 'friend'. The terms are also used for husband's sister and husband's brother's wife. Generally, these terms are extended to include H classificatory S and H classificatory BW. The terms négé and nokho are self-reciprocal and therefore also refer to female ego's brother's wife. There is a compound term négéyam (négé + ya 'her' + um 'husband') for HSH.

D. Child generation

nání 'son's wife' (plural: naminidém, nanitalin)

Nání denotes the wives of ego's male parallel and cross children, i.e. the wives of those whom ego calls abeil 'male parallel child' or abeilib 'male cross child'. Generationally the term extends to ego's classificatory male parallel and cross children.

One informant insisted on including HMB and HFS in the range of nání (husband's cross parents). Another informant consistently restricted the term to the child generation. Further research is needed with respect to nání.

lalum 'daughter's husband' (plural: lalumalin, lalumdém)

Lalum denotes the husbands of ego's female parallel and cross children, i.e. the husbands of those whom ego calls lal 'parallel female child' or salal 'cross female child'. Lalum is a compound term consisting of lal 'daughter' and um 'husband'.

E. Grandparents

A woman follows her husband by using filial terms (makh 'grandmother', andiuq 'grandfather') for her HPP. A man either follows his wife by using filial terms or uses descriptive compound nouns. The following examples of these occur in the data: banyaté for WFF iban (WP) + 'his' + até (F)/banyen for WFM iban (WP) + 'his' + ni (M)/bandakholyate for WMW banyaté for WMF bandakholyate for WMF [bandakhol (WM) + 'her' + até (F)]

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The kinship terminology of the Korowai language is an Omaha Type I system. This terminology delineates the personal bilateral kindred (ne-guntufu, ne-gon, or ne-lambil 'my family') of a Korowai person in such a way "as to express some socially and legally important aspects of these relationships" (Lounsbury 1964: 382). The terminology functions in the social contexts of Korowai society and the meanings of the terms are influenced by the contexts in which they are used.

We shall briefly mention three institutions which form such contexts for the kinship terms of Korowai:

The avunculate, the levirate and affinal avoidance-relations.

5.1 AVUNCULATE

Van Baal (1981: 83) describes the avunculate as follows: "The marriage of a girl into another group establishes an alliance between the groups concerned. The factuality of this alliance is reflected in the widely spread custom known as the avunculate, the institutionalized relationship between a mother's brother and his sister's children which obliges the uncle to act as the children's protector, helper or mentor, all as the case may be."

In Korowai society, the avunculate certainly is relevant. When one of his sister's children is in danger, "mom (MB) and his sabil Ss) or salal (Sd) sleep in one place until the danger is over" to quote one of the informants. When mom (MB) dies, his sabil demands compensation-payment from mom's people, usually a pig. Mom (MB) often co-arranges the marriage of his sister's children.

The Omaha I skewing rule by which mom 'uncle' is extended from MB to MBs, MBss, etc. functions in this institutional context of the avunculate to define the class of potential legal and social successors of the mother's brother.

5.2 LEVIRATE

The second institutional context is the levirate. When the bridial payments for a woman have been completed, the brothers of her husband have rights over her and her children when her husband dies; they either marry her out or one of them marries her. The terms khamon (HB) and khamokh (BW) function in this context to express the fact that a man is the legal successor of his brother as husband of his BW.

5.3 AVOIDANCE-RELATION

The third institutional context is the avoidance-relation between a man and his wife's mother. They cannot eat from one fire place or use the same utensils. They should not see each other. A man is not allowed to use the name of his WM, not even in reference. If a man does not respect these restrictions, he does not respect his bride-givers. Violations of the WM taboos cause sickness in the children of the man who violates them.

In the affinal kinship terminology the special place of ego's wife's mother is expressed by the fact that there is a general term for WP (ban) with a very broad range of reference contrasting with a specific term which singles out WMS (bandakhol).
Endnotes:


2. The data were collected in 1990. Informants were Pénélan Melonggai and Labulun Sendek, whom we wish to thank for their help.

3. We use the following notational conventions following Lounsbury (1964:358.359): 
   F = father; M = mother; B = brother; S = sister; H = husband; W = wife; s = son; d = daughter; 
   P = parent.
   α = male (ego, kinsman, or linking kinsman)
   ß = female (ego, kinswoman, or linking kinswoman)

Notice also the following usages of dots in the extension-rules. Compare the following examples

\ldots; α\, \beta = male linking relative's son (where the dots imply that the male sign cannot represent ego, i.e., that it cannot be the initial terminus of the genealogical chain)

\ldots; α\, \beta = any male person's sister's son (where the male in question may be either ego or a linking relative standing in the chain between ego and the designated kintype).

4. The plural suffix -alin is also found in lākōalin 'spirits'. Note that spirits in Korowai worldview are assumed to stand in kinship-like relationship to the living. Another occurrence of the -alin suffix was found in expressing the plurality of some leading characters in Korowai folktales (which otherwise occasionally may occur as individuals). In the latter case the plural ending -alin is attached to compounds of kinship terms, which function as proper names, e.g. Fofuanalin (individual proper name) versus Fofu or Fofu, Laini (individual proper name) versus Laini or Laini, and Awali versus Awali. Cf. De Vries/Van Enk, (in preparation) Aspects of Korowai Language and Oral Tradition.

5. As far as known in Korowai the following terms are used for expressing adoptive relationships: Laini-ñe or maian-ñe 'father-son'; Latin-abul or maian-abul 'foster-son'; laine-lal or maiane-lal 'foster-daughter.'
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