Aspects of Matriliny in Nagovisi Society

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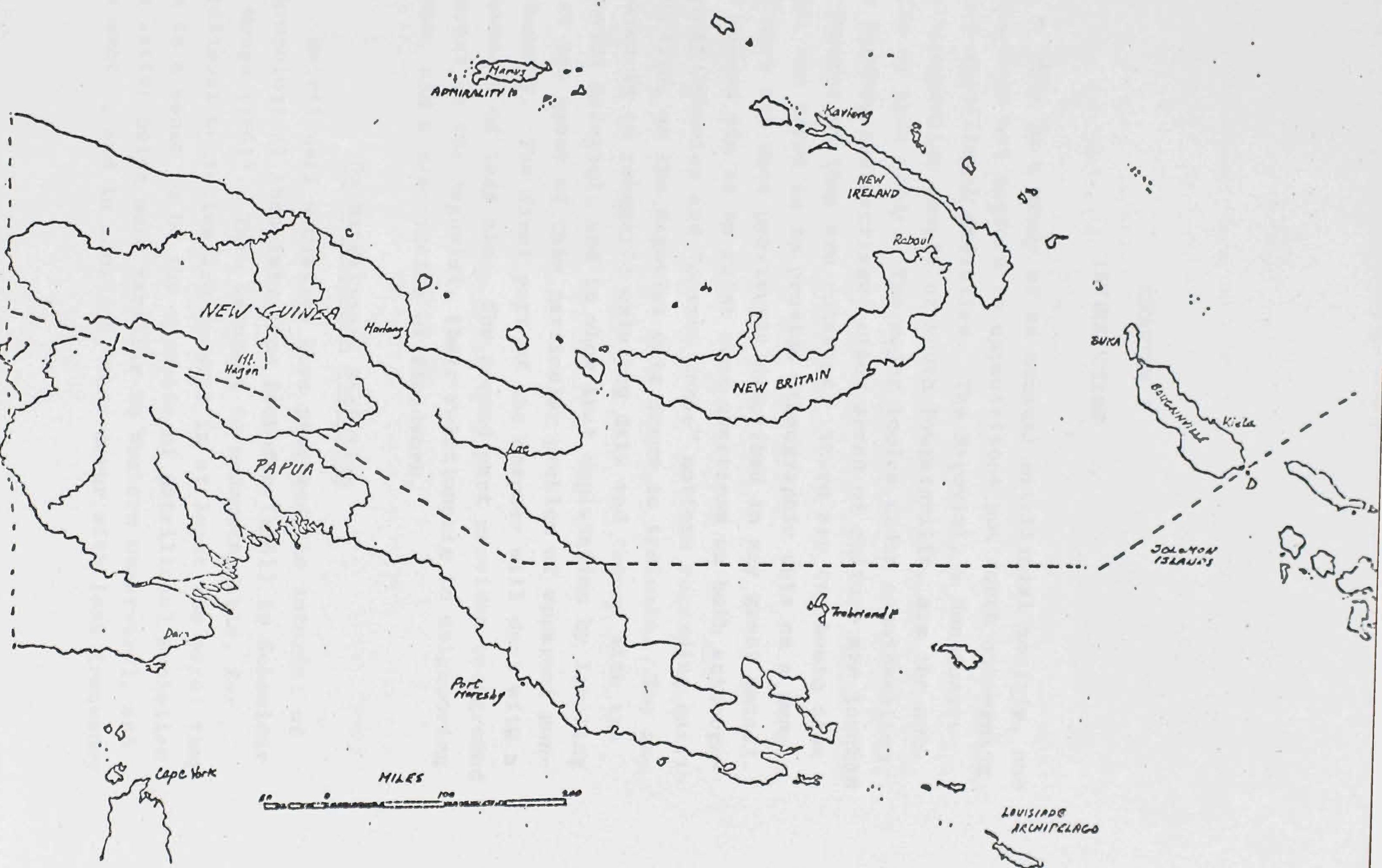

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of an unusual matrilineal society, one which does not conform to expectations put forth concerning other matrilineal societies. The Nagovisi, a Non-Austronesian-speaking people of south Bougainville, are the subjects of this study. The major topics under consideration are kinship and marriage; other areas of culture are touched on insofar as they are relevant. There are two basic aims here: the first is to provide ethnographic data on a people who have not been previously described in any great detail. The second aim is to raise some questions on both anthropological theories and "common sense" notions regarding matri-societies, as the Nagovisi data seems to indicate. The intention is to reconcile existing data and theory with the Nagovisi material, and to show that explanation by labeling is at the heart of this particular problem of apparent non-conformity. The first part of the chapter will deal with a discussion of this aim. The second part provides background material on the Nagovisi, their relationship to neighboring groups, and a description of fieldwork.

On Matrilineal Societies

Matrilineal societies have provoked the interest of anthropological theorists from Bachofen (1861) to Schneider and Gough (1961). This interest is understandable, for matrilineal societies are unusual in at least two ways: they seem in a sense to be the opposite of patrilineal societies (the latter being more familiar to Western observers), and thus exotic, and in addition, they occur with less frequency

than patrilineal ones do. However, since the early days of anthropology, matrilineal societies have had a power of fascination: they are viewed somehow as not merely unusual, but as almost abnormal. Note the comments made as recently as 1949 on the subject: "...the study of a matrilineal society represents the promise of a complicated social organization, rich in strange institutions, imbued with an atmosphere of the dramatic, and very different...from...a society with father-right." (Levi-Strauss 1949 [1969]:117-18) Less florid writers have confined themselves to observing that matrilineal societies are inevitably fraught with structural conflict, are inherently unstable, are unsuited to economic development, or in some vague sense, don't "work" well.

I do not deny that many matrilineal societies manifest conflict. What I do question is whether all of the problems spring from the structural givens of matrilineal descent and uxorilocal residence, or whether greater advances might be made by seeking the source of reported difficulties in more general relationships, rather than seeking to explain the difficulties by labels of one societal type or another.

Three Hypotheses of Matriliny

One of the best known short comparative studies on matrilineal societies is that of Richards (1950). She states her findings as follows: "The problem in all...matrilineal societies is similar. It is the difficulty of combining recognition of descent through the woman with the rule of exogamous marriage." (1950:246) Her discussion of Central Bantu societies which led her to this assertion deals with descent group rights versus paternal and affinal rights, and concentrates on the potentially strained relations between F and MB, as brothers-in-law.

Richards' approach has been rightly criticized by Leach as tautological: according to him, because she has limited her discussion to matrilineal societies, it is not meaningful to attribute the problems she sees among them to their tracing of descent through women (1961:4). But nevertheless, one feels intuitively that there is some truth to Richards' proposition. Even though men in all societies have brothers-in-law, as Leach reminds us, a man's wife's brother in a patrilineal society is simply not going to be structurally involved in the same way or to the degree that the WB in a matrilineal society is. Problems of the relative tension between kin and affine are not confined to matrilineal societies, but that fact does not rid us of the general problem that such tension exists, nor does it explain why such tensions seem so typical of matrilineal societies.

The Nagovisi case may prove instructive in this connection. This is a matrilineal, uxorilocal form of social organization, but here, relations between brothers-in-law are not particularly strained. The MB has on the whole affectionate relations with his ZCh. The father and MB do not vie for the allegiance of the children. Brother and sister do not dispute with one another for the use of lineage property. When the Nagovisi data are considered in detail, as they are in the present study, the possibility appears that matriliny or the matrilineal complex <u>per se</u> might not be responsible for the sorts of strains that Richards mentions in other societies (1950), for if it was, where are such strains in Nagovisi? Instead, in the matrilineal societies she discusses, the problems appear to emanate from a structural feature common to matrilineal societies, but not exclusively or necessarily an attribute of them. That feature is this: roles with conflicting rights and duties are forced on men by the cultural rules regarding descent and affinity. These conflicts have the potential to become

particularly acute when they involve property or authority. As Richards remarks, each society has ways of mitigating these conflicts--these are the various "solutions" to the matrilineal puzzle (1950:246). Not mentioned by Richards, but also of interest here, is the consequence of the proliferation of personal solutions within any such given society. Each man may or must seek his own solution in resolving the individual conflicting obligations of his position. Thus, we can envision a situation in which men are eager to take advantage of all openings, as it were; the consequences here might include increased political ferment concerning leadership, territorial expansion, and such like.

Another well-known anthropological theory of kinship and marriage involves the relationship of brideprice to marital stability (i.e., to low divorce rates). The theory states that marked stability of marriage allows for high brideprice payments. Gluckman examined this hypothesis for the Lozi and the Zulu; it was his conclusion that high brideprice and low or non-existent divorce rates were related to three possible variables--degree of attachment to territorial plots, persence of agnatic lineages, or existence of father-right (Gluckman 1950). In later publications (1953, 1954), he tended to favor agnatic lineages and father-right as the significant variables. By 1957, he agreed with Leach's interpretation of his thinking, in which not only were high brideprice, marital stability and patriliny causally related, but their "opposites," i.e., low or non-existent brideprice, high divorce rates, and matriliny, were also said to be associated (Leach 1961:115).

Nagovisi behavior does not conform to these expectations: they are matrilineal, but have a high brideprice and low divorce rates. How then are these apparent contradictions to be justified? By going to Gluckman's original

discussion of 1950, a sort of resolution can be suggested. In the original article, he stresses that among the Zulu, who have low or non-existent divorce, brideprice is conceived of as buying rights in the children, and only secondarily as buying rights in the woman. Furthermore, the Zulu exhibit a condition which Gluckman calls "father-right," which means that in this patrilineal society, the father is an authoritarian figure who is important in inheritance, as well as being the domestic head of the family.

The two crucial factors relating to low divorce rates, then, seem to be the establishment of some sort of rights in the children by means of the brideprice payment, and the position of the father as a figure of some authority in the household and beyond (i.e., father-right). Father-right and a father's rights in his wife's children, however common in patrilineal societies, are by no means their exclusive perogative; although it may be unusual to find such features in non-patrilineal societies, they certainly exist among the matrilineal Nagovisi. As shown below, the position of the father/husband is enhanced because of the divided rights between brothers-in-law, with regard to the wife's/sister's descent group property and activities pertaining to that group, and divided rights between brother and sister, with regard to their own descent group property.

A third assumption about matrilineal societies is that modernization tends to be particularly destructive to them, as emphasis on individual ownership and money-making activities appear. Cash-cropping is said to be particularly destructive to matrilineal inheritance: fathers do not want to pass on products of their labor to their nieces and nephews, thereby depriving their own children.[1] However,

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[1] In my experience, this view is quite common among Europeans who live among matrilineal peoples; I frequently heard it said by Europeans on Bougainville that "something

problems of modernization which threaten to destroy matrilineal institutions elsewhere do not seem to appear among the cash-cropping matrilineal Nagovisi. There, matri-institutions have not only survived, but are getting stronger in some cases: uxorilocality appears to have increased in frequency with the rise of cash-cropping, inheritance of land is, if anything, more strictly matrilineal these days, and about forty years ago, dowry changed to brideprice (after the widespread but small-scale introduction of Australian currency) with no apparent ill effects on matrilineal institutions. Something other than simple matriliny per se again would appear to be causing the problems with modernization in other matrilineal groups. By comparisons with Nagovisi data, it can be shown that one of these problems may be the inheritance patterns of other matrilineal societies, where property goes to the sisters' children instead of to one's own. This problem is obviated by the Nagovisi practice in which the husband works the land of the wife's descent group; this land is of course normally inherited by their female children. Since the land and any cash crops on it already presumptively belong to one's children, then, there is no temptation to pass it out of the descent group, thus disrupting matrilineal inheritance. The Nagovisi concept of the husband as the provider for his own children is another notion that is quite compatible with modernization along Western lines. Instead of being torn between duties towards members of his own descent group and duties towards his wife and children, as is typical of other matrilineal societies, obligations toward kin and affine are pretty much mutually exclusive among the Nagovisi; furthermore, obligations are

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would have to be done" about matrilineal inheritance before much social progress (presumably, towards the Western zenith) could be made. See Distroff (1971) for a recent statement of this sentiment.

divided in such a way that a man gives material support to his wife and children, and moral support to members of his own descent group, a division also compatible with Western norms.

Since I willingly admit that many or most of the problems alleged to exist in matrilineal societies probably do occur in a majority of such societies, my motives in raising these questions may seem obscure. If they are, let me attempt to clarify them. It puzzles me to read predictions or postulates concerning the supposed structural imperatives of matrilineal societies which can be directly contradicted by the Nagovisi data. While such postulates and predictions certainly seem to be valid for the majority of matrilineal societies, they do not always accurately describe or predict the Nagovisi case, which is definitely matrilineal and predominantly uxorilocal as well, and as such, ought to be referable to such postulates. The major point in discussing these issues is not simply to point out a new and exotic form of social organization: the comparison of the Nagovisi data to orthodox theories of matriliny ought to lead to a clarification of what exactly it is that is characteristic of those matrilineal societies upon which these theories of matriliny have been based. That it is neither matrilineal descent nor uxorilocality per se is attested to by the Nagovisi material. A by-product is to show how basically sound theories tend to lose their general applicability when they are encumbered by terminological referents, or worse, when asserted that a label is a causal agent.

The Nagovisi and the South Bougainville Setting

Linguistic Relations and Inter-Tribal Contact

The Nagovisi are one of the four main Non-Austronesian speaking groups of south Bougainville.[2] A fifth group, the Melanesian-speaking Banoni, also occupy the area and were no doubt similar in culture to the NAN groups in recent pre-contact times, as they seem to be today (Map 1).

Of the four major groups that make up the southern Bougainville Non-Austronesian stock, the Buin and Siuai are linguistically close to one another, as are the Nasioi and Nagovisi close (Allen and Hurd 1963). Informants are aware of the similarity of the Nagovisi language (Sibbe) to the Nasioi language; as one man put it, "The Nasioi language is just a poorly pronounced and ungrammatical form of Sibbe."(!)

Despite the linguistic similarity, an uninhabited stretch of mountains divides the Nasioi area from the Nagovisi area; thus, most cultural contacts of the Nagovisi were made with people to the south and west, viz., the Banoni, Baitsi and Siuai. A number of clans in Nagovisi claim origins in the northwest Siuai areas of Miheru and Hiruhiru. Today, as well as in the past, there is intermarriage with Banoni, Baitsi and Siuai-speakers. The Siuais who marry

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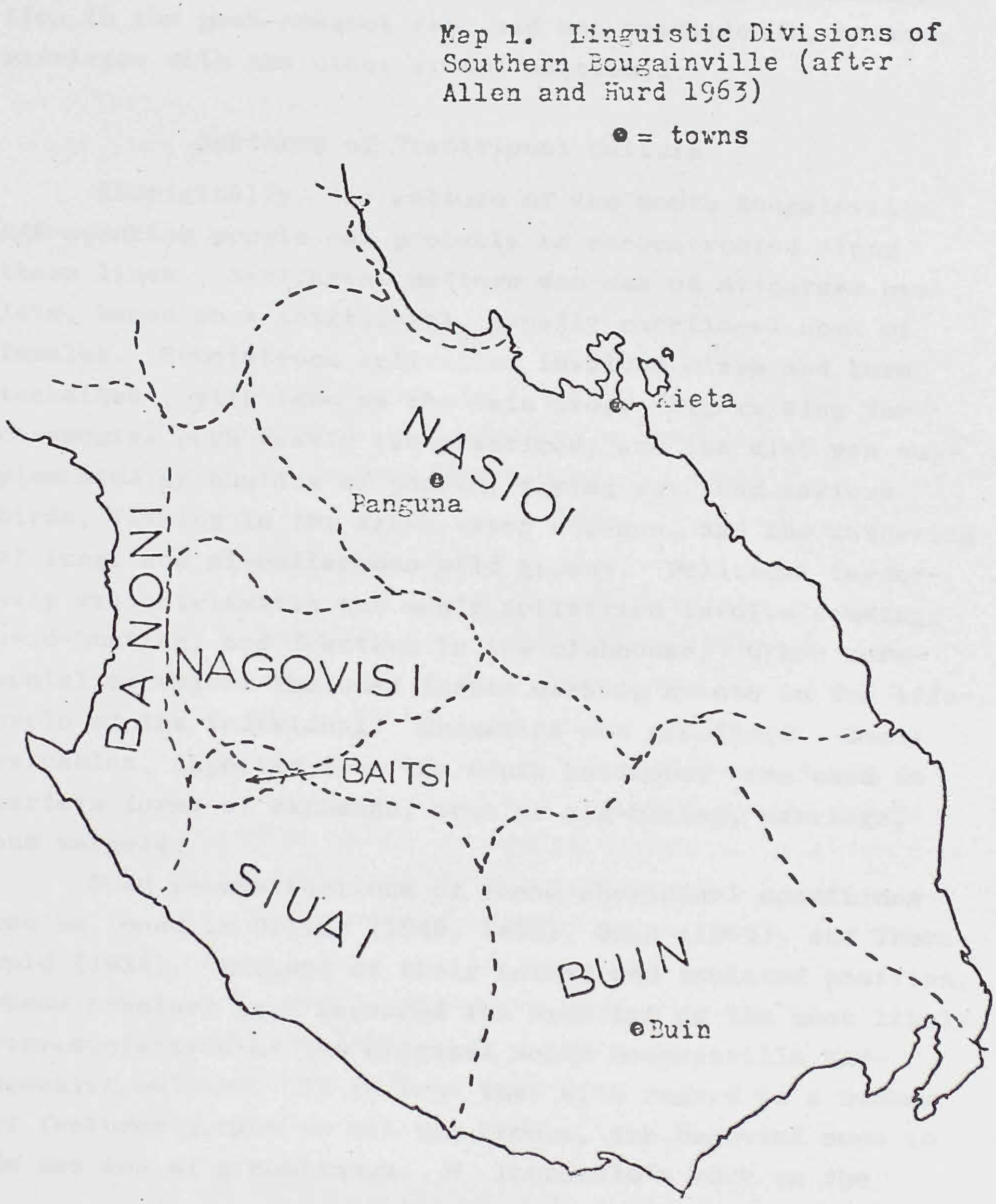
[2] Allen and Hurd (1963) classify the Baitsi language as a linguistic sub-group of Siuai. Little is known of their traditional culture; today, they are politically conservative, refusing to join the Local Government Council and instead retaining the older "luluai-tultul" system, but they are economically progressive, having large stands of cocoa trees.

Map 1. Linguistic Divisions of Southern Bougainville (after Allen and Hurd 1963)



with Nagovisi inhabit a sort of fracture zone between Nagovisi and Siuai, and in some social features, appear to be intermediate between Siuai and Nagovisi. Marriages between Nagovisi and Buins or Nasioi occasionally take place, but these are apprently the by-product of increased communication in the post-contact era, and not traditional, as were marriages with the other groups mentioned.

Features of Traditional Culture

Aboriginally, the culture of the south Bougainville NAN-speaking people can probably be reconstructed along these lines. Settlement pattern was one of dispersed hamlets, based on a matrilineal, usually uxorilocal core of females. Subsistence activities involved slash and burn techniques, with taro as the main crop. Pig-raising for ceremonial pork feasts was practiced, and the diet was supplemented by hunting of possum, flying fox, and various birds, fishing in the fresh-water streams, and the gathering of fungi and miscellaneous wild greens. Political leadership was charismatic and men's activities involve feuding, head-hunting, and feasting in the clubhouse. Other ceremonial occasions included feasts marking events in the life-cycle of the individual. Cremation was practiced. Shell valuables, imported from the south Solomons, were used in certain forms of exchange, such as pig-buying, marriage, and wergeld.

Good reconstructions of these aboriginal conditions can be found in Oliver (1949, 1955), Ogan (1969), and Thurnwald (1934). Because of their inland and isolated position, these scholars have regarded the Nagovisi as the most likely representatives of the original south Bougainville NAN-speaking culture. It is true that with regard to a number of features common to all the groups, the Nagovisi seem to be one end of a continuum. H. Thurnwald's work on the

Nagovisi of the early 1930's, based on information supplied by the resident priest, makes clear the high status of women, the undeveloped rank system, the relative scarcity of shell valuables and the slight emphasis on pig-raising (1938). In his visit to the area in the late 1930's, Oliver found that in comparison with the Siuai, the Nagovisi were less politically developed, more kinship oriented, with dual organization and cross cousin marriage, more strictly uxorilocal, and more materially impoverished (Oliver 1943). He, too, noted the comparatively high status of women.

Historical Overview of Nagovisi

First Contacts

One can surmise that the Nagovisi became more or less aware of the existence of Europeans or "white people" (monokakatana) during the 1880's when the first steel tools reached them via Siuai. It is doubtful, however, if any face-to-face contact was likely that early. News of the establishment of mission stations and Christianity must have reached them indirectly, too, long before there was any effort at conversion in the area. Informants stated that the first man from the study area to become an indentured laborer on a plantation was the older brother of a man who died in 1969: he went to Manus and returned during "Jamantaim"--i.e., before 1919. According to our elderly informants, the first white people to actually enter the Nagovisi area were men who came to recruit young men to be workers on plantations in Rabaul and on the north and east coasts of Bougainville itself. These plantation recruiters were neither alarming nor mystifying to the people, and consequently, were treated with indifference. No coercion was used by these recruiters.

The Australian Administration

There must have been Administration representatives, perhaps mistaken by the people in some cases for plantation recruiters, occasionally visiting the area. In 1929, the government anthropologist, E.W.P. Chinnery, did a census and a bit of ethnographic work in Nagovisi (Chinnery 1924 [sic]). None of our informants ever mentioned this man to us, even though he worked in some of the areas we knew best. It is possible that he was confused with patrol officers (or perhaps he came with patrol officers); Chinnery speaks of pacification having begun at this time (1929), although he says that regular patrols were not being made during the time he visited the area.

Records of the first patrols out of Kieta to the Nagovisi area were destroyed in World War II (Malcolm Lang, personal communication). Thus, it is impossible to know what sorts of efforts were made at pacification and more importantly, the dates of these. Informants told us that the people in the study area were engaged in a prolonged feud when the government achieved effective control there, and that the feud was thus curtailed. Regular patrols seem to have begun in 1933, out of Kieta. After the war, they came from Buin (Bougainville District Office, Kieta, personal communication).

According to natives, pacification was in general uneventful, although there were some incidents of violence. Men from Wakupa, an area about five miles up the mountain from Pomalate Village, shot and killed a patrol officer with an arrow. The European retaliation was harsh, however, and little resistance was offered elsewhere. Most older people today say that they were glad when Nagovisi came under government control, because it meant an end to the ever-recurring feuds and ambushing that had always gone on. These latter forms of social control are considered to be

pointless by those who expressed an opinion of them today.

In addition to ending tribal warfare and establishing local administrative heads (the "luluai-tultul" system), the government initiated "wok Mande," or the corvee, most of which was road work, and encouraged resettlement in nucleated "line" villages. Informants stated that "dokta-bois"--persons with medical training roughly equivalent to that of a practical nurse--were recruited from the local populace and given instruction in first aid and public health. However, since all medicine had to be fetched by the "dokta-bois" themselves from Kieta, across the Crown Prince Range, it may be inferred that medical care was at best sporadic. Major public health measures, such as the encouragement of outhouses and malaria control, did not begin in Nagovisi until after World War II, and infant welfare clinics began in the early 1960's.

There was no patrol post or resident "kiap" (patrol officer) in the Nagovisi area until 1954 when Boku patrol post was established; as mentioned above, patrols were first made from Kieta, and then from Buin and Siuai. All in all, the effect of government control seems to have been minimal.

Christianity

Sovele Roman Catholic Mission was established in 1930 by Fr. Tonnius, S.M. Fr. Tonnius had been stationed at Monoitu in Siuai, and he used to make extended treks through the Baitsi and Nagovisi area, looking for a place to set up a mission station (Rev. Fr. Albertus Lebel, S.M., personal communication). According to informants, the "big men" of Biroi and Lolo advised Sirubai, the Siuai catechist, who had helped Fr. Tonnius in his treks, that the Mission be set up near the Lolo area, since there were many children there and few in Biroi.

Fr. Tonnius is said to have made few attempts to change Nagovisi culture, and in fact, he had a laupai, 'clubhouse,' and tui, 'slit gongs,' of his own near the church. Informants recall that he was a faithful attender of cremations, as well, and would join in the all-night wailing and marching around the pyre. Nagovisi claim that he did these things in order to take on some of their ideas and habits so that his own would be more acceptable to them. In support of this, people told us that their preference for Catholicism was based more on a dislike of Protestant practices, particularly the strict observance of Sunday as a day of rest (i.e., no work allowed) of the Methodists first, and later, the prohibition of the Seventh Day Adventists on pork-eating, smoking, and betel-chewing, discouragement of wiasi use, and non-adherence to mother-in-law tabus.[3]

Thus, it seems that practices considered objectionable by the Church were not sought out and eradicated; many of them simply became unpopular or seemed to lose their efficacy. Perhaps this is related to the gradual way in which European presence made itself felt--first through steel tools, then on distant plantations, then through native catechists as a new sort of religion, which made few demands on the converted at first. For example, a man told me that he became convinced that polygyny was wrong, not because any priest told him so, but because he had never seen a

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[3]Obviously, this cannot be true of all Nagovisi, since both the United Church and Seventh Day Adventists have established congregations in the area. However, I would assume that reasons for conversion these days have to do with factionalism rather than items of belief: a Biroi clan man became a Seventh Day Adventist after a reported argument with a priest, and occasionally, persons would vent their anger towards the resident priest--for example, if children were expelled from school--by threatening to ask the Methodists or Seventh Day Adventists to come and build another school nearby.

European man with more than one wife. 'Growing-up rites,' (mavos) which in pre-contact times were performed on behalf of children of prominent parents only and considered to be a great deal of work in any case, began to fall off in the middle and late 1930's. By the 1950's, mavos were almost extinct.[4]

An attempt on the part of the Methodist Church to establish a station in Nagovisi was made in the late 1930's, but over-zealous Catholic catechists burned their huts to the ground and tore out their marker stakes. It is not known how much influence in this matter the Catholic priests exerted, but particularly in those days, strong feeling against the Protestants was not rare (Tippett 1967, Laracy 1969). The Methodists did make an establishment at Siandaru after World War II out of Siuai and Methodist services are held in Bakoram and Pikei villages. There are some Seventh Day Adventist villages with indigenous officials in western Nagovisi. Relations today between all religious groups appear amicable.

This short history of initial European contacts makes it clear that there is no single known date before which the Nagovisi were "untouched" nor one after which they were "contacted." During the period of indirect contact (before the Nagovisi area was pacified and brought under government control), Nagovisi were trading the Siuai and Banoni for steel tools, and some went as contract laborers on plantations in order to earn these and other material goods, such as loin cloths (walo). As noted above, the attempts to convert the Nagovisi to Christianity came slowly and indirectly at first; native catechists from Siuai made the

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[4]The present priest at Sovele, following the aggiornamento practices of the Roman Catholic Church, is attempting to bring back the kobiau, or marriage mavo. This appears to have revived some interest in mavos in general for several were performed during our stay.

first baptisms in the Nagovisi area (Rev. Fr. Albertus Lebel, personal communication). The Nagovisi have not suffered any major land alienation, as have the Nasioi on the east coast, where cocoanut plantations were made early in this century by expatriate Europeans, nor have there been any permanently resident Europeans or Chinese in the Nagovisi area, other than Mission personnel.

From World War II to the Present Day

War Experiences

The war years were ones of great deprivation and hardship for the Nagovisi. Buin was taken by the Japanese in March 1942 (Shaw and Kane 1963), and until late 1943, when the American forces began to prepare for their attack of Torakina on the west coast of Bougainville, relationships with the Japanese were cordial enough. Japanese soldiers were stationed at Mosigetta and Bakoram I in the Nagovisi area, and they occasionally appeared here and there on patrol. When the American bombing strikes began, in preparation for taking Torakina, the natives abandoned their line villages, because any house was a target. Fires, too, attracted the bombers. People took refuge in the bush. When the Japanese supply lines were cut off, their starving soldiers began to pilfer from native gardens--in fact, they cut down and destroyed cocoanut trees and sago palms, as well as stealing from gardens, and ate any kind of meat they could manage to find. The latter included pigs, dogs, cats, snakes, and in the end, Nagovisi natives as well. It was the destruction of their gardens and livestock which made the natives begin to regard the Japanese as enemies and brought them actively to the Allied side.

After the American camp was set up at Torakina, many Nagovisi went there to live. Others stayed in the bush with

their families, or worked with Angau[5] as liaisons. Those who went to Torakina were very favorably impressed by the American GI's, who were said to be very generous with food, tobacco, money, and other material items. The Australians who followed them, and especially their officers, are often disparagingly compared to Americans even today because of this. Nagovisi worked at various jobs at Torakina, mostly as cargo bearers, but some in the hospital and kitchens.

My genealogies showed few children born during the war years and fewer still who survived. Informants claimed that many babies born during this time were killed by their parents, because conditions were so difficult and precarious. One man told me that he had advised his then recently married younger brother to kill his first baby when she was born in 1943. The younger brother decided not to do this, but to try to keep the baby alive. This woman is one of the few survivors born during that time.

"Big Village" Resettlement

At the end of the war, Nagovisi went back to their area and under the direction of former Angau aides, Nagovisi natives themselves, settled into large villages of unprecedented size. For example, in the study area, the entire population of ten villages, with a present-day population of approximately six hundred persons, was concentrated in one single village. There were other large villages in other areas of Nagovisi under similar leadership. This era of Nagovisi history is more fully discussed in Chapter IV, but here I will mention only that there was a sort of paramilitaristic social order--without any cargo-cult expecta-

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[5]Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (Angau) which took the place of the civilian government during the war years.

tions, however--which seems to have subsided within a few years after the inception of the big villages.

Cash-Cropping

It is not clear exactly when these large villages began to break up, but the process seems to have started in the early 1950's, and was hastened, according to informants, by the exhortations of both priests and government officials to begin cash-cropping. A number of different kinds of cash crops were recommended by the government: these were rice, peanuts, coffee, and cocoa, in that order. The first three proved to be failures for a variety of resons, according to the accounts of natives and informal discussions with Administration employees, patrol officers, and agricultural officers. In the case of two of the crops--rice and peanuts--the Bougainville products had to compete with Australian ones, and the Administration did not want to provide price-supports against their own countrymen's crops. Peanuts are still grown today for personal consumption, but many natives speak disparagingly of the project. Coffee-growing has been adversely affected by the low prices for bean on the world market. There are considerable stands of untended and neglected coffee in our region, although some people do still harvest and sell it to the local marketing society. Discouraged by these failures, it is not surprising that a number of people would have nothing to do with cocoa at first. Those who did, however, were rewarded because it was the first crop to pay off well, beginning in 1968 or so. Men who had not planted cocoa now hastened to do so, and those who had done so continued to plant more. One man who planted late jokingly calls his stand of cocoa trees owanda, which means "if I should see it" (i.e., money from cocoa, I'll believe it).

Taro Blight

After the war, the Nagovisi discovered that taro [Colocasia spp.] (nana), their staple crop heretofore, would no longer grow in their area.[6] Thus, they were forced to fall back on sweet potatoes [Ipomoea spp.] (sapaia or pateta) which had been a secondary crop before the war.[7] In some respects this was to the advantage of the Nagovisi, for sweet potato cultivation requires much less work than does taro cultivation. Weeding, although it will help the yield, is not essential, the sweet potatoes mature in three or four months, instead of the seven months required for taro, and several harvests per plot (three harvests of sweet potatoes versus one harvest of taro) can be made, thus requiring less frequent clearing. Thus, the same amount of work produces a greater amount of sweet potatoes than taro. With the invention of the river-valley pig-ranging areas in the late 1940's or early 1950's, this made it possible to feed and therefore raise more pigs. The consequence was a salutory effect on ceremonialism, for pork is only consumed on ceremonial occasions. It is true that sweet potatoes are less nutritious than taro (Hodges, Fysh, and Rienits 1947:273), but this deficit is no doubt counterbalanced to some extent by the additional animal protein from the increased consumption of pork. Those Nagovisi not interested in increasing their personal pig production were free to follow other pursuits: they might leave the area to seek temporary employment,

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[6]Taro can still be grown in a few areas in Nagovisi, either in the uplands or in "big bush," i.e., virgin rainforest. In fact, it occasionally matures successfully in ordinary gardens, but the outcome is extremely unpredictable and the yield is small.

[7]Nagovisi estimate the appearance of sweet potato around 1930 or so. It came to them from Siuai-speaking areas.

for example. This is not to neglect the important fact that the Nagovisi were upset at first by the taro blight: older people still prefer taro to sweet potatoes and occasionally trade to distant areas for it.

The Present and the Future

The Nagovisi as we observed them from 1969 to 1970 appeared to be doing very well, as far as people in transitional phases go. Nearly everyone regularly ate a small but not negligible amount of Western food, particularly tinned fish, corned beef, and rice, to supplement their tuber and greens-with-cocoanut-milk diets. Everyone wore clothes and every household has at least one kerosene lantern. Numerous radios, flashlights, guitars, and bicycles were evident, and the more affluent were beginning to build houses with corrugated aluminum roofs and cement floors. Public health was good[8] and infant mortality low.[9]

However, there are a number of problems that the Nagovisi are bound to encounter in the coming years. One such problem is that which plagues all cash-croppers: they become dependent on a world market system over which they have no hope of control nor possibility of significant influence. They have converted much of their land to cash-cropping areas, making such plots unsuitable for food-growing,

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[8]Dr. Bela Gustalo of the Buin Subdistrict Public Health Department has remarked on this, saying that in the past ten years he has seen a drop in the incidence of tuberculosis and tropical ulcers among the Nagovisi, yet one does not see the problems of obesity evident among their neighbors, the Buin and the Siuai. The Solomon Islands Medical Survey in 1970 found only one suspected case of kwashiokor and no evidence of Ascarius.

[9]Since late 1967, less than 30 per 1,000 births, calculated on Sovele hospital figures.

and their population is rising rapidly with no prospects for controlling it in sight.[10] In addition to these concerns, the Nagovisi are bound to get caught up in the political problems of New Guinea's eventual independence, and closer to home, the Bougainville separatist movement. The copper mine at Panguna is a source of great potential change for all the inhabitants of the island, and while, to date, the Nagovisi have on the whole profited from its presence (i.e., in terms of convenient source of employment and thus money), some of the more thoughtful individuals in the area realize that tribes are powerless to resist in the face of this great endeavor.

The Nagovisi of the Study Area

The sources of most of the material included in this work are the inhabitants of a part of Nagovisi area that for convenience here is called the study area. This area refers to the central section shown in Map 2, which roughly describes a circle around Pomalate Village, where we lived throughout our stay among the Nagovisi. The study area was in the base of the foothills; the terrain began to rise steeply around Lopali and behind Tadolima, Lomari, and Lotari 1, and began to slope down towards the sea at Sinsiluai, Mosino, and below Nairona. There were some microcultural differences between the study area and other parts of Nagovisi; these differences were ones of dialect, minor cultural points (e.g., use of sex-specific personal names versus sex-irrelevant names, size and number of slit gongs used in the clubhouses in past days), and affinities with other tribes, this depending of course on proximity to these

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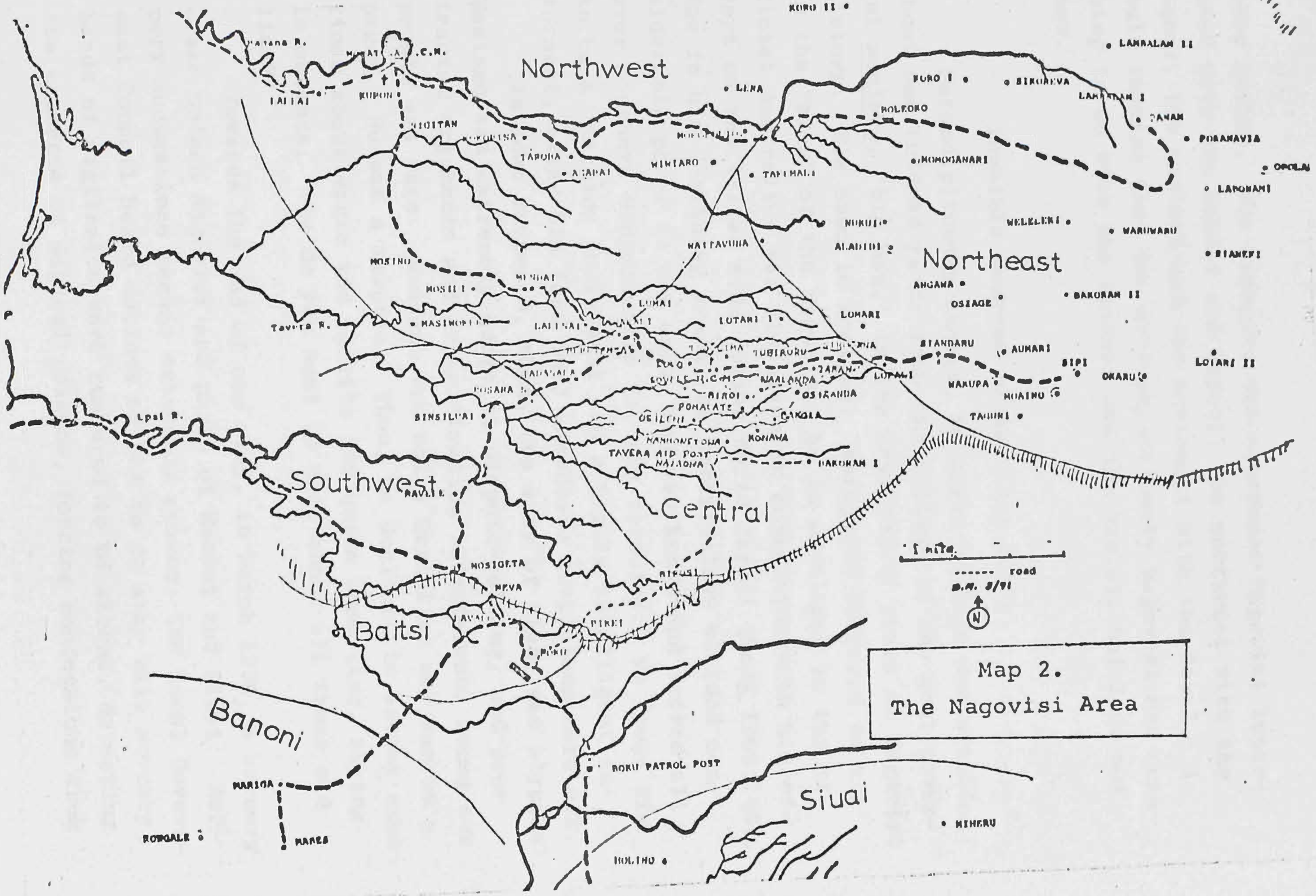
[10] In the study area, one-half of the population is fourteen years of age or younger, and one-third is nine years or age or younger.



Map 2.
The Nagovisi Area

other tribes. For example, the southwest Nagovisi interacted with the Baitsi and Banoni, the northwest with the Banoni, the central and the northeast with the Siuai. I would imagine that the extreme northerly Nagovisi had something to do with the Rotokas and the Nasioi, but I do not know.

Possible Sources of Sampling Error

Serendipitously enough, Pomalate Village was situated about one hundred yards from the village of the most powerful momiako, 'big man,' in the past thirty years of Nagovisi history. His name is Mesiamo. Europeans referred to him as the "king" of the Nagovisi; he is mentioned in the official Australian war histories in connection with his effort on the Allied side during World War II (Long 1963:145). Now in his declining years, he nevertheless wielded considerable power in our area, and was known and feared all over southern Bougainville for his ferocity. We found him to be a charming individual and a highly intelligent informant, after his (and our) immediate suspicions wore off.

In some respects, then, the area of study was atypical. Mesiamo was extremely adept at dispute-solving, and protracted arguments and Administration interference among our people was rare. Mesiamo was not a Christian nor was he a pagan. He was a skeptic. Thus, he declined to answer questions about magic and spirits for quite some time, saying in essence, "Why do you want to hear about all those old lies?"

Towards the end of our stay, in March 1970, a sorcery craze seized Nagovisi and parts of Nasioi and Siuai. Sorcery accusations became extremely common, the Local Government Council heard motions on how to do away with sorcery, bands of vigilantes were rumoured to be abroad, detecting the presence of magical poisons, forcing confessions from

the suspected sorcerers, and confiscating small packets of substances alleged to be poison. The study area was almost completely untouched by the sorcery craze, because of the influence of Mesiamo, who cautioned everyone never to gossip about sorcery. Modern-day nangai, 'hirable sucking doctor, diviner,' never came near Mesiamo's village of Biroi, but made instead wide detours around it, so that they would not be subject to public humiliation by Mesiamo's mocking comments. Even at the peak of the sorcery craze, when a thirty-three-year-old woman drowned, after apparently having suffered a stroke while bathing, there was comparatively little reaction in the study area. Thus, our knowledge of such matters as these is less than complete.

To what extent Mesiamo's presence discouraged belief in cargo cult and prevented the sort of confusion of economic and spiritual spheres which Ogan reports for the Nasioi (1969), I do not know. However, it was not only Mesiamo who expressed disbelief in cargo cult; nearly every Nagovisi we talked to concerning the subject had some disparaging story to tell of poor dupes elsewhere who believed in cargo prophecies. There were a few Nagovisi men who were said to have been adherents to cargo cult. One such man, who from reports of his ordinary behavior seemed to be a pathological liar, was said to dabble in cargo prophecy; he spent most of his time in the Siuai area. Another man who also gives the impression of some mental imbalance went through a period of cargo prophecy, during which time he attempted to call up cargo from a small cemetery. The period of cargo belief had been preceded by a great renewal of Christian faith on his part. By the time we reached the field, however, he had lapsed back into his former self. A Nagovisi man told me that the difference between Nasioi and Nagovisi cargo cult adherents is that the Nagovisi ones are all mentally disoriented in some way, whereas Nasioi cargo cult adherents are not.

Thus, on one hand, the study area was archetypical in the sense that there was an effective "big man" there; on the other hand, the presence of effective "big men" is not characteristic of modern-day transitional Melanesian societies. In this sense, the study area was atypical.[11]

The Fieldwork Experience

Schedule of Work and Duration of Stay

At the suggestion of Douglas Oliver, my husband, Donald D. Mitchell, made a reconnaisance trip to the Nagovisi area, en route home from work on Malaita in August 1968. His intention was to determine the Nagovisi attitude to our proposed fieldwork. In the opinion of the Administration, the Nagovisi were very anti-European; thus, it was deemed prudent to ask the Nagovisi themselves. With the advice of the Rev. Fr. Denis Mahoney of the Roman Catholic Mission, Sovele, Mitchell made visits to several possible villages to confer with the inhabitants. The mountain dwellers were unwilling to have us come, but the middle-people had no serious objections.

Thus, we arrived in Nagovisi in early April 1969, and moved into Pomalate Village in the end of May. We were there until late November, at which time we left for a month's vacation in Australia. Arriving in Pomalate in late December, we stayed there until late August 1970, at which time we returned to the United States. For three weeks in July, we were visited by a medical team (Solomon Islands Project of Harvard University); we aided them in their examination of nearly 500 Nagovisi.

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[11] I am indebted to Eugene Ogan (personal communication) for this point.

Within the Study Area

The statistical data in this work is based upon surveys made of all or nearly all the residents of the villages that make up the study area. We occasionally made treks to villages outside the study area for special happenings, or to talk to special informants, but for the most part, our information about the Nagovisi way of life came from the study area. We were closest in terms of friendship to the people of Pomalate, Biroi-Naalanda, Osileni and Bakoia.

Contacts With Other Europeans

Although we visited the personnel of the Sovele Mission fairly regularly, our contacts with other Europeans were rare. We were visited no more than four or five times by various Europeans during our stay; these visitors included a patrol officer and his wife, agricultural officers, the doctor from the Public Health Department in Buin, and a couple from the Summer Institute of Linguistics. We went infrequently to Buin, and then only to pick up cargo. We always returned the same day from these sojourns.

Language

While the house in Pomalate Village was being built, we lived at Sovele Roman Catholic Mission, and during this time, we began to learn Sibbe, the language of the Nagovisi. We were aided in this project by Helen Nabara and Cecilia Siuwako, two Nagovisi elementary school teachers. Although we made a certain amount of progress, on the whole, our efforts to achieve fluency were not very successful. As Ogan remarks on his experiences in learning Nasioi (1969), the presence of the lingua franca of pidgin (Neo-Melanesian) acts as a deterrent to the learning of the indigenous language. Since among the Nagovisi, nearly all men under

sixty-five years of age and nearly all women under thirty-five speak pidgin, the temptation to rely on it was very great. We were able to engage in simple Sibbe conversations on a number of topics, and I was particularly adept at discussing the nature of illnesses and genealogical matters. Interviews were carried on in a mixture of pidgin and Sibbe. We were able to get the gist of many Sibbe conversations, but rapid-fire arguments and court testimony was ordinarily beyond us. In these cases, translations were provided to us. Of course, I would like to have been a better speaker of Sibbe, but I do not think that having been so would have markedly improved my data.[12]

On Relations With the Nagovisi

The Nagovisi have a reputation among members of the Administration for being quite anti-European: we heard this allegation from Administration personnel from Port Moresby down to men working at the local level. As with everything, of course, this is true or false only depending on what is meant by "anti-European." It is probably fair to say that many Nagovisi are skeptical of the white man's motives. It is also fair to say that they have good reason for being this way, since it is they who stand to lose as the result of miscalculations or misunderstandings. We noted a certain

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[12]Here I should mention a note on the orthography used in this work. I am far from being able to give a phonemic analysis of Sibbe, and in some cases, my spelling differs from the only other existing authorities, literate Nagovisi themselves. The transliterations should be obvious, however, perhaps with the exception of my use of the symbol "E" (which represents a short e, as in the English "pet."

A second point concerns the formation of plurals. Rather than use the complex Sibbe forms, in which numbers (up to five or so) must be specified, I use the -s suffix of English instead throughout this work.

amount of suspicion in our initial dealings with some Nagovisi, but in most cases, this was rapidly dissipated as we grew to know each other better. In any event, we were almost never rudely treated, even by the suspicious.

In New Guinea, where relations between the races have not been for the most part good, where Europeans and natives have lived in separate realms with very little understanding of the other's lifeways, and where the European has held the superior position in economic relations, it might be imagined that amicable, natural relations between representatives of the two groups might be hopelessly impossible to achieve. However, we found that in some ways, the "typical" behavior of Europeans in New Guinea--especially the stiff middle-class forms of etiquette characteristic of them as a group--worked to our advantage; our own behavior so contrasted with that of other Europeans that we were frequently (to our embarrassment) pointed out as examples of "good" Europeans. Seemingly minor things we did, such as going barefoot (we found it impossible to do otherwise), eating with natives on ordinary and feast occasions, holding babies, chewing betel nut, or laughing at obscene jokes and risque comments, appeared to make an enormously favorable impression on the Nagovisi.

I mention these things not in order to be self-congratulatory, but to make a point: we liked the Nagovisi, and for the most part, I think they liked us. If I have included in this work incidents reflecting folly or pettiness, in addition to those motivated by wisdom and virtue, it is only to show the Nagovisi as we knew them: vigorous people with human strengths and human failings which we found compelling, despite cultural differences.

CHAPTER II

KINSHIP TERMS, PRONOUNS, AND PERSONAL NAMES

I chose to discuss these three taxonomic systems first off for two reasons. First, they provide excellent models of ideal behavior; distinctions made within these three systems recur in behavioral contexts which will be outlined in later chapters. The kinship terminology suggests a two section system, which does in fact exist among the Nagovisi; however, certain other interpretations of the terminology are possible. The pronomial system provides an ethnoscientific categorization of dyadic and plural relationships. Particular pronouns must be used when speaking of persons related (consanguineally or affinally) in various ways. The pronomial system, which is apparently unique in southern Bougainville to the Nagovisi, gives componential analysis of kinship terms which is truly "the people's" way of thinking, not the anthropologist's. Personal names ideally replicate the kinship terminology. Nevertheless, names do become obsolete or forgotten, and new names appear as the result of tabus and consequent euphemism, the desire to commemorate events, and by becoming linked with other names. The personal name system illustrates very well the intermeshing of an ideal system with demographic reality. The second reason for discussing these three systems together is that many items of social behavior cannot be adequately explained in terms of only one--or even two--of these systems. The extent to which they can overlap and modify one another will become apparent in this chapter as they are artificially separated under analysis.

Kinship Terminology

I shall not be concerned with detailed formal analysis of kin terms, nor the formulation of general rules, as writers such as Needham (1962, 1966, 1967), Scheffler (MS 1970), and Lounsbury (1964a, 1964b, 1970) have been. Neither of these approaches has much to do with the central concerns of this study. Furthermore, the Nagovisi, like the Nasioi (Ogan, 1969), lack any extensive dual cultural symbolism and, therefore, analysis along these lines is likely to be fruitless; they do, however, express a strong dualistic ethic of social relations. Therefore, it seems that a sociological approach will be the most appropriate one.

Nagovisi kinship terminology, like those of the other southern Bougainville (NAN) groups, is essentially a "Dravidian" (i.e., two section) kinship terminology. Throughout, the basic dichotomy is consanguineal/affine. Although there are some specific affinal terms for real affines, in general, they are lacking (Table 1).

Table 1: Some Terminological Equivalents

F=FB=MZH	WyZ=yBW
M=MZ=FBW	DSW=ZD(ms)=BD(ws)
MB=FZH=HF=ZHF=BWF	FF=MMB=MFZH
MBW=FZ=HM=WM=ZHM=BWM	FM=MFZ=MMBW
MBS=ZH=WB=FZS(ms)	MM=FFZ=FMBW
MBD=FZD=HZ=BW(ws)	MF=FMB=FFZH

However, there are atypical elements. Most significant of these is the extensive use of "sibling" terms. In the zero generation, sibling terms are used for opposite-sex cross cousins, as well as for parallel cousins of both sexes. In the plus-two and minus-two generations, sibling terms are used for the category "father's parents" and the category "son's children," viz., older siblings and younger siblings, respectively. Despite the recurrence of sibling terms at

various generational levels, these terms only appear in alternate generations, never in adjacent generations, as in Crow-Omaha systems.

The lack of opposite-sex cross cousin terms presents a problem in the treatment of the Nagovisi kinship terminology as basically Dravidian, because the preferred spouse is a cross cousin. Thus, we have the situation in which a person calls both his opposite-sex sibling (quite emphatically not marriageable) and potentially-marriageable people by the same term. Some of the other features involving "siblingization" coincide with torowaiwatata (explained below) and the rules of personal naming. All of this leads the Nagovisi to have certain ideas about what kinship terms are similar to what others and to describe kinship relationships which can be equally correctly traced in a number of ways as awaitowai, literally, 'reversal of two similar things, complementary.'

Table 2: Nagovisi Kinship Terms Collected in 1969-1970[a]

ngo = M, MZ, FBW, MMM, FFM

mma = F, FB, MZH, FFF, MMF

papa = MB, FZH, HF(ws), FMF, MFF

kabo = FZ, MBW, WM, HM, FMM, MFM

mama = FM, oZ, FBoD, FZoD(ms), MBoD(ms), MZoD, WoZ, MFZ

tata = FF, oB, FBoS, FZoS(ws), MBoS(ws), MZoS, HoB, MMB, mama's H

tete = MM, FFZ

kaia = MF, FMB, MFZDS(ms), oZH(ws), HoB

inalaman = yB, FByS, MZyS, FZyS(ws), MByS(ws), HyB, yZH(ws), SS, ZDS(ms), BDS(ws), ngano's S

inalamada = yZ, FByD, MZyD, FZyD(ms), MByD(ms), SD, ZDD(ms), BDD(ws), ngano's D

inomas = HZ, BW(ws), FZD(ws), MBD(ws)

inoli = WB, ZH(ms), FZS(ms), MBS(ms)

inola = D, DDD, ZD(ws), WZD, BD(ms), HBD, DH, WF

inuli = S, DDS, ZS(ws), WZS, BS(ms), HBS

Table 2, continued

inabalum = DSS, BS(ws), WBS, ZS(ms), HZS
inabaluna = DSD, BD(ws), WBD, ZD(ms), HZD, SW
inobe = DS, DD, WyZ, yBW(ms), MBD(ms), FZD(ms), MMBDCh(ms)
ina = W
ing = H
imardi = opposite-sex classificatory sibling, opposite-sex cross cousin
imardo = co-W, WZH
ngano[b] = WMB, ZDH(ms)
inulina = step-S(ms)
inolana = step-D(ms)

Other Kin Terms:

madawo = matrilineal kin (indefinite range)
mmalo or matalo = father's matrilineal kin
maniku (plural), manikumana (singular) = wives and daughters of a descent group
nuga (plural), nuganala (singular) = male matrilineal kin of wives and daughters
motai (plural), motainela (singular) = husbands and fathers of a descent group, i.e., men who have married in

[a]Following standard anthropological practice, here and throughout the entire text the following abbreviations are used: M = mother, F = father, Z = sister, B = brother, D = daughter, S = son, W = wife, H = husband, Ch = children regardless of sex, y = younger than speaker, o = older than speaker, ws = woman speaker, ms = man speaker.

[b]Possibly ingano rather than ngano; the former is more in keeping with the in-prefix series of affines and junior relatives.

Listed in Table 2 are kinship terms collected in 1969-1970 from male and female individuals, ranging in age from 8 to ca. 65. In general, any disagreement between informants was laid to there being a special relationship (because of names or torowaiwatata) between two given people which altered

their status in the ordinary kinship reckoning system. The terms collected in 1969-1970 are in general similar to those collected in 1929 by E.P.W. Chinnery (1924:77-78), with two exceptions. Chinnery translates inaika as WBW, HZH, and the term bowo as WZH. It is probable that Chinnery's term inaika is the same as the term I collected for "friend" from English speakers, and "poraman" from pidgin speakers, viz., imaiko. Occasionally, Nagovisi used this term in a non-specific way (e.g., when addressing potentially hostile forest-spirits) which they would translate by the pidgin term "barata." They never gave this term (imaiko) in reference to consanguineals or affines. The second term bowo is obviously cognate with the Siuai bowoi (Chinnery 1924:94) or povoi (Oliver, 1955:260 et passim) and the Baitsi bowai (Chinnery 1924:82). The Siuai and Baitsi terms are translated as ZH, WB, MBS, FSZ, and MBS, ZH, FZS, respectively. Note that the Nagovisi bowo refers to an affine's affine, i.e., a "consanguineal" or "brother" whereas both the Siuai and Baitsi terms refer to cross cousins or brothers-in-law, quite a different category to the Nagovisi way of thinking. I have no explanation for this term; my informants used the term imardo or brother/sister terminology to refer to one's WZH or one's co-W.

"Basic" kin terms can be conveniently shown by a paradigmatic chart (see Table 3). Note that as a result of exogamous marriage and matrilineality, the offspring of a man are in a different moiety from his own.[1] This kinship

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[1]This point has caused Scheffler some concern (MS 1970); it is on this basis that he is led to believe that kinship terminologies have no necessary relationship to social organization. I do not quarrel with his conclusion, but I would take issue with his implicit assumption that kinship terminologies are supposed to delimit social fields identical to those perfectly well delimited by other social features, in this case, moieties. We should ask why there are differences here, rather than merely considering the effect of such differences on our own assumptions.

Table 3: Diagram of Kinship Terms[a]

Generation	Woman Speaking				Man Speaking			
	Own Moiety		Opposite Moiety		Own Moiety		Opposite Moiety	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
+2	tete	tata	mama	kaia	tete	tata	mama	kaia
+1	ngo	papa	kabo	mma	ngo	papa (inola)	kabo	mma (ngano)
0	mama inalamada	tata inalaman	inomas	tata (ing) inalaman	mama inalamada	tata inalaman	mama (ina) inalamada	inoli
-1	inola	inuli	inabaluna	inabalum (inola)	inabaluna	inabalum (inola)	inola	inuli
-2	inobe	inobe	inalamada	inalaman	inalamada	inalaman	inobe	inobe

[a]Actual affines are in parentheses.

chart more or less displays all the terms a person would use in his or her dealings with persons of his own lineage and clan and those of his father. Terms for actual affines are included in parentheses. More distant kin, whether in one's own moiety or not, are less differentiated (Table 4).

However, a paradigm such as Table 3 will not allow accurate prediction of what terms two people might call one another. The Nagovisi have a supplementary relationship called torowaiwatata, literally, 'return of older brother,' which brings about major modifications in kinship terminology and behavior between those involved (Figure 1). An identity between a man and his MMB is postulated such that the ZDS calls his MMB's children by the same terms which he calls his own, and so forth. It is chiefly the relationships between the man and his MMB's descendants which are affected; from the point of view of the MMB (i.e., with MMB as ego), terms reckoned by the torowaiwatata relationship are for the most part identical with those of the basic kinship terminological system.

Both male and female egos call the MMB by the term tata, 'older brother,' but since only same-sex siblings call each other's children by "own children" terms, females cannot call their MMB's children by terms they would use for their own children. No special relationship is created. It is true that a girl is identified to a degree (see Names) with her MM, but creation of a similar identity would generate relationships in the girl's own descent line, not in another. Thus, females are involved in torowaiwatata relationships only insofar as they are brought into it by connections with two men (i.e., the MMB and ZDS).

It is true that one could speak of relationships of the same type between a woman and, for example, her FZDS--that is, via the father's lineage--however, the Nagovisi do not appear to conceptualize the relationship in this way.

Table 4: Distant Kin

Woman Speaking

	Own Moiety		Opposite Moiety	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
+2	tete[a] mama	tata imardi	inomas mama	kaia
+1	ngo	papa	kabo	mma
0	mama(os) inalamada(ys)	imardi	inomas	tata(os) inalaman(ys) kaia[a]
-1	inola	inuli	inabaluna kabo	inabalum mma
-2	inobe	imardi inobe	inomas inalamda mama	tata(os) inalaman(ys) kaia[a]

Man Speaking

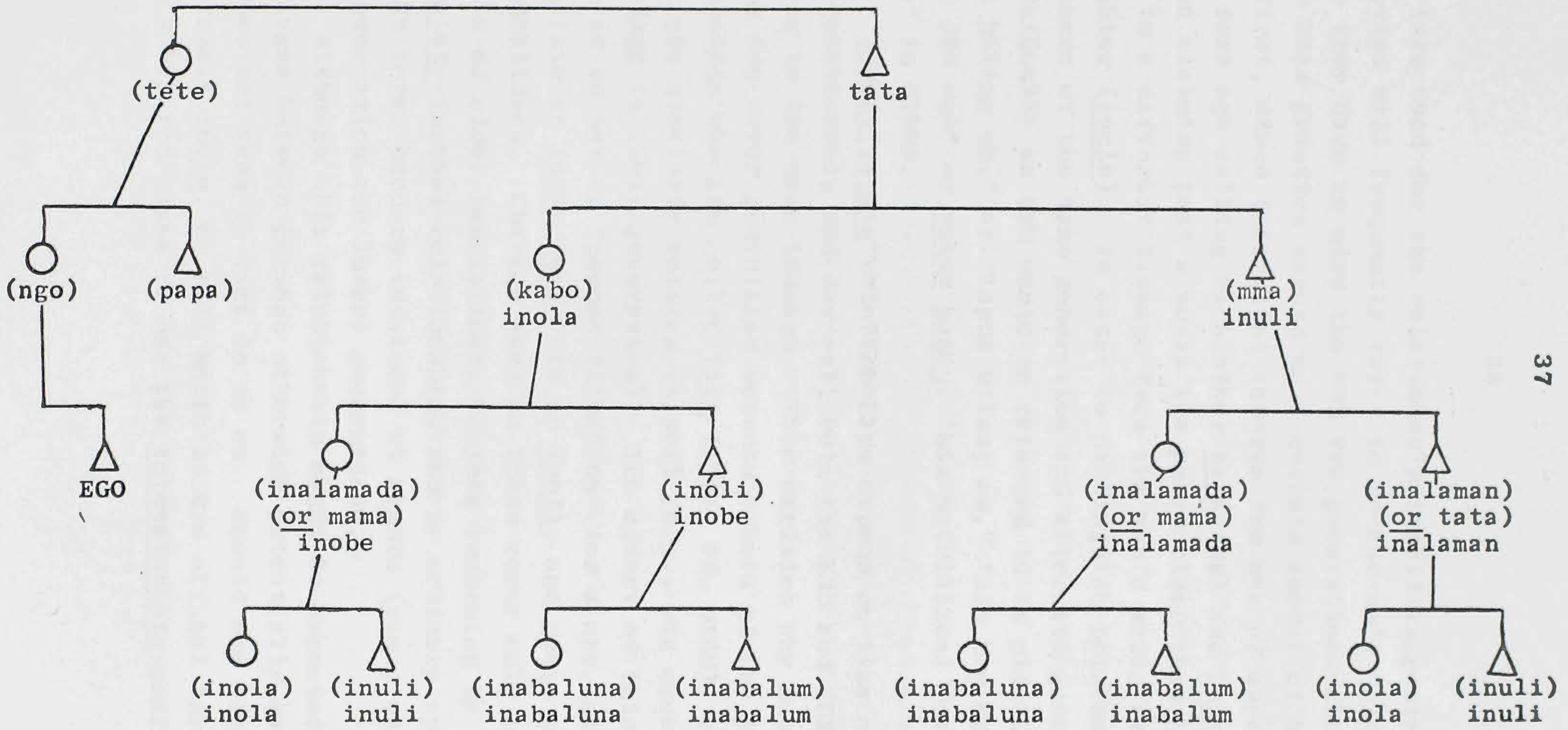
	Own Moiety		Opposite Moiety	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
+2	tete[a] mama	tata	mama	inoli kaia[a]
+1	ngo	papa	kabo mama[b]	mma,ngano
0	imardi	mama(os) inalamada(ys)	mama(os) inalamada(ys)	kaia[a] inoli
-1	inabaluna ngo	inabalum papa	mama inola	mma,ngano
-2	imardi inalamada	tata(os) inalaman(ys)	mama inobe[c]	inoli inobe[c]

[a]If 40 or 50 years older than speaker.

[b]If close to speaker's age (20 years or so) and on good terms, e.g., proximity, marriage, etc.

[c]If 40 to 50 years younger than speaker.

Figure 1: Changes in Kinship Terminology Brought About by Torowaiwatata Relationships[a]



[a]Ordinary terms are in parentheses.

The term used for the relationship itself suggests this. Nagovisi will frequently refer to so-and-so's "older brother," when they have in mind the MMB two generations above so-and-so. This practice caused me a certain amount of bewilderment at first, since this might involve two men of approximately the same age calling each other kaia (MF) and inobe (DS), or a man claiming that a woman ten years older than he belonging to a different lineage from the man's wife, was his daughter (inola). In order to distinguish between older brothers of the same generation and alternate generations, occasionally an MMB would be referred to in pidgin as "bikpela bilong em," or "lapun bilong em," 'his big one,' or 'his old one' or wakam pagau, 'his matrilineal (male) ancestors' in Sibbe.

Torowaiwatata relationships depend on ties of biological relationship and descent; both the MMB and ZDS must belong to the same lineage. This explains why such relationships are never postulated between others of the plus-two generation who are called tata (i.e., FF, MFZH), unless they, too, are similarly related as well (e.g., via cross cousin marriage in their generation). The effect of this relationship is to set up "pseudo-filiation" for a man, making a kabo into an inola, mma into an inuli, and cross cousins into grandchildren. Changes such as these occur only between people of close generations, because reckoning by the torowaiwatata-imposed relationships and by ordinary application of kin terms becomes identical at remote (viz., ego minus one generation and lower) generations.

Although this relationship might be expected to bar marriages between persons otherwise potentially marriageable, it does not seem in fact to do so. Should ego wish to marry his female inobe, he will begin to use affinal terms for his wife's kin and cease to use the torowaiwatata-mediated terms.

Inobe is, in fact, an eminently marrigeable kin-type for male ego.

The torowaiwatata relationship seems superficially similar to a feature of Hopi kinship terminology, of the Crow-type (Eggan 1955) In the Hopi system, a male ego may call his MMB by the term for oB and call the MMB's children by the terms he uses for his own. However, male ego also uses the latter terms to refer to his MB's children as well; Eggan's explanation is that "...children of the MB and the MMB are 'children' (ms)...because they are offspring of men of ego's own lineage." (Eggan 1955:25) The reasons in each case, then, are not the same.

Identical personal names affect kinship terminological appropriateness: individuals who share the same name are said to be like brothers if they are males, or sisters if they are females. Each addresses the kin of the other by terms appropriate to such a relationship. A_1's mother becomes (terminologically and to a degree discussed more fully later, behaviorally) A_2's mother, vice versa, and so on. Names and their kinship significance are discussed more fully later in this chapter, but it might be noted here that the preference for naming boys for their MMB's bears an obvious structural relationship to torowaiwatata.

Modifications such as these discussed appear to have an effect on the Nagovisi perception of their kinship terminology and the interrelationships between terms. It was not uncommon for people to tell me that certain terms were "like" other terms. It is fairly obvious, for example, to both the Nagovisi and me that inomas is simply a female inoli. Nor is it difficult to see why they claim that "the basis of ngano" is mma or why this term is sometimes called woma waikis, 'small father,' since both mma and ngano are kabo's brother. No doubt because of the similar role played by the MM and the FM, in the eyes of a young child at any rate, our

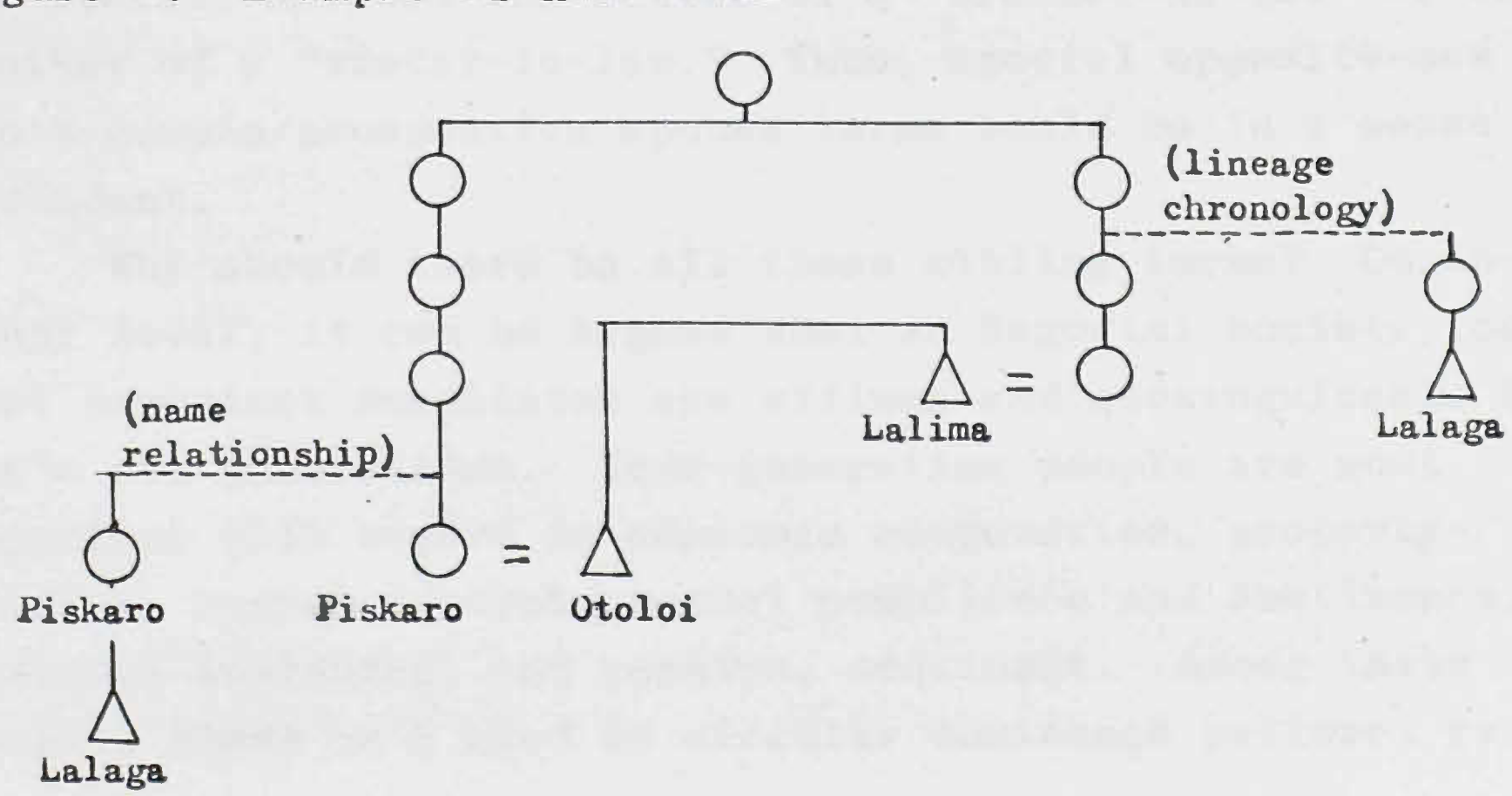
next door neighbor told me that it was permissible for his two-year-old son to call his FM tete until the child got a bit older and wiser.

Similarities perceived by the Nagovisi which initially escaped me (because they have to do with torowaiwatata or namesakes) were those between kaia and inoli and for a man, between kabo and inola (female).

Because people are related to other people in a number of possible ways--own lineage, father's lineage, spouse's lineage, children's spouses' lineages, step-kin, biologically close or distant, and by identity of personal names--it is not uncommon that two people will be able to trace their relationship to one another in a number of equally valid ways and be able to use a number of pairs of kin terms. The Nagovisi call this condition awaitowai, 'reversal of similar things.' It is normal and unavoidable.

> Lalima is married to one of Lalaga's distant classificatory sisters; thus, they should call each other inoli. However, Lalima is the older brother of Otoloi, who is married to Piskaro. Piskaro was Lalaga's mother's name; thus, Lalaga calls Otoloi mma, and Lalima mma as well.

Figure 2: Example of Awaitowai



There are some terms which are mutually exclusive--those which specify incompatible sex or imply conflicting affinal/consanguineal ties, for example--but note that situations may ordinarily arise in which both men and women can use affinal terms towards their father's people, and, in a complementary fashion, men can use affinal terms toward their own children.

We are now in a position to raise some questions as to the proliferation of "sibling" terms and how this may be interpreted. Does the appearance of these sibling terms in the plus-two, zero, and minus-two generations and their appearance in both moieties destroy the two-section or Dravidian nature of the Nagovisi kinship term system? I should say not, for the following reasons. First of all, the sibling terms do fall in alternate generations. Unlike Crow-Omaha terminologies, persons in adjacent generations may not be called by the same term. Second, as regards the use of sibling terms for prospective spouses, there are special affinal terms which replace sibling terms in the event of actual marriage. No man or woman can be married to someone he or she still calls a sibling. In addition, there are terms for "spouse's opposite-sex sibling/same-sex in-law;" one ideally marries the sister of a "brother-in-law" or the brother of a "sister-in-law." Thus, special opposite-sex cross cousin/prospective spouse terms would be in a sense redundant.

Why should there be all these sibling terms? On another level, it can be argued that in Nagovisi society, one's most important associates are affines and consanguineals in one's own generations. Same-generation people are most important with regard to economic cooperation, property-holding, social control, sexual compliance and abstinence, personal influence, and perhaps, sentiment. Among these people, there is a kind of circular dominance pattern, rather

than any linear one. All these fictive siblings maximize one's relations of this type.

Needham suggests (1967:45) that the application of sibling terms to cross cousins may have followed the "disintegration of the lineal principle and its replacement by a cognatic reckoning of kinship" in the case of the Manogarai. Can the Nagovisi be called cognatic in any sense? If they can, it is certainly without diminution of lineality--and cognatic and unilineal systems are traditionally thought to be dissimilar. However, as Leach has pointed out in a different context (1961:4), typologies based on one aspect of a society may be wrong for other aspects of the same society, or wrong for seemingly identical aspects of supposedly similar societies. Rather than deal with labels such as "cognatic," I should prefer to stick to description. There is no doubt that one has a special relationship with one's father's descent group in Nagovisi. A man is ideally to marry back among his father's people, people are frequently identified as a "child of the (father's descent group's name)," and there is an expressed sentimental attachment to young members of their father's descent group, even though they may rarely be seen or joined in cooperation. People are cautioned not to forget their father's descent-group mates, and those who behave untowardly are reminded of their obligations by the admonition, "Do you think you were begotten by a tree stump?" However, it cannot be denied that the father's group is often identified with the spouse's group--regardless of whether the two are the same. Non-supportive behavior towards members of either the wife's group (and hence, the children's group) or the father's group are loudly disapproved; those guilty of such behavior will be subject to public chastisement from the general public--not necessarily from those who have been victims of the slight. The term kanalai when used by a young boy, means his father's people, and when used by

an older man, means his father's people and/or his children's people (see Chapter V). But is this not as typical of dual organization as it is of cognatic societies?

Pronomial System

The pronomial system of the Nagovisi, apparently unique in south Bougainville, provides a system of categorization into which the relationship of the persons referred to by the pronoun figures. The pronomial system can thus be considered an adjunct to the kinship system. It furthermore furnishes us with a genuine native ethnoscience of kinship categories.

I was not aware of the existence of this pronomial system until I had been in the field for approximately six months. The people from whom I had gotten my original set of "ordinary" pronouns were educated women who played down this aspect. I was told, for example, that nE,[2] 'we-two,' was used for two "like" people, i.e., sisters, brothers, or husband and wife, and ninga, 'we-two,' was used for two "unlike" people, i.e., brother and sister, or unrelated man and woman.

Ordinarily, little children do not use the special pronouns in their conversations, but make do with the general ones (the duals ninga, langa, deinga, and plurals nii, lii, dewo). Many little children do know the nEro/niro (mother-child) pronouns, but do not always use them. By the time children begin to start feeling shame (maia) with regard to their opposite-sex siblings--beginning at age nine or ten--they begin to consistently use these special terms. Children of twelve and older use them invariably. An exception would appear to be the educated. Indeed, a way to deliberately insult a person is to refer to him/her and his/her opposite-

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[2]For convenience and economy of space, only the first-person forms are used throughout the text. Complete declensions appear in the accompanying tables.

sex sibling by the nE/dEi/lE terms, for this is said to imply something similar to sexual intimacy.

The opinions of my informants on their neighbors who lacked a similar pronomial system was rather negative. One man claimed he did not like to speak Nasioi, because he had to use nE to refer to himself and his sister--this is considered immoral and causes embarrassment to the Nagovisi. I was told that the reason the Siuai did not have such an extensive system is because the Siuai do not pay such close attention to kinship as the Nagovisi do. As an example of the Siuai attitude on kinship, women can name their children for their brothers--unheard of in Nagovisi, for it would violate tabus of name-calling. Nevertheless, the Siuai are said to have some of the lineal terms (nE versus nEro, etc.).

In dual pronouns, the following criteria are invoked to distinguish pairs of kin in the zero generation; same-sex/opposite-sex, consanguinity = lineality = same moiety, opposite moiety = potential affine, and actual affine.

	Same Moiety	Opposite Moiety	Opposite Moiety
	Consanguinity	Potential Affine	Real Affine
Same sex	nE	nEramEra/ nEnamasira	nEramera/ nEnamasira
Opposite sex	nEnoroko	nEnoroko	nE

In adjacent generations, pairs of kin whose senior member is male are undifferentiated; all combinations use nEra. When the senior member is a female, the categories of consanguinity, potential affine, and real affine are involved as in the zero generation; furthermore, same sex (i.e., female) or opposite-sex (i.e., male/female) are critical.

Table 5: Dual Pronouns

nE, lE, dE	ina/ing (H/W), tata/inalaman (oB/yB; FF/SS), mama/inalamada (oZ/yZ), kaia/inobe (MF/DCh; oZH/WyZ), tete/inobe (MM/DCh), mama/inalamada inalaman (FM/SCh)
nEnabora, lEnabora, dEnabora	kabo/inabalum (FZ/BS), kabo/inabaluna (FZ/BD; HM/SW)
nEnamasira, lEnamasira, dEnamasira	inomas/inomas (BWws/HZ)
nEnoroko, lEnoroko, dEnoroko	tata/inalamada (oB/yZ; MBS/FZD; FZD/MBD; FBS/FBD; FF/SD), mama/inalaman (oZ/yB; FZD/MBS; MBD/FZS; MZD/MZS; FBD/FBS; WoZ/yZH)
nEra, lEra, dEra	mma/inuli inola (F/S D), papa/inabaluna inabalum (MB/ZD ZS; HF/SW), inola/inola (WF/DHms), ngano/ngano (ZDHms/WMB)
nEramEra, lEramEra, dEramEra	inoli/inoli (ZHms/WB), kaia/inobe (MFZDS/MMBDS)
nEro, lEro, dEro	ngo/inuli inola (M/S D)
nii, lii, dEwo	kabo/inola (WM/DHws), mama/inalaman (WM classificatory Z/classificatory ZDHws)[a]
ninga, langa, deinga	children, those who are uncertain of their relationship to each other, e.g., strangers.

[a]If one has assumed a tabu relationship with the younger man.

Table 6: Plural Pronouns

niladu, liiladu, dewoladu	= men and their sister's children; men and their own children; man, his wife, their children; man, his daughter's husband, daughter's children. Cf. nEra.
niladuna, liiladuna, dewoladuna	= large extended family, e.g., descendants of a maternal grandmother and their husbands and fathers.
ninabori, liilabori, dewonabori	= mothers-in-law and their sons- and daughters-in-law. Cf. nii, nEnabora.
ninamasigu, liilamasigu, dewonamasigu	= 3+ sisters-in-law. Cf. nEnamasira.
ninamEnagu, liilamEnagu, dewonamEnagu	= 3+ brothers-in-law. Cf. nEramEra.
ninawode, liilawode, dewonawode	= 3+ brothers (including parallel cousins and MMB or FF); 3+ sisters (including parallel cousins), brothers and their wives; sisters and their husbands; maternal grandparents and daughter's children. Cf. nE.
ninolili, liilolili, dewonolili	= combinations of brothers and sisters (including parallel cousins and tata in the sense of MMB or FF). Cf. nEnoroko.

Table 6, continued

niro, liiro, deworo	= matrilineally related members of one household or similarly small size, if not actually co-resident, e.g., mother and several children, sisters and their children, grandmother, mother, and children. Cf. nEro.
nirona, liirona, deworona	= matrilineally related people of indefinite range, more inclusive than niro, etc. The matrilineal core of a descent group; can include adult matrilineally related males, but not their wives or offspring.

Table 7: Diagram of Dual Pronouns[a]

Generation	Woman Speaking				Man Speaking			
	Own Moiety		Opposite Moiety		Own Moiety		Opposite Moiety	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
+2	nE	nEnoroko	nE	nE	nE	nE	nE	nE
+1	nEro	nEra	nEnabora	nEra	nEro	nEra	nEnabora (nii)	nEra
0	nE	nEnoroko	nEnama-sira	nEnoroko (nE)	nEnoroko	nE	nEnoroko (nE)	nEramEra
-1	nEro	nEro	nEnabora	nEnabora (nii)	nEra	nEra	nEra	nEra
-2	nE	nE	nE	nE	nEnoroko	nE	nE	nE

[a]Actual affines in parentheses.

Thus:

Senior Female	Consanguinity	Potential Affine	Real Affine
Junior same sex	nEro	nEnabora	nEnabora
Junior opposite sex	nEro	nEnabora	nii

Senior Male			
Junior sex irrelevant	nEra	nEra	nEra

Between alternate generations, everything is undifferentiated, except between opposite sex torowaiwatata (older male, younger female) pairs, which "mimic" the BZ (consanguineal/opposite sex) relationship and thus are referred to as a nEnoroko. The plural pronouns do not cover kin terms as meticulously as the dual pronouns do; the combinations and permutations of kin types would produce a staggering large number of special pronouns. Thus, some combinations I suggested to my informants were flatly rejected. They said that such combinations had to either be named individually or used with the general plural pronouns nii, lii, dewo (we, you, they). Some combinations were judged to be "ungrammatical," e.g.:

> H, W, HM can be called nirona, but not a good combination. Not scandalous, but inaccurate. (Probably called nirona because of identification of H and W, as in ninawode.
>
> B, Z, and MM, or FM, or MF are also inaccurate, but could be called ninawode, perhaps because MF and FM are seen as affines.
>
> On the other hand, B, Z, and FF or MMB = ninolili (FF or MMB = tata; therefore becomes a B-Z combination.

Flatly rejected were any of these combinations:

> Those mentioning brother, sister, and spouse of either or both. This includes, thus, brothers-in-law and their wives, sisters-in-law and their husbands, and husband, wife, and their son's children.
>
> Those mentioning brother and sister (opposite-sex siblings) and the offspring of either or both.

Regarding the plural pronouns, certain of the same criteria operate in the zero generation as they did with the dual pronouns. Thus, ninolili, ninawode, ninamasigu, and ninamEmagu correspond respectively to the dual categories of nEnoroko, nE, nEnamasira, and nEramEra. Note that the two nE positions, same-sex/same moiety and opposite-sex/real affine combine criteria in such possible plural combinations as spouse/spouse/spouse's same-sex sibling. Note also that it is impossible to refer to opposite-sex siblings and either or any of their spouses by special pronouns. These must be named individually or the general plural terms (nii, lii, and dewo) may be used.

The remaining plural pronouns seem to be somewhat similar to other dual pronouns; niro, niladu, and ninabori relate to nErò, nEra, and nEnabora, respectively. Nirona and niladuna are enlarged forms[3] of niro and niladu. Again, the mother-in-law/son-in-law relationship term is set off from others.

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[3]About plurals in Sibbe: Although any noun can be made into a plural (i.e., more than one) by the addition of the suffix -na, this is often omitted unless one is referring to four or five or more of something. When discussing smaller numbers of things, better usage requires the specification of the exact number, e.g., mai = canarium almond, mainawali = one canarium almond, mainawalida = two canarium almonds, maiwEmanori = three canarium almonds, maikalEmanori = four canarium almonds, maina = (plural general) canarium almonds; kobEli = stone, kobElinabori = one stone, kobElinaborEka = two stones, kobElinago = three stones, kobElina = four (or general plural) stones.

In response to the endless hypothetical combinations of relatives I submitted to my informants, one of them gave me a definition. According to him, niro refers to the matrilineal members of one household (pawa nabis), whereas nirona refers to an entire matrilineage or matriclan (madawo). However, both niro and nirona may include matrilineally-related adult males who are normally not resident. Niladu refers to multiple combinations of any of the nEra pairs; niladuna refers to entire extended families--that is, a niro or nirona-group plus the in-marrying spouses. Apparently, the matrilineal context ameliorates to some extent the (tabu) aspects of the DH/WM relationship.

Thus, two of the categories of plural pronouns seem to be plurals of this type, that is, they must refer to large groups of people (ca. five or so). Informants agreed with this grammatical interpretation, but gave conflicting responses in certain cases, nevertheless.

Ideal and actual behavior between all of these kin types will be discussed passim in later chapters. However, here it should perhaps be noted that the distinctions which set off pronouns are the same ones which delineate social relationships.

In one's own generation, the distinction between affines (potential or real) and consanguineal (lineal, own lineage) is quite marked, as are sex distinctions. Behavior between opposite-sex siblings and between same-sex affines should be supportive but decorous: references to sex are not permitted, and cause a great deal of embarrassment (maia) if another should mention sex in their presence. "Shame" fines of various types are payable between opposite-sex siblings and between same-sex affines for hearing of each other's sexual indiscretions (lom kigori payments) or for producing a second child before the first one is sufficiently mature (nomma payments). Same-sex affines do not say each other's names, and older informants were reluctant to say their opposite-sex siblings'

names, stating that this had not been customary when they were younger. There is ordinarily little chance for economic cooperation between opposite-sex siblings and same-sex affines, but they should be available and willing if asked. They tend to avoid conflicts by retiring.

Contrariwise, relations between same-sex siblings and husband and wife (and husbands of sisters) and grandparent/grandchild are ideally open and free of constraints. A man might be angry if another told a vulgar story about the man's wife (or he might not, depending on his relationship with the teller), but he would not be ashamed; he would be both angry and ashamed if the same thing should happen with reference to his sister. Opportunity for economic cooperation between brothers is limited; in the main, these relationships consisted of sentimental ties which in most cases were exceedingly resistant to malfeasance.

> Taliau was Veniai's older brother. Taliau had encourage Veniai to join the police as Taliau had, and there Veniai had learned some English and accounting procedures. Taliau paid for Veniai's brideprice, a somewhat unusual thing to do. About twenty years ago, Veniai got the idea to start an enormous store in Nagovisi and borrowed money from a number of people to get capital. Taliau claims that he lent Veniai over $300. The store folded, however, and Veniai went to jail for fraud for a year. I asked Taliau what had happened to his money then. He said he didn't really know; Veniai had never given it back. I asked him if he was angry at Veniai for this; after all, $300 was a lot of money, wasn't it? Taliau replied that well, he was sorry about the money but after all, Veniai was his little brother--how could he be angry at him? Besides, Veniai had bought him a $50 shotgun about fifteen years later.

Sisters, on the other hand, are frequently partners in economic ventures (e.g., managing and earning shell money, pig-raising, gardening), as well as being bound by ties of affection. Similarly, husband and wife cooperate in these same

activities, as do the husbands of two (or more) sisters. Ideally, relations between husband and wife are amicable, if not affectionate.

Relationships involving senior females are more complicated than those involving senior men. Men treat all their adjacent generation juniors in more or less the same way; WF and DH do not say each other's names, but other than that, there is no constraint upon their relationship. Both father and MB are regarded affectionately; neither seem to have much authority over either their children or their sisters' children.[4] Fathers probably have the edge, though, simply because they are in daily contact with their children. Economic cooperation is greatest between WF and DH, least between MB and ZS. Unmarried sons cooperate to a certain extent with their parents; these days, such economic cooperation frequently is replaced by financial assistance--money earned when they are away working at Panguna.

It would seem from pronomial distinctions that women have distinctive relationships with their own children, regardless of sex, their brothers' children (and HZCh) of either sex, their sons' daughters and their daughters' husbands. Structurally, the unique relationship between mother and child has to do with lineality; one's primary sociological identity, after all, is with one's mother's relatives. It should be obvious that there is a sentimental tie between mother and child, as well. Relationships between FZ and BCh (or MBW and HZCh) are these days affectionate, but in

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[4]Unquestioned authority does not appear to be part of any kinship role in Nagovisi; other than charismatic political leadership, there is more or less a power vacuum. Ogan (1969) reports a similar situation in Nasioi, which he attributes to European acculturation. I am not completely convinced that in Nagovisi, at any rate, this lack of authority is not in fact the aboriginal condition.

the past, it is said, considerable restraint, especially between FZ and BS, was the rule. For example, the FZ was never to touch the BS, even when the latter was a tiny infant. The relationship in present-day Nagovisi which is most fraught with etiquette and avoidance is between WM and DH: between these two, there can be no use of personal names and in fact, a person is supposed to avoid ordinary words or phrases which sound like the forbidden name, they may not touch each other nor hand items to each other, they avert their eyes in all cases and tend to come no closer together than about four feet, conversations between then--for the exchange of information, never for idle chatter--are curiously detached, with the participants facing in different directions, or even situated in different rooms. Breaches of these prohibitions are also described as producing shame (maia) as with breaches of etiquette in BZ relationships; nevertheless, my impression is that these elaborate mother-in-law avoidances are politesse, whereas there is more of a gut feeling with the sister. The relation between WM and DH does not begin until the DH's marriage; the behavior thus must be consciously learned. We heard several accounts of actual sexual indiscretions between WM and DH, but these were considered humorous as well as scandalous. The only story I heard of sex relations between B and Z (which I believe in any case to be apocryphal) was privately told to us and appeared to give visible psychic discomfort to the teller.

Relationships between grandparents and young children are affectionate and unconstrained. Frequently, the grandparent intervenes on behalf of the child in the case of parent-child conflict. The grandparent may take the grandchild on expeditions to the bush, for example, to find fungi and greens, tell stories to the grandchild, or cook food for him.

exceptions are Guemple 1965, Marshall 1957, Needham 1965). Among the Nagovisi, however, it is impossible to disregard the role played by personal names in determining the nature of interactions. Names influence the kinship system; it can be difficult to understand the behavior between namesakes, for example, in terms of the orthodox applications of kinship categories. Furthermore, the formal aspects of the naming system emphasize significant features of Nagovisi kinship, viz., moiety division, the similarities between alternate generations, and matrilineal descent.

Names are moiety-specific (except for nicknames, the meaning of which is clear), and in the study area, sex-specific as well.[6] Every person must have a "real" name--that is, a name which has been in use in the moiety formerly.

Nagovisi say that men should be named for their MMB's, and women for the MM's. This happens quite often, actually, but given demographic accidents, there is never a perfect replication. However, a look at the accompanying table (Table 8) which shows the matrilineal ancestors of the Waina lineage indicates that names do tend to be repeated every other generation. Since in terms of categories, one's FF = MMB = MFZH, and one's MM = FFZ = FMBW, it is not uncommon to find children named for relatives who have married into the father's lineage. For example, Takore (line 5) is named for her FMBW, Kanai (line 6) was named for his FF, and Kepetau (line 5) was named for her MM-step-Z.[7]

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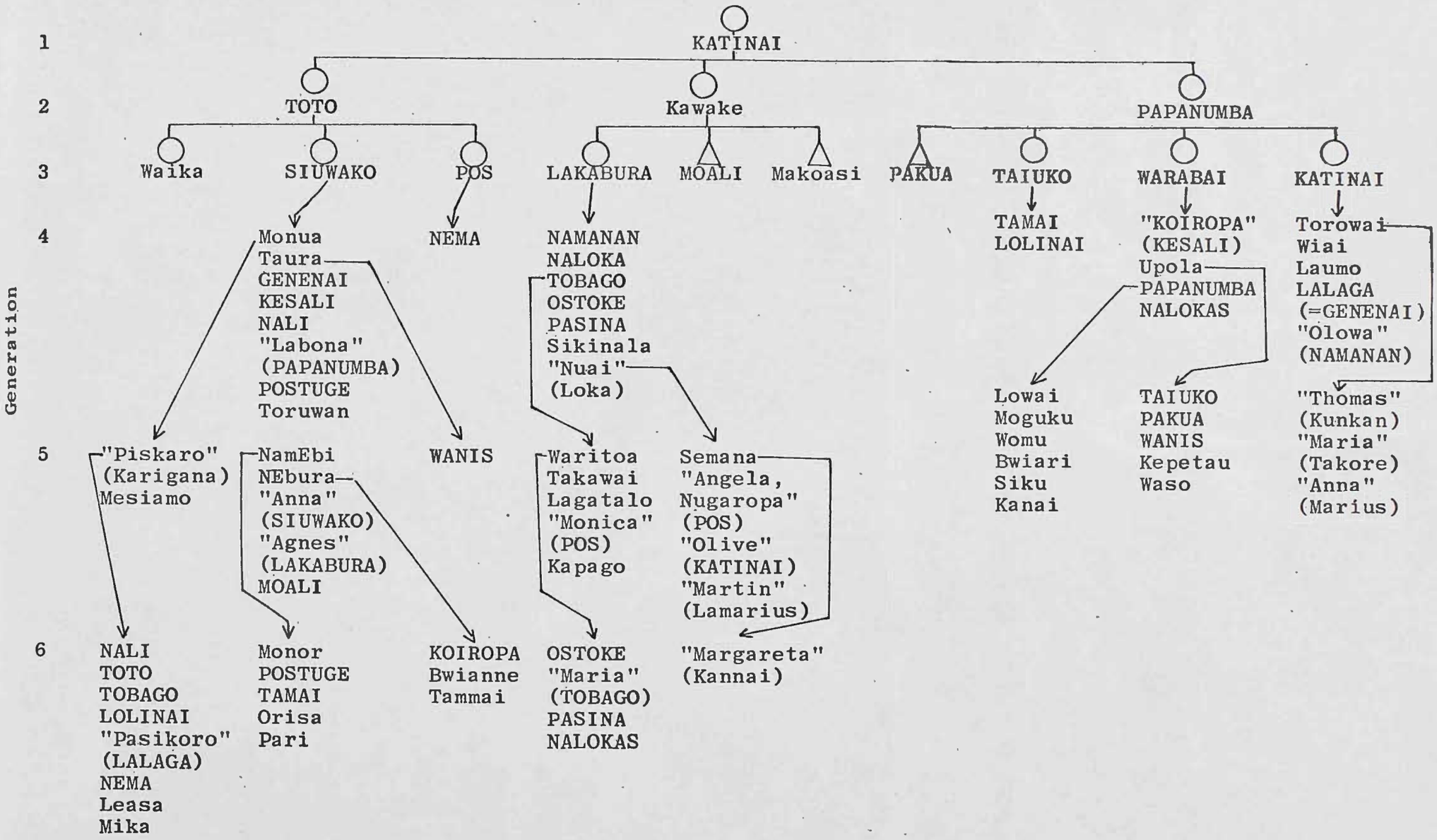
[6] Informants stated that names are often not sex-specific in the western part of Nagovisi.

[7] The following persons were named for appropriate relatives in other clans and/or lineages:

Line 4 Laumo (Kokerai)
Line 5 Mesiamo (Wapola); Nebura (Wapola); Takawai (Lolo Witumana); Semana (Pomalatempo); Siku (Wapola); Marius (Beretemba)
Line 6 Leasa (Wapola); Pasikoro (Pomalatempo); Tammai (Pomalatempo)

Table 8: Names in the Waina Lineage[a]



[a]Repeated names in capital letters; commonly-used nicknames in quotation marks; real names immediately beneath in parentheses.

Beyond that, he or she may have numerous other names and nicknames. For example, every Catholic has a baptismal name. Nagovisi attach little importance to these names; either the priest or perhaps the obstetrical nurse will usually suggest a name for the child. No doubt many Nagovisi baptismal names refer to the saint day upon which the child was born, or have some such Christian significance; for example, while we were in Nagovisi a boy born on December 25 was baptised Emmanuel. These names are chiefly used in European interactions; Nagovisi less frequently use these names in their interactions with each other. A common exception is when a girl is named for a relative whose name is tabu to her father. In such cases, the father will usually call the girl by her baptismal name. Babies and young children (those beginning to talk) are sometimes called by their ordinary Nagovisi name(s), their baptismal names, and various corruptions of both kinds, the latter in a playful sort of way. Older children find such corruptions offensive.[8] Occasionally, a child will be commonly known by his or her baptismal name for no apparent reason, other than preference.

> Two teen-aged girls we knew were named Posi; both of them preferred to be called by their baptismal names. Posi means "buttocks" in Nagovisi.

Since girls are so commonly named for relatives whose names the girls' fathers are forbidden to say, this hastens the creation of new names. The introduction of baptismal names has no doubt slowed this down, for baptismal names are not subject to the traditional naming rules. In the pre-contact, pre-Christian days, men resorted to euphemisms if their daughters were called names forbidden to those men.

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[8]There is a Nagovisi myth in which a little girl, angry at her two eel brothers, speaks their names incorrectly; the eels are so annoyed by this that they kill her.

> Labona's "real" name is Papanumba, but she is always called Labona, which means "woman to the side, bordering woman." Her father called her this because the woman that Labona was named for, his classificatory WM, lived to the side or on the border of their hamlet. Nowadays, there is a young Papanumba but men who are tabu to Labona ordinarily call her name. Theoretically, they shouldn't.

Table 8 also shows the beginning of the extinction and transformation of a name, KEsali, to Koiropa. The first KEsali appears in generation 4 (there were actually two so-named persons, but one died young). They were both named for a classificatory MMB in a related lineage. However, before KEsali, the son of Warabai, was born, the following event took place:

> Siro was infatuated with Warabai, but she was betrothed to another man. He brooded about this, and one day became so angry about it that he cut down one of her canarium almond trees. People then said to him, "You shouldn't have done that, because when she has a baby, he will be without a tree (koiropa). Siro resorted to wabin, 'love medicine,' after this and succeeded in marrying Warabai. Their first child, KEsali, was thus nicknamed Koiropa.

In generation 6, there appears another Koiropa who is never called KEsali, although his parents insist it is his "real" name.

Not infrequently, parents may want to give their child two or more names. Or, perhaps two people will ask that the child be named for each of them. It is not possible to politely refuse when a person wants to give his name to one's son or daughter, even if the child already is named. At times, this causes the ethnographer some confusion.

> I asked Lalaga who his daughter, Bibiena, was named for, and he said, "For Tevu's

mother." I said, "But Tevu's mother's name is Osiropa." Lalaga said, "Yes, and so is Bibiena's name. Bibiena is just something the Church gave her." I said, "But Osiropa is not a real name. People just called Tevu's mother that when she was little because she always lived at her father's village. Her real name is Madakili." Lalaga said, "Yes, and that's Bibiena's real name, too." At that time I had been in the field for about ten months and had never heard either Bibiena or Osiropa called Madakili.

The name Osiropa ('without a village, hamlet, homestead') is a good example of a commemorative nickname. Other examples are Tevu ('eaten') whose real name is Kalope, a name by which the namesake of a man killed and eaten by the Japanese during World War II is known; Polapola ('the polluting smoke of the body burning on the funeral pyre') whose "real" name is lost to knowledge now, and Olowa ('improper, incorrect') whose real name is Namanan, and is the unfortunate feeble-minded product of an incestuous and adulterous affair his mother had. No doubt, with time, euphemistic and commemorative names will attain the status of real names; indeed, many of my informants told me that this is exactly what had happened in the past.

In the past, a momiako, 'big man, leader,' might become known by the name of the piece of ground he lived on, possibly with a suffix -ko~go (at) or -nala (adjectival ending). This was done in deference because it was not good to say the name of a momiako too frequently, being too intimate.

> About a hundred years ago, Samali happened to hear that the mountain people called green cocoanuts which had not fallen from the tree yet by the term patoi. He was pleased by the sound of this word and decided to immortalize it by naming a piece of ground Patoigo ('at patoi'). Soon, people began to call Samali Patoi, because the ground was called "at Patoi;" therefore, Samali must be Patoi. A

> middle-aged man we knew as Patoi in 1969 and 1970 turns out to "really" be named Samali.

Whenever a person gets two real names, he may also pick up the names of any people who have either of his names. Thus, the names become "linked."

> A young boy was given the two names Nema and Komo. An older man named Komo thus acquired a right to the name Nema, as will future men named Komo. Future Nemas may also be named Komo.

The first words that children use may include the words "my mother" (ngo) and "my father" (mma), but even if they do, these terms are rarely used by children to address their parents. Proper names are used instead. Unlike the Nasioi (Ogan 1969), the Nagovisi think there is nothing disrespectful about this practice. I suspect that the complexity of relationship systems escapes most children until they are somewhat older.

In keeping with other prohibitions on interactions between certain affines, certain affines cannot use the names of other affines: a man should not say the names of his WM, WF, WoZ, WB, ZH, or DH. A woman must not say the names of her BW, HZ, yHZ, or DH. Such relatives should furthermore avoid words that sound similar to the names of their tabued relatives. Divorce terminates such tabus, but death does not end the mother-in-law/son-in-law name prohibition. Marriage between any of these, however improper, also ends these tabus.

> There is a woman named Iodai whose nickname, Keliropa ('without tabu'), refers to an incident in the life of her namesake, Iodai, who married Lebi, her own son-in-law. Lebi's action caused an enormous scandal, but it did effectively remove the tabu between him and Iodai.

Persons having the same names as one's kin tend to be treated as kin, circumstances being favorable. This occurs

most often when one is lacking an important relative. For example, two men--an MB and a ZS--with no surviving female lineage-mates, formed a relationship centered on a woman in a related lineage whose name was the same as the MB's dead sister. Despite somewhat inappropriate ages (the MB was about sixty-five, his "Z" was about thirty-five, and the ZS was about forty-five), their behavior towards one another replicated to a marked degree that typical of an actual biological relationship:

(1) --use of name tabus between the MB and "ZH"

(2) --cooperation in pig-feasts, pig-raising

(3) --no obscene joking between the MB and his "Z's" H

(4) --funeral plans involving the "Z'z" D and the MB

(5) --mutual aid between the "Z" and the ZS

(6) --the "Z's" children--even the very little ones--called the ZS "big brother"

(7) --the ZD said it would not be possible for his own children to marry the "Z's" children, "because that would be like my own daughter marrying me."

(8) --it was said that the wiasi of both of these men would go to the "Z's" daughters on their death[9]

Although these men could trace equally valid kinship ties to a number of women in the clan, they did not treat any of the other women or their families in this way.

The term wakanami, 'third person possessive name,' can be glossed as "namesake," but with this difference; both the original holder of the name and the namesake use the term equally correctly. When a child is given the same name as another person, whether or not the person has asked that the child be given his name, a relationship between the two and their circles of kin is created. Each of the persons is identified with the other, such that A_1 calls A_2's mother ngo,

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[9]This is somewhat unusual for men to control their lineage's shell money, but in this case they were the last two survivors of their lineage and they were momiakos.

his father mma, etc., and vice versa. This relationship may be fairly superficial or quite pervasive, depending on the inclinations and situations of those involved. This relationship can be formalized by prestations (miwoko, 'name-tying'). Miwoko exchange may be done anytime, but the best time to do it is when the child has not yet begun to talk--up to age two or so. Either men or women may engage in these naming exchanges. The elder gives the young child's parents a strand of shell money. This goes into the clan or lineage's store of spendable shell money, and a different strand is taken from these stores, with which a pig is bought for the elder partner. The pig is killed and cooked at a convenient feast. All lineages involved eat at the feast.

If a miwoko has been done, the death of either of the individuals necessitates a misa'ri, 'name removal.' Regardless of who dies first (although normally, it will be the older of the two, who instigated the miwoko), the recipient(s) of the shell money must return an equivalent (but not the identical) strand to the instigator(s) of the miwoko. This may or may not be reciprocated by a pig from those who recover the shell money.[10]

Neither of these exchanges are large enough to provide an occasion for a feast, so they are ordinarily done at the

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[10]Note that since the instigator is usually older and a married man, his shell money must come from his wife's store of shell money. It goes, however, to the opposite moiety, since names are moiety-specific, and H and his namesake belong to the same moiety, but opposite to his wife's. Should the instigator die after the receiver of the name has married, the receiver of the name's wife's lineage must repay the debt. In such cases we can see the following points: (1) regardless of jural ownership, the husband's labor produces shell money, too; (2) reason for the return of the pig; (3) receiver's wife's lineage gets nothing; (4) "people never think of outstanding debts when they marry, they only think of copulation" --a frequently proclaimed Nagovisi sentiment.

time another feast is being given for an entirely unrelated purpose. Informants said there was no ritual involved with these exchanges, but in the past, the instigator was not supposed to hold his namesake until the child learned to say their mutual name; otherwise, it was feared, the child would not "grow up fast."

Relationships between namesakes may involve gifts even though they are not formally recognized by miwoko exchanges. Today, when men are able to earn money, they may sporadically present their infant namesake with gifts--small amounts of money, articles of clothing, or towels are sometimes given.

Ocassionally, miwoko exchanges will mark the beginning of extended relationships between those involved in which pigs are sold between partners at what amounts to "cut-rates," i.e., much below whatever the seller might charge an ordinary prospective buyer.

> Minodoko's wife's name is Bviari, the same as Karinamba's five-year-old daughter. Minodoko and Karinamba, although living at some distance from each other, and having no kinship or affinal connections, sell each other pigs at greatly reduced rates.

Such relationships may endure long after both namesakes are dead, or may be revived or invented because the great-great-grandmothers of the partners had the same name.

Other supportive behavior is possible:

> As the result of an argument over brideprice, the women of the Bero clan and the women of the Biroi clan decided to hold a competitive wiasi display (tanalarai). A woman from Birosi, a village some miles away, volunteered to come help the Biroi women, since one of her daughters had the same name as the groom's mother. She was obligated to help the Biroi people, even though her husband belonged to the Bero clan, because of this name relationship.

Sometimes, unexplicable relationships exist between the relatives of namesakes:

> Kome gave Nandopa a strand of shell money to keep--not to spend--to "make both of them happy" because Kome's MB and Nandopa's son are both named Ubiari.

No one I talked to cared to speculate on the ultimate destiny of this strand of shell money. The reason for its being farmed out to Nandopa--the identity of names--was considered sufficiently explanatory.

It should now be evident that it is impossible to fully understand the workings of the kinship terminology without bringing in the pronomial system, and furthermore, that both of these are subject to influences from personal names. There are basic similar elements common to all three systems: even-numbered generations versus odd-numbered generations, affinity versus consanguinity, and male versus female. There is overlap of the three systems to a considerable degree in most cases. The name system differs from the other two in that it allows adjustments for demographic accidents and is not linked to statuses except as the statuses procede from the other two systems and from idiosyncratic features. I should like to close this chapter with a few examples which illustrate the complexity of relationships among these systems.

Nebura and Tevu called their first son Koiropa. "Big" Koiropa is about forty years older than little Koiropa, and is a classificatory MB of Nebura's. Big Koiropa began to call Nebura and Tevu ngo and mma, and they began to call him and his younger brother, Nalokas, inuli. However, Nalokas and Tevu's sister became betrothed, and thus Tevu no longer cared to refer to Nalokas as his son, despite the fact that according to the name relationship this was proper. After a period of avoiding calling Nalokas anything, Tevu predicted that he would probably begin to use inoli to refer to Nalokas, and perhaps to big Koiropa as well, but not to his own son.

Mesiamo's MMB's name was Witako, which is also Mesiamo's name, even though he is never called this. However, the name Witako refers to a piece of ground where this man once had a house (wita is the name of the ground, -ko, 'at'). Witako's real name was Kaas, but no one ever called him this because it is not good to say the real name of a momiako. Witako was once felled to the ground by an enemy, but not killed. This is how the name Mesiamo ('down to the ground') was invented. When Mesiamo was little, he never used to like to wash his face, and thus was known as OimEkala ('holy face'). Now in his old age, he prefers to be called Kerasi ('old human one'). Witako's DS calls Mesiamo kaia, and Mesiamo calls Witako's DS inobe, just as Witako would have done. They are biologically the children of female first cousin cross cousins.

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CHAPTER III

DESCENT GROUP MORPHOLOGY AND BEHAVIOR BETWEEN CONSANGUINEALS

The Nagovisi, like all other Bougainville peoples, are matrilineal with segmentary descent groups at various levels (Oliver 1949). However, unlike most other Bougainville peoples, all Nagovisi are divided into exogamous moieties;[1] lower levels of segmentation (clan, lineage, both of which have individual names, and wetetenamo, the descendants of a maternal grandmother) are localized. There are no generic terms for moiety, clan, or lineage similar to the Nasioi term mu (Ogan 1966, 1969) or the Siuai noroukuru (Oliver 1955:107); in fact, the Nagovisi not infrequently use the pidgin term "bisnis" as a loan word. One series of terms which might be glossed "descent group of indefinite range" is represented in the following paradigm:

Nominative and Adjectival Forms

	First Person	Second Person	Third Person
Singular	nigonmpo nigonala	lakompo lakonala	wakampo wakonala
Dual	nEkompo nEkonala	lEkompo lEkonala	wEkompo wEkonala
Plural	niikompo niikonala	liikompo liikonala	wiikompo wiikonala

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[1] My informants told me that the Nagarige, who inhabit the west coast of Bougainville, are also dual organizational.

These terms would appear to be contractions of the personal possessive pronoun series (ngam, nEkam, niikam; lakam, lEkam, liikam; wakam, wEkam, wiikam) with either the general human group suffix -mpo or the adjectival suffix -nala, thus "my people," "our-two people," etc.

In answer to the question, Lakompo wata?, literally, 'who are your people?,' I most frequently was told the names of individual clans. I was taught that to elicit moiety, I should ask, Lakan waligi ami?, 'what is your bird?,' and that to elicit lineage, I should ask Lakompo ainabula mEki?, 'what kind really are your people?" These seemed to work well, but by no means perfectly.

There are three levels of structural significance for the Nagovisi; today, these are the moiety, the small clan or large lineage, and the small lineage or wetetenamo within a large lineage. In pre-contact times, the moiety controlled exogamy and was able to provide an ephemeral symbolic (rather than sociological) solidarity, other conditions being favorable. The small clan provided support in various endeavors, such as mavo, 'growing up rites,' funerals, control of real estate and stone shrines, and provided for transfer of property in the event of the extinction of a component lineage. The lineage, which in former times was probably identical with the wetetenamo, provided the central actors for the individual in inheritance, mavo, funerals, female economic cooperation, and etiquette observances of many types. It was the maximum solidarity group in arguments.

Today, the moiety still controls exogamy, but many former clan functions are less important now than they were in the past: mavos have been all but abandoned, lineages less rarely die out, and land exploitation favors specification of individual ownership of plots. Furthermore, due to other factors mentioned below, lineages are becoming larger and larger, and these days, may comprise several wetetenamos.

These wetetenamos, although lacking individual names, are still quite important as the maximum solidarity group.

First, I will discuss the general characteristics of segmentary descent groups in Nagovisi. In many ways, this is both difficult and unsatisfactory, because we saw them in a transitional period, yet many of the Nagovisis' normative statements concerned pre-contact times. The moiety appears to have remained the same as in the past; its description, therefore, is most straightforward. However, changes have affected the clan, the lineage, and the wetetenamo, both with regard to changing functions in some cases, and with regard to population increases.

Descent Group Descriptions

Moieties

Nagovisi moieties are most frequently called Eagle (manka) and Hornbill (komo); however, both have additional associated symbols.

Bird	Hornbill	Eagle
Spirit Ancestress	Poreu	Makonai
Her Offspring	giant tree rat (langala)	--
	eel (barama)	boa (paramorung)
	vine (aiwa)	--
Related Animals, Birds	kingfisher (siusiu)	mynah (sigino)
		crocodile (uiawa)

According to the Nagovisi, there is no mythical relationship between Eagle and Makonai nor between Hornbill and Poreu. They seem to belong to entirely different symbolic systems.

Both Eagle and Hornbill are thought to be exemplary because they seem to have many human virtues. Both are large,

monogamous, make substantial house-like nests, and produce only one offspring at a time. People are not supposed to eat or touch the feathers of their respective totems.[2] To do so would cause illness. Furthermore, children of both moieties were not supposed to eat or touch either bird, because, being children, they were "in between" both parents, and subject to food tabus of both sides. This prohibition continued until they became adults. Occasionally, a momiako, 'big man,' would eschew these foods, as well.

There are a number of stories about Poreu and Makonai, both of whom were mythic (kobonara) spirits (mara).

> Story one: Poreu and Makonai were sisters-in-law. Poreu didn't know about fire and used to lay her taro corms out in the sun to cook them. One day, she went to Makonai's house, where she was served some cooked taro. "This is better," she said, "how did you do it?" Makonai showed her fire. Poreu offered to buy some with a strand of wiasi, but Makonai gave her some fire for nothing, saying that fire is not something we should pay for.
>
> Variant ending: Poreu did pay for the fire with mEkala wiasi (sacred shell money that some Eagle female clans and lineages possess) and this is why Hornbill people have no mEkala wiasi today.

Each had children. Makonai's only son was a snake called paramorung. He was hacked to pieces by his brothers-in-law, who were revolted by the idea that their sister had

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[2]Nevertheless, Eagle men assured us that their killing eagles (birds) with shotguns was perfectly acceptable, and that Eagle women could cook this meat for their Hornbill husbands. Eagles (birds) were rarely seen, and I cannot say what Nagovisi really do when offered a chance to eat one. However, there was little hesitation on the part of Hornbill women in our village when my husband asked who wanted the one he had shot: all were willing to eat it.

married a snake. Poreu had three children, the first of whom was a giant tree-rat (langala),[3] the second of whom was an eel (barama) and the third of which was a vine (aiwa).[4] Poreu people are not to eat langala or eel. Ingestion of such forbidden foods will cause sores. Snakes in any case are considered inedible. Both Makonai and Poreu cause sores to appear on children who have not had the proper "growing-up rites" (mavo) done for them, but Poreu is said to be basically evil, whereas Makonai is not. The following stories will illustrate some of Poreu's evil ways.

Story two: Once, all the Hornbill people used to live at Simbawa in the mountains. There was a mara, 'spirit being,' named Poreu who would assume the form of a human female and offer to take care of babies so that their mothers could go to the garden. While the mother was away, Poreu would stab the baby's fontanelle with a flying-fox finger bone. When the mother came back, Poreu would tell her to cook some food. Then she would give the baby back to its mother, and the baby would die. Poreu would then slip away to the bush. She did this repeatedly. The Hornbills tried to kill her, but they couldn't. So they decided to trick her and abandon Simbawa. When she came again to the village, they asked her to go to the spring and fill up a bamboo tube with water. However, Hornbills had removed the bottom from the tube and it did not fill up. Night came, and the tree-toad called to Poreu, "They are tricking you." Poreu examined the tube and saw that it was true. Meanwhile, the Hornbills had left Simbawa, but they put a kuauau (small bird, species unknown) by the fireside in one of the houses. The bird cried

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[3]Those are believed by the Nagovisi to be extinct now, killed off by feral European-introduced cats. The term is obviously cognate with what Chinnery (1924) calls rat and Oliver (1955) calls giant tree-rat.

[4]This grew only in the mountains. I never saw one.

out and Poreu thought it was a human voice, so she followed the sound of the bird. But the people had all gone. When Poreu found the bird, she was so angry that she cooked it and ate it. From Simbawa, all the Hornbills dispersed throughout south Bougainville --to Nasioi, Buin, Siuai, and lower parts of Nagovisi.

Addition to migration story: When she began to follow the Hornbill people, Lightning saw her and killed her, because he was sorry for the people. Poreu's womb then went up into a tree and became a vine called aiwa, which is common in the mountains. This is how Poreu became a spirit--before that, she was a human.

Story three: Poreu used to turn into a pig sometimes and ruin people's gardens by digging up all the food and eating it. She would leave her skin on the fence while she did it. This is another reason why people had to abandon villages in the old days.

The reason why Poreu is bad and Makonai is good is because Poreu did not have fire for a long time.

There is no mythical relationship between Kingfisher and either Poreu or Hornbill, although there is a "just-so" story about Hornbill and Kingfisher, in which Hornbill steals Kingfisher's beak while the two are bathing and thus comes into possession of the large one he now has. Informants told me that there were people in Nagovisi whose totem was the mynah (sigino), but they are considered to be essentially Eagles--just a division of Eagles from Siuai. Crocodile people are a clan who trace real biological connections to people in Siuai; they would appear to be those mentioned in Oliver's work on the Siuai as a division of Hornbill (1955:51), the Gurava (Nagovisi) or Kurava (Siuai). However, the Nagovisi consider the Gurava people to be Eagles; they may marry only Hornbills. This caused me no end of confusion at first, because these Gurava people will not touch or eat hornbills, as the Hornbills of Nagovisi claim to do. Asking

a Hornbill (not a Gurava) man about this, I was told that he "was not very much related to hornbills, but rather to giant tree-rats." Another man told me that although the Gurava people married Eagles in Siuai, in Nagovisi, they actually were Eagles themselves. Yet another told me that "in Nagovisi, the Gurava people have gone into Poreu's moiety."

What seems to be is that the Nagovisi system cannot accomodate more than two intermarrying groups. Chinnery's information on intermarrying clans in Siuai is contradictory with regard to marriages between Crocodiles and Hornbills but he does show that there Crocodile people do marry Giant Tree-Rat people (1924:93). Since it would seem that Nagovisi consider Giant Tree-Rats and Hornbills identical populations, it would be natural to assign Crocodile to the Eagle moiety. In the same way, a clan which claimed Kingfisher as its secondary totem is considered by all--members of the clan included--to be essentially Hornbill.

Other incidents can be cited which reinforce the idea that Nagovisi society requires two intermarrying moieties. For example, in my inquiries about the moiety affiliation of Akai, a Siuai man who had had several Nagovisi wives and fathered a number of Nagovisi children, I was at first given much contradictory information. Finally, when pointing out these inconsistencies to a thoughtful informant, he managed to silence me by declaring that while Akai was considered to be a Hornbill in Nagovisi, he was an Eagle in Siuai, and that was all there was to it. It is my guess now that Akai was neither a Hornbill nor an Eagle, but belonged instead to a Siuai sib which permitted intermarriage there with both Hornbill and Eagle sib members.

Nagovisi tend to see their neighbors, the Nasioi, as dual organizational, like themselves. My informants repeatedly insisted that the Nasioi were basically dual organizational--although no one could agree on what the moiety symbols

were--and that "ol liklik bisnis," 'little descent groups,' within the supposed moieties were spurious and not important in the regulation of marriage. Compare their confident assertion with Ogan's cautious reconstruction of Nasioi moieties (1966); surely the Nagovisi view is ethnocentric.

The idea that moiety exogamy is somehow natural was expressed by an individual who claimed that persistent violation of moiety exogamy by the members of any clan would ultimately lead to a change in the clan's moiety affiliation: "People will say that if they [those Eagles] like marrying Eagles so much, let them be Hornbills then from now on." He claimed that such a change had actually happened to certain distant-dwelling groups.

A comment might be made in passing with regard to the possibilities of symbolic analysis of the Nagovisi material. It would be esthetically pleasing to be able to report that the Nagovisi have a moiety symbolism which involves two spirit ancestresses, one good (the fire-bringer, i.e., cultural) and the other bad (lacking fire, i.e., natural), each of whom gave birth to a snake-like son, one of which was a white, inedible, earth-dweller and the other of which was a black edible water-dweller. However, this construct is only possible if many annoying "irrelevant" elements are deleted. Nevertheless, an attempt at such an analysis led to inquire as to the possible relationship between Makonai and akonai, 'left-side.' Informants did not associate Poreu with mena, 'right side,' but they did tell me that the left hand was considered feminine, being physically weaker than the masculine right hand.

Of the various fresh water fish which live in the streams and rivers of Nagovisi area, there is a species which is considered male and one which is considered female because of their respective habits and apparent physical strength. The so-called male fish is called the karua (species unknown)

and is considered to be so because it was able to jump over net fences (woto) stretched across the river. The makamaka and pasio, large-mouth types, could not jump the nets, and therefore were thought to be feminine. Male-female differences represent a most pervasive dichotomy in Nagovisi thinking, and most often are thought to be ultimately physiological or psychological. Unfortunately, despite persistent attempts, I failed to get any other examples as clear cut as this.

Nagovisi moieties are in a number of respects similar to what Oliver describes for Siuai sibs (1955:108). They are geographically dispersed throughout Nagovisi and have no common ground or shrines. Members of a moiety refrain--or these days give lip-service at least to refraining--from eating or touching their respective totems on pain of illness (specifically, sores, shortness of breath, or wasting away). They consider themselves to have distinctive palm lines, Hornbills having three and Eagles having either two or four. Both sexual relations and marriage between members of the same moiety are forbidden; informants claimed that formerly offenders would be summarily killed by their own horrified moiety-mates.[5] Today, such violations are still deplored as extremely immoral, and dispose the offenders to illness--loss of hair and general weakness. All or most members of one moiety never assemble or act in concert. Although they verbally prescribe an ethic of hospitality and brotherhood towards one another, it seems that traditionally enemies tended to be members of one's own moiety who belonged to geographically remote clans.

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[5]Nevertheless, genealogies showed that a small number of non-exogamous marriages occurred in the past, apparently without detrimental effects to the married pair.

Clans

Those familiar with the literature on southern Bougainville societies will no doubt be aware that my use of the term "clan" to describe Nagovisi descent groups differs from the terminology used by other writers. I believe that there is good reason not to refer to Nagovisi descent groups by the terms sib, sub-sib, and sub-sub-sib, etc., as Oliver does for the Siuai (1955) or as Ogan does with the Nasioi mu (1966, 1969). Because Nagovisi clans are localized, it seems to me that what Oliver calls sibs and Ogan reports as the mu are structurally equivalent to the Nagovisi moieties. Therefore, to continue the comparison, we might reasonably expect that what Oliver calls sub-sibs might be equivalent (or similar, at least) to what I would have to call sibs, were I to use this terminology. Thus, Siuai sibs (first level descent groups) and Nagovisi sibs (second level descent groups) would be terminologically identical, not sociologically so. Rather than being an aid to understanding, the use of the sib terminology for the Nagovisi would surely prove to be quite misleading.

Nagovisi clans have at present or had in the past, at any rate, the following characteristics which are listed below. These features, normative or statistical, and traditional or modern, are discussed at greater length later in this chapter.

1. Clans have a migration tradition, which lineages in most cases lack.
2. Clans have sub-divisions which are felt to be related, but between which no geneaological links can be traced, but between which there is a chronology (not always commonly agreed upon) of relationships and in some cases, a rank-order.

3. Clans have names which refer to neither totems nor ancestors.[6]

4. Ideally, and unless the clan is quite large (i.e., past a time which, under traditional conditions, fission would have taken place), a senior female will hold all the non-spendable shell heirlooms (wo:lupia, woli, mEkala wiasi).

5. Clan members hold common mavos at a clan holy place, if appropriate to the mavo.[7]

6. Ground owned by the clan members tends to be contiguous and any exceptions are easily explained (as gifts from affines, in general).

7. Ordinarily, clans have no permanent totems or food tabus.[8]

Lineages

Ideally, within each clan, there is one lineage which is considered to be momiako, 'rich, powerful ' It is the most senior female of this lineage who in theory holds all the heirloom shell valuables of the clan. The momiako lineage may gain its position in any of several ways: it may be thought to be most senior, according to the clan chronology (e.g., La'mEko, or most junior[9] (e.g., Witumana), or it

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[6]In the opinion of some, the clan name Lavali is the name of the first representative of the Lavali clan to come to Nagovisi. He was a man, not a woman, which rules him out as a progenitress. Other informants claimed that the term Lavali was "just a name."

[7]Some mavo are properly held outside the laupai, 'club house.'

[8]The entire Lavali clan was supposed to respect the special tabus of the Siboka lineage, according to some. However this would be as a matter of politeness, rather than an absolute injunction.

[9]The Nagovisi explain this apparent contradiction by saying that the original lineages must "hold on to the ground" (thus, apparently, occupying all their time), and therefore, later lineages often have an easier time becoming momiako (rich in pigs, wiasi, first in wars and feast-making).

may acquire its prominence because of the strength, assiduity, etc., of its motai, 'men who have married in, husbands,' in making feasts, selling pigs, acquiring shell money, and waging war (e.g., Wapola), or it may possess (by an unknown route) special access to ritual (e.g., Siboka) and be encumbered with a small number of exclusive tabus.

In some clans, there were lineages without any shell money, junior in every respect, called nangkitau,[10] described by one informant as "olesem pik." In the Biroi clan, there were two lineages (Wa'laga and Kokerai) which were nangkitau. These people were said to have gone to a point farther southwest first (after the dispersal from Simbawa) and later rejoined the other Biroi lineages. Apparently, for this alone, they were considered inferior. Other Biroi lineage members could kill them with impunity, and in fact, the last two surviving females of the Wa'laga lineage were betrayed and killed on the orders of the female momiako of Wapola, in an attempt to stop a feud which had gotten out of hand. Nangkitau children could also be traded to Siuai for axes, knives, or feathers. This practice was called so'ba.

Note that the momiako lineage is not invariably senior, in terms of clan chronology. The senior lineage is called the tu'mEli, 'first-born,' as is the oldest non-senile female member of this lineage. Junior lineages are called bwidaruma, 'descendants of younger sister(s).' Although they are not specifically denied anything because of their junior position, sometimes in the course of arguments, the youth, inexperience and presumption of the bwidaruma may be spitefully mentioned by members of more senior lineages. The elders will insist

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[10] Cf. Buin term kitere, 'bondsman' (Thurnwald, 1934); Nagovisi terms kitau, kitale, 'children.'

that because of these shortcomings, the bwidaruma must defer to the tu'mEli. The nangkitau are junior to the bwidaruma, although it is not clear whether this is because of their chronological position or their impoverished material state. Perhaps a lineage comes to be considered chronologically junior if it lacks shell valuables.

This order of seniority reappears throughout the smaller segments of descent groups. If the lineage has wo:lupia of its own, the tu'mEli holds it. It is she (with her husband) who arrange for pigs to be given to the mourners at funerals for her lineage-mates. She is furthermore ultimately responsible for parcelling out land to her sisters and daughters, real and classificatory. She would take an active part in mavos, were they given these days. She is deferred to by all the motai, except for her husband.

Lineages, for the most part, take their names from pieces of ground called "as ples" or osimoi, 'place of origin, source.' Although members of various lineages can recite the names of various pieces of ground upon which their ancestors settled, only one of these is the "as ples," and it is tempting to consider the time of settlement here as the time when fission took place.

Many lineages are known by several names, one of them ordinary, and others esoteric, the latter usually appearing only for rhetorical flourishes in insulting songs.[11] These additional names refer to pieces of ground near the osimoi which had been formerly sites of settlements of the lineage in question.

Some lineages can trace geneaological connections back to an apical ancestress; others cannot or will not. It is problematical to what degree these geneaologies are genuine

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[11]These supplementary names are synonyms for the ordinary name and do not refer to further subdivisions within the lineage.

or spurious. One extremely old woman of the Bakoia lineage was able to trace back nine generations from her own mother, through the Kuiais from which the Bakoia people broke off from during this century,[12] to the Lavali clan ancestors back to the Makonai, the spirit ancestress! Most lineages can be traced back about four generations.

Wetetenamos

A wetetenamo, literally 'their-two one maternal grandmother,' comprise the descendants of a maternal grandmother. Such a group typically includes two or more aged siblings, the adult children of the females, and the immature children of these female children. In the past, this group--that is, the mature female members of the wetetenamo--tended to co-reside in small hamlets. Married sisters had their own separate houses, however. Today, there is a slight tendency --by no means universal--for co-resident members of a wetetenamo to live in adjacent houses in a line village.

Between same-generation members of a wetetenamo (i.e., brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins) there is sex avoidance between members of the opposite sex, and much cooperation between the female members. A ZS visits his MZ's house with almost equal frequency as his own M's house, and behaves the same towards her as he would to his own mother. In turn, a MZ asks her ZS or ZD for services for which she might ask her own children. The women of a wetetenamo and their husbands engage in intensive economic cooperation (gardening, working with cocoa, buying and raising pigs, etc.) together. Should a quarrel involve one's wetetenamo with another group, all members of the wetetenamo must become involved[13] in support of the wetetenamo.

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[12] See account later in this chapter.

[13] This holds unless the quarrel involves the descent group of a man's wife, in which case he must side with her kin.

Fission and Fusion

There are clues that the internal segmentation of moieties may have changed somewhat since contact; for example, the existence of individual names for lineages, the absence of names for wetetenamos (as well as the lack of a generic term for lineage and the presence of one for the descendants of a maternal grandmother) and the lack of sociological uniformity of lineages[14] could be mentioned in this connection. When coupled with the knowledge of certain historical trends since contact, discussed more fully below, e.g., nucleation of settlements, end of tribal warfare, and so forth, a hypothesis on lineage formation can be offered. According to this hypothesis, in pre-contact times, lineages were wetetenamo groups--that is, that wetetenamos lived in relative spatial isolation from one another and had specific names which they took from the piece of ground they were inhabiting. Because of changing conditions discussed below, lineage names have become "frozen" at a position they probably held some time before 1930. No new lineage fission occurred, even though there has been sufficient population increase to warrant it. But pressures have not acted to change the importance of the wetetenamos as an interaction group; therefore, it still exists, submerged, as it were, within larger lineages.

In order to clarify this line of reasoning, it is best to look closely at accounts of clan and lineage relationships, names of pieces of ground, etc., in order to explain the process of fission, the structural relationships of these descent groups to one another, and the effect of changing conditions on them.

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[14] They are extremely variable in size, degree of independence from one another, land rights, geneaological diffuseness or compactness, etc.

There were females of four large clans in the study area, as well as a lineage of a fifth clan, most of whose other members lived outside the area.[15] I shall limit my discussion to the clans all the lineages of which were locally present. The number of members (not necessarily residents of the unilineal villages, since married men live uxorilocally as a rule) of each clan and lineage, as of August 1970, is given below in Table 1.

Each of the clans has its own account of migration to the area it presently inhabits. The stories told by the two Hornbill clans, Biroi and Lolo, are somewhat dramatic, whereas the stories told by the two Eagle clans are straightforward and prosaic.

> The Biroi people left Sirogana (an area about two miles north-east of the present site of Biroi village) to get away from Poreu, who had again found them and begun to kill infants again (cf. Hornbill story). At this time, there were no further subdivisions. Some people, who later became known as the Sirogana clan, stayed behind. The reason the migrants took the name Biroi, 'with the back side, instrumental or subject of action for back side, biro,' was because they vowed never to return to Sirogana, except with their back sides turned towards it, presumably so that Poreu would not recognize them.
>
> The ancestors of the Lolo people left a place on the beach near Motupena point and walked up to the area they now inhabit. Koniai and Kiau, brother and sister, married a sister and brother from Lavali called Kowia and Narango. Koniai left her walking stick at Tuberuru, the present site of the Lolo Abolede

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[15] The lineage of the fifth clan was said to have been enticed down to its present location by marriage with local men and established claims there as a result of virilocal residence (popokawarlilu).

Table 1: Number of Members in Clans, by Lineage, in the Study Area

Clan Name Total Number	Lineage Name and Number of Members		Village
Lolo	Abolode	33	Tuberuru
	Sigompo	79	Lolo
	Nuampo	1	Lolo, Iaran[a]
	Witumana	19	Lolo
Lavali	Bakoia	38	Bakoia
	Galiaudu	32	Osiranda
	KEsebe	23	Osiranda, Lawalawa
	Kuiai	40	Naalanda[b]
	Lunno	20	Konawa
	Marigam	9	Nammunetova
	Tomari	16	Nammunetova, Konawa
	Pakawoi	18	Pabirine, Nammunetova
	Siboka	22	Osiranda, Iadano[c]
Bero	Kobona	20	Osileni
	La'mEko	19	Osileni
	TolEsina	37	Osileni[d]
Biroi	Pomalatempo	2	males
	Waina	75	Pomalate, Biroi
	Walaga	2	males
	Wapola	2	males

[a]Unmarried epileptic woman who resides alternately in Lolo and Iaran.

[b]One woman and her dependents live virilocally; one woman and her dependents live neolocally.

[c]One woman and her dependents reside alternately in Iadano and Osiranda.

[d]One woman and her dependents live virilocally; one woman and her dependents live neolocally.

village, and it turned to stone. The descendants of Koniai and Narango are the present-day Lolo people.

Version One: The Lavali clan was descended from one woman who came here from Metahawa in Siuai. In time, many branches came. Version Two: Lavali was the name of the first man who came here from Siuai. He settled at Pakawoi, the first settlement of the Lavali people.

Bero people lived in Siuai near a little spring that gurgled, "bero, bero." When some of them came up here, they went to live with the La'mEko people, who had left the other Lavali people.

With the exception of those in the Bero clan, all present-day lineage names refer to named pieces of ground in the area of the clans' present-day holdings. The Bero people, except for the La'mEko lineage, have instead actual relatives in identically named divisions living in Siuai at the present time. Members of these Nagovisi Bero lineages either own land in parts of Siuai controlled by their common descent group or have vague rights to land which, in this time of land-shortage, they are attempting to revalidate by moving back to Siuai. This is evidence that the Bero lineages were the last ones to enter this area, and in fact, the grandparents of some of the members of Bero lineages are said to have been born in Siuai areas.[16]

Some of the clans claim a distant kinship to other clans in geographically remote areas. For example, the Biroi people state that most moiety-mates are related to them only insofar as they are all Hornbills--that is, they all left

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[16] In fact, what I have called the Bero clan is really a sib much like Siuai sibs (cf. Oliver 1955), except that it straddles two linguistic areas rather than being confined to a single tribe. It is hoped that research in the border-areas of Nagovisi-Siuai to be carried out in 1971-1973 will shed more light on these and other questions.

Table 2: Summary of Data on Four Nagovisi Clans

Claimed Order of Appearance in the Present Area	Lavali 1	Lolo 2	Biroi 3	Bero 4
Appeared as a unitary group or as related lineages	as lineages, through time; individual migrations	as unitary group	as unitary group	as lineages or individuals
Who are relatives and where do they reside	Siuai people vaguely in Hiruhiru and Metahawa	all Nagovisi Hornbills, equally	Distant relatives are all Nagovisi Hornbills; closer relatives are within 10 miles; closest are within 2 miles	Siuai members of groups with same names now in Holina, Miheru
Clan name meaning	may be a man's name, or "just a name"	a hole in a tree on their property	"back," from migration myth	a spring in Siuai
Lineage name meanings	same as land	same as land	same as land	same as similar groups in Siuai (land features there)
Mythical migration story?	no	yes	yes	yes

Simbawa together. Closer relations include Wakupa, Taguli, Moaino, Mendai, Mosigetta--these are the groups which are said to have traveled with the proto-Biroi people for a while after leaving Simbawa, but who eventually went to found their own settlements.[17] However, relationships between them can still be seen to exist, because personal names in these places are identical with many Biroi personal names. Closest relations are felt with Sirogana, the last group from which the Biroi people broke off, although today, the two groups almost never interact. The Lolo people claim no special relationship to any other moiety-mates. The Lavali people do not claim any relatives other than people in the Metahawa-Hiruhiru region of Siuai, and until recently, took little interest in them. One Lavali lineage, Bakoia, which is extremely land-short, is attempting to re-establish relations there, by intermarriage, claiming the land is theirs. Other Lavali people speak scornfully of this land claim, saying any connection is far too remote to involve land rights. The Bero people, as stated above, have actual relations in Siuai, who share their lineage names.

An Historical Hypothesis

Generalizing on the basis of these four clans, a hypothetical sequence of clan and lineage development can be constructed. A group of related people (either from a certain fairly distant area, that is, territorially related,[18] or whole or part of an actual descent group) migrated from one area to another. They remembered their clan names, their

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[17] From my less extensive information on other clans' traditions, this is fairly common explanation of degree of relationship.

[18] This may explain how different Siuai sibs, for example, became amalgamated into one moiety after migration to Nagovisi.

stories of migration, and their supposed origins. Because of dispersed settlement (i.e., in hamlets), sisters and parallel cousins occupied different pieces of ground, each with different names. In time, ramification produced "lineages" which became known by the names of ground they inhabited. Despite dispersed settlement, all the lineages tended to be localized in the clan area and had a common heritage. In the event of the extinction of a lineage, property went to a close lineage (unless it went across affinal lines). Name changes of lineages probably always lagged behind actual movements to new sites. A proto-lineage (i.e., part of a clan living together on a piece of named land) had a precarious existence, especially in the past, because should there be one generation without female offspring, the proto-lineage would become extinct.

What are the reasons, then, that "lineages" as observed in 1969-1970 did not follow these rules? Why has segmentation seemingly been slowed down or arrested? Several possible reasons can be suggested. First of all, the practice of settlement in government line villages makes it difficult or impossible for individuals to settle where they want to. The Local Government Counsillor from Pomalate village explained to me that all people, except for government employees, must live in line villages, and that in order to establish a new village--officially known as a "half-line" of some neighboring established village--there must be a minimum number of five households.[19] Thus, it is no longer possible for two sisters and their families, for example, to move away to a new piece of ground, which in the past was apparently the first step in fission.

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[19] I do not know what the actual Administration regulation regarding settlement is; I offer this native interpretation as the way the Nagovisi understand the official position.

Second, conflict--quarrels and arguments--are not so likely to lead to migration since contact. With the European patrol officer as the ultimate authority, the use of money to settle quarrels, and the acceptance of the notion of "sek han" (i.e., that conflicts are to be solved to the mutual satisfaction of both parties and then forgotten), unresolvable disputes are less frequent, it would seem.[20]

Other factors that reduce migration include the greater or lesser acceptance of scientific explanations of illness; thus, people do not desire to move away from an area because of sickness or deaths. Indeed, improved medical care and public health measures have reduced infant mortality in particular and death from illness in general. Sorcery is probably not practiced as much as it must have been in the past, nor is it so firmly believed in, and thus, people do not leave areas because the areas are thought to be bewitched. There is an expressed desire on the part of many to be close to school, Mission (with church and hospital), and roads, and therefore, remote areas are not colonized with such readiness. Finally, people would probably not be willing to leave their cocoa stands.

The following accounts tell of an attempt at fission which was thwarted by factors such as the ones mentioned above, and an account of what was apparently the last case of successful fission in the study area. Mention is made also of some cases of what might be called lineage fission.

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[20]This is not to say that Nagovisi do actually "forgive and forget" these days. The occasion of a new quarrel is also the occasion for airing of many past grievances, insofar as we could tell. The point is simply that quarrels may leave a residue of bad feeling, but they do not provoke migration, as they are said to have done in the past.

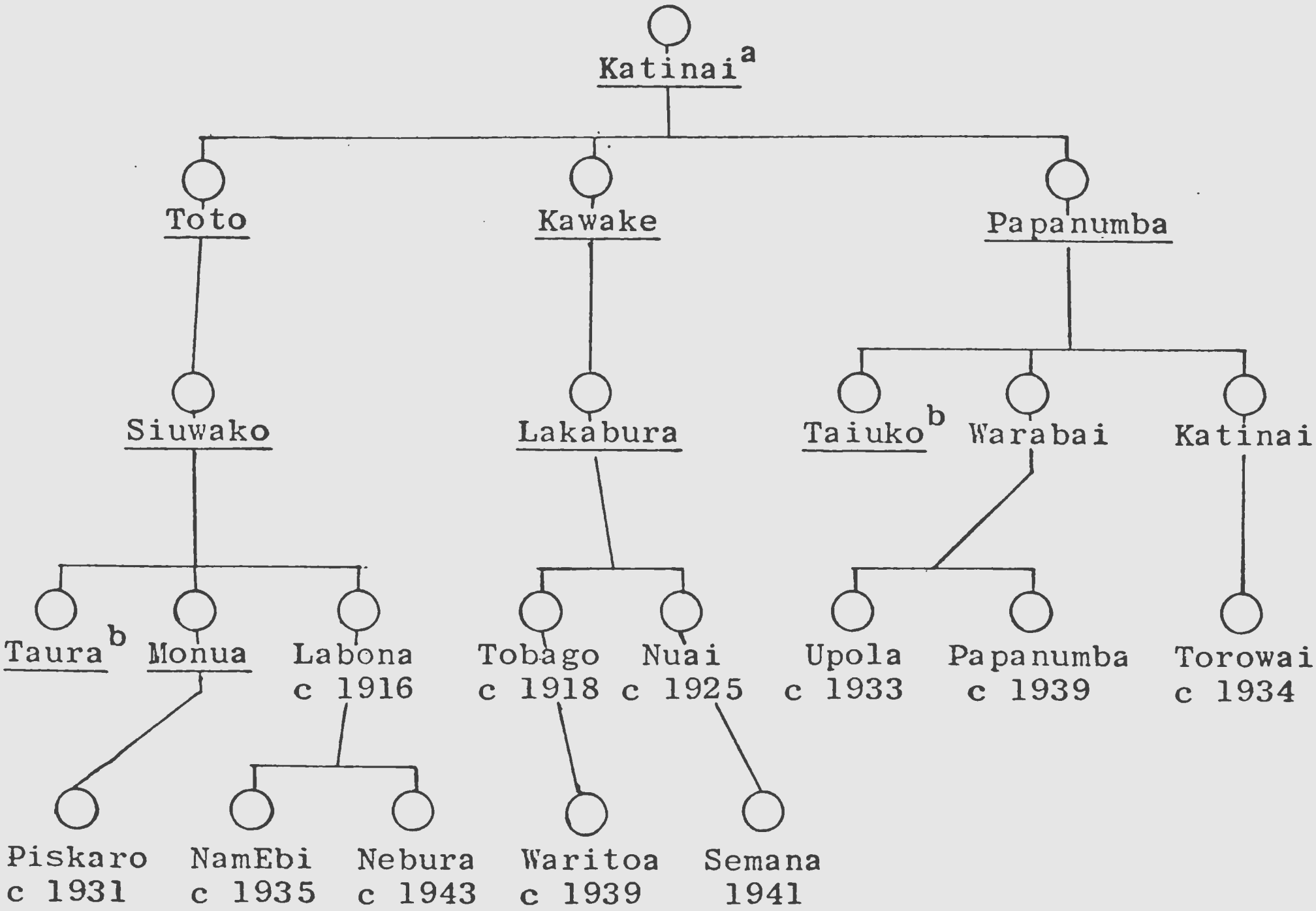
An Example of Thwarted Fission

The Waina lineage is very large (sixty-nine members) and has three distinct wetetenamos (Figure 1), the descendants of three sisters, Toto, Kawake, and Papanumba. Before World War II, the descendants of Papanumba nearly broke off from the main Waina lineage. Actually, this trend had strated earlier, when Toto's daughter, Siuwako, and Kawake's daughter, Lakabura, had begun to live together in a hamlet of their own. Papanumba who was, incidentally, younger than Siuwako and Lakabura, and her daughters lived close by, but definitely separate from Siuwako and Lakabura. When Papanumba's daughters Warabai and Katinai grew up, they went to live on a piece of ground called Pakalo, which is no doubt what they would have called themselves, had they split off, according to informants. Here they planted food-bearing trees and made gardens as well.

However, World War II intervened, disrupting a number of things, including residence. Warabai lived with most of the Waina people in the post-war village of Big Biroi. Katinai lived in Big Lolo village with her husband, who had become "tultul,"'assistant liaison with the Administration and interpreter.' Somehow the idea of separating from the other Waina people--in residential terms, at any rate--was forgotten, and Warabai continued to live with the Waina people after the big villages broke up. Katinai joined her later, after her husband ceased to be tultul.

Yet today the would-be Pakologo's tend to act separately from the other two branches of Waina. This can be seen not only in the positive ways in which they interact among themselves, but the sorts of arguments they have with the other two branches. Forms of interaction include gardening in contiguous plots, raising of pigs together, cooperation in raising brideprice money, etc. It is my impression, too, that arguments over the exploitation of various plots

Figure 1: Living Adult Females in Waina Lineage, With Approximate Birthdates.



[a]Underlined names indicate deceased individuals.

[b]No female offspring.

of ground tended to pit the bwidaruma against the other two branches. For example, when Labona, the tu'mEli, was in the TB hospital in Buin, Torowai's husband planted cocoa on ground which Labona considered to be for the use of the tu'mEli line. Ultimately, the cocoa died, but nevertheless, there was unpleasantness generated to the extent that Torowai was made to feel that her sweet potato garden was unwelcome in the area of the tu'mEli's food gardens, and she prematurely left it. Later, an argument arose involving the relative rights of Nuai and Katinai to plant cocoa between some cocoanuts which Katinai's husband had planted. Nuai loudly berated Katinai, telling her that since she was in the junior line, she had better obey Nuai. Just recently, we heard that Torowai had complained that Tobago's daughter intended to plant some cocoa on a large tract of land recently come into Waina hands through the extinction of another Biroi lineage, Torowai's reason being that Tobago's daughter had not validated claim to the ground by buying a pig at the funeral of the former owner.

In this way, the entire Waina lineage, which has grown so large without actually dividing, has begun to act like a clan in some ways: (1) emergence of a tu'mEli line of inheritance, (2) generational lagging appears--i.e., old women who are junior to younger women, (3) greater tendency to act separately, and (4) some differentiation of land rights within the descent group.

An Example of Successful Fission

What would appear to have been the last instance of successful fission in the study area took place during the past sixty years or so, when the Bakoia lineage broke off from the main Kuiai lineage. Around 1905, all the Kuiais were living together on Kuiai land. However, one of the brothers of the two ancestresses, a man called Sirikia,

left this ground and went to "squat" on the ground of another Lavali lineage. They were still called Kuiai at this time. Sirikia was joined by his brother, Laukaka, and they moved to land owned by yet another Lavali lineage. Somewhere around World War II, Sirikia made up the name Bakoia, which is Siuai for "why did you come."[21] The Bakoia women were all living virilocally throughout all this. During the late 50's or early 60's (educated informants gave both the dates 1959 and 1961), the women came together with their husbands to form a line village which is called Bakoia. By this time, Sirikia was dead. Laukaka lived until 1963 and was the first to be buried in their cemetary. It is proper to call these women either Kuiai or Bakoia; the other Kuiai women are said still to think of this new group as Kuiai, but the Bakoia women tend to act on their own.

Further indication of the independence of the Bakoia women from the Kuiais might be seen in their acquisition of wo:lupia, 'heirloom shell valuables,' for ordinary wetetenamos of these days do not own wo:lupia; this is something that is property of a higher-level segment, such as a large lineage or a clan. The Bakoia wo:lupia was acquired from a Bakoia motainEla, 'husband, married-in man,' who had stolen it from his sister's funeral pyre; it did not come from other Kuiai women.

Fusion

Cases of fusion of lineage are harder to detect than are those of fission. However, two clans I know of have become so decimated that the names of the component lineages are no longer used--even though there are old people who

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[21] Note that this name, which does not refer to a piece of ground, represents a departure from what appears to have been standard naming procedure for lineages.

remember what they were. The Loli clan, which inhabited the periphery of the study area, was said to have less than ten survivors at present. Formerly, there had been at least two named lineages in this clan. The second clan, Pudunali, whose lineages have disappeared is one whose members used to live in the study area--at present, its membership includes five adult males and three adult females. The men have all married Nagovisi women and live in the study area; the women, however, have all left the Nagovisi area for Holina in Siuai, where they live with their nearest relatives, the Siuai Pudunalis, who are known as the KElevun people.

Another slightly different case of lineage fusion can be illustrated by the case of the Kobona lineage of the Bero clan. As mentioned before, this lineage is composed of five different descent lines, three of which are more or less felt to be related:

(1) --three adult siblings and their older uterine half-siblings, plus the children of the females = 8. Maternal grandmother of these people said to be related to the mothers of (2) and (3).

(2) --two brothers and their uncle (MB) = 3.

(3) --the son of a maternal relative of the mothers of (2) = 1.

All of (1), (2), and (3) had various affinal ties to the one old man originally from Siuai and presently living there with his sixth or seventh wife.

(4) --an adult brother and sister, the sister's children = 8.

(5) --an adult male with no surviving kin = 1.

Number (5) is said by some to be only secondarily a Kobona--primarily, he is an Isiro man.[22] However, since he has no

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[22] A piece of ground named Isiro is said to have been given to the Kobona people in the distant past by the Barapa clan who are said to have formerly inhabited the study area.

closer relatives than the Kobona people, he has attached himself to the Kobonas in order that he might have someone to perform his funeral duties when he dies.

A further instance of attempted fusion became known to us at the end of the study period, and since it involved people with whom we were not particularly close, the data are no doubt incomplete. The jist of the matter seems to be that Sipi, a land-poor mountain clan, has begun to make it known that they are very close relatives of the Iadanala people--the latter, conveniently enough, having a fairly large amount of land and relatively few females. The Iadanala people are said to have been unaware of this relationship until the Sipi people began to press it, but they have accepted it as genuine and are allowing Sipi women to make cocoa gardens on Iadanala land. It is tempting, however cynical, to see this as an opportunistic move in a time of land shortage and cocoa madness.

Ideal Size

What actual descent group size does fission or fusion tend towards? According to Table 1, lineages proper, i.e., with names, in the study area range from one to seventy-nine members, with a mode of 2, a median of 20, and a mean of 25.05. However, if arrayed as effective groups, i.e., wetetenamos, and if the smallest lineages are combined with the larger ones upon whose members they regularly rely for aid ordinarily due to consanguineals, the results are somewhat different. The figures in Table 3 have a mean of 21, a median of 20, and modes of 16, 19, 20, 21, and 22. This latter array of effective groups is less variable in range (9-37) than the array as lineages (1-79) and more approximates a standard bell curve. Thus, regardless of a failure in fission at the lineage level, as was hypothetically typical of the past, today there is still a fairly constant size for

Table 3: Number of Members in Wetetenamos

Bero	Kobona	20
	La'mEko	19
	Tolesina 1	15
	Tolesina 2	21
Biroi	Waina 1[a]	31
	Waina 2	17
	Waina 3	27
Lavali	Bakoia	37
	Galiaudu	32
	KEsebe	23
	Kuiai 1	24
	Kuiai 2	16
	Lunno	20
	Marigam	9
	Pakawoi	18
	Siboka	22
	Tomari	16
Lolo	Abolode 1	12
	Abolode 2	33
	Sigompo 1	33
	("Lomili") 2	10
	Sigompo 3	26
	Sigompo 4	10
	Witumana	19

[a]Includes Pomalatempo, Walaga, Wapola.

the effective lineage group, the wetetenamo. When a named lineage these days becomes too large, it splits into different effective groupings, and when a lineage becomes too small it attempts to join with a near relative lineage. The latter can be seen to have happened with the Isiro man who adheres to the Kobona lineage, and the Pomalate, Walaga, and Wapola lineages, each of which has only two male survivors, and who for purposes of lineage obligations, side with the wetetenamos Waina 1. When there are only a few female survivors

of an entire clan, as in the case of the Pudunalis, the answer may be migration to another language area where closest relatives are living.

I stated at first that I thought there were structural reasons for there being three levels of descent group in Nagovisi. I should like to repeat these.

(1) The major importance of the moieties are not to provide moiety-mates, but to provide marriage mates. This appears unchanged from pre-contact times.

(2) Supporters for mavos and funerals, guests at celebrations, allies in war (in some cases only), and people to rely upon in the event of lineage extinction were provided by clan-mates in the past. Today, the large lineages may do the same things.

(3) Close relatives who provide maximum solidarity in the face of others, who organize funerals for each other, who give advice and exercise moral guardianship, and who, if females, cooperate in economic ventures and live together, and finally, through whom inheritance of property takes place--these people are wetetenamo members, whether, as in the past, this means wetetenamos as lineages, or today, in the case of large lineages, wetetenamos within the lineage.

Further attention to the matters mentioned here are taken up in the following section on behavior among consanguineals.

Behavior of Consanguineal Dyads

Behavior between descent group members is characterized by certain general features. Most outstanding is the consistent dichotomy of behavior typical of females and that appropriate to males. Also to be noted are the factors affecting the intensity of relationship; ordinarily this will be a degree of genealogical closeness, or assumption of some analagous relationship based on shared names. Thus, in an

event concerning A, A's mother, sisters, and brothers will play central roles, whereas support of various kinds may be given by more distant kin (cf. Chapter II). Finally, behavioral restraints--in the broadest sense of the term--which exist between descent group members depend on differences of age, of generation and of sex, such that in dealings between same-sex descent group members, senior tends to dominate junior, and older tends to dominate younger. Between members of the opposite sex, certain other factors can be seen to operate. These other factors are a tendency to a general male dominance of personality, which is balanced by male dependence on females for funeral obligations, use of food-producing trees, as a refuge from affines, etc. Between opposite-sex members of the same generation, shame regarding sex appears to introduce further restraint into relationships involving such persons.

The great dichotomy of rights and obligations is between the males and females of a descent group. Both are said by the Nagovisi to "own" the property of the descent group, but after a man marries out of his descent group, he neither contributes to nor may profit from the assets of his descent group--be these wiasi, money, pigs, or land. Thus, in practice, the use of these assets is exclusively for the women.[23] Because women are the users of their descent group property, they are the ones who are most frequently involved in quarrels over these assets. Thus, although women, because of their knowledge of clan history, genealogies, etc., are often called upon to testify in court cases arising from such quarrels, they are never, insofar as I saw, placed in the role of ajudicator. Women begin quarrels; they do not resolve them.

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[23] With her immature children (including unmarried adult males) and husband.

The role played by the adult male towards his own descent group is primarily an advisory one--he should be consulted as to the disposition of descent group assets and in matters affecting younger members of the group, e.g., the arrangement of marriage. Should he and his female consanguineals fail to reach amicable agreement, bad feeling will certainly arise and such a situation is to be avoided if at all possible. Males also would appear to be the guardians of descent group morality and the avengers of affronts of an immoral nature towards both male and female members of their descent group.

Men may testify on behalf of their descent group in court cases, should they happen to be particularly good orators or very knowledgable regarding clan history and tradition. However, quite often, older men in particular are equally knowledgable about their wives' descent groups. A man must not testify on behalf of his own descent group if such testimony would conflict with the interests of that of his wife and children.[24]

Both women and men may know and practice sorcery, growth and increase magic, and healing techniques and may instruct anyone they wish in these matters. Prudence dictates, however, that one's enemies should not be taught efficacious sorcery, for obvious reasons. Such knowledge tends thus to be locally known, not strictly the property of a given descent group.

Women make the arrangements for funerals of their deceased descent group mates, with the advice of their male relatives and that of their husbands. In the past, when mavo, 'growing up rites,' were given, women took the major part in these, too, mainly with the masculine help of their affines, not their brothers.

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[24]This point is more fully discussed in Chapter V.

Kin behavior, observed and deduced from the normative statements of informants, is presented below. The emphasis is on relationships between biologically close kin,[25] since obligations between these people are most binding and feelings most intense; however, relations between more distant classificatory kin are discussed as well in places.

ngo/inola, inuli, 'mother/daughter, son'

When children are young, the mother's role towards sons and daughters is essentially identical; she cares for them, feeds them, scolds them, and so forth. However, when the children are five or six years old, girls begin to assist their mothers in the gardens with small tasks, e.g., digging up sweet potatoes and helping to wash them, minding the baby, carrying little pake, 'workbaskets,' etc., whereas boys beg to follow their fathers to the bush or wherever they are going. Little boys from this age to their early teens are somewhat useless--they are not strong enough to do men's work, and are frequently reminded of this. They tend to amuse themselves with toys and games. Nearly all the children in the study area between the ages of seven and fifteen go to school at the Roman Catholic Mission from 8:00 a.m. to 2:30 p.m., and the older ones must board--therefore, they are unable to provide help around the village during the school week. If they finish school and do not go to high school, girls start to go to the garden regularly.

A mother decides when her daughter is old enough to have a garden of her own, although it is rare that a girl has any need for one until she is married. However, an unmarried girl may have the responsibility for a part of her

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[25]It is not the degree of biological relatedness which creates the intensity of ties, of course, but rather the shared experiences and duration of association which are common to biologically related people, under ordinary conditions.

mother's (or older sister's) garden--she will plant and harvest here. Girls are also taught to feed the pigs when their mother decides they are old enough.

Unmarried adult sons who are employed give most of their cash earnings to their mothers--or sisters, if the mother is not alive. With employment opportunities conveniently available at Panguna (about a day's walk away), money from men employed there regularly enters Nagovisi hands these days. When men marry, they cease for the most part giving any cash earnings to their mothers; occasional small presents (of amounts of $5 or $10) may go to the man's mother, if his wife approves. After marriage, sons occasionally help their mothers in the garden, particularly if the mother is a widow, or if her husband is away. However, this aid is usually sporadic and does not constitute a dependable consistent contribution to the mother's economic well-being.

Mother/daughter relations, on the other hand, are not affected by the marriage of the daughter, insofar as they have to do with residence and economic cooperation, as they are in the case of relations with the son. Economic cooperation, is continued, and perhaps even increased, since the addition of the daughter's husband to the masculine labor force means that more ambitious plans may be attempted.

papa/inabaluna, 'mother's brother/sister's daughter'

The relationship between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter is one of friendly, informal relations at most times. Joking and teasing, especially of a sexual nature, is allowed. The MB is hospitably received by the ZD on visits to his natal village and offered food and sleeping quarters. The MB gives advice to the ZD on such matters as disposition of wiasi, and he has usually been

IMPORTANT NOTICE

involved in discussions of the marriage of the ZD.[26] He is a special friend to the ZDH, his ngano. The MB may be called upon to settle quarrels. MB and ZD tend to anticipate direct mutual involvement in funeral obligations, because age and generation differences make it likely that the ZD will be in her prime of authority when the MB dies. Perhaps this accounts for the apparent fondness that many MB's express for their ZD's and ZDH's. A MB may teach a ZD magic formulae. Only in exceptional circumstances will the MB perform any labor on the behalf of the ZD The only such instance that comes to mind is the following one:

> Nalokas was married to a Nasioi woman, and they usually lived in the Nasioi area. Nalokas often visited his relatives in Nagovisi, usually without his wife. On one such occasion, he cut some secondary bush for two of his ZD's. One of the women was a widow, and the other had been deserted by her husband the day after they were married by a priest.

However, as a rule, the MB provides neither labor nor material assistance to the ZD.

The authority that an MB can be said to exercise over his ZD results from his greater age, the fact that he is a male and therefore tends to dominate women, and the mutual desire on the part of the ZD and the MB for harmonious relations in the descent group. Individual personality factors are also important, of course, in any given situation. Nevertheless, the MB can never completely dominate his ZD; she has rights that he cannot abridge, and these rights put her in a position of strength with regard to him in various dealings.

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[26] Sometimes, it is the MB who actually pays the bride-price of the ZD. This is further discussed in Chapter VI.

papa/inabalum, 'mother's brother, sister's son'

Unless the MB and the ZS both marry into the same lineage or clan, there is little opportunity for economic cooperation. In the case that they are married to women of the same descent group, any cooperation will be in an affinal context rather than a consanguineal one, that is, they will not work together because of their mutual affiliation to their own descent group, but rather in their capacity as motai to their wives' descent groups. MB's and ZD's should be on good terms; however, they usually see each other infrequently, except when visiting their sisters. Then they act together as nuga. Some older men reported having made extensive visits to an MB's marital village, living with him and working for him during their early and middle adolescence.[27] Adult MB's and ZS's appear to have major concern with the moral behavior of each other: of all the incidents I heard of involving MB and ZS, a large number appeared to involve reactions to either the MB or the ZD's being cuckolded on the part of the ZD or MB. (These reactions ranged from righteous anger to extraction of fines from the wife to murder of either or both offending parties.) Another story told of an MB killing his ZS because the latter speared the ZD. A woman in our village was propositioned by her classificatory FZDS;[28] he claimed to be surprised when she turned him down because, as he boasted, he made a habit of sleeping with the wives of all his MB's. This led to a court case in which many

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[27]Unfortunately, I did not collect systematic data on this matter, but avunculocal shifts for adolescent boys occur in other matrilineal societies (e.g., Dobu, Trobriands) sometimes in relation to cross cousin marriage.

[28]Note that the FZDS and the woman's husband are classificatory ZS and MB. The torowaiwatata relationship would not exist between the woman and the young man, because they themselves are only classificatory relatives.

of the young man's indiscretions were aired, and it caused the woman's husband to boast that his own ZS's were good because they had never made any advances to his wife, as so commonly happens. Kedu, an eighteen-year-old boy, got publicly drunk during the daytime, having spent all his money (about $20) on liquor and methylated spirits. Only his MB's commented unfavorably; both were disgusted by his behavior and his neglect of his mother (i.e., by squandering his money on liquor). Others considered his antics amusing.

mama/inalamada, 'older sister/younger sister'

Sisters, as mentioned frequently before, are often involved in joint economic pursuits, such as pig-raising, gardening, and various steps in cocoa production. Such cooperation is more likely to take place if the sisters are close in age[29] and if they are married and if their own daughters are immature. Lacking such a sister, a woman may cooperate with a parallel cousin. This economic activity involves the husbands of the women as well. According to my observations, arguments between sisters are rare; when they occur, they involve property. Informants claimed that newly married girls were often drawn into arguments by their younger unmarried sisters, who felt abandoned and resented the presence of the new husband. Such ill feeling is said to subside after the newly-weds establish a household of their own.

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[29]This has less significance if both sisters are adults, of course, but ten years, for example, makes more difference when it is between a twenty-year-old girl and a ten-year-old one, less if between twenty- and thirty-year olds, and so on.

tata/inalaman, 'older brother/younger brother'

Little or no economic cooperation is possible between brothers after marriage, unless two brothers should happen to marry two sisters. This rarely occurs because of demographic vagaries and individual preferences, but today, it is perfectly proper. One man told me that in the past, such things would not have taken place, citing the Nagovisi proverb, "Brothers are not kilikan,[30] that they should all go to marry in the same place." (Kilikan grow in bunches.) Three brothers were married to various women in our village, but each into a different wetetenamo; thus, they never cooperated economically.

> Karinamba, Lalima, and Wedo planned to jointly buy a pig for Lau'mo's latakari. This latakari was very important to the various branches of Biroi, because Lau'mo was the last of his lineage and owned a great deal of land, and whomever contributed the most pigs would be in the most favorable position when his land was parcelled out. Karinamba and Lalima, who were married to sisters, planned to put up the money and Wedo, who is Lalima's brother but married to another Biroi woman, planned to provide the wiasi. When Mesiamo heard of this plan, he convinced Wedo to get out of the arrangement, lest there be trouble (i.e., regarding who actually paid for the pig and would thus get "land credit") later on.

Ties between brothers would seem to consist mainly of sentimental attachment, which is quite strong in some cases. Little boys look up to their older brothers and they in turn care for their younger brothers. Brothers tend to be concerned with each others' treatment by affines; informants claim that in cases of adultery, a man's brother might

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[30] A bright red-skinned vegetable, the size and shape of cocoa pod with pumpkin-like seeds inside--it is perhaps a species of Pandanus.

actually be angrier than the cuckold was himself. Immoral behavior with regard to the brother's wife is frowned upon; according to one man, men are not supposed to find their brother's wives attractive. Two men in the study area had enticed their sisters-in-law away from their own brothers; in one instance, the first husband was so unhappy because of this that he killed himself. Both of these wife-stealers were universally considered to be immoral and contemptible, for as one man put it, "It's all right to take another man's wife, but not your own brother's wife."

mama/inalaman; tata/inalamada, 'brother/sister'

Behavior between brothers and sisters (including MZ's children) and more distant classificatory brothers and sisters is characterized by restraint, particularly with regard to sexual or potentially sexual matters. Little children are taught modesty regarding their opposite-sex siblings as soon as possible; the nine-year-old boy and his six-year-old sister who lived next to us, for example, never bathed together, and when the boy was quarrelling with an eight-year-old female parallel cousin, prompting the ribald grandmother of the latter to suggest that perhaps the argument concerned the little girl's unwillingness to fornicate, the boy's parents became extremely angry about the comment. However, Luma, a middle-aged "dirty old man" teased twenty-eight-year-old Semana in full earshot of her eight-year-old brother, who uncomprehendingly laughed (on cue from other listeners) at all of Luma's joking but nevertheless lewd proposals. I asked about this and everyone claimed that the boy was too young to understand what was going on anyway.

Thus, restraint occurs primarily between contemporaries and involves adults more than it does children. Adults were said in the past to refrain from saying their opposite-sex siblings names, but to use teknomy instead. A few middle-

aged and old people do this today. Adults must not sit on the bed of the opposite-sex sibling, must avoid all mention of sex, must avoid scatalogical references, may not sleep in the same room, and so forth. Men from Biroi and Lolo clans were to avoid eating a certain variety of taro called kapis, which had been the name of a Lolo woman who had married a Bero man and who lived with the Biroi people before her death, because this woman was the "sister" of Biroi and Lolo men.

Sisters and parallel cousins are supposed to be hospitable to their brothers and parallel cousins, and should offer them food when they come to visit. However, Nagovisi believe that it is best to avoid going too much to one's distant parallel cousin's houses for fear of accusations of attempting to seduce the cousin.[31] My impression from visits of the nuga in Pomalate was that this visiting pattern is accurate.

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[31] After two cases involving intra-moiety copulation had occurred in our area, one between members of different clans, and one between lineage-mates, I received the following clarification of degrees of incest:

(a) Within the wetetenamo, sex relations between members are utterly unthinkable. Such behavior is what dogs do, not people. (In fact, I never heard of such a case.)

(b) Within the lineage (i.e., a large modern lineage), sex relations among members happen occasionally, but such behavior is deplorable. In the past, the offending parties would be killed by their own relatives. Marriage between members of the same lineage today is not approved, although one such marriage took place during our stay, but only after numerous attempts to discourage the match failed. Both partners were thought not to be in full possession of their senses.

(c) Within the clan, sex relations between members are deplorable but not unusual. Perhaps this is why men do not care to visit their distant clan sisters, as mentioned above. If members of the same clan wanted to marry, they would be discouraged from doing so, even today.

(d) Within the moiety, sex relations among members is forbidden, but today, marriage between members of the same moiety (but different clans) takes place with much less lamentation, and such marriages in time are joked about.

The worst insult is an insult--particularly a sexual one--about a man's sister, and women swear by their imardi, 'distant opposite-sex classificatory sibling,' which is said to mean that if what they are saying is not true, they will copulate with their classificatory brothers. When a person hears of a sexual indiscretion on the part of his sister, he may with impunity destroy some of her property--cooking vessels, clothing--or even kill her pigs. A woman may do the same if her brother commits a similar offense. In the past as today, a person must pay a fine called lom kigori to his or her opposite-sex siblings should the latter hear of any sort of sexual involvement of the former. Similarly, in the event that a man and wife produce a new baby too soon after the preceding child is born (i.e., before the child was approximately four years old, in pre-contact days --able to walk to and from the garden unaided), the wife's brother may destroy her possessions and kill her pigs, and the descent groups of both man and wife may extract payments (nomma) from them. While we were in Nagovisi, lom kigori was paid in cases of premarital copulation, as formal announcement of marriage, and an injury to a man's penis which required partial circumcision by a European doctor. The standard amount today is $2. In the past, payments of this type in wiasi were made by a sister to her brother at her first menstrual period, at her marriage, and at her first pregnancy as well as for sexual indiscretions. Recipients of payment are contemporaries--real brothers, close parallel cousins, and the older MMB's, although this list can be smaller or larger, as the degree of the indiscretion merits. Nomma payments are no longer made today, because the Nagovisi believe that close spacing of children is no longer such a serious matter, due to European medicine and the availability of powdered cow's milk in the local trade stores. Nevertheless, should a woman become pregnant before her first baby is able to toddle, her husband will gain the reputation of being a satyr.

Brother and sister are thought to act as moral restraints on one another's behavior. It was said of an old woman in Pomalate that the reason for her youthful promiscuity was that she had no contemporary or slightly older brothers or parallel cousins to "shame" her into more decorous behavior. Nagovisi tell a story of a woman who unintentionally insulted her brother and was speared by him:

> Kobie had been counting on using some bananas for a feast she and her husband were planning. However, when she went to the banana tree one day, most of the bananas had been taken. Enraged, she called out to whomever had stole her bananas to go copulate with a dog. A woman called Sakenau heard her, and told this to Kobie's brother, Posino, who had himself taken the bananas. Posino was so angry and ashamed to hear that his sister had suggested such an obscenity that he threw a spear at her.

Sometimes, conflicts between brother and sister are caused by feelings of romantic love towards affines or prospective affines, as was the following:

> Waritoa, a somewhat unstable young widow, got involved with a man who was just as unstable as he, if not more so. Relatives on both sides discouraged the match, which the man was said not to want in any case. Things reached a crisis when a fight nearly broke out during one of many hearings on the matter. Waritoa added to the general pandimonium by proceding to chop a large hole in the side of her house with her bush-knife in order to show contempt for her lineage brothers and support for her beloved, as she later explained. An older influential man tried to stop her and managed to get her outside, where the two continued to struggle. At this point, Waritoa's half-brother joined the two and slapped Waritoa several times to subdue her. Informants claimed later that the brother had been so embarrassed by Waritoa's behavior that he had slapped her and that this was a good thing to have done.

Brothers and sisters occasionally help each other with work on special occasions or in exceptional circumstances. It is thought to be good to help one's lineage-mates in this way; it promotes good will. Of course, unmarried men and women work together, but in the context of the family for mutual welfare. For example, when Tabliaru's husband was away working in Kieta, her brother, Otoloi, helped her with her cocoa. Gaviwa, who was married to a Nasioi woman, came for visits to Nagovisi, during which time he did work in his parallel cousins' gardens and cocoa. A work party organized to cut grass in Tevu's stands of cocoa was fed food prepared by Tevu's sister, wife, and wife's younger sister. As a rule, however, people find enough to do working for their spouses and children without helping their opposite-sex siblings.

It would seem that this work is more or less a token of good will, rather than any significant and consistent contribution to the welfare of the sister. Should a married man spend too much time helping his sister, the man's wife would no doubt complain--and with perfect justification, too. Two unmarried brothers, however, were sometimes censured for their reluctance to help their widowed sister more often. A "good" brother who is unmarried may do an extraordinary amount of work on behalf of his sisters and mother: Kaili planted a fairly extensive tract of cocoa for his sister and her husband while the latter was away working in Rabaul, and Torowai's younger brothers also did a great amount of work for her--cutting bush and planting cocoa--because her husband was a Councillor and frequently occupied with official (but non-lucrative) business. The fact that Council business was non-lucrative as well as time-consuming caused a certain amount of bad feeling on the part of the brothers, to which they gave vent during a quarrel about a seemingly unrelated matter.

Aid in the form of money or property does not ordinarily pass between brother and sister. When Taliau's brother-in-law, Golai, was preparing for a sira, 'all-night singing feast,' Taliau told us that he himself could in no way contribute materially to the feast (e.g., by offering to buy a pig) without his wife's permission, and in order to get that permission, he would have to approach the matter very cautiously and diplomatically. Putting on feasts like this is largely a matter for husband and wife, not brother and sister, to decide.

> Mesiamo and Lapisto, classificatory brothers, intended to put on a small feast mainly for the purpose of terminating a pork tabu (polo udu) that Lapisto had assumed at the death of a classificatory MB. Neither man was married at the time, so they asked Mesiamo's sister for a kulili, a kind of relatively valuable small, white shell money not ordinarily used for pig purchases, in order to buy a particularly large pig they had their eyes on. Mesiamo's sister turned them down flat. Lapisto was so angry because of her refusal that he left Nagovisi to work on a plantation without terminating his pork tabu at all. Nevertheless, today he readily admits that she was entirely within her rights to refuse them.

Traditionally, brothers were to have nothing to do with the arrangements of their sisters' marriages. This prohibition applied to the MMB (also a "brother") as well--it was only the MB who might give advice on the matter. It was considered acceptable, thus, for a brother and sister (i.e., MB and M) to discuss possible mates for the sister's daughter, because such did not involve themselves per se, and, as one informant put it, "Marriage is not the same thing as copulation." However, I recorded one instance in which the male parallel cousins of a girl arranged her marriage; when I asked my informant how such a thing could happen, he said that today people did not follow the old rules as they had in the past. It might have been significant, too, that the girl was about eighteen years younger than the cousin who

did the largest part of the arranging and that the girl had no male relatives in the proper generation, i.e., no MB's.

Thus, we see the constant reiteration of separate male and female spheres of activity within the descent group. Married men do not contribute materially to their own descent groups, and any labor on its behalf is meant as a token of good will, not as economic support. One informant stated the case succinctly: "After marriage, only a man's body belongs to his descent group. His strength belongs to his children." And so, the descent group takes the man's body--his corpse--after death, for they are responsible for its burial.

Concerns of the Descent Group

Activities which take place in a descent group context are discussed below. These include property holding and inheritance, succession, funeral observations, the teaching of esoteric knowledge, and dealings with ancestral spirits. Also relevant to this discussion are questions of residence and of economic cooperation, but these matters are discussed at greater length in separate chapters, *viz.*, Chapters IV and V, respectively.

Inheritance

Ideally, the pattern of inheritance within the *wetetenamo* is a transfer from mother to eldest daughter at death or senility of the mother. This is the route for currency-type *wiasi*, usage rights to individual parcels of land, trees, and presumably, cocoa trees. A woman's livestock (pigs, chicken) are not inherited *per se*, but instead slaughtered and eaten at commemorative funerary feasts in the deceased's honor. I could discover no orderly pattern of inheritance for ordinary possessions.[32] Any special gifts the transfer

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[32]Lapisto claimed that his son, Takawai, would inherit Takawai's MB's World War II medals. This would appear to be a unique case.

of which might deviate from this pattern must be given during the lifetime of the predecessor; otherwise, the surviving relatives may change their minds after the death.

MarEwa

Owned trees with edible yield are called marEwa. In Nagovisi, common kinds are breadfruit (kiling), cocoanut (mo), betel nut (mosi), canarium almond (mai), mango (was), malay apple (karukai) and sago (kato). Whoever plants such a tree or discovered an unowned one in the bush is usually entitled to use the tree during his own lifetime. However, after the planter's death, the tree ordinarily reverts to the women of the descent group which owns the ground on which the tree stands. They can pass it on to their own descendants. An unmarried man may plant trees on his mother's ground, but these trees are descent group property, and thus, at his marriage, these trees may be taken over by his sisters and their descendants. Sisters may allow their brothers the use of a small number of their own trees; however, it is entirely within their rights to refuse their brothers. Refusal is not grounds for acrimony. A married man generally plants on his wife's ground, and the trees are inherited by his daughters.

Land

Land is ultimately owned by the clan. This means that a given plot of land would never be referred to as belonging simply to the Hornbills or the Eagles, for example, but to either the clan in general or to a certain individual.[33] Use,

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[33]See D.D. Mitchell (1971) for a more detailed discussion of claims to land. Land may come into the hands of individual females from bequests from their fathers (see Chapter V), or these days, it may be bought.

on the other hand, tends to be by wetetenamo groups, and in some instances of extended use--with planting of permanent crops, etc.--it appears (for the duration of an individual lifetime, at least) that wetetenamos actually own ground in the sense that clans do. I do not believe this to be the case, however. With regard to land to which no lineage or wetetenamo has established uncontested usage rights, individuals within the group decide anarchistically and without mutual consultation whether or not they will plant, and thus establish usage rights. Any discussions regarding the rights to use are all ex post facto, with the tu'mEli and older lineage members as witnesses.

Every adult woman has the right to use some of her clan's land for food gardens and cocoa plantations and to transfer title to her daughters on her death; these rights are inalienable. Even in cases in which a woman has been expelled from her village or if she voluntarily leaves it, she still retains these rights, regardless of where she is living. Ordinarily, widowers with young children may remain in their dead wives' villages in order to work the ground which belongs to their children on their behalf. Informants stated that married men of a descent group might make food gardens on ground belonging to their own descent group, some with the qualification that this could only take place if the women of the descent group found the brother's wife compatible. However, no married men may plant cash crops on his own clan's ground and expect to take profit from it.[34] Should a married man plant cash crops on his own lineage's ground, the crops and profit from them would belong to his mother and sisters, and his wife would become angry at him for doing work on behalf of

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[34]The single exception to this is the local momiako who is one of two surviving males in his lineage. The land and the cash crops will be inherited by clan mates, not his own children.

his own clan's females. Such an act would indicate that a man was not a good father, because he was not working on behalf of his children. In all instances when men have cash crops on land other than that belonging to their wives, it is because they have bought the land from the former owner for Australian money,[35] and such ground is to be inherited by the man's daughters.

Wiasi

Whatever wiasi has been acquired by the husband and wife goes to the daughters--in order of seniority--on the death of the wife. It is quite possible that all of such an inheritance, however, will be spent on pigs for commemorative feasts for the deceased, and thus, the problem of inheritance will be avoided. These days, Nagovisi women do not begin to take an interest in amassing shell money until they are well into their thirties, unless if by accident they happen to be the oldest female in their lineage at an earlier age.[36] Mother-daughter pairs (with their respective

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[35]The buying and seeling of land between indigenes is prohibited by the laws of the Administration. The lawful procedure is to sell the ground to the Administration, which then puts the ground up for general auction, at which the highest bidder takes it, paying the Administration whatever sum the ground will bring. It is not difficult to see that such a law has the effect of enabling groups with the greatest buying power, viz., Europeans and Chinese, to acquire the most valuable land, and this effect does not go unnoticed by the Nagovisi. Therefore, they do not always report sales to the Administration, relying on the latter's ignorance of native land tenure to conceal these illicit transactions.

[36]It remains to be seen if young educated women, who claim to be little interested in wiasi, will change their minds as they grow older.

husbands, of course) will often own pigs, and it is not uncommon that the daughter will take the cash when the pig is sold and the mother will take the wiasi. Since a strand of wiasi is valued at A$10, this may seem like an unequal division, pig prices rarely being below $50 or $60, but selling pigs is one of the only ways in which shell money can be acquired; thus, its monetary value does not well represent its scarceness.

Cash

There are only a few ways for Nagovisi women to earn cash (e.g., by being a teacher or a nurse, working for the mission as a cleaning girl or a Women's Club aide) and since Nagovisi tend to disapprove of letting their girls go away to get the necessary training for such work, there are few Nagovisi women so employed. Those who are and are unmarried share their earnings with their parents. The overwhelming amount of wage-earning is done by men, both married and unmarried. In the past, men would become contract workers on European plantations either on Bougainville itself or in the Bismark Archipelago. For a time in the 50's and early 60's, most Nagovisi men desiring employment took various kinds of work in the towns of Rabaul, Kavieng or Kieta. These days, Bougainville Copper, Pty., at Panguna, is probably the major employer.

Unmarried men are expected to share their money with their mothers and her family. Most parents, if they are "good," permit the boy to keep a certain amount for himself --perhaps as much as half. When the man marries, however, he no longer gives money to his own family, but rather to his wife and his wife's family. Nagovisi say that when a man marries, he no longer has any money of his own, because all earnings then are the property of his wife and children.

> Kamanai, a thirty-five-year-old male who was known far and wide for his proflicacy and immaturity, had finally convinced his eighteen-year-old classificatory niece to marry him. After much protestation and repeated predictions that his intended wife would starve to death, the marriage was allowed. Kamanai managed to make a bit of money and immediately after he was paid, he went to Tevu, a contemporary of his, and offered to buy corned beef and rice for the two of them if Tevu would cook it in his house. Tevu's reply was, "What are you thinking of? You go show that money to Kobie [Kamanai's wife]." Kamanai retorted, "Why should I? Is it her money?" Tevu told us this story, quite incredulous that even this reprobate could be so utterly ignorant of ordinary conjugal behavior.

If a man's wife is "good," she will allow him to make small presents of money from time to time to his mother. However, she is perfectly within her rights to refuse to do this.

Succession

As mentioned above, there is usually one woman within the descent group who exercises leadership in descent group affairs. Ideally, this woman is the tu'mEli, 'first born,' in the senior line, should there be more than one descent line. However, in practice, she may be an able member of one of the more junior lines instead. In this case, she is not called the tu'mEli, but a momiako manikumana, literally, 'female "big man," female of prominence,' or she may be described as the kaskelo, 'a momiako who has proven herself recently.' In pidgin, this woman--whether she is a tu'mEli or a kaskelo--is referred to as the "bikpela meri" or a "boss meri" of such-and-such descent group.

This woman plays a central role in the execution of funeral obligations, both those involving the descent group itself and those consisting of returns made to the various

descent groups of the motai, 'men married into her matrilineal descent group.' She takes care of the wo:lupia, 'shell heirlooms' of the group; she parcels out garden land for the use of her sisters and their daughters; in the past, she would have played a central role in the performance of mavos, 'growing up ceremonies;' and she is deferred to by all the motai except for her husband.

A look at some of the women who held these positions in 1969 to 1970, even though they had living female relatives who were older than them and/or senior to them, suggests some of the factors influencing succession. Of great importance is having a living husband, especially one who is intelligent, industrious, well-to-do, and forceful. Not one "boss meri" in the study area was a widow.

> TolEsina 1 was made up of the descendants of three sisters, Mirimai, Osiropa, and Tabua, who was the youngest. Both Mirimai and Osiropa were widows. Tabua's husband was an aide post orderly (and thus, salaried), and he was a forthright individual whose opinion was valued by his neighbors. Together, Tabua and her husband had sponsored frequent siras and patis (feasts), something which Mirimai and Osiropa had never done. When Osiropa planned to remarry, it was Tabua and her husband who requested brideprice from the prospective spouse. Tabua was the keeper of the TolEsina 1's wo:lupia, in line-keeping with her position of superiority.

Obviously, senility of the real tu'mEli means that she must be succeeded. Other infirmities such as blindness or deafness seemed to work against a woman as well. Personality factors cannot be discounted in understanding leadership and succession. A younger woman who is aggressive, contentious, and forthright will begin to rival an older, more retiring woman in decision-making--even if the older woman is of sound mind and has an active husband.

Partially because of modern changes which have affected lineage, clan, and wetetenamo size as outlined above, and

partially because authority in Nagovisi was probably always somewhat of an undefined focus, there are a number of women who may be described today as "bikpela meri"--some bigger than others--at various levels of descent group segmentation.

In the Bero clan, for example, there were four women who could be accurately called tu'mEli: these were the oldest female members of the La'mEko and Kobona lineages and the two Tolesina wetetenamos--Molus, Tang, Mirimai and Nanama, respectively. However, the women who were most active in matters involving the Bero clan were slightly different. Molus was often aided by her daughter (and heir), Madakili; Tang was almost too contentious to be able to cooperate much with anyone; Mirimai had ceded her authority to her younger sister, Tabua; and Nanama, who had long split her residence between Nagovisi and Siuai, was spending more and more time in Siuai by 1969 to 1970. Her daughter, Tais, was somewhat retiring and quiet, and thus didn't make her opinions known much. Besides, Nanama still came up to Nagovisi for important events.

Informants universally indicated Molus as the "bigpela meri"--here, as both tu'mEli and momiako--of the Bero clan. She was both senior and oldest, but not yet senile. Personally, she was high-spirited and aggressive. She represented the Bero clan vis a vis other clans, e.g., at the mavos which were beginning to experience a new popularity, although sometimes, her daughter would attend as her representative. Molus' husband, himself the oldest living male of the highest-ranking lineage in Lolo clan, had been a momiako when he was younger, but was in evident decline in 1969 to 1970. Nevertheless, Molus managed to manoeuver vigorous men into doing some of his work, and she and her husband were still credited with producing feasts which were in fact largely the work of their daughter and son-in-law.

Obviously, all wetetenamos--unless they are all-male groups--will have an eldest female. However, she may or

may not have a living husband, or a husband with the proper personal traits. She may be senile or feeble, rather than sound of mind and healthy, and she may or may not have herself a properly aggressive personality. The more she lacks some of the appropriate leadership-accompanying traits, the more it is likely that she will be overshadowed by a kaskelo, or lacking a kaskelo, she and those under her may be dominated by a tu'mEli from a more inclusive segmentary level--or she may simply withdraw from confrontation situations.

Thus, although every clan has a putative tu'mEli lineage, in which there is a tu'mEli woman (under ordinary circumstances, viz., if the lineage is not dying out), this titular clan tu'mEli may or may not represent the whole clan, depending on the above-mentioned factors. She may be superceded by a kaskelo, or the clan--if very large--may never act in concert and have instead heads at lower levels.[37] To look at the situation from the lowest level of segmentation, even though sibling groups can be ranked according to age, and among these there will be a tu'mEli, she may or may not exercise authority--in the final analysis, the range of her authority will depend on her "competition," as it were, and how well she and her husband can meet it, rather than ascribed characteristics, such as birth order and chronological rank of her lineage. As Oliver notes in his discussion of Siuai leadership (1955 passim), circumstances of birth (e.g., fortuitous family connections and birth order) may enhance an individual's chances to attain a position of leadership, but they are neither necessary nor sufficient to do so in and of themselves.

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[37]This appears to have happened in the large Lavali clan. In this clan, active female leaders are often but not necessarily lineage or wetetenamo based, and often, but not without exception, residential or local. Assignment to lineage or locality basis is difficult because residence itself is based to a large extent on lineage, but not all residential units are self-contained descent groups.

Funeral Obligations

Today, the emphasis of Nagovisi ceremonial life is on funerals, which at their most elaborate may involve numerous feasts, assumption of various tabus, and exchanges of money and property, in addition to mourning and burial. It is primarily the work of the lineage or wetetenamo with the aid of the clan to bury the individual. Funeral preparations are thought to be properly the work of the women: it is they who do the most wailing and dancing and it is they with the advice of their brothers and husbands who decide how elaborate a given funeral will be. It is said to be the women's right to decide these things, but unless they are exceptionally forthright, the decision on these matters is reached by committee, as it were, with whoever is the most personally dominant appearing to make the decisions. Most of the time, this will be men--either of the lineage of clan (nuga) or motai, depending on what specific event is under consideration. Nevertheless, a woman or women are always credited with being completely in charge.

Funerals can be extremely elaborate or very simple, depending on the prominence and amount of property of the deceased. The old and insignificant people and new-born babies are accorded the least attention. Young people are most genuinely mourned, but wealthy people--whatever age--receive the most elaborate funerals. The sequence of events is as follows.

A half a day to a day of wailing is held in the house in which the individual died. If he is a married man, this is usually done in his wife's village. If she is a married woman, this usually takes place in her own village. If the body is not at his or her natal village (i.e., where his or her wetetenamo-mates live), the body then is carried there.[38]

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[38]Should this be a very long way--ten miles or so--it is becoming not uncommon to leave the body at the marital village.

It is wrapped in a blanket or a length of cloth and placed in the house of close female relatives. Mourners then come for several days to wail and dance around the corpse. Wailing consists of three-note dirges, in which the mourners call out, "Oh, father (or appropriate kin term), I'm your child" (or appropriate reciprocal), or "Oh, son, I'm your mother," etc. The Nagovisi call this wailing marimari, 'kinship terms.' There are no personal eulogies as in Siuai (Oliver 1955). Wailing continues over the course of several days and nights for periods of about an hour or so each, with breaks for betel-chewing and smoking. Meanwhile, the coffin is being built, by whomever is skilled at wood-working. Today, burial is encouraged by the Catholic mission; formerly, cremation was the rule, but this practice became impractical and unpopular during World War II, when any fire was either an invitation to bombing or might attract hungry Japanese. It is occasionally done by Methodists, and a pagan man was cremated in Pomalate village, no doubt for our benefit in part, in October 1969. For cremation, a cage-like box is built in which the body rests on the pyre. After this is built, a small pig might be killed. If the deceased has been under a pork tabu, a pig must be slaughtered and a cooked morsel of it will be held up to his face in order that he may "smell" it and thus break the tabu (polo udu).

If the deceased was a wealthy individual, a mock argument (pidona) will take place within twenty-four hours or so of the death. The pidona involves the individual's kin and his affines. Its purpose is two-fold: to eulogize the deceased by enumerating all his great deeds (and in particular, the sacrifices he had made during his lifetime for his affines), and for the kin to demand nalina, a sum paid across moiety lines on the death of an individual, from the deceased's affines.[39]

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[39]Since nalina payments are a part of a larger scheme of injury/recompensation fees paid between affines, major discussion of nalina will be made in Chapter V.

Burial is not ritually spectacular. If there is a catechist available and willing, he may say a few words at graveside. Otherwise, the casket is unceremoniously lowered into the hole and diggers begin to shovel in the dirt immediately. Mourners at the graveside throw in clumps of dirt, as well. At one burial we witnessed, people threw in pieces of paper with written good-byes on them. After the hole is filled, people drift away from the gravesite.

Cremation is another matter entirely. The pyre must be constructed according to a number of ritual prescriptions and proscriptions. A crib sort of structure is built with green betel palm tree trunks as the supports (pidapida) for the firewood. They alone, apparently, can withstand the terrific heat generated by the fire. Wood is stacked up between the palm trunks to the height of twelve or fourteen feet. At the top, room is left for the cage-like coffin to be placed. The entire pyre is called a tumu. In the middle of the night (around 1:30 a.m.)[40] when the morning star begins to rise, the body is brought out and placed on the pyre, which is then lit with torches. Those who touch the body are to wash their hands in herbal preparations, but one of the men in charge of the cremation in October 1969, who was a "doktaboi," 'medical aide post orderly,' asked us for some Dettol (an Australian brand of antiseptic) instead. Then the assembled mourners march around the pyre, waving sticks, axes, shrubbery, umbrellas, etc., and wailing until dawn comes.

The assumption of a number of tabus (kElikEli) actually begins with the death of an individual. KElikEli may be general in application, as the tabuing of streams for fishing or cocoanut trees for eating and thus apply to any would-be fisher or eater of cocoanuts; they may be limited, such as

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[40]Persons killed in tribal warfare or children killed by sorcery were cremated in the day.

the temporary (about two years) renouncement of some item of use, generally pork, but theoretically anything in memory of the decedent--haircutting, use of laplaps, etc. Formerly, when a young person died--and the death of young people was in aboriginal times and occasionally nowadays attributed to sorcery--mourners would speak in whispers, never raising the voice, until the karikari, literally, 'shouting' was performed. Even today, decorous behavior includes the use of subdued tones in conversation soon after a death.

After interment or cremation, major mourners, usually including the whole clan, must not go to the garden for a week or so. In the past, it is said, people did not go to the gardens for a month or more after a death. They were furthermore not to have fires except at night to keep them warm while sleeping, thus precluding the cooking of food. Distant-dwelling moiety-mates brought food to them. These days, mourners do not go work in the garden, but may go there to get food. They also cook it as usual; there is no ritual extinction of their fires.

During the period of mourning, there may be an osikori, literally, 'village-talk, holiday.' Persons from neighboring villages, most of whom participated in the wailing, come to the village of the bereaved to sit around, converse, chew betel nut, snack on various items--green cocoanuts, and today, crackers or cookies, or small quantities of rice. The purpose of the osikori is to cheer up the mourners and to let them know that their neighbors and kin are not thoughtless of this misfortune and out working in their own gardens. These days, a cocoa flush may require work during the mourning period; this is permitted because it is "samting bilong moni," rather than something traditional.

A waitowetu, 'lighting [again] the fires,' called a musi, a small feast at which the deceased's clan and his or her affines would eat, was given to end the prohibition on cooking fires. Today, the waitowetu signifies the return to garden

work as well (konanawa or manogokili) and the end of the prohibition on the use of cocoanut cream on cooked greens (nukunapada). The return to the gardens may involve a small ritual in which women, mainly of the clan of the deceased, bring food back from the garden and place taro shoots on the site of the pyre (kasinda) or in the cemetery ("matmat"). If the latter, they plant a croton (tatawa) as well. At the only konanawa or mamogokili we saw, the accoutrements of work[41]--work baskets and knives, as well as betel nut, one sprouting cocoanut, and some wiasi (perhaps signifying pig) --were also placed on the kasinda for a short time and later removed without ceremony.

In pre-contact times, the karikari, literally, 'shouting; removal of prohibition on talking loudly,' might not occur for a year or more, but these days, it is held sooner than that--usually within a month after the death. It takes the form of a mock battle between the nuga and the motai. The nuga cook a pig's ear in the bush, and since they do not share it with the motai, the motai feign anger and attack the nuga, brandishing spears and arrows. Occasionally, people were hurt during karikaris. After European contact, soccer games sometimes took the place of this mock battle--apparently at the suggestion of the patrol officers, according to informants.

A number of other events may or may not take place after this. There may be a latakari, at which the clan of the deceased slaughters a number of pigs and sends the meat to mourners in order to thank them for wailing. Or there may be a lawanda, 'sira to end mourning,' for which the women of

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[41]It was planned that the owner of a shotgun should put some cartridges among these things, since the use of cartridges was a way to get food (i.e., by shooting game). For some unknown reason, the owner did not do this, however.

the deceased's clan and their husbands may provide pigs. If they do so, the kin of the deceased must make them an equal return of pigs. Such exchanges are rarely in practice agreed upon as equal by both sides, despite the fact that many Nagovisi express the idea that competition in these matters in the manner of the Siuai (Oliver 1949, 1955) is wasteful and to be avoided. The lawanda is a time for insulting songs, particularly with reference to affines of the composers. At the end of the lawanda, towards dawn, a personal possession of the deceased--perhaps an article of apparel or a pillow--called an obiobi is destroyed, thus ending all sorrow connected with its owner's death.

There are other miscellaneous non-competitive naumona, 'feasts with cooked food,' which may be held by either the affines or the clan of the deceased within a few months or years after his or her death.[42] For example, the buguwegas involves the tearing down of a house in which the corpse lay. The pawasiba is similar but may also involve the making of a new house for the owner of the old one. This amounts to a communal work party with a ritual raison d'etre. Either affines or consanguineals may stage these feasts.

In the past, the bones of a cremated individual would be kept in an old person's house for several years, after which they would be buried at a konakoro feast. Women would cry for the last time, and this was to end all sorrow. The widow or widower was now free to marry. I heard conflicting reports about whether konatowa,'payments to affines to release the spouse for remarriage,' had to be paid.

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[42]My impression is that there are many more occasions for eating pork these days than there must have been in the past, no doubt due to improved penning of pigs and the greater ease of raising sweet potatoes (as pig feed) compared to taro.

The individuals most intimately concerned with funerary functions vary somewhat with regard to the status of the deceased. If he or she is young--ranging from infancy to having unmarried daughters--the mother, mother's sisters, older sisters, older sister's married daughters play major roles. Older persons--those with married daughters and perhaps married granddaughters--are buried by their sisters, daughters, and daughter's daughters, if they are females, and if they are males, by their sisters, ZD's, and ZDD's (including parallel cousins of this category, of course). In the event of the death of an extremely prestigious man or one with much desirable property or one who is the last of his lineage, the tu'mEli may take a more active part. The tu'mEli does take an active part in decisions involving what returns shall be made in the event of the death of a motainela (i.e., a man married to a lineage-mate). These transactions are discussed in the marriage chapters.

Teaching of Esoteric Knowledge

The route of inculcation of esoteric knowledge (rain-making, rain-stopping, divination, love potions, increase magic, etc.) is most typically from MB to ZS--because it is men who are ordinarily the practictioners of these arts.[43] However, such education need not be confined to the matrilineal line: Nagovisi reported instances of MF teaching increase magic to DS, F's teaching D's pig-catching spells, and F's teaching their sons a number of special arts. People did say that it would be foolish--not forbidden--for a man to teach some such skill to people from a distant place,

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[43] Women are not barred from learning these things or practicing them, but it is the belief of the Nagovisi that men remember long, complicated ritual better than women do. Women, thus, tend to specialize in kusis, 'garden invocations, pig-catching, invocations to dogs,' mavo-incantations, which are shorter, and the manufacture of wabin, 'love potions,' which may not require any spoken words.

though; why should he contribute to their well-being at the probable expense of his own?

Medicine for illness or instruction in specific techniques such as bone-setting, leprosy cure, or abortion required payment, however, regardless of matrilineal affiliation. Nevertheless, it is bad form to make too much money off one's own kin. The only man that Nagovisi could identify as a nangkai, 'sucking doctor; diagnostician,' in 1970 was berated by a clan-mate for seeking out paying patients and thus failing to treat illness in his own clan.

Spirits and the Descent Group

The Nagovisi use the word mara to refer to both mythical supernatural beings and to ghosts of the long dead and recently dead. The term ura, 'soul,' refers to the living and the recently dead as well. The ura of a sick person--or one who is apparently healthy but nevertheless soon to die--sometimes leaves the body and can inflict minor harm to the living. Nagovisi describe being contacted by an ura or mara as an unusual and fleeting kinesic or tactile experience, sometimes as a nightmare. Ura are not capable of doing any harm; they present themselves to make the contactee aware of their imminent death, or shortly after death, to remind them to hurry up with funeral-related preparations. Occasionally, they appear in dreams.

Mara, on the other hand, especially of the ancestral relatives type, bother the living in a more serious way. They may make the victim ill, make his children or other relatives ill, weaken his pigs, make his dog lose its hunting skill, and so forth. They do this only when they are personally angry for some slight or other during life or when asked by a living person to do so; thus a person's great-great grandmother, for example, would not be able to hurt that person because she would have no reason to do so, never having known

her great-great grandchildren. Should a person suspect that a mara is trying to hurt him, he engages a diviner, who indicates which it is and suggest a redressal of the wrong.

Informants stated that in the event of an intra-lineage quarrel, one might call upon one's recently dead lineage maras to make the object of one's anger ill or die. For example, if a man's Z or ZD had gone against his word with regard to the disposition of wiasi in pig buying, the man might ask his maras to make her and her husband sick. Most frequently apt to resort to such methods were brothers and sisters toward each other, mothers and children towards each other, and mother's brother and sister's children towards each other. Fathers rarely got so angry at their own children that they would try to make them sick in this way.

CHAPTER IV

SETTLEMENT, RESIDENCE AND HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

The following chapter is a consideration of changes in settlement and residence among the Nagovisi during the past forty years or so. "Settlement" means the distribution and arrangement of human habitation sites on the land; "residence" refers to the jural rules regulating where any given individual lives during the various periods of his life and also statistical tabulations of where people actually did and do reside. Obviously, settlement and residence are related concepts; in real life, they cannot be separated. However, it is analytically important to distinguish between them in the case of the Nagovisi, since failure to do so may lead to an obfuscation of trends. Four major historical periods will be discussed: (1) traditional (i.e., pre-contact) and pre-World War II period, (2) post-war or "big village" period, (3) the period of the 1950's, (4) the 1960's, an intensive cash-cropping period. During these four periods, both settlement and residence statistics (i.e., frequency of various available choices, as distinct from the rules themselves) have been influenced directly, e.g., by the Australian Administration's creation by fiat of "line villages" intended to replace dispersed hamlets, and indirectly, e.g., in response to other changing conditions, such as population increases, cash-cropping, and so forth. Basically, there has been a change from perdominantly uxorilocal, dispersed hamlet settlements to overwhelmingly uxorilocal nucleated villages. Finally, household composition is described.

Settlement

General Terms

The Nagovisi distinguish between areas of human habitation, both formerly and presently occupied (osi), and areas which are subject to other human use, such as food gardens (kasi) or those areas of virgin rainforest (pola) which traditionally provided hunting grounds for possum and wild pig.[1] The category osi persists after humans have ceased to occupy a piece of ground, and former human habitation can be inferred from the presence of cocoanut trees which normally were in the past and are today planted at habitation sites. In pre-contact times, an inhabited osi was likely to comprise one, two, or perhaps three households, where matrilineally-related females and their husbands and children were likely to live. However, virilocal residence was not uncommon, and often couples might alternate between uxorilocal and virilocal residence. From accounts given by informants, it appears that hamlets of one clan affiliation appeared to be more or less centralized in a given area, but at the same time were ringed by hamlets of clans belonging to the opposite moiety, such that a sort of honeycomb effect regarding moiety affiliation resulted. Thus, one's nearest neighbors (beyond the clan) tended to be members of the opposite moiety. This arrangement has significance for Nagovisi marriage and local endogamy (cf. Chapters V and VI).

Today, the term osi still refers to the few hamlets that exist in Nagovisi, but also to the "lain vilis," groups of houses arranged in straight rows according to the plan introduced by the Australian Administration. Such villages in Nagovisi vary today from five to over thirty households.

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[1]This is of course not an exhaustive catalogue of Nagovisi terms for land under various stages of vegetation growth or human use. For a fuller discussion of such matters, see D.D. Mitchell (1971).

This forced nucleation was apparently instituted in order to facilitate communication between people (cf. explanations in Oliver 1955), and also to make it more convenient for the Administration to keep track of people for taxation purposes and to extract the corvee or "wok mande" consisting mainly of road work, from them.

Osi of the past were said to be close enough to gardens so that the chance of ambush would be reduced in times of tribal warfare. Even today, Nagovisi prefer that their gardens and villages be fairly close to one another (less than a mile or so); otherwise, the walk hom from the garden becomes arduous for the women, since they are likely to carry on their return thrity to fifty pounds of sweet potatoes and perhaps a small child as well. Osi had pigs resident traditionally and from time to time in post-contact days, depending on the desire of the current patrol officer (M. Lang, personal communication). The invention of the river valley pig areas in the early 50's marked the end of such pig-man residential associations in the study area forever.[2]

History of Settlement Changes

In order to better discuss some of the specific changes in settlement pattern reconstructed for the study area, four maps are presented, giving the (approximate) location of settlements during various time periods. It is recommended that the maps be consulted in conjunction with reading the following section.

Pre-contact and Early Post-contact

At the time of contact (late 20's or early 30's), the Nagovisi were living in dispersed hamlets, sometimes viri-

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[2]There are a few non-riverine pig pens these days; they are fenced. Villages, cocoa orchards, and gardens are not fenced as a rule.

Map 1. Settlements in the Study Area, Pre-contact

Eagle descent group

Hornbill descent group

Village, Hamlet

←N

Lopali

Bero

Sirogana

Loli

Bakoram

Kababempo

Lavali

Lavali

Lavali

Lavali

Lolo

Tadolima

Biroi

Lavali

Biroi

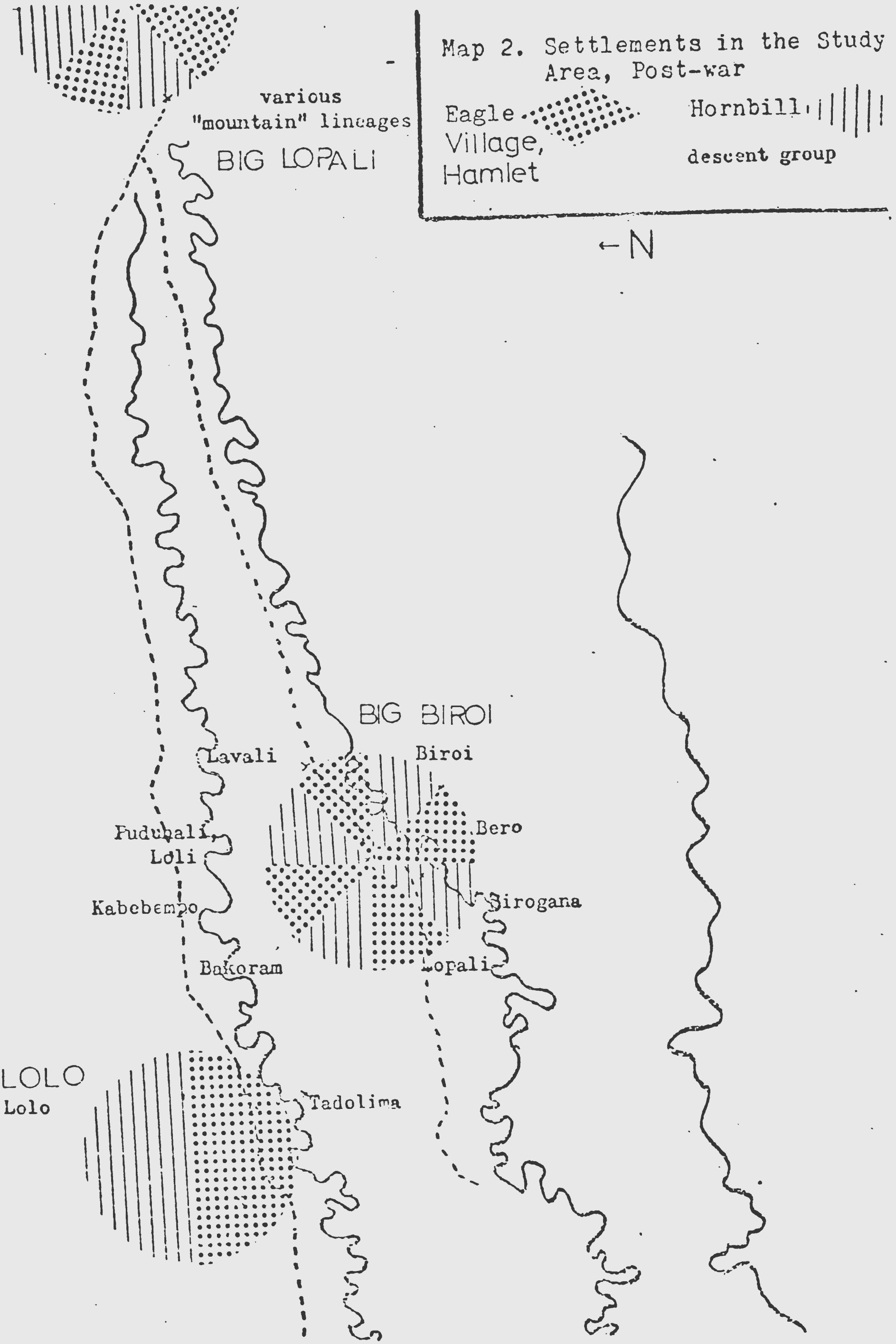
Pudunali

Lolo

Bero

Biroi

Bero


various
"mountain" lineages
BIG LOPALI
Map 2. Settlements in the Study Area, Post-war
Eagle descent group
Hornbill descent group
Village, Hamlet
←N
BIG BIROI
Lavali
Biroi
Bero
Fudubali
Loli
Kabebempo
Birogana
Bakoram
Lopali
BIG LOLO
Lolo
Tadolima

Map 3. Settlements in the Study Area, 1950's

Eagle descent group

Hornbill descent group

Village, Hamlet

← N

Lopali
Lopali, Loli

Sirogana
Sirogana

Osiranda
Lavali

Bakoram
Bakoram, Kabebempo

Lavali hamlets
Lavali

Tuberuru
Lolo, Tadolima

Biroi
Biroi, Lavali

Pomalate
Biroi, Bero

Sovele RCM

Lavali Sitoka

Gerum
Bero

Lolo
Lolo, Tadolima

Fabinne
Lavali Pakawoi

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locally, more frequently uxorilocally, and occasionally in some other arrangement. Informants stated quite emphatically the flexibility of choice: "bipo, [residence] emi laik bilong tupela," i.e., a married couple might decide for themselves where they wished to live. Like census data (Table 1), informal accounts of pre-contact conditions by informants indicate that uxorilocal residence was the most commonly followed rule of residence, but that virilocal and alternating (i.e., between virilocal and uxorilocal) residence were also practiced by sizable minorities.

The Administration anthropologist, E.W.P. Chinnery, gathered census data in Nagovisi in 1929, before the area was formally under Administration control (Chinnery 1924 [sic]). He recorded the "clans" (i.e., moieties) of 817 individuals in fourteen "villages." The names of these villages are found today in Nagovisi; they refer to clans, pieces of ground, and government line villages. However, since there were no villages before pacification (ca. 1933), it must be assumed that Chinnery's "villages" were actually clusters of hamlets.

In any case, it is significant that all of these "villages" or hamlet-clusters are mixed as to moiety affiliation; that is, there are adults of both sexes and both moieties living in all of them.[3] It is not possible to determine from Chinnery's tables whether brothers and sisters of one descent group were living together in settlements with their respective spouses, or whether the apparent

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[3]To avoid confusion as to the use of the term "mixed" in reference to residences and settlement in this chapter, the following explanation is offered. Mixed villages are those in which adult men and women of both moieties permanently reside. Thus, unmixed or homogeneous villages are those in which all the adult women are of one moiety and all the adult men (i.e., husbands) are members of the opposite moiety. Children of both sexes belong to the moiety of their mother, of course, because of matrilineal descent.

mixture is brought about by Chinnery's subsuming adjacent clans of opposite moieties, each living uxorilocally, under one named residential unit (i.e., "village"). Obviously, these two conditions are not mutually exclusive, and in fact, my information suggests that it is probable that both things were taking place.

Chinnery's data may have formed the basis for the creation of Nagovisi line villages which were introduced by patrol officers after pacification. Informants' descriptions of the first line villages indicate that they, too, were mixed as to moiety affiliation. However, as Oliver notes also for the Siuai of 1938-39 (1955), it is clear from accounts of informants that most people did not actually live in the line villages, but lived instead in hamlet houses in the surrounding areas, much as they had done in pre-contact times. Thus, settlement patterns in pre-World War II days were typically dispersed hamlet groupings, with nucleated and for the most part uninhabited line villages to please the patrol officer.

Post-World War II or "Big Village" Period

During World War II, the Nagovisi were victims of depredations by both the Japanese and the Allied Forces, the effect of which was to drive the natives into hiding in the bush. The Americans bombed the Nagovisi area intensively in an effort to destroy Japanese camps before they landed at Torakina on the west coast of Bougainville (Shaw and Kane 1963); according to native accounts, any structure or any fire, however small, was likely to be a target for bombing. After Torakina was secured, the Australian army and Angau[4]

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[4]The Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (Angau) was a temporary military government which took the place of the civilian administration. Mair cites three functions of Angau: "...to 'provide to the utmost' all requirements of

began to make forays into the surrounding areas, in order to rout the Japanese (Long 1963). Many natives, including numbers of Nagovisi, moved to Torakina, where according to informants, they received shelter, food, and a chance to work for wages. The Japanese began to raid native gardens and livestock after their supply lines were cut and their gardens destroyed--late in 1943--and ultimately, some were driven to cannibalism. Their victims were those natives who had remained in the bush, some of them Nagovisi.

After the war was over, the Nagovisi were convinced, if they had not been so before, that living in large nucleated villages was preferable to living in dispersed hamlets. This big village type of post-war resettlement pattern occurred in many places in Melanesia, often in conjunction with cargo cult ideas and expectations.[5] In Nagovisi, it would appear that there was a semi-militaristic leadership which consisted of natives who had worked closely with the Australian army or Angau during the war. These native leaders attempted to enforce much regimentation with regard to activities of daily life; for example, bells were rung when it was time to go to the river to wash, and all went to the river en masse, or were punished by being publicly paddled or caned. Gardening as well was to be done according to strict schedules. Other authors have made note of similar organization of daily

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the fighting services, to maintain law and order, and produce the greatest possible quantity of essential war materials (rubber and copra)." (1948:185) Angau functioned between early 1942 and late 1945, and was staffed by men familiar with conditions of life in the Territory, viz., civil servants, plantation owners and managers, and not least of all, the indigenous inhabitants.

[5]Worsley (1968) gives a general overview of this phenomenon; specific studies which might be cited include Schwartz (1962) on the Paliau movement on Manus, Allan (1951) on "Marching Rule" in the British Solomon Islands, and Lawrence (1964) on events in the area of Madang, New Guinea.

routines (Lawrence 1964:144, Worsley 1968:189) elsewhere in Melanesia during this time period. Nagovisi informants claim that matrimonial exchange and obligatory moiety exogamy were done away with:[6] young girls were lined up and told to choose husbands from a similarly lined up group of eligible males. Married couples were to produce large families, in order to people an army.[7]

Two big villages (Big Biroi and Big Lolo) contained the entire population of the study area, as well as members of some villages outside the study area. In Big Biroi lived all the people who today would live in Biroi, Pomalate, Lavolavo, Iadano, Osileni, Pabirine, Konawa, Bakoia, Osiranda, and Iaran, as well as inhabitants of Lopali, Sirogana and Bakoram 1, which fall outside the study area. Big Lolo had people from Lolo, Tuberuru, and Osileni, and in addition, people from Tadolima and Beretemba, outside the study area. It is not possible to give an actual number for the population of either of these villages, but the modern (1969-70) population of the component villages of post-war Big Biroi is certainly over 600. However, it is doubtful that any village of the post-war period ever attained such a size, because the Nagovisi post-war population was probably reduced

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[6]Census data collected in 1969-70 indicates that the first assertion concerning the cessation of matrimonial exchanges between the kin of brides and grooms during this period is true (cf. Chapter VI). However, there was no great increase in non-exogamous marriages. It is perhaps significant that the two primary leaders of post-war reorganization were married to moiety mates.

[7]Lest there be misunderstanding of the events of this post-war period, Mair reports that the message of the leader of this movement "...was expressly opposed to the cargo myth." (1948:202) This is in accord with the statements of my informants.

due to the ravages of war, and today's figures are inflated by an apparently unprecedented population explosion of the past ten or fifteen years.

Certain people preferred to live in hamlets, but most were forced to come and settle in the big villages. One informant told of how his father's hamlet house was burned to the ground by the zealous lieutenants of Biroi village. It was there that the informant's mother died of one of the various gastro-intestinal disorders which plagued the residents of these big villages. The high incidence of illness, as well as the high incidence of visible adultery and fornication, particularly among the young people, are reasons given by informants as to why the big villages began to break up in the early 1950's.[8]

The Period of the 1950's

During the 1950's, people began to disperse and to form villages smaller than the post-war big villages. I know little of this period, but both census surveys done in 1970 and informal interviews indicate that the villages of the 1950's were similar to the first line villages of the 1930's: women of adjacent clans (but opposite moieties) and their husbands might comprise a village. There was one important difference, however, from the settlement situation of the 1930's. In the 1950's, people actually lived in

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[8]There may have been other reasons why these big villages broke up into smaller units at this time. According to the central figure in the big village movement, it was never his intention to institute large villages on a permanent basis in Nagovisi; he only wanted large settlements to persist until gardens were replanted, houses rebuilt, and people could be certain that the war was really over. Perhaps it was as simple as that. However, Worsley (1968:193) seems to imply that the Australian Administration had something to do with the break up of the big villages.

in these line villages instead of maintaining houses there purely for the benefit of the patrol officer.

The Period of the 1960's

In the 1960's, villages, the female cores of which were actually a single lineage, several lineages, or entire clans, began to appear. Villages such as Osileni (Bero clan women) and Bakoia (Bakoia lineage) came into existence;[9] before this time, neither the Bero women or the Bakoia women had ever lived all together in a village with their husbands, without any other co-resident females. Any deviation from village settlement is considered unusual. Those who live in hamlets are either government employees, who are exempt from the corvee or "wok mande" and thus the line village residence requirements, or the elderly, who are either too weak to contribute much to "wok mande" projects or too set in their ways to be convinced to join line villages.

On a larger scale, then, settlement changes can be seen as following this sequence: (1) dispersed hamlets alongside the introduced but residentially unimportant line villages, (2) disruption by World War II, followed by the short-lived "big village" period, (3) re-adjustment along a generally uxorilocal pattern to line villages, now very much accepted.

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[9]Perhaps here it should be noted that none of these new villages have any official existence as far as the Administration is concerned. For tax purposes, inhabitants are considered belonging to the nearest officially recognized village. According to government ideas, there has been little change in the number or name of "officially recognized" villages since contact.

Residence

Turning now to an examination of residence patterns, the normative residence rules may be briefly stated. Nagovisi say that in the past, married couples might live anywhere they wanted to, provided that the owners of the ground and their neighbors did not object. Furthermore, it is said that there was rarely any objection. Today, however, Nagovisi claim that men must go to live with their wives' people, on their wife's ground. Exceptions occur, however, and when for some reason men do not go to live on their wife's ground, they may live with the husband's sisters--if the latter approve of their sister-in-law--or the husband may buy ground and establish a new residence. In the late stages of courtship and early marriage (there is frequently no sharp break), women are said to live with the husband's people for a while, i.e., under initial virilocality.

Statistics on residence after marriage reveal that the normative statements pretty well cover the field of actual residence choices. Most married couples live either uxorilocally, virilocally, in some combination of the two, or neolocally. However, in assessing residence choice at different historical periods, data on settlement patterns must be taken into account. An attempt to classify residence choices of the past on the basis of present-day villages, so strongly identified with a matrilineal core of women, would result in many inaccuracies. For example, it would be incorrect to classify a Bero clan woman and her Biroi clan husband who were living in the post-war big village of Biroi as living virilocally, because such a Bero woman was not leaving any Bero clan village in favor of her husband's village--there was in fact no Bero clan village at that time to leave (cf. Map 2). In those days, Big Biroi was really as much of a Bero clan village as it was a Biroi clan village.

The following table is a reconstruction of residence during different historical periods, based on census data collected in 1970. Individuals in the study area were questioned as to post-marital residence. Dates of residence shifts were estimated by correlating them with known events, most frequently, the birth or death of another individual. Marriage dates were determined either by examination of matrimonial dates in the Stati animara at the Sovele Roman Catholic Mission[10] or estimated by ages of children, or other factors. The table is a compound one, i.e., a couple married in the earliest time period re-appears in all follwoing periods, unless the marriage is concluded by either death or divorce. The table obviously does not show every contemporary marriage; when both partners were dead in 1970, it was not possible to include them. However, unless some selective factor for longevity regarding a certain type of residence is postulated, the table ought to be representative in any case. Only married couples figure into this data; widows, widowers, and currently divorced people do not. There is one polygynous marriage included as well.

Information on residence of couples whose marriages were contracted before World War II shows that about half of all couples were residing uxorilocally, and the rest were divided between virilocal and alternating residence. The latter form of residence can be defined as occurring when a couple either maintained two houses at any given time--usually, one virilocally and the other uxorilocally situated--or when, during the course of their marriage, they lived uxorilocally for a period of years, then virilocally for a period, again uxorilocally for a third period, and so on. The former sort of alternating residence was practiced by momiako, 'big men; the well-to-do and influential,' in

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[10]These were most graciously provided by the Rev. Fr. Denis Mahoney, S.M.

Table 1. Residence Frequencies at Various Time Periods

	Virilocal	Uxorilocal	Alternating	Both	Other
Pre-war Residence, 1910 to 1943 N = 29 couples	24% (7)	48% (13)	28% (8)		3%[a] (1)
Post-war Residence, 1946 to 1951 N = 50 couples	16% (8)[b]	20% (10)		58% (29)	6% (3)[c]
Residence, 1952 to 1959 N = 58 couples	17% (10)	57% (33)	9% (5)[d]	7% (4)[e]	10% (6)[f]
Residence, 1970 N = 87 couples	8%[g] (7)	82% (71)			10%[h] (9)

[a]A non-exogamously married couple who cannot be classified, since they live in an area equally belonging to husband and wife.

[b]Two couples ultimately went to live with the wife's relatives.

[c]Two couples lived outside the area at first because in both cases, the husband was employed as a policeman. The third case involved a non-exogamously married couple.

[d]Five couples made a number of moves back and forth between husband and wife's areas.

Table 1, continued

[e]Four couples lived in villages which had affiliations with both husband and wife.

[f]Two couples were non-exogamously married. Four lived with various other relatives, viz., wife's father, husband's father's sister, and two with wife's brother's wife.

[g]Three couples include wives from mountain lineages with no ground claims in the area; their husbands have bought ground from their own or other lineages. Three couples live in the husband's line village, but garden on the wife's land, which is adjacent. One couple here was asked to leave the wife's village because of adultery on the part of the husband. The last is the momiako and his two wives, one of whom is a Siuai; the women garden on the momiako's ground, but have cocoa on their own ground.

[h]Two couples reside neolocally (the husbands bought land); three couples are non-exogamously married and thus defy classification; one couple lives with the husband's father and one couple is unsettled--both of these can be reasonably expected to settle uxorilocally in time; two couples are "momiako-local." One of the latter two marriages ended in divorce in October 1970, but the other will probably continue unchanged until the momiako's death.

particular, but not exclusively by them. The latter sort of alternating residence was frequently observed by couples whose descent groups owned adjacent plots of land. All those who practiced alternating residence appeared to have moved around as circumstances provided or required, e.g., to plan and carry out siras, 'all-night singing feasts,' because of arguments, fear of sorcery, etc.

During the post-war or big village period, 58 percent of couples in the sample were living in villages the descent group affiliation of which was equally assignable to both husband and wife. These were, of course, the big villages described above. Frequencies of virilocality and uxorilocality during the post-war period are thus affected by locally exogamous marriages, as well as residence choice based on explicit motives, such as when the husband was designated "kukerai" or "tultul," 'government liaison officials,' in his natal village. During the post-war period, the residence rule followed by the majority of couples cannot be properly called either virilocal or uxorilocal in any meaningful sense.

During the 1950's, with the break up of the big villages, uxorilocality again emerged as the dominant mode of residence. However, the movement to uxorilocality was not smooth; note the high percentage of ambiguous sorts of residence (Table 1, footnotes d, e, and f). Some of this can be attributed to the lack of lineage-based villages, as in the big village period (cf. the "both" category). In such cases, couples lived in villages to which both had affiliation. Others made a number of moves between wife's and husband's areas, and perhaps to other areas as well; these were not simply initial virilocality. Still others lived with various and sundry relatives. The total of ambiguously-residing couples (22 percent of the sample) attests to the 1950's as a transitional period of some kind.

As discussed above, the 1960's saw the creation of new lineage-based line villages and the elimination of female non-members from existing villages. Thus, of all married couples surveyed in 1970, the great majority of them were living uxorilocally. Furthermore, some of those living non-uxorilocally were doing so on a temporary basis, and might be reasonably predicted to change to uxorilocal residence in time. During our stay, these figures fluctuated somewhat, due to initial virilocality practiced by the newly-wed.

Initial virilocality is said to be the rule among Nagovisi, but it may or may not be observed, and its length may vary somewhat. Since rarely does the initially virilocally resident couple have a house of their own, the wife may appear to be only visiting, rather than actually resident,[11] particularly if her mother's village is nearby and she goes there frequently. A newly-wed couple might stay with the husband's relatives until the bride is pregnant, or in the past (even as late as the early 1960's), until one or two children are born. My impression is that the length of initial virilocal residence is becoming shorter these days, perhaps because couples are anxious to begin planting cocoa on the wife's ground. Among ten couples newly married during our stay, the average length of initial virilocal residence was six months, with a range of zero to ten months.[12] My further impression is that initial virilocality tends not to be observed at all if the husband's mother is dead.

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[11]This is an important distinction, because the Nagovisi do entertain many visitors from other areas, often for weeks or more at a time.

[12]This is actually figured on a basis of six of these ten couples; four could not be rated, because two were non-exogamous marriages and two involved absent working husbands.

As of 1970, then, the great majority of couples in the study area were living uxorilocally. Of those who were not so living, four couples might reasonably be expected to do so in the future; their non-uxorilocal status was due to the fact that they were newly-wed and therefore unsettled. Thus, 86 percent of the sample was actually or potentially uxorilocal, and 14 percent were non-uxorilocal, living under other arrangements. Details concerning the latter group appear in the footnotes of Table 1.

Discussion

During the past forty years or so, two major changes have occurred in Nagovisi settlement and residence patterns: (1) nucleated settlements (i.e., villages) introduced by fiat have replaced the dispersed hamlets of the past, and (2) uxorilocal residence, always an alternative form, appears to be more frequently observed today than ever before in the past. The result is nucleated villages the membership of which is based on a core of adult females who are matrilineally related.

What has caused these changes? In one sense, the sociological aspects of residence changes can be seen as resulting from the settlement patterns; they represent a working out of traditional patterns in a context of compulsory nucleated settlements. After the disruptions of World War II, the trend has been ever towards nucleated villages of matrilineally-related women, their husbands, and children. The Nagovisi learned during the "big village" period that there was an upper limit to desirable village size; villages that were too large had problems of disease, fornication, and arguments. Furthermore, mixed (i.e., as to moiety) villages brought adolescent boys and girls who were potential spouses into every-day contact which made the arrangement

of assignations and trysts easy.[13] These undesirable conditions of the big village residence patterns are avoided in present-day smaller lineage-based villages. A rising population and an apparent slow-down in lineage fission (cf. Chapter III) have furthermore created a situation in which a single lineage may be able to provide enough households to meet the Administration requirement for an independent line village.

We must also consider another possible reason for these changes, particularly for the formation of all-lineage settlement villages. During the early 1960's, the formation of certain new all-lineage villages began and also during this time, individual couples who had been living in a village other than one inhabited mainly by the wife's lineage mates left for lineage-type villages. Informants almost without exception attribute this nucleation type of recruitment to villages to cocoa--the desire to plant cocoa on the wife's ground.

Here, attention must be given to the distinctive feature of Nagovisi matriliny, viz., the fact that a married couple exploits ground belonging to the wife's descent group, and may not ordinarily exploit that of the husband's descent group. This point would appear to make uxorilocal residence preferable to virilocal residence. In some cases, there are obvious advantages to uxorilocal residence regarding land exploitation. In some instances, particularly where a lineage's land holdings were small, a "kompani" whose members were the motai, 'married-in men,' of the lineage in question was formed in order to make a cocoa plantation. A common stand of trees was planted, and individuals were assigned parts of the plot to care for, harvest, and take money from. Sometimes there was a communal bank account

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[13] Nagovisi sometimes complain that co-educational schools have had the same effect.

into which some, but not all, of the earnings from the sale of the cocoa beans were deposited. A communal sun-dryer type cocoa fermentary was built near the stand, and the motai involved took turns manning it. Prior to 1968 when a diesel-powered cocoa dryer was purchased, the Bana Agricultural Cooperative, which markets the beans from the Nagovisi-Banoni area, did not accept wet beans, and thus, access to a sun-dryer type of fermentary was essential in order to make the cocoa beans commercially valuable.

In other cases, however, it is difficult to see any material advantage to uxorilocal residence. In descent groups having more extensive or more far-flung land holdings, plots of individual ownership were the rule. Cooperation among motai of such lineages is slight. In many such cases, living at one's wife's matrilineal village, rather than one's own, does not necessarily make one particularly close to one's stands of cocoa. In fact, little advantage is gained by living close to one's cocoa. Cocoa growing does not require steady work: there are two or three crops per year which each require perhaps a week's intensive labor, if sun drying is done. Maintenance, namely, cutting of the weeds and grass among the trees, should be done every two or three months. Work parties are not necessarily made up of one's fellow motai--hired labor, or the owner alone may do this job. Decisions on where cocoa is to be planted are often made anarchistically and individually; the senior female and her husband are not always consulted by daughters and younger sisters. Thus, in some parts of the study area, there appears to have been an ideological desire to live uxorilocally, not a practical one.

However, this is not to discount the "lure of the cocoa." A man who worked for twenty years for the Catholic Mission as a carpenter and handy-man abruptly quit his job "as soon as I saw my cocoa was mature and I could make money from it" and built himself a house nearby. Another man built a compound

for his wife and young daughters in the middle of his cocoa stand, "once the cocoa had gotten fairly big." People who own stands of cocoa in the Siuai area often talk of leaving Nagovisi and moving there "to look out for their cocoa." Another man told me he was planning to marry off all his daughters (he had already successfully done so with the first) to men from Siuai to reactivate the girls' hereditary rights there so as to plant much cocoa. Another man told me that "they" (i.e., his lineage mothers and their husbands) had wanted his sister to marry a Siuai man so that she would be able to reactivate land rights there, but the girl was in love with a Nagovisi man and refused.

The return to uxorilocality and the emergence of matrilineage-based villages during a period of increasing "modernization" which has involved cash-cropping and an increased supply of money, the latter essentially a man's commodity, is unusual and tends to contradict theoretical predictions common in anthropology and to run counter to experiences of other matri-societies in similarly transitional states.

Frequently encountered ideas of what circumstances enhance the likelihood of uxorilocality can be found in the writings of Murdock (1949), Richards (1950), and Schneider and Gough (1961). To a greater or lesser extent, all these writers believe that a sort of psychological "mastering" or domination influences the residence patterns of a given society; thus, if females contribute substantially to subsistence, or in other economically valuable ways, females will somehow be able to insist on having their own way with regard to residence. "Their way" is understood to be always with their own kinswomen. Thurnwald claimed that in matrilineal agricultural societies, women would own the food and thus be more important; this idea can be discounted because primitive humans always share food. Ordinary food is not for power-inflicting uses (Murdock 1949:205). On the other hand, if for example, men pay a substantial brideprice, men

. will be able to force their residential wills upon their wives; in such cases, virilocality is supposed to prevail.

Other ideas put forth by Murdock (1949:205) state that high status of women, female owernship of land, relative peacefulness (i.e., lack of war), absence of movable property in herds or slaves, and low level of political integration will all tend to favor uxorilocality. When we attempt to compare these predictions with what has happened in Nagovisi over the past forty years or so, it is clear that there has been no great change in any of these supposedly causal factors (except for greater relative peacefulness after pacification) that might account for the greater degree of uxorilocality observed today. It might be argued, of course, that Murdock did not intend that these factors he mentions effect changes of degree, but of gross type only. If this is true, however, it is certainly not made explicit in his writings.

Turning to actual cases in which there has been an introduction of cash-cropping to a matrilineal society, there are ample instances in which cash-cropping has been incompatible with pre-existing matrilineal institutions. Some examples which might be cited include the Ashanti of West Africa (Fortes 1950), the Tolai of New Britain (Epstein 1968), and the Nasioi, neighbors to the east of the Nagovisi (Ogan 1969). In all these cases, the major reason for conflict appears to be the same: married adult males exploit land belonging to their own descent group, yet inheritance is normatively matrilineal. The result is that couples live virilocally, on the ground of the husband's descent group. However, matrilineal inheritance makes it impossible, ordinarily, to pass on this ground now valuable with permanent crops to the heirs of choice. Under matrilineal inheritance, men must pass on ground to persons who are in a sense aliens, i.e., the sisters' sons who have been living on their own father's descent group land. Resentment on the part of men sometimes results from this condition.

Among the Nagovisi, however, men forfeit the rights to exploit land of their own descent group upon marriage and work instead on the ground of their wives. Their daughters inherit the products of their labor, not strangers, such as their sisters' children. The role of the Nagovisi husband as a provider of material goods for his own children, rather than for his sisters' children, is no doubt enhanced by local endogamy and dual organization with an expressed preference for marrying into one's father's descent group.

Household Composition

In general, members of a household occupy two houses, one of which is used for cooking and the other of which is used for sleeping. The house for sleeping may or may not be partitioned. In pre-contact times, according to informants, all households occupied one house only, which was used both for cooking and sleeping. Such a house was built directly on the ground, and a raised platform or benches were used as sleeping areas.[14] Public health officials and patrol officers introduced the raised house on piles and encouraged the building of a separate "haus kuk" to accomodate each household. The haus kuk was not raised on piles but resembled the original house type in being built directly on the ground. Recently (from what date I cannot say), public health officials have encouraged the building of raised cook houses. In such structures, stones and dirt are brought inside and laid on part of the wooden floor to make a fireproof hearth. Structures with raised cooking areas like the one just described are usually joined to the sleeping rooms by a roofed runway.

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[14]Houses of this style are occasionally built today and serve as garden houses or pig-feeding stations. They have the advantage of being easy to rapidly erect. Such houses are never built in line villages.

Still, there is architectural variation in Nagovisi; not every household has two easily identifiable such structures for its exclusive use. All of this architectural prelude leads to a discussion, then, of the problems of the definition of the household. There is in fact no one single criterion by which one can judge the affiliation of any given person to a household; rather, there is a cluster of criteria by which most households can be distinguished. It is certainly true that in the large majority of Nagovisi households, individuals are linked by ties of kinship and affinity--an overwhelming number of households (93 percent) involve a married couple (with or without offspring and various other relatives). The members of a household furthermore tend to occupy the same structure of structures and there they eat meals and sleep. However, there are exceptions:

> Tari, a sixty-year-old man whose second wife was in prison for the murder of their son, ordinarily slept alone in his one-room house in Biroi village. He took meals with his first wife's younger sister's household, a five minute walk away. He was visited occasionally by his D, who was married to a Siuai man and lived in Holina, and his older brother, Ubiari, who was married in a distant village. In December 1969, Ubiari came to live with Tari, feeling that he would die soon. The two selpt in the same house, but Ubiari took his meals either with the momiako or with his ZDs' households. In April 1970, Tari lent his house to Kaminai, his ZS, and his bride Kobie for two months or so. During this time, Tari slept and ate at various places: the momiako's, his ZDs', his first WyZ's. He also visited his D in Holina and went for a week's check-up at the TB sanitarium in Buin. Ubiari had moved to a ZD's household by this time. In August 1970, Tari was back sleeping in his own house and eating regularly with his first WyZ's family.

Some exceptions, like the above example, involve the separation of eating and sleeping, i.e., an individual may sleep

with one household (or by himself) and eat with another. Adolescent boys (i.e., from age sixteen or so until they are married) occasionally build small one-room houses in which they and their male lineage age-mates sleep. Such houses, although said to be traditional, are always referred to by the pidgim term "haus boi." Inhabitants of the haus boi occasionally cook for themselves, but more frequently eat with their respective mothers' households. Widows, widowers, and those temporarily without a spouse (e.g., if spouse is absent working), who have no immature children may own separate houses where they ordinarily sleep, but they tend to take meals with another household, probably because it is more pleasant to eat in the company of others and a bother to prepare a meal for one. Such "regulars" must be analytically distinguished from casual visitors or even recurrent visitors, in that the regulars have no alternate regular place to eat. In general, any additions to the household are consanguineal relatives--usually of the wife. The only exception in the study area was the household of the local momiako: living with his household on a permanent basis was a non-relative, an unmarried man of middle age, who was an employee of the momiako. For about half a year during our stay, the household also contained a distant relative who was in financial debt to the momiako, the debtor's wife, and the debtor's daughter by a previous marriage.[15]

There are some individuals in Nagovisi who have no one household to which they can claim major affiliation, but instead move among a number of households, "visiting," as it were, each in turn. Such a woman is Buata, a seventy-year-old woman who sometimes lives with her fourth husband in his natal village, sometimes with her classificatory sisters, and

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[15]We received word after leaving the field that the latter group had broken up as of October 1970.

sometimes at the village of a deceased husband, with his relatives. She is more or less a guest wherever she goes. Warabai, a widow as of January 1969, has a house of her own in a remote area. Her two daughters live in Pomalate. When in Pomalate, she used to divide her time between these two households. She remarried in August 1970 and we heard reports from the field that she spends much time at her second husband's daughter's village after having had many quarrels with her daughters.

The existence of a household is very heavily dependent on a married couple. Very few widows and widowers have their own households. Those widows or widowers who do either have immature children of their own and expect to remarry at some time in the future, or tend to eat and visit elsewhere frequently.

Any household with two married couples in it represents a temporary arrangement, as when a newly-wed couple resides with the parents of one or the other. Within time, the newly-wed couple invariably builds a house of their own and establishes their own household. Any combination of adult brother and sister living in the same household is also either temporary or considered by informants to be unusual.

> Lenos, the brother of Minaru, was married to a New Ireland woman he had met in Rabaul. The New Ireland woman gave birth to a son, but she was involved in many adulterous affairs and left Lenos finally when the child was about six. Lenos then returned to Nagovisi with his son and went to live with his sister's household (their mother was dead). From the day he appeared in Nagovisi, an active search was underway to find him a wife; he was not expected to stay indefinitely with his sister and her family.
>
> Nawis was a widower who had been employed on Buka while his daughters stayed with his deceased wife's sisters. A strange malady, the major symptoms of which were lethargy and hot flashes, overcame him, however, and he

> returned to Nagovisi. He took up residence in his own lineage's village, and despite active attempts on the part of a middle-aged widow to seduce him or at least get him to marry her, he continued to reside with his lineage sisters. Informants attributed this unusual behavior to his illness; it is normal for men who feel ill to return to their lineage sisters' village.

In households with adhering relatives, the relative is invariably a relative of the wife. The most commonly co-residing relatives are one or another of the wife's parents; others may include the wife's mother's siblings, and immature grandchildren or WZCh. If for some reason a child cannot stay in his or her own mother's household, he or she goes to the household of the MM or MZ. That households consisting of an older married couple have no WF's as adhering relatives appears to result from consideration of relative age; husbands are generally older than wives, and by the time a daughter's children have grown up and left to form households of their own, the daughter's father is more than likely to be dead, whereas the daughter's mother may not be dead, being somewhat younger than her husband.

Although this survey (Table 2) taken in August 1970 I believe to be representative of Nagovisi household composition, were I to have made it at various other times during my stay, somewhat different combinations would have been represented. The main changes are caused by birth, death, marriage, and their attendant obligations such as house-building or tearing down, initial virilocality, etc. Temporary variations are brought about by persons leaving for work outside the Nagovisi area, secondary and tertiary school attendance outside the area, and visits or arguments which can cause changes in household composition.

Table 2. Household Composition in Osileni, Iaran, Namrau, Osiranda, Bakoia, Pomalate, Biroi, Naalanda, Lolo, Iadano, Pabirine, Nammunetova, Lavolavo, Nairona in August 1970.

Composition of Household	Number of Households	Percent
Husband, wife, and children	58	66%
Husband, wife, children and other persons[a]	14	16%
Husband and wife	7	8%
Husband, wife, and others[b]	3	3%
Husband[c]	2	2%
Wife (widow)	1	1%
Widow and children	2	2%
Widow, children, her married daughter and son-in-law[d]	1	1%
Total	88	99%

[a]In 13 or these 14 cases, the extra persons were relatives of the wife. The number of households which included a given kin-type follows the specification of that relative (those marked with an asterisk are temporary members of the given household). WF (3); WF, DH* (1); WZD (1); WZD*, WZDH* (1); WMB* (1); WB*, WBS* (1), DD (1). Households had the following kin-types on an alternating basis: WM (2); WM, WF (1); WMB (1); WMB (1); WMZ (1). In one case, a non-relative resided with a polygynous family, and a classificatory HZS, his W, and his D by a former marriage lived there too for about six months.

[b]The relatives were as follows: WMM (1); and on an alternating basis, W classificatory Z (1); WM, W classificatory M (1).

Table 2, continued

[c]These were both temporary arrangements: one man remarried in August 1970, and the other had a wife living in Siuai but he was employed in Nagovisi. He planned ultimately to move to Siuai.

[d]The daughter and son-in-law were resident on a temporary basis.

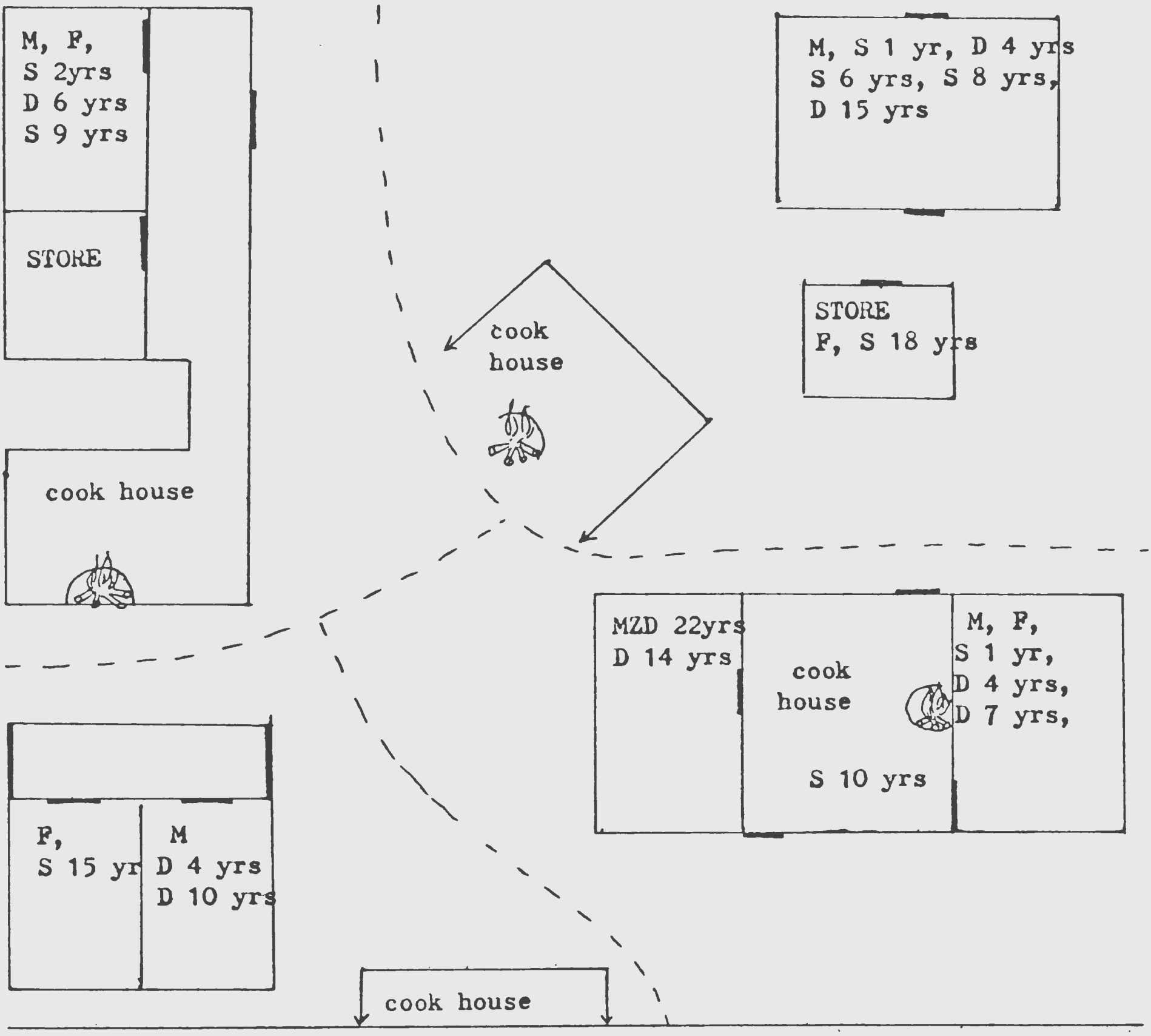
[e]In addition, there were four "haus bois" in the area, and one uninhabited house which had been built by a hyperactive man who had many houses in both Nagovisi and Nasioi. He was married to a Nasioi woman.

Sleeping Arrangements

Although I collected no systematic data on sleeping arrangements, casual conversations tended to bring out the following normative sleeping arrangements (Diagram 1). Families with children, all of whom are young, tend to sleep together in one room. Nagovisi expressed disapproval of the European practice of allowing a small child to sleep alone in a room of its own, lest bad spirits (*mara*) look at it and do it harm. Families with puberal children (ca. ten or twelve years or age) tend to separate according to sex; the father sleeps in one room with his sons and the mother in another with her daughters. Should such a mother have an infant son, however, he will sleep with her and his sisters. Otherwise, beginning just before adolescence, brothers and sisters must sleep in separate rooms. Sometimes, this provides the impetus for the building of a "haus boi." Fathers observing the post-partum sex tabu may also sleep separately, but not always. The wife's mother, if she is a part of the household or not, must sleep in a separate

room from her daughter's husband, but the wife's father is not under such prohibitions. Co-wives sleep separately from one another, in fact, often have their own houses, with their respective children.

Diagram 1. Typical House Floor Plans with Sleeping Arrangements Indicated



The sociological composition of villages and households reveals again the most significant structural features of Nagovisi society. Recruitment to a village depends on matrilineage affiliation for women and marriage affiliation for men. The most basic or essential unit of household

organization is the married couple. Any adhering relatives are almost without exception relatives of the wife. Because of the composition of both household and village, daily and intimate association of adult brother and sister is obviated. It has been repeatedly asserted that marriage ties, and matrilineal connections in most general terms, are the basic social bonds, and the village and household arrangements of people described in this chapter exemplify this viewpoint.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE 1: THE POSITION OF THE HUSBAND IN HIS WIFE'S DESCENT GROUP

The following two chapters both deal with the subject of marriage. In Chapter V, the relation of the husband to his wife's descent group is analyzed. This topic is of particular interest to students of matrilineal institutions. Chapter VI deals with questions of general theoretical nature on the topic of marriage, e.g., cross cousin marriage, changes in the direction of marriage prestations, divorce, etc. The allocation of relevant ethnographic materials to each chapter provides some difficulties; in certain instances, it has been necessary to refer the reader ahead to topics which are more fully covered in later pages. Chapter V contains most of the ethnographic material pertaining to marriage; reference is made to some customs which are dealt with at length in Chapter VI. It was hoped that such a presentation would avoid undue repetition of dull ethnographic facts presented without analysis.

In addition to the consideration of the man's relation to his wife's descent group, Chapter V provides as necessary background material the behavior between husband and wife, and that among affines. Comparisons with other matri-societies are offered, and some discussion of prevailing theories of matriliny is provided. These major topics are preceded by a description and definition of marriage in Nagovisi, a discussion of marriage arrangements, past and present, and a brief description of traditional marriage ceremonies.

The Definition of Marriage

Marriage (late) among the Nagovisi cannot be signified by any single act or ceremony which unequivocally makes two people married. Rather, marriage ordinarily involves a number of stages or steps, none by itself entirely diagnostic, but all of them contributing to the state of being married. Thus, mutual gardening efforts, inhabiting a separate house, and producing offspring are all indications that predispose Nagovisi to refer to the couple doing these things as being married. Should a relationship be characterized by some of these conditions, Nagovisi might say that the given couple were slightly married ("tupela i bin marit liklik") or weakly married ("marit bilong tupela i no bin sitrong tumas"). The payment of marriage prestations, feasts, and ceremonies may also indicate preliminary steps in a marriage, but these are neither necessary nor binding, nor were they in the past. Thus, Nagovisi recognize genuine marriages as those relationships which satisfy a number of conditions, pulled, as it were, from a "bundle of conditions," to paraphrase Leach (1961:105).

Usually, there are some first signs which indicate to others when two formerly single people are considered to be newly married. Most consistently mentioned by informants were the following: (1) When a man and woman begin to walk around together, without the company of others, and (2) when the man begins to work in the garden of the woman. The first sign is an indication that the given couple regularly copulate.[1] Married people should copulate inside houses, however, unlike lovers, who copulate in the bush; thus, in marriage, some social recognition of this fact is implied. The second

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[1] In fact, when a man and woman are discovered along together, it is taken as prima facia evidence of past or intended fornication by native courts of law.

criterion, that the man work in the woman's garden, was strikingly exemplified during our stay by the following case:

> Semana became pregnant, and she and her lover, Puaru, were forced into a church wedding by the parish priest. In addition, Puaru's mother paid Semana's parents $50 and one strand of red wiasi (momoru) as brideprice. The day after the church ceremony, Puaru left Nagovisi and went to work in Buka, the smaller island just off the north coast of Bougainville proper. He stayed there for about five years, coming back to Nagovisi only once for a few days. During Puaru's absence, Semana's father made several attempts to marry her off to other men. His attempts failed, however. Semana's parents continued to speak Puaru's name, and did not assume any of the avoidance behaviors which are essential between the DH and WM and WF. They continued to treat Puaru casually after he returned the second time, until he made it clear by doing some garden work for Semana that he intended to stay. At this point, her parents abruptly began to observe all the appropriate etiquette.

It is to be noted that in the above example, Semana and Puaru were not considered to be genuinely married, regardless of the fact that there had been brideprice paid, a Catholic church ceremony performed, and a child born to them, until Puaru had worked in Semana's garden. Before Puaru returned from Buka, people used to tell me that Semana wasn't really married, and hinted that there was something wrong with her marriage. The following incident was mentioned by some as additional corroboration of this viewpoint; when Puaru had returned the first time for his short visit, he and Semana copulated in a stand of coffee bushes, "just like lovers," as one man put it, "not like people who are really married would do."

As the above account indicates, the payment of brideprice is also a sign of intent to marry; in fact, it is

mandatory these days, but was not so in the past (see Chapter VI). Christian marriage ceremonies are considered to be an afterthought, an optional filip, not an integral part of marriage. Today most all couples live together as man and wife, after brideprice has been paid, for some time before submitting to a church wedding. In many cases, the bride is pregnant at the time of the church ceremony.

Kobiau

Traditionally, the Nagovisi performed marriage ceremonies (kobiau) for certain persons, in particular, the children of the well-to-do or powerful (i.e., children of momiakos) and of these, especially for the first-born female. The kobiau was the final ceremony in the series of mavos, or growing-up rites, which the well-to-do celebrated for their first-born children (cf. Chapter III). Kobiaus and mavos in general went into decline after the introduction of Christianity in the 1930's, but during our stay, the resident parish priest was encouraging the revival of the kobiau in a somewhat modified form. Many older informants disapproved of such ceremonies, largely because the traditional kobiau could only be performed for individuals who had undergone the other kinds of mavos; it was courting supernatural wrath to either omit a kobiau for a person who had undergone all other mavos up to that point or to perform a kobiau on behalf of a person who had not undergone the entire series. Furthermore, the deletion of the singing of eula, 'invocations to the moiety ancestresses,' as required by the priest made these new kobiaus seem even more pointless, as did the fact that some of the girls for whom it was performed were not virgins, but had in fact been living with their "fiances" and in some instances were already pregnant.

Informants described the traditional kobiau in the following terms. Being basically a mavo, cooked feast food,

usually pito, 'baked sliced tubers topped with cocoanut cream,' and roast pork, was available and guests took home with them cocoanut leaf baskets full of these items. The hosts did not eat any of the feast food. Pito was prepared by the members of the clans involved and brought to the feast for redistribution; pork was cooked at the site of the ceremony (i.e., at the sponsors' settlement).

The actual timetable for the kobiau is not clear; informants gave somewhat differing accounts. The night before the ceremony, the bride and groom slept for the first time under the same roof in the company of an elderly man and woman. This part was called the ku:be. Accounts vary as to the moiety/descent group affiliation of the older couple and their relationship to each other; it was most important, apparently, that they be elderly, i.e., past reproductive age and grey-haired, but not senile. The betrothed couple did not copulate during this night, although they were free to do so after the kobiau.

The day after the ku:be, the kobiau took place. According to some informants, the betrothed couple were awakened by the cries of eula sung by the old women of either moiety. Other informants stated that the eula came later in the day, when both bride and groom were decked out in the wiasi of their respective moieties and when the girl gave the to'wai, 'food wrapped in a strand of wiasi,' to the groom. Whatever the case, it is probable that kobiaus were similar to other Nagovisi mavos, in which most of the day is spent in food preparation and pleasant conversation and the performance of any ritual is short and done with comparative haste and lack of pomp.

There was additional disagreement among informants as to the economics of the kobiau, in particular, who supplied the pork. According to some, pigs were contributed in equal numbers by both the bride's descent group and the groom's

descent group. Other informants claimed that this was only true if there were to be no marriage prestations, and if lolai, 'dowry,' were given, the groom's group supplied the pigs for the marriage feast as lolai nogokas, 'dowry returned.' However, actual accounts of past kobiaus show that even when there was lolai, there was not necessarily any lolai nogokas paid by the groom's descent group; sometimes, there was equal contribution by both sides, and sometimes the groom provided no pigs at all.

In modern or present-day kobiau revivals of which I had knowledge, the bride's kin were invariably the sole providers of pigs. Whether this is because the Nagovisi now pay brideprice rather than dowry (see Chapter VI) or whether because it is the fathers of brides, not fathers of grooms, who are approached by the priest suggesting that a feast be made in celebration of their daughters' marriages, I do not know. Both reasons are certainly plausible.

We witnessed a modern-day kobiau which celebrated the marriages of two female parallel cousins. The kobiau took place at the clan villages of the brides, with members of neighboring and relatives' settlements of both moieties in attendance. The brides wore the wiasi, 'shell valuables,' of all the Eagle clans whose members attended, but the grooms wore only wiasi of their own clans--not of the whole Hornbill moiety. Indeed, one of the grooms was a Siuai man, and he wore only three or four strands of wiasi, reportedly because his clan is nearly extinct.

The brides faced their grooms, and in front of each bride in turn stood the oldest woman of the brides' lineage; in front of each groom, the oldest man of the brides' lineage stood in turn. First, one bride handed a can of corned beef to the old woman, who then handed it to the old man, who finally handed it to the groom. These steps were repeated with a different can of corned beef for the second couple.

The corned beef was apparently the to'wai, but it was not wrapped in wiasi. The parish priest had forbidden them to invoke the moiety ancestress by singing eula, which as mentioned above, is traditionally done at all mavos. So instead, the ceremony was ended, and the audience began to mill about and mix among themselves, while the brides and grooms removed the wiasi and returned it to its owners.

Ideally, the priest prefers that a Catholic wedding be performed prior to the modern kobiau, and generally it is. However, in this case, the kobiau was performed on Ash Wednesday, and according to canon law, no weddings may be held during Lent; therefore, the two couples were not married in church until two months later. By this time, at least one of the brides was pregnant, since cohabitation had begun before the church wedding.

Marriage Arrangement

Essentially, there are two aspects to marriage arrangement--match-making or selection of a spouse, and the negotiations for payment of brideprice.[2] In the past, according to informants, both aspects of marriage arrangement were handled by those other than the prospective husband and wife. Normally, mothers, mothers' brothers, perhaps fathers, or in lieu of these, a local momiako would make such arrangements. Today, mate selection is more or less carried on by the prospective spouses themselves, although children may act upon suggestions from their parents. Marriage prestations remain the concern of those other than the married couple, however. The whole question of marriage prestations is dealt with at greater length in Chapter VI; the following section deals exclusively with mate selection.

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[2] Formerly, the negotiations would have concerned marriage prestations, whether equal or of a dowry-type.

Search for a Mate

The only written ethnographic item from the early post-contact period describing marriage customs (Thurnwald 1938) gives an account similar to what some of my informants told me. According to these sources, the lineage of the prospective bride initiated a search for a husband for her. More specifically, the girl's M and MB were most directly involved in the search. The girl's brothers and her MMB's could take no part in these negotiations; indeed, they were to feign ignorance of such matters, which involved their sister's sexuality.

Actual case histories of marriage negotiations, past and present, deviated somewhat from this ideal pattern; furthermore, I was sometimes given normative statements quite at odds with the above-stated ideal pattern. In some cases, fathers of the prospective bride and groom were said to have made the matches, with counsel from their wives. In other cases, the opposite was said to have taken place--women made arrangements with the advice of their husbands. In some instances, the mother's brother(s) may be involved, and in other cases, he or they may be entirely aloof. In addition, marriage arrangement is not simply a problem of getting women married, as the ideal implies. Parents of males, too, were and are frequently very much involved in marriage negotiations.[3] It can be asserted with confidence that it is the business of the lineage to marry off its young

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[3]Because brideprice is paid nowadays in Nagovisi, the parents of male children sometimes will form a mutual-aid "kompani" or partnership for the purpose of paying brideprice for their sons. No doubt the change from dowry to brideprice (cf. Chapter VI) has increased interest in negotiations on behalf of sons, but from the accounts of informants, it appears that there was a certain amount of such negotiations (on behalf of sons) during the time when dowry was paid, which was for the most part, pre-1930.

people, and most often, those directly involved will be genealogically close to the young person and one generation older than he or she (i.e., M, MM, MZ, F, or MB in most cases). Beyond this, however, circumstances, such as the desirability of the young person or the parents' aggressiveness, to a large extent determine just exactly who will do what.

In discussions of prospective spouses, the wishes of the young person herself or himself must be taken into consideration. They may veto any choice considered to be undesirable.[4] Young people, thus, have considerable latitude in choice of a prospective mate, the only across-the-board prohibition being on moiety-mates, and even this obstacle can sometimes be overcome. In the past, according to informants, people might force young girls to marry against their wishes, and in some such cases, the girls committed suicide rather than marry the undesirable man. This is said to have happened as recently as 1946 or so. Nagovisi claim now to deplore the fact that such things occurred, saying, "Nowadays, things are good--girls can decide for themselves whom they wish to marry." Yet even so, I have said that parents attempt to influence their children's choices, if possible or practical, and they may do so by direct means, such as by openly suggesting a would-be spouse to a nubile girl, or by more subtle ones. Some of the more subtle means and reasons for them are given below.

Wagana

Infant betrothal (wagana) was practiced occasionally by the Nagovisi formerly. This was thought to be particularly appropriate for two children who were born at nearly

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[4] I have the distinct impression that it is more often women who indicate strong preferences and/or aversions in the matter of mate selection than do men. Cf. Courtship, below.

the same time.[5] The parents, especially the fathers, according to informants, of unborn children, might promise each other that if their infants were of appropriate sexes, they would betroth them. Children thus betrothed would be told to be particularly solicitous of their little spouses, and taught to address each other by the terms "husband" and "wife." No specific exchanges were made in the case of wagana, because it was recognized that frequently, such betrothals would not result in marriage; perhaps one of the children would die before reaching maturity, or perhaps one or both would find the other distasteful or another more attractive.[6] In such cases, informants explained, any exchanges would have been made in vain. However, parents of children betrothed did make informal exchanges, e.g., should one family have meat from a feast, they might share it with the other family. Such exchanges were ideally equal.

Today, wagana is not practiced, because as mentioned above, children are no longer forced to marry those who displease them, just to fulfill a wagana pledge, and, as was frequently told me, "We don't know what our children will be thinking when it is time for them to marry." It is frequently asserted that even if it were possible to force marriages between unwilling individuals, the resulting marraiges would be bad, in that they would be likely to generate continuous conflict.

Nevertheless, parents do expect and desire that their children will marry into certain categories of eligible

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[5]This reason was given despite the fact that most Nagovisi husbands are actually older than their wives, and that the Nagovisi claim that this is how it should be, because, in their opinion, women mature faster than men.

[6]In fact, when I was taking census data on brideprice, the fact that a couple had been betrothed in infancy was sometimes given as a reason why there had been no brideprice or marriage prestations of any kind.

spouses; specifically, they should be local people of the opposite moiety, and better yet, members of the father's clan, or clan and lineage (see Chapter VI). To this end, parents attempt to "pre-condition" children, especially sons, to treat prospective WM's--women who are distant father's "sisters" (i.e., in the same clan, or even lineage if it is a large one, but not in the same wetetenamo)--with the deference due to a real mother-in-law.

Under ordinary conditions, local endogamy is expected by parents:

> Tevu told me that he knew that his six-year-old daughter would marry one of the little boys from one or another of the neighboring Eagle moiety villages, but that it was not possible to know exactly who her future husband would be at the present.

Even in the case of educated children, parents hope, frequently with some success, that a "local spouse" can be agreed upon. However, this is not always the case.

> Lasli, nineteen-year-old son of Veniai and Lalikas, had completed fifth form in the Standard "A" high school (i.e., for English-speakers, usually Europeans and Chinese) in Rabaul, New Britain, where he had lived most of his life with his father who is employed there. His mother, Lalikas, nevertheless, wanted him to marry a girl from near her village in Nagovisi and attempted to make some matches with the parents of what she considered to be eligible girls. Lasli was not interested in any of them, however, and instead, impregnated a Buin nurse he had met in Rabaul. His mother in particular was extremely angry about this, and told him, "Why did you throw yourself away on a girl from another place? There are plenty of suitable girls in Nagovisi!"

"Political" marriages, which also deviate from the ideal of local endogamy, are sometimes arranged in Nagovisi. Today, most of these locally exogamous marriages are made in order to maximize land holdings.

Golai has managed to marry or betroth all of his children to Siuais or Banonis, the latest of these marriages having been arranged as it became apparent that his own wife's lineage's land hodlings were not enough to support great stands of cocoa. He has also thus far managed to convince one of his daughters to live virilocally, thus relieving the pressure on his wife's lineage's land.

Mesiamo agreed to find a husband for a girl, distantly related to one of his wives, because the girl's lineage was angry at her for fornicating with a married man and incurring fines to them. The girl, because of her reputation, was not easy to marry off locally, but Mesiamo managed to find a husband for her among the land-poor mountain lineages. The prospective husband's mother is said to have jumped at the chance to marry her son off to a woman from "down below" with relatively large land holdings. Only after the two were married did Mesiamo warn the groom that the girl was considered to be promiscuous.

Nali, whose wife belongs to a recently-immigrated lineage from Siuai which has small land holdings in Nagovisi, told me of his plan to marry all his daughters to Siuai men, so that they can re-activate land claims and plant large cocoa stands. His eldest daughter has already done this, in fact.

None of these marriages which I have called "political" are forced, in the sense that marriages were forced in the past, but are apparently brought about by other, more subtle methods.[7] One of Golai's sons, Minto, was sent to school in Siuai, where he met his future wife. Sometimes a family desiring such connections will visit these distant areas for an extended period. When marriage with people

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[7]Indeed, these methods are so subtle that I don't quite understand how some of them work.

from a distant place has begun--for whatever reason--such exchanges tend to be perpetuated, simply because a new circle of acquaintances and potential spouses are thus contacted. A particularly neat description of such marriage exchanges was given to me by Minto, a man whose family was involved in "political" marriages in order to gain ground: "Since my older sister married into Siuai, the Siuais owed me a wife. Now, we owe them one, and so Tawara [his younger sister] is going to marry a Siuai."

Courtship

Courtship today is frequently initiated by letters exchanged between a prospective husband and wife. According to informants, most of these are little more than arrangements for assignation, accompanied perhaps by some sentimental thoughts or erotic suggestions. Unless the parties live at some distance, e.g., if one or the other is at a boarding high school on the island, letters are not actually posted but are delivered by courier--some child serves this purpose, in many cases. One informant recited to us the essential contents of one such letter he had found lying on a trail: "...you can never leave me now, you must always stay in my heart, let's meet behind the Standard 6 classroom after dark tonight" (i.e., implied, for the purposes of copulation). Another letter, the contents of which became widely known, was one given to a group of school girls to deliver. Instead of doing so, the girls opened the letter, read it, tore it up, and quoted from it indiscriminately. Its most publicized phrase was the following: "Now that you have seen the part of my body from which I urinate, you must marry me."[8]

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[8]In both cases mentioned here, the authors were women.

My impression from informal accounts is that girls most often initiate such courtship by letter. This is in accord with my observation that women are much more likely to express strong opinion--either positive or negative--toward a potential spouse than are men. In cases of divorce or failure to marry one's betrothed, women more frequently than men either find fault with the would-be spouse or become attracted to another. On the whole, men are not so particular; as one man bluntly put it, "I would have married any girl my descent group suggested to me. After all, the vaginas of women are all the same, aren't they?"

Relations of Husband and Wife

In discussing the relationship of husband and wife, mention is made of their major common cooperative activities, and the role each plays in them, i.e., questions of ownership and domestic authority. Also included in this section is a discussion of conjugal arguments and how they are resolved. Finally, the matters of sex and affection between husband and wife are considered.

Work

As the nucleus of a household (cf. Chapter IV), a married couple is both a consumption and production unit, and to these ends their work efforts are directed. A normally active man and woman are together capable of producing all the food they, their children, and even a pig or two, may need; exceptionally industrious persons can produce more, of course.

H. Thurnwald reported for the Nagovisi of the 1930's, "in all matters of married life the husband and wife stand as equal working-partners together. Each leaves the other alone in ordinary daily matters, and anticipates good treatment." (1938:234) This continues to be true among the Nagovisi

Table 1. Daily Work of Women and Men

Category	Women	Men
Domestic	-cooking daily food -washing clothes -carrying water -sweeping around house -cooking for pigs -feeding pigs	-building, maintaining houses (logging, carpentry, sago thatching) -feeding pigs -building, maintaining pig fences -corvee work (roads, grass-cutting)
Garden	-cutting vines in secondary growth -burning dried debris -hoeing -planting sweet potatoes -digging out potatoes -washing potatoes -carrying potatoes home	-cutting secondary growth -burning dried debris -hoeing -sometimes washing and carrying potatoes home -harvest cocoanuts, betel, breadfruit
Hunting and Gathering	-underwater spear fishing[a] -gathering almonds, mangoes, wild yams, wild greens, and fungi	-hunting birds, bats, possums, wild pig -fishing with hooks and traps, especially at night
Cash Crops	-sun-dry coffee beans -pick coffee beans -break cocoa pods -carry cocoa bean to fermentary	-clear land -mark and plant cocoa -sun-dry cocoa beans -carry cocoa beans to fermentary

Table 1, continued

Category	Women	Men
Crafts	-work baskets -rain mats -pottery (traditional) -sewing clothing (modern)	-net bags -cord -fish wiers -spears -arrows, bows
Miscellaneous	-plant for feasts -bake tubers in earth ovens -make small batches of sago flour	-roast meat for feasts -scrape cocoanuts for feasts -assist with earth ovens -make large quantities of sago flour

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[a]Nagovisi women use sharpened metal spears, basketry creels, and wear goggles when they fish in the streams.

today. Men's work and women's work are ordinarily divided between husband and wife in customary ways, but differences of circumstance and personality may make for individual variations among couples.

The Nagovisi say that there are few jobs that women cannot do,[9] if needs be, and none that men cannot do, but some men, because of personal idiosyncracies, refuse to do certain kinds of work, such as carrying sweet potatoes home from the garden, carrying water, or cooking daily food. The degree to which any person will deviate from ordinary sex-assigned tasks appears to be entirely a matter of personality; I never heard any mockery or censure of those who did work ordinarily the province of the other sex, although people were aware of these exceptions and could comment on them.

> At the beginning of our stay, a new meeting house for the Women's Club at the Mission was planned. The nun in charge attempted to persuade the fathers and husbands of members to build it, but with no success. She then encouraged the women themselves to build it, and a small beginning was made. The reaction of men to the idea of women building a house was one of amusement, but not of ridicule. The notion seemed most of all to be incongruous. Their predictions that the house would never be completed proved to be accurate; the women appeared to lose interest more than anything else.

Thus, in Nagovisi, there is men's work and there is women's work, distinguished for the most part by the amount of physical strength required to perform it or whether it potentially violates modesty, as for example, climbing cocoanut trees or betel trees, which are usually situated near

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[9]Such jobs would be extremely heavy work, such as cutting trees in secondary bush, and according to informants, there are individual women who are strong enough to do these things. Ordinarily, however, these tasks are divided between husband and wife.

villages, would do. In other work, there is a fair amount of individual choice allowed between man and wife, much of which depends on idiosyncratic factors. A male and female combination is usually capable of providing the most diversified labor, however, for the accomplishment of every-day tasks.

As regards what may be called extraordinary work, i.e., intermittent preparations for feasts, it has been mentioned in Chapter III that it is the husband and wife who together prepare for these unusual occasions. Most feasts today are occasioned by the death of a member of the wife's descent groupl those that are not done in the aftermath of a death are either wife's lineage-related mavos[10] or completely secular "patis," a European-inspired all night entertainment which includes dancing, live guitar music, and European food served in a sort of one-night restaurant. These "patis" are intended to make profit also, as well as to entertain.

At any rate, it is the husband and wife, not the brother and sister, who plan and prepare for the lineage-related feasts. Since putting on feasts was in the past and still is today one of the ways that a man becomes known as a momiako, his wife's cooperation in these matters is crucial to his success or failure. It was frequently remarked of one Pomalate man that had his wife been more willing to exert herself to be a more capable gardener and planner, he would certainly have been a formidable momiako.

In general, it is the wife (and her sisters and daughters, if any) who decide on the scale of the proposed feast, along with advice from their brothers. The husbands shop

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[10]Two first eatings-in-the-laupai (polo udus) were done during our stay, and I mentioned the resurgence of kobiaus above. A first menstrual ceremony was performed in the study area during 1968 or so, according to informants.

for pigs and make the negotiations for them, although some women show interest in these matters, and in any case, wives have a say as to how much should be spent. Women must also plant the proper amount of sweet potatoes to be used at the feast, and they generally gather canarium almonds (for tobi, 'baked sliced tubers covered with salty almond paste') and cassava and bananas for galawa, 'starch balls in cocoanut oil.' Men build pig pens for the feast pigs, carry the pigs to the pens, and slaughter and roast the pigs when the time comes. Men usually make the earth ovens (laparo) in which the sweet potatoes are cooked, shred cocoanut, prepare pito, etc.

Since there are always more deaths than can be commemorated by feasts, and always any number of smaller incidents to deaths (e.g., tabu removals) or near-deaths to be feasted, there are always ample reasons for feasting.[11] Thus, an industrious and ambitious couple would have no problem, theoretically, spending their married life planning from feast to feast. Indeed, this is the ideal of Nagovisi marriage, as set forth by older informants, at any rate; when both the husband and wife work very hard to raise many pigs, put on many feasts and earn much wiasi, this is a good marriage.

Property

The following topic has been discussed at length in Chapter III and is to be further discussed later in the present chapter; thus, it is not necessary here to dwell extensively on it. It should here be repeated, however, that it is women, not men, who have land usage rights in the property of their descent group; therefore married couples

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[11] One man had a feast to remove a self-imposed tabu on eating chicken meat, which he had assumed after his toddler daughter had eaten some chicken excrement.

ordinarily exploit the ground of the wife, rather than that of the husband, for their mutual benefit. In theory, a wife may bar her husband from planting cash crops[12] on her ground, but such a thing is unlikely to happen, since, as the Nagovisi say, "everyone likes money." It occasionally happens as a result of an argument that a man will stop eating food from his wife's marEwa, 'edible tree crops,' or that she will forbid him from doing so. In such cases, the wife must prepare separate such food for the husband until a reconciliation involving gifts of pig are made. This transaction must take place in the context of a larger, unrelated feast. The wife gives an amount of money and wiasi, sufficient to buy a pig, to the husband's matrilineal relatives. They, in turn, exchange the wiasi for one of equal value in their own matrilineal store, and with this and the money, a pig is bought. The pig is then given to the wife, who originally supplied the price, and is consumed at the feast.

It is customary for all the products of the husband's labor to benefit his wife and children. Today, this applies to Australian currency earned in wage labor as well as to wiasi earned in the pig trade and sales of cash crops. I have already mentioned an example of the failure to do this and the reaction it provoked in Chapter III. Each sex accuses the other of being more materialistic and mercenary but both men and women agree that a good wife will not insist on taking all her husband's earnings for herself, nor will a good husband keep or spend all his earnings on himself. Much of earned money, in fact, is spent on European tinned food, which is jointly consumed.

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[12] I never asked directly if a wife could bar her husband from eating subsistence crops (mainly sweet potatoes) taken from her ground, but it seems to me that this would be tantamount to asking for divorce.

Authority

Despite the fact that husbands have no personal or exclusive rights of ownership to the land they work, the shell money they earn, and most of the money they earn, husbands do have a great deal to say about the use and allocation of these resources during their own lifetimes. In a sense, then, husbands can be said to have rights of management and use with respect to their wives' property; these rights are vested in the individual and do not extend in any way to his descent group.

The Nagovisi believe that the husband must dominate the wife in domestic matters, and that she ought to defer to him. Ordinarily this is the case.

> Torowai's husband, Taliau, got into an argument with Torowai's brothers and her descent group in general. When in anger he moved out of her village and into his sisters' village, Torowai went with him, because she opposed her brothers and her descent group on this matter. Before she did so, Taliau had said that he was going to have to divorce her, because he could not stand to live among her relatives anymore. By taking her husband's side, Torowai placated him, thus removing the marriage from jeopardy, but in so doing, she did not alienate her own descent group to any great degree. While her brothers and descent group were still angry at Taliau, they were not angry at Torowai, even though she had scolded them and moved out, because first, Torowai had not been involved in the initial argument, and second, wives should defer to their husbands.

The fact that husbands ought to dominate their wives with regard to domestic affairs does not mean that husbands may mistreat their wives with impunity, however. After all, the husband uses the property of the wife with her consent, and a sharp-tongued woman will not hesitate to remind her husband of this, should he displease her. It must be

remembered that if a man displeases his wife to the extent that they separate permanently, he stands to lose far more than she does--e.g., children, products of his labor (bearing trees, cleared land, cocoa stands, wiasi he has earned). In cases where the husband is at fault, the wife's descent group, especially the male members, can be counted on to aid her.[13] They protect her from undeserved abuse. Thurnwald remarks that men try not to mistreat their wives, for if a man gains the reputation of a wife-beater and is divorced because of this, no other woman will want to marry him (1938). His sisters are not anxious to have a brother as an unmarried permanent member of the natal settlement.

Even though most women in Nagovisi defer to their husbands, informants were able to name a number of women who habitually dominated their husbands, because of their relatively more aggressive personalities. Such women answer to no one, for as previously mentioned, their brothers and MB's do not usually discipline them. One such woman told her would-be assuagers as she acted out a fit of temper, "Don't try to calm me down. You didn't marry me!"

Arguments and Their Resolution

Arguments between husband and wife which require court settlements are those in which either bodily injury has been done or those in which one partner (usually the husband, because of uxorilocality) leaves the spouse's village as a result of the quarrel. Most arguments which require adjudication have seemingly trivial causes, such as surprise at the wife's having bought a new saucepan, the alleged withholding of tobacco from the husband, or nagging by the wife that her sick husband seek medical aid. I do not recall ever hearing

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[13] As mentioned in Chapter III, when she is in their opinion at fault, they do not intervene, tacitly approving reprimands of her husband.

of any domestic arguments about serious and important matters, such as brideprice or pig price, if and how much cocoa to plant, and so forth. Nor do I recall any arguments resulting from alleged non-fulfillment of marital duties, e.g., not preparing a meal on time, as Ogan reports for the Nasioi (1969). It is probably more accurate to say that it is generally the personalities of the principals which predispose them to argument, rather than any sociological causes.

Anger generated by arguments is sometimes vented by the destruction of property, either by the husband or the wife. It is said that angry men destroy property instead of inflicting a possibly fatal beating to their wives, and that angry women destroy property because they are not strong enough to properly beat their husbands. Some women have impressive reputations as destroyers of property: one such woman in the study area chopped several holes in the walls of her house, ripped all her husband's clothing, smashed a radio, and chopped open some cans of corned beef during one fit of temper directed towards her husband. Most arguments between husbands and wives do not involve such dramatic displays, however.

Ideally, unless there is a slight or an injury of real magnitude, e.g., adultery or a physical injury in which blood is drawn, settlements should involve aparito, 'equal' fines. However, it is my impression that in cases in which the husband has left the wife, no matter how trivial the reason is for his having done so, the wife always ends up paying the husband more than he pays her. Nagovisi say that women will do this, just to get their husbands back again. In this uxorilocal society, then, men have a definite advantage: if a man feels that he is being slighted, he can pick an argument, and then leave to wait it out with members of his own descent group. Ultimately, his wife will pay him to come back.

Sex, Adultery, Affection

It is an anthropological commonplace to assert that marriage has sexual gratification as one of its ends. If this is true of the Nagovisi in the study area, it is at best a short-term by product of marriage. Since the Nagovisi abstrain from sexual intercourse during pregnancy and during the post-partum period until the baby begins to walk, the sexual scenario of married life consists of flurries of activity every two and one-half years or so, with periods of continence, ideally, for the rest of the time. During these periods, many husbands seek adulterous liaisons.[14] In the opinion of one informant, at least, it is not so much the fact that the wife is unavailable for copulation because of the conditions of child-bearing which makes men seek adulterous connections; rather, he stated, it is normal for people to tire of copulation with the same person and to seek other partners. He made the following analogy:

> If I had a new radio, at first I would like to switch it on a lot to hear it. But after a while, I'd get tired of it and other, newer possessions would interest me more. The same is true of people; when they are first married, they like to copulate with each other a great deal, but as time goes on, other people begin to attract them.

Thus, all Nagovisi are liable to suspect their spouses of adultery. As mentioned above, being discovered alone with a member of the opposite sex is taken as firm evidence in court cases that fornication has either been occurring or is planned. In anticipation of being caught in their own adulterous affairs, individuals may attempt to interest their spouses in a possible lover or mistress, in the hopes that

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[14]Since the Nagovisi believe that only repeated copulations with the same partner can cause pregnancy, it is probably less difficult than might be imagined to find a partner for brief affairs.

when all is discovered, the spouse's indiscretions will ameliorate their own. In the event of revealed adultery, the adulterers pay the offended parties, i.e., their spouses and the descent groups of their spouses, a fine the amount of which is set by the presiding official of the court. In and of itself, casual adultery is almost never a reason for divorce or separation (cf. Chapter VI).

There is probably some degree of affection between most married couples, but signs of affection are not outwardly expressed. People tend to segregate themselves along sex lines at public gatherings, be they traditional, e.g., siras, or introduced, e.g., church services, "patis." Men and women do not ordinarily dance with each other, and husband and wife almost never do.[15] Informants claimed that to do so would be very embarrassing to most people. The closest thing to a public display of affection between husband and wife usually occurs at the death of one, when the other engages in extravagant and, in most cases I am sure, genuine gestures of grief. Nevertheless, as Oliver remarks for the Siuai (1955), affection of the degree typical in European marriage is not essential to Nagovisi marriage; mutual tolerance will suffice.

Affines: Behavior Between Dyads

As noted in Chapter II, the Nagovisi have a Dravidian or two-section kinship terminology, and as such, it potentially divides all humans into consanguineals and affines. However, there are important differences among the various relatives subsumed under the general category of affines. "Potential" affines, i.e., persons of the opposite moiety in general, are treated differently than are "real" affines,

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[15] An exception would be educated young people.

i.e., those who are the consanguineal kin of one's spouse, and consanguineals of one's father, affines of one's own consanguineals, and so forth, may be also distinguished. Behavior towards affines also depends on variables mentioned in Chapter II, e.g., relative sex, relative age, generation, name-sharing, etc.

My consideration of relationship between affines will center on what I have called "real" affines, i.e., the consanguineals of one's spouse; some attention, however, will be given to "potential" affines, especially those who are biologically close to Ego. Relations of both sexes to their affines will be considered, but particular attention will be given to the situation of the man among his affines. He is more intimately linked with his wife's people than she is with his, for he lives among his wife's people, interacting with them daily, and his own children are ultimately his "wife's people."[16]

In many ways, the relationship of the husband to his wife and his obligations towards her are similar to the relationship he has to her descent group--he owes fruits of his labor, i.e., material support, until he dies. He and other men like him (the motai) acting together, carry out obligations to their wives' descent group. To one's wife's close kin, there are personal obligations (theoretically), even to the extent of marrying the wife's sisters, should their husbands die. The wife's obligation to her husband is to permit him access to her descent group property; her obligations to his descent group are not as extensive as are his to hers.

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[16] With regard to this last observation, some consideration of the father/child relationship as an affinal one--or having components of an affinal nature--will be made in the final pages of the present chapter.

Despite the general support owed to the wife's descent group, etiquette towards its various members takes a number of forms, and it is mainly these forms which are discussed below.

I want to make reference to Table 2 which presents the most important affines for both sexes, the kin types subsumed under each term and certain significant variables, such as sex, generation, relative age, etc., as mentioned in Chapters II and III. The character of the relationship is also noted.

The table shows a number of things, among which the following may be noted:

1. Restrictions of etiquette are most elaborate between younger men and older women who stand in affinal relationships. A general and extensive avoidance is prescribed.
2. Avoidance of intimacy--regarding sexual matters, undress, and name-calling--is characteristic of behavior between same-sex affines of the same generation.
3. A behavioral gradient affecting all terms can be observed, in which the strictest observation of etiquette by a man is towards members of the wife's descent group, including, of course, her own spouse's group. Etiquette may be somewhat relaxed towards spouses of one's consanguineals, e.g., oBW, MBW, and finally, most relaxed towards classificatory affines.
4. Some problems in the definition of the term affine can be seen here. For example, "spouse" is not an affine, strictly speaking, but is one's wife's younger sister an affine, as well as a potential spouse? The relationship of nganos (WMB/ZDH, m.s.) to each other is certainly affinal, but greater restraint is characteristic of the behavior of the moiety-mates WF and DH (m.s.), than of nganos.

In the following pages, descriptions of these relations will be made.

Table 2. Important Affines

For a Woman

Term	Kin Types	Generation	Sex	Descent Group	Behavior
inola	DH	-1	opposite	opposite moiety	avoidance
inabalum	BS	-1	opposite	opposite moiety	theoretical avoidance
	HZS	-1	opposite	husband's lineage	theoretical avoidance
inalaman	HyB	0,y	opposite	opposite moiety	avoidance
	yZH	0,y	opposite	husband's lineage	avoidance usual, but ad lib.
inomas	HZ	0	same	husband's lineage	intimacy avoidance
	BW	0	same	opposite moiety	intimacy avoidance
	MBD	0	same	opposite moiety	reference possible, not address
	FZD	0	same	father's lineage	reference possible, not address
kabo	HM	+1	same	husband's lineage	no avoidance
	FZ	+1	same	father's lineage	no avoidance
	MBW	+1	same	opposite moiety	no avoidance
papa	HF	+1	opposite	own moiety	no avoidance
ing	H	0	opposite	husband's lineage	no avoidance
kaia	HoB	0,e	opposite	husband's lineage	teasing
	oZH	0,e	opposite	opposite moiety	teasing

Table 2, continued

Term	Kin Types	Generation	Sex	Descent Group	Behavior
kabo	WM	+1	opposite	wife's lineage	avoidance
	FZ	+1	opposite	father's lineage	theoretical avoidance
	MBW	+1	opposite	opposite moiety	theoretical avoidance
mama	WoZ	0,e	opposite	wife's lineage	avoidance
	oBW	0,e	opposite	opposite moiety	avoidance usual, but ad lib.
inoli	WB	0	same	wife's lineage	intimacy avoidance
	ZH	0	same	opposite moiety	intimacy avoidance
	FZS	0	same	father's lineage	reference possible, not address
	MBS	0	same	opposite moiety	reference possible, not address
inola	WF	+1	same	own moiety	name avoidance
	DH	-1	same	own moiety	name avoidance
ina	W	0	opposite	wife's lineage	no avoidance
inobe	WyZ	0,y	opposite	wife's lineage	teasing
	yBW	0,y	opposite	opposite moiety	teasing
ngano	WMB	+1	same	wife's lineage	no avoidance
	ZDH	-1	same	opposite moiety	no avoidance

kabo/inola, 'WM/DH; WMZ/ZDH, w.s.; FZ/BS; MBW/HZS'

The relationship demanding the most restrained behavior between those who stand in such a relation is that of the WM and DH.[17] Between such individuals contact of most kinds is forbidden: the two tend never to approach one another any closer than about four feet or so, and if seated or standing still, situate themselves at a much greater distance. Touching is not allowed, nor is the handing of objects between one another. Objects passed between the two must first be set down somewhere for the other to pick up. The two may not gaze directly at each other and must refer to one another in the plural form. Use of each other's name is forbidden, as is saying ordinary words similar in sound to the name. These tabus can only be relaxed temporarily in the event of a matter of life or death, e.g., if the WM is about to be swept away by a flood, the DH may hold on to her to save her.[18]

Such behavior is mandatory between real WM and DH. Other women of WM's generation and lineage and men married to women of D's generation may also follow these avoidance rules. However, exceptions are sometimes made in the following cases: if the man and the woman's father stand in the torowaiwatata relationship (cf. Chapter III); if the woman's father is of the same lineage as the man, making the woman a "child of the (man's descent group)"; if the woman has the same name as the man's wife; if the two are fairly close in age but the woman only distantly related to the man's wife; if the man has lived nearby all of his life. In such cases, there may be mutual agreement not to observe these tabus.

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[17] It is true, however, that WoZ/yZH and oBW, m.s./HyB, discussed below, observe most all of these restrictions, especially when biologically related individuals are concerned.

[18] Much of this material above and below has been mentioned in Chapter II.

Without the lessening of restrictions between some such people, "things get mired down in tabus," as one informant put it.

These tabus are said to be difficult to remember to follow at first, but become more and more ingrained as time goes on, and the embarrassment of breaking them also becomes greater. Sometimes, it is particularly difficult to begin to observe these tabus when previous to marriage kin relationships have been otherwise:

> Nalokas, a man in his early twenties, and Tadai, a woman in her late forties, were first cousin cross cousins, and as such had all their lives maintained a casual, open relationship. However, when Nalokas married Tadai's daughter, new rules of etiquette came into force. Nalokas mentioned to some people that it was very difficult in the first months of marriage for him to remember the new ways of behaving, and I noticed, on talking to him, that he always hesitated before saying the proper circumlocution referring to Tadai, as though he were swallowing her name, which he had habitually used so freely before his marriage.

As mentioned above, the pre-conditioning of children with respect to possible WM's is a way in which the difficult transition mentioned above can be avoided (cf. Marriage Arrangement, this chapter).

Despite the prohibitions, WM and DH do talk to one another, ordinarily only for the purposes of supplying information. Sometimes, too, it happens that the WM and DH will engage in copulation. An instance of this and general reaction to it is given in Chapter II; it is a great breach of propriety, but such behavior is not, after all, incestuous.

The DH plays an important role in funeral obligations at the death of the WM, especially if he is married to her eldest daughter and of middle age himself. Despite their distance during life, he is one of the chief mourners. He

will aid his wife, her siblings, his daughters and their husbands, in deciding on the scale of the funeral and its related feasts. He takes charge of procuring pigs for these feasts and preparing them to eat. If there is a pidona, he sides with his dead mother-in-law, and composes songs insulting her affines at the lawanda (cf. Chapter III and below).

Relations between FZ and BS and those between MBW and HZS, according to informants, ought to be similar to those between WM and DH. As one man put it, "Long before you are married, you have a kabo whom you must assiduously avoid. That woman is your MBW or your FZ." Today, however, boys and young men do not appear to avoid their father's biological sisters, nor their mother's biological brother's wives, but rather, appear to treat them casually. As mentioned above, however, distant FZ's are sometimes treated with greater reserve.

kabo/inabaluna, 'HM/SW'

There are no specific tabus regarding the conduct of son's daughter and husband's mother, but ordinarily, the younger is respectful of the older, and both are hospitable and solitious of each other. There is little opportunity for cooperation, except during the initial period of virilocality, when the son's wife works in the gardens of the husband's mother and assists her at her tasks, ideally as a daughter would help her own mother.

mama/inalaman, 'WoZ/yZH; oBW, m.s./HyB'

Relations between these relatives are similar in most respects to those described above for WM and DH. However, there is no use of the plural form here, and furthermore, there is general recognition of the propriety of marriage with such a woman--should her present husband die or divorce her. In the event of such a marriage, all these tabus cease.

The observation of these tabus is generally in force in the cases of wife's biological older sisters, biological older brothers' wives, biological younger sisters' husbands, and husband's biological younger brothers. With regard to the spouses of parallel cousins and more remote relatives, observation of tabus is somewhat ad libitem:

> I asked Tevu why he did not avoid Komauka, his MZoSW. His answer was that he just didn't--there was no special reason he could think of for doing so, except that he had never done it.

inoli/inoli, 'WB/ZH'

The relationship between these two is characterized by restraints on intimacy, e.g., as regards the use of personal names, discussion of sexual matters, and nakedness. These men are not to use each other's personal names, although there are sometimes exceptions, as with the WM/DH rules. For example, it was my impression that men are most scrupulous in observing these name tabus with regard to their sisters' husbands, next toward their wife's brothers, and last of all to their male cross cousins. Furthermore, some persons distinguished between using the name of a brother-in-law in reference and in address; those who might do the first with regard to a given individual would not do the second. A factor which influences the observation of the name tabus is how well the two men know each other; if they have been playmates or known one another well all their lives, it is difficult to adjust to name tabus. One man told us that when his sister married a man he had known well all his life, he was embarrassed to begin avoiding use of his new brother-in-law's name, because it would call attention to the fact that she was now married. A third thing which may influence name tabus between brothers-in-law is the relative age of those involved: little children, too

young to know what sexual shame is, cannot be expected to enter into name tabus with their ZH's until they are older.

Reference to private bodily functions, such as elimination, sexual intercourse, bathing, etc., are avoided, and in particular when they might concern the sister/wife directly. It is considered rude to joke obscenely in the presence of brothers-in-law, and if such a thing happens, one or both is to withdraw. Brothers-in-law may not appear nude in front of one another, i.e., as when bathing, nor may they enter each other's bedrooms or sit on one another's beds. In many respects, then, behavior between brothers-in-law is similar to proper behavior between opposite-sex siblings (cf. Chapters II and III).

In other matters, however, brothers-in-law are ideally cooperative and supportive.[19] They have mutual interests in regard to the property of their wife's or sister's matrilineage, and this brings them together sometimes. Most prominent of these obligations of mutual concern is the performance of funeral obligations for members of the wife's/sister's matrilineage. Although in general it can be said that the nuga, 'brothers, mother's brothers of the descent group,' have charge of funeral events which precede interment[20] or cremation, while the motai, 'husbands, married-in men,' have charge of events following the interment or cremation, there is always a certain amount of overlapping. Indeed, the sister's husband may have charge of funerary activities at the death of the wife's brother himself.

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[19] Calling a male stranger by the pidgin term "tambu," 'in-law,' is an ingratiating form of address made by Nagovisi men.

[20] Probably a more accurate way of stating this would be "up to the point of the transformation of the corpse," since interment of charred bones was a last step in cremation-type deaths, and the obligations surrounding it were the work of the motai.

Other lineage-related matters which may bring brothers-in-law into cooperation might involve marriages of the younger members of the matrilineage.

The Nagovisi made the point in repeated and clear normative statements that "it is the law of the pagau, 'ancestors,' that brothers-in-law must help each other." The occasion of some of these pronouncements was the following incident:

> A ne'er-do-well named Kamanai was discovered to have seduced his classificatory niece, and desired to marry her, but lacked the funds. Kamanai had had a number of well-paying jobs in the past, but he always squandered his money foolishly and never assisted his ZH's, either with work or with money. Thus, when Kamanai needed money for brideprice, his ZH's were reluctant to help him; in fact, they were furious with him, as were his sisters. The concensus of opinion on the matter was that Kamanai deserved nothing better.

inomas/inomas, 'HZ/BW'

Relations between these two are also characterized by a certain amount of restraint. As with brothers-in-law, body intimacy and topics relating to this are to be avoided, as are the use of personal names. Again, however, relative age, familiarity, and degree of biological closeness to the husband/brother all determine to what extent these prohibitions will be followed.

> Nebura and her husband's biological sister, Uria, were fairly intimate. They used one another's personal names, and joked about sexual matters concerning other people when Uria's brother was not present. Uria told Nebura that she was pregnant, but did not tell her brother. Toward her husband's more distant clan sisters, Nebura was more reserved, and avoided use of the personal names of some of them. She did not allow her children to

> go to the clan sisters' village (except on special occasions), for example, because she was afraid that the children might ask for food. If they did, she reasoned, the sisters-in-law might decide that Nebura was not a good mother for letting her children go hungry.

Both opportunities for cooperation and occasions for conflict between sisters-in-law are minimal, less so than between brothers-in-law, who both have the interests of a single descent group (i.e., the wife's/sister's) in mind. Hostility between sisters-in-law (or their descent groups) was expressed in an indirect way during an intensive argument which occurred during our stay:

> Taliau had argued with members of his wife Torowai's descent group and his WB spit at him in the midst of the quarrel. Taliau left his wife's village, and for some time, there was no diminution of hostility. Taliau's sister, Menekuri, reportedly berated her husband, Magatopa, as being part of the cause of the trouble, because Magatopa, although not a member of Torowai's clan, had paid her brideprice, and thus had helped to bring Taliau into an alliance with the kind of people who would spit at him.

It is perhaps revealing that even during major arguments, a woman refrains from attacking her sister-in-law directly, but gets at her in other ways.

inola/inola, 'WF/DH'

Between these two, the use of personal names is forbidden, but teknomy or nicknames are permissible. There is much chance for economic cooperation between WF and DH with regard to the descent group of their wives, and they are thought to be similar to one another.

> When Lau'mo died, it was finally decided that he ought to be laid out for mourning

in the house of Karinamba and Papanumba, because it was Papanumba's father, Siro, who had persuaded Lau'mo to leave Koramira, south of Kieta, and return to Nagovisi after his Koramira wife had died. Had Siro not have done this, Lau'mo would have been lost to the Nagovisi. Since Siro was dead, Karinamba, his DH, was to act in his stead.

When Lankas was accused of killing by sorcery, people were afraid that Mesiamo, his WFB, would also be implicated, "because he is the inola of Lankas." Mesiamo was in fact implicated.

WF and DH may or may not be members of the same descent group; they are always members of the same moiety, however, except in cases of non-exogamous marriage. Thus, they are not affines at all, if affines by definition are members of the opposite moiety. As motai, they cooperate in ventures on behalf of the descent group of their wives; as husbands to a mother and daughter, their cooperation is closer--they tend to work contiguous plots of land, whether for cash cropping or subsistence, they frequently share pig areas and even pigs may be jointly owned, they watch over common wiasi, etc. Inolas may support each other in arguments:

> Mas argued with his wife, NamEbi, and left for his sisters' village, where he stayed for a month or so. NamEbi's parents and sisters sometimes discussed the quarrel. NamEbi's mother and sisters thought Mas was to blame and were willing to wait it out, but Litum, NamEbi's father, said he was willing to pay one wiasi so that Mas would come back. Siuwako, NamEbi's seventeen-year-old unmarried sister, laughed scornfully at this suggestion, saying that if Litum had any wiasi, he certainly could use it to get Mas back, but that none of their (i.e., the mother's and daughters') wiasi would ever be spent for that. This ended the discussion.

However, support does not imply respect in every case. Sons-in-law are not bound to be respectful of their fathers-in-law, and sometimes tease and deride them, especially but not exclusively in conversations to others. Usually, however, any teasing or derision is deserved rather than gratuitous.

papa/inabaluna, 'HF/SW'

Between son's wife and husband's father there are no particular restraints on behavior; the relationship is similar to that between MB and ZD, without the mutual interest in affairs of the descent group that prevails in relationships of the latter kind.[21] Ordinarily, there is little chance for cooperation, except under the special circumstances mentioned.

ngano/ngano, 'WMB/ZDH, m.s.'

The relations between these two are discussed to a certain extent in Chapter III, under papa/inabaluna, 'MB/ZD,' for ngano is the ZDH of this ZD. Relations between them are friendly and supprotive, and although there is little opportunity for economic cooperation, they have a mutual interest in the affairs of the descent group. Sometimes, the elder ngano has helped to chose the younger as a bride for his ZD, and the younger is generally responsible, along with his wife, for the funeral of the older ngano. The character of the relationship is revealed to some extent that the Nagovisi call the ngano a "little father" (woma waikis).

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[21] Of course, if a woman has married her MBS, real or classificatory, the relationship between her and her HF include interest in their descent group.

kaia/inobe, 'oZH/WyZ; HoB/yBW'

Teasing, sexual joking, and a general lack of restraint on behavior is allowed between these two. The wife's younger sister is a prospective spouse, as well, should the man's wife die. In the days when polygyny was more frequently practiced, a man might be married to both at once. Although the WyZ might seem the ideal choice today for an adulterous liaison, it is my feeling that she is probably avoided because of the likelihood that she would disclose the adultery to her sister. Thus, much of the teasing and joking that goes on between these two is utterly innocent. Nagovisi say that oZH and WYZ generally do not argue, but sometimes there is acrimony when the oZH first comes to live at the wife's village. This is said to be short-lived, however.

Thus, behavior toward affines either involves restraint or it does not: typically, restraint is characteristic of relationships between affines (not spouses) of the opposite sex when the female is older than the male, and between persons and their spouse's opposite-sex siblings. Restraint may take the form of general avoidance, as it does between older women and younger men, or restraints on body intimacy and the use of personal names may typify behavior, as they do between same-sex affines of the same generation. An absence of restraints prevails between affines when the man is older and the woman is younger, or when same-sex, adjacent generation, opposite-moiety pairs are concerned.

The Husband Among His Affines

The degree to which a man participates in the affairs of his own descent group versus that of his wife's descent group, and the nature of that participation is a central problem in the analysis of matrilineal societies. In societies which are both matrilineal and uxorilocal, i.e.,

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when a man is in daily contact with his affines, problem situations emerge most clearly. The division of allegiance a man owes to each group causes difficulties in many matrilineal societies, e.g., bickering and in-fighting among adult males for control of whatever they can get, high divorce rates, unstable marriage, resentment at inheritance, and so forth.

Among the Nagovisi, however, such conflicts are minimal. A husband is strongly identified with his wife's descent group, yet he is not incorporated into it, in the sense that he ever gives up his own clan membership. In the following pages, a number of examples of this identification are given, which provide ethnographic data for the last part of this chapter, the discussion of matriliny in general and the problems attributed to it.

Spoken Sentiments

Without a recognition of the husband's identification with his wife's descent group, many of the spoken sentiments touching on descent group affiliation in given circumstances become difficult to understand. For example, if I were inquiring as to the reason for an act of cooperation (e.g., why are you giving so-and-so money?), I might be given as an answer the statement, "Because we are Hornbills," by a man whom I knew to be an Eagle by birth, but who was married to a Hornbill woman, and thus involved in numerous Hornbill activities.

This is not to say that a married man loses his own clan affiliation. It is rather that when a man marries, he aligns himself with his wife's group, and to that extent, neglects his own. As it was explained to me, "sapos mi marit pinis long Kokomo, bai mi mas sanap wantaim ol," (if I am married to a Hornbill, I have to stand with them, i.e., on their side). The following example illustrates the

effect marriage has on the relations of brothers to a clan and husbands to that clan:

> Taliau, the husband of a Biroi clan woman, told me rather drunkenly at a "pati" that he was angry with the host for having given Nalokas, a recently-married Biroi clan man, the job of doling out beer to Pomalate Village men (i.e., who were married to Biroi clan women) "Kaili [the host] should have chosen one of us motai to do it. Since Nalokas has married an Osileni girl, he has left us entirely," (i.e., he is no longer a proper representative of Pomalate Villagers or Biroi clan, as we motai are.)

Men, rather than women, tend to make more dealings of every kind, and dealings made on behalf of the matrilineage are no exception: they are done by husbands, however, not by brothers. Thus, for example, if the Biroi clan were planning something, people would casually mention in conversation that Otoloi, or Litum, or Wedo, perhaps, had done such-and-such with regard to the furtherance of the planned thing. These men are not members of Biroi clan; they are married to Biroi women. Such usage was common for activities such as raising and paying brideprice, various kinds of work with cocoa, gardening or pig-raising, feasts, and so forth--all activities conceived of as being done within, by, or on behalf of the matrilineal descent group (i.e., of their wives).

The identification of husband with the wife's causes creates situations in which they are lumped linguistically; the names of each are interchangeable in discussing payments, fines, etc., of most kinds.[22]

> [Tevu, an Eagle, is married to Nebura, a Hornbill Biroi Waina woman. SipulEs is a

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[22] An obvious exception would be when husband and wife argue with one another.

Gurava woman, considered to be an Eagle in Nagovisi, and Kavibura is a Hornbill woman from a fairly distant area. Mesiamo is a Biroi Wapola man.]

Tevu's dog bit SipulEs in the leg, which annoyed her greatly. She, her co-wife, Kavibura, and another old man decided to try to get a large court fine from Tevu. But her husband, Mesiamo, wouldn't allow this, and told Tevu he should pay only a small fine to SipulEs, because the dog did not bite her out of malice but by accident. SipulEs and Kavibura were very angry at Mesiamo for this and told him, "You're favoring the women of your own clan!" Mesiamo said, "That's right, I am."

Thus, sparing Tevu a fine was interpreted as favoring his wife's group, i.e., that doing something to Tevu, a motainela of the Biroi clan, was considered by the outsider wives the same as doing it to Biroi clan members themselves.

Economic and Property Relations

Earnings

We have already discussed at some length the changes that occur at marriage with regard to a man's claims and duties toward his own descent group versus that of his wife. He is looked upon as the provider for his children; all his material earnings are owed to his children--members of his wife's descent group. Whatever earnings he makes in his lifetime, too, be they wiasi, Australian money, or whatever land acquisitions, all these are inherited by his own daughters, not his sisters' daughters.

These arrangements are reflected in supernatural terms.

> The Lavali clan owns some sacred or magical shell money (mEkala wiasi) which insures that whomever looks at it will become successful at earning more wiasi. Only Lavali clan women and their husbands, therefore, may look at this mEkala wiasi; if the Lavali

> nuga saw it, they would be able to earn shell money for their own wives and children at the possible expense of their own clan.

Litigation

Men may be called upon to initiate claims on behalf of their wives' group, even if these claims are made against their own descent groups. Such was the case in an incident involving brideprice:

> The widow, Osiropa, had been fornicating with Tammai for some time, and they finally decided to get married (meaning in this case to live together openly and work in one garden). I discussed the match with Osiropa's yZH, Nali, who was also a classificatory MB of Tammai; Nali did not approve of the proposed marriage. According to him, Tammai was a philanderer and a hot-tempered man who would no doubt beat Osiropa from time to time. Since Osiropa was not strong, she could not endure much beating, in Nali's opinion. "However," Nali said, "they have decided to marry against my wishes, so in order to try to make it a proper marriage, I am going to insist that Labona pay me a good brideprice for Osiropa."[23] Labona is the tu'mEli of the Biroi clan and thus responsible for Tammai, who has no close female relatives. She is also Nali's uterine sister.

Property

We have also previously mentioned the relationship a married man has to the property--land, shell valuables, etc.--of his own descent group. Although he may advise his sisters on the use of these (particularly, the disposal of them), he himself never profits from their disposal. Instead, he profits from property belonging to his wife's descent group.

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[23]Brideprice is not paid for widows; thus, Nali's statement must be taken as a revelation of his indignation over the case.

A court case came up which involved a Nagovisi man who was married to a Nasioi woman. The man was accused of having repeatedly brought hunting parties to tracts of bush belonging to his own descent group. The presiding official declared that he could not follow this "Nasioi custom" in Nagovisi territory, told him to do his future hunting on his wife's ground, and fined him $37, the estimated value of the possums he and his party had taken over the years. Not surprisingly, the case was brought to court by the husband of a woman whose descent group owned the tract of bush in question.

The Nagovisi rules on land use apply to modern situations, as well as to the traditional sort of situation described above, as the following incident reveals:

> Holina is a fracture zone between the Siuai and Nagovisi areas, inhabited by Siuai speakers but with customs similar to the Nagovisi ones. A Holina man with a Nasioi wife attempted to plant cocoa on his descent group's ground, but motai there insisted that he leave, suggesting that he go plant on his wife's ground.

Obviously, the use of the wife's land by a married couple and the interdiction on use of the husband's clan land has significance in this new era of cash cropping. While in the past, food gardens might be made almost anywhere without arousing comment, cash crops may only be planted on the ground of the wife's matrilineage. A man may plant cash crops on ground belonging to his own matrilineage only under exceptional circumstances: (1) if he first purchases the ground from his clan sisters outright, in which case, it is no longer their (i.e., the women and men of the matrilineage in question) clan land, or (2) if there are no surviving females in the lineage, in which case, it is understood that the land with its cash crop trees will be inherited by the female members of a related

lineage on the death of the last (male) member of the dying lineage.[24]

Nagovisi were not able to say exactly what will happen regarding inheritance of cocoa plantations, since they have not had them for very long (ten years or so at the most, six or so bearing years), but most informants agreed that cocoa stands, like other lineage property, will be inherited by the daughters. It is yet to be seen whether these valuable stands of trees will be included in kabu transactions, '"presents" from the father's matrilineage to daughters at his death,' or not. That there is an awareness of the great value of cocoa stands is clear.

> Widokoma had two daughters by a Koramira (a Nasioi sub-group) wife. When she died, he had moved back to Nagovisi, where in his later years, he had been one of the first men to plant cocoa extensively. When his clan-mates came to see how valuable a large stand of cocoa such as his could be, they urged him to marry a distant clan sister, so that when he died, the cocoa stands would not go to his Koramira daughters (they then being his closest living affinal relatives) but would stay within his own descent group! He did so, and when he died, the cocoa stayed in his own descent group, belonging as it did to his widow.

Daughters are the normal heirs, even when land has been bought by their fathers and is not a part of the wife's

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[24]Despite the fact that such ground will ultimately revert to another lineage, the present holder profits from the sale of cocoa yield during his own lifetime, which is certainly some consolation. Furthermore, men are not without affection for their sisters' children (to whom the land will revert); thus, certain altruistic motives can be seen here. Finally, the transfer of the land at the death of the holder will require a conspicuous display of pigs, from the anticipation of which the holder derives a certain vicarious pleasure.

matrilineage property. All the men I ever heard about who had bought land outright for cocoa planting intended to leave it to their daughters.

It is clear that the Nagovisi way of using land avoids many of the problems reported in other matrilineal societies which lack a distinction between rights of a man as a husband versus as a member of his own descent group or stated differently, where both brother and sister have access to lineage assets. Also avoided are the problems which arise regarding inheritance, since sisters' children do not receive products of the father's effort which the father may wish his own children to receive. There are no clamorings in Nagovisi, as there are reportedly in other areas of Bougainville, to make a change to patrilineal succession or patrilineal inheritance, at least, of tree crops (Ogan 1969).

Compensation for Injury and Death

The position of the husband vis a vis his wife's descent group with regard to the payment of fines due in the event of physical injuries and death show clearly how the husband regularly acts on behalf of his wife's descent group. First, a brief outline of ordinary fines for death or physical injury when there is a known human aggressor is given. The general rule may be stated as follows: he who hurts or kills another must pay that person or his descent group. If, however, a person kills or injures another on behalf of a third person, the third person must pay the victim.

> Thus, in a chain of events beginning with the death of Andeko, Porie accidently shot his brother, Auria, with an arrow and killed him. Andeko's mother, Ostoke, paid a death fine (nalina) to Auria's sister, Ambage, because Andeko was the ultimate cause. Porie was not considered responsible.

If there are equal injuries or deaths on both sides, there is no payment except perhaps an equal exchange (aparito).

It may seem odd that the moiety affiliation of the aggressor versus that of the victim is not of major interest here. The reason for this is as follows: in the event that both the aggressor and victim are members of the same descent group, the incident may be treated as a matter calling for a simple fine or fee (wolina). However, if the spouses of either the aggressor or victim wish to do so, they can request napEna or nalina. Their entering the case automatically brings in the opposite moiety and the case ceases to merely involve wolina. Thus, with regard to the case in which Waritoa stabbed her classificatory oZ, Piskaro, in the head with a comb, informants gave several interpretations of the case. Some said that since the two women involved were lineage sisters the fine Waritoa paid to Piskaro was simply wolina. Other people said that the fine was napEna, because it was Piskaro's husband, Otoloi, who demanded it, and furthermore, cases of physical injury are always settled with napEna. Thus, any serious case, regardless of the moiety affiliations of the victim and aggressor, is potentially a matter for exchanges along moiety lines.

In cases of injury or death where there is no immediately obvious aggressor (i.e., death by sickness, old age, magic, unexplained lingering illness, or careless accident), however, husband's and wife's descent groups are invariably held accountable for each other. In cases involving "blameless" injury, the crucial points are the site at which the accident takes place, its severity, and in the course of what activity it occurred. For "blameless" death, these points are unimportant. In both sorts of instances, someone or some group may be designated to pay the injured or victim, i.e., held to be guilty, as it were, and in turn, be required at some further date to make some

restitution. Thus, blameless death or injury is the potential occasion of exchanges between descent groups.

NapEna, 'fines for injury,' are probably most frequently incurred when the husband is hurt during the course of work on behalf of his wife or children. For example, Otoloi cut his toe rather badly while working in his stands of cocoa; napEna was asked. However, work on behalf of the wife and children can sometimes be fairly loosely defined: Nali fell off his bicycle into a thirty foot chasm while on his way to the Aid Post where he worked. Since he was on his way to work at a job to support his family, this case brought about discussion of napEna. NapEna is not exclusively restricted to men's injuries, however; the injuries of women and children may occasion these transactions as well.

What happens when a man is injured, however, is this: the man's brothers-in-law and sisters will decide whether or not they wish to ask for napEna or not. Their decision is based on a number of circumstances, for example, what "debts," as it were, are outstanding between the two descent groups involved, the severity of the injury, the relative richness of the descent groups and their desire to finance the feasts involved, etc. If it is decided to ask for napEna, they ask the man's wife for payment. She may or may not wish to pay, and sometimes, she is able to marshal arguments showing why she should not have to pay. These will refer, again, to past transactions and exchanges between the two descent groups involved, with particular emphasis on her and her husband and their immediate family. Thus, Tabua refused to pay napEna when her husband Nali was hurt, because Nali's descent group had not paid nalina, 'death fine,' when their child, Manaunko, had died five years before. If pressed, informants said, Tabua could also have brought up the fact that Nali had not paid any brideprice for her when they were married, over twenty years ago.

Sometimes it is not the brothers-in-law and sisters of the injured man who ask the man's wife for napEna; the wife's brother and his wife may ask instead. In such cases, the wife's brother is said to be angry at his sister for subjecting his brother-in-law to injury. Since in these cases, the injured man and the wife's brother's wife are not necessarily (nor even likely) to be members of the same clan or lineage, all rationalization of such exchanges are made on the basis of moiety. It is said to be appropriate that the WB and WBW ask for napEna, because since the injured man and the WBW are members of the same moiety, they are like brother and sister.

If the wife consents to pay napEna, whoever receives it--be this the injured man's sisters and their husbands, or the injured man's wife's brothers and their wives--is obliged to put on a pig feast called a padagong at some indefinite date in the future. To this will be invited those who came to the osikori, the pleasant day of relaxation and conversation in memory of the injury which takes place a few days after the injury occurs.[25]

Nalina, 'fines for death,' may be paid on behalf of a child or an adult, and my impression is that they are more frequently paid on behalf of adult men than on behalf of adult women. My informants, however, firmly insisted that nalina could be paid on behalf of women as well as men. For adults, the most important consideration in whether nalina shall be asked is whether the deceased was one who had earned much wiasi (or today, Australian money as well) during his or her lifetime. The mere hereditary possession of other property, such as land, do not predispose one to nalina.[26] Should this condition be satisfied, the exchange

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[25] Cf. mention of osikori in Chapter III; it is part of normal funeral events.

[26] Unless the land had been acquired during the lifetime of the decedent and by his or her efforts.

relationship between the two groups must be assessed. If it is unfavorable, nalina cannot be requested, as illustrated by the following example:

> Siro was a momiako, everyone agreed, but when he died, his sister, Molus, did not ask for nalina, even though his sons-in-law (Siro's DH's) made it known that they were willing to pay. The reason for this was that years ago, when Siro's son had died, his wife had asked Molus for nalina, and she had evaded payment without offering any good reasons why she should not pay. Thus, had Molus now asked for nalina for Siro's death, she and her clan would have been subject to loud public humiliation from the recounting of their ignoble failure to provide nalina when Siro's son had died.

Thus, again, as with napEna payments, circumstances and relationships between the groups must be taken into consideration.

Nalina on behalf of a child or married woman is paid by the father/husband and his descent group; nalina on behalf of a married man is paid for by the wife and her descent group. The receiver of nalina must provide pigs, usually at the lawanda, 'sira ending mourning,' which are called nalina nogo, 'return of nalina.' Informants state that despite the so-called return of nalina as pigs, the gift does not really cancel out the obligation incurred by the death. What nalina nogo appears to do is to put those giving it in a better position vis a vis the other for any future such exchange.

At funerals, if the descent group of the deceased plans to ask for nalina, they will ordinarily begin by reciting all the good deeds and great accomplishments of the decedent during his (or her) life. If the decedent is a man, much stress will be placed on the great loss of his working potential to his own descent group. If the decedent

is a woman, sacrifices on behalf of her husband and affines will be recounted, her pain in childbirth due to her husband's impregnation of her, etc. Affines usually respond by recalling things the decedent did on behalf of his/her own descent group, attempting to balance the imputed debt. The display is called a pidona, and can rapidly escalate into a shouting match, each side charging at the other, brandishing sticks. In it, relatives and affines are divided into sides on the basis of the moieties of the women involved (i.e., their husbands must be on the same side as they are). Informants were quick to stress the symbolic nature of the fight ("emi giammon kros tasol"), despite the fact that emotions do run high during the actual display.

The purpose of the pidona is to make a request for nalina; thus, these things do not occur spontaneously, but are planned in advance. Since nalina payments are only made at the deaths of those who have profited much during their lifetimes and when a case can be made as to ill-treatment by affines, or when other conditions itemized above can be met.

> People predicted that even though Mirimai has earned much wiasi in her lifetime there will be no pidona when she dies, because she has no husband--he died when they were both young and she never remarried.

Obviously, two moieties must be represented in a pidona or when nalina is to be paid.

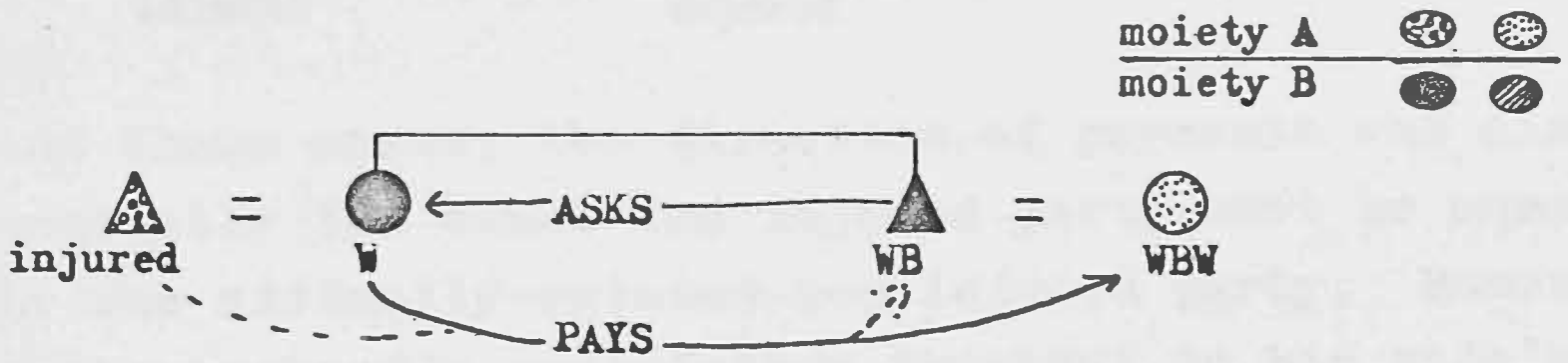
> Isiras decided that there would be no pidona for his MB, Lom Kakata, because Lom Kakata's children had taken very good care of him all throughout his life. His ZD's and ZS's had not had to assume his support. Thus, Lom Kakata's descent group had no uncompensated credit with the descent group of Lom Kakata's wife.

Let us review the rules of napEna-nalina collection, disregarding for a moment the balances between groups which leads one to decide whether to request payment, or the other to deny payment, etc.

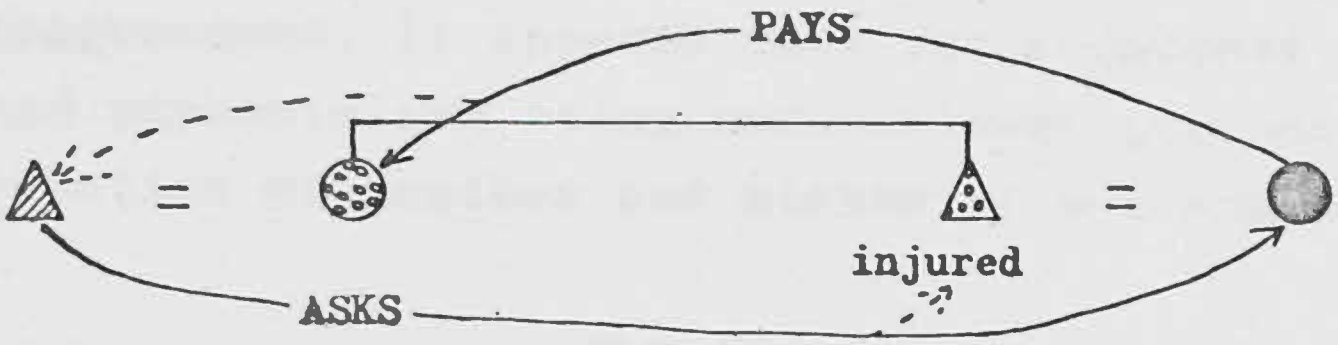
1. The death or physical injury of members of either sex may be the cause for compensation.
2. Members of either sex may ask for payment.
3. Only women (really) pay each other, since they are the repositories of wealth and property. Stated another way, only matrilineages pay each other.

In cases of nalina and napEna, then, the principles are quite simple: when the husband is hurt or dies, the wife's group pays a fine to the husband's group, or perhaps to the WBW's group. When the wife or a child is hurt or dies, the husband's group pays the wife's group, which is also the child's group.

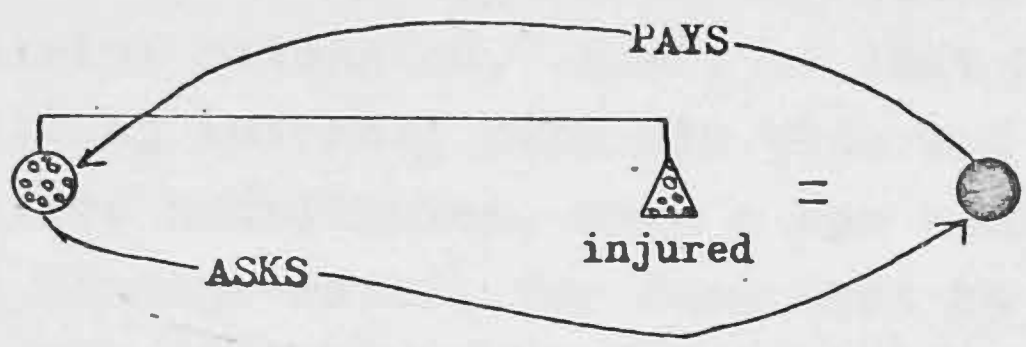
The reason why these transactions appear to be peculiar is because men quite often are seen as initiating the request for fines and in such a way that seems to align a man against his sister, whether a true biological sister, or a moiety sister only, such that a descent group may appear to be asking for damages from itself. Such seems to be the case when, in the case of an injury to a man, the WB asks the injured man's W for a fine on behalf of the injured man:



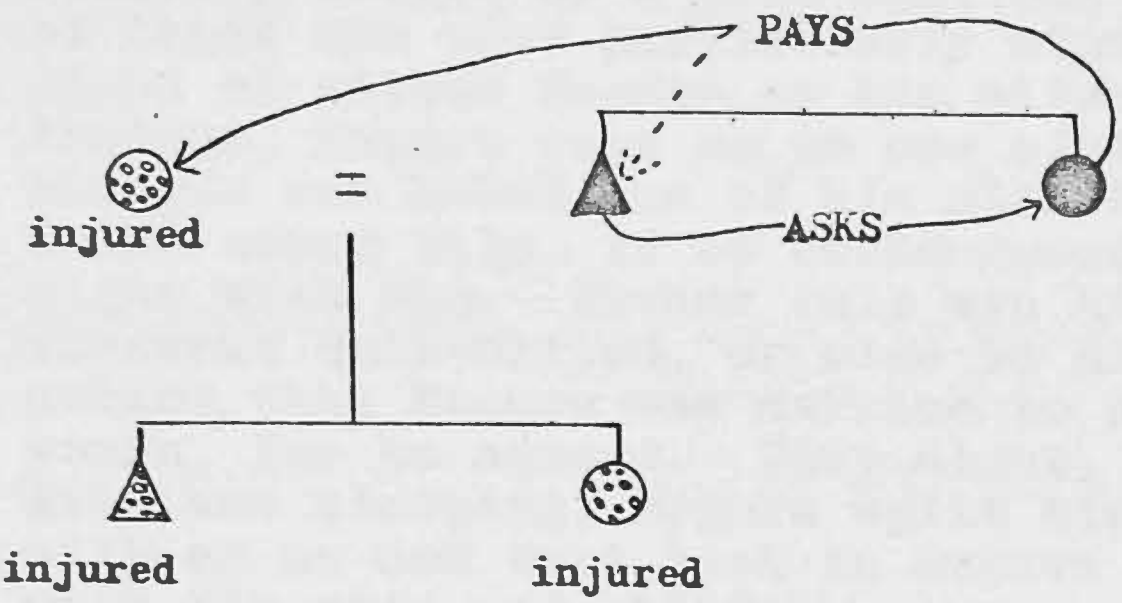
or the HZH asks the W (HZBW) for a fine on behalf of the H,



both of which are the same as the HZ asking the W for a fine on behalf of the H (i.e., the HZB), which seems more "normal," in terms of descent group exchanges.



Also appearing circular in the way outlined above are cases in which the W or Ch is injured and the H/F asks his Z for a fine:



In all of these cases, the direction of payments and claims are essentially the same: the injured party must be compensated by the affinally-related non-injured party. However, because the husband's proprietary interest in his wife's descent group is such that he acts as a spokesman on their

behalf, and because he is thus more or less aligned with them when sides are taken on a descent group versus descent group disagreement, it appears that intra-descent group claims and payments are being made between persons who stand in the relation of brother and sister to one another.

War

During times of tribal warfare, should a clan lineage-mate of a man's wife be killed by one of the man's clan-mates, it was not uncommon that the man killed one of his own lineage-mates in retaliation, so that he could "stap gut wantaim ol pikinini bilong em," i.e., so that he would be able to go on living amicably with his wife and children. During times of active hostilities, such a man would be avoided by his own lineage-mates, for fear that he might kill one of them. The man's descent group could hold no real grudge against such a man; he was thought to be doing what any man would under the circumstances.

> Magoru was a Lolo clan man, married to a Gurava clan woman. A Gurava man had been recently killed by a Lolo man, but neither of these men were particularly close relatives of either Magoru or his wife. Nevertheless, Magoru came up to one of the Lolo hamlets and asked one of his clan brothers, a man named Kile, if he could spend the night with him. Either this man Kile was somewhat dull-witted, or else he had forgotten that Magoru was married to a Gurava woman, for he agreed. That night, while Kile was sleeping, Magoru split his skull with an ax and went back to Gurava to be with his wife and children.

Far from being angry or seeking further reprisal, the Lolo people were somewhat relieved that the balance had been settled and now there could again be peace between the Gurava people and themselves. Note how it matters little who settles the account, as long as there are equal deaths

(or other appropriate forms of compensation, usually wiasi) on each side.

The preceding material has described the relation of the Nagovisi husband to his wife's group in a number of areas. The following section discusses the implication of these data for theories of matriliny.

On the Lack of a Matrilineal Puzzle

The Nagovisi data show that there need be no particular structural reason for all matrilineal, uxorilocal societies to be fraught with unique problems, i.e., resulting from matriliny or uxorilocality. There is nothing inherent in matrilineal, uxorilocal societies per se which makes their operation more difficult than societies with other rules of descent or residence.[27] Theoretical conflicts between marriage ties and descent ties are not necessarily exacerbated by either matriliny or uxorilocality. That this is so has been demonstrated by the Nagovisi experience, where typical problems are avoided.

There is furthermore evidence from the Nagovisi case that matriliny and uxorilocality can be compatable with modernization. For example, the Nagovisi have adopted a change from dowry to brideprice and have coped with the introduction of money[28] without any apparent deleterious effect on matrilineal and uxorilocal aspects of their social structure. More striking than these adaptations, perhaps, is the way in which the introduction of cash-cropping has taken place in Nagovisi.

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[27]Here I disagree with orthodox opinion on matrilineal, matrilocal societies, especially Richards (1950), Schneider (1961), Murdock (1949).

[28]In addition to a number of other changes, particularly with regard to material culture (as well as the introduction of Christianity, sweet potatoes, and Western medicine).

The present-day lack of any disruption to the social system due to the introduction of cash-cropping is somewhat unusual for a matrilineal society, and results largely from the fact that a man is barred from planting cash crops on the ground of his own descent group, but must instead do so on ground owned by his wife's descent group. In this way, husband-wife conflicts about residence, how much to plant on the ground of each, the ownership of the crops and the money gained from their sale, etc. are avoided. Potential arguments and competition between brother and sister as to the relative allocation of ground among male and female clan members is also avoided. Furthermore, in Nagovisi, the man's daughters inherit the valuable tree crops; there is no possibility that his sisters' children will be his heirs. The father's labor, then, in his lifetime, is for the benefit of his own offspring, and after his death, they continue to benefit from his earlier work, since they continue to own the improved land. The notion of the man as provider for his own children is entirely compatible with Western ideas on domestic life, and the Nagovisi case shows that it need not be a concomitent of patrilineal systems only.

Non-conflicting Roles

What is it, then, that causes problems in other matrilineal societies? My familiarity with the Nagovisi data suggests that there are two basic social features to which much of the trouble can be traced. The first has been mentioned by other writers, but little has been made of it. Richards, for example, mentions it (1950:208) but skips over any examination of its significance. Problems in most other matrilineal, uxorilocal groups seem to me to result largely from a lack of clearly defined and exclusive, non-overlapping roles for the man as a husband and the man as brother; otherwise stated, in many matrilineal, uxorilocal groups, the

obligations and rights owned and due a man's own descent group and that of his spouse are in conflict or competition. Thus, as Richards puts it:

> "...every marriage produces what can only be described as a constant pull-father-pull mother's-brother, in which the personality, wealth, and social status of the two individuals or their respective kinsmen gives the advantage to one side or the other, and a number of alternative solutions are reached within the same tribe."[29] (1950:208)

As has been shown in previous pages, such potential or actual conflict between a man's descent group and that of his wife is not typical of Nagovisi society. Instead, the obligations and rights a man has with regard to each group are for the most part mutually exclusive. Men give up their material involvement with their own descent groups upon marriage, and turn to the resources of their wives' groups. They maintain friendly relations with members of their own descent groups and are available for consultation and protection from moral affronts, insofar as this does not conflict with the interests of their wives' group.[30] As we have seen, there is little opportunity for conflict over clan and lineage property, whether this be land, wiasi, pigs or whatever, because male members who own these assets cease to use them or manage them on a day-to-day basis after marriage. There are few exceptions to this rule, the only ones being when no female members of a clan or lineage survive. If there are no female members, there

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[29] Richards speaks of two individuals, the father and the MB, but the problem can be stated in another way: there are dual obligations (i.e., to one's own descent group and to that of the spouse) for every married man.

[30] In Chapter VI, reasons as to why direct conflicts between the man's group and the group of his spouse are unlikely will be given.

are likely no husbands to these women, either; thus, any surviving nuga, 'men of the descent group,' are free to profit from the property so long as they live. At death, property is transferred along descent lines, i.e., matrilineally, and at death, husbands' bodies are returned to their own descent groups.

Woman's Role

The second reason why other matrilineal societies are predisposed to conflicts which the Nagovisi avoid has to do with the role of women in those societies. It appears that in many matrilineal societies, women are ignored by cultural rules except insofar as they bear children and thus produce future members of the descent group. This is, in other words, the failure to recognize women as jural persons, in some respects at least. By jural person, I mean one who has title to property as a matter of course, makes decisions or is meaningfully consulted on decisions, is held accountable for actions, can summon the backing of her descent group if she needs it, and so forth.

When women have significant roles as jural persons, Richards refers to this situation as the "matriarchal solution."[31] (1950:246) This is when "...property, particularly houses and land, pass through the woman as well as the line of descent." (1950:246) Other writers have used the ambiguous phrase, "high status of women," to refer to their position of significant legal or material rights.

Regardless of what this consideration is called, it should be obvious that in matrilineal societies where women do not have significant rights and duties regarding the descent group or whatever institutional form is most prominent,

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[31]This is perhaps an unfortunate choice of terms; "matriarchy" is a term which has not fared well in the history of anthropology.

conflict is inevitable, simply because all of society's rights and duties will then devolve upon men, who by definition under matriliny have dual loyalties--those resulting from the ties of descent and those resulting from the ties of marriage. The working out of these dual loyalties must cause conflict. However, if, as among the Nagovisi, women can be responsible for duties and exercise rights, men can be structurally freed of some of them, and under the best circumstances, freed of those that might bring them into conflict, e.g., property use rights.

Other Structural Features

Other factors contributing to the success of Nagovisi matriliny may also be cited; two related and fairly obvious ones are the local endogamy/marriage into the father's descent group complex and dual organization.

Local Endogamy

As mentioned above and discussed in Chapter VI, the Nagovisi prefer marriages to be locally endogamous, and the stated ideal is marriage with a member of the father's descent group. Thus, from the standpoint of the individual, uxorilocality does not usually take a man far from his own descent group; in fact about 72 percent of marriages are between persons who live within two and one-half miles or less from each other. A man is therefore able to keep in touch with members of his own descent group in order to advise them, defend and protect them from slights, keep an eye on the matrimonies, etc. He is furthermore able to retreat conveniently to his own people in the even of marital discord. Richards has cited Forde (1931) as regards the Hopi material on this point (1950:247); she notes that local endogamy appears there to make uxorilocal residence workable, from the standpoint of the husband.

From a social structural viewpoint, local endogamy as practiced by the Nagovisi (with emphasis on marriage with the father's people) produces a situation in which property (e.g., trees, kabu land, wiasi) can ideally zig-zag back and forth between exchanging moieties represented on a local level by clans and lineages. Thus, tree crops on a man's descent group land cannot be inherited by his own children, but there is a cultural expectation that they will be inherited by his grandchildren (i.e., son's children), and the expectation is realized if his son marries into the clan of the father. Wiasi used for bride prestations may circulate in a similar manner, as can paternally-endowed kabu land. It seems possible that with such expectations, a man might be less likely to feel excessive possessiveness with regard to his clan property, and less likely to want to take it out of his clan's holdings to be used by himself and his daughters, for he is thus potentially taking from his son's children. This is of course entirely conjectural.

Dual Organization

Dual organization appears to enhance the workings of Nagovisi matriliny and uxorilocality with regard to areas of potential conflict between ties of descent and ties of marriage, especially for men, who are more prone to such conflict. One of the effects of dual organization is to simplify, on one level, potentially complex relationships. There are implied (and real) obligations to both the "they" as well as to the "we," to the amorika, 'other moiety,' as well as to the nigompo, 'own moiety or descent group.' These obligations are of course greater or lesser, depending on the closeness of specific ties. Nevertheless, to a Hornbill, all other Hornbills behave and expect certain kinds of behavior in return: Hornbills are people like one's own

mother, own sisters and brothers, sisters' children, mother's brothers, spouse's father, a man's DH, his ZDH, and his WZH's or fellow motai. Eagles are different: they include spouse, father, spouse's siblings, spouse's mothers, and for men, own children. In dual organization societies, all human relations are profoundly and basically ordered by the exigencies of the moieties.

This is not the case in a multi-clan society, and the effects on certain kinds of relationships can be noted. For example, in multi-clan matrilineal societies, the in-marrying man is isolated; he is as different from his wife's people as he is from the other in-married men. He has only the feeblest of ties to these other men--those created by marriage twice removed, i.e., their mutual marriages. His closest ties, then, are likely to still be with his own descent group (and perhaps to some degree, with his wife's descent group with whom he has entered into a contractual relation. There is no simple way in which these in-married men can be organized, all together, and thus it is that so often in matrilineal societies, the original ties of a descent-like nature, i.e., siblingship, are invoked to organize adult men.

In dual organization societies, however, all the in-marrying men are members of the same moiety, even if they are not all members of the same clan or lineage. Thus, all in-marrying men in two-section societies are "brothers," due to their single moiety affiliation. This sort of "brotherhood" takes precedence over biological brotherhood among the Nagovisi; examples were given in Chapter III which showed that cooperation among men married to sisters is culturally preferred and is much more frequent than cooperation among biological brothers. Thus, among the Nagovisi, the in-married man (motai) are functionally equivalent to the groups of brothers living together reported for other matrilineal

societies (Richards 1950:251); rather than acting as members of a single clan or lineage, however, they are actors on behalf of a clan or lineage--that of their wives.

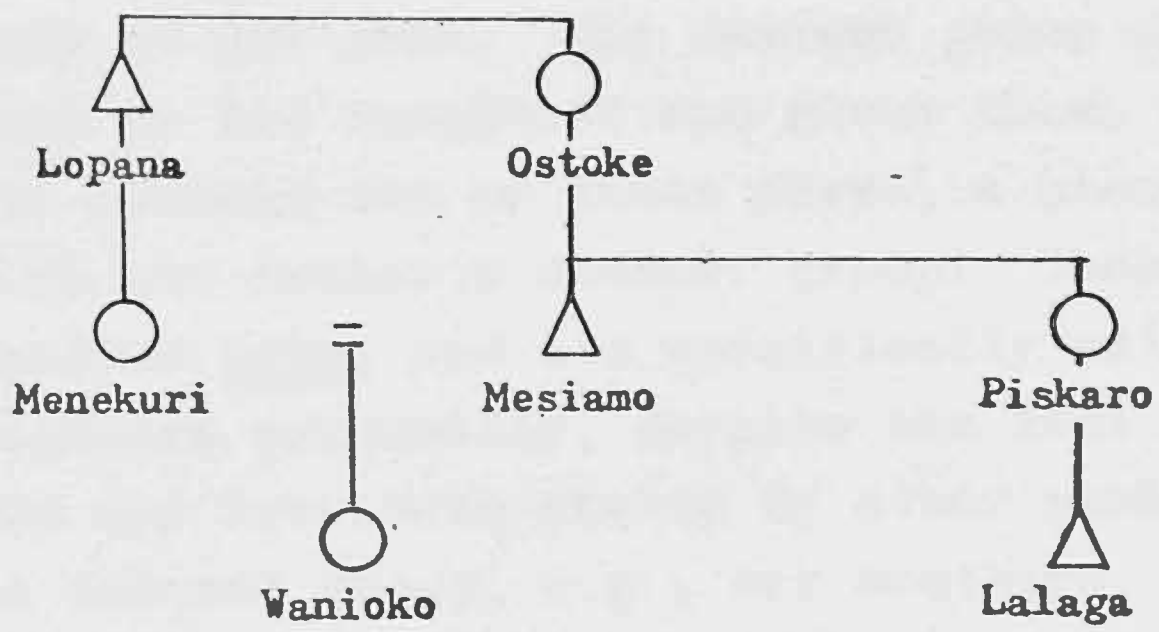
The Father as an Affine

One of the problems of matriliny, according to Richards is the "balance of rights and duties between the matrikin and the patrikin..." (1951:208, 249), and this balance is said to affect residence, etc., as well as potentially providing trends to dual descent. In a matrilineal dual organization society, the nature of dual division is such that the spouse and the father are members of the same moiety, if marriage has been exogamous, i.e., both are "they" people, not "we" people. The relation to the patrikin, in such a society, then, might be expected to be similar in some ways to the affinal relation. There is some evidence that the relation with the father's group is conceptualized as analogous to an affinal relation in the case of the Nagovisi. Thus, interactions with the patrikin are forever destined to be confounded with interactions with the spouse's group. The result is either a strengthening of marriage ties or weakening any potential trends to patriliny or dual descent.

Much of this material has been mentioned in Chapters II and III, but it ought to be reviewed once more here, although. First, the data on special relationship with father's people, despite matriliny; second, how this relationship seems to resemble an affinal one.

The Nagovisi frequently give as explanation of some kindly deed, favor, or cooperation between two individuals the fact that one of them is the "child of the descent group of the other," which means that the "child's" father was a member of that descent group. Thus, when Mirimai came to visit her sisters for two or three weeks, Sokegau took care of the feeding of her pigs. He did this because he is "the

child of the Bero," (i.e., his father was a Bero man), Bero being the clan to which Mirimai belongs. Sokegau is said to be made happy by the thought of the Bero people, because if it weren't for them, Sokegau would not exist. Other people claim to be somehow cheered up whenever they encounter a member of their father's descent group. Women who would otherwise have to be avoided, e.g., if a woman was the wife of one's MB, do not have to be avoided if the woman is a "child of [the younger man's] descent group." Thus, Lalaga has never avoided the matron Menekuri, even though she was once married to Mesiamo.[32]



A man's children, and in particular, his daughters, are obliged to aid his descent group in funeral preparations for him when he dies. Since mother and daughter are members of the same descent group, such aid is equally correctly conceptualized as fulfillment of affinal obligations. There may therefore be involvement of the daughter in any pidona and subsequent nalina payments, but the involvement of daughters with the funerals of their fathers does not depend on there being a pidona and requests for nalina. There is affectionate attachment to the father, and it is becoming

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[32]However, if Lalaga had married Wanioko, he would have had to begin avoiding Menekuri, even though she is a "child of the Wapola," because of marriage ties/relations.

increasingly common for women to request that their fathers be interred in the cemetaries of the daughters' descent group; one woman is reported to have made her successful plea to her father's descent group by citing the care she gave him when he was dying: "I held his excrement when he was old and sick," (i.e., she cleaned up for him when he was too feeble to get up and leave the house to defecate).

When the daughters have provided what is considered significant help in the funerals of their fathers, i.e, especially by providing a number of pigs for the latakari, '"thanks" to the mourners shown by distributing among them large pieces of raw pork,' the descent group of the father is obligated to the daughters and gives them, after a decent interval of perhaps two or three years, a piece of ground belonging to the father's descent group. These gifts of land are called kabu, and are specifically said to be gifts to the daughters personally, despite the fact that the work to get them may have been shared by other members of the daughter's descent group, e.g., her brothers, MB's, and her mother, as well as the husbands of these women, of course. Kabu land eventually passes into the general store of descent group land, but for the lifetime of the daughter, it is said to be hers and hers alone, or theirs, if there is more than one daughter. Kabu payments have nothing to do with nalina; they are not elements of the same system, according to informants.[33] Nor is it considered proper to speak of kabu payments as commercial transaction or repayment for help with the father's funeral; according to informants, acts motivated by paternal affection are not to be spoken of in the same terms as crass buying and selling.

Other special ties to one's father include the relationship of narokeka. People who are related by consan-

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[33]See Donald D. Mitchell (1971) for another view of this matter.

guineal ties between their fathers are said to be related by narokeka, and if you are far from your own descent group members, "yu savve pas tumas longen," 'you cling to them, you are tightly bound to them.' People related by narokeka are of course members of the same moiety, if exogamous marriage has taken place, but are considered to be closer than that mere relationship would imply. They may call on one another, in lieu of a descent group member, for aid. People related by narokeka sometimes give each other what amounts to cut-rate prices on pigs (cf. Chapter II, miwoko).

In fact, ties of narokeka were used as the justification for the handing over of a considerable plot of ground across clan lines when there were numerous "closer" connections (i.e., in terms of pseudo-historical genealogical lineage relations):

> Sikopi had two wives, one a Matona Siuaimpo woman, the other a Lolo Nuampo woman. Taumona, the Lolo Nuampo granddaughter, was the sole survivor of the Nuampo lineage and an unmarried epileptic. Kaka, the Matona Siuaimpo granddaughter, was a fifty-year-old matron with three daughters and two sons. Kaka and her husband had an extensive stand of cocoa trees on Nuampo ground which their daughters were to inherit. I asked them if the other Lolo lineages weren't annoyed to see such a large piece of land go to the Matona clan. They explained that because of Kaka's and Taumona's mutual relation through Sikopi, the other Lolo people themselves had insisted that Kaka take the Nuampo land.

The next examples concern kinship terms which reveal some further similarities between the paternal and affinal relationship.

The term kanalai, for example, is defined by informants as being just like matalo, that is, one's father's kind. Thus, a male informant said, "I can refer to my father's lineage as kanalai and my children's lineage as

kanali" (even though this may refer to two different lineages). It is thus a reciprocal term. Another informant attempted to simplify things for me by stating that kanalai and matalo were synonymous with amorika. Amorika means "the other moiety" in any context. As for the term erenau, literally, 'one blood,' a young informant had told me that this described the same domain as kanalai, i.e., relations of a child with his father's clan. He emphatically denied that erenau was a relation within the descent group, as is true for the Nasioi (Ogan 1966). An older informant said that erenau was not a Sibbe term in any event, but was a neologism which had been introduced by the Catholic Church.

Another way in which paternal relations and affinal relations are seen as similar has to do with the supposedly real reason for why tabus can be ignored in cases of "child of the father's lineage" (cf. example cited above). The real reason is not that Menekuri is the child of the Wapola, but that Lopana is tata (MMB, eB) to Lalaga, and thus Menekuri is Lalaga's daughter.

It has already been noted in Chapter II that when awaitowai relations occur, that is, when it is possible to trace relationships between individuals in more than one way, it is not infrequent that a child may use affinal terms towards members of his or her father's descent group of a man may use affinal terms with regard to his own children. There are further indications other than items of vocabulary which show that the paternal relationship is similar to affinal relationship.

A persistent use of the pidgin term "pikinini" to refer to not only a man's children, but to his wife and her descent group as well, is characteristic of the Nagovisi

use of pidgin. This has its parallel in the Sibbe term wolupo.[34]

> A new sewing machine was standing by the road near Lolo village, and I asked a young boy passing by to whom it belonged. "That machine belongs to Kobua's children. They're going to start a clothing business," he said. Since Kobua's oldest child is a nine-year-old boy who goes to school all day long, it is more likely that Komauka, his wife, and her Z's will be running the business.
>
> Genenai, a Biro nuganala, appeared around dusk in Pomalate and stayed for a few days. I asked what brought him here, and was told that he had come to buy some sugar. When I remarked that surely there were closer stores to his wife's village, I was told that Genenai had had an argument with his children and had left home for a cooling off period. When a final court settlement was reached some time later, the argument was seen to involve Genenai and his wife, not Genenai and his children.

A final example of the similar conceptualization of the paternal descent group and the affinal one involves not only the following incident, but also the context in which it was told to me:

> Kauma, whose deceased father was a member of the Biroi clan, Waina lineage, composed an insulting song to sing at a sira, part of which mentioned the promiscuity of Katinai, a Biroi Waina woman. Kauma was publicly cen-

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[34]Third person singular possessive, 'children,' or 'spouse and child,' or 'spouse and children.' Cf. woli, third person singular possessive, 'son;' wola, third person singular possessive, 'daughter.' Note that wolupo can be used for the children and husband of a woman, as well as for the wife and children of a man, but in its pidgin form, it is never used in the former sense.

> sured for doing this, because one should not speak ill of members of one's father's descent group.

The context of this incident is also revealing: here is my informant's comment to this story. He compared it to a recent incident in which a Pomalate motainela had composed an insulting song aimed at the son and DDH of a woman named Takore, Takore being also the name of the composer's daughter. According to my informant, these two cases were identical in that they both told of men who failed to observe paternal/filial propriety.

Some Broader Implications for Social Evolution

The comparison of the Nagovisi data with information (and theories) available from other matrilineal societies suggests some tentative hypotheses concerning what might be called the evolution of society, in a Levi-Straussian sense of the term. By this, I do not mean to imply any historical sequence, but rather theoretical condition for social changes.

The major difference between the Nagovisi form of matrilineal society and other matrilineal societies is, as I have stated above, the existence of non-conflicting (for the most part) rights and duties for the man as a husband/father and the man as a brother/mother's brother. A necessary concomitent to this is the division of rights between brother and sister; here, too, access to descent group property is apportioned so that the rights of brothers and sisters do not conflict, for the most part. Women as well as men have a significant role and are sociologically essential in Nagovisi society. However, in other matrilineal societies, as the ethnographic data in Richards (1950), and Schneider and Gough (1961) both show in the "typical" matri-

lineal society, there is either ambiguous brother-sister access to matri-clan property, or in other cases, the brother has greater (or complete) access to this property. In either case, conflict is inevitable. However, out of this conflict may arise new institutional forms or at least, predilections towards new forms. In particular, new developments can be anticipated with regard to inheritance, demographic expansion and the rise of political-territorial leadership.

As regards inheritance, ambiguous access to lineage property must lead in many cases to bifurcation of lineage property along brother-sister lines, and, to conjecture, perhaps to new modes of inheritance. Richards makes this point when she mentions that the "balances between the matri-kin and patrikin tend to produce secondary forms of descent." (1950:249) Some examples of matrilineal groups in which there is recognition of "the father's side" are presented, but it does not appear that there is any patrilineal inheritance _per se_. It is, as Richards admits, a long jump to a sort of dual descent situation, such as the Yako manifest. But nevertheless, the combination of ambiguous or masculine access to matrilineally-inherited property in a multi-clan society is perhaps the appropriate context for the development of such trends.

As we have seen in the Nagovisi case, dual ideology, in identifying the paternal side with affines, curbs these tendencies to patrilineality--there is, to be sure, paternal inheritance (e.g., _kabu_) among the Nagovisi, but it is confined to one generation and thus not properly patrilineal; furthermore, _kabu_ is bound up with frankly affinal obligations and exchanges. Dual organization in a matrilineal society discourages the development of a patrilineal line of inheritance, which is possible in a multi-clan society

without dual organization.[35]

Ambiguous or masculine access to matrilineage land might lead to hastened spatial dispersion, creation of new village, colonization of new areas, and perhaps to hastened lineage fission, provided conditions are suitable. Essential conditions for hastened expansion or dispersion would include an abundance of vacant land, a means by which the setting up of new settlements could be easily accomplished, and a political system which allowed the creation of new units (Richards 1950:248). Richards cites the Bemba as practitioners of this sort of expansion, but a nomadic pastoral people, such as the Nuer, do much the same thing. However, for most tribes at present, there is not enough vacant land to practice this solution to this problem of matrilineal society, and compromises or other solutions are sought. Perhaps it may be conjectured that in the indefinite past, forces such as those generated by masculine access to matrilineally inherited property in part accounted for the expansion of some African tribes (e.g., among the tribes of the matrilineal belt, or perhaps the Bantu explosion). Obviously, expansion must have happened everywhere, given a rising world population; under the conditions described above, however, the rate of expansion would be increased.

In societies where there is ambiguous access to descent group benefits (property, status, etc.), or masculine benefits are favored to the exclusion, semi-exclusion, or detriment of female benefits, opportunities for political-territorial leadership appear to be increased. Increased conflict may be the lot of the average man, but forceful

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[35]Perhaps an incipient favoring of males in inheritance may be seen in the return-for-nori land gifts of the Siuai (Oliver 1955:342-43); such returns were similar to the Nagovisi kabu, but sons, not daughters, were the recipients of these land gifts from the father's matrilineage.

individual men will always emerge who can organize fuzzy rights, maximize vague openings, and marshal opportunities. A forceful individual can take advantage of benefits of his own descent group, his wives' descent groups, his other in-laws, and so forth. Marriage becomes more an instrument of political advancement, and thus, polygyny becomes desirable. Under such conditions, villages and settlements of diverse composition appear, i.e., organized according to a principle other than a strictly kinship one. Wherever there are complex and ambiguous ties to be played upon, it is a veritable certainty that someone will play upon them. A multi-clan situation aids in producing the above effects.

In societies like the Nagovisi, where there are separate realms for the man as husband and the man as brother, where men and women are basically laborer/manager and property owner, and where dual organization is in effect, leadership is infused with a kinship idiom. This is not to say that among the Nagovisi, men do not try to maximize whatever they have, make political marriages and alliances, etc., but they are always bound to do so in a kinship framework. There are limitations, too, on duration of the sorts of alliances they can build up, for there must be some collapse of these alliances after the death of a leader. Alliances are built up around a leader personally, and when he dies, the character of affinal obligations his people owe his wife changes drastically; in fact, it lapses. A leader's son cannot inherit an alliance, for he is a member of another descent group. He could try to build a mirror image of such an alliance, however, as he may have married into his father's group. But even so, this calls for re-alignment of members. A man's son-in-law (DH) could take over his WF's alliance, but he is not usually a member of the husband's descent group, and thus cannot count on the support of those people, who no doubt would be heavily

represented in any alliance of the WF. Thus, there can be forceful leaders, but their constituencies do not remain intact after their deaths, but begin to re-form, altered of necessity, around someone else.[36]

The above comments are concerned basicallywwith themes of instability versus stability, of conflict versus order, of breaking out versus on-going sameness, and of change to new forms versus cyclic change. These are old themes in anthropology, but they were perhaps most eloquently considered by Levi-Strauss (1949). He began an unfinished discussion of elementary versus complex structures, i.e., a consideration of those institutional arrangements of societies which allowed their classification into an evolutionary scheme leading to entropy. It should be clear that the Nagovisi as I have described them are "elementary" rather than "complex," whereas most other matrilineal societies, on which prevailing theories of matriliny are based, are "complex." The differences between Nagovisi society and other matrilineal societies which I have discussed above[37] suggest a final characterization of these two types in Levi-Straussian social evolutionary terms. Nagovisi is a society with specialized institutional arrangements (e.g., roles of men as affines and consanguineals, men versus women) and is thus stable. Other matrilineal societies have unspecialized institutional arrangements (e.g., roles of men are ambiguous and women's roles are of secondary importance) and thus, these societies

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[36]Both of the Nagovisi's neighbors to the south, the Siuai and the Buin, were multi-clan societies with a marked degree of political-territorial leadership, in contrast to the Nagovisi, who were dual organizational and said to have "kinship" based leaders (Oliver 1955, Thurnwald 1934). Perhaps some explanation of their differences can be found in this sort of reasoning.

[37]I.e., dual organizational versus multi-clan, non-conflicting roles versus ambiguous roles for H/F and B/MB, both men and women as sociologically significant and different versus men more sociologically significant than women.

are liable to conflict. This conflict leads, in the long run, to either new forms which are still basically matrilineal, or to the utter transformation of matriliny to something else, i.e., social evolution.

CHAPTER VI

MARRIAGE 2: SOME QUESTIONS OF THEORETICAL INTEREST

The present chapter continues to deal with Nagovisi marriage. Here we shall be concerned with topics which have had general theoretical interest to students of marriage. Four subjects will be covered: cousin marriage, marriage prestations, divorce, and local endogamy. Some of these problems overlap, but nevertheless, they are separated for purposes of analysis. Certain topics have been treated historically, and effects of change have been noted. In general, statistical treatment is more characteristic of this chapter than it was of the previous one, but a certain amount of ethnographic description is included as well.

Cousin Marriage

As noted above (Chapter II), the Nagovisi kinship terminology implies dual organization and so, prescriptive bilateral cross cousin marriage. In fact, the Nagovisi do practice cross cousin marriage, but as will be discussed below, it is possible to devise alternate models of this phenomenon--models which are both suggested by cultural traits and which appear to have some statistical reality. The normative rules regarding cousin marriage will first be presented; following this, the statistics of marriage choices will be arrayed in several different ways. The implications of each array are then considered.

Normative rules concerning appropriate marriage choices are contradictory in some respects. Informants agreed that

a child was supposed to marry a cross cousin, but there was disagreement as to whether the first cousin was marriagible. According to some informants, marriage between first cousins had been acceptable--in fact, preferred--in pre-contact days. However, first cousin marriage had been denounced by the Banoni, a neighboring tribe, by individual patrol officers, and to some extent by the Catholic Church. Reasons for disapproval by both the Banoni and the Administration officials were the same: such marriages were said to be "too close," and thus, "like marrying a sister." No explicit reason for disapproval was given for the objections to first cousin marriage by representatives of the Catholic Church, except that informants thought that priests, being Europeans, did not understand the necessity of moiety exogamy. In the view of the Nagovisi, this misunderstanding was not confined to Europeans: one of my most intelligent informants explained why the Banoni thought that first cousin cross cousin marriage was like marrying one's sister. According to him, it is because marriage regulation among the Banoni is not based on moieties, but on multiple clans. Among the Nagovisi, where moieties regulate marriage, it is obvious that one's sisters are those women who belong to one's moiety, and those women in the opposite moiety are not one's sisters, but rather potential spouses. In a multiple clan society without moieties, these distinctions are not so straightforward.

Other informants,[1] equally reliable, claimed that first cousin cross cousin marriage, while not exactly like marrying one's sister, was "too close" and thus not as good as marriage with a second cousin cross cousin. These informants did not deny that first cousin cross cousin marriages took

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[1]The most articulate informants on both sides of the cousin question were middle-aged men; therefore, I doubt that the differences they espoused had to do with their occupying special or unusual structural positions.

place, but claimed that second cousin (and more distant) cross cousin marriages were preferable to them. These informants also claimed that generations must be scrupulously observed; thus, a classificatory FB could not marry a BD, nor could a MMBS marry a FZDD, in the past, even if the two were of appropriate ages. The first cousin cross cousin proponents said that this was not true. They said that marriages between alternative generations could occur if the principals so desired, but that such marriages were never arranged (as in wagana, 'infant betrothal') by others.

These inconsistencies of testimony bring up a number of interesting questions. I will mention only three of these that come to mind. First of all, it appears that the Nagovisi do make finer distinctions within kin-term categories, and that these distinctions may be important in marriage choice (however, informants disagree). The designation of the distant or "not too close" cross cousin as the preferred mate choice is frequently encountered in ethnographic literature, but there has been little attempt to base any theory on this fact. Second, the infrequency of marriages between first cousin cross cousins today is consistent with the failure to observe normatively defined avoidance behavior towards the biological FZ and the biological MB's wife which I noticed among the Nagovisi, and the stated preference of some informants for a distant cross cousin is consistent with the preconditioning of young boys to avoid more distant FZ's (Chapter V). Third, the insistence on the part of some informants that the first cousin cross cousin was always an inferior marriage choice brings up a matter which will be discussed at greater length below, namely, inability of moieties by themselves, without internal differentiation, to control the strains of affinity and consanguineal ties.

Let us turn now to the justification of cross cousin marriage. The reasons for marriage with a cross cousin are two: if one marries the child of the MB, the Nagovisi say

that the ZCh can take care of the MB when he is old. If one marries the child of the FZ, on the other hand, one can take an active part in the preparation of funeral duties for one's own father, according to informants. However, according to Nagovisi customs, things do not quite work out this way for both sexes. Let us consider the following hypothetical situations.

If a woman married her MBS, the MBS would tend to come to live with her, not the opposite. She would not be in a better position, then, to help her MB on a daily basis than had she married anyone else. She is obliged, no matter whom she marries, to perform her MB's funeral duties.

If a man married his MBD, he and the MB will be co-resident and thus theoretically in a position to give greater mutual support and cooperation. But if he simply marries a classificatory MBD, obligations to his real affines prevent him from cooperating to any great extent with his MB. His affines would complain that he was favoring members of his descent group over them.

Should a woman marry her FZS, she might be able to help somewhat in the funeral preparations for her F when he died. However, the cultural facts are that women, with the aid of their husbands, perform funeral duties for the deceased of their own descent groups. These duties are more or less fixed, regardless of who the husbands are. Since a woman does not belong to the descent group of her father, marrying into her father's group does not mean that she will be able to play a prominent role in funeral preparations for him. This funeral work will be done mainly by the father's sisters and the FZD's, and their husbands.

Men, however, by their marriage choices, can "decide" whose funeral duties they will be responsible for and if they marry into their fathers' descent group, they will be able to play major roles with regard to their own fathers'

funerals. In fact, the Nagovisi do say that it is best for men, not women, to marry into their father's groups. A man need not marry a cross cousin, however defined, but given the qualifications affecting affinal types (e.g., distinctions of sex, moiety and generation), it is likely that he would do so. In any case, the result takes the form of a cross cousin marriage, namely, patrilateral cross cousin or FZD marriage.

Thus, we see that for the Nagovisi, marriage with a bilateral cross cousin is recommended in theory and quite possible in practice. There is some disagreement as to whether first cousins and more distant ones are equally eligible. Marriage into the MBW's group is recommended, but not particularly advantageous, as claimed, except when a man marries his real MBD. Marriage into the F's group is recommended, but not particularly advantageous for women, for it sets her in no special position with regard to her F's death; however, it is so for men. All of these kinds of marriage can be called bilateral cross cousin marriage, because men and women are marrying in different directions. But the term "cousin" is misleading, and the blanket term "bilateral" lacks precision.

If the data are arrayed in a few different ways, they suggest models other than bilateral cross cousin marriage. Table 1 shows marriages giving what can be termed the "appearance" of bilateral cross cousin marriage, that is, into the clan or clan and lineage of either the F or the MBW of either of the partners. The percentages are fairly high--roughly half--and in fact, appear to be rising a bit through time.[2]

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[2] I doubt if this is statistically significant; I attribute the rise to a fuller knowledge of the genealogies of younger people.

Table 1. Couples Whose Marriages Give the Appearance of Cross Cousin Marriages[a]

Relation of Married Couple	1900-1943 N=31	1946-1950 N=16	1951-1959 N=15	1960-1970 N=36	Total N=98
Into clan and lineage of F or MBW	9.7	25[b]	6.7	0[c]	8.2
	48.3	50	53	61	54
Into clan only of F or MBW	39.7	25	46.7	61.1	46.0
Into clan or lineage of HMF or WMF	9.7	12.5	6.7	5.6	8.2
Other genealogical relationship	3.2	0	6.7	2.8[c]	3
No traceable relation	6.5	38[d]	27	19 (8.3/11.1)[e]	19.4
Non-exogamous marriage	3.2	0	0	5.6	3
Unknown	3.2	0	0	5.6	3

Table 1, continued

[a]Figures are in percents unless otherwise stated.

[b]Note the high frequency of marriages between persons who for the most part can trace biological connections between one another. These people were in most instances first cousins. Perhaps this is related to the lack of marriage prestations characteristic of this period (see Marriage Prestations, below).

[c]The present-day lack of marriages between persons who can trace close biological relations to each other may show the influence of the Catholic Church, the government, and the Banoni. Another possible interpretation is that first cousins married only when there were no distantly related cross cousins available; with modern population expansion and slowing of lineage fission (cf. Chapter III), perhaps there are now ample distant cross cousins for all.

[d]Note the high percentage of marriages between persons who could not trace biological or genealogical links between them. This, in combination with the above observation in footnote b suggest that perhaps the few first cousin cross cousins were matched up by their parents, but that in general, due to perhaps the ravages of war, there were few other mates that would have been considered ideal during normal periods. Another possible explanation is that the marriages between first cousins represented the cases in which the parents' will was acted upon, and the marriages of non-relatives were the result of individual choice without regard to "proper" kinship considerations, i.e., to marry into the father's descent group, as suggested might have been typical of this post-war period (cf. Chapter IV).

[e]Of these, I know for certain that 8.3 percent of these marriages made between non-relatives were arranged with a deliberate motive in mind, i.e., in order to get ground in certain areas or to make other kinds of alliances. Thus, the remaining 11.1 percent of marriages between non-relatives is a lower percentage

Table 1, continued

than any time since 1943. Either this indicates that the Nagovisi are now able to return to marrying "distant-close" relatives, as they apparently did in the period before World War II, or the figure is a reflection of my better knowledge of the genealogies of these people, they being closer in memory.

Table 2 shows a comparison of FZD type marriages (i.e., into the descent group of the husband's father) with MBD type marriages (i.e., into the descent group of the wife's father). It is clear that throughout there is a greater frequency of marriages of the FZD type than there are of the MBD type. However, I am not entirely confident of the MBD types being accurately represented, for there is a tendency for Nagovisi to forget their male matrilineal relatives and whomever these relatives married, particularly if they are dead or married in remote areas. In contrast, everyone was able to name his father's descent group; therefore, the determination of FZD type marriages is much more accurate.

For this reason, then, Table 3 was devised, which compares male and female individuals as to whether they married into their father's descent group or not. Men who marry into their fathers' descent groups are making FZD type marriages and women who marry into their fathers' descent groups are making MBD type marriages. The results of this are statistically significant.

Thus, one model for Nagovisi marriage is, in simplest terms, bilateral cross cousin marriage--normatively, terminologically; and statistically. A more refined model is marriage of men into the descent group of their fathers, or FZD type marriages. Women marry into their F's descent groups, but with lesser frequency, and when they do, the result is not FZD marriage, but FZS marriage, or MBD type marriage from the husband's standpoint. The sum total of men's FZD marriages and women's FZS=MBD marriages strengthens the appearance of bilateral cross cousin marriage.[3]

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[3]It is regrettable that I cannot compare men and women for MBD type marriages; I do not feel confident enough of my data to do so. Such a comparison might show either that FZD type marriage was higher overall for both sexes, or it might show that women score higher on MBD marriage, taking up the slack, as it were, in the total sum of bilateral cross cousin marriages.

Table 2. Matrilateral Versus Patrilateral Cross Cousin Marriages[a]

Category	1900-1943 N=31	1946-1950 N=16	1951-1959 N=15	1960-1970 N=36	Total N=98
FZD type,[b] i.e., into the husband's father's descent group	29	12.5	13.3	36.1	26.5
MBD type,[c] i.e., into the wife's father's descent group	3.2	-	20	13.8	9
In the same direction as the FZD type, i.e., husband's mother's father's descent group is the same as the wife's descent group	12.9	12.5	6.7	-	7
In the same direction as the MBD type, i.e., the wife's mother's father's group is the same as the husband's descent group	9.8	-	-	5.6	5
Equally MBD and FZD type	3.2	12.5	-	11.1	7
FZD type and in the same direction as the MBD type	3.2	-	-	-	1

Table 2, continued

Category	1900-1943 N=31	1946-1950 N=16	1951-1959 N=15	1960-1970 N=36	Total N=98
MBD type and in the same direction as the FZD type	-	-	13.3	-	2
Biological relationships					
MBD	3.2	-	-	-	1
FZD	3.2	18.8	6.7	-	5
FZD/FFS	3.2	-	-	-	1
MMBDS/MFZD	3.2	-	-	-	1
MMZSD=MBD	-	6.25	-	-	1
FZDD			6.7	2.8	3
Unrelated	12.9	37.5	26.7	19.4	21.4
Non-exogamous	3.2	-	-	5.6	3
Unknown	9.7	-	6.7	5.6	6

[a]In percents.

[b]This is from the woman's point of view MBS marriage.

[c]This is from the woman's point of view FZS marriage.

Table 3. Differential Marriage Into the Descent Group of the Father by Sex[a]

Men (N=115)		Women (N=119)	
Member of the same clan as the father of wife	13.9% (N=16)	Member of same clan as the father of husband	23.5% (N=28)
Member of same clan and lineage as father of wife	8.7% (N=10)	Member of same clan and lineage as father of husband	16.0% (N=19)
Total above	22.6% (N=26)	Total above	39.5% (N=47)
(i.e., total times a woman has married a man who is a member of the descent group of her own father, or FZS=MBD marriage)		(i.e., total times a man has married a woman of the descent group of his own father, or FZD marriage)	
Neither a member of the clan or lineage of the father of the wife	77.4% (N=89)	Neither a member of the clan nor lineage of the father of the husband	60.5% (N=72)

[a]The real difference is nearly three times the standard error of the difference, and the probability of observing such a difference due to chance is less than .005.

There are certain factors that work against a higher rate of FZD marriage than that observed. Obviously, demography is a significant factor, i.e., the availability of an appropriate spouse, not to mention a compatible one. Two other specifically Nagovisi rules, one normative and the other statistical, might be mentioned in this connection. First is the stated notion that all brothers should not marry into the same descent group (cf. Chapter III). This does in fact happen, but it is said that in the past, it was not allowed. Informants were unable to give a sociological reason for why this should be, but it may have to do with avoiding conflicting ties of consanguinity and affinity, a topic discussed below. Conveniently enough, it should be noted that if only one son marries into the father's descent group, it is sufficient to fulfill the stated cultural expectation of FZD marriage, i.e., the performance of funeral duties on behalf of the father.

The second, statistical rule has to do with brother-sister exchange. Although the Nagovisi insist that brother-sister exchange is quite proper (cf. Needham 1966:147, citing Garo material), they could cite no examples of its actually taking place. In all the genealogies I collected, some of which went back four or five generations, I found only one example where a biological brother and sister had married another biological brother and sister pair; the single example were people who would be from eighty to one-hundred years old today if living. The significance of this observation relates to marriage into the father's group: if a woman marries into her father's group, the Nagovisi data show that for whatever reason, her brothers are probably not going to do the same, and if a man marries into his father's group, his sisters are not likely to do as he has done. The prohibition on brothers marrying into the same descent group has already been mentioned, but the converse should be noted

here: two or more sisters are thus unlikely to marry men from the same descent group, because from the prospective husbands' standpoint, this would be the same as if they (i.e., "brothers") had married into the same descent group. These two rules, then, ideally assure the scattering of the sibling group, i.e., the marriage of siblings to persons of different lineages and wetetenamos if not indeed to different clans.

The lack of brother-sister exchange seems incongruous at first, since the idea of men exchanging sisters or women exchanging brothers is an ideal of Nagovisi society, in the sense that such a motif most simply and succinctly epitomizes local endogamy and direct exchange in a dual organizational setting. However, for the Nagovisi at any rate, and perhaps for other dual organization societies as well, such an arrangement will not work in practice, because it causes too many critical relationships to be forced on too few people--people must play many roles, and it is best if they can play them towards different people.

Figure 1. Brother-Sister Exchange

According to Nagovisi ideas about marriage and clan obligations, "A" and "B" both retain sentimental and advisory positions vis a vis the "A's" and the "B's," respectively. However, in arguments (as well as with regard to material

support), "A" must support "b" and in fact, must support the "B's." In the same way, "B" has similar obligations to "a" and the "A's." Thus, if an argument involving "a" and "B" develops, "A" is obliged to side with the "B's" (because he is married to "b"), even though this means opposing himself to his own sister "a," even though the argument may really be none of his business. If "a" had married someone else, however, like "C," "A" would not be put in this situation of conflict: he could either ignore the argument, or give weak moral support to either side, without really involving himself--without compromising his relationship with his wife and his sister in a matter which probably means little to him anyway. In the same way, if we were to extend the chart back a generation, and if the same sort of brother-sister exchanges had been going on then, we would also see that fathers-in-law/fathers would also be drawn into this hypothetical argument in a way which would maximize stress or conflict regarding their roles toward kin and affine. Where there is no direct marriage exchange between moieties and in particular, where there is no brother-sister exchange, such situations where people play overlapping roles towards the same group of people are minimized.

Marriage Prestations

Today, the Nagovisi universally pay brideprice (wolina, 'payment in general'). However, according to informants, this was not the case traditionally. In the past, an optional dowry (lolai) was paid. The statements of my informants are corroborated by H. Thurnwald's information (1938). Indeed, the same rationalization for dowry was given by my informants as she reports: the purpose of the dowry was to "buy" the strength of the man--to buy a "strong hand" to work in the gardens.

Census data gathered in 1970 documents the fading of lolai and the ascendancy of wolina, i.e., the change in the direction of payments, as well as the increase in the amount of individual payments through time and average payments per year. Data on who paid whom is also presented, for when the direction of payments changed, the payer-payee relations were also changed. Various explanations are offered as to why and how the change from dowry to brideprice occurred and the relationship of these changes to Nagovisi social organization is discussed.

Traditionally, the mother of the bride (or other ranking females in the lineage or clan) paid a dowry of one or two--or even three, according to Thurnwald (1938)--strands of wiasi, 'shell valuables,' to the mother of the groom or to his clan or lineage. Such a payment was called lolai. Only the well-to-do were able to make such payments, because the Nagovisi say that in the past, not everyone had wiasi. Sometimes, in addition, the mother of the bride and the mother of the groom would exchange identical strands[4] of wiasi. Such exchanges were aparito, 'identical exchanges,' and were made to promote goodwill between those exchanging them. The family of the groom in some cases made a return of pigs, which were eaten at the bridal feast, or perhaps, at a latter date. The gifts of pigs was called lolai nogokas, 'return for lolai.' Lolai nogokas was not always made, nor was it really considered equal to the lolai. It did not cancel out the exchanging relation, because the lolai was to "buy" the physical labor of the groom, not the pigs.

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[4]Such strands were not only of the same category--the Nagovisi recognize about eight types, differentiated by size of shell, color of shells, percentage of one color to the other, and so forth--but had to be of the same length, hue, and if varigated, areas of the same color had to be of the same length and same relative position on the strand.

The first payment of brideprice in Australian currency I recorded in the area was paid around 1932. However, the couple for whose marriage this was paid are now divorced and disagree on the matter, the man claiming that he paid brideprice and the woman claiming that he did not. However, goods were being paid from the groom's side to the bride's side by that time, and even a bit earlier, it would appear. Also, the direction of payments of shell money was changing, too, during this time.

Today, brideprice ordinarily consists of three kinds of things: cloth, Australian money, and shell valuables. These are paid by the groom's kin to the bride's kin, although there are still aparito exchanges of wiasi and/or Australian currency which may accompany the brideprice. The amount of brideprice is usually determined by the desirability of the girl and the importance and wealth of her parents and the groom's parents. Of course, the amount of money in the economy as a whole accounts for the gross differences in average payments from year to year. Ordinarily, brideprice is not paid for widows with children. Should a marriage be terminated before any children are conceived, the groom's mother may ask for and receive the brideprice back.

Nagovisi in general have no firm reason for why they now observe brideprice rather than dowry. Some say that the idea diffused from Siuai after the war, and that they rather mindlessly adopted it. Men sometimes ruefully told me that they felt that dowry was a better institution, because men contribute all their physical strength to the wife's descent group and ought to be paid on this behalf. Women, on the other hand, justify brideprice on the basis that they are the ones who must feel the pains of childbirth; therefore, payment is due them. Furthermore, childbearing is thought to make women grow old quickly. It should be noted that the Nagovisi make the case for dowry and for

brideprice in terms of male-female qualities which are essentially based on physical difference; the physical strength of men justifies lolai and the pain and ravages of childbirth justify wolina.

H. Thurnwald suggests that contact with men from other tribes while contract working on plantations as well as an introduction to European customs[5] attained there might well have altered Nagovisi ideas on marriage prestations (1938). This must have happened to some extent; as mentioned above, some informants claim the idea of brideprice diffused from Siuai. Since I am ignorant of the history of conditions there, however, I cannot comment further on how this diffusion might have taken place.

It might seem that a reverse in the direction of marriage prestations would necessarily bring or result itself from other radical social changes. However, perhaps the change can be understood in terms of basic Nagovisi ideas about men and women. The change apparently began in the early 1930's, when cloth and small amounts of cash began to make up part of marriage prestations. The source of both the cloth and the case was the European plantation: men who served a work contract on a plantation were paid in money and in cloth. Thus, when first introducted into Nagovisi, both European money and cloth were seen as products of men's labor--women could not by themselves acquire these things, since women could not work on plantations. Since cash and cloth were exclusively the products of the labor of men, it seems likely that they were conceptualized as items owed to the bride, as was the ordinary labor of men and the products

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[5]How much understanding was ever attained regarding European customs is open to question; young men in particular often asked me whether Europeans paid brideprice, and in all of these discussions, I detected a confusion of brideprice, prostitution, support of the wife, etc., with reference to European customs.

of that labor. Thus, these things became a part of a bride-price payment, rather than of a dowry payment. These items had the further advantage of being at first outside of the matrilineage property complex; they were individually earned in an alien context.

This explanation does not however explain why wiasi, traditionally a dowry item, should become part of the bride-price payments. It is true that some of the strands of shell money used in brideprice payments during the 1930's were bought by men during their periods of indentureship on other islands, particularly on Manus and New Britain. But the overall change must be due to something else: perhaps the valuation of wiasi in terms of European currency played some role in the change. Perhaps another explanation is that in a sense, marriage prestations are not really essential to marriage anyway; they do not "buy" anything against anyone's will. They can perhaps be better seen as only tokens of goodwill and symbolic of good intent. It is really the man's labor, his good judgment, his industriousness, and so forth, which gives him standing and authority in his wife's group, and with her and their children, not the amount of any brideprice payment (see Divorce, this chapter).

Payers of Marriage Prestations

Informants stated that ordinarily, dowry was paid by the mother of the bride (or other closely matrilineally related women, e.g., oZ, MZ) to the mother of the groom. Brideprice involves the reverse situation, of course: the groom's mother pays the bride's mother. Usually, women do make the dealings; however, in some cases, other relatives pay, or perhaps the payment is broken down among several people. The groom himself may actually provide the Australian money part of the brideprice, if he has been recently employed, and rely on his female matrilineal relatives and their husbands

only for the wiasi. Not surprisingly, in most cases in which the payer of brideprice was someone other than the groom's mother, the payer was likely to be another matrilineally related female, or the husband of same. However, the principals (i.e., male payer, female payer, bride, and groom) are sometimes related in other ways. A tabulation of aberrant cases in which the groom's closest matrilineal kin did not pay brideprice appears below.

Table 4. Clans and Lineages of Principals of Sixteen Aberrant Cases of Brideprice Payment

Male payer is of same clan only as groom	2	same lineage	0
Male payer is of same clan only as bride	3	same lineage	3
Female payer is of same clan only as groom	0	same lineage	8
Female payer is of same clan only as bride	0	same lineage	0

Note that in 50 percent (8/16) of the cases in which the groom's closest matrilineal kin did not provide brideprice, the lineage relationship are nevertheless similar: other women of the groom's matrilineage paid his brideprice. There are no instances in which a female payer and the bride are of the same descent group; this is certainly to be expected. In 12.5 percent (2/16) of the cases, the male payer was of the same clan as the groom; both these cases involved "big men" paying for grooms who were orphaned. The last category is rather interesting: in 37.5 percent (6/16) of the aberrant cases, the male payer was either of the clan or the clan and lineage of the bride, making the relation of these two a classificatory MB/ZD relationship. In addition, two other cases are of the same MB/ZD type, although because of secondary marriages, the descent group affiliation does not reveal the relationship. Thus, a total of 50 percent

(8/16) of the aberrant cases are those in which an MB pays his own descent group on behalf of his ZD, where there is no cross cousin marriage taking place.

Thus, assuming brideprice payments on behalf of the ZD may be a way in which men can legitimately make cash payments to their own descent groups. That it is possible to conceive of marriage--both in terms of supplying the groom and the valuables exchanged--as a means of providing aid is illustrated by the following incident:

> Nalokas had just come home for vacation from school after finishing another year when his father, Kauma, told him he was to marry his (i.e., Nalokas') FZDD. Nalokas complained, saying that he did not want to get married to anyone right now. Kauma insisted, saying, "Those people [i.e., Kauma's ZD, a widow, and her children] have no man to help them in their work, and so I want you to marry one of the girls." Thus, both Nalokas and the brideprice were Kauma's "gifts" to his ZD.

A final qualification of many "wife-buyers" (i.e., providers of cash brideprice), particularly in the days before cash cropping began to pay off, was that all of them held permanent jobs for which they received salaries. The most lucrative of permanent jobs until recently was that of aid post orderly or "doktaboi;" when the Mission schools were improved in the late 1950's, a few Nagovisi had permanent employment there. During 1969-1970, there were several jobs connected with cocoa production, e.g., agricultural assistants, clerical staff and equipment operators for the Bana Cocoa Producers Society, which were held by Nagovisi men. For the most part, however, money for brideprice is still earned through casual labor done in more distant areas; men still go to Rabaul to earn money, but many more go to Panguna to work in the copper mine for short periods of time.

Table 5 presents total marriage prestations from earliest dates for the area, for the first marriage of the woman. Cash amounts have in general increased through time. (Figure 2). However, during the immediate post-war period, no brideprices were paid. The reason for this is problematical; it is possible that the period was characterized by so much disruption that wiasi hordes were temporarily misplaced or lost. In addition, informants claim that the Japanese stole a certain amount of wiasi, reportedly for souvenirs and to buy food when they were starving. It is doubtful whether the lack of brideprice can be attributed to a paucity of cash, however; according to informants, many Nagovisi were paid in currency for their work as bearers for the Allied forces (Long 1963), and recompensation for destroyed property was made by the Australian Administration after the war (Mair 1948:219-24). Perhaps a partial answer can be found in the high percentage of marriages resulting from wagana, 'infant betrothal,' (Table 1). As mentioned above (Chapter V, Wagana), Nagovisi couples not infrequently explained the failure of their kin to exchange marriage gifts by the fact that they had been betrothed as children. It is perhaps significant that a number of these wagana type marriages were arranged between first cousin cross cousins. A final suggestion is that perhaps brideprice was not paid during this period because of the era's being seen as a time of a new order: it is apparently a fact that certain other traditional kinds of payments were suspended on the orders of the post-war leadership, and others apparently invented:

> Magatopa's wife, Amako, died shortly after the war ended, and Menekuri wanted to move in with Magatopa right away, without observing a decent interval. Amako's kin wanted to be paid konatowa, 'remarriage compensation,' but Lapisto, one of the

Table 5. Marriage Prestations, by Year, for the Wife's First Marriage

Year	No Prestations Exchanged	Wiasi	"Laplaps" Loincloths	Other Items	Currency	Direction of Prestations
1919?	X					
1925?	X					
1925?		3				lolai
1925?	X					
1928?			5			wolina
1930?		1				aparito
1932		1	10			wolina
1932		3[a]			$4	wolina
1932?		1				lolai
1934	X					
1934		1				wolina
1934	X					
1935		1				wolina
1935	X					
1935		1				aparito
1935	X					
1935		2	bolt	pig[b]		wolina
1935	X					
1936?		1				wolina
1937	X					
1939		1				wolina
1940	X					
1940	X					
1940?	X					
1940		1	5			wolina

Table 5, continued

Year	No Prestations Exchanged	Wiasi	"Laplaps" Loincloths	Other Items	Currency	Direction of Prestation
1940		1	bolt			wolina
1940		2[a]	"some"	1 ax	($10?)	wolina
1941		5				wolina
1942		1	5		$1.50	wolina
1943	X					
1946	X					
1946	X					
1946	X					
1946	X					
1946	X					
1947	X					
1947	X					
1949		1			$6	wolina
1950					$6	wolina
1950		5			$30	wolina
1950	X					
1950					$4	wolina
1950	X					
1950		1			$10	wolina
1950	X					
1950	X					
1951					$6	wolina
1951		1			$10	wolina
1952	X					
1952					$10	wolina
1953	X					
1954		1			$20	wolina
1954	X					

Table 5, continued

Year	No Prestations Exchanged	Wiasi	"Laplaps" Loincloths	Other Items	Currency	Direction of Prestation
1954		1			$20	wolina
1954	X					
1954		1			$20	wolina
1955		1				wolina
1956		2[a]	5		$40	wolina
1956			6		$24	wolina
1956	X					
1957					$12	wolina
1957		1	6		$80	wolina
1960			6		$10	wolina
1960		2[a]			$20	wolina
1960		6				wolina
1960		2[a]			$40	wolina
1960		1	6		$20	wolina
1960					$40	wolina
1961		1			$20	wolina
1961		2	"some"		$40	wolina
1962		1	10		$40	wolina
1963		1	6		$40	wolina
1963			"some"		$20	wolina
1963		1			$40	wolina
1963		1	10		$10	wolina
1963					$20	wolina
1964		1			$50	wolina
1964			7		$30	wolina
1964					$50	wolina
1967		1	5		$40	wolina
1967					$50	wolina
1967		1	"some"		$50	wolina

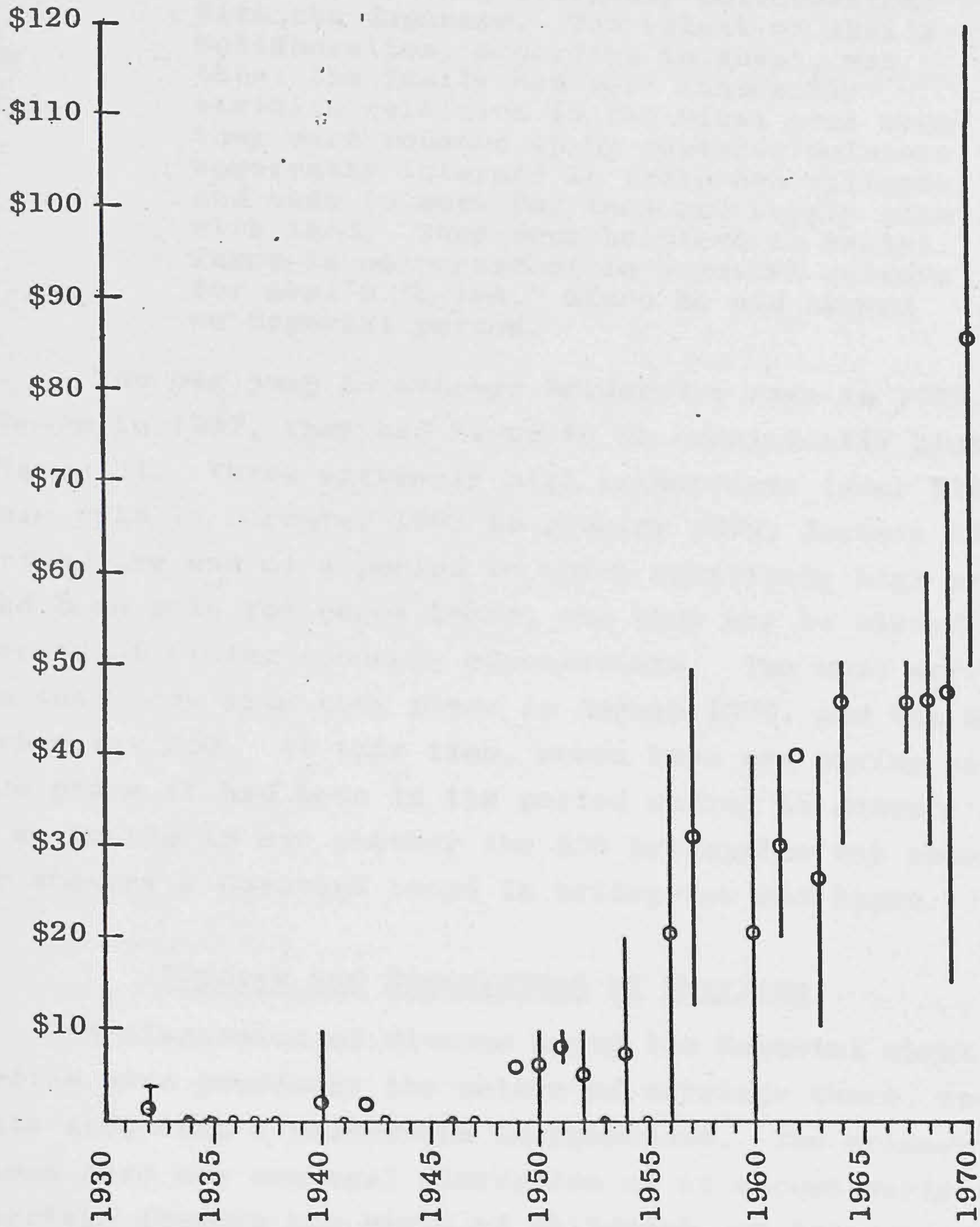
Table 5, continued

Year	No Prestations Exchanged	Wiasi	"Laplaps" Loincloths	Other Items	Currency	Direction of Prestation
1968					$50	wolina
1968		3			$30	wolina
1968			4		$60	wolina
1968					$60	wolina
1969			4		$70	wolina
1969		1	11		$15	wolina
1969		1	8		$40	wolina
1969		1			$50	wolina
1970					$70	wolina
1970		1			$50	wolina
1970		2[a]			$110	wolina
1970			6		$60	wolina
1970			10		$80	wolina
1970		1			$100	wolina
1970		1			$120	wolina
1970		1			$50	wolina

[a]One of these was an aparito exchange.

[b]Two pigs were equally exchanged (aparito).

Figure 2. Amount of Brideprice in Australian Currency, 1932-1970, in the Study Area[a]



[a]Vertical lines indicate range of payments; dots indicate mean payments.

post-war leaders, said this was unnecessary, because "things are different now."

Auwai's father, Akai, was made to pay a fine in wiasi to the post-war leadership and required to submit to a public paddling for having ellegedly collaborated with the Japanese. The extent of Akai's collaboration, according to Auwai, was this: the family had been innocently visiting relatives in the Siuai area when they were rounded up by Japanese soldiers, apparently interned in their own villages, and made to work for them and supply them with food. They were helpless to resist. There is no precedent in Nagovisi culture for Akai's "crime," since he had harmed no Nagovisi person.

The big jump in average brideprice came in 1970, although in 1967, they had begun to be consistently high (see Figure 2). Three extremely high brideprices (over $100 each) were paid in December 1969 to January 1970; January 1970 marked the end of a period in which relatively high prices had been paid for cocoa beans, and thus may be viewed as a period of rising economic expectations. The next marriage in the study area took place in August 1970, and the brideprice was $50. At this time, cocoa bean was paying half the price it had been in the period ending in January 1970. I am unable to say whether the $50 brideprice was aberrant or whether a downward trend in brideprice had begun.

Divorce and Dissolution of Marriage

A discussion of divorce among the Nagovisi ought to define more precisely the nature of marriage there, and to this end, such a discussion is presented. The primary questions here are conjugal disruption as it occurs early in marriage (before the birth of children), or later in marriage (after children have been born), and whether the disruption is temporary or permanent. As we shall see, permanent divorce

between husband and wife with immature offspring is exceedingly uncommon, whereas dissolution of early marriages is fairly common. Separation as a part of conflict and its resolution is fairly common between husband and wife with immature offspring. I shall consider what factors may contribute to this difference in rates by comparing Nagovisi conditions to those predicted by a well-known theory of divorce.

"Trial Marriages" and Their Dissolution

Among the Nagovisi, individuals will not infrequently begin upon marriage--their kin will exchange gifts, the newly-weds will set up housekeeping, the husband will work in the wife's garden, or the wife will come to live with the husband under initially virilocality--in short, do everything that newly-weds normally do. However, in some cases, the two will discover that they are ill-suited to one another, and the marriage will be dissolved--the presents will be returned, and each will go back to his or her own village. This constitutes a complete dissolution; marriage negotiations with others may then begin. It is only in retrospect that such marriages can be called trial marriages.

Dissolution of marriage is not at all uncommon. No statistics on these matters will be offered, however, because there is more contradictory information about these early trial marriages than in any other area of Nagovisi culture I examined. The sources of contradiction are as follows. There was much difficulty in eliciting whether a couple had actually lived together or not, and if so, for how long before the marriage was dissolved. In some cases, it was apparently that a suitor was merely suggested, only to be immediately rejected. In such cases, marriage, even on a trial basis, never actually occurred at all. Older people tend to forget their trial marriages, and younger

people seem to suppress the memory of them, perhaps still embarrassed by unhappy memories of the experience. I was continually revising my census data after checking it with other informants, finding that lapses of memory or uneasiness about revealing trial marriage information to a European[6] had resulted in inaccuracies. Despite a lack of statistical data, I estimate that twenty to thirty percent of the adult population had had at least one trial marriage.

As mentioned above, if there have been no children, prestations are returned in the event that a trial marriage breaks up. However, this is not always a simple matter.

> Ouwa and Lalaga had been married for more than a year when she decided to divorce him. Not wanting to return the brideprice, but having no infant to make firm her claim, she "confessed" at the trial that she had been pregnant but had aborted the fetus. Since she had gone through this pain because of Lalaga (i.e., he impregnated her), the brideprice could not be returned. She won the case.

Not only is brideprice returned; any labor done by the former fiance must be compensated.

> Sakui's mother arranged for her to marry Tomoke while Sakui was in school in Rabaul. Tomoke did a great deal of work at the behest of his prospective mother-in-law, clearing land and planting cocoa supposedly for his future wife and himself. When Sakui returned to Nagovisi, she absolutely refused to marry Tomoke and left again for Rabaul. Sakui's mother than was forced to pay Tomoke over $300 for the work he had done.

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[6] It must be borne in mind that most Nagovisi are at least nominal Catholics, and as such are not permitted to divorce and remarry. Trial marriage, when not sanctified by a church ceremony, is viewed as co-habitation; thus dissolution of trial marriage is hardly the grave matter that divorce would be had the marriage been solemnized in church.

When trial marriages are dissolved, there is bound to be a residue of ill feeling. Different accounts are frequently given for the failure of the marriage by each partner.

> SipulEs and Lau'mo were married for a short time, but parted. SipulEs' lineage claims that Lau'mo left because he was frightened by the large number of maikui trees (Terminalis brassi?) he would have had to cut down in order to make a garden for the two of them, Lau'mo being extremely lazy. Lau'mo's clan asserts, on the other hand, that he left because he couldn't endure the sharp tongues of his wife's female relatives.
>
> Lamara and Pomakaru were married for a short time, but later the marriage was dissolved. According to Pomakaru, he kicked her out because of repeated adultery on her part. According to Lamara's second husband, Lelemako, Lamara left Pomakaru on her own, being irresistably drawn to Lelemako. Lamara said that she sought refuge from Pomakaru's foul temper with Lelemako.
>
> Katinai was betrothed to Siponala when she was young, but refused to marry him because she found him old and ugly. She was married to Tawun briefly, but soon left him because he beat her.
>
> Kavibura and Taliau were married briefly. According to Taliau, he terminated the marriage because Kavibura did not obey him. According to Kavibura, she terminated the marriage because she got tired of Taliau.

Given this cautious attitude towards marriage, it is not surprising that women are generally pregnant by the time they are married in a Catholic ceremony, Catholic marriage of course being indissoluble. One former catechist made the mistake of marrying in the church before he and his wife had lived together; he found that he could not get along with her and took another wife. Despite having lived with his second wife for nearly twenty-five years, he shame-facedly

told me that what he had done was a "big sin"--it appeared to bother him greatly.

Divorce

Such early and simple dissolutions can only be made, however, if the bride has not become pregnant. If she has become pregnant or given birth to a child or many children, even though the two are free to separate and remarry, no brideprice is returned. Indeed, census data showed a further point: it is extremely rare that divorce at all, even without return of brideprice will occur if there are any young children. In fact, in the marriages of over two hundred men and women, only one such case appeared.[7] In this case, the husband was an exceptional person--at the time of the divorce, on his way to becoming the most powerful man in Nagovisi--and his wife, his biological MBD, was a headstrong, willful woman. Their daughter was very young (probably under a year old) when they were divorced. In ordinary cases,[8] the wife's second husband would act as father to the young daughter, but this was not an ordinary case. The wife's next two marriages were of brief duration, also ending in divorce (with no surviving children), and the daughter lived sporadically during this period with her own

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[7]Marriages of couples with children were of course terminated by the premature death of one of the partners, especially in the past, but very rarely by divorce.

[8]In hypothetical divorce cases, informants claimed that the children go with the mother if they are very young. If they are older, they are said to have two fathers. Also, in the event of the death of one of the parents, the child goes with the remaining parent and is cared for by the succeeding spouse, depending on how old the child is. If he is old enough to think fondly of the dead parent's kin, he will divide his time between them and his parent and new spouse. If he has a step-mother who is not a member of his lineage, he may wish to spend all of his time with his lineage-mates, especially as he grows older.

father and his new wives and her own mother and her new husbands. Finally, her mother made a lasting marriage in 1946, and the daughter has in effect two fathers, one co-resident and the other residing elsewhere; she cooperates in lineage-related matters with her mother's present husband, but has ties of affection to her biological father, asks his advice on a variety of matters, gets temporary loans from him, etc.

This case of divorce with immature children is unusual, not only in that divorce with immature children is unusual, but also in that the individuals involved were unusual people. It is difficult to assess the degree to which the case reveals anything about Nagovisi divorce. Although children appear to play a major role in marital stability, sterility[9] is not a reason for divorce, in particular, although in the past, sterile women were sometimes accused of aborting themselves and therefore might be punished. Mental illness, without offensive overt acts, is not a reason for divorce, either.

When a marriage breaks up, regardless of whether there are children or not, one partner may demand a fine (tapunai or niba--informants gave both terms) from the estranged spouse and his or her new spouse.[10] Such fines as I heard of were paid in wiasi and Australian currency. Cases in which tapunai or niba were paid were usually those in which one of the partners contested the new marriage, or was somehow insulted by it. Payments were said to resolve bad feelings between the first spouse and the second. Where there

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[9]Sterility is always attributed to women.

[10]These matters are privately settled unless there is some disagreement, in which case the affair may be publicly adjudicated.

were no bad feelings, no tapunai or niba was paid.[11]

From what I observed, there is no marked increase in divorce between couples whose children are mature. By that time, they seem reconciled to life with one another and are not eager to start anew with a stranger. In the study area, there was only one case in which a couple with mature children had divorced (and whether this is a prolonged separation or a divorce is hard to say at this point); about seven years ago, they had quarreled, and the husband had moved back to live with his matrilineal kin. Neither he nor his wife had ever attempted to settle the matter.

It is probable that in some cases, attachments between old people fade somewhat, however, despite a lack of open hostility. In another case, Ubiari, an ancient man, felt he was soon to die and wished to return to his matrilineal kin. His wife's village was at some distance from his own, and hoping to save his relatives the trouble of bearing his corpse back, he left his wife and came to live with his ZD. This was not a divorce; there was no ill feeling on either side. However, it is perhaps significant that Ubiari had no daughters and his only surviving son was feebleminded; his desire to return to his ZCh, in default of remaining with his own, may figure here.[12]

That children are an important consideration--if not the most important consideration--is indicated by the next incident. In this case, a divorce is predicted between Tari and his wife, the latter presently serving a jail sentence for the murder of their only child. Tari claims that

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[11]This parallels the payments of konatowa, 'bone payments,' which surviving spouses paid to the descent groups of their deceased spouses when they wished to remarry--either before a decent interval, or ever; accounts vary.

[12]A man's children, and in particular, his daughters, are supposed to care for him in his old age.

he does not want her back when she is released, because she killed "his" (their) son.

Separation

Marital intranquility, when there are young children, is frequently expressed in arguments, upon which follow temporary separation and reconcilation by means of cash payments of fines for slights (cf. Chapter V, Arguments and Their Resolution). Arguments usually are touched off by trivial matters, as discussed in Chapter V. As mentioned there, when separations take place, it is the husband who leaves his wife, since residence is matrilocal. Adultery is a frequent complaint between married couples, but it is never the cause in itself for divorce even in the case of frequent offenders. The offending parties usually are contrite, and the offended party forgiving. Men frequently told me that on certain occasions, they had been tempted to leave their wives, but in the end, they "grew lonesome for their children and decided to return."

There are strong cultural pressures to be married: as discussed above (Chapters III, V) men advance through use of their wife's capital, and a division of labor between the sexes is most efficient. In the study area, there were only two people--one apparently normal man and a reportedly epileptic woman--who had never been married. Remarriage after the death of the spouse is common; frequently, post-menopausal women marry younger men who have been otherwise unable to find wives. Some Nagovisi men have begun training for the priesthood, but none has ever been ordained, as men from other tribal areas in Bougainville have been, and it was the opinion of some informants that there will never be a Nagovisi priest, because the notion of remaining unmarried is too unattractive.

Thus, in Nagovisi, there are three basic alternatives to marital discord: these are temporary separation, divorce, and dissolution. These alternatives are possible at different times in the domestic sequence, and differ in the degree to which they affect the ties of marriage. Separation is a temporary solution to disagreements, and there is usually an assumption that an attempt at reconciliation--whether by means of money settlements or informal persuasion--will be made. Separation (and reconciliation) may take place at any time after the marriage relationship has begun. Dissolution of marriage may only occur early in marriage, before the wife is pregnant. In dissolution, marriage prestations are returned and affinal relationships between the kin groups of the prospective bride and groom are nullified. It is as if no marriage had ever been attempted. There is a marked reluctance on the part of the would-be bride and groom to discuss these dissolutions; it is said to embarrass them, but does not embarrass others. Divorce, theoretically possible but extremely rare, takes place after children have been born to the married couple. There is no return of brideprice. The children remain with their mother's descent group (if they are immature), although if they are old enough to know their father and feel attachment to him and if he is not rapidly and successfully supplanted by a second father, they and he may retain ties to one another of a paternal/filial nature.

Discussion

The frequency of divorce drops markedly after children are born, and thus it appears that among the Nagovisi, marriage establishes a tie not only between husband and wife (and their descent groups), but between father and children. Indeed, marriage appears to create a bond primarily with the children, rather than with the wife as a person. It is

children who provide the major attractant, not sex or love of the wife.

That this effect of marriage has some generality can be seen by comparing the Nagovisi data with that reported for the Zulu (Gluckman 1950, 1953, 1954). Among the Zulu, who like the Nagovisi have no divorce or very little divorce, rights in children are established by brideprice; whoever pays the brideprice of the woman "fathers" (i.e., gives them lineage affiliation) her children. Ordinarily, this payer is the children's father, and since the Zulu are patrilineal, the children belong to his descent group and are thus associated with him domestically and lineally. The identification of "father right" with patriliny and childprice with brideprice among the Zulu made Gluckman increasingly attribute marital stability (or lack of divorce) to patriliny and brideprice, thus departing from his original position in which "father right" and control of the children were the important variables. Ultimately, he came to tacitly assume that high divorce frequencies would thus be found where brideprice was low or non-existent and where patriliny (a concept now having replaced "father right" altogether) is absent, i.e., in matrilineal societies (Leach 1961:115).

The low divorce frequency (after children are born) among the Nagovisi, who are matrilineal, not patrilineal, and who pay a brideprice, but a brideprice which despite its modern-day universality, seems rather superficially related to any sociological aspect of marriage,[13] raises the question as to whether Gluckman should have strayed so far from his original position. For while the Nagovisi are not patrilineal, they do have "father right;" fathers exercise domestic authority over their children, husbands rise to positions of responsibility in their wife's descent

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[13] E.g., note the change in direction of payments in the past forty to fifty years, and the formerly optional nature of marriage prestations.

group, fathers are cared for in old age by their own daughters, and given "proper" marriages (i.e., FZD) of their sons, are buried and mourned by sons. Children are said to be "in between" their two parents (cf. Chapter III). When husband and wife quarrel, the wife may strike her child or take it to the bush, temporarily abandoning it; these are said to be ways to strike back at her husband. The fulfillment of marriage obligations--the labor the husband does on behalf of his children, more, perhaps, than any brideprice payment--establishes his claims to the children. Of course, if there are no children, these claims cannot be developed, and dissolution of marriage is uncomplicated and not uncommon. Perhaps it is significant that Tari, who wanted a divorce, did so because his wife had killed "his child," thus un-doing their marriage. Contrast this case with cases of mere adultery: although marriage is said to give the husband exclusive access to his wife's sexuality, adultery does not ordinarily jeopardize a marriage, nor do children fathered by another man.

Thus, it would appear that when social conditions are such that the father has ties with his children, divorce frequencies are less. Ties between father and child may be characteristic of some forms of patriliny, but this is not necessarily the case.[14] "Father right" among the Nagovisi depends not on lineality, but on ties of filiation and affinity. Here, ties of sociological paternity are coterminous with ties of affinity: the father/child obligations and husband/wife obligations are similar, and the man who plays both these roles of father and husband does so towards a

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[14]It is assumed that all mothers who rear their own children have ties of some kind with them, at least until the children reach adulthood. In matrilineal societies such as the Nagovisi, ties with the mother will extend throughout the lifetime of the individuals.

single descent group. Paternal ties cannot be likened to ties of descent, because paternal ties, like ties of affinity, are created de novo between people, rather than being automatic.

Local Endogamy

A frequently encountered assertion in anthropological literature and ethnographic accounts is that local endogamy tends to break down as a result of modernization, whether this be due to changing marriage ideology, the end of tribal warfare, increased mobility and communications, or whatever. This point of view is not limited to the external observer: note Oliver's Siuai informant who complained that nowadays (i.e., the late 1930's), children were marrying people from far distant places instead of close neighbors, as they used to (1955:154). Among the Nagovisi, however, it is my contention that local endogamy has not broken down, and in fact has been somewhat strengthened due to some of the consequences of modernization and also because there are still strong cultural pressures which favor local endogamy.

These cultural factors have been discussed above, especially in Chapters III and V. Nagovisi prefer cross cousin marriage and particularly, that a man marry into the descent group of his father. It has been noted in other studies that local endogamy is likely to enhance matrilocality (Forde 1931, quoted in Richards 1950:249). As noted above, marriage into the father's descent group and matrilocality are both characteristic of modern-day Nagovisi in the study area.

Among the Nagovisi in the past, exceptions to local endogamy were made for a variety of reasons. For instance, informants state that during times of tribal war, peace could be made by sending men from each of the feuding areas to marry among the enemy. This was said to have happened

as late as the 1920's, just previous to pacification. Occasionally, a so'ba exchange, 'trading a young person to a distant area for goods such as feathers or axes,' might result in a continuing marriage alliance after the young person reached maturity. Epidemics and serious illnesses thought to be caused by sorcery sometimes prompted elders to send their children to marry in distant areas, in order to escape early death. Some of the members of TolEsina lineage of the Bero clan, latecomers to the Nagovisi area, are said to have migrated for these reasons.

Modernization, beginning with contract work on plantations before pacification, provided less complex ways to get feathers and axes than by so'ba exchanges. The establishment of Australian control over the area marked the end of tribal warfare and thus obviated the opportunity for truces made through marriage. Improved medical care lessened the incidence of epidemics and illness: reasons to migrate (in order to escape) were diminished. Improved medical care also resulted in an increased population, so that there were locally available spouses for more people. All of these changes took place without affecting the cultural preference for local endogamy.

Marriage Areas

Informants had their own ideas of meaningful divisions within the Nagovisi area. Some were based on geographical features, such as mountainous versus sloping terrain, or areas with different kinds of soils, but most divisions were based on cultural features, such as the number of slit gongs, 'tui,' in the laupai, 'clubhouse,' and the style of playing them, sex-specific or non-sex-specific personal names, styles of wailing at funerals, and linguistic differences--mostly of vocabulary and pronunciation.

Table 6. Statistics on Local Endogamy

	Spouses Within Two and One-Half Mile Radius of Each Other		Outside Two and One-Half Mile Radius	
1900-1944	34	68%	16	32%
1945-1950	31	72%	12	28%
1900-1950	65	70%	28	30%
1951-1959	24	68.5%	11	31.5%
1960-1970	39	76%	12	24%
1951-1970	63	73%	23	27%
1900-1970	128	72%	51	28%

In the same way, there are "marriage areas," as well, i.e., those which provide the great majority of brides and grooms for each other. Informants were quick to name these exchanging groups and to discuss former conditions and any changes that had taken place. The named exchanging groups were always the spatially nearest opposite moiety clans. By the use of genealogical information, marriages made back as far as about 1900 could be used for estimations of the distance between the contemporary natal villages or hamlets of the two partners in the study area. The results are remarkably constant through time. If the approximate distance between the descent group areas of any married couple are tabulated according to estimated or known year of marriage, it can be shown that there has been no particular decrease in local endogamy since pre-contact times, and in fact,

there seems to be a slight rise[15] (Table 6).

The persistence of local endogamy can be attributed to the above-enumerated cultural pressures towards it and to the modern relaxation of certain pressures working against it in the past. The effects of European contact were not only to facilitate communication and travel within the area and with other linguistic groups; with regard to some institutions, the effects were to remove the reasons for wider communication--as in marriages made to end feuds, and so'ba, for example. At the same time, other effects of contact (e.g., improved health which led to population increases) worked to make culturally favored local endogamy easier to achieve. Such effects appear to have balanced whatever increased dispersal was actually brought about by travel to other tribal areas and better communications between remote areas within Nagovisi.

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[15]No statistical tests of significance were done on these figures.

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