

FOI LAND USE, PRESTIGE ECONOMICS AND RESIDENCE:

A PROCESSUAL ANALYSIS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ANTHROPOLOGY

MAY 1974

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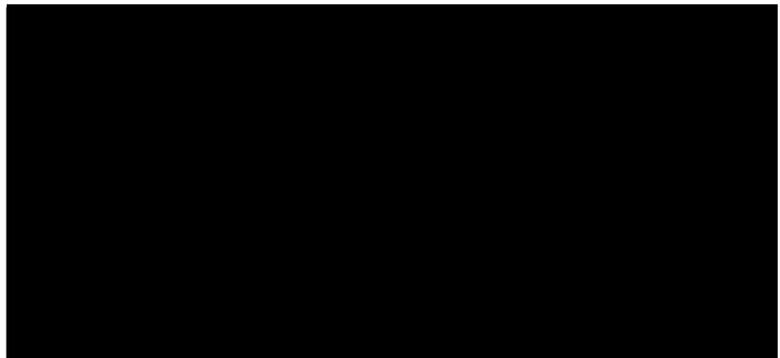
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PREFACE

The fieldwork on which this dissertation is based was conducted among the Foi of New Guinea, in two periods--November, 1965 to May, 1966 and January, 1968 to May, 1969. The first period of fieldwork was exploratory and was not oriented toward any particular theoretical or substantive problem. Most of my time was spent learning to use the Foi language and learning the general outlines of Foi culture. In this initial exploration of Foi culture, I had the advantage of being able to refer to a short monograph on the Foi people written by F. E. Williams (1940-41). Williams' monograph is not detailed enough to provide much data for use in the dissertation. But it was invaluable, at first, in providing me with sketches of Foi institutions and with native terms for key concepts.

Analysis of material from the first field trip and reading of the literature on New Guinea Highlands peoples led me to focus on the topic of the dissertation in the second field trip. I was led to consider the range of alternatives available to Foi men, and the basis for their choice among alternatives, in such matters as whose land they used, whose brideprice payments they contributed to, who they gave brideprice shells to when their women married, and who they resided with. I had

learned during the first field trip that individual Foi men usually explain a present course of action in these matters in terms of the obligations created by past cooperation, rather than by referring to descent connections. It seemed to me that I might profitably examine such an explanation for social cooperation, as an alternative to analyzing the role of descent in determining social cooperation.

The bulk of my stay in the Foi area was spent at Herebo village. During the first period of my fieldwork, I was unmarried and I soon moved into the Herebo men's house. It was more comfortable than the village rest-house, built for visiting white officials, and it allowed me more intimate contact with the people of Herebo. During the second period of fieldwork, I was accompanied by my wife and had a house built for use a few hundred feet from the village. The people of Herebo came to consider me as a member of their village, and the Foi of other villages usually identified me as Kone Herebo ("white man of Herebo village"). In many ways, I could not become a member of Herebo village, of course, but I appreciated being given a token of belonging.

Besides my stay in Herebo village, I spent several weeks in Barutage village, near to Herebo, and I collected data from Barutage men when they visited Herebo. I also spent two months in Tugiri village at Lake Kutubu, since the culture and subsistence patterns of the lake villages seemed to be somewhat different from those of other Foi villages. Aside from Herebo, my data are fullest for Barutage and Tugiri villages. Of the remaining eighteen Foi villages, I visited twelve and collected limited data in each of these.

From the start, my fieldwork was conducted almost entirely in the

Foi language. Few Foi spoke either Police Motu or Pidgin English, the common linguae francae of Australian New Guinea. It was necessary, therefore, for me to rely upon the local language. In fact, I never learned to speak either Motu or Pidgin. By the second period of fieldwork, my ability to speak Foi was sufficient for carrying on conversations and interviews, but I needed help in following animated discussions.

I would like to express my particular gratitude to a number of people for their assistance in conducting my fieldwork. The missionaries at Lake Kutubu, Murray and Joan Rule, introduced me to the Foi language and allowed me the use of a Foi grammar written by Murray. In addition they invited me into their home whenever I became desperate to talk to someone of my own culture. It was the Rules who introduced me to Gakaro Muri of Wasemi village, who became my cook, language instructor, and closest friend during the first period of my fieldwork. Although neither of us spoke any language in common at the beginning, he managed to understand my initial fumbings with Foi and to teach me to use the language reasonably well. Without the help of these three, and of many others who remain unmentioned, this dissertation could not have been written.

ABSTRACT

The dissertation is based on two years of research among the Foi people of the Southern Highlands District, Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The thesis focuses upon three domains of activity--land ownership and use of others' land, contributions to shell payments and the distribution of those payments, and residence in village houses. Most of these activities are conceived by the Foi as patterned by relations of agnatic clanship. It is better, however, to describe these activities in terms of ego-focused recruitment than in terms of bounded patrilineal descent groups. In any particular activity, the cooperating set of individuals is recruited from the network of social ties which surrounds one or more focal individuals. Ties of agnatic clanship to the focal individuals are only one possibility for recruitment among a larger set of possibilities, which includes land-sharing ties and patron-client ties. Decision models are formulated for each activity, to describe the factors which determine cooperation for that activity between close agnates, clanmates (putative agnates) or non-clanmates. These models are then tested by their ability to replicate a corpus of cases.

Cooperation in the various domains of activity considered is shown to be processually interrelated. Between clanmates as well as others,

the most intense cooperation results from shared land use and from the obligations of a client to the patron who gives brideprice for him. Men who share the use of land or who are related as patron and client contribute to each other's brideprice payments to acquire wives. In turn, reciprocal contributions between the two lead to reciprocal sharing between them of brideprice shells received for their sisters and daughters. Likewise, shared land use and patron-client relations are the most important determinants of residential grouping in the village. The effect of agnatic relationship on cooperation is largely indirect. Close agnates inherit common rights to land and are likely to act as patrons for each other. It is these two factors which produce further cooperation between agnates, rather than ties of agnatic sentiment or obligation.

The shared land use relationships of a particular man are determined by the circumstances of his life history, as well as by such factors as the amount of his own land vis a vis that of potential land donors, and the number of relatives who live with him as allies. Lack of land and lack of allies are both reasons for using another's land. Use of the land of another who is not an agnate most often occurs where a man is fostered outside his clan, or has his brideprice given by a man outside his clan. Less commonly, a man emigrates from his clan and village because of a quarrel and is absorbed into a new clan, whose land he then uses.

In the Foi case, a consideration of the processes which create interpersonal relationships produces a more accurate understanding of social organization than does the more traditional approach to New Guinea Highlands social organization, which describes bounded descent groups.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ORTHOGRAPHY

Kinship abbreviations are used in tables as follows:

F	father	Pa	parent
M	mother	ch	child
B	brother	Sp	spouse
S	sister	o	older
s	son	y	younger
H	husband	♂	male ego
d	daughter	♀	female ego
W	wife		

In addition a number of symbols for pseudo-kin are used in tables as follows:

fF	foster-father	fS	foster-sister
fs	foster-son	P	patron
fB	foster-brother	cl	client
fd	foster-daughter		

The orthography used to represent Foi words is a standard phonetic one. The only special symbols used are the following:

ʔ	glottal stop	◌̃	nasalization
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INTRODUCTION

This study of the Foi, a people of the New Guinea Highlands, has essentially two purposes. Since the Foi have not been dealt with in any full-length monograph, I first describe the society holistically.¹ In the rest of the thesis I focus upon activities which the Foi often describe as patterned by agnatic clanship--land ownership and land use, contributions to shell payments and the distributions of those payments, and residence in village houses. I attempt to show that cooperation in these activities is not simply determined by actual or putative agnatic descent. Rather, the various activities are processually interrelated. Shared land use between two men or the giving of brideprice by one for another leads to their cooperation in additional activities. Agnatic relationship has its effect, primarily, in making likely the common use of land by close agnates, and in making it likely that a man will give brideprice for a close agnate. The processes leading to cooperation are analyzed by the use of formalized decision models, which predict an individual's choice among a number of alternative actions, according to the set of circumstances affecting that individual. For each activity, a decision model is formulated which describes the factors which

determine cooperation with close agnates, ~~clanmates~~ (putative agnates) or non-agnates.

The analysis of descent and descent groups has been the main theoretical problem to emerge thus far from the study of New Guinea Highlands societies. There are certainly other issues of equal importance, but none seems to have received so much attention. Throughout most of the Highlands, the local groups (villages or non-nucleated districts) are conceptualized by their members in agnatic terms: male members refer to each other as brothers and conceive themselves as having a common patrilineal ancestor. The earlier Highlands descriptions applied an ideal model of the unilineal descent group to these societies, mostly derived from African work. Membership in the group was seen as determined by agnatic descent, although it was clear that exceptions were common.

Many later writers, however, have emphasized the discrepancy between the anthropologists' ideal model of the patrilineal descent group and actual, functioning local groups. The individual seems to have considerable choice in most of the societies about which local group he will join and which lower-order segments within the local group he will cooperate with. The local group cum descent group typically has a considerable proportion of non-agnate male members. Immigrant non-agnates participate as full members of the group in some societies, while in others only their sons or grandsons come to do so. Genealogies are usually short, minimizing the distinction between agnates and non-agnates. Segmentation of groups seems to occur more along the lines of political allegiance to competing big man leaders than along the lines of genealogical cleavage.

An excellent summary and critique of the published work on New Guinea Highlands descent groups has been published by M. de Lepervanche (1967-68). I have not attempted to duplicate that discussion here. I wish only to mention several writers who have clarified the nature of Highlands social groupings. J. A. Barnes (1962:6) drew attention to the discrepancies between descent model and data and suggested that local groups were characterized by a statistical predominance of "patrification" rather than by true agnatic descent. L. L. Langness (1964:72), in describing the Benabena, rejected the unilineal descent group model. For the Benabena, he said, locality determines agnatic kinship behavior, rather than unilineal descent. Non-agnates living with Benabena local groups are fully effective members. M. de Lepervanche clarified this. She noted (de Lepervanche 1967-68:157-8) that while it is appropriate to say that the local group is the effective social group in most Highland societies, rather than the agnatic descent group, this does not indicate the nature of recruitment to local groups. De Lepervanche (1967-68: 176-85) holds that recruitment of outsiders to local groups is mainly a matter of big men taking in outsiders as their dependents. Likewise, the divisions within the local group are factions supporting competing big men, rather than descent-based segments.

The analysis of Foi activities offered here can be seen as an attempt to apply to the Foi case the ideas of Langness and de Lepervanche that locality and allegiance to big men determine social cooperation. These determinants must be recast for Foi society, however. The criterion of locality, as a determinant of "clan activities," must be replaced with the criterion of use of clan land. The Foi village is not

conceptualized as a single descent category, but rather as composed of a number of descent categories which hold rights to separate pieces of land. Those who use the land of a given clan to a significant degree also cooperate in other activities of that clan, but they do not usually form a local or residential unit within the village.

Likewise, I shall speak of patronage ties as a determinant of cooperation instead of allegiance to big men. Obligations are established between a patron who gives brideprice and a client for whom the brideprice is given. Big men act as patrons more often than other men so that the obligations established by patronage are primarily between big men and their "supporters." One might, then, speak of allegiance to big men here, but there is also allegiance to patrons who are not big men.

Since the present view of New Guinea Highlands societies emphasizes the element of individual choice in affiliation, an obvious route to understanding these societies is to analyze the choice process. In recent years, numerous anthropologists have been concerned with understanding social pattern through an analysis of the choices made by the actors involved. Some, for example Keesing (1967) and Howard (1963), have referred to their analyses as "decision models." The analysis of social patterns presented here was suggested by this body of work. The content of the analysis differs, of course, from that presented in other published works, since the society involved is different. A more important difference lies in the level of substantiation of the analysis. Previous analyses have not been substantiated by actual data on choice, except in rather sketchy fashion. The analysis presented here is novel

in attempting to generate a large number of predicted choices and to compare them with case materials.

In general, the appeal of decision models or choice analyses is that order is seen to lie not at the level of the form or composition of social groups, but rather at the level of the choice process which generates social grouping. Thus, variation in social form can be comprehended as the varying outcome of a single determinant process, rather than being squeezed into a single generalized form category. Such a generative approach offers a more workable way of handling both the synchronic social variation within a society, and the changes in social form over time. At the same time, it reconciles the view of the individual as exercising choice according to his self-interest with the view of society as determining individual behavior, since the choice process is seen as dependent on prior social forms.

The anthropological interest in analysis of choice seems to have derived from a number of different sources. Firth (1951:35-48; 1954; 1955) was one of the first to draw attention to the importance of considering choice when he distinguished between social organization and social structure. Social structure is seen as the predominant social pattern in the society, also as the preferred or ideal pattern. Social organization is seen as the process in which individuals make choices between behavioral alternatives, adjusting themselves to each other in order to reach their social goals. Structure sets the precedent for individual action; organization, since it varies around and from the structure, produces structural change. For Firth, the main advantage in considering individual choice seems to be that it increases the

theoretical ability to handle social change.

Independently of Firth, a number of American anthropologists have been drawn to the analysis of choice as part of the movement of ethnolinguistics or cognitive anthropology. In particular, the work of Goodenough (1951, 1956, 1961a, 1961b, 1964) has led in this direction. Goodenough's goal (1956:9,11; 1964:11) has been to describe a culture in terms of a cultural grammar (or ideational order) which sets forth the categories of behavior appropriate to that particular culture and the standards for deciding which behavior to select in the particular circumstances. His analysis of Trukese residence, for example (Goodenough 1951:127-8; 1956) showed how couples choose different relatives to live with under different circumstances affecting their self-interest.

Goodenough argues that an analysis which takes choice procedures into account will produce a more adequate description of behavior than a statement of the statistical variation in behavior at a given time (Goodenough 1961:11). He also argues that an adequate description of a culture requires the use of behavior categories specific to that culture (emic categories), rather than comparative cross-cultural categories (etic categories) (Goodenough 1956:29). Reaction to his work has been dominated by the controversy over the usefulness of emic cultural descriptions versus etic ones.² Relatively few commentators have reacted to his insistence on the advantage of choice analysis. Howard (1963) and Keesing (1967), among others, have adopted Goodenough's decision-oriented approach and have presented analyses of field data in those terms.

Keesing (1967:14) has argued that a decision model should be tested

not by using it to predict the entire spectrum of behavior, but rather by showing it to be congruent with native expectations about behavior:

Our model, if fully developed, would not "predict" the exact composition of marriage contributing groups or the relative contribution of each member. The Kwaio themselves cannot do this. Rather, we are trying to achieve a description that allows us to replicate, as much as possible, the expectations of our subjects. This allows us to be surprised when they are surprised and to render intelligible deviations from the expected pattern.

In other words, the analysis is to be tested against only those decisions which are considered "unsurprising" by the population at large, rather than against the total universe of decisions made. It would seem difficult to distinguish operationally between those choices which are surprising and those which are not. The temptation to increase the fit between model and data by categorizing incorrectly predicted choices as "surprising" might be hard to resist. Goodenough himself seems never to have argued explicitly for such a procedure.

A third source for the interest in choice analysis has been the development and application of game theory and other mathematical decision theories. Game theory determines the decisions which should be made by "rational" actors in situations where they are in partial or complete competition for rewards, and where the decisions of all the actors affect the outcome of the competition. The first attempts by anthropologists to analyze field data in terms of specific games are apparently those of Barth (1959) and Davenport (1960). Both attempts have basic flaws.³ In general, the necessity of quantifying the relative values of the possible outcomes of the game seems to me to preclude rigorous application of game theory for most anthropological data.⁴ The general viewpoint of game theory--that social interaction is generated

by a process in which individuals make choices according to their self-interest--seems to be useful however. Recently, Barth (1966) has called for utilizing the general viewpoint of game theory, without advocating analysis in terms of quantitatively-specified games. Clearly, the approach of those influenced by game theory converges with that of the cognitive anthropologists, as Buchler and Selby (1968:311-7) have recognized.

The decision models employed here are patterned most closely after those of the linguistically-inspired anthropologists, Goodenough and Keesing, since to date they have provided the most satisfactory analyses of field data. Like Goodenough, I take native verbalizations of the principles for making decisions as the starting point for analysis, but I do not limit myself to those verbalizations.

Indeed, Foi explanations do not provide a systematic model for predicting behavior in any of the domains of activity considered. The Foi are not particularly verbal in giving reasons for their actions. (I have no reason to think that they are unusual in this respect.) They can be induced to give one or more reasons to explain a particular case, but they cannot be induced to put all the factors affecting choice in a particular activity into a systematic framework. In order to construct a decision model for predicting specific choices, it is necessary to refine the Foi explanations given me, primarily by showing how the explanatory factors fit together. This is done by considering a body of case materials collected during fieldwork, as well as by reasoning out how an individual Foi might act to further his self-interest, given the sorts of concerns verbalized. In general, the causal factors

verbalized by the Foi are not contradicted by the case materials. but it needs to be determined where particular factors apply and where they do not. Only occasionally is it necessary to postulate causal factors not verbalized at all by the Foi in order to account for the cases.

In general, then, I make two methodological assumptions in constructing the decision models. First, a model is to be sought which will incorporate the Foi explanations obtained, without doing violence to them. Second, a model is to be sought which will generate the maximum number of actual cases collected, without becoming improbable. These two criteria for constructing decision models might well conflict, but practically speaking they have not done so. I think that the second criterion is generally accepted, but the first may need some justification. It may be possible to make only tentative decisions about the validity of a model (at least of certain parts of a model) from the case materials. In fact, the number of cases available for consideration is often rather small and some case materials are incomplete. A model which coincides with the verbalized Foi explanations, as well as fitting the case materials, stands a better chance of being valid than one which does not.

The accuracy of the models formulated is tested by comparing the choices generated by a model in particular cases with the actual choices made in a corpus of case materials. The choices generated by the models are referred to as "predictions," but it should be clear that they are predictions only in a limited sense, since the predictive mechanisms are partly derived from the same case materials which are used to test them.

The object here is to show that the model can generate the observed cases, not to test some independently derived hypothesis.

The generative models constructed are referred to as "decision models," which implies that the analyst is considering decisions made by individuals egos. However, it should not be thought that the level of analysis is reduced to that of the individual personality and of idiosyncratic choice. This is emphatically not so. The activities under consideration are types of social interaction. In order to generate predictions of behavior, it is usually necessary to consider the decision made by an ego and also that made by an alter (or several alters) who are interacting together. For example, a man may decide to build a house with a given relative (rather than others), but that relative must simultaneously decide to build with him. Furthermore, the "choice" among a generalized set of alternatives is sometimes not made by ego at all, but is rather the result of demographic chance. For example, the average married man has a number of alternative choices of whose land to use, corresponding to a set of relatives living in the village where he resides. But a man who has only one such relative within his village has no choice between relatives. In a sense, life has made a choice for him. However, this sort of variation is part of what we wish to consider. Furthermore, the analysis of choice-making, even where individuals have several alternatives available, remains sociological. The model constructed assumes a generalized set of preferences among alternatives, applicable to every F01 man. The possibility of variation between F01 men in the organization of their preferences is ignored. Thus, the level

of analysis is sociological, even though the interest centers on consideration of individual choice-making.

It is quite possible to analyze individual choice by means of simply tabulating case materials, without constructing formal models to generate individual cases. I have chosen to use a formal approach because I believe that it lends itself better to showing exactly how the proposed determinants of action are to be operationalized. A generative model must be able to state all the conditions under which a determinant applies, or no result can be generated. Moreover, a generative approach leads more easily to perception of multiple determinants of action than does an analysis which simply tabulates cases. Each determinant must be tested against each case, automatically, in the process of generating predictions. These advantages must be weighed against certain disadvantages in presentation. Generative models necessarily attain a degree of complexity which requires careful reading. The process of predicting individual cases is laborious and requires lengthy tables. To my mind, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, but I recognize that many readers may not wish to pursue the detailed prediction of cases. Therefore, the tables which generate individual cases are relegated to the appendix.

To aid the reader, it may be useful to describe the organization of the thesis. Part I describes the general outlines of Fof culture and society, without focusing upon the way in which individual decisions are made in particular domains of activity. Parts II, III and IV deal, respectively, with land tenure and the use of others' land, with prestige economics (particularly brideprice payments) and with village residence,

focusing on the structure of individual choice in these domains. Much of the background material given in Part I is essential to understanding Parts II, III and IV, but it is placed earlier in the thesis to avoid distracting the reader from the problem of understanding individual choice. Part A of the conclusion summarizes the way in which decisions in the three domains of activity are processually interrelated and shows how individual decisions generate patterns of cooperation among agnates and non-agnates. Part B of the conclusion then attempts to show the usefulness of a decision-oriented approach to understanding New Guinea societies in general.

PART I
A SKETCH OF FOI CULTURE

The Foi constitute a language group of about 2600 people located in the Southern Highlands District of Papua. They live in twenty-one villages on the shores of Lake Kutubu and in the valleys of the Lower Mubi and Wage Rivers (see Maps 1 and 2, Appendix G). The valley floors range in altitude from about 2600 feet above sea-level in the northwest to about 450 feet above sea-level in the southeast. Just north of the Foi a series of narrow valleys and high mountain ridges separates them from the broad and high valleys of the Highlands proper (at about 4000 to 5000 feet above sea-level).¹ To the south only a few low mountain ridges separate them from the lowland plain. The Foi area, then, is intermediate between the Highlands and the Lowlands of New Guinea.

In the Foi area, land that is not low and swampy is hilly or mountainous. Both the Mubi and the Lower Wage Rivers are broad and meander through wide swamps covered mostly with sago palms. Lake Kutubu is likewise bordered with swamp on its eastern and western shores, although its northern and southern shores rise abruptly into hills. Hilly land is almost completely covered by primary forest. Near the villages, there are patches of secondary forest produced by slash-and-burn

gardening, but the extensive grasslands of the Highlands are absent. The villages are generally located very near to the lake or the river so that the villagers can easily move about by canoe. All the villages are now located on high ground above the swamp; but prior to administration control, some were located closer to the waterways on swampy ground.

Aboriginally, the Foi referred to themselves as namege amena, 'real people.' The term Foi applied only to those people living in the southernmost group of villages, from Sorotage and Humane south (see Map 2, Appendix G). The term has been extended to the whole linguistic group by Murray and Joan Rule, missionary-linguists working in the area (Rule n.d.), and this usage is gaining currency among the local people at present. I shall follow the precedent set by the Rules.²

The Foi have trade relations with the Augu and Kewa peoples to the northeast (usually called Augu-Kewa people hereafter), the Fasu people to the southwest, and the Kasere people on the Kikori River to the southeast (see Maps 1 and 2, Appendix G).³ The only specialized product produced by the Foi for this trade is kara?o, a tree oil used by the Highlanders further north to anoint their bodies at pig-feasts. The Foi trade this tree oil to the Augu-Kewa for pigs, pearlshells and salt, and formerly for stone axes as well. The Foi also function as middlemen in the trade of valuable shells, mostly cowries, which they obtain from the Kasere and pass on to the Augu-Kewa. Trade with the Fasu is less important than trade with the other two peoples, because both the Foi and the Fasu have access to the same range of trade articles.

The Foi are separated from all three of these peoples by large tracts of land used only for occasional hunting. Aboriginally, they

sometimes fought wars with them. They did, and still do, intermarry with these peoples occasionally. Large numbers of Fasu have immigrated to the lake villages of their Foi affines to live. However, the main form of interaction between the Foi and all three neighboring peoples has been trade. To the northwest of the Foi are the Huli people, but the Foi have little to do with them.

The linguistic picture of this part of New Guinea is changing rapidly so that only a tentative description of Foi linguistic affiliations can be given. At present, Foi appears to be most closely related to Fasu (Franklin 1969:28, 31-2). Franklin places Foi and Fasu together as the only members of the "Kutubuan family." Only distant relationships have been found between Foi and Huli, Augu or Kewa, all three members of the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro-)Phylum. Wurm (1971:650) describes Foi and Fasu as "transitional" between the East New Guinea Highlands (Micro-)Phylum (which comprises nearly all the languages of the Highlands east of the Strickland River) and the Central and South New Guinea Phylum (which extends from the south coast of New Guinea to the north coast in a broad band to the west of the Foi). Foi and Fasu share enough features with other languages of both groups to be classed as distantly related to both. It is unlikely that Foi is closely related to the Kasere language or to its relatives in the "Kikorian family" (Franklin 1969:26-8)

Relations With the Colonial Society

The first white penetration into the Foi area occurred early, in 1911. An expedition led by W. Staniford Smith entered the Mubi-Wage

valley near Kafa village, from the Erave area to the east, and travelled south down the valley to the Kikori River (Annual Report 1910-11:165-6).⁴ Smith's trail was followed shortly thereafter by a "rescue" expedition led by W. N. Beaver which moved as far south as Beaver Falls before returning the way it had come. Both expeditions made contact with men of several Foi villages in the Southern Foi area. The next Administration contact with the Foi apparently did not take place until 1926. In that year, Sydney Chance led a patrol from Kikori station (administrative center for the Delta Division) to punish some of the Southern Foi villages for a raid on a Kasere village south of the Kikori River (Annual Report 1926-7:36). From then on, occasional patrols were carried out from Kikori station to the Southern Foi villages, presumably to suppress warfare. Probably village constables were appointed in these villages as early as 1928 or 1929 (cf Annual Report 1926-7:36). Administration contact with the Foi appears to have been limited to the Southern Foi villages during this period, not extending so far north as Kafa.

The Administration did not penetrate the northern part of the Foi area until the Bamu-Purari patrol, carried out in 1936 by Iven Champion and C. T. J. Adamson (Champion 1940). Champion and Adamson walked from the headwaters of the Bamu River (near Mt. Bosavi) to Lake Kutubu, where they visited the five then-existing Foi villages on the lake (Champion 1940:205-6). They then continued north to the Augu area, by-passing the rest of the Foi area. In 1937, a base camp for patrolling north into the Highlands was established at Lake Kutubu, near Tugiri village (Annual Report 1937-8:21-2). Soon after, World War II broke out and the

general retrenchment of Australians in New Guinea forced abandonment of the Lake Kutubu camp in 1939-40 (Annual Report 1939-40:5). During the short time that Australians were at the lake, warfare was suppressed over the northern area and the local supply of pearlshells was considerably increased, since they were used as payment for food and services by the Australians (Williams 1940-41:40). Probably the local supply of steel axes and knives was also dramatically increased, although a few had previously filtered in from the east (Erave) and southeast (Kasere). A few of the younger Foi men were enlisted as policemen and learned Police Motu during the period. It was also at this time that F. E. Williams, then government anthropologist for Papua, spent four months studying the Kutubu and Mubi peoples.

During World War II, warfare flared up again among the Foi, although it seems to have been restricted to a series of raids and counter-raids which resulted in very few deaths. In 1949, following World War II, a patrol post was established at Lake Kutubu, this time at Dage on the north shore of the lake (Annual Report 1949-50:49). It was staffed by a single patrol officer and a number of native policemen and local interpreters. No warfare has taken place since that date and very few killings. The Foi are considered peaceable enough by the Administration to be allowed to purchase shotguns, in contrast to Highland groups to the north.

Soon after the patrol was established at Lake Kutubu, two officials were appointed in each Foi village to carry out Administration policies, the village constable (Foi hanabusimani or kosaʔasodi) and his deputy, the village councillor (Foi kanesone). Their primary duty was

to see that the men of the village carried out Administration-imposed projects such as building paths, outhouses and rest-houses for the patrol officer to stay in on his visits. They were also supposed to settle quarrels within the village. In fact, they had little authority to carry out either of these duties. Additionally, the village councillor was supposed to represent his villagers' opinions to the Administration officials.

In 1967, these appointed officials were replaced by an elected local council for the whole Foi and Fasu area. Each group of two or three villages elected a councillor (Foi kanesone) and a deputy to him (Foi gumadi). Within the village, these officials function much as the appointed officials did: they perform the same duties and have no more authority to carry them out than before. They also meet as the local council, which is supposed to have some minimal authority to make regulations and to sponsor projects for the area as a whole, but the council had done rather little by the time I left, in 1969. According to local informants, it was dominated by the patrol officer (who sits in as advisor) and accepted his suggestions without attempting to assert its own ideas. Apparently this was not so much policy on the part of the current patrol officer as the result of the way that Foi men have been conditioned in the past to accept domination by patrol officers.

By 1965, four or five local Foi men had been trained for a few months as medical orderlies (Foi misigoro) and sent out to work in various of the villages. They dispense pills and penicillin shots on a fairly haphazard basis to those who request them. The Administration provides them with a minimal wage, but they are supported primarily by

the villages they serve. The villagers are supposed to build a house and dispensary for the orderly, supply him with sago and make gardens for him as well. Often the villagers fail to meet these obligations and friction develops between them and the orderly. He may even withhold medicine from them to try and enforce their obligations to support him.

When I first visited Lake Kutubu in 1965, a trade store, managed by a local Foi, an Administration school, run by an Australian, and the patrol post were all established at Dage. The whole complex provided employment for perhaps five to ten Foi men, as well as a market for produce for the whole lake population. By 1965, payment for food and services was made in Australian currency instead of pearlshells or axes. In 1967, the patrol post for the Foi area was moved north to Poroma on the Lai River, two days walk from the nearest Foi villages. Thus, a major source of Australian currency disappeared, and the trade store with it. A few Foi are employed at Poroma, but the post is much too far away to serve as a market for Foi produce. The trade stores there are also rather far away to serve the Foi.

Mission activities began in the Foi area in 1950-51 when the Unevangelized Fields Mission (U. F. M.) established missions at Lake Kutubu and at Orokana on the Mubi River.⁵ At present, one missionary couple works at Lake Kutubu and two couples at Orokana. Presumably, these missionaries had difficulty in their initial work, but by the 1965-8 period, they had been quite successful. Undoubtedly, this is due in part to the fact that the missionaries learned the Foi language early and well. In 1968, nearly the whole of the Foi population considered themselves Christian, although some did not regularly attend

the U. F. M. church services. The traditional religion was no longer a part of the lives of even the small minority of Foi who claimed to be non-Christian. A number of Foi men have been trained to teach reading and writing to the Foi so that the recently-translated New Testament can be read by more Foi.

In 1968, another mission intruded. A Tugiri man who had lived for some time at Kagua and had converted to Catholicism there returned home and began proselytizing for his faith. When I left, he had won over most of Yo?obo village and parts of Tugiri and Wasemi. The Catholic missionary at Kagua had visited Tugiri, but had no intention of establishing a priest there. It seems unlikely that people of other villages will abandon the U. F. M. for Catholicism.

The mission stations provide a market for local produce just as the patrol post formerly did. However, the missions grow much of their own food so that the market is limited. They provide employment for perhaps nine to twelve Foi, mostly as domestic servants. For a number of years the U. F. M. has run Administration-supported schools serving the Foi. The missionaries teach in these schools, as well as Papuan teachers. The U. F. M. also runs small trade stores at both missions, now the only local source for Western goods besides the stores at Poroma.

The Foi have had little access to the Westernized national economy of Australian New Guinea. The sources of Western goods and of the means to obtain them have been few--the mission, the patrol post, the sale of kara?o oil to the Augu-Kewa, already mentioned, and finally contract labor on the coast. Many of the younger Foi men have been recruited as

contract laborers for coastal rubber or copra plantations. The first lot was recruited in the early 1960's and the last that I know of in 1968. The men work for about two years and are then sent home again. The wages they receive are small and are largely spent on the coast. None of the young men have returned with more than a few dollars. They learn few if any skills that will be useful to them, aside from learning Pidgin English.

A small number of Foi men have obtained jobs in the towns and patrol posts of New Guinea, mostly as policemen, cooks school teachers or clerks. They usually marry non-Foi women or else take their Foi wives to live with them in the town. By and large, they are cut off from their relatives at home: they contribute little or nothing to the local economy. They rarely return home so they do not pass on the skills they have learned to the Foi at home. They may provide a place for another Foi to stay when he comes to the town, but little else.

As of 1968, no white planters were established in the Foi area. The isolation of the area and its rather poor soils seem likely to preclude any such development. Neither had the Foi themselves begun producing any cash-crops by 1968. The younger men, in particular, were desperately eager to be able to produce something for sale, but had no idea where to begin. The patrol officer at that time had conceived a scheme to start a local citrus-growing cooperative. By 1969, an airstrip had been built from which to transport the fruit, but no trees had been planted. This seems to be a situation ripe for cargo-cult activity. Yet there were certainly no cargo activities in 1968, and only a few isolated rumors were in circulation which could provide the

background for a cargo cult in the future.

In general, the Administration is respected by the Foi for its power, which rests ultimately on armed policemen. The Foi may dislike its commands and resist them occasionally as individuals; but there is no concerted attempt at resistance. Infringements of Administration commands are brought to the attention of the patrol officer rather than being hidden from him. At the same time, however, the Administration does not play a very large part in the daily lives of the Foi since its concerns are limited. Generally, it attempts to maintain order, sanitation standards and well-cleared paths, but otherwise leaves the Foi to themselves. Patrol officers are replaced every two years. They maintain a certain social distance from the Foi and cannot speak their language. Consequently, they are often ignorant of what the Foi think and do outside the limited area of Administration concerns.

Undoubtedly, the Administration had a tremendous effect on the Foi when it eliminated warfare, but at present the U. F. M. mission seems to have more impact. The missionaries are much more intimately in touch with the Foi than are the patrol officers. Not only do they speak the Foi language well, but they remain in the area year in and year out, unlike the patrol officers. Moreover, they are concerned with the nature of the daily lives of the Foi, not merely with a few specific activities. Aside from the specifically religious sphere of Foi life, they are concerned with ensuring that Foi men do not marry a second wife,⁵ that Christian women marry Christian men, that men treat their wives well, that men do not become overly concerned with shell money to the detriment of their spiritual lives, and that men do not attempt to

sexually attract women by dressing up at the traditional pig-feasts. In all these areas and others, they have had some influence on Foi practice. In 1968 many of the Christian Foi were even arguing for the elimination of the traditional pig-feasts, saying that they offered too much opportunity for sexual flirtation.

Subsistence

In terms of subsistence and population density, the Foi fit the pattern of Lowland New Guinea rather than that of Highland New Guinea. The staple food is sago (*Metroxylon* spp.), a food of the Lowlands. It is supplemented by starchy root crops and leafy greens grown by slash-and-burn agriculture, by a few greens which grow wild and are simply gathered, and by a generally small amount of meat and fish. The low population density, approximately five to ten per square mile, means that land is plentiful.⁶ Swampy ground need not be used for gardening and garden sites can be allowed to return to forest after one crop. Consequently, the elaborate agricultural techniques of the more densely settled Highlands (composting, drainage of swamps, etc.) are not needed here. There are little-used tracts away from the villages which have an abundance of game for hunting, unlike most regions of the Highlands, where game has become scarce due to the high population density. Fish, scarce in the Highlands, are abundant in the Foi area, especially at Lake Kutubu.

Sago accounts for about three-fourths (by volume of cooked food) of the food eaten by the Foi. It is generally eaten alone in the morning, with greens, meat or fish at night. Only occasionally is sago replaced

by starchy root crops such as taro, manioc, yams or sweet potatoes. As in most of New Guinea, pigs are raised, but they are mainly reserved for feasts. Fish is important in the diet of those villagers who live on the lake: on the average they probably get at least a pound of fish a day. Away from the lake, fish is less important in the diet, due to its greater scarcity. Game is not obtained in much quantity either, so there is a general lack of protein in the diet of villagers away from the lake. Probably these villagers get no more than a fourth of a pound of meat or fish a day, on the average. The only major vegetable source of protein seems to be the native bean (*Phosocarpus tetragonobulus*), which is eaten infrequently.

Sago requires little, if any, care. Once established, a palm puts out a series of suckers and soon becomes a grove of sago palms. Each sucker matures in its turn and can be cut down and processed to make sago flour. The Foi recognize more than forty varieties among the sago growing in their area. Of the forty varieties recognized, one propagates itself by seed as well as by root and covers large sections of the swamiest land. The other varieties, which are preferred by the Foi as food, propagate by root only and new groves must be started by transplanting suckers. Much of the slightly swampy land has been planted by the Foi with these preferred varieties. Depending on their industry and the amount of sago they inherit, Foi men may plant much sago or none at all. (Women do not plant sago.) Nothing more need be done to ensure the successful growth of the palms.

The processing of sago is, by contrast, quite laborious. A man usually chops down the palm for his wife, but the rest of the job is

left to her. She must shred up the pithy interior of the tree with a hafted stone flake, then loosen the starch granules from the fibrous mass by beating it with a pole, and finally wash the starch from the fibers with water. Before steel axes were introduced, the men would have contributed a fair amount of labor to the project, but now their part is minimal. A woman usually works alone at sago-making, unless she has unmarried daughters old enough to help her (ten years or older). Then one will shred pith while the other washes it. Only occasionally (perhaps five per cent of the time) do two married women cooperate in this way. A woman working alone can make about forty-five to sixty pounds of sago in a day, enough to feed her nuclear family for two to three days.

Sago is abundant in the Foi area, although there are some local scarcities. For example, the two Mubi villages of Damaiyu and Fimaga are large in population and own little swamp land. Consequently, they are short of sago, and some of their men are forced to buy plots of sago from men of neighboring villages. Likewise, most men of Tugiri village on the lake own little sago within easy reach of the village. All of the other Foi villages that I investigated (about half of them) seemed to have more sago than they could use. For example, Herebo (on the Mubi River) has many sections of swamp where the sago palms have been allowed to flower and die because they are not needed.⁷ Individual men at Herebo may not own enough sago for their consumption, but they can easily obtain it from others.

In general, gardens are made by a married couple working in cooperation. If they have adolescent children, the girls will help their

mother; more rarely the boys will help their father. They receive no help from outside the family. If a man has more than one wife, the wives will garden separately, although perhaps on adjoining plots. The man and wife, although they generally coordinate their work in making the garden, often perform their tasks at separate times rather than together. Occasionally, units other than the nuclear family make gardens. A married woman who is estranged from her husband may garden in cooperation with an adolescent son rather than her husband. A widow may make a garden with the help of her son or her male guardian. This is not a very long-term arrangement, however, since she will usually remarry soon. Some boys make small gardens before they marry, doing all the work themselves without the help of women.

The garden site is generally picked by the man. Sites with a high growth of trees are favored, since they are known to be more fertile than old garden sites not yet completely grown over. Seldom does a man have difficulty in obtaining garden land, even if he owns none in his village of residence. There is an abundance of land and it is easy to obtain a loan of land for a season's gardening, even for an immigrant. (Quarrels do occur over land, however. See p. 134.)

The man does the initial work of felling or ringing the trees and fencing the garden plot. The next task, clearing the undergrowth, is considered women's work, but often the man helps too. When all the forest growth has been cut, the useful wood is piled in a corner by the man to be saved for firewood; the rest is piled around the stumps of trees and burned by the woman. The importance of adding to soil fertility in this way is well recognized by the Foi; however, they never

attempt to bring in and burn additional material from beyond the plot. Generally both the man and woman plant the garden. Most of the crops are reproduced vegetatively: a stem or sucker is placed into a hole made in the ground with a stick. No working of the soil or watering of the plant is needed. The initial process, from felling trees through planting, is usually accomplished over a two to three week period. From then on the garden is mostly the responsibility of the woman. She weeds it occasionally and does most of the harvesting. The man may harvest food for himself to eat, but the woman must harvest food to supply the family as a whole.

The magical rites which used to be performed as part of gardening have now been discontinued. (See Williams (1940-41:81) for a partial account.) None of the Foi that I talked to knew of anyone who still performed them, and any attempts I made to elicit the rites met with incredulity and laughter.

Gardens are made throughout the year, but the majority are made between November and April, which tends to be the rainier part of the year. At any given time, a nuclear family may have between one and four scattered gardens bearing crops. On the average, a family makes about 5700 square feet of garden a year.⁸ In a Foi garden, most of the area is usually planted in two green vegetables, called wasia (*Setaria palmaefolia*) and sona (*Rungia klosii*? *Hibiscus manihot*?). These begin bearing after three months and continue for six to fifteen months more, depending on the quality of the land. Most of the other food crops planted also bear within this period, including taro, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, the native bean, sugarcane, ginger, pitpit (*Sacharum edule*),

maize, cucumbers, pumpkins, tomatoes and several more greens (including probably *Amaranthus* spp.). The garden is then allowed to grow up in weeds, although bananas, bamboo, pandanus and other long-term crops will bear later. Pandanus and bamboo, in fact, may bear for many years.

In addition to these garden plants and sago, a few other useful trees are tended by the Foi, including the breadfruit, the hagenamo (*Gnetum gnemon*), the kosa?a and the kara?o. The first two are primarily food plants: the breadfruit provides edible nuts scattered within its otherwise unused fruit; the hagenamo provides edible leaves as well as an inner bark used for making string. The bark of the kosa?a tree is used to make bark cloth. The kara?o tree, when tapped, provides the oil which is so important in trade with the Angu-Kewa. All of these are found growing wild as small trees and are either transplanted to gardens or otherwise allowed to remain where they are and encouraged to grow by clearing away the surrounding brush. Those who tend the trees are considered the owners. A number of edible wild greens and root-bearing plants also grow in the Foi area. Some of them are occasionally planted in gardens, but mostly they are neither planted nor tended.

The Foi are apparently less proficient at raising pigs than are other Highlands people. Young pigs are cared for by the women, who feed them cooked sago and taro leaves morning and night. They sleep tethered near the women at night and are taken with them during the day, or else given to the charge of children. Once the pigs reach about seventy-five pounds they are taken to a bush-house out in the sago swamp and allowed to run free. They are fed old cooked sago at night so that they will

remain tame and come regularly to the house. However, they live mostly on the pith of sago trees which are cut down for them and on whatever else they can forage. Naturally, a certain number of these pigs become wild, so there is a small feral population of pigs. The Foi do not keep boars at all: all their male pigs are castrated so that they will have less tendency to go wild. The feral population is necessary to impregnate the tame sows. The sows are allowed to farrow out in the open. By the time the young pigs can be weaned and taken by the women to be cared for, many have died. This relatively careless method of pig husbandry makes it advantageous to the Foi to supplement the pigs they produce with shoats imported from the Augu-Kewa.⁹ Perhaps half of the pigs in the Mubi valley are imported from the north. Most men have about three pigs over a hundred pounds, on the average, and perhaps one or two piglets; few have more than five or six larger pigs.

Pork is eaten fairly often, but rarely in any quantity. Perhaps once every three years, a village holds a festival at which a large number of pigs are slaughtered. A man might attend such a festival two or three times a year. Two pigs are given to validate each marriage, and these are eaten by the entire village of the bride. A wild pig which is killed or a pig which dies is also distributed to the village, although the owner gets more than others. A small amount of pork also filters into the village as gifts to particular individuals from distributions of pigs in other villages. On the whole, an individual probably gets some pork about once a week, but usually less than half a pound. Only during a festival does the whole village get its fill.

It has been noted that fish are plentiful at the lake villages, but

not so plentiful elsewhere. Even away from the lake, however, fish is obtained more often than pork. The lake people use many techniques to catch fish. The two most successful techniques are hook-and-line fishing and spear-fishing at night by the light of a bamboo torch or pressure lamp. Spear-fishing is done only by men, hook-and-line fishing generally by women. Aboriginally hooks were unknown, so the number of fish caught must have been less. The villagers who live on the river also fish with hook and line, but the water is too muddy for spear-fishing. These people concentrate instead on obtaining the small fish from streams, which are only of minor importance at the lake. Men place fish-traps in the mouths of the streams when the river is high. They catch the fish which try to return to the river when the water goes down. Women catch the small fish which live in the upper reaches of streams by bailing out the water in a pool and using a hand-net to trap the fish. Of these techniques, fishing with hook and line and with a fish-trap are generally individual activities. Spear-fishing at night can be done by a single man, but frequently his family accompanies him in the canoe, his wife handling the light. Often several families go out together, since the combined light attracts more fish; but each family keeps its catch separate. The bailing technique is the only one which really demands cooperation. Two or three women generally work together since they can more easily compete with the flow of water that way.

Since 1967, a number of the Foi have obtained shotguns, two or three men in each village. (Earlier the Administration had prohibited the use of firearms by the Foi except in exceptional cases.) The shotguns have, of course, increased the amount of game killed by the Foi,

especially birds and wild pigs. The traditional techniques for killing game are still in use, however. Bow and arrow are used primarily to kill birds; dead-falls are used to catch rats, marsupials and wild pigs; nooses are used to catch cassowaries; and dogs are used to chase and tree marsupials, which are then speared or clubbed. All these hunting activities are entirely male pursuits. Except for hunting with dogs or with shotguns, grown men usually work alone. Young boys often go out in gangs to set deadfalls for rats, but older men do not. Shotguns, since they are few and novel, are usually taken out by several men at a time. Hunting with dogs is often a special event. One or several families repair to a house far from the village in an area where game is plentiful. The men hunt together every day and share their catch if several families are involved. Men who cooperate on such expeditions usually have some kind of close social tie: they are brothers-in-law, or close consanguineal relatives, or men obligated to each other by patronage or land-sharing. Often a fair amount of meat is obtained on these expeditions. When they are in the village, however, the Foi get little meat from hunting.

The Foi build three main types of houses. Within the village they build a large communal men's house and a number of smaller women's houses. Outside the village they build small bush-houses as well. According to my estimate, men's houses are rebuilt about every twelve years or so. The village women's houses are rebuilt more often, usually about every six years or so, since they are built with posts of less durable wood. Bush-houses are less durable than either type of village house and need to be rebuilt every three or four years. For all types

of houses, each man builds for himself, with little help from others (except perhaps in carrying the heavy posts used in building the men's house). The men's house is built in sections, with each man building the section where he will live. Women's houses and bush-houses are built by the man, or group of men, who will use them. His wife supplies the sago leaves used for thatching the roof, but the rest of the work is left to the man. Other men may offer casual help which need not be repaid. If a man is old or in poor health, his closest relatives will generally give him considerable help, but otherwise not. Any man who is not a close relative must be paid (usually in shell money) if he helps with more than casual labor.

In sum, the general pattern for productive activities is for cooperation, if there is any at all, to be limited to the nuclear family. Man and wife cooperate in garden-making and to a limited extent in sago-making and house-building, but not in other tasks. Women have the help of their older daughters in many tasks, but men do not often have the help of their older sons. At present, women spend considerably more time at subsistence activities than do men. On a normal week-day, women leave the house at about eight A. M. to visit their gardens or make sago, then return at about four P. M. having spent the whole day at work. By contrast, men leave the house later, about nine A. M., and often return for a nap or to visit for one or two hours at mid-day before going out again until four P. M.

The only traditional subsistence tasks in which adult men cooperate are the hunting expedition and the building of the men's house, already mentioned, and the launching of a canoe. The building of a men's house

is, in a sense, simply the composite of a number of individual efforts, since every man builds his own section. All of the men must coordinate their efforts, however. A canoe launching involves an ad hoc group of young men, between six and twelve of them. When the canoe is finished, all the young men who happen to be in the village and who are willing, join in carrying it to the river. They are not remunerated, unless a special feast is held in honor of the canoe, in which case they receive extra shares of meat. In recent times, the village men as a unit have had to carry out a number of tasks imposed by the Australian Administration (see above, p. 18). This has not, however, produced any village esprit de corps which has carried over into male cooperation in traditional subsistence tasks.

The only task in which married women generally cooperate is bailing out a stream for fish. Less commonly (about twenty per cent of the time) two or three married women go to their gardens together to harvest food, or they make sago in the same area. Usually they work separately, but in company. The pairs of women who work together are most often closely related, either as sisters or as mother and daughter.

It is not possible to say exactly what changes have occurred due to the introduction of steel tools in subsistence tasks. Certainly fishing and hunting are more successful since the introduction of hooks and shotguns, respectively. At the lake, the proportion of fish in the diet may have increased markedly as a result. Elsewhere, the proportion of fish and game is too low to have changed very significantly. Greater changes may have been effected by the introduction of steel axes and knives. The amount of time needed to clear land, cut down sago

palms and tap kara?o trees has certainly been more than halved, giving men more time for other activities and creating an imbalance in the male-female division of labor.

Social Organization

Ultimately I wish to describe much of Foi social organization in terms of important dyadic relations and how they account for the formation of activity sets, i.e. the sets of individuals who carry out activities (see p. 101). It seems easier to start, however, by first describing the social organization as a series of social groups. Analysis in terms of groups is not only more parallel to other descriptions of New Guinea societies, it also gives the reader a better initial picture of how the society is organized.

Groups: the village

The most obvious of Foi social groups is the village, since it assumes material form as a group of houses. Foi villages range from fifty to one hundred ninety individuals, with the average size about 123. Each village consists of a single communal men's house and a row of women's houses on one or both sides of the men's house. Behind the women's houses are several outhouses, segregated by sex, and a menstrual hut where women retire for menstruation and childbirth. The Foi do not reside entirely in the village, however. Each married man generally has one or more houses in the outlying bush, in which he and his family spend part of their time.

In general Foi men are strictly segregated from women when they are indoors. In the village, they have their separate houses. In the bush,

the family house is divided by a central partition into a front portion for men and a rear portion for women. Some village women's houses are also built this way, with a front portion used by men, but usually they have no men's portion. Women are not absolutely prohibited from entering the communal men's house or the men's portion of a smaller house, but they enter only rarely. Usually they sit in the doorway if something of interest occurs inside, or else they stand on the ground outside. Likewise, men do not often enter the women's portion of a house, although they may sit in the doorway to talk. Except for a few "modern" couples, men and women never sleep together in the same portion of a house.

The rationale for this male-female separation is that mature women are thought to be dangerous to men's health. Menstrual secretions are said to produce arthritis if a man comes into contact with them, especially if they should drop onto his food. Women who are menstruating or who have just given birth are, therefore, restricted to the menstrual hut for a period and prohibited from cooking food for men. According to the men, women may even be dangerous at other times, since bits of menstrual secretions may cling to them after they leave the menstrual hut. Thus, men and women must live separately.

While they are in the village, a few men sleep at night in the men's portion of the women's house; but most sleep in the men's house unless they are sick. Men, unless they are out in the bush getting food, are usually found in the men's house during the day as well, eating, visiting or napping. Up to the age of about six, boys generally sleep with and spend most of their time with their mothers. After that, they generally sleep with the men and spend most of their time roaming in gangs of four

or five. Girls generally sleep with their mothers (or female guardians) and spend most of their time with them until they are married, accompanying them on their daily food-getting journeys. When they are young, they also spend time with their fathers in the men's house, however, and may even sleep there. Since men and women are usually situated in separate houses in the village, the smaller children act as intermediaries, carrying messages, food and babies back and forth between the communal men's house and the women's houses. Yet, men and women by no means ignore each other while in the village: long conversations and shouted arguments are carried on between men's house and women's house.

The communal men's house is a long house raised on posts. It has a central aisle of planks and, to each side, a row of fireplaces, with bark-floored sleeping places between them (see Fig. 1). Each fireplace is built by two men, who then sleep one on each side of the fireplace. All active married men and most unmarried boys over fourteen years of age join with a partner to build a fireplace.¹⁰

At night and at meal times (dawn and dusk), a man is generally at his own fireplace. He may move to another place to sleep, temporarily, but only in rare cases does he move permanently. At other times during the day, those men who are present move around to visit or to nap more or less at random. There is no observable tendency, for example, for men who have fireplaces within a given area of the men's house to congregate there. The question of where particular men choose to build in the men's house is a complicated one and will be discussed in a separate chapter on residence.

At meal times, each man is brought sago and vegetables cooked by

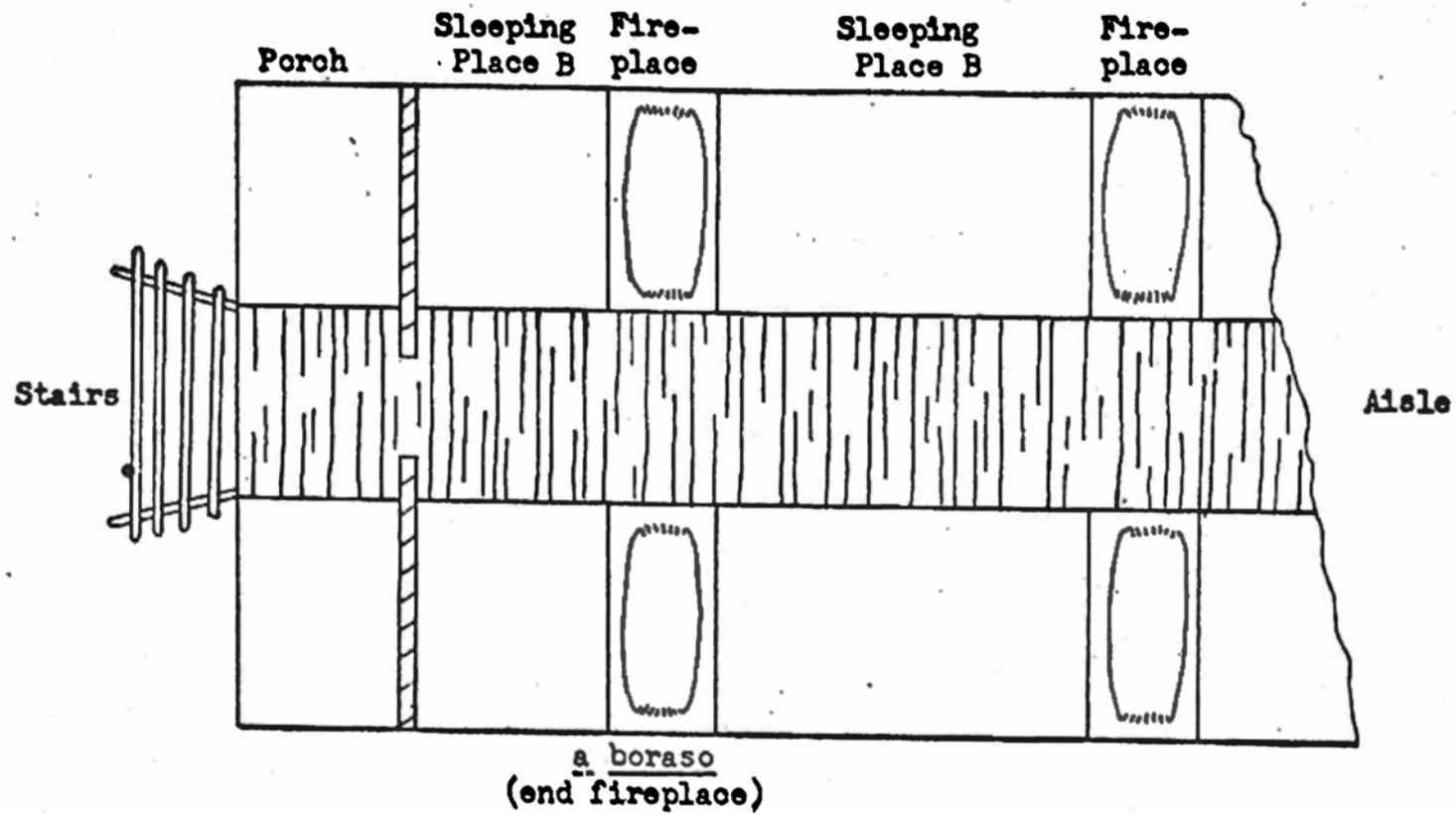


Figure 1. Men's House--Partial Floor Plan

his wife, unless she is sick and has no food on hand. Generally he distributes this food to three, four or five other men, as well as to himself and his sons or other dependents. These distributions appear to be based purely on proximity of residence within the men's house and not on social relationship per se: a man gives food to those who sit nearest him, both on the same and opposite sides of the men's house. Visitors from other villages who happen to be sitting nearby are usually given a portion as well. Young men who have not yet married obtain much of their food in this way, particularly if they have no male guardian living to supply them with food cooked by his wife. Such men are not expected to reciprocate, except to share what meat they obtain with those who give them sago and vegetables. Married men will automatically reciprocate each other's food gifts over the long run, since a pair who live close to each other give to each other on that account. They may not reciprocate each other's gifts every day, however. Thus a man whose wife has no food on hand because she is ill does not go hungry (although he complains), because he receives food from other men.

At the ends of the men's house, a log stairway leads up to the central aisle. There are no doorways in the side walls of the house. The Foi conceive of the "end" fireplaces in the men's house as the most important. It is here that visitors from other villages will stop first to be entertained. Therefore, the most important men of the village, the big men, are asked to build the "end" fireplaces (a boraso). In a long men's house with eight or more fireplaces on each side, the big men actually build the fireplaces last but one to the end.

The proportion of time spent in the village, as opposed to the bush,

varies from one man to the next. Most men (and their families) divide their time more or less evenly between village and bush. Those men who have a good proportion of their land and sago near the village spend most of their time there. Conversely, those whose land and sago lies several hours journey into the bush spend most of their time there. Political activity also plays a part: men who are active in disputes and decision-making tend to spend more time at the village than those who are not.

Most of the population congregates in the village on the week-end, from Saturday afternoon through noon Sunday, since they attend church services on Sunday morning. During the week, however, half of the villagers are usually living away from the village out in the bush. An occasional family avoids the village even on Sundays; and rarely the husband fails to build a women's house in the village. A few special occasions guarantee the presence of the whole village--a pig feast, a visit by the patrol officer (to take the census or to collect taxes), or, recently, a village discussion to nominate a candidate for the office of village councillor. The latter two occasions require the presence of all adults, according to Administration fiat, while no one would want to miss the opportunity of pork from a pig-feast. All occasions when the village gathers are likely to be the scene of public recriminations. Any large gathering is regarded as an opportunity to announce a grievance against another, in the hope of shaming him into redressing it.

Periodically, the village holds two traditional types of pig-feasts, at which pork is distributed to guests from other villages. At the smaller sorohabora type, the members of three or so neighboring villages

are invited as guests, plus a few individuals from further away. At sorohabora's witnessed during fieldwork, about eighty pigs were killed each time. The larger usanehabora brings guests from nearly all the Foi villages (although not all the members of those villages). The number of pigs killed is still probably less than two hundred. The village is spoken of as giving these feasts collectively, but actually each man distributes his pork individually to those guests to whom he has obligations. At a sorohabora he gives pork reciprocally to those individuals who gave him pork at their last sorohabora. At an usanehabora, a small amount of the pork is distributed in this way in reciprocal gifts, but most of it is given in return for shell payments given in the months preceding the feast. Only tidbits are given to men who come to the feasts without obligations to be repaid. At both types of feasts, the pork is cooked and distributed during the day. Only a minor amount is eaten at the feast and the rest is taken home. At night, all the villagers and guests crowd into the men's house to watch while the male guests dance. The dancing continues until dawn, when all the guests leave with their gifts of pork.

The usanehabora feasts are held fairly regularly by the village, about once every twelve years. Ostensibly, the feast is held in order to carry out a curative rite for a sick person. The main sponsor of the feast, always an important man with many pigs, initiates the decision to hold the feast on behalf of a sick relative. The rest of the village men then join with him. However, the feast cannot be held until the village has enough pigs to make a good showing. If many of the other men do not have enough pigs to slaughter, they will persuade the sponsor

to postpone the feast. Feasts given by other villages must be reciprocated, so the village cannot wait too long. If no one happens to need curative treatment when the pressure of obligation mounts, the usanehabora is held anyway, without the curative rite. Thus, the timing of these feasts depends more on the accumulation of pigs and on mutual obligations than on the occurrence of illness. The sorohabora feasts are held more frequently by the village, about once every four years. Some are held to mark the completion of a new men's house or a particularly large canoe, while others are held without any special reason. Generally, neighboring villages stagger their pig-feasts by at least a year. A given village will usually find it necessary to buy pigs from the neighboring villages in order to amass enough for a feast. This depletes the supply in the whole neighborhood, so the other villages must delay their feasts until their herds build up again.

Aside from holding pig feasts, the village performs few activities as a unit. The men act together to carry out Administration-assigned projects and they are helped by the women on appropriate occasions: if the men build a house, the women will bring the sago leaves for thatch; if they clear a garden for the medical orderly, the women will do the burning and planting. Formerly, the village often acted as a unit in the non-lethal stickfights which grew out of quarrels, and to some extent, the village acted as a unit in warfare. However, warfare commonly pitted alliances of several villages against each other, and individual men of other villages joined in as well. Finally, many of the traditional religious activities were carried out by the men of the village acting together, or by an ad hoc subgroup of them. The U. F. M.

church services, by contrast, bring together men and women from several different villages, except for an occasional evening service held in the village.

A village contains the members of several different exogamous and ostensibly patrilineal clans (amenadoba). Marriage, therefore, takes place within the village as well as without (see Table 25, Appendix A). For the larger villages (over 150 residents) roughly half of the marriages take place within the village, while for the smaller villages (under 100 residents), only about one tenth of the marriages are within the village. Rights in land are, in general, held by the clans rather than the village. Only the land that the village stands on is regarded as belonging to the village as a whole. Any member of the village may plant fruit trees or tobacco, or build a small garden on the outskirts of the village (i. e. on village land).

Groups: the region

The traditional patterns of friendly and hostile relations between villages can largely be described in terms of the "region," consisting usually of three to five villages (see Fig. 2). The Foi describe these regions, but they have no generic name for them and some of the regions have no specific name either. The villages of a region were (and still are) heavily intermarried and often had socially-important ties of clan-ship produced by migration from one village to another. Villages of a region commonly allied in warfare against other villages, and were not supposed to war with each other. Ties of intermarriage and socially-important clan-ship ties sometimes also existed between two villages of different regions as well. These ties across regional boundaries were

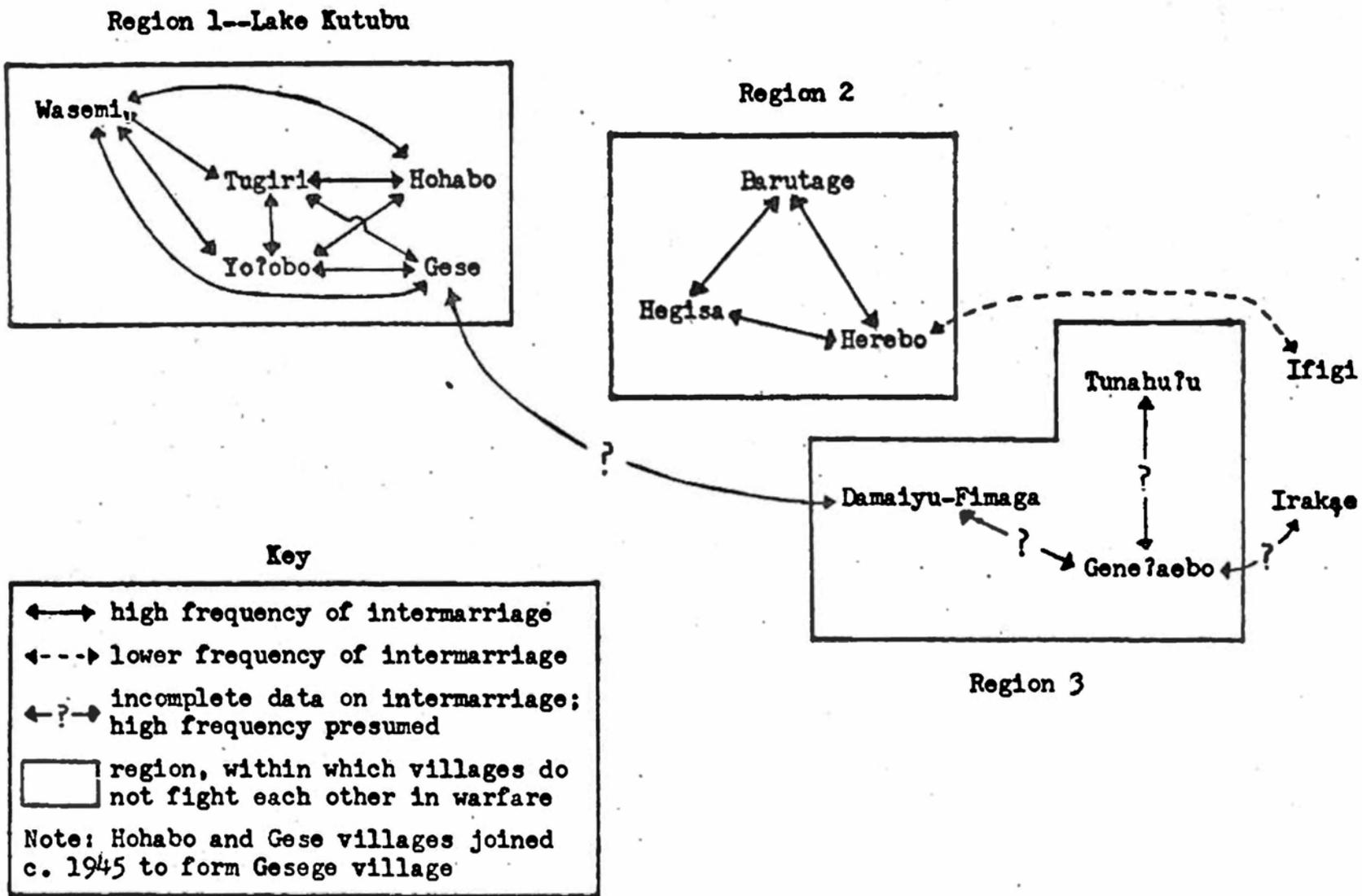


Figure 2. Intervillage Friendship Ties as of 1936 (Western Villages Only)

often sufficient to draw one village into a war started by the other, or to prevent a quarrel between the two from developing into warfare. However, the two would often fight on opposing sides in a war started by other villages. In general, the villages of different regions were little intermarried. If they had ties of clanship, these were mostly ties in name only which had lost social importance. Such villages might ally for a particular war, but would fight on opposing sides in others. Tables 25, 26 and 27 in Appendix A summarize marriage frequencies, clanship ties and patterns of alliance and opposition in warfare for a number of Foi villages.

The Foi distinguish between two kinds of fighting: fighting with heavy sticks (ya?o ena.bora), with the goal of clubbing the opposing side but not of killing them, and warfare (bai ena.bora), carried out with lethal weapons--spears, axes and bow-and-arrow. Two sides within a village or two villages within a region (or two villages otherwise connected by ties of marriage and clanship) often settled quarrels by means of a stickfight. Warfare, while it might develop from a quarrel within the region, almost always involved two villages of different regions as the principal opponents. Other villages then allied with the principal opponents until, often, most of the Foi villages were involved. If one village within a region allied to a side, the others then generally either allied to the same side or remained neutral.

Thus far, the description has been written as if the men of a village always fought as a unit in a war or stickfight (unless of course the stickfight occurred within the village). This was by no means always the case, although my data is not very complete on this question.

Often a few men from a village would fight in alliance with their relatives on one side, while the bulk of the village remained neutral, or fought on the opposing side. One large war which developed over a quarrel between two big men in Herebo split that village in half. If the village did not always form a unit in warfare, then the region did not either. But the general pattern of a ban on warfare within the region remains valid.

Ties of friendship between villages also affected the aboriginal pattern of visiting. According to informants, a man usually visited only in those villages with which his village had friendly ties, unless he had kinsmen or trading partners in other villages to protect him. With pacification, the pattern of intervillage friendship and hostility has blurred. Visiting patterns have expanded so that a man may visit in any Foi village. The pattern of intermarriage also appears to have expanded slightly, so that more marriages occur between traditionally hostile villages (see Table 25, Appendix A). There remains, however, a residuum of suspicion against the formerly hostile villages. Men feel that sorcery is more likely from these villages, and if someone dies after visiting one, it is attributed to sorcery. On the other hand, they feel relatively safe from sorcery in the traditionally friendly villages.

Groups: the clan and its subdivisions

In matters of land tenure and marriage, the exogamous patrilineal clan (amenadoba) is the important social group. Membership in the amenadoba group is ideally determined by patrilineal descent, but members are also added as the result of immigration and adoption. A man can be absorbed into a new amenadoba without losing his membership by

patrification in his natal one, so that the amenadoba groups are not entirely mutually exclusive. A given amenadoba usually has branches in many villages. In general, however, branches in separate villages do not cooperate. They own separate lands, do not share brideprice payments, and even intermarry in some cases. Only where one branch is a recent offshoot of another is cooperation between them common.

Many of the local clan segments have origin stories which explain how the whole amenadoba originated and spread to various Foi villages. Others have origin stories which explain only how the particular local segment became established in the village. Still others have no knowledge at all of their origins. A Foi will generally agree that, except for known immigrants, the members of his local clan segment are descended patrilineally from a common male ancestor. However, this ancestor's name is usually unknown and members of the segment cannot trace their connection back to him. Genealogical knowledge is mostly limited to about two or three generations beyond living individuals. Only a local clan segment descended from a recent immigrant (no more than three generations beyond living individuals) is likely to be able to trace its descent from a common ancestor. In fact, the idea of a common ancestor is not very prominent in Foi conversation. Common ancestry may even be denied in the case of a local segment for which no origin story is current. The idea of patrification is more prominent: a man belongs, rightly, to the clan of his father and his father's father before him. The Foi concept of the amenadoba might be stated as 'the patrilineal descendants of men who lived together as clanmates in the past.'

The local clan segment is often divided into named subclans if it

has been large in the past, or if part of the segment is descended from an immigrant. Land is said to be owned by the undivided clan segment or by the named subclan. Typically, the subclans are named by reference to the different lands they own. For example, Egadobo clan in Herebo is divided into two subclans, Isa Egadobo and Sebebe Egadobo. Isa, meaning 'hill' refers to a tract of hilly land and Sebebe refers to a tract of swampy land on Sebebe stream. Pragmatically, it seems that the subclan or undivided clan segment usually has rights as a whole only to large outlying tracts or to fairly sizable tracts near the village. Rights over small tracts near the village are usually exercised by even smaller units within the clan. Table 1, below, shows the size of local clan segments and land-owning units (subclans or local clan segments) for three villages. Subclans are considered as separate land-holding units when their ownership of close land has become completely differentiated.¹¹ In some cases, they may still hold distant lands in common. Clans are not entirely mutually exclusive, but for the purposes of the tabulation, individuals have been considered as members of only one clan in the village.

It has been stated that small tracts close to the village are usually held by small un-named units within the subclan or undivided clan segment. These smaller divisions usually include from one to five adult males who can trace their relationship back to a common grandfather, rarely to a common great-grandfather. Although such a unit is not named as such, it can be referred to by a construction which uses the name of a prominent male member.¹² For example, Faragu ira refers to a lineage of five men descended from a common grandfather, of whom

Faragu is the oldest and most important. I shall refer to these units as un-named lineages.

The Foi speak of brideprice and death payments as if they were organized by clan segments, but this is not really accurate. Brideprice (buruga) is given by the groom, or by an older man for him, to the father or other guardian of the bride. The bride's guardian then distributes the shells to those who have claims on them. These claims are of varying sorts and importance, but they include claims based on clanship. Every adult male member of the bride's father's and mother's local clan segments has a claim on a shell from the brideprice. Often, there are not enough shells to meet all claims. As the closer relatives have stronger claims, they are more likely to receive shells. Thus members of the same subclan usually share brideprice distributions, while members of different subclans within the local clan segment may not. The contributions to a brideprice come from a smaller group. Only the closest agnatic relatives of a groom (members of his lineage) are obligated to contribute to the brideprice for his wife, although others may do so. Death payments (kuisa gira) are no longer given by the Foi. They were abandoned about 1963 under pressure from the missions. Briefly, the payment for a woman was given by her husband to the members of her father's and mother's clans, primarily; the payment for a man was given by his closest clan relatives to the members of his mother's and mother's mother's clans, primarily.

Neither in land use, nor in the sharing of brideprice or death payments does the clan or subclan really emerge as a discrete group. The two units might be said to hold rights to land and shell payments as

a group, but in actual land usage or shell distributions, nonmembers always become involved—affinal relatives, nonagnatic consanguineal relatives, trading partners, absorbed immigrants and foster relatives, to mention the most important. Aside from holding rights to land and shell payments and regulating marriage choice through clan exogamy, the clan and subclan have little importance. Neither performs any productive activities as a unit; nor does either form a residential unit or a political unit within the village, although ties of clanship have some effect both on residence and politics.

A woman is considered to remain a member of her natal clan after marriage, even when she marries into another village. If divorced or widowed, she usually returns to live with her father or with a brother as guardian, until she remarries. Her rights as a clan member, however, are secondary to those of male members. While unmarried, she has the right to use clan lands, but when she marries she loses that right. Commonly, the male owners allow her and her husband to use their land, but they may deny her usage if they quarrel with the husband. Likewise, a female clan member, or her husband for her, frequently receives a shell from brideprice or death payments given to the clan, especially those given for her close relatives. Again, however, the distributor of the brideprice may deny them a shell if he has a quarrel with the husband.

As in many New Guinea societies, it is common for a man to emigrate to a new village, and become attached to a local clan segment other than his natal one. A married man or an unmarried adolescent may migrate because of a quarrel in his home village or because he fears sorcery. He usually moves to the village of a relative or trading partner. Younger men become resident in a village other than their natal one because they

are "adopted" by men living outside. Men who are taken in before the age of twelve are considered to be "adopted" (see below, p.86) for the purposes of this study. They develop stronger ties to those who take them in than do adolescent boys taken in after the age of twelve.

Table 2, Part A, below, summarizes the frequencies of emigration from the natal village and return for three villages.¹³ Temporary movement of villagers dispersed during warfare have been excluded from consideration here. Such moves lasted only a few months and appear never to have been permanent. Emigrants are categorized according to their status at the time of emigration. The largest categories of emigrants are those who were adopted as young men and those who emigrated as married men. It is clear that those who emigrate as married men are likely to return home, while those who emigrate as young men due to adoption are unlikely to return home. Married men usually emigrate because of a quarrel, and when the quarrel dies down after a few years, they tend to return home. Table 2, Part B examines those who emigrated as adults (after the age of twelve) in more detail. Such men tend to stay away from home for at least two years, but between two and five years they are likely to return home. Even those who have lived away from home for five to thirty years return home in fair numbers. Table 2, Part C examines those who emigrated before the age of twelve. Here there is little tendency for men to return home at any time, at least not after the age of twelve.

Of all the men in the three village sample, 13.6 per cent emigrated before the age of twelve and seem likely to remain in the non-natal village permanently. A further 8.6 per cent emigrated after the

Table 2

Male Emigration from the Natal Village and Return Migration

A. Emigration Rates by Type of Emigrant (for Residents of Three Villages)^a

Status at Emigration	Total Emigrated	Emigrated /Returned	Emigrated /Not Returned	% of Sample Residing as _b Emigrants
(1) before twelve; to fF living elsewhere	14	1	13	11.2 %
(2) before twelve; with emigrating guardian	4	-	4	3.4 %
(3) between twelve and marriage; to P living elsewhere	6	2	4	3.4 %
(4) after marriage	14	8	6	5.2 %
Total	38	11	27	23.3 %

B. Rate of Return for Adult Emigrants (Those Who Emigrated after Age Twelve) by Years of Non-natal Residence

Years Non-natal Residence	Total Emigrated	Emigrated /Returned	Emigrated /Not Returned	% Who Returned in Period
0-2 years	4	-	4	none
2-5 years	14	7	7	50 %
5-30 years	8	3	5	38 %
Total	26	10	16	88 %

Table 2 continued Male Emigration from the Natal Village and Return Migration

C. Rate of Return for Pre-adult Emigrants (Those Who Emigrated Before Age Twelve) by Years of Non-natal Residence^c

Years Non-natal Residence	Total Emigrated	Emigrated /Returned	Emigrated /Not Returned	% Who Returned in Period
0-5 years	8	-	8	none
5-30 years	16	1	15	6 %
Total	24	1	23	4 %

^a Frequencies can also be determined for the natal members of the three villages (both living and recently dead men) as a check on the reliability of the percentages calculated for resident members. It is more difficult to be sure that all emigrant natal members are included, of course. In a sample of 117 natal members of the three villages, the following results were obtained. Non-returned emigrants of category (1) form 12.1 per cent of the sample, those of category (3) form 0.8 per cent of the sample, and those of category (4) form 9.1 per cent. There are none of category (2). The total proportion of non-returned emigrants in the sample is 22.0 per cent.

^b This column shows non-returned emigrants of a particular type as the proportion (expressed in per cent) of the total sample of 116 resident members of the three villages.

^c Some individuals are considered in Parts B and C of the table in addition to those considered in Part A.

age of twelve. Perhaps half of these will eventually return home. At the same time, other men of the same age-group will migrate to take their places and some may remain permanently. Clearly, pre-adult migration is more significant than adult migration as a source of permanent non-natal members of the village, and therefore of immigrant, attached members of the clan.

Not surprisingly, the majority of male immigrants to a village come from allied villages (see Table 3, below). Of fifty-five male immigrants to various villages, fifty-eight per cent are from the same region as their present village of residence and a further thirteen per cent are from allied villages outside the region. Only twenty-nine per cent are from non-allied villages outside the region.¹⁴ Table 3 shows, also, that immigration of adults, or of children who accompany their adult guardians, is more likely to be from outside the region than that of young children going to join a foster-father in a different village. Given that a considerable amount of village intermarriage takes place within the region, it follows that few children would migrate to foster-fathers in another region. Few would have relatives--either mother's husbands or other kin--in another region to become their foster-fathers. On the other hand, a certain amount of adult immigration is due to serious quarrels and would be likely to be from outside the region. In the past quarrels often resulted in one protagonist moving elsewhere to seek aid in warfare against his co-villagers (see p.110). In order to enlist the aid of another village against his home village, it was usually necessary to move beyond his home region.

Table 3
Provenience of Immigrants to Villages

Status at Immigration	Provenience:		
	Same Region	Allied Village of Different Region	Non-allied Village
(1) before twelve; to ff living elsewhere	17	2	5
(2) before twelve; with emigrating guardian	1	-	3
(3) between twelve and marriage; to P living elsewhere	4	1	2
(4) after marriage	10	4	6
Total	32 (=58 %)	7 (=13 %)	16 (=29 %)

category (1): $\frac{\text{immigrants from same region}}{\text{all immigrants in category}} = 70 \%$

categories (2-4): $\frac{\text{immigrants from same region}}{\text{all immigrants in category}} = 48 \%$

* The category of "allied village of different region" includes here all villages intermarried with the village of residence at a frequency higher than usual outside the region. Thus Ifigi is considered as an allied village of Herebo, even though the alliance is not very strong (see Fig. 2, p. 43). In fact, all but two of the seven cases in this category are migrants to Herebo from Ifigi or vice versa.

Commonly, the immigrant is taken under the protection of a sponsor (who might be his foster-father) in the new village. In the case of married men or unmarried adolescents, there is a tendency for the sponsor to be a big man. (Sometimes the immigrant moves to the village of a relative, who is not a big man, and later attaches himself to a big man.) There are a number of reasons for this. Unmarried adolescents need to attach themselves to a man who will give brideprice for them, and a big man is more likely to agree to do so. A married man who migrated in the past often did so to avoid being killed by his co-villagers. He sought the protection of a big man who could mobilize his village in defense against the home villagers of the immigrant. Finally, a big man has somewhat more motivation to accept an immigrant, as a potential supporter, than an ordinary man, other things being equal.

The sponsor allows the immigrant to use land and long-term crops that he has inherited from his father, but not those which he has acquired himself (unless immigrant and sponsor are also foster-father and foster-son). Mutual land use is the beginning of a relationship in which the land donor and immigrant are both expected to contribute to each other's shell payments, the land donor's clan is expected to share its shell distributions with the immigrant and the immigrant to share brideprice for his daughters and sisters with the land donor's clan. An adopted immigrant cannot easily be forced to leave the land, except by his foster-father or foster-father's son. A non-adopted immigrant has a more tenuous position but so long as he does not default on his obligations nor quarrel with his sponsor's clan, he will usually be allowed to remain on the land and his sons after him. It is difficult

to specify the point at which the immigrant line achieves rights to the donor's land. An immigrant who was adopted as a child and has put his land donors under heavy obligations is treated as if he had land rights. He may, for example, extend offers of land use to other non-owners. On the other hand, there are cases where sons and even grandsons of the immigrant have been forced to leave by the land donors. Certainly, however, the greatgrandsons of an immigrant cannot be evicted.

The immigrant becomes, in effect, a member of the new clan, even though he retains some obligations to his original clan. If his sons continue to live with the new clan, they will be referred to as members, although the immigrant himself generally is not. Neither the immigrant, nor his sons, are supposed to intermarry with the land donor's clan. Sometimes the immigrant or his descendants become more involved with a second clan in the village later on. The relationship with the original sponsoring clan may then be broken or attenuated. Frequently, shell payments continue to be shared with both clans, while land use is restricted to the second. Although the descendants of an immigrant land user are often considered members of the land donor's clan, there is no apparent attempt to manipulate genealogies to include them. Often their original clan name is remembered and they are referred to by that name as well as their new clan name. On the other hand, if they maintain no relations with their original clan, their immigrant status may be forgotten over the generations. If the descendants become numerous, they often come to assume subclan status, with partially separate land from the rest of the local clan segment, but common rights to brideprice payments. Under these conditions, it usually resumes its original clan

name as the usual designation. If such a subclan becomes really large, it may split from its parent clan completely.

Where the emigrant and his descendants have moved to an adjoining village and their natal land is conveniently situated, they usually continue to use it, and retain ownership rights to it. If the land is so far away that they do not use it, the descendants lose their rights to it after the original emigrant dies. The clan members who remain may allow the descendants to return and use the land, but they need not do so. The emigrant, particularly if he left as an adult, retains obligations to share brideprice payments with the members of his original clan. If the move has been to an adjoining village, descendants of the original emigrant may continue to share brideprice payments with their original clan. However, if the move has been to a distant village, such sharing usually lapses by the time the emigrant's grandsons reach maturity, if not earlier.

The absorption of immigrant non-agnates into the clan has been described. There are also cases where non-agnates of established clans within the village become effective members of another clan. Within the village, foster-sons or clients of a clan member are often invited to use his land, just as immigrants are. Shared land use creates the same obligations of reciprocal help in giving shell payments and reciprocal sharing of payments received as in the case of immigrant and land donor. These non-agnates, however, usually maintain use of their natal clan land as well as obligations to participate fully in the shell transactions of their natal clans. At the beginning of the relationship, land donor and land user may assure each other that their sons and grandsons will

continue to share land use and shell payments, but this rarely comes to pass, unless the land users have very little land of their own to fall back on. In succeeding generations, the descendants of the original land user usually depend mostly on their own clan land, and the relationship with the land donor's clan attenuates.

An estimate of the proportion of non-agnates of immigrant origin in Foi clans is given below in Table 4 (for married males only). The proportion has been calculated by assigning a member of the village to effective membership in only one clan, and then assigning the status of non-agnate to all those members known to be of immigrant origin.¹⁵ In some cases, this procedure is arbitrary. There are some men (both immigrants and members of established clans in the village) who participate fully in the activities of more than one clan in the same village. If feasible, these are generally assigned to their natal clan. There are some immigrant lineages which have obtained a limited amount of land of their own, but are still loosely associated with the long-established clans which took them in. Such loose affiliations have been ignored. The tabulation is a distortion of Foi social reality. But the alternative of counting men as members of more than one clan would involve another set of arbitrary judgements, since the amount of participation with a second clan varies considerably.

Table 4

Proportion of Married Male Non-agnates in Foi Clans

	Herebo Village	Barutage Village	Tugiri Village	All Villages
Agnates	27	21	9	57
Non-agnates:				
Immigrants	2	10	1	13 ^a
Sons and grandsons of immigrants	-	4	5	9
Greatgrandsons of immigrants	4	2	-	6
				32.9 %
Total				85 ^b

^a The frequency of immigration ($13/85 = 15.3\%$) appears to be significantly lower here than in Table 2, Part A, but only because some non-natal members who immigrated with the father or foster-father are counted here as first-generation descendants of immigrants.

^b The total number of adult married men counted here is slightly less than those counted in Table 2. One man is not counted because he immigrated without becoming attached to any particular clan in the new village. Two others who died are excluded for lack of complete data.

Groups: domestic groups

If domestic groups be defined in terms of residence, then there are two types in Foi society, the group which occupies a bush-house and the group associated with a women's house—the women who live there, plus their husbands and their male dependents. The bush-house is generally built by a single man and occupied by a nuclear family. Often a man builds more than one bush-house, and different groups may utilize the different bush-houses. Table 5, below, shows the composition of bush-households by family type for Herebo village in 1968. A man with more than one wife usually houses his wives in separate bush-houses, frequently built only fifty to a hundred yards apart. The exceptions to this in the Herebo sample are cases where the wives are sisters, or where one of the wives is too aged to produce her own food and is dependent upon her co-wife for sustenance. A man who is about to marry for the first time usually builds a bush-house together with the man who gives bride-price for him. After he marries, their two families occupy the bush-house together for a time. Such cases are tabulated as 'joint families.' The younger man soon builds a separate bush-house of his own which he utilizes more than the joint bush-house. When the joint bush-house falls into disrepair, a second one is generally not built. Infrequently, two already-married men who are closely affiliated build a bush-house together for their families. (There are only two such cases in the Herebo sample.) Clearly the preference is for each nuclear family to have its own bush-house except in exceptional circumstances.

The women's house groups are larger than the bush-households and generally include several nuclear families. For the sake of simplicity,

Table 5
Composition of Herebo Bush-households in 1968

Household Type ^a	Number in Sample
Nuclear family	14
Nuclear family = part of a residentially separated polygynous family	8
Polygynous family	3
Joint family (families of two men)	2
Families simultaneously members of two household types:	
nuclear family / joint family	6 / 3
Total	33 / 30

^a Each of the family types includes juvenile wards of the adult members in addition to their children--adopted children, younger siblings, etc.

^b In addition to the families tabulated, several Herebo families had no bush-house in 1968; they occasionally used one belonging to another family. These include three nuclear families, one polygynous family and one matrifocal family.

the women's house groups are defined as including the men associated with the women who reside in the houses--their husbands and older male dependents. In most cases, these men spend almost no time in the women's house, but they do have free access to it and usually store their valuables there. Men from outside the group should not enter unless invited.

Table 6, below, shows the composition of women's house groups by family type for three villages. In almost all cases, women who occupy a common bush-house also occupy a common women's house. A widow is commonly accommodated in the women's house of a close male relative who acts as guardian for her and her children. Unless the woman is too aged to produce food, she usually remarries within a few months of being

Table 6

Composition of Women's House Groups in 1968
(Herebo, Barutage and Tugiri)

Composition of Group	Number in Sample
Nuclear family	5
Nuclear family, plus widow(s) and children	2
Polygynous family	2
Joint family (families of two or more men)	25
Joint family, plus widow(s) and children	4
Total	40

widowed. The question of why particular nuclear or polygynous families come to live together will be considered later.

In general construction, women's houses are like the men's house. They also have a central aisle of planks, flanked on each side by fireplaces and sleeping places. By far the majority of the women's houses have only two fireplaces and four sleeping places for women.¹⁶ Thus, the usual women's house comfortably affords room for only four grown women (women over twelve) and their children. Five or six women may be accommodated in a single house for several months, but eventually the number is usually reduced to make living more comfortable. Table 7, below, shows the size of women's house groups in terms of the number of grown females for three villages.

The bush-household moves to and from the village as a unit. While they are in the bush, the members of the household interact pretty much as a discrete unit. The bush-house is considered a private place for the family and visitors are rare. Conversely, the members of the family

Table 7

Size of Women's House Groups by Number of Women in 1968
(Herebo, Barutage and Tugiri)

Size (Number of Grown Women)	Number in Sample
six	2
five	4
four	8
three	9
two	11
one	6
<u>Total</u>	<u>40</u>

spend their leisure time in the bush-house so that the amount of interaction within the group is high. As always, husband and wife are separated spatially--this time by a partition between the men's and women's sides of the house--but the bush-house is the main context for interaction between husband and wife. Sexual intercourse, however, normally takes place in the bush rather than in the house.

In the context of the village, the group which constitutes the bush-household is little evident. Interaction between the male and female segments of the group is infrequent since the male segment is incorporated into the men's house, the female segment into the women's house. The amount of time spent in the bush varies between bush-households from almost none (for those families which have no bush-house) to about ninety per cent of the time. Thus, the bush-household, and consequently the nuclear family which usually constitutes it, may interact heavily as a group or very little.

Only the female segment of the women's house group really interacts as a group. While they reside in the village, the women sleep, cook and eat in their own women's house, activities which occupy most of their time not spent in producing food. They have less time to visit back and forth than the man so that the women's house groupings tend to bound social interaction among the women to a great degree. As with the bush-households, there is great variation between women's house groups in the amount of interaction. A few women's houses are occupied entirely by women who spend most of their time in the village and these groups interact often. In most cases, however, the whole group is seldom together since part or all of the women are usually living in the bush.

It has been noted that the nuclear family is generally the largest cooperating unit in food production. Neither co-wives nor other women occupying the same household cooperate in food production at all frequently. To a certain degree, each nuclear family also operates as a separate consumption unit. Every morning and evening the wife and mother of the family cooks sago and vegetables to feed her family, including motherless dependents of her husband. Each adult woman in a household cooks food separately, even an aged co-wife who is too old to produce her own food. The husband expects his wife to have sufficient food on hand to feed her family and to have it cooked at the appropriate time, unless she happens to be sick. If she fails, he is certain to berate her and may beat her. (Beating, however, was more common in the past.) At meal times, the wife distributes food to the children who live with her, and takes part of it to her husband who distributes it to the children who live with him. Older members of the family generally receive gifts

of cooked food from outsiders when they stay in the village, but this does not reduce the wife's responsibility to provide for them. The husband and children may collect and cook vegetables or cook sago for their own consumption between meals, but these are not necessarily shared with the rest of the family. In the area of food provision, the main obligation of the husband and father is to provide the family with meat. He is expected to share with them any meat that he acquires and to acquire meat fairly regularly. If he fails on either count, his wife will shame him by belittling him in public. Older boys are also expected to share any meat they acquire, usually rats or fish, with the rest of the family.

Food sharing also takes place on a regular basis outside the nuclear family, at least while the family is staying in the village. As already described, married men distribute cooked sago and vegetables to the men who live near them in the men's house. Men also give meat to those families with whom they share a common women's house and to their closest male and female relatives. Meat gifts are given less often than vegetable gifts of course. A man can distribute sago and vegetables every day, but only once or twice a week does he obtain enough meat to feed people other than himself and his family. Whereas sago and cooked vegetables are distributed publicly in the men's house, and with a flourish, meat is generally given covertly outside the men's house, due to its scarcity (except of course at a feast, where there is a large quantity of pork to be given out).

Women who share the same women's house share food regularly too. Generally they coordinate their food-getting efforts so that one makes

sago, a second collects vegetables, firewood and bamboo (used to cook in) and a third fishes. Then each shares her produce with the others. They are expected to share when they acquire meat in quantity from their husbands and occasionally they share cooked sago and vegetables as well. Food-sharing is not restricted to those women who share a women's house, however. Women who live in adjacent women's houses share food almost as often as those who live in the same women's house, as also do women who are close relatives (sister-sister, mother-daughter, father's wife-husband's daughter, husband's mother-son's wife, wives of two brothers).

In the bush, food-sharing is necessarily more limited due to the spatial isolation of the bush-house and its aura of privacy. My data on food-sharing in the bush are too limited to give a very clear picture. Presumably, men who share a bush-house share food in the same way as men who live next to each other in the village men's house; and women who share a bush-house in the same way as those who share a village women's house. Beyond this, nebulous groupings of bush-houses also occur. Often a group of men who have close personal ties and wish to utilize the same tract of land will build their bush-houses within calling distance of each other. Within such a grouping, the men generally share meat with each other when they acquire a large quantity. Their wives occasionally share sago and vegetables with each other, but less regularly than they would in the village.

The nuclear family and the bush-household seem to be best considered as different social groups, even though they coincide in many cases. The discrete nature of interaction within the bush-household makes it a clearly defined group. The nuclear family as such does not necessarily

interact discretely, but it always forms a separate commensal unit. The female segment of a women's house group might be defined as a group since it forms a discrete group within the village in terms of interaction frequency, even though it is not discrete in terms of food distribution. The males associated with the women's house group do not form part of the group in any significant sense. While all three of these are rather clearly defined as groups, the polygynous family is not. Co-wives generally share the same women's house, so that they interact with some frequency, but they interact no differently from other women who share a household (except perhaps that they quarrel more). None of these domestic groups are given names by the Foi.

Marriage and kinship

A Foi marriage may begin in either of two ways. More commonly, the marriage is arranged in advance with the woman's relatives and the brideprice is given before the woman comes to the man's house. An unmarried girl is usually claimed several years before puberty by the giving of a minor part of the brideprice. When she reaches maturity (approximately fourteen to sixteen years of age), the rest of the brideprice is given and the pair marry. If a woman has been married before, the whole brideprice is given at once just before the couple settle down together. Less commonly, the woman initiates marriage on her own by going to the women's house of the man or his guardian to stay. Often she does this after the man has given an indication of his desire for her. If the man is willing, brideprice is given soon after this and the couple settle down together.

Foi men marry for the first time soon after puberty (between approximately fourteen and twenty years of age). At this time, a man

cannot generally amass the shells for a brideprice himself. Some older man--the father if he is living--gives the brideprice for him and arranges the marriage as well. Often the boy is too young to care who the bride is when the marriage is arranged, or too embarrassed to express a preference. The result of the arrangement of marriage by older relatives is that often the couple refuse to marry when they come of age and know better who they wish to marry. The brideprice must then be returned. In recent years, such refusals have become more common, both on the part of men and of women, probably due to pressure from the missions and the Administration to let young people choose their own marriage partners. Refusals occurred, however, even in the pre-contact society (Williams 1940-41:55). Older men, who are not marrying for the first time, arrange their own marriages and amass their own brideprices.

Although today the bride can reject a prospective groom she dislikes, her closest relatives must agree to accept the man she chooses for the marriage to take place. The bride's father (or foster-father if her father is dead), her adult brothers and foster-brothers must all be consulted, and even the opinion of more distant clanmates may be important. The most important considerations to them are the size of the brideprice which the groom can give, particularly the shells which they will be given, and the desirability of the groom as a future affinal relative. A man who is, or seems likely to become, wealthy and generous is preferable to a man who is not. The bride's mother also has a voice in the decision as to whether a prospective groom should be accepted. If she thinks he will treat her daughter well, she will argue for him and may persuade her husband and sons to forget other objections.

Divorce is common in the first two or three years of marriage but rare after that, especially if children have been born to the couple. Probably the most common reasons for divorce are economic ones--the wife is lazy and fails to supply food to her husband regularly, or the husband is unsuccessful and doesn't give his wife enough meat. Either the husband or the wife may initiate divorce, but it is more difficult for the wife. The husband has only to tell his wife to leave and demand the brideprice back. The woman, however, must convince her relatives to return the brideprice to her husband and they are often reluctant. Most of the brideprice is supposed to be given back on divorce, but a certain amount may be kept by the woman's relatives as 'payment' for her services.

The death of a man's wife essentially ends the relationship with his wife's relatives. They have no obligation to provide him with another wife, nor do they return any of the brideprice. On the contrary, until a few years ago, the husband gave a death payment (kuisa gira) to them for his wife. Traditionally, when the husband died, the widow's relatives gave a small payment (ka yaro banaʻanu) to his clanmates. If the widow had behaved badly to her husband, then the payment had to be larger. This payment has now been discontinued along with the other death payments.

The main principle which regulates sexual relations for the Foi is that a man should leave a woman alone unless he has paid brideprice for her. Thus, if an unmarried woman has an affair, her father and brothers (or her guardian) are entitled to claim a fine from her lover or demand that he marry her. It occasionally happens that a young girl has an affair before she is married and keeps it secret. After she marries,

her husband may find out about the affair and he is then entitled to claim a fine from the lover. The husband may be so enraged that he will divorce the girl. (Obviously this is not because virginity is valued in itself; a girl who is known not to be a virgin commands no lower bride-price than any other.)

Adultery is treated in much the same way, although it arouses more anger. The cuckolded husband often goes after the adulterer with an axe. Usually, however, he does not succeed in killing the man and eventually cools down sufficiently to try for satisfaction in another way. Traditionally the husband demanded a fine from the adulterer. In recent years it has been more common for the husband to take the case to the Administration Patrol Officer, who jails the adulterous pair for a few months, presuming he finds both guilty. There remains for the cuckolded husband a darker avenue for revenge: he may try to kill the adulterer by sorcery. The Foi attribute many deaths to sorcery motivated by adultery.

The guilty woman is berated and often beaten by her husband, but usually the man receives more of the husband's anger. Adultery by a woman usually occurs after she has been married for several years and has children. Her husband will not usually go so far as to divorce her. The woman whose husband commits adultery usually quarrels with him about it, but she herself has no other means of retaliation.

Foi men feel that they are superior to women and in general males are dominant over females. Thus, in the husband-wife relationship, the husband is generally dominant and makes most of the major decisions in the marriage: he decides when they will leave the bush for the village and vice versa, what they will do with their pigs, where they will build

gardens and cut sago, whether they will emigrate to another village. A wife, however, does not show deference to her husband even though she allows him to make many decisions for her. If she disagrees with him or his actions she will argue, disparage him in public or even attack him with a stick.

In general, the husband-wife relation strikes an observer as one of cooperation, even amicability, but not of affection. Husband and wife never show affection by word or touch before others, nor do they often joke with each other as other pairs of relatives or friends do. This lack of outward signs of affection is probably a true indication of feeling for most couples. At death, the surviving spouse is supposed to take a major part in wailing for his dead mate, along with other close relatives of the dead individual. But the Foi say that generally the spouse does this as a matter of protocol and does not really grieve. There are exceptions to this, to be sure--some grieve for months for a dead husband or wife--but they are exceptions. When there is affection, it is primarily affection for a helpmeet, not a lover or a friend. Despite the common lack of affection, husband and wife are jealous of each other and each suspects the other of adultery. Men are afraid to leave a young wife alone in the village for many nights and women are angry when their husbands plan to marry a second wife.

Foi men generally want to have more than one wife. A second wife is a mark of wealth, and therefore of prestige. If she is young she can give him more children. Only about twenty per cent of the men actually have more than one wife at a time, however, and very few succeed in marrying more than two at a time. There are no formal differences

in status between co-wives. If they are of different ages, as often is the case, the husband often shows marked preference for the younger and spends more time with her. In some cases an older co-wife is so far ignored that her husband does not even make gardens with her or eat her food. Naturally, then, co-wives tend to be jealous of one another and to quarrel frequently. In such cases, the husband tries to reduce the friction by separating them as much as possible. He establishes them in separate bush-houses or leaves one wife in the village while he takes the other to the bush. Usually co-wives get along well only if they were already closely related before marriage, either as sisters or as mother and daughter. (It is common for a man to marry the daughter of his wife by another husband who has grown up in his household.)

The relation between parent and child is much closer than that between husband and wife. Until a child is about five or six, the primacy of his ties to his parents is readily apparent. He constantly demonstrates affection for both parents by sitting on their laps or climbing on them, while he is shy of other adults, with the possible exception of a grandparent or mother's co-wife. Except for grandparents and older siblings, relatives other than the parents do not care for young children whose parents are alive. After the age of seven or eight, open displays of affection between parent and child become rare. Affection is clearly evident, however, in the mourning displayed when a child dies, or in the embrace given to a child who returns from an absence of several weeks or months. As they grow older, boys become independent and are rarely seen with either parent. Instead, they spend most of their time roving with a gang of other boys their age. Girls are largely excluded from the

company of their fathers by the spatial separation between male and female after they reach the age of about nine. They remain attached to their mothers, however, and usually work with them at their daily tasks. Neither parent demands a respectful attitude from a child. Children are constantly exhorted to do this or that, but rarely is obedience physically enforced, except to toilet-train the children or keep them from danger. Mothers are, if anything, more permissive than fathers. Young children of both sexes are assertive and willful, but by the age of nine a dichotomy appears between the sexes. Boys continue to be independent and assertive and they wilfully disobey their parents; girls however are taught to be more docile and usually do as they are told.

Parents age quickly after their children reach maturity and their children are expected to help them. A son should provide his aging father with firewood and should give him more meat than any other relative outside his own nuclear family. He should also help his father with heavy tasks such as house-building, carrying kara?o oil to the Augu-Kewa country for trade, and penning pigs to be killed at a feast. Frequently, a son does not live up to his father's expectations and friction develops between them. A daughter, if she lives in the same village as her parents, should also give food to them frequently. Usually, a parent remains married until his death and so maintains a separate domestic establishment. Until recently, only a truly senile man or woman remained unmarried after the death of a spouse. In the last few years, however, a number of old but not senile widows have claimed the right, as Christians, to remain single in memory of their dead husbands (much to the disgust of their male relatives, who not only have lost the brideprice

but also have to take care of them). These women live permanently in the women's house of a son or married daughter.

As the children of a family grow up, older siblings care for the younger ones. Older girls, in particular, are often left in charge of their baby brothers or sisters while their mothers work. Any relations of dominance established at this stage fade as the siblings grow older. Between older siblings of the same sex, the relation is essentially one of equality. Brothers are dominant over their sisters of approximately their age or younger without, however, any marked deference being shown by the sisters. When they are younger, a brother is allowed to push his sister away from a male gathering or to take choice morsels of food from her. As they grow older, he can require that his sister cook food for him, much as a husband requires food from his wife. Eventually this culminates at the point where the brother, along with his father, has the right to dispose of his sister in marriage and collect a share of her brideprice.

A woman is not particularly close to her co-wife's children, even those who live in the same household with her; but there is no noticeable distinction in interaction between siblings of the same mother and siblings of different mothers. The small total number of siblings, even in a polygynous family, and the frequent death of one co-wife while the children are still young probably tend to homogenize the relations between children in a polygynous family. The dissolution of marriage, however, often affects the closeness of ties among siblings, by placing them in separate households as they grow up. Siblings who have grown up in separate households carry out their formal obligations to each other, but

not the more informal actions which signify closeness.

Generally, adult sibling relations are close ones, but brothers find it easier to interact frequently than sisters do, or than brother and sister do. Since brothers inherit rights to the same land and long-term crops, they are likely to build bush-houses close together, allowing frequent interaction, while sisters are dispersed to the lands of their husbands. This is especially true when a woman marries outside her village, for she will only be able to visit her siblings at weekly or monthly intervals.

The brother-brother relationship is the model for close male relationships to the Foi. If a man wishes to express his closeness and ease with another, he will say they are 'like brothers.' Ideally, a brother should contribute whenever a man makes a large shell payment, such as brideprice, and should share meat with him regularly. They should be so close that one brother can even harvest crops freely from the other's garden or use his tools or tobacco without asking. Not every brother lives up to this ideal. If he does not, the other may feel that he has been treated badly, but unless he never receives shells or meat from him, it is not a matter which is appropriately brought up in public to shame him. Pairs of brothers who have grown up in separate households are particularly likely not to fit the ideal, but they are not the only cases. The same factor--common inheritance of rights--which makes the relation between brothers the strongest of sibling relations also creates a strain in it not present in the others. Brothers (or their wives) are likely to quarrel about the use of their land and crops and about the distribution of their sisters' brideprices as well. Thus,

the brother-brother relation, while usually solidary, is rarely the relation of ease it ideally should be. Often other close relations between males are less strained.

When they live in proximity, sisters usually exhibit close relations. They share sago and vegetables with each other even if they live at opposite ends of the village, and it is sisters who most commonly among adult women perform their daily food-getting tasks together. Probably they live up to the ideal of close relations more often than brothers do. Brother and sister interact little as adults, due to the spatial separation of male and female. Typically, a man sees more of his sister's husband than he does of his sister and directs more of his behavior toward the man. Brother and sister, however, give each other gifts of food and the sister (as well as her husband) may contribute to her brother's brideprice payments.

All male clanmates, of course, have obligations to share brideprice payments that they distribute on behalf of their clan. Otherwise, the relation between clanmates varies depending on the degree of segmentary distance between them, the number of men in the clan segments and the particular circumstances of their relationship. For adults, the relation with father's brother or father's brother's son is much like that with a brother, although not quite so close. Often these close agnates contribute to a man's shell payments and share meat with him, but there is little ill feeling if they wish to remain more distant. More distant clanmates may take on these behaviors if they have no close agnatic relatives; otherwise they generally do not. Close agnates are also important to a man in another way. Foi men often worry about being attacked

by sorcery. They feel that the best defense is to have relatives or friends who live near them in the bush and act as allies in the village. Such men discourage sorcery attacks upon a man since they would avenge his death and since they will be on the lookout for attacks upon him. These allies need not be close agnates, but close agnates are likely to be the most permanent allies.

Aside from clanmates, there are two other classes of relatives of major importance to an individual, first his in-laws and second the clanmates of his mother and mother's mother. Toward many of his in-laws, the relationship is one of formal respect. There are a number of prohibitions which govern the relationships between in-laws, as tabulated in Table 7, below. When the prohibitions are scaled against the relationships in which they apply, it appears that they fall into a regular distribution known as a Guttman scale, indicating that they express degrees along a single attitudinal dimension (cf Goodenough 1965:9-11). These prohibitions do not by any means prevent friendly intercourse between in-laws. In-laws often visit together and may even live together in the same house. Thus, it seems that their relationship is more one of respect or carefulness than one of avoidance. Apparently, the greatest respect is felt between yumu's (male ego's mother-in-law and female ego's son-in-law, etc.), the least between husband and wife. The husband and wife relationship appears to fall into the same set as in-law relationships although it has the fewest prohibitions.

The Foi say that they feel shame if any of the prohibitions are broken. When a prohibition is purposely broken by one of the relatives, then he must pay a fine to the other. Otherwise, the formal relationship

ends and all the prohibitions are thenceforward ignored. The closest relatives normally pay the fine, while more distant ones allow the relation to lapse. If a husband breaks the prohibitions, he pays a fine to his wife's relatives; if she breaks the prohibitions, her relatives pay a fine to the husband.

In toto, the in-law relationships covered by the prohibitions are assymmetrical in content, with the parent-in-law superordinate to the daughter- or son-in-law, but the relationships also have symmetrical aspects. Thus, the term yumu is self-reciprocal between 'mother-in-law' and 'son-in-law' (but not between 'wife's father's sister' and 'female speaker's brother's daughter's husband'). Likewise, for most of the prohibitions--those numbered one, two, three and four in Table 7--the burden of the prohibition falls equally on both relatives of the pair. Between the more distant of in-laws, the respect relationship is purely formal. They interact no differently from other pairs of individuals, save that they follow the prohibitions. Between the closest in-laws, however, the relationship takes on more substance and it is the son- or daughter-in-law who must respect the parent-in-law. Thus, a man takes care not to offend his wife's father, nor to refuse his requests for gifts. In particular, he must share meat with him. The wife's father does not take similar care with him, and in fact tends to be demanding. This dominance by the parent-in-law is also characteristic of the other relationships between actual parent-in-law and actual child-in-law.

In contrast to the other in-law relationships discussed, there are no formal prohibitions on social intercourse between brothers-in-law. The Foi view the relationship as being more like that between brothers.

Table 8

In-law Relationship Prohibitions

The Prohibitions

1. Relatives cannot use each other's names.
2. Relatives cannot use obscene insults to each other. For example, 'Cut your penis!', a common insult, is forbidden.
3. Relatives cannot share food from a single plate, nor can they eat food cooked in the same container, nor share water from the same container, nor share a cigarette or smoking tube. Moreover, they may not visit the outhouse at the same time.
4. Relatives may not touch each other.
5. The female relative of the pair must keep her head covered with her cloak in the presence of her male relative.
6. Relatives, always a male-female pair, may not look each other in the face. The burden falls upon the female, who must cover her face and upper body with her cloak when her male relative comes near. If she should fail to notice his approach, the man must avert his face.

Kin Term(s) for Relationship ^a	Pairs of Relatives Between Whom the Prohibitions Apply ^b	Prohibitions, by Number
yumu (self-reciprocal)	WM/odH, WFW/HdH, WMS/qSdH, WPaBw/HSdH & HBdH; WoS/q ySH, WBw/HSE	1,2,3,4 (5),6
kauwa/no term	WFW/q BdH	1,2,3,4,5
kauwa (self-reciprocal)	WF/d ^m dH, WMH/WdH, WPaB/d ^m SdH & d ^m BdH, WPaSH/WSdH & WBdH	1,2,3,4
aya/u?ubi.kae	HM/o sW, HFW/HsW, HPaS/o SsW & o Bsw, HPaBw/HSsW & HBsw	1,2,3
ima/kae	H/W	1,2

^aWhere the kin terms used by a pair of relatives are not self-reciprocal, the terms have been separated by a slash (/).

^bRelatives are listed in reciprocal pairs, with the two relatives of a pair separated by a slash. The placement of relatives in column two parallels the placement of kin terms in column one. Thus, for the second entry, kauwa is the term used for WFS; no term is used for q BdH.

The two should be friendly, visiting each other often and sharing cooked food with each other. Often the relation does exhibit closeness, but the wife's brother can be more insistent on his due in the relationship than the husband. Typically, a husband uses the land of his wife's brother if it lies close to his and receives shells from the brideprices distributed by his wife's brother. These, however, are regarded more as claims due the wife than her husband and they continue only until the wife dies or is divorced by her husband. In contrast, the wife's brother rarely uses the land of the husband or receives brideprice shells from him. Although it is the husband who gains the use of land here, the wife's brother is the one who gains the dominating position, since he can deny the husband access to the land. Again, the husband should, and often does, contribute to brideprices given by his wife's brother, while the wife's brother has no obligation to reciprocate by return contributions.

Certain matrilateral relatives are thought to be able to make people sick if they are offended. Most prominent among these is the mother's brother, but any individual of the mother's, mother's mother's or mother's mother's mother's clans can do so. When such a relative becomes angry at his kinsman, the ghost of his parent or sibling is thought to take notice and make the kinsman sick. The angry man does not himself direct the attack, but his participation is needed to make the sick man well again. The sick man gives his relative a string of cowry shells and the relative then performs a short rite to exorcize the ghost. By the time of my fieldwork, the mission had persuaded the Foi not to carry out this ritual, but the belief that the mother's brother and similar relatives can cause

sickness remained strong. This belief reinforces the respect due a man's wife's relatives. His wife's father and brother are mother's father and brother to his children and therefore are likely to make his children sick if he offends them.

The most common reason for a relative of this category to make a man (or woman) sick is that the relative has not been given a shell payment due him by virtue of his relationship. For example, a woman's mother's brother may make her sick if he does not receive brideprice from her marriage; formerly, a dead man's mother's brother might make the man's brother or son sick if he had not received part of the death payment for him. (Normally the payments would be given by the dead man's brother or son.) In practice a man is careful to avoid giving offense only to his actual mother's brother. He takes care to give him presents of meat from time to time and tries not to quarrel with him. The name of the actual and of classificatory mother's brothers and mother's mother's brothers, like that of many in-laws, must never be spoken. In this case, it is not because of shame, but rather because speaking the name might attract the notice of matrilateral ghosts and thus bring sickness.

In addition to the shell payments made to matrilateral relatives which have already been mentioned, another payment is often made called ka?o. A man asks his relative to initiate the transaction by giving him a pearlshell and seven different kinds of food. Then he reciprocates by giving a large number of shells. This payment is supposed to ensure that the relative will not make the man sick and it cancels the relative's claim to death payments for the man. Unlike death payments and the shells given for exorcism, this payment is still given by the Foi.

Questioning failed to make it clear why ka?o is given at a particular time or to a particular relative. Partly it seems to be given to increase a man's prestige and partly as insurance against sickness in the future. Occasionally, it is given now in place of the banned death payment. Thus, if a man has died recently and his mother's brother consequently has received no death payment for him, the dead man's brother may give him ka?o instead.

The mother's brother and his son also have obligations to ego, although they are not supernaturally sanctioned. Ideally they should both contribute to the brideprice for ego's wife. If they do so, ego is likely to be more generous in distributing brideprice payments to them, giving them shells for his daughters (their sister's daughter's daughters or father's sister's daughter's daughters) as well as for his sisters. Otherwise, they will generally receive shells only for ego's sisters, which are theirs by right.

All close consanguineal kinswomen are prohibited as wives. The Foi explain this by saying it is because they receive brideprice for those women. This is not a satisfactory anthropological explanation for exogamy, but it does indicate that the universe of women is divided into two groups--one for whose members a man receives brideprice and who are prohibited as wives, and another whose members are marriageable. The prohibited category includes, first, all women of a man's local clan section and their daughters, and, second, all women of his mother's local subclan or lineage (depending on size). Women of a man's clan in another village are also usually considered to be prohibited. The women of his father's mother's and mother's mother's clans are not prohibited,

however. Also prohibited is the mother's sister's daughter and possibly a few other consanguineal kinswomen of the third collateral degree of kinship. (My data are incomplete on this point. Brideprice is sometimes collected for these other relatives, but I am unsure whether they are regarded as prohibited marriage partners or not.) Prohibited affinal relatives include the wife's mother and older sister--the wife's younger sister is not prohibited--and the widows of father, brother, son, father's brother, brother's son, mother's brother and sister's son. One exception appears here to the general congruence between prohibition of a woman as marriage partner and receipt of brideprice for her. A man would not usually be given brideprice for the widows of his close consanguines even though they are prohibited as marriage partners.

Prohibited marriages do occur, of course, outside of the nuclear family and the named subclan. When a man proposes to marry a prohibited kinswoman, there is always an angry and shocked reaction from their relatives and from fellow villagers. However, if he can get the woman's relatives or most of them to accept the brideprice, the marriage takes place. Some of the woman's relatives usually show their disapproval by refusing to accept a shell from the formal brideprice distribution. However, they do not completely cut themselves out of the distribution. Either a shell is given to the wife of the disapproving relative in his stead, or else he is given a shell in a separate transaction prior to the distribution by the guardian of the bride.

Beyond the circle of the closest consanguineal and affinal relatives, there is little solidarity among kin. The obligations are formal ones with little substance. Formal rules of respect ramify to distant in-laws

and the brideprice for a man's daughters and sisters is distributed to distant agnates and matrilineal relatives, but the transactions which signify closeness are more restricted. Thus a man shares meat only with his close agnates, his wife's brother, sister's husband, wife's father and mother's brother; brideprice contributions are also restricted to this circle of kin. Marriage prohibitions, like the distribution of brideprice payments, ramify to more distant kin.

Nonkin dyadic relationships

There are a number of dyadic relationships between nonkin which are of approximately the same importance and solidarity to the Foi as those with close kinsmen. These include foster-kin relations, patronage relations and relations between trading partners (sobomena). All of these might be termed pseudo-kin relationships and the Foi regard them as such.

There is no single term in Foi which parallels our term of adoption. The idea is expressed by saying that a child is habitually fed by a certain person (Foi garani.bibi?ae, literally 'to give [him] to eat, habitually'). This phrase covers cases where a kinsman occasionally feeds a child associated with another household, however, as well as cases properly termed adoption where the child is taken permanently into a man's household to be cared for. The relationship between child and foster-parents (those who take the child into their household) varies, depending upon the age at which the child is taken in. Only if he is fostered before the age of weaning (about three) will it be as close and affectionate as the relationship between true parent and child. Children taken in later are well treated, but they are shown less affection and less indulgence than are the actual children of the foster-parents.

Step-parents or foster-parents acquired before the child is three are called by the terms for parents, aba and hwa; those acquired later are called by other terms. A brother or sister's husband, or some other close relative, is usually called by the term appropriate to the genealogical relationship. A distant relative or an unrelated individual would be called by the term mae (normally used for mother's husband, father's brother), his wife by the term babo (normally used for father's wife, father's brother's wife).¹⁷ When they reach maturity children are expected to care for step-parents or foster-parents just as they do their actual parents.

The hallmarks of a boy's relationship to his father are that he receives from him the land and long-term crops he needs for subsistence and that his father gives the brideprice for his first wife. Usually a father betroths his son by the time he is twelve. Boys who lose their fathers before the age of twelve are generally adopted by a married man, i. e. taken into his household. This man gives brideprice for the boy's first wife and usually allows the boy to use his land along with his true sons. After the foster-father dies, his lineage-mates can force the foster-son to leave the land (although they would rarely do so), but more distant agnates cannot. In one case a man of Herebo (Orobi) had been fostered by another man of his clan, but of a different subclan (Awane). After Awane died, another man of his subclan (Kahagama) tried to force Orobi to leave Awane's land. (Awane had no mature sons or lineage-mates.) Orobi, however, refused saying that Awane had fostered him from a child and had told him not to leave the land. A foster-son also gains claims to the brideprice payment and

disposal of his foster-father's daughters, just as a true son does. One foster-son, for example, claimed the right to distribute the brideprice of his foster-father's daughter after the father had died, in spite of opposition from the father's brother and father's brother's son. All of these claims hold, of course, only so long as the foster-son remains on good terms with his foster-father. If they quarrel so seriously that the boy moves away, then he loses all claim to land and brideprice payments through his foster-father.

If an adopted son comes from a different village, then his descendants usually become absorbed into the foster-father's clan, as described earlier (see above, pp. 56-8). If he comes from the same village, the foster-son and his descendants will maintain their original clan membership in most cases. They will continue to use their natal clan lands and to share brideprice distributions with the natal clan, even though they may do the same with the clan of the foster-father. Ordinarily they will be referred to by the name of their original clan. Only occasionally and in the loosest way would they be referred to as members of the foster-father's clan.

An adopted son takes on the same kin relations through his foster-father as a real son and calls these relatives by the same terms. Thus he calls children raised in his foster-father's household by sibling terms, even though in most cases he does not call the man by the term for father. Frequently, the relations between foster-brothers are, in reality, closer than those between actual brothers, because they compete less. If they are from the same village, the foster-son has separate lands and brideprice rights inherited from his real father to utilize so that he

can allow the real son to take a larger share of their joint inheritance without feeling threatened. So far as I know, an adopted son never takes on matrilateral kin relations through a foster-mother.

Boys who lose their fathers or foster-fathers after the age of twelve are largely independent. In many cases, they live unattached to any older man for several years and are given sago by several men of the village. Eventually some older man offers to give brideprice for such a boy and from then until his marriage he stays with that man and helps him with house-building and other tasks. Brideprice tends to be given later in these cases. These relationships will be referred to as patronage relations, but not as foster relations, since the tie between the older and younger men is less close than in the case of adoption. The man who gives brideprice will be termed the patron, the one for whom brideprice is given the client.¹⁸ Patronage relations may also be established after the first marriage. If a man's first wife dies before he becomes established in shell finance an older man may give brideprice for his second wife as well.

The primary obligation established by patronage is that the patron (or his heir) is entitled to be the major recipient of brideprice for daughters born to the marriage: he receives a large shell and ideally should be the one to distribute brideprice shells and the brideprice pig to the father's side. Besides this, the client is expected to enter into a mutual relationship with his patron in which they share brideprice distributions in general and contribute to each other's shell payments. In particular, the client should contribute to brideprice payments for the patron's sons or foster-sons, or should act as patron for them.

After he marries, the client should continue to help his patron with heavy tasks. If he does not, the patron usually demands a heavier contribution to payments that he makes. Theoretically, a patron can demand a return of the brideprice shells he has given if the client does not live up to his obligations, or if he commits an offense against the patron, for example adultery with the patron's wife. Such demands are seldom carried through, however, except in the case of offenses.

Beyond the obligations that a client owes him, the patron often hopes that his client will become a close ally and therefore offers him the use of his lands. However, the client does not have rights to these lands. The patron's clanmate successors are justified in forcing the client to leave the land and they are likely to do so if there is any provocation. Because of the impermanence of his position on his patron's land and the lack of a close bond to the patron, a client who has his own lands in the village often prefers to use them for most of his subsistence, and especially for planting long-term crops.

There is less to say about the adoption of girls, since adoption has less effect upon their adult lives. As with boys, they take on the same kinship relations through a foster-father as they would through a real father. Relations between foster-father and foster-daughter and between foster-sisters seem no different from those between actual kin. If the foster-father has raised the girl from a young age, he receives as many shells of her brideprice to distribute as does her natal clan. Otherwise he receives only a small share of her brideprice.

A number of foster-relatives are prohibited as marriage partners. For a man who is fostered, the females of his foster-father's clan and

their daughters are prohibited (like those of his natal clan). Fewer prohibitions result from the fosterage of a woman. A woman fostered from a young age (before eight or so) cannot marry her foster-father, his lineage-mates or his foster-sons. A woman taken in at a later date can be married by such men, but the marriage is disapproved.¹⁸ More distant clanmates of the foster-father are approved as marriage partners, even though they might otherwise receive brideprice for the woman. If she does marry a clanmate of her foster-father, then the groom and his closest relatives do not accept brideprice shells, "since they contribute to the brideprice."

In general, it is clear where a child under thirteen will go when his parents die or divorce. If the mother dies, children stay with the father unless they are so young that they are thought to need a woman's continual care, say below the age of three. If the father dies, or the parents divorce, children younger than eight or so generally stay with the mother and join the household of her new husband when she remarries; girls older than eight usually stay with the mother also, while boys older than eight usually go to live with other relatives.

Those cases where fatherless male children go to live with relatives other than the mother's husband (boys whose mothers died or who didn't stay with their mothers) are tabulated, below, in Table 9. Male clanmates of all types adopt in only about thirty per cent of the cases. There is no category of relative which adopts in a majority of the cases. This is largely due to the fact that a particular boy usually does not have mature relatives of certain types. If one looks at the number of times a particular type of relative adopts where such a relative exists,

Table 9

The Relatives (Other Than Mother's Husband)
Who Adopt Fatherless Male Children

Relative	Cases Where Relative Adopts (A)	A as % of Total Cases of Adoption	Cases Where Relative Exists (B)	A as % of Cases Where Relative Exists (A/B X 100 %)
B	6	8.8 %	7	85.7 %
FB or FBs	4	5.9 %	19	21.1 %
Distant male clanmate	10	14.7 %	59	17.0 %
Subtotal: clanmates	20	29.4 %	66	36.4 %
Pseudo- clanmates (fB, fFBs, FBfs)	7	10.3 %	7	7
MB, MF	8	11.8 %	30	26.6 %
SH, fSH	14	20.5 %	17	82.3 %
FSH, FBdH	5	7.3 %	20	25.0 %
MSH	2	2.8 %	7	7
Unrelated	12	17.6 %	68	18.5 %
Total	68	100 %	(68)	(100 %)

instead of looking at the proportion of the whole sample of cases, then a preference pattern emerges. If a boy has a married sibling (and does not go with his mother) then that sibling usually adopts. No other relatives adopt with any great regularity. To a large extent, the adoption frequencies probably represent the choices of the boys themselves. Often there are many relatives who are willing to adopt children; sometimes they even quarrel about who will take them in. Boys over the age of eight at least choose the relatives they wish to live with by running away from other relatives.

For boys who are not living with their fathers or with foster-fathers when they reach the age to be married, there is considerable variation in the relative who acts as patron. The cases are tabulated below in Table 10. It will be seen that a fatherless boy's clanmates more often act as patron to a boy over twelve (fourty-seven per cent of the cases) than they do as foster-father to a younger boy (twenty-nine per cent of the cases). The difference seems to reflect several things. Older brothers are more likely to be mature and in a position to help their younger brothers when the latter marry than when they are orphaned. Sister's husbands are unlikely to act as patron to boys they have not fostered, while they are likely to act as foster-father to younger boys. The pattern displayed in Table 10 probably represents choices made by the older men who might act as patron more than it does the choices made by the boys. It is often difficult for a boy to find a patron and seldom would he reject an offer. Many older men hesitate to act as patrons because they cannot easily amass the required shells, even though they might like to gain a client as ally and to increase their prestige by

Table 10
The Relatives (Other Than Father or Foster-father)
Who Act as Patron

Relative	Cases Where Relative is Patron (A)	A as % of Total Cases of Patronage	Cases Where Relative Exists (B)	A as % of Cases Where Relative Exists (A/B X 100 %)
B	8	15.1 %	12	67 %
FB or FBs	7	13.2 %	11	63 %
Distant male clanmate	10	18.9 %	46	21 %
Subtotal: clanmates	25	47.2 %	50	50 %
Pseudo- clanmates*	10	18.9 %	1	1
SH, fSH	3	5.7 %	11	27 %
FSH, FBdH	2	3.8 %	18	13 %
MB, MBs, MF	-	-	10	-
Unrelated	13	24.5 %	53	24 %
Total	53	100 %	(53)	(100 %)

* This category includes father's foster-son, foster-father's son or foster-son, father's brother's foster-son, foster-father's brother or brother's son and also the client of father, foster-father or father's brother.

acting as patron. A man is usually more willing to act as patron for a close agnate since there is more likelihood that his client will live with him on their common land than that a non-clanmate will join him. Consequently, the patron tends to be either a close agnate or a big man, who is successful in acquiring shell money.

Adoption and patronage have an important effect on social organization since they often result in relations between pairs of non-clanmates which are as important as those between clanmates and since the majority of Foi men are either adopted or have a patron other than father. The following flow diagram (Figure 3) considers a sample of all the living adult men in three villages, plus a number who have recently died. It shows the proportion of those men who have ties through fosterage or patronage with non-clanmates. The numbers on the diagram represent different possible circumstances in the life of a generalized male ego, leading to different sets of relationships. In detail, those circumstances are as follows.

- (1) If ego's father dies before he reaches the age of twelve, he will be adopted by some other man.
- (2) If the father lives until ego reaches the age of twelve, but (3) dies before he gives brideprice for ego, then (9) some other man will act as patron for ego. The relationship will not be as close as that with a foster-father, and is perhaps less likely to result in land use and shell money relationships. The possibilities for ego's social relationships will depend upon what sort of individual the patron is (13,14,15).

All males
(122)

Father living when ego 12

Father gives brideprice

Key
 A = agnate of ego's local clan segment
 N = non-agnate of ego's natal village
 O = man outside of ego's natal village
 1 quarrelled with ego
 2 hasn't quarrelled with ego

B.
 Potentially important relations with men of other clans in natal village (as well as clanmates)
 39/122 = 29.9 %

Father dies before ego 12: ego adopted
 70/122 = 57.3 %

2 52/122 = 42.7 %

Father dies after ego 12, before giving brideprice
 26/122 = 21.3 %

4 26/122 = 21.3 %

Ego lives with foster-father until brideprice given
 50/122 = 41.1 %

6 Foster-father dies or ego leaves before he gives brideprice
 20/122 = 17.4 %

8 Foster-father doesn't give brideprice
 7/122 = 5.7 %

9 Patron (not father or foster-father) gives brideprice
 54/122 = 44.3 %

Foster-father = N
 10 18/122 = 14.8 %

Foster-father = A
 11 13/122 = 10.7 %

Patron = N
 13 15/122 = 13.1 %

Patron = A
 14 29/122 = 23.8 %

Foster-father = O
 12 12/122 = 9.8 %

Patron = O
 15 9/122 = 7.3 %

16 (Patron = A)
 Foster-father = A, O, none, N₁
 23/122 = 18.9 %

17 Foster-father = N₂
 6/122 = 4.9 %

C.
 Relations remain with Clanmates
 62/122 = 52.4 %

A. Potentially absorbed into clan of non-natal village
 21/122 = 17.1 %

Figure 3. The Effects of Adoption and Patronage

- (4) If the father lives to give brideprice for ego (and the marriage later takes place, so that ego does not have a second patron), then ego will have no fosterage or patronage relationships through a superordinate. (He may establish important relationships with non-agnates by acting as foster-father or patron for some younger man outside his clan, of course. Or, he might establish such relationships in other ways, but this is not common.)
- (5) Where ego is fostered and the foster-father lives until ego reaches puberty (about twelve), (7) the foster-father usually gives brideprice for him. The possibilities for ego's social relationships then depend upon what sort of individual his foster-father is (10, 11, 12).
- (6) If ego's foster-father dies before giving the brideprice or if ego quarrels with his foster-father and leaves to live with another man before the brideprice is given, then a different man will act as patron (see (9) above).
- (7) In rare cases, the foster-father does not give brideprice for ego, even though ego is still living with him at puberty. Some other man acts as patron (see (9) above). Normally the foster-father would still contribute in a minor way to the brideprice and maintain ties with ego.
- (10) Foster-father = patron. The man is of ego's village, but of a different clan from ego's.
- (13) Patron (\neq foster-father). The man is of ego's village, but of a different clan.
- (17) Although ego's patron is an agnatic relative, his foster-father is

(17) (contd.) not. The foster-father is a man of ego's village, but of a different clan. So long as the foster-father is not alienated from ego by a quarrel and lives until ego reaches puberty, ego is likely to retain ties with his foster-father (or the foster-father's sons if the foster-father dies).

In all three cases (10, 13, 17), ego has some obligations to his non-clanmate superordinate. He is likely to develop an important relationship to the man and the man's clanmates, characterized by use of the man's land and by reciprocal contributions to brideprice payments and reciprocal sharing of brideprice distributions. However, since he can use the man's land while remaining in his natal village, he will normally continue as an effective member of his natal clan as well.

(12) Foster-father = patron. The man is of a different village from ego.

(15) Patron (\neq foster-father). The man is of a different village from ego.

In both cases (12, 15), ego will ordinarily live with his patron on the patron's land and will be unable to use the land of his own natal clan. If he remains on his patron's land, his descendants will probably become absorbed into the patron's clan and gradually their ties with his natal clan will lapse.

(4) Father = patron.

(11) Foster-father = patron. The man is of ego's natal clan.

(14), (16) Patron (\neq foster-father). The patron is of ego's natal clan, while the foster-father is not. Ego retains no ties to his foster-father because of a quarrel, or his foster-father is a man of a

(14), (16) (contd.) different village.

In all four cases (4, 11, 14, 16), ego develops no relationships with non-clanmates by virtue of his early history.

Of the sample, 29.9 per cent (Fig. B) acquire relationships with superordinates in their natal villages which are likely to become important, but to co-exist with their natal clan relationships. Likewise, 16.6 per cent of the men (Fig. A) acquire relationships with superordinates in villages other than their natal ones which are likely to replace their natal clan relationships. About half of the men (Fig. C, 52.4 per cent) do not acquire any relationships with superordinates outside of their natal clans. In toto nearly half the men are likely to become involved in important relationships with non-clanmate foster-father's or patrons. The extent to which these relationships become important varies, of course, but nearly all of them are recognized to some degree in social interaction. A full examination of their importance is postponed to later chapters.

The flow diagram presents only one side of the effects of adoption and patronage on social organization. Men not only acquire social relationships with their foster-fathers and patrons, but also with their foster-sons and clients, and to a lesser degree with those of their clanmates and foster-relatives. With all of these latter, they may share brideprice distributions and the use of their own lands, but they generally do not use the lands of foster-sons or clients. If these relationships are considered as well as those with superordinates, then a still larger proportion of men are potentially involved in pseudo-clan relationships with non-clanmates, approximately seventy-five per cent of them.

Every Foi man has a special relationship with one or more men called sobomena in other villages, who are either unrelated or only distant relatives. The Foi liken the relationship to that between agnates and often the sobomena, or trading partner, is called wame ('brother'). The main obligation between such pairs is that each gives the other shells when the other needs them to make a payment. Like brothers, they should not demand strict reciprocity; rather each should give freely to the other. Partnerships are initiated by each man for himself, generally when he is young. In the first few years of the partnership, it is common for one of the two to decide that the other is not behaving as generously as he should and to break off the relationship. As well as giving each other shells to make payments, the two should give each other pork when they give pig-feasts (as reciprocal gifts rather than in return for shell payment) and they often give each other shells when they distribute brideprice. When a man visits the village of his sobomena partner, he always sits with him in the men's house and is given food by him. Since the sobomena lives in another village, he is not important as an ally against sorcery, nor do the two share the use of land. However, when a man has to leave his village because of a quarrel, he may go to his sobomena for refuge.

The place of personal networks

Foi social relations have now been described in sufficient detail to allow a preliminary summary. Activities carried on at the village or the domestic levels may be fairly well described in terms of bounded social groups--the village, bush-household and nuclear family. Intermediate

between these levels, however, bounded social groups do not readily emerge. The ostensibly patrilineal clans which are named by the Foi do not really operate as discrete groups in land use or the distribution of brideprice, since foster-relatives, patronage relatives, immigrants and sobomena partners of the clan members also become involved, none of them considered clan members by the Foi. None of these inherit clan rights to land and brideprice payments. It will become clear later on, however, that they may have claims, established by long use of land and by the demands of reciprocity, which are not easily denied. In the case of brideprice payments, non-clanmates often are given preference over clanmates, so strong are these claims.

One way to describe this situation might be to define a more extensive group than the clan, which has clan members as the core, with foster-sons, clients and others as peripheral members. Such groups would have overlapping membership much as some cognatic descent groups do. This seems undesirable to me however. The relationship of many non-agnates affiliated with a clan is primarily to one man and his successors, not to his whole clan. Thus, a client or a sobomena partner is likely to receive a brideprice shell if his patron or sobomena partner is the distributor, but not so likely otherwise. Moreover, even within the clan relations of fosterage or patronage may establish closer relationships between clanmates than would otherwise be the case; i.e., the personal relations may be more important than those of clanship. Finally, this procedure would not accord very well with the Foi concept of the clan.

It seems preferable to use the concept of personal network in considering "clan activities," rather than that of the social group, and

to emphasize the element of individual choice. Thus each man is embedded in a circle of dyadic relationships, including those to his clanmates, other kin, foster-relatives, patronage relatives, non-clan users of his land, sobomena partners, and others of less importance. In any type of activity, he chooses from this circle certain individuals to interact with. The sets of individuals which form to carry out activities are the result of a series of individual choices and generally are not simply sets of clanmates.

The set of individuals who cooperate to carry out a particular activity may be called an "activity set."¹⁹ In terms of Foi "clan activities," activity sets would include the set of individuals who use the land of a lineage, the set who contribute to a brideprice payment, the set who receive shells from a brideprice payment, the set who build a women's house, or the set who build a section of the men's house. In each case, the activity set is formed by individuals who are linked in various ways to one or more egos who are a focus for recruitment to that set. For example, the set of contributors to a brideprice is recruited by direct links to the groom, or by indirect links to the groom, through his patron. (Alternatively we could say that the set of contributors is recruited from the personal networks of the groom and the patron.) The peripheral members of an activity set do not so much interact with each other as interact with the focal individual(s). To return to the set of contributors to a brideprice payment as an example, the fellow contributors may not even all be aware of each other. What is important is the relationship between contributor and recipient (the groom or patron), not the relationship between fellow contributors.

The concepts of personal network, activity set, and decision model may be related as follows. An activity set is recruited from the personal networks of one or more focal individuals. The composition of a particular set depends upon decisions made according to a cultural set of preferences (a decision model) by the focal individual(s) and by members of his (their) personal network(s). The sets of preferences which operate in land use, shell economics and residence, and the formation of activity sets based on these preferences form the topic of the remaining chapters of the thesis.

Political Organization

The traditional Foi political leaders are typical Melanesian big men (cf Sahlins 1963). They are in fact called kabe fore which literally means 'big man' and is used either in the sense of a large man or an important one. Big men are also usually called kabe fa?odi, which means 'man who has many shells.' The two terms are practically interchangeable: wealth, or control over much shell money, is an essential part of being a big man. A few men, however, are said to be wealthy but not big men. In a village of about 180, five or six men will usually be pointed out as big men, plus perhaps a former big man who is now senile and one or two younger men on their way to becoming big men. The term does not have a clear boundary, so that an informant may list four men one day and eight the next. By comparing listings a rough ranking of the big men in a village can be made, the more important ones being always mentioned, the less important ones only occasionally mentioned.

If the Foi are asked how a man becomes a big man, they answer by describing his acquisition of wealth. However, they describe this first in supernatural terms and only when prodded in practical ones. On his wedding night, every man spends the night alone out in the bush, seeking luck for his future life. One who dreams of obtaining crayfish, or valuable feathers (such as bird-of-paradise plumes), or the red leaves of certain trees will be successful in obtaining many shells during his marriage.²⁰ One who does not will be unsuccessful. Beyond this, it is said that wealth is obtained mainly through the sale of kara?o oil to the Augu-Kewa and by raising and selling pigs. Receipt of shells from brideprice or other payments is said to be only a minor source of wealth. It appears to be true that those who are wealthy sell more kara?o and raise more pigs than others.

Wealth in shells is something to be used, not hoarded. A 'wealthy' man does not have a large number of shells in his possession at any time. Rather, he has a large number of shells potentially at his disposal. The shells he acquires are given out to other men, either as loans or as gifts, so that he can obtain shells from them by reciprocity when he needs them. Simultaneously, of course, he builds his prestige and obligates a large number of men to him. It is this which makes him a big man as well as a wealthy man. Apparently, a man becomes a big man not merely by selling more kara?o and pigs than others, but also by utilizing his wealth to advantage. Some men play it safe: they give out shells for years without ever asking for a return until they or their sons are ready to marry. Such men will never become big men because they do not utilize their wealth sufficiently. A big man, on the other hand, frequently

calls in his wealth and uses it to give brideprice for a client or to contribute to a relative's brideprice. He uses his wealth more spectacularly and creates obligations in more men simply by circulating it more. Since he calls in his loans, he may have less wealth actually outstanding. But those who have repaid him will be sympathetic to his request for a loan and he can easily amass a large number of shells when he needs them.

Affairs which concern the whole village--when to hold a pig-feast, when to rebuild the men's house or the rest-house for the Administration patrol officer, and to a certain extent disputes--are discussed and informally decided by all the men of the village. Apparently, a decision to go to war was also handled this way in the past. The big men (and now the Administration-sponsored officials as well) play the most important part in making these decisions. This is not so much because they can control the opinions of their clients or of others who are obligated to them. There are no obvious followings which operate as factions in public decision-making. Rather, it is because only big men have the standing to declaim their opinions to the gathering in the proper oratorical style. Other men, and particularly young men, are embarrassed to do so--they say that the big men might belittle them--and they generally restrict themselves to agreement or disagreement with points made by the big men. Thus, in an informal way, the big men in turn suggest courses of action and the men as a whole accept or reject their suggestions until a rough consensus appears.

In certain cases, the big men are important to decisions because of the resources they hold. The village cannot make a good showing at a

pig-feast unless a man who can kill many pigs acts as sponsor for the feast. In warfare, heavy payments had to be made by the man who fomented the war. Thus, the decision to hold a pig-feast or a war must be initiated by a man of wealth, a big man.

Quarrels between men usually become public issues in the sense that they are aired in the men's house. One of the disputants feels that he has been wronged and hopes to shame the other into making recompense in some fashion. On such occasions, the disputants are the main characters and do most of the talking. Big man (or native officials) express their opinions, but often indirectly by stating a general norm which applies to the situation or by telling an anecdote about a similar situation in the past and how it was settled. They may attempt to draw out relevant testimony from witnesses to the affair. They often attempt to promote a compromise in cases where there is no obvious single offender. Generally, no one openly takes the part of either disputant, but the consensus of the gathering becomes clear just as in other public decisions, from the murmurs of agreement or disagreement. There is a certain amount of social pressure felt by a disputant considered to be in the wrong, but he does not always yield to it.

Before the advent of Australian Administration in the Foi area, many disputes within the village or region were settled by stickfight rather than by mere verbal discussion. Stickfights were apparently more common in disputes between villages, but they also occurred in disputes within a single village. If the disputants were of the same village, then the men of the village divided into two sides, presumably on the basis of ties to the disputants (agnatic, affinal, patronage and so on).

If the disputants were of different villages, then the co-villagers of each disputant generally fought on his side, although close agnatic or affinal ties might lead a man to fight on the other side. It is believed that the side of the disputant who is in the wrong will always lose the stickfight. Thus, if a man were falsely accused of an offense, his side would win; if he were guilty of the offense, his side would lose. Compensation was given by the disputant who lost to the other, who then shared it with those who had fought on his side.

Quarrels over the distribution of brideprice, over the ownership of land, or over a garden destroyed by pigs, and those resulting from an accusation of theft, fornication or adultery, usually were settled either by public discussion or by a stickfight, at least so long as both principals lived within the same region. If the accused man, in cases of theft, fornication, adultery or destruction of gardens by pigs, admitted to his guilt or if it were "proven" by his losing a stickfight, then he gave compensation to the victim. Sorcery and homicide were treated differently. The dead man's relatives usually would not accept compensation unless the killing were in revenge for one already committed by the victim. Rather, they sought the death of the sorcerer or murderer in a revenge expedition or in warfare.

Since pacification by the Australian Administration, stickfights, revenge expeditions and warfare have been outlawed. The more serious offenses--theft, fornication, adultery and homicide--are often taken to the Administration patrol officer for judgement and the offender is incarcerated or required to pay a fine to the Administration, rather than paying compensation to the offended man. Less serious disputes are

supposed to be settled by the native officials. Even the more serious offenses are sometimes settled by such "unofficial courts," ending with the payment of the traditional compensation.

Many of the originally-appointed village constables retained their positions until 1967 when the first village officials were elected. In 1966-67 they were for the most part big men by traditional criteria, as well as Administration-appointed officials. According to my observation the village constable generally functioned as one of the several big men in the village on most occasions, and particularly during disputes. Only when Administration-sponsored projects had to be carried out did he attempt to command his villagers. He had little authority to force them to work. If verbal persuasion failed, a shirker was usually reported to the patrol officer, who fined him. By and large, however, the constable had the cooperation and good will of his co-villagers and he seldom had to ask the patrol officer to intervene.

The elected councillors have often acted differently from the earlier-appointed constables. In 1968, when I observed them, almost all the councillors were men under thirty, since the Foi felt they must elect young men who had experience of the wider world and who could speak to the patrol officer in Pidgin. Few of them were big men by traditional criteria. Some of them tried to model themselves on nontraditional authority figures, the patrol officer or native policeman, who command rather than persuade. They tried to assert more authority than the villagers were willing to grant them and lost their goodwill. In consequence, the elected officials have probably been less successful than the appointed officials were, both in getting the cooperation of

their co-villagers for Administration projects and in settling disputes without involving the patrol officer.

Sorcery, Revenge and Warfare

The Foi know two methods of sorcery, both involving a substance called iya ka?o. The substance is thought deadly in itself to anyone who touches or eats it, whether he be an intended victim or not. It may be obtained from the rotting corpse of a sorcery victim. The iya ka?o which killed him is thought to concentrate at one spot and to glow in the dark so that it can be picked off with a twig and deposited in a bamboo tube for future use. Otherwise the sorcerer manufactures it anew from the rotting fetus left in a woman who has died during the birth of her first child. In this case, the iya ka?o is left in a bamboo for a year or two to dry and then tested on a dog to see if it is effective before being used. In one method of sorcery, the sorcerer sprinkles iya ka?o on his victim or covertly introduces it into his food. The victim is thought to die very quickly, usually within twenty-four hours, and there is no way to help him. In the other method, the sorcerer obtains something intimately associated with his victim--a piece of his hair or clothing for example--and places it in a bamboo tube with iya ka?o. The victim is thought to sicken gradually and eventually to die unless the tube is emptied. According to the Foi, many people have died of the first method, only a few of the second.

Before the Administration and mission influences were strong, nearly every death was followed by a divination performed upon the corpse. In the case of a man, divination was performed by his close agnates;

in the case of a woman, by her husband. The spirit of the dead man (or woman) was supposed to guide the divination. Two methods were used. First, a bark cloth was placed over the corpse and a question whispered in its ear. Then, after the cape was removed, a bit of leaf or food would be found which indicated the cause of death or the man responsible. For example, a bit of sago leaf would indicate that a man of Kuidobo clan was responsible. A second method was used to provide confirmation. A yes-or-no question was asked of the corpse. Then a drop of blood from an animal heart was pressed onto a stick. If it ran straight down the stick, the answer was yes; crooked, the answer was no. In a few cases, the main relative of a man, or the husband of a woman would say not to hold the divination. It was probably assumed in such cases that the individual had himself caused the death, by sorcery. In some of these cases, the individual admitted to this in later years.

Sorcery is mainly an affair between men. Only men are thought to possess iya kafo and it is mostly men's deaths which are thought to be caused by sorcery. Among the cases of sorcery known to me (both cases "discovered" by divination and cases admitted by the sorcerer) there are two common motivations, adultery and revenge for the death of a relative. Other offenses are not thought serious enough to provoke sorcery very often. The Foi profess to be more afraid of sorcery from outside the region than from within. However, divination seems more often to have indicated a sorcerer from within the region, often from the same village as the victim. This makes sense, given that adultery is thought a common motivation. A woman would rarely have had the opportunity to commit adultery with a man from outside the region, and would have had the

greatest opportunity with those of her own village.

Once the identity of the sorcerer had been established by divination, the relatives of the victim attempted to avenge his death. Sometimes they are said to have simply remained quiet about the matter and to have slain the sorcerer by counter-sorcery. More commonly they incited the men of their village and of other nearby villages to go out in force and slay the sorcerer. The men of the sorcerer's village often allowed him to be killed, thinking him guilty. His relatives were then given compensation, which supposedly ended the matter, but they sometimes attempted counter-revenge by sorcery later. Homicides were rare except in revenge for sorcery or an earlier homicide. Homicides by a close agnate of the victim were usually accepted with no compensation being given and no revenge attempted. Otherwise, homicide was avenged in the same way as sorcery (except where compensation had been accepted because the murdered man was a sorcerer, as above).

Occasionally, the attempt to avenge a death physically resulted in warfare between the villages of two regions. If the sorcerer or murderer were of another region from his victim, his relatives might go to war rather than allow him to be slain. Even if the two parties were of the same region, the killer might be protected by his relatives. Then the victim's relatives might go to a village outside the region and lead them in warfare against the killer and others of their home region. Alternatively, the killer might flee to another region for protection. Thus many wars (about two-thirds of the cases collected), although fought between regions, originated in sorcery accusations within a single region or even within a single village. Such wars, pitting men

of the same region or village against each other, resulted in further grudges within the region which were likely to be remembered as motivations for sorcery when divination for a new death was performed.

Today, divination and revenge by killing are prohibited by the Australian Administration. Rarely, perhaps, divination is still practiced, but the only possible revenge is by counter-sorcery. The Foi say that there are fewer sorcerers than before. Nevertheless, the fear of sorcery remains strong. When a healthy man suddenly sickens and dies, speculation about sorcery is rife. The man's close relatives become fearful that they may be killed for the same offense, or to prevent them avenging the death. If there are few of them, they may migrate to another village. Superficially the village and even the region present a smooth exterior and everyone is friendly. Disputes flare up, but afterward friendly relations are again established. Beneath this exterior, however, are numerous grudges and suspicions which come to light on the occasion of a sudden death. Only within a small circle of close agnates and other allies do men really trust one another.

Warfare was an ever-present threat to the Foi villager before pacification. Men always carried weapons in case of attack and villages were fortified on the sides where access was easy. Still, warfare does not seem to have been so common, nor so serious in its effects, as in the denser societies of most of the New Guinea Highlands (cf Berndt 1964). The last war in the Foi area occurred c. 1942, but the area had been more or less pacified since c. 1937. My information on Foi warfare, therefore, consists of accounts of events which occurred thirty or more

years before my fieldwork was conducted. As one would expect, the data are not very full and my account of warfare must remain rather sketchy.

By my rough estimate, a Foi village became involved in warfare only about five times during a twenty year period. (This excludes revenge expeditions within the region in which a sorcerer was killed by men of the region and was not defended by armed force.) The largest war that I heard of went on for several months and involved at least five separate battles or raids. Others seem to have been considerably smaller. The Foi seem always to have gone to war over a particular dispute, and to have eventually resolved the hostilities by a peace-making ceremony. This contrasts with the usual Highlands pattern of permanent hostilities (at least between major enemies) and a more diffuse motivation for warfare. The contrast should probably not be stated too strongly, however, because a number of Foi wars originated in rather minor disputes between villages of different regions. Killing a man in warfare was an accomplishment to boast of, but success in warfare was apparently not an important avenue to becoming a big man as it was in a number of Highlands societies.

Warfare consisted both of large-scale battles, between villages or alliances formed from several villages, and of small-scale raids. The large-scale battles generally involved attack by one or several villages upon a village of the other side. Occasionally, such an attack was made by stealth. More usually, the attack was expected and the defending village was able to gather its men together and perhaps reinforce them with allies from other villages. The goal of most large-scale attacks was to burn down the enemy village and, if possible, to decimate its

population. It seems that villages were often burned down and the inhabitants forced to flee elsewhere for refuge. Within living memory, however, such forced migrations were always temporary and the refugees nearly always returned home. Likewise, the decimation of an enemy village occurred only once within living memory.²¹ Raids were carried out by a small party of men who attempted to kill an unwary individual or two on the enemy side and then retreated quickly before they could be caught. Women and children were fair game on raids and in large-scale battles as well; but if a relative was encountered on a raid, he would be warned and sent out of the way.

Men who started a war, one or more on each side, are known as baiga, 'the root of the war.' The pair who originally started the war by a quarrel are baiga, for example a sorcerer and his accuser. If one of these were not a big man, the chances are that some big man would take his part and persuade the village to go to war on his behalf. This big man is also a baiga. On each side, one baiga had necessarily to be a big man, because those who started the war had to give numerous shells in payments. First, shells had to be taken to other villages and given to the big men there to persuade them to join as allies and bring their villages into the fight. Then, after the war was over, the baiga had to give death payments to the mother's and mother's mother's clans of the men killed on his side.

It is thought that the side which was in the right in the quarrel which started the war would always win, since the spirits of the dead watched over warfare to ensure this. No compensation was given by the losing side to the winners. In a sense, the original quarrel became

overshadowed by the obligations incurred during the fighting. The only payments made afterward were the death payments made by the baiga for men killed on his side. Often the baiga was killed later by his co-villagers since he had caused the deaths of many of them.

Religion

The traditional Foi religion no longer functions, having been largely supplanted by Christianity. Many traditional beliefs still exist, however. I shall describe the traditional religion first, and then discuss briefly the way in which traditional beliefs have intermingled with Christian ones.

The only important supernatural entities in traditional Foi religion were human spirits. A living person was, and still is, thought to have two animating spirits (or perhaps one spirit in two aspects), the hq and the soro.²² Dreams are the experiences of the hq or soro, which leave the body during sleep. A man's shadow is a manifestation of his hq, but otherwise neither spirit is normally seen. Although every individual has a soro, those of men are stronger than those of women or children. Formerly, boys were rubbed with the bark of certain trees to increase the strength of their soro; when they matured they further strengthened their soro by restricting their diets and by participating in the usi no.bora cult. Both spirits leave the body at death; the hq leaves last. The destiny of the soro after death is in general unknown, but often it is attracted to the body of a man who is careful of his diet, and attaches itself to him in addition to the soro he already has. The hq is said to split into four spirits at death, three of which remain

wandering in the general area where death occurred, while the fourth leaves for a land of spirits (variously described as lying to the east or in the sky). After death, the ho are known by a variety of different names: that of a man killed violently is a bauave; most others are amenadenane. The spirits of the dead which remain on earth are thought to lead a wretched existence. At night they feed on corpses; during the day, they take on the form of certain animals and eat foods appropriate to those. They are basically malevolent and have broad powers to cause trouble to the Foi. At best, the spirits of the dead leave people alone to enjoy a good life.

Both the soro of living persons and the spirits of dead ones attack people and make them sick. The soro of a man attacks without his conscious direction while he is sleeping, although it is directed by his anger at some offense. If he has been cheated of a brideprice payment, for example, his soro may attack the man responsible, or the man's wife or child or brother. Likewise, spirits of the dead usually attack because of some offense. Those of the relatives of ego's mother's brother attack when he is angered by his sister's child's failure to live up to his obligations. Those of ego's own close relatives (his brother, wife or child who has died) will attack him if he swears an oath and then breaks it. And, if a person steals from another's garden, the dead relatives of the garden-owner will attack the thief. Obviously, the spirits of the recently-dead are most to be feared, because only they have close living relatives to avenge. However, spirits of the dead may also attack without special cause, simply because they are malevolent, particularly the bauave.

Soro generally attack only weak people--infants, old people and those who are already sick--and the attack results in death. They are said not to attack if their intended victims are healthy. Formerly, the individual responsible for a death by his soro was identified by divination and forced to pay compensation. Rarely does an attack by a spirit of the dead cause death; usually the illness is temporary. Formerly, when a man became sick, he would give a few shells to any man he had wronged and ask him to exorcize the spirits of his relatives with a torch passed round the sick man's head. If this failed, it was felt that the cause of sickness lay elsewhere and other magical techniques were employed. In the few cases where divination showed death to be caused by the attack of a dead relative of some individual, that individual had to pay compensation.

According to my informants, in earlier years very few illnesses other than colds and diarrhea were thought to be without supernatural cause. Deaths by illness were assigned by divination either to soro or to sorcery. Illnesses were usually ascribed to attack by spirits of the dead, to contact with menstrual blood (in the case of men), or to attack by a sago-spirit associated with the thornless varieties of sago. Today, many illnesses are described as "without cause." Sorcery and menstrual blood are still often invoked as a cause of sickness, but spirits are not.

A number of religious cults were important among the Foi. Two, the biafa gua.bora cult and the usi no.bora cult, were found in every village, while others were found in only one or a few villages. All of these cults were restricted to men and older boys. Women and younger

boys were excluded from participation and the activities and ideology of the cults kept secret from them.

At the age of about eight, every boy automatically joined the bia?a gua.bora cult. The ritual of the cult was generally carried out in a special hut out in the bush. Women and children were kept away from the area by the warning that a vicious spirit lived there. Before the ritual a number of men went hunting, and the catch was brought to the hut. The ritual is quite simple: first, a kava root was passed around for every man to bite on and then thrown into the bush; then, a rat intestine was placed on the fire in a forked stick; finally, the meat caught was placed on the fire to cook and was eaten. A similar ceremony was carried out in the men's house whenever a man died (see Williams 1940-41: 115-21, for a description). In this case, the women and children were told to leave the village for the day. The ceremony was directed toward the spirits of the dead en masse, the kava root being thrown to them as an offering. Besides their ability to make people sick, these spirits can make the hunting bad, make crops grow poorly, cause pigs to sicken and die, and cause accidents to befall people. The ceremony was supposed to make the spirits happy, so that they would refrain from such malevolent activities and life would be good. Several events were generally interpreted as omens. If the hunting preceding the ceremony were good, it meant that the spirits would refrain from causing trouble; if it were bad, that many misfortunes would occur. If the rat intestine placed on the fire exploded, it meant that someone would die.

I cannot describe the usi no.bora cult so confidently, because its secrets are still guarded even though it is no longer practiced. A man

became a member of this cult by participating in a periodic initiation ritual and by giving a large shell payment to two already-initiated men. Both at the initiation and at other ceremonies of the usi no.bora cult, the members drank a red concoction which was supposed to make them 'crazy' so that they danced in a lurching manner. Informants assured me that this performance was faked. However, drinking the concoction was supposed to have the valid effect of strengthening the soro. Thus only initiated men have soro which are strong enough to kill adults; other soro can kill only infants. Initiated men were also enabled to cure people sickened by the attack of spirits of the dead, by the technique of pulling out sticks or stones from their bodies. Some men whose soro were particularly strong are said to have been able to perform even more miraculous feats, such as levitation.

None of the cults seems to have been concerned with the obtaining of shell money. Rather, they were concerned with avoiding sickness and assuring the food supply. To help in obtaining pearlshells, a number of individual magical rites were performed.

None of the aboriginal religious rituals are performed any more except, perhaps, for the occasional use of divination. Many of the Foi doubt the efficacy of the rituals, except for divination, and refer to them as 'pretence.' However, the belief that spirits of the dead can cause illness and other misfortunes is still strong. Most Foi are afraid to leave the village at night because that is when the spirits wander and attack people. In part, this continuance of belief is due to the way in which the U. F. M. missionaries have proceeded. The missionaries have not denied the existence of the spirits of the dead.

Instead they have given them the position of "devils" in the Christian theology, with powers to perform malevolent acts. God is presented as a more benevolent diety than the spirits, one who can overcome their powers, make the present life of the Foi a good one and keep them from the terrors of hell as well. Thus, the Foi have not had to change their beliefs radically in order to embrace Christianity. Quite naturally, I think, they have chosen to go to church and abandon their traditional rituals. Many Foi now believe that a man has two spirits, a "breath" (the missionary translation of the Christian soul) which goes either to heaven or hell at death, and a hq which remains on earth at death. Some deny the existence of the soro, but others obviously still believe in its existence.

PART II
LAND TENURE AND USE OF OTHERS' LAND

Zones of Land Use

In every Foi village, there are several zones of land which are used for different purposes. Outlying land not easily accessible from the village is used mainly for hunting. Closer land is divided between swamps, where sago grows, and high ground suitable for gardens. Most villages are located on one or both of two main arteries used for travel--a wide path built under the direction of the Administration to connect the villages and a large waterway suitable for canoe travel. Any land which lies near to one of these arteries is considered easy to get to; distance from the village is a less important consideration. Gardening and sago-making, which require frequent visits, are generally restricted to land which is considered easily accessible, that which lies within a mile from one of the two main arteries and within two miles of the village.

In fact the majority of gardens are made right beside the path or waterway. The Foi recognize that swampy lands or the frequently flooded banks of rivers or shores of the lake are more fertile than are the high ridges of their land, and that the former are therefore better for

gardening. For example, they say that wasia (*Setaria palmaefolia*) planted in a low garden may bear well for fifteen months while in a high garden it bears well for only about six. At the same time, the low garden has disadvantages: a swamp garden requires the building of drainage ditches; both swamp and shore gardens are subject to flooding, which may ruin the crops. Few men are willing to go to the extra effort needed to build a swamp garden. Most, however, try to balance the dangers of flooding against the advantage of higher fertility by building at least one shore garden, as well as one on a higher ridge. An additional reason for building gardens on both types of land is that crops like sweet potatoes grow well only on the well-drained ridges, while certain greens grow well only on the richer low lands. At Herebo during the time of my fieldwork, four per cent of the gardens were built in swamp, thirty-six per cent on shores and sixty per cent on higher land. Truly swampy land, not being used much for gardening, is generally planted in sago and kara?o trees, which grow well only in swamp.

The outlying lands are little used for subsistence crops. In the case of about half of the Mubi River villages, including Herebo and Barutage, the outlying land lies north of the villages. The Mubi valley is longitudinally bisected by a low mountain ridge (Duma Vivi). The villages and their close lands lie to the south of this ridge. North of the ridge is a broad half-valley known as the Ayimu. Beyond that is a series of mountain ridges and narrow gorge-like valleys. The mountains are used only for occasional hunting expeditions. This is largely true of the Ayimu as well, although it contains sago swamps and flat land suitable for gardens. A few lineages or subclans, however, generally

have their bush-houses close to Duma Vivi and the Ayimu and they utilize the closest portions of the Ayimu for gardening and sago-making.

Since the outlying lands are comparatively little used, game is plentiful there, especially the coveted marsupials, cassowaries and bush-hens. In lands close to the village these have been killed or frightened off, so that only rats and flying birds are found in significant numbers. The rats are easy to catch, but the birds are not often killed.

Land Tenure

The way in which land and its resources are owned varies with the zone of land and with the size of the clan under consideration. In general, as the clan grows larger, its lands become divided among its component groups; as it dwindles, the separate lands of its component groups become fused in joint ownership. A local clan segment which is very small (two or three adult males) generally holds all of its land jointly. One which is larger generally has part or all of its land split up between un-named lineages or named subclans. In the outlying areas, the tracts of land owned are larger and they are held by the more inclusive groups--either the clan section or the named subclan. In the closer areas, tracts are smaller and are generally held by less inclusive groups--the lineage or named subclan.

In describing the details of land tenure, it seems best to present first a static description of how land is held by the various levels of clan groupings and then to describe the processes by which tenure changes. The description presented is for a clan segment of average size or larger.

In the case of an outlying tract, the owning clan segment or sub-clan possesses joint rights to hunt over the whole tract, either with dogs or with a rifle. The Ayimu (but not the mountainous area) is usually divided into subareas for certain purposes. Rights to trap in a subarea with deadfall or snare, and rights to garden or to cut wild sago are held by separate lineages within the group. Nevertheless, the Ayimu, like the mountainous area, is considered to be owned by the whole group. All members must agree in order to sell the land and they collect payment for it in common.

Closer ground which is not swampy is generally owned by the same lineages as those which own the Ayimu rights. The Foi may speak of these tracts as being owned by the clan segment or subclan as a whole; but most of the tracts are used by only one or two lineages within the larger group, for gardening or building bush-houses. That lineage (or pair of lineages) has the right to sell the land and collect payment for it or to allow other men to use the land, exclusive of the wishes of the rest of the clan segment. Moreover, it can prevent men of other lineages within the clan from gardening on the land. The lineage also holds exclusive rights to trap or hunt, to cut down valuable trees (those used to make canoes, house-flooring and house-posts) or to plant sago on such a tract. The only rights held by other lineages of the subclan or clan segment are reversionary ones: if the lineage dies out, the land should pass to the rest of the subclan; if there are no other subclan members, to the rest of the clan segment. In addition to the small lineage-owned tracts, a named subclan often owns jointly a large tract of close land

which the members utilize in common. It is this tract which gives the subclan its name.

True swamp which lies close to the village is held quite differently from higher ground. In fact no claims are really made at all with respect to the land. Only the groves of sago palms and the kara?o trees growing on the land are actually owned. Any man of the village may build a bush-house on swamp land or plant on it, so long as he stays out of the middle of another's sago grove. The plots of sago owned by different men are generally small and intermingled so that this is not difficult. All the men of the village may own sago palms within a small area.

While rights to land and its unmodified resources are generally owned by the clan segment or one of its subdivisions, resources which have been planted or modified belong to the man who plants them or modifies them. Thus, a garden is the property solely of the man who makes it, so long as it has been made on his own land or on land where he had permission to garden. After the garden grows up in weeds, any trees which remain are reserved for his use (for firewood or building purposes). Long-term crops (sago, kara?o, breadfruit, hagenamo, pandanus and bamboo) are also the property solely of the man who plants them or protects them from the competition of surrounding plants. If they are planted on land of another clan, they can be confiscated by the land-owners on his death. Otherwise, they are inherited jointly by his sons and foster-sons. Naturally, therefore, men prefer to plant these crops on their own land, or perhaps on the land of an ally to which they have a strong claim. Breadfruit, hagenamo and sago groves are often still producing for the grandsons of the original planter, although bamboo, kara?o and pandanus

generally are not. The sons and then the grandsons are supposed to continue their joint ownership of these crops and they usually do so unless they quarrel. Thus the same lineage which jointly owns small tracts of close land often jointly owns the long-term crops planted by its founding ancestor as well.

The lake and large rivers are not owned and anyone may fish freely on them. Smaller streams are owned, for the purpose of fishing with a fish-trap or by bailing out the stream. Most of them are owned by a clan segment or subclan. Particular sections of the stream are allotted to the adult male members, with the upper reaches of the stream used by them jointly. A son or foster-son inherits his father's allotment. If a man has several sons, then the younger ones are assigned allotments from the upper part of the stream so long as any remains. The allotments are, in reality, owned by individuals, since a man may sell or give away his allotment, or allow others to use it, without consulting his clanmates.

Certain resources of little value are customarily used by the village as a whole. Wild greens, edible fungi, tree grubs and beetles, and trees used only for firewood are collected without regard to the clan ownership of land. Moreover, fish are taken by hand from any stream. It appears that such free use of land is simply extended by the clan owners to their fellow villagers rather than being the right of the villagers. Occasionally a man becomes angry at another and forbids him the right to collect firewood or wild greens from his land, even the right to walk across it. The clan ownership of trees used for firewood was recently recognized by the Local Government Council. In 1967 the council passed a ruling that men should cut firewood only from their own clan land. The ruling has been widely disregarded, however.

Transfer of Rights in Land

There are many ways in which rights to land or long-term crops are transferred or extended. The most formal of these are sale (ara.bora), for a payment in shells or pigs, and gift. Neither of these transactions is binding to the Foi. The original owner or his heirs can always reclaim the property, returning the payment in the case of a sale. Occasionally land is sold together with all the long-term crops growing on it. More often long-term crops are sold alone, particularly sago and kara?o. If the sago or kara?o is growing in true swamp land rights are irrelevant of course, but otherwise the land rights remain with the original owner. The buyer cannot build a bush-house on the land or garden on it. The number of both kinds of sales is not great since few men feel they have enough land or crops that they can sell them. Sales generally occur only when a group with much land and crops has dwindled to only one or two men, so that they have a great surplus, or when the owning group have all emigrated to another village and cannot conveniently use their land or crops. Even then, the seller is usually motivated by the need to obtain shells for a ceremonial payment. The buyer of land or crops is generally a single man, and the property belongs exclusively to him and his heirs.

Gifts of land or long-term crops, called mitina.bora (literally 'something pointed out'), are at least as frequent as sales. In the majority of cases, such gifts are to immigrants from another village, or to sister's husbands or sister's sons who are short of land and crops. Occasionally land is given in reward for an important favor. These gifts are clearly distinguished semantically from sharing the use of another

man's land or crops for an indefinite period, called menageye no.bora (literally 'eaten together'). Sharing implies living together as allies and the creation of obligations between the land owner and the one who uses his land, whereas a gift does not. Moreover, a gift is less likely to be revoked by the heirs after the death of the giver than is sharing. Exclusive use of land by the recipient of a gift over a period of years gives him a greater claim to the land than does sharing. Both sharing and gift are also distinguished from the common practice of loaning an outsider garden land on clan land. In this case, the man uses the land only for a season and may not plant long-term crops. Once the garden is overgrown and the trees carried away for firewood, he loses all claim to the land.

The obligation to make payments on a man's death was formerly also a mechanism by which land rights were transferred. Ideally, the man's closest agnates gave the payment, but sometimes he had no close adult agnates or they could not amass the necessary shells. In such cases, a distant agnate or a non-agnate might give the payment instead. In return he claimed part of the dead man's land or long-term crops.

The three forms of transfer discussed--sale, gift and death payment claims--are clearcut, since they depend upon a single transaction. Rights to land are also transferred, however, as a result of long-term use of land and multiple transactions. Such transfers are gradual and are not clearcut. Indeed, they take several generations to accomplish and are hardly to be classed with the forms already discussed.

Subdivisions of the local clan segment (including immigrant lineages) acquire rights to certain tracts of clan land, to the exclusion of other

subdivisions, by using those tracts and particularly by planting exclusively on the tracts and thus coming to own all of the long-term crops there. Since these long-term crops are the most important resources, ownership of them is tantamount to ownership of the land in Foi eyes. This means, of course, that when a man does not use any of his inherited land or crops, his descendants lose the rights to them. Typically, the crops and land would be owned jointly by a man and his brothers. If they are used exclusively by the man's brothers, then their descendants will inherit exclusive rights to them. This happens most often when a man emigrates to another village and cannot use his inherited lands. It also sometimes happens that a man uses the land of a relative within his natal village to the exclusion of his own lands.

The descendants of immigrants or of other allies of clan members who share land use with the clan owners eventually acquire rights to the land. The ally himself may be forced to leave the land of course. Likewise, the sons and even the grandsons of an ally may be forced to leave, although this is usually more difficult because they have given many shell payments for the owners which must first be repaid. A demand that third or later generation descendants of an ally leave the land, however, is rarely made and if made is not taken seriously. By this time, the descendants have usually established de facto control over part of the land by coming to own all of the long-term crops planted there. Moreover, the obligations they are owed by the original owners cannot be repaid, since they are too far back to be remembered. The original ownership of the land may even be in dispute by this time.

The processes of segmentation and fusion of land ownership can be

reconstructed by comparing the histories of land ownership given for various clans. A number of examples are given below.

(A) Acquisition of land rights by non-agnates

Case 1: Agame Kuidobo, a named subclan of Barutage village

Forty years ago, two brothers (Deya, Hare) and their brother's son (Yamabo) constituted the subclan. Yamabo adopted his wife's child by an earlier marriage (Wa?abu); Deya took in two married immigrants from another village and allowed them to use his land. All three original owners are now dead. The land is used by the foster-son Wa?abu, sons of the two immigrants, and by Deya's son, the only remaining agnate except for young boys. The four men are said to own the land jointly. Theoretically, the non-agnates could be forced to leave if they quarrel with Deya's son. Actually the possibility of this is slight since they have given so many brideprice and death payments for the clan-owners that they could not be repaid for them. The immigrants have now brought in foster-sons and clients of their own to use the land.

Case 2: Sebebe Egadobo-Sebebe Aidobo, a named subclan of Herebo village¹

Many generations ago, a local clan segment of Herebo known as Yu?ufi.ga Aidobo, is said to have taken in immigrants of Egadobo clan. Later, Egadobo took in immigrants of Sebebe Aidobo clan and shared their land with them. Sebebe Aidobo has used the land of one of the Egadobo subclans, Sebebe Egadobo, for four generations now. When a man of Sebebe Egadobo quarreled with a man of Sebebe Aidobo recently, he demanded that Sebebe Aidobo leave this land. The demand was ignored. Sebebe Aidobo simply said that they could not remove all of their long-term crops and the discussion ended.

(b) Segmentation of land rights

Case 1: Sebebe Egadobo, continued

Within Sebebe Egadobo, there are two lineages which own their close land separately. One of these lineages is comprised of two cousins, Enemano and Iraa, and their sons. Enemano and Iraa are the only great-grandsons of a man who planted much sago. Their fathers at first held this sago jointly, but they formally split it when Enemano and Iraa were young boys. At present, therefore, Enemano and Iraa own their sago separately. Recently Enemano sold a small portion of the sago inherited from his greatgrandfather without consulting Iraa.

Case 2: Kibudobo, a local clan segment of Herebo village

The living men of Herebo Kibudobo all fit into a single genealogy, shown in part below, in Figure 4. All of Kibudobo uses the same out-lying tract. Fu Kibudobo and Isa Kibudobo subdivided their closer lands some time ago, and more recently the lands of Fu Kibudobo have also become subdivided. Yago and Girigimena both used the large close tract of Faebu and planted long-term crops there and their descendants continue to do so, while Isa Kibudobo has not used Faebu. Thus the subclan of Fu Kibudobo has come to own Faebu exclusively. Some smaller close tracts were used by Yago and his sons, but not by Girigimena or his sons, so that today they belong to and are used exclusively by Yago's descendants. A further subdivision of the close lands is now in progress. Among the small tracts owned by Yago's descendants, one is being used heavily by Aebo and Nemo for gardening and planting long-term crops. The other three do not plant there, saying that there is too little land for all of them and they don't want quarrels to develop. If this pattern

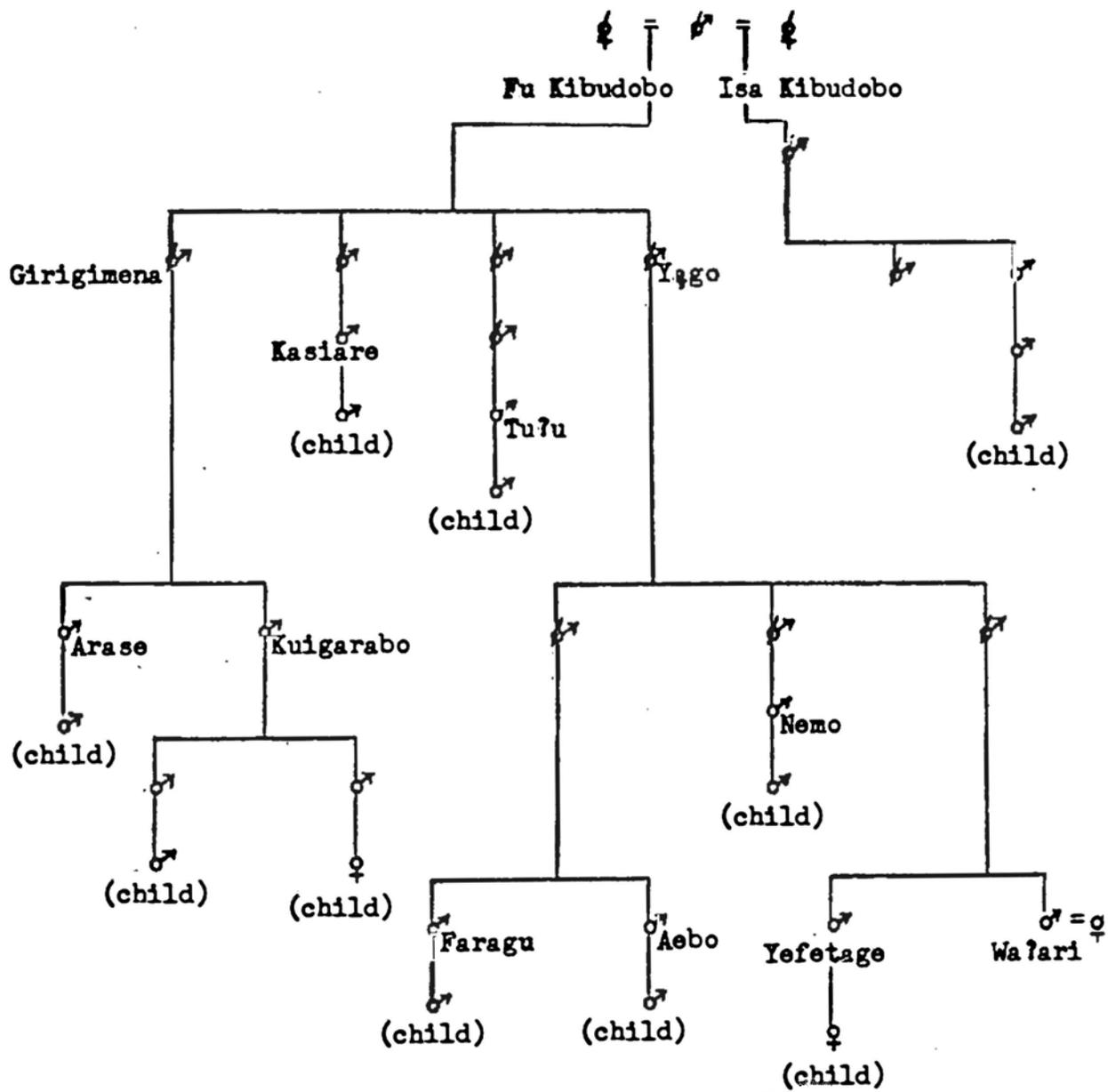


Figure 4

Partial Genealogy of Kibudobo Clan

continues, the tract will eventually be considered to be exclusively owned by the descendants of Aebo and Nemo.

Case 3: Egadobo-Aidobo, continued

Through differential land use presumably, Egadobo split into two subclans which own separate close tracts, Isa Egadobo and Sebebe Egadobo. They both continued to own a large outlying tract together with Sebebe Aidobo. Several generations ago, a man of Isa Egadobo acquired a tract of outlying land as a gift from another clan. Only his descendants used this tract for hunting. At present only two adult men of Isa Egadobo are living, the owner of the gift tract, Masahimo, and another man Aramene. Since Aramene was fostered by Masahimo, he uses the gift tract and not the clan tract. In the next generation, separate de facto usage by the two subclans will probably have solidified into separate ownership. Isa Egadobo will be considered to jointly own the gift tract and Sebebe Egadobo (together with Sebebe Aidobo) to jointly own the original clan tract. This would parallel the situation in other clans, where named subclans own separate outlying tracts as well as separate close tracts.

Case 4: Agikobo.kiri Kuidobo, a named subclan of Barutage village

The two subclans of Barutage Kuidobo, Agikobo.kiri and Agame, emigrated from Herebo to Barutage at different times and they acquired their lands in different ways, so that they own them separately. Agikobo.kiri Kuidobo is said to have originally been taken in by Banimahu?u clan and to have shared its lands. Evidently the lands used by Kuidobo became separately owned because Banimahu?u retains no claim to them at present. Most men have forgotten the origin of the Agikobo.kiri Kuidobo land. It

is said that if Agikobo.kiri Kuidobo were to die out, its land would revert neither to Banimahu?u nor to Agame Kuidobo.

(C) Fusion of land rights: Go?omo Kibudobo, a local clan segment of Barutage

About fifty years ago, the clan segment was comprised of two lineages which owned their close lands and outlying tracts separately. At that time, the clan segment was relatively numerous. In recent years the clan segment has dwindled. One lineage includes two men, an old man with no sons and a young married man. The other has only one married man with very young sons. They decided recently to use their land jointly, although they still hold their sago separately. In the next generation, their long-term crops will probably be dispersed among the various holdings and the sons will consider all the land as their joint property.

Clearly the descendants of an immigrant (or of some other ally who uses clan land) come to have land rights in the clan and eventually can come to constitute a lineage within the clan, with separate sago and close lands, then a named subclan with separate outlying lands, and finally a completely separate clan with no memory of the original link to the parent clan. A similar process probably occurs to separate the land ownership of groups of agnates, although it is illustrated only to the point where the agnates come to form named subclans with separate tracts of outlying land. At every point in the separation of land rights the separation follows mutually exclusive use of land triggered by increasing group size. Conversely, decreasing size of the group triggers common land use and results in common land ownership.

Use of Own and Others' Land

It should probably be re-emphasized at this point that a Foi village as a whole owns more land than it needs, specifically more close land than it needs for gardening and planting long-term crops. There are imbalances of course, and a few men own less land than they need, usually men whose ancestors were immigrants. It is possible for such a man to obtain sufficient land for short-term gardening (although not for long-term crops) simply by asking various men for a season's loan of garden land. Nearly any man in the village who has excess land will be willing to grant garden land on such a short-term basis.

The long-term crops which are planted on garden land--pandanus, breadfruit, bamboo, and hagenamo--are less plentiful than garden land itself. These crops are less essential than sago of course, since they are not staples, but they are still greatly desired. Competition for the use of long-term crops probably explains the rather high frequency of land disputes. Superficially the high number of land disputes seems puzzling, since land is in over-supply. But title to a piece of land entails title to the crops planted on it. Thus a dispute which has its roots in conflicting desires for the same long-term crops may become translated into a dispute over land ownership. Another reason for land disputes is that the amount of conveniently-located land is limited. Land near the village is heavily utilized for gardening while the Ayimu land is rarely so used.

As with land, a Foi village as a whole generally owns more sago than it needs (see above, p. 25). There seem to be more imbalances in the distribution of sago than of land, however. Quite a few men own less

sago than they need to subsist. For a man short of sago, it is generally possible to obtain enough to live on by successively going from one to another of the men who own excess sago and asking for the gift of one sago palm at a time. Naturally, however, a man would like a more assured supply than this.

The most important source of land and long-term crops for the man who has too little is the offer, usually by a relative, to share the use of his land and/or crops for an indefinite period (menageye no.bora). Acquisition by shell payment or by asking piecemeal for loans of garden land and gifts of single sago trees are less important. There are a number of ways in which a relative shares resources and a number of different reasons for such sharing. Sometimes a man's sharing of his relative's land is continued by his sons; more often it is not. At the end of this section, we wish to be able to predict the observed pattern of long-term sharing of land and crops, but it is first necessary to lay the groundwork.

The Foi distinguish between use of a relative's land which is supposed to be carried on by the user's sons (primary) and use which is supposed to end with the man's death (nonprimary)--between an alliance intended to be permanent and one intended to be temporary. The Foi usually indicate primary usage by saying that the man 'lives with' his relative or 'lives on' his land. They indicate nonprimary usage by saying that the man 'just goes on foot' to use the land. Where there is an understanding between land owner and land user that the user's sons will continue to use the land, the man plants long-term crops on the land for his sons. Otherwise he does not, since the land owners are

likely to confiscate the crops on his death. Planting long-term crops thus indicates his commitment to remain as an ally and land user. It also tends in itself to establish a claim to the land.

Literally interpreted, 'living with' the relative would mean that the man builds a bush-house near that of his relative on the relative's land. This does not always occur however. Sometimes the land user uses the bush-house of his relative on the latter's land and builds his own bush-house elsewhere. Sometimes the relative's land lies close to the village and neither of them builds a bush-house on it. On the other hand, a man may be given permission to build a bush-house on land which he does not otherwise use at all, simply because it is convenient to a piece of his own land. Thus the phrase 'living with' a relative or 'living on' his land has more to do with land use than with residence per se. However, a man cannot normally engage in primary use of the land of more than one relative, and if he 'lives with' one relative, he does not build a bush-house on the land of another relative who is competing for his allegiance.

If a man is allowed primary use of a relative's land, he must contribute to the relative's shell payments if he expects to stay. Beyond this, he usually attempts to ensure his claim to the land by acting as the main donor in giving death payments or brideprice for the clan owners. He and his sons cannot then be easily forced to leave the land, because the shells given would have to be repaid.

Normally when a man is allowed primary land use he may exploit any of his relative's inherited resources freely--close land and outlying land, sago and other long-term crops. The Foi say that the land and crops

are used gisiye, i.e. without asking permission first. Occasionally, a particular piece of land or a particular kind of inherited long-term crop is excepted from the general dispensation because of its small amount. Free use is not allowed of crops which have been planted or bought by the relative himself. These are reserved exclusively for the relative's sons.

Nonprimary usage also involves the free use of a relative's resources. Several types may be distinguished, as follows.

secondary usage - free use of all (or most) of a relative's lands
and inherited long-term crops

tertiary usage - free use of a relative's sago (and nothing else)

Ayimu usage - free use of a relative's outlying lands (and nothing
else)

The use of a relative's resources only after asking will be classed together with no use. Hypothetically, a man could use a considerable amount of his relative's resources and always have to ask permission first, but this does not seem to happen.

Often a man is offered primary use of land by more than one relative, particularly if he lacks resources. Occasionally, a man even engages in primary use of the land of more than one relative. Usually, however, he must choose between them. The relative offers primary land use in order to gain a permanent ally, so he does not want to share the man's extra-clan affiliation. Thus, a man starts out using in primary degree the land of one relative, usually using his own clan land extensively (if he has any) and perhaps using in secondary degree the land of additional relatives.

In order to understand the observed pattern of use of relatives' land, let us start with the explanations given by the Foi. It was never possible to elicit a complete and systematic model which explained the use of relatives' land by some men and not by others. Instead, what I elicited were statements which explained particular cases. The entire set of these statements is somewhat incomplete and contradictory as a predictive model, but the statements can be incorporated into a systematic model. In order to determine how the various statements should fit together or how far a statement applies, it is often necessary to examine the case materials. The use of Foi explanations might be criticized as a methodological error: obviously the goal of such an explanation, at least if given by a principal to the situation, is to rationalize an existing situation and not to serve as an objective explanation. However, the attempt here is to use the set of explanations to predict the total body of land use data, not to explain only the individual case according to the "rationalization" given for that case. Moreover, this method seems preferable to an attempt to formulate an explanation independent of what the Foi say. The number of cases is too small to establish the validity and reliability of an explanation solely on the basis of how it fits the case materials. An explanation which coincides with the explanations given by the Foi as well stands a greater chance of being valid and reliable.

As the reader must expect by now, Foi explanations of the use of relatives' land hinge mainly on two factors, the amount of land and crops and the number of allies available to ego and to his relatives. I shall let the Foi speak for themselves here by giving a series of examples.

(a) An old man of Herebo (Sabewayo) was a member of a large clan, but he and his son formed a land-owning lineage separate from the rest of the clan (except for their Ayimu and mountain land). The son, therefore, had no clanmates as close allies who lived with him on his land. The old man told me that he had given brideprice for a man Sohail (his brother's foster-son) so that his son would have an ally to live with. That arrangement "went wrong" and Sohail soon went to live elsewhere, so the old man gave brideprice for a second man, his own foster-son. Unfortunately, the second attempt also "went wrong" and the second man went to live with his wife's father instead.

Presumably, then, a man who has no (mature) clanmates as co-owners of his land and no non-clanmates living on his land as allies (using the land in primary degree) will be willing to offer primary land use to a relative in order to gain an ally. The same would be true where his only allies are old men, who would be expected to die soon.

(b) A man of Herebo (Orokara) told me that his father had died when he was still a babe in arms. He had been "adopted" by his mother's new husband, whom he called father (aba). Since he lived with his foster-father from the time he was a small child (ufubi mano), he now lives on his foster-father's land and in fact uses it more than he does his own clan land.

Men who are adopted as young children will presumably be offered primary use of the land of their foster-fathers. Commonly such men are treated as and termed as sons. The relationship established between foster-father and foster-son is strong enough to explain the offer. The adopted son grows up knowing only the land of his foster-father in many cases. He does not learn the location of his true father's crops or land boundaries, and he has no attachment to the land of his true father.

Consequently he may not even use his own clan land, preferring that of his foster-father. It is difficult to specify the exact boundaries of the word "young" here, but probably it covers ages up to about five years of age. Children over that would rarely be referred to as small children (ufubi mano).

(c) A man of Barutage (Gakaro) said that he was not allowed to use the land of his foster-father because the latter does not have enough, adding that he himself has much land. On the other hand, a man of Herebo (Aramene) said that he uses the land of his mother's brother's son because he himself has little land or crops and his mother's brother's son has plenty of both.

It seems that a man who has an excess of land or sago will offer use of it to a relative who has too little (and not if vice versa). Probably, since long-term crops are in shorter supply than garden land itself, it is the amount of crops on the land that is crucial rather than the amount of garden land. (We are concerned here only with close land and not with outlying land, since outlying land is peripheral to a man's subsistence.) It is not clear what would happen if both the man and his relative had an excess of land and crops or if both had too little, but we shall not expect usage of the other's land in these cases unless other factors are also present.

(d) A young man of Herebo (Tu?u) was complaining to his wife's foster-father that he lived alone without allies and feared sorcery. Actually he had clanmates who owned land in ~~common~~ with him at one time, but he had become estranged from them and had separated his land from theirs. His wife's relatives invited him to build a bush-house on their land and live with either the wife's foster-father or her foster-brother--they have bush-houses on separate

plots--so that sorcerers would be afraid to sneak up on Tu'fu in the bush. At least in the case of his wife's foster-father, this would have meant that Tu'fu would use his relative's land extensively since Tu'fu owns no land in that area.

Presumably, a man will offer primary land use to a relative who has no allies. He may say that he asks the man to live with him because he feels sorry for him. However, it is also to his own interest because a man with no other allies is less likely to leave his relative's land as time goes on.

These four explanations are the basic factors to be used to predict use of a relative's land and crops. It is not clear from the for-going paragraphs, however, what should be the case where the statements conflict. For example, suppose that a man has little land and his relative has no allies, but suppose also that his relative has little land as well. Will the man use his relative's land according to statement (a) or not use it according to statement (c)? It appears from the cases collected, that a relative who has little land may offer use of his land anyway if he or the potential user lacks allies. A complete resolution of such conflicts follows in the statement of the predictive model.

The relatives who offer primary or secondary use of their land include foster-father, patron, foster-brother, wife's brother, wife's foster-brother (and wife's foster-father where he owns separate land from the foster-brother), mother's brother, foster-son, client, sister's husband, and a relative of father whose land the father used in primary degree. In the three villages studied, there were almost no cases where the land of any other relative was used. Obviously, most of the

relatives listed form reciprocal pairs, e.g. foster-father and foster-son. In each of these reciprocal pairs, it is clear from Foi statements that the normal expectation is that the "junior" relatives will use the land of the "senior" relatives and not vice versa. Thus a foster-son will normally use the land of his foster-father, a client that of his patron and a sister's husband that of his wife's brother. Among the observed cases, we find that senior relatives do sometimes use the land of junior relatives, but not so frequently. The senior relative seems to do so only when he has too little land to support himself and the junior relative has more than enough.

It often seems that a man fosters a boy with the goal (at least in part) of getting control of his land. When a man dies leaving only immature sons as heirs, other men take over his land and crops until the sons come of age. This is referred to as "looking after" the land (erasa.bora). Those who look after the land may be the dead man's clan-mates, sister's husbands, sister's sons or others, but among them is usually included the foster-father of the dead man's sons. If the foster-father then gives brideprice for the sons, he practically assures his continued use of their land after they grow up. Others who look after such land are usually told to leave it when the sons mature, unless those others have established claims by shell payments for the owners.

Two relatives remain to be considered, foster-brother and mother's brother. Foster-brother relations are of two sorts, so far as land use goes, (a) two foster-sons of the same foster-son and (b) the true son and the foster-son of the same man. In the first case, there are no distinctions between the two: each is as likely to use the land of the other.

In the second case, the relation could be regarded as a continuation of the foster-father and foster-son relation. One might expect that the true son would not usually use the land of the foster-son. I have no Foi statements recorded on this matter.

Concerning use of the mother's brother's land, recorded Foi statements seem to conflict. Some said that a man normally does not use his mother's brother's land; others said that a man normally does use this land as well as that of his wife's brother. It is clear that there would be a difference between those cases where the man's father had used in primary degree the land of his wife's brother (ego's mother's brother) and those where he had not. In the former case, the man would certainly be offered primary land use by his mother's brother; in the latter case it is less certain. It may be this difference which produced a conflict in informants' statements by giving them different examples to draw upon. Probably the mother's brother, like other relatives not already considered--father's sister's son, father's mother's brother's son--does not normally offer land use to ego unless ego's father had used the land in primary degree earlier. However, one might expect that any of these would offer primary land use to ego if they had no allies and no relatives to whom land use is normally extended.

A few minor matters remain to be considered before the land use model can be stated in rigorous form. A Foi man does not begin using land and crops extensively until about the time he marries. Prior to this he hunts and perhaps makes a small garden, but he does not cut sago, nor garden extensively, nor plant long-term crops. Some men, in fact, fail to begin gardening even after they marry until they are shamed into

it by older men. Likewise a man builds his first bush-house about the time he marries, usually together with an older relative. I shall treat individual cases as if a man makes his decisions about land use at the time he is married, and as if a man comes into control of his father's land and crops only at this time. It is necessary for unequivocal prediction of the use of relatives' land to assign a definite date to both of these events. There is undoubtedly some distortion involved in this procedure since an adolescent may often start communicating his ideas about land use before he marries. It is not far wrong, however. A man does not carry out his decisions about what land he will use until he marries, regardless of what he may have said. Likewise, his wishes about the utilization of his father's land are probably not much heeded by others until he achieves adult, married status.

In many cases a man's relative dies before he marries and is ready to start using the relative's land. The relative's heirs may not be so closely related to ego and consequently may be less willing to offer him land use than the relative would have been. For example, a Herebo man (Asuhua) said that he did not use the land of his wife's clan because all the men had died and the land had been taken over by the husband of a female clan member who denied him access to the land. Thus, where land has been taken over by men outside the relative's clan, we shall expect that land use will not be offered to ego. On the other hand, it is clear from cases that where the relative has died and his clanmates have taken over his land and crops, ego is often offered land use. We shall expect that clanmates of a dead relative will offer land use to the same extent as the relative himself would have done.

It has been stated that a man normally can engage in primary use of the land of only one relative, but that often a number of his relatives offer him primary land use. There must be, therefore, some procedure by which ego chooses from among these relatives. Two factors seem important, the types of relationship involved between ego and the relatives who offer land use, and the amounts of land and crops owned by the various relatives. Foi statements rank foster-father and patron above others for choosing a relative to "live with." Ego has the greatest obligations to these two relatives. The statements also make it clear that some other relative may be chosen instead of the foster-father or patron if the former has an excess of land while the foster-father or patron has too little. No statements have been recorded regarding the way in which the remaining relatives are ranked relative to each other. It seems likely, however, that a foster-brother would be chosen over a wife's brother, father's relative (where the father is dead)² or sister's husband, since ego would already have established a close relationship with foster-brother by the time he marries, but not with any of the other three. Further, it seems likely that wife's brother or father's relative would be chosen over sister's husband, or any other relative. The former customarily offer land use and the latter do not, so that other clan owners of the land are more likely to accept ego's use of land in the former case.

The model for predicting use of relatives' land is, then, as follows. Part I predicts the offer and acceptance of land use for a man who does not already use in primary degree the land of some other relative. (This would include all men at the time of their first marriages.)

Part II predicts the offer and acceptance of land use for a man who already uses in primary degree the land of some other relative. The model does not predict the end result of the relationship, but only initial use or non-use of land at the time of the offer (or potential offer).

Model for Predicting Use of Relatives' Land
(Other Than Own Land Inherited through the Father)^a

Initial Procedure to Select Sample (Eliminates from consideration those cases to which the model does not apply)

- (1) Eliminate any predictions of the use of a relative's land where that relative owns only distant land, or owns no land.
- (2) Eliminate any predictions of the use of a relative's land where that relative does not himself use the land.
- (3) Eliminate any predictions of the use of a relative's land where that relative dies before ego reaches maturity and the land is taken over by men not clanmates of the relative.

Part I Decisions for an Ego with No Primary Use of a Relative's Land
Already Established

Step A Offer of Land Use

- (1) Any relative of ego's father whose land the father used in primary degree is predicted to offer ego primary use of his land.^b
- (2) A foster-father is predicted to offer ego primary use of his land (or of land that he controls or has established claim to by primary use and shell payments) if he raised ego from a small child, i.e. from five years or younger.
- (3) Ego's foster-father, patron, foster-brother, wife's clanmate (or wife's foster-brother) is predicted to offer ego primary use of his land or of land that he claims if any of the following conditions apply:

^a In Foi society, land which is inherited through the father, father's father, and so on is unambiguously regarded as ego's own land (unless he has lost the rights to it because his father failed to use it). Use of own land is considered later. (See p. 164 below.)

^b Later, the parts of the model labelled (1), (2), etc. are termed "segments."

- a. the relative has no mature allies to live with; or ^{c,d}
- b. ego has no land or only outlying land; or
- c. ego lacks sufficient land and his relative has an excess;
or
- d. ego has no mature allies to live with.^e

(4) Ego's mother's brother (or mother's foster-brother) is predicted to offer ego primary use of his land or of land that he claims if the mother's brother lacks mature allies.

(5) Ego's sister's husband, client or foster-son is predicted to offer primary use of his land if either of the following conditions applies:

- b. ego has no land or only outlying land; or
- c. ego lacks sufficient land and his relative has an excess.

(6) Ego's foster-father, patron, foster-brother, client, foster-son, sister's husband, or wife's clanmate (or foster-brother) is predicted to offer tertiary land use (use of sago only) if (c') ego lacks sago and the relative has an excess. (This prediction is irrelevant if any of segments (1) - (5) apply.)

Step B Elimination of an Offer

(7) Where Step A predicts reciprocal land use by two relatives (as it would when factors a or d apply and where both relatives have land), eliminate prediction of the use of insufficient land by a man with excess land or enough land, and eliminate prediction of the use of enough land by a man with excess land.

Step C Acceptance of an Offer (Usage)

(8) Where several primary offers are predicted, choose one as ego's primary use of a relative's land. Ordinarily choose according to the ranking that follows:

^c In Step A, factor d of segment (3) is implied by factor b. If ego has no land, or only outlying land, then he can have no effective allies living on his land.

^d Later, the parts of the model labelled as a, b, etc. will be termed "factors."

^e In reckoning the number of allies for ego or his relative, old men past the age of about forty-five are excluded. Such men are not effective allies since they are no longer active, and are not expected to live long. A man's father often falls into this category.

- a. foster-father or patron;
- b. foster-brother;
- c. wife's clanmate or wife's foster-brother, relative whose land ego's father used in primary degree before the father died;
- d. sister's husband or mother's brother.

If the highest-ranked relative has insufficient land, eliminate that relative in favor of the next highest-ranked relative who has excess land.

(9) For a father's relative predicted to offer primary land use, or any relative predicted to offer primary land use by factors b or d, but not chosen for primary land use by (8) above:

- a. predict secondary land use if the relative has excess land;
- b. predict tertiary land use (use of sago only) if the relative has an excess of sago (but not of land) and ego lacks sago.

Otherwise predict no use of the relative's land.

(10) For any relative X who is a subclanmate of the relative Y whose land is chosen for primary use in (8) above, and whose land is used by relative Y, predict land use by ego to the same degree as the land is used by Y.

Part II Decisions for an Ego with Already-established Primary Use of a Relative's Land

(1) Secondary use of the land of patron, foster-brother, wife's clanmate (or foster-brother) is predicted (in addition to primary use of the land of a relative Y already established) if either:

- a. the relative now under consideration has no mature allies to live with; or
- c. the relative now under consideration has excess land, and ego lacks sufficient land to use (including the land of his relative Y which he uses).

(2) Secondary use of the land of sister's husband, client or foster-son is predicted if (C) he has excess land and ego lacks sufficient land to use (including the land of his relative Y which he uses).

(3) Tertiary use (use of sago only) of the land of patron, foster-brother, wife's clanmate (or foster-brother), client, foster-son or sister's husband is predicted if (C') he has excess sago and ego lacks sufficient sago to use (including that of his relative Y which he has established use of).

(7) and (10) of Part I are to be applied in Part II as well.

Before the model predictions are tested against the case material, it is important to make some comments, both about the model and about the case material. Much of Part I of the model, namely segments (1) through (6) of Step A, follows in straightforward fashion from the Foi explanations cited earlier and the implications drawn from them. Step B of Part I, which eliminates predictions of reciprocal land use when one relative has more land than the other, could be said to follow from the statements cited under (c) on page 140, although the model is made more specific than the Foi statements.

Foi explanations offer little guide, however, where more than one relative has reason to offer ego land use. A fairly elaborate procedure (Part I, Step C) has been constructed for predicting ego's choice for primary land use among these relatives, and for predicting the degree of land use in the case of the relatives not so chosen. The model presumes that all the relatives would initially offer primary use at the time ego marries (Step A). Ego would then make his choice, and some relatives not chosen for primary land use would allow secondary use, while others would withdraw their offers (Step C). Step C is constructed largely to fit the available case materials, but the predictions could perhaps be postulated on grounds of hypothesized self-interest as well. Of those relatives not chosen for primary land use, a number would be

likely to allow secondary use in any event--those without any allies (since a secondary land user is preferable to nothing) and foster-father's who adopted ego's as young boys (since the offer depends upon sentiment). Other relatives would probably take into consideration the amount of their own land. A relative with excess land might well allow secondary use in the hope that ego would change his mind before he became fully committed to the other relative and affiliate with him instead. (Some men manage to exploit this situation so that they use in primary degree the land of two relatives at the same time.) A relative with insufficient land would be unlikely to do this.

To some degree, Step C may well be artificial, i.e. it may be a process which predicts land use cases successfully but does not replicate the actual processes involved. I have little data on offers made by relatives (or not made), except where ego accepted the offer and used the land. Thus the case materials are used to test only predicted use, not predicted offers not taken up. The data on offers does make it clear that several relatives with excess land often offer primary land use to ego, who then engages in primary use of one relative's land and secondary use of the others'. However, I have recorded no cases where a relative without excess land offers primary use, then withdraws the offer completely when ego fails to affiliate as a primary land user. It may well be that such a relative would make no offer, expecting it to be rejected. After all, in a small village amounts of land and need for allies are public knowledge: ego's course of action could often be predicted. This "artificiality" has been ignored, since it is more convenient to construct the model as presented and since no data are available to challenge it.

The reasons for constructing Part II of the model as presented are much the same as those for Part I, Step C. Again there are no Foi explanations to rely upon. Where ego has already established a primary affiliation outside his clan, there is little likelihood that he would change this affiliation (except as the result of a quarrel). The only reasonable motivations for a relative to offer land use (secondary) would seem to be (1) that the relative lacks allies, or (2) that ego's own land and that of his primary land donor are both insufficient, while the relative under consideration has excess land.

In some respects, the land use model is certainly less accurate than it ideally could be. Prediction is based upon three factors, amount of land and sago, number of allies, and sociological type of relationship. Virtually no consideration is given to the personalities of the individuals involved and the degree to which their relationship is affected by personality, as opposed to type of relationship. Individual personality does not appear to be a major factor affecting use of relatives' land, but it probably does play some part, both in evaluation of allies and in affecting the willingness of ego and his relative to enter into a land use relationship (see note 5, p. 153). The practical difficulties involved are too great to integrate personality factors into the model.

Another problem lies with the data used for predicting decisions, those data being far from perfect. The evaluation of amounts of land and sago is made on the basis of informants' rankings, usually the statements of a third person rather than of a principal in the decision.³ Ideally these evaluations should have been checked against some objective

measurement of the amount and quality of land and sago, but this would have been extremely difficult. The forest cover of the hills made it difficult to survey garden land, and the swampiness of the sago areas discouraged me from extensive survey there. I did attempt to map the land-holdings close to Herebo village. My maps tend to agree with informant evaluations of the amounts of land and sago held by various men of Herebo, but they are far from adequate.

There is a more crucial difficulty. Since long-term crops are generally scarcer than land, amount of long-term crops may be more significant than amount of land in affecting land sharing. No data are available on amounts of long-term crops, so that amount of land must be considered alone, by default. The evaluation of allies available to ego and to his relative is made on the basis of a composite chronology of marriages and deaths constructed during fieldwork, but for a different purpose. The evaluations are undoubtedly in error in some cases. I did not foresee that this information would be needed for predicting land use and did not generally collect it systematically.

Table 29, Appendix C, carries out the process of predicting initial use of a relative's land for the men of the three villages studied, and shows the actual use in each case. The table shows the factors which influence decisions in brief. The forgoing discussion should make it clear that the model cannot be expected to predict actual land use perfectly in all cases. It should also be pointed out that in some cases there is insufficient data to determine actual land use.⁴ The differentiation between primary and secondary use of a relative's land, in particular, is often hard to make. All of the relatives who might offer.

land use are listed as cases, even where actual land use cannot be specified, in order to demonstrate the true nature of the three village universe.

When predicted use of relatives' land is compared with actual land use data, approximately eighty-six per cent of the known cases are correctly predicted. This percentage figure has little meaning in itself, since a number of variables are used to predict land use. It is necessary to tabulate cases for each individual part of the model separately, as shown in Table 11, below.

To begin with, it may be noted that negative predictions are more successful than positive predictions. This is unsurprising since there is generally more possibility of making an error in predicting land use than in predicting none. One way of seeing this is that for a correct positive prediction, both ego and his relative must make the proper moves; for a correct negative predictions, generally only the relative need make the proper move (failing to offer land use). The success of the negative predictions cannot establish the validity of any particular positive predictor in the model.⁵ It does suggest, however, that no major factors which produce use of relatives' land have been omitted, particularly given the large number of negative predictions.

In considering the positive predictions, it is necessary first to make some decisions about the significance of the results, i.e. the likelihood that the percentage figures could be generalized beyond the sample without great error to other Foi villages, or to earlier generations in the three villages considered. Without applying statistical tests of significance, it is rather easy to see by inspection that there are too

Table 11

Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Land Use Model

Part of the Model	Correct Predictions ^a	Incorrect Predictions	Uncertain	Per Cent Correct ^b
<u>Positive Predictions^c</u>				
<u>Part I</u>				
(1) F used relative's land	1	2	1	
F used relative's land; plus factor a, b, c or d of (3,4,5)	3	-	2	67 %
(2) fF-ego adopted young	6	-	-	
fF-ego adopted young; plus factor a, b, c or d of (3,4,5)	4	1	-	91 %
(3,4,5) a and/or d ^d	14	2	6	88 %
d (only)	3	1	-	--
b-d (± c)	13	2	3	87 %
<u>other</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	--
subtotal (3,4,5)	37	7	9	84 %
(6) c'	3	1	3	--
(10) subclanmate of primary donor eliminated to tertiary use by (7) or (9)	1	1	1	--
<u>Part II</u>				
(1,2) a	1	-	-	--
c	-	-	-	--

Table 11 continued Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Land Use Model

Part of the Model	Correct Predictions	Incorrect Predictions	Uncertain	Per Cent Correct
(3) C ^a	1	1	3	--
(10) subclanmate of primary donor	1	-	-	--
<u>Negative Predictions</u>				
<u>Part I</u>				
eliminated by (7)	4	-	-	--
eliminated by (9)	6	2	1	75 %
no positive factors	62	8	2	89 %
<u>Part II</u>				
eliminated by (7)	1	-	-	--
no positive factors	18	-	2	100 %
total positive predictions	59	13	20	81 %
total negative predictions	91	10	5	90 %
total all predictions	150	23	25	86 %

^a All cases of usage which are prefixed by a "p." in Table 29 (in Appendix C), indicating the probable use, are included as correct or incorrect.

^b Uncertain cases are excluded from the percentage figures. Thus,
 $\% \text{ correct cases} = (\text{correct cases} / \text{correct cases} + \text{incorrect cases})100.$

^c Predictions of primary and secondary land use are grouped together since the differentiation is the result of segments (8) and (9) rather than the segments under consideration in the table. Segment (8) is evaluated later.

^d A more detailed enumeration of the cases for factors a,b,c and d will be found in Table 30, Appendix C.

few cases to make the percentage figures significant. For these parts, validity is indeterminate, at least so far as the case materials go. For Part I, segments 2 to 5, however, there are perhaps enough cases to establish significant results.⁷ Even here, certain factors are combined for evaluation to increase the number of cases. Thus factors a and d have been combined, since both predict on the basis of number of allies. Cases with factor b-d are all considered together, whether or not factor c occurs, since in all these cases ego lacks both land and allies. Cases with factor c only are kept separate, since they are the only ones where amount of land is the only consideration. (Unfortunately the results for factor c alone are not significant.)

Let us turn to the question of validity for segments 2 to 5 (Part I) of the model. For all these (except factor c), the percentage of correct predictions is about ninety per cent. This is considerably less than perfect prediction, but I think it is sufficient for accepting these parts of the model as valid. It has already been established that the model cannot be expected to predict with one hundred per cent accuracy, since the data used are imperfect and since personality factors are excluded from the model.

Analysis of the errors involved would seem to support the position that the factors postulated in segments 2 to 5 of the model really do operate. (1) Three of the eight incorrect cases are ones in which the predicted primary offer was made, but ego failed to accept the offer; one, at least, of the principals was acting as predicted. The error lies either in ego's failure to take up the offer, or perhaps in an incorrect assessment of ego's initial land use. (It may be incorrect

to assume that ego would always wish to use land offered, especially when the postulated causal factor is the relative's lack of allies.) (2)

Three other cases are "minor errors," where the predictions are only one degree off, e.g. secondary use is predicted as primary. Land offers have been made and accepted here, but at a level different from that predicted. These errors can probably be attributed to inaccurate data on usage of land or amount of resources, or to faults in the choice and elimination procedure (Step C), not under consideration here. Basically the factors postulated in segments 2 to 5 would seem to hold in all the cases enumerated. There remain only two cases where the error involved is gross: a primary offer is predicted and no offer was actually made.

Although the number of cases for factor c only (segments 3 to 5) is not significant, there is other support for the efficacy of amount of land in land use decisions. Amount of relative's land is crucial to the negative predictions which result from one elimination procedure (segment 9); relative amount of ego's and relative's land is crucial to the negative predictions which result from the other (segment 7). None of these gives significant results in itself, but considered together, they indicate that amount of land is indeed important in the decision made.

The choice procedure, segment 8 of Part I, is difficult to evaluate. It seems that it should be evaluated by the number of egos whose pattern of land use is correctly predicted, rather than by the number of land use cases correctly predicted. This procedure is followed in Table 12, below. The significance of the results seems open to question, since seven of the twenty cases cannot be evaluated. Even if the results be considered significant, the validity of the choice procedure is open to

Table 12

Evaluation of Land Use Model, Part I, Segment (8)

Evaluation	Number of Cases	Specific Cases
Choice procedure correct:		
all predictions correct	5	Yefetage, Kuburu, Suiya, Baruga, Taodehabo
non-primary predictions wrong or uncertain	4	Kagerabo, Tawe, Gagibu, Erafa
Choice procedure incorrect:		
two primary uses	2	Senagefu, Wa?abeyu
no primary use	2	Orobora, (probably) Wareya
Cannot be evaluated:		
all uses unknown	2	Orobi, Abui
second offer not made	1	Oromena
second use primary by (10)	1	Wa?ari
second use primary or secondary (uncertain)	3	Hesasi, Aramene, Yarugi
Total correct	9 (69 %)	
Total incorrect	4	
Total uncertain	7	

question, since a sixty-nine per cent rate of prediction is not very high. Note, however, that the proposed ranking of relatives (by type of relative and amount of his land) is never upset in the case materials. The errors are cases where ego uses in primary degree the land of two relatives or none. Three of the cases which cannot be evaluated are likewise either correct or cases where ego uses in primary degree the land of two relatives. The conclusion is that the ranking of relatives is correct, but that sometimes ego's relatives do not, or cannot, require him to restrict himself to one primary extra-clan affiliation. The model procedure follows the more usual course of events, where ego is so restricted.

On the whole, the model seems to be the best which can be constructed on the basis of the available evidence. Most of Part I seems valid in terms of the case materials and fits with verbalized Foi explanations of use of relatives' land. Analysis of the errors in prediction for Part I indicates that the faults in the model lie mostly with steps B and C, the choice and elimination procedures. It happens that these procedures are ones where few Foi explanations could be elicited. Although there appear to be some faults in the model at this point, the case materials do not suggest any particular way to improve the model. Segment 10 of Part I and Part II in general are probably the weakest parts of the model and would need revision if further data were available. There are few case materials to establish these elements of the model and no relevant Foi statements.

The case materials support the inclusion of all types of relatives included in the model as likely donors (see Table 31 in Appendix C).

Aside from the relatives considered by the model, a man rarely uses the land of another on a long-term basis. Occasionally an immigrant is offered primary land use by a man not so related to him. It would be unusual in the case of a natal resident.

It frequently happens that what begins as primary use of a relative's land deteriorates into something less. A man may leave his relative's land for a number of reasons. (1) He may quarrel with his relative or with other clan-owners of the land. (2) The number of land users may increase as time goes on, creating pressure on the land and crops. As a result, the land owners may tell him to leave, or he may himself decide that it is wiser to commit himself elsewhere--in terms of planting long-term crops and giving shell payments--where his children will be more assured of continued land use. (3) The man may decide to leave the land because his relative dies or emigrates, so long as he has other land to use. (4) The man may emigrate to another village and be unable to use his relative's land because it is too far away. The relative would probably deny him access to the land anyway in such an event. In all these cases, the man usually stops using his relative's land altogether. In case (2), however, he might simply shift his primary affiliation to a different relative and continue to use the land of the original relative, in secondary degree.

The following table shows the proportion of cases of primary use of relatives' land which have lapsed, in a sample of sixty-two cases.⁸ The relationships are segregated according to the length of time they have lasted (either until ego died, or until the end of the fieldwork period). Clearly, the relationship is most likely to lapse in the earliest five

Table 13

Duration of Primary Land Use Relationships

Years Relation Remained as Primary	Total Cases	Remained Primary	Became Secondary	Uncertain	Lapsed Entirely	Rate of Lapse for Period *
1-5 years	26	14	3	-	9	19.4 %
6-10 years	16	13	1	-	2	8.3 %
11-15 years	7	6	-	1	-	} 5-10 % (7.5 % est'd.)
16-20 years	3	3	-	-	-	
21-25 years	7	6	-	-	1	
26-30 years	3	3	-	-	-	

* The rate of lapse for a period is expressed as

$$\% \text{ lapsed} = \frac{\text{number lapsed in given period}}{\text{total cases for all periods}} \times 100.$$

This percentage gives a measure of the fragility of the relationship during the given period, as compared to other periods.

year period. Correspondingly, the relationship is most likely to be ensured by shell payments by ego for the land owners after sixteen years or more. Overall, it can be estimated by means of the table that approximately sixty-seven per cent of the primary land use relationships established will continue until the death of ego.⁹

Even where a man maintains primary use of a relative's land until he dies, his sons (or other heirs) often do not continue such use. Frequently the father dies before his sons marry and the sons establish primary use of the land of a foster-father or patron instead. In Table 11, the figures show that only nine men out of fourteen cases used in primary degree land which was used in primary degree before them by their fathers. In four of these nine cases, the land owners had died out, leaving the land in the hands of those men. Primary use by a man

may result in his descendants gaining inalienable rights to the land after several generations of such use. However, this results only in a minority of the cases, since the land owners must die out, leaving the land to the land users, or the original land user's descendants must continue primary use of the land for three to four generations. It is not possible to estimate this minority with any accuracy, but it is probably less than thirty per cent.¹⁰

As a source of land and crops, acquisition by gift or sale is minor in comparison to sharing the use of a relative's land. While sixty-two out of ninety-nine men share the use of a relative's land (at least initially), only thirteen out of the ninety-nine have received gifts of land or crops (so far as is known), and only two of these received enough land to serve as the sole source of subsistence. Only fourteen out of the ninety-nine have bought land or crops (so far as is known), all in small amounts.¹¹ On the other hand, acquisitions by gift or sale are usually passed on to the man's heirs, while sharing of a relative's land is seldom passed on.

Of the twenty-four land gifts recorded, about half were given by mother's or wife's "agnates" to men who did not share use of these relatives' land. Some of the cases were ones where the mother's lineage had died out and the land and crops were being apportioned out; others were cases where the man needed land or crops and the relative had an excess. Most of the rest of the gifts were cases where a non-relative with excess land gave to an immigrant, or where the land was given in return for a "favor", in return for giving death payments for a clan owner or for revenging the death of a clan owner.

Obviously the category of land gifts overlaps with inheritance of land by non-clanmates. It seems best, therefore, to summarize land inheritance at this point. Judging on the basis of the cases known to me, disposition of a dead man's land formerly depended on (a) who gave the death payments, (b) the closeness of his remaining clanmates, and probably (c) the forcefulness of the various potential heirs. By and large the cases can be summarized as follows. (1) Where the dead man left lineage- or subclan-mates who owned the land in common with him, it could not be lost to them. A distant clanmate or non-clanmate who gave death payments gained a better claim to use the land if he already did so. Otherwise, he received part of the dead man's crops. (2) Where the dead man left only subclanmates whose land was partly separate from his, the separate lands were usually divided between the subclanmates (plus other claimants) and a distant clanmate or non-clanmate who gave death payments. (3) Where the dead man left only clanmates of a different subclan with entirely separate lands, the clanmates lost the land entirely unless they gave death payments. The land was divided between the giver of death payments and other claimants.

Reference has been made above to "other claimants" for the land of a dead man, besides his clanmates and the giver of death payments. In cases where the dead man died leaving only subclanmates whose land was partially separate (2, above) or leaving only clanmates whose land was entirely separate (3, above), his land and crops were often partly inherited by the man's lineage sister's sons or his foster-sons or by other men who had been living on and using the land. This was especially common if these men or their fathers had given death payments or bride-price payments for the land owners at an earlier time, but it sometimes

happened in other cases as well. Formerly, then, land was inherited through claims of clanship, through primary use of others' land, and through giving death payments. Today, of course, only the first two factors operate since death payments are no longer given.

Men who share the use of a relative's land normally use their own clan land as well, so long as it does not lie in a different village. The Foi regard any man who does not use his own land as foolish, since his sons will lose title to the crops planted on the land and may even have trouble asserting rights to the land at all. Nevertheless, men occasionally do fail to use their own land, or they use only an insignificant portion of it. (This occurs in five cases out of twenty-six cases where ego was engaged in primary use of a relative's land and also had his own clan land available.) Usually it occurs where a man has been fostered outside his clan from a young age, so that he has no acquaintance with his own clan land at the time he marries.

The Effects of Adoption and Patronage on Land Sharing

In Part I of the thesis (pp. 94-99), the effects of adoption and patronage on Foi social organization were summarized. A flow diagram (Fig. 3, p. 95) showed the proportion of men who have ties with non-clanmates through fosterage or patronage in a sample of 122 cases, but it was not feasible at that time to show how many of those ties result in use of the foster-father's or patron's land (one measure of the importance of those ties). Figure 5, below, continues the flow diagram shown in Figure 3, showing the land use relationships between non-clanmates in the sample of men. Land use relationships can be considered

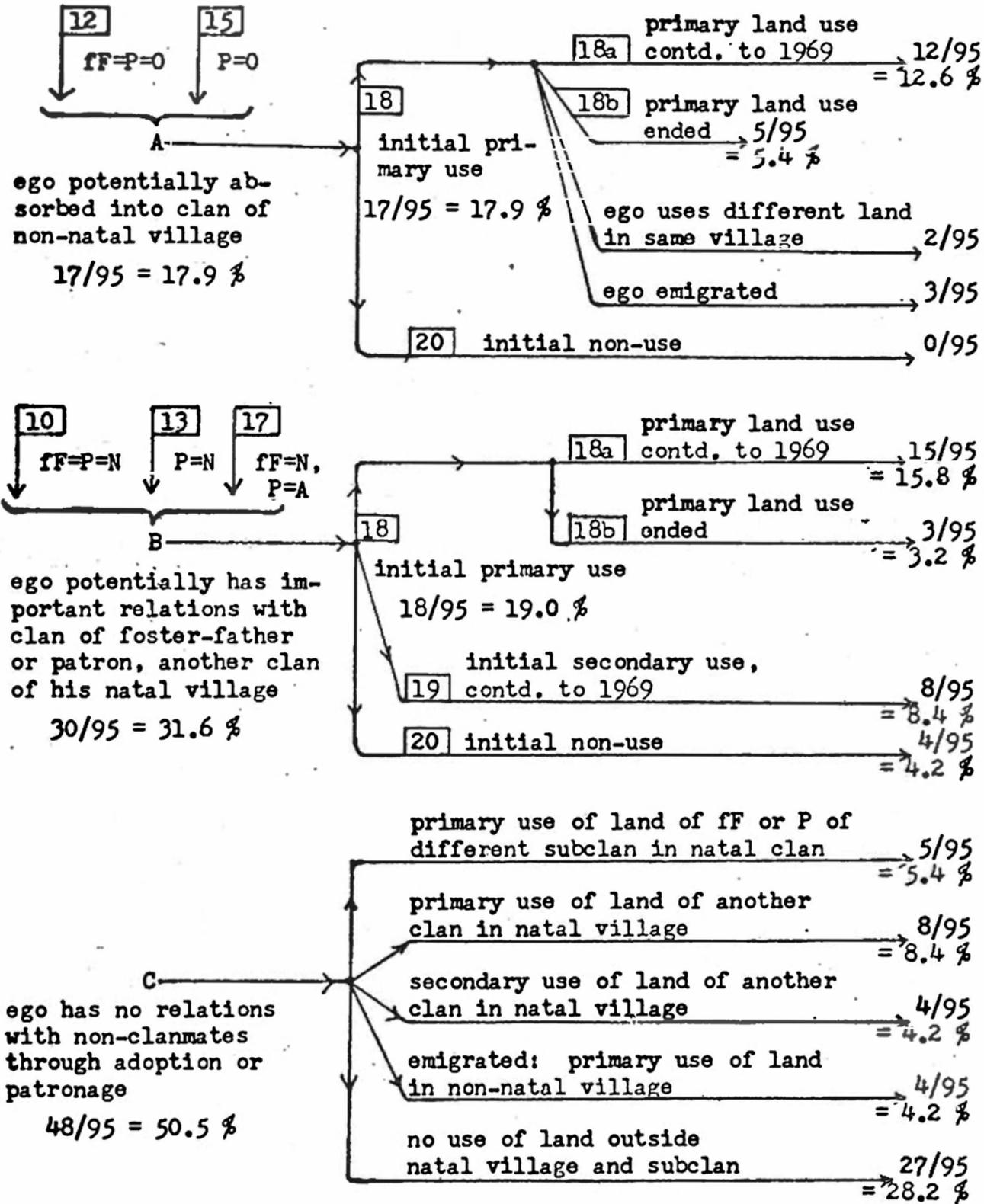


Figure 5. The Effects of Patronage and Adoption on Land Use (Continued from Fig. 3)

for only ninety-five of the 122 men in the original sample. For the rest of the men, information is lacking, or no land use had been established by 1969 when fieldwork ended.)

An explanation of the numbered or lettered parts of the diagram follows.

(12) Foster-father = patron. The man is outside ego's natal village.

(15) Patron (\neq foster-father). The man is outside ego's natal village.

Both of these cases (which together form subset A of the sample) are cases where ego would usually live with his patron, outside of his natal village, and eventually might be absorbed into his patron's clan. Initially at least, he would establish primary use of the land of his patron and would be unable to use his own clan land, which would lie in his natal village.

(10) Foster-father = patron. The man is a member of a different clan in ego's natal village.

(13) Patron (\neq foster-father). The man is a member of a different clan in ego's natal village.

(17) The patron is an agnatic relative, but the foster-father is a man of a different clan from ego's in ego's natal village. So long as the foster-father has not been alienated from ego by a quarrel and lives until ego reaches puberty, ego is likely to retain ties with the foster-father and his sons.

In all three cases (which together form subset B of the sample) ego may develop important relations with the clan of his foster-father, including use of his relative's land.

- C. The subset of men in the sample whose patrons or foster-fathers, if any, are of the same clan as ego. Such men develop no relationships outside the natal clan except by processes other than patronage and fosterage.
- (18) Ego establishes primary use of the land of his foster-father or patron at the time he marries.
- (18a) The primary use established continues through the fieldwork period, to 1969.
- (18b) The primary use established at ego's marriage lapses to secondary use, or none, by the end of the fieldwork period (1969).
- (19) Ego establishes secondary use of the land of his foster-father or patron at the time of his marriage, which continues to the end of the fieldwork period (1969).
- (20) Ego fails to use the land of his patron or foster-father.

If percentages are reckoned of the sample of ninety-five cases, those which can be considered for evaluating use of non-clanmates' land, then the following statements can be made about the sample. Eighteen per cent of the sample had a patron or foster-father in a village other than the natal village, and might have become absorbed into his clan. All of these initially lived with the foster-father/patron's clan and used his land in primary degree. Most of them (fifteen per cent of the sample of ninety-five) continued this primary land use to the end of the fieldwork period. (Some of these will probably migrate in the future, however, and primary land use will lapse.) Thirty-two per cent of the sample had a patron or foster-father in another clan of the natal village and might have developed important relationships with his clan.

Slightly over half of these initially established primary use of the land of the foster-father or patron, and about half of them (sixteen per cent of the sample of ninety-five) continued this primary use to the end of the fieldwork period. Finally, fifty per cent of the sample of men had no ties outside the natal clan through fosterage or patronage. Some of these (ten per cent of the ninety-five), however, established primary use of the land of another clan on some basis other than patronage or fosterage. Moreover, others of them (five per cent of the ninety-five) had a foster-father or patron in a different subclan of the natal clan and established primary use of the other subclan's land as a result. In toto thirty-eight per cent of the ninety-five men were using in primary degree the land of some non-clanmate at the end of the fieldwork period. Twenty-eight per cent of the sample used in primary degree the land of a non-clan foster-father or patron, as compared with fifty per cent who might have done so. It is clear that patronage and fosterage outside the natal clan frequently, but not always, result in primary use of non-clan land, and that primary land use is more likely where the patron or foster-father is outside the natal village than within.

PART III

THE ECONOMICS OF PIGS AND SHELLS

Spheres and Media of Exchange

Two types of shell "money" dominate the Foi exchange system, particularly the traditional area of exchange, pearlshells (ma?ame) and strings of small cowry shells (bari). They are both used primarily as media of exchange and are freely exchanged for each other. A special type of pearlshell is used as jewelry (worn suspended below the neck), but the majority are used only for exchange.¹ Other shell items are valuable to the Foi--bracelets, chest ornaments, nose plugs, earrings and so on--but these are used only as jewelry and not as media of exchange.

Until the advent of the Australians, both types of shell money were traded in solely through the surrounding groups, of course. The cowry shells originated from the south, as one would expect. Apparently they were traded from the south coast of New Guinea to the Kasere people (south of the Kikori-Wage junction), then to the Foi and Kafa villages, and thence to the Mubi-Kutubu area. (The Fasu did not serve as middlemen in the trade of cowry shells to the Foi.) The pearlshells, on the other hand, apparently were traded in mostly from the Augu-Kewa area to the north. My Foi informants were quite certain in this matter, as were

Williams' informants in 1938 (Williams 1940-41:16-17). Williams also states that the Augu had more and larger pearlshells than the Foi did in 1938. This challenges one's geographic sense, since the south coast of New Guinea is closest to the Foi and seems the likeliest source of the pearlshells. Probably the pearlshells formerly entered the Southern Highlands through areas to the west or east of the Foi and then circled south to the Foi. One possible route is through the Mt. Bosavi area (southwest of Lake Kutubu). Foi visitors to the Bosavi area shortly after contact there in the early 60's reported many and especially large pearlshells there, which may have come directly from the south coast.

Neither type of shell money has a rigidly standardized unit value. Rather, the value of shells varies, depending on the size and quality of the item in hand. The cowry-shell strings are more standardized than the pearlshells. Little difference in value is accorded to different quality or size of the individual shells. Only the length of the string, or more accurately the number of shells, affects the value of the string. The common length is about thirty inches, worth about twenty cents in Australian money in 1968. Sometimes shorter strings turn up and sometimes the regular length strings are tied together to make an item of high value. The pearlshells, on the other hand, vary tremendously in value, depending mostly upon their size and sheen apparently. (I was never able to learn to judge their value properly.) The smallest pearlshells (ma?ame fufu) were regularly exchanged for two dollars in Australian money in 1968. The largest and most famous ones were worth ten to twelve times as much in Australian money according to informants, although such exchanges occurred rarely.

Two spheres of traditional exchange can be roughly distinguished in the Foi economy, a shell-money sphere and a subsistence sphere.² Shell money is regularly used in making large ceremonial payments and in paying compensation for damages. It is regularly exchanged for such "luxury" items as pigs, large game animals, salt and kara?o, either by sale or by reciprocal gift-giving. These transactions, then, are included in the shell-money sphere. Everyday foods such as vegetables, sago grubs and rats, as well as other subsistence items like bamboo and firewood, are not exchanged for shell money or for the "luxury" items. Such "non-luxury" items are exchanged for each other by reciprocal gift-giving.

In general, shell money transactions are involved in the drive for prestige. Prestige and shell money transactions are dissociated from everyday subsistence. To a limited degree, subsistence and shell money transactions overlap, since land, standing crops (especially sago) and even bundles of sago flour can be bought with shell money. (The use of shell money is thus wider than it appears to be in many Highlands societies.) Still, such transactions are rare. Generally, title to land passes by inheritance rather than by exchange, while title to standing crops passes either by inheritance or by one-way gift, not in exchange for shells.

In addition to shells, pigs and kara?o are used to make traditional payments within the shell-money sphere, but not to the same extent. Both pigs and kara?o were (and are) used in giving brideprice or compensation, in buying land or sago. Early in the contact period, steel axes and bush-knives became important as articles of exchange in the shell-money sphere. In recent years, they have been used less as more of them became available. With the advent of the Australians, the exchange value

of shells decreased. In large part, this was probably because the patrol officers brought in large numbers of pearlshells to pay the Foi with. Traders seem to have sold shells to the Foi as well, increasing the supply still further and decreasing the value.

Since 1960 or so Australian money has also come into use for making traditional payments. Probably the Foi have had limited access to Australian money since the 1950's, using it to buy Western trade goods. Only recently, however, has it been used much within the shell-money sphere. Recorded brideprices, for example, do not show the use of Australian money until about 1962. In 1968 a good many Foi were willing, even eager, to accept money instead of shells for traditional payments. The prestige and worth of shells, as opposed to Australian money, is clearly being undermined. The Augu-Kewa are becoming unwilling to accept shells in payment as they are drawn into a cash economy; and the younger Foi who have gone out to work prefer receiving money to shells. Many Foi are saying that the shells are "only rocks." Despite this, there is not enough Australian money in circulation to replace shells in traditional transactions, and there is unlikely to be for a long time. No more than a third to a half of any brideprice was ever given in money during my stay.

The exchange of Australian money for Western goods is probably best recognized as a third sphere of exchange. But as Australian money has entered the sphere of traditional shell money payments, the two spheres have begun to inter-penetrate. A Foi can spend his money either for traditional payments or for Western goods. Except in the case of a few wage-earners however, Australian money is usually used for Western goods.

Transactions within the Shell-money Sphere

The main uses of shell money have been enumerated, but the way in which it circulates has only been touched upon. The Foi differentiate between several types of transactions according to the type of reciprocity involved. The principal categories are sale (arira), gift (nena gira, lit. 'given for nothing') and loan (yano gira). A sale is an exchange of one item for another. The exchange is considered equivalent, and is more or less immediate. A sale does not, of course, presuppose any special social relationship between the seller and the buyer. Foi sales are not considered irrevocable, except for items which are quickly consumed. Land and sago trees can be demanded back by the seller, if he returns the payment given. Pigs, dogs, woven bags, canoes, and so on can be returned by the buyer and the payment demanded back. Often it is difficult for one party to get the other to agree to the return, but in principle either buyer or seller should be able to change his mind.

A gift is a one-way transaction which obligates the recipient to reciprocate in the future, but not very specifically. Reciprocal gifts are appropriate between individuals who are closely related. In addition a gift between two individuals who are not closely related tends to establish a relation of ongoing reciprocal gift-giving between them. A man gives shells to his close kinsmen and to his trading partners when they need them to make shell payments. In turn, the latter are expected to give shells to the first man when he needs to make payments. There is no explicit balance of gift against counter-gift: so long as both parties give generously, there will be no complaints. If the obligation to reciprocate is ignored, the giver will certainly complain and will

eventually refuse to give further gifts. A gift is a gift, however, and there is little justification for demanding repayment for a gift. The giver may try to obtain a return by claiming that the gift was really a loan.

Loans, by contrast with gifts, are explicitly two-way transactions. An item (usually a shell or a bamboo of kara?o) is given on the explicit understanding that at some later date a nearly identical item will be returned. Outside his circle of close kin and trading partners (and sometimes within it) a man usually acquires shells by loan. Loans for brideprice payments and those for death payments are special categories. Ordinary loans are usually returned within a year or so. A shell loaned out for a brideprice payment, however, is normally not reclaimed until the man who loaned the shell gives brideprice for himself or a dependent. The same is true of loans for death payments.

While the Foi distinguish clearly between a gift and a loan in theory, actual cases are sometimes ambiguous. The donor of gifts may change his mind if return gifts are not forthcoming. He claims that the gift was really a loan and demands repayment. In a number of cases where I obtained information on a shell contributed for a brideprice payment, the donor and the recipient (the man giving the payment) disagreed over whether the shell had been given as a gift or a loan. The donor called it a gift--presumably hoping to establish more general obligations on the part of the recipient and emphasizing his own generosity. The recipient called it a loan--presumably hoping to limit his obligation to the donor, and perhaps expecting that there would be a demand for specific repayment. Exchanges such as the payment of compensation for

offences (fufubi) and ceremonial payments such as brideprice do not fall under any of the three categories. Brideprice, for example, is considered payment for a woman's sexual and domestic services and is (at least partially) refunded in case of divorce, but it is explicitly excluded from the category of sales.

The largest economic transactions normally made by a Foi man are the giving of large ceremonial payments, brideprice, death payments and kaïo, and the distribution of pork at an usane.habora feast. He makes such transactions rarely, but when he does, needs to draw upon the full range of possibilities for amassing shells and pigs. He asks his close kin and trading partners for shell gifts, more rarely pig gifts. He asks other men in his village or region (perhaps even outside his region) for loans and for repayment of their debts to him. He raises capital directly by carrying kara?o to the Augu-Kewa to trade for shells, and by raising pigs to sell for shells or to use in the transaction. In a pinch he may even sell excess land, sago or kara?o trees. Not only must he expend great effort to mobilize all his resources. He is also involved in numerous deals to exchange small pearlshells for larger ones or for cowry strings (in the case of a ceremonial payment) or to exchange shells for pigs (in the case of a pig feast).³

When a man is not himself preparing for such a large transaction, he is reacting to others who are. He receives some shells in the distribution of ceremonial payments, but in order to have a steady supply of valuables to loan or give to others, he must be continuously involved in trading kara?o to the Augu-Kewa for shells and shoats, and in raising pigs. A few men are truly lazy and largely avoid both

activities. Consequently they have little to give or loan to others and are called dibumena ('poor man or nothing man'). During the period of my fieldwork, by far the majority of items circulated in response to these major transactions. The trade of shells for items consumed outside the context of the major transactions was much less important, whether those items were produced locally or outside the Foi area.

The internal and external trade for consumption articles needs to be described more fully than has been done. Within the village or region, a number of locally-produced items are (or were) bought with shells besides the pigs, land and sago already discussed. These include tobacco, dogs, game, drums, woven bags, women's skirts, arm-bands and leg-bands, and bark cloth. In addition, a man may occasionally pay another to build him a canoe, a bush-house or a fenced enclosure for pigs. Sometimes men also buy kara?o oil from each other to sell to the Augu-Kewa. The trade in such items is minor since most of them are produced by everyone. The only exceptions are drums and arm- or leg-bands, which are produced by specialists.

Environmental variation within the Foi area is not great enough to cause much differentiation in the crops produced, nor do areas specialize in particular crafts to any extent. Thus the inter-regional trade is very limited, except for the trade in items which move beyond the Foi borders. Coconut and betel nut palms produce fruit only in the Southern Foi villages. However, they are apparently little desired in the northern area and are not much traded. The only significant trade of this sort is the trade in cooked fish produced at Lake Kutubu. Before warfare ended, the Gesege villagers sporadically sold fish to the

Herebo-Barutage-Hegisa and Damaiyu regions in return for cowry shells or bark cloth. Today all of the Lake villages sell fish to them, either for cowry shells or for Australian money.

External trade with the Augu-Kewa and Kasere peoples (and internal trade of the items exchanged with these) was and is more important than the trade in local products. The trade with the Kasere seems to have decreased from pre-contact times. The demand for cowry shells has decreased somewhat and no other items of great importance come from the Kasere. The trade with the Augu-Kewa, by contrast, probably is as heavy as it ever was, although the items exchanged have changed somewhat.

The Mubi villages, and particularly those on the north side of the valley (Barutage, Herebo, Ifigi, and probably Harabeyu, Du?ubari and Yamasi as well) play the main role in trade with the Augu-Kewa. The men of these northern villages all learn the Kewa language to facilitate trade,⁴ and most of them have special trading relations with particular Kewa villages. (These are not usually sobomena trading partnerships however.) During earlier times when warfare occurred, it was wise for a Foi to restrict his visits to one or two Kewa villages where he was sure of a welcome. Usually he visited a village which was supposedly of the same clan as his own. Today the trade is more general.

These Mubi villages are also the ones which produce the most kara?o for trade with the Augu-Kewa. The Kafa and Southern Foi villages produce little kara?o and trade what they do produce to the Mubi villagers, who act as middlemen. The Lake villagers produce little kara?o, but they trade it directly to the Augu. They do not generally learn the Augu language, nor have special ties with the Augu.

Kara?o has always been the main item traded to the Augu-Kewa. As one might expect, it brings a much higher price if the Foi carry it north to the Augu-Kewa--over thirty miles of precipitous mountain trails--than if they sell it at home. In addition to the kara?o, there was probably once some overall movement of cowry shells from the Foi to the Augu-Kewa. It must have been limited, however, since the Foi do not mention it. At present, salt and tobacco are obtained from the Augu-Kewa in exchange, and occasionally game; but clearly pearlshells and shoats are the more important items. Sometimes Australian money is obtained instead for kara?o. Before Western contact made salt and steel axes plentiful, the trade for Augu salt and stone axes must have been far more important than it is today, perhaps rivalling the trade for shells and pigs.

Trade with the Kasere has always been carried on through the six southernmost Foi villages, who in turn pass the items on to the north. Unlike the northern trade, few of the Southern Foi speak the Kasere language to facilitate trade. The same items are obtained today as in pre-contact times, cowry shells (the most important item), shell jewelry, sago shredders (abu) and a few pearlshells. My Southern Foi informants claimed that they traded tobacco for all these items, but it seems unlikely that this was the only item traded, since the Kasere could grow it for themselves. The Southern Foi then trade cowry shells, jewelry and sago-shredders north for salt, pigs and pearlshells.

Ceremonial Payments

The details of the ceremonial payments have already been summarized but a fuller description is needed. Brideprice, to recapitulate, is

given by the groom or his patron to the bride's clan and their allies, and to the bride's mother's clan and their allies. The bride's father, if he is alive, always acts as the main distributor. If he is dead some other close agnate of the bride (brother, father's brother's son) or ally of her father (foster-son, patron's son) acts as distributor. Failing any of these a more distant agnate distributes the brideprice.

Recent brideprices consist of roughly three categories of items, differing in value, (1) large pearlshells, pigs and very long strings of cowries (perhaps fifteen to twenty ordinary strings tied together), (2) small pearlshells, axes, bush-knives and long strings of cowries (two or three ordinary strings tied together), (3) single strings of cowries. (These categories are implied in Foi conversation, but they are not given separate cover terms.) It is difficult to determine the relative value of recent brideprices in any exact way, since my records are rarely so detailed as to show the exact size of every shell given. Still, it is apparent from the brideprice tabulated below that considerable variation in size occurred among the brideprices given during the period 1963 to 1968. The largest brideprice given (Arase-Yogame) was probably at least twice the value of the smallest (Faiyanabo-Ama?a).

Differences in size can only be partially accounted for. One would expect that big men would generally give larger brideprices, to enhance their prestige and because they could more easily amass the shells. Generally this seems to be demonstrated by the tabulated cases. The average size of brideprice given by big men for young women is 39.9 (category 1 and 2 items), by non-big men for young women 32.6. The difference is not very great, however. One would also expect--and the Foi

Table 14
Size of Brideprices (1963-1968)

Marriage	Category 1 Items	Category 2 Items	Total of Categories 1 and 2	Category 3 Items
A. Brideprice Given by a Big Man for a Young Woman				
Wafabeyu-Tegemaka	10	26	36	?
Tinimame-Fahaesobo	? ^a	?	43	?
Besebo-Marehya	11	25	36	5 x 37
Wafari-Kaseba	11	33	44	5 x 37
Fayebi-Aboka	7	41	48	8 x 37
Faiyanabo-Amafa	6	48	54	?
Arase-Yogame ^b	?	?	19	?
B. Brideprice Given by a Non-Big Man for a Young Woman				
Garare-Fufuwabo	?	?	37	?
Aguyu-Hasuwabo	?	?	33	?
Amenahui-Bosidobo	7	30	37	?
Kuidobo-Kosa'ahya		19	29	3 x 37
Buanobo-Yane	8	19	27	3 x 37
C. Brideprice Given by a Non-Big Man for an Older Woman				
Igibu-Yamabo	?	?	39	?
Nafa-Dimame	?	?	25	?
Sohai-Hefa	?	?	27	4 x 37
Range	6-11		19-54	(2-8) x 37
Average	9		35.6	4 x 37

^a In some cases the data do not allow a distinction between category 1 and category 2 items. Only the total for both categories is known. In such cases, the total is noted in the fourth column and question marks are entered in columns two and three.

^b This was perhaps a special case. Arase had earlier married the girl's sister, giving a large brideprice for her (thirty-seven category 1 and 2 items). When he married Yogame as well, the girl's father may not have asked for a very large brideprice, since he had a close relationship established with Arase.

say--that brideprice should be smaller for an old woman than for a young one. This seems to hold true in general, although it cannot be demonstrated from the table.⁵ Informants also say that larger brideprices are given when a bride has more clanmates (and other allies), but I cannot show this.

The average size of brideprice has clearly increased since pre-contact times. The largest estimate given by a Foi informant for pre-contact brideprice was eleven pearlshells (probably all of category 2) and nine to twenty-six ordinary cowry strings. Using this estimate, brideprice given in 1968 was about five times as large. It is difficult to say whether the increase represents simply a decrease in the value of the shells, or whether the value of women (as measured in terms of goods other than shells) has also increased.⁶ Whatever increase did occur in brideprice probably took place before 1950, because brideprices recorded for the period 1950-1955 are of the same average size as those given during the fieldwork period. Williams (1940-41:14,55,57) indicates that inflation (decrease in the value of shell money) had already begun in 1938. Some time before the fieldwork period, the Australian Administration attempted to control inflation in the size of brideprice by limiting the size to twenty pearlshells. The limit had little effect, except to induce the Foi to lie to me about the size of brideprices early in my fieldwork.

Let us turn now to the amassing of shells for a brideprice. In cases of patronage, most of the shells are amassed by the patron, but often part of them by the groom as well. If the groom and patron are not agnates, the groom's relatives give shells to him rather than to the

patron. If the groom is older, and particularly if the patron has had no prior relationship to him (as foster-father or agnate), the groom is usually expected to help raise shells by trading kara?o and soliciting loans. In some cases, the bride's father gives part of the brideprice and even overlooks his own right to a shell. The number of shells given by the groom may be too small to meet the bride's father's obligations to distribute shells. If the groom refuses to give more, the bride's father has either to give shells of his own or to break off the marriage. If the father is dead and another man distributes the brideprice, the distributor never seems to contribute his own shells. Presumably the obligations of the distributor are fewer and less strong for women who are not his own daughters.

The sources for brideprice are tabulated below for eleven cases. (Only pearlshells are considered.) On the average, gifts, loans and production (by selling pigs, kara?o, land or crops) are of nearly equal importance. However, different brideprices are amassed in quite different ways. The relative importance of loans varies from nearly nothing to two-thirds of the shells; the same is true for production. The relative importance of gifts also varies, although not so much. The importance of gifts is probably dependent largely upon the number of close relatives the groom or his patron has, and whether he has maintained ties of land use and shell contributions to them. Asuhua, who has few close relatives of any kind and no agnates living in his village, has a very low percentage of gifts. Likewise Faragu, who had no mature lineage-mates when he married and almost no other close relatives, has the lowest percentage of gifts.

Table 15
Sources of Brideprice (Pearlshells Only)

Groom	Total Shells	Sources of Brideprice:			Father of Bride
		Gifts (to Patron/ to Groom)	Loans (to Patron/ to Groom)	Production (by Patron/ by Groom)	
A. No Patron, Groom Not a Big Man					
Aramene	22	/12 (54%)	/3 (14%)	/7 (32%)	--
Asuhua	20	/3 (15%)	/6 (30%)	/11 (55%)	--
B. Patron, but Not a Big Man					
Waibi	36	24/ (67%)	2/ (5%)	10/ (28%)	--
Amenahui	37	13/11 ^a (65%)	3/ (8%)	10/ (27%)	--
Faragu	20	1/ (5%)	4/6 (50%)	5/4 (45%)	--
C. Patron a Big Man					
Eesebo	36	8/ (22%)	10/5 (42%)	2/5 (19%)	6 (17%)
Wa?ari	44	17/ (39%)	27/ (61%)	--	--
Tauwadobo	37	8/4 (32%)	13/ (35%)	12/ (32%) ^b	--
Warubi	18 ^c	7/ (39%)	5/ (27%)	6/ (33%)	--
Fayebi	48	6/15 (44%)	7/1 (16%)	19/ (40%) ^b	--
Iawara?o	24	11/ (46%)	13/ (54%)	--	--
Range		15% - 67%	5% - 61%	none - 55%	
Average		38.5 %	31.5 %	30 %	

^a The eleven shells entered as given to the groom (Amenahui) were actually given by a big man as co-patron, a sort of secondary patron.

^b The figure for produced shells may be too large in these cases. Shells which were not accounted for as either loans or gifts have been added to the production category here, even though they were not explicitly mentioned as produced.

^c The figures for Warubi's brideprice represent only the first installment of the brideprice, given to establish his betrothal. The second (and usually smaller) installment had yet to be given at the end of my fieldwork.

When the proportion of loans is compared with the proportion of production, it becomes apparent that big men are usually more dependent on obtaining loans or calling in their loans, while others are more dependent upon production of shells. Thus, if Parts A and B of Table 15 (where all shells were obtained by non-big men) are compared with the patron's portions of Part C (where the patron was a big man), there is a clear difference. For Parts A and B, the median proportion of loans to production is one to two. For Part C, the median proportion of loans to production for the big man patrons is about three to one.

Probably the greater dependence of big men on loans is partly a matter of choice, partly of necessity. The big man is an entrepreneur (see above, pp. 103-4), who follows a strategy of moving his capital, both giving and receiving more loans than other men by choice. On the other hand, a man who has the reputation of a "nothing man" (dibumena) may find it difficult to obtain loans. Amenahui's father and patron, for example, is regarded as a nothing man. He was too old to amass many shells for Amenahui's marriage by production and unsuccessful at obtaining loans. Eventually, a big man of the village offered to act as co-patron (a sort of secondary patron). Paradoxically, although the big man produces more shells over the long run, he depends less upon production when he has a large payment to make.

Let us now consider the distribution of brideprice. Usually the brideprice is formally distributed, either when the couple is betrothed or at the time when the bride goes to live with her husband. The most important recipients, however, those who receive the largest shells and have a say in whether the marriage will take place, are given their

shells privately before the public distribution. These include the bride's father, her brothers and other male lineage-mates, and her mother's brothers and their sons. Occasionally others receive large shells as well--any man who gave a shell for the bride's mother's marriage to her father, the bride's foster-father, and any close ally of the bride's lineage who has contributed heavily to the lineage's shell payments. The demands of all these must be met before the marriage is sealed by a distribution. Occasionally the groom gives all the brideprice shells in private, one by one. This procedure is looked upon with disfavor. It is common in cases where the woman has initiated the marriage by coming to live with the man, or where a man has seduced his step-daughter. In both cases, the pair live together before the brideprice is given, so the husband gives out the shells as he acquires them.

The main part of the public distribution takes place in the men's house of the bride's village. The primary distributor--usually a close agnate of the bride--begins by dividing the pile into a portion for the father's side (aba.busi) and a portion for the mother's side (hua.busi). The division varies, but the father's side always receives a greater share. Typically, in a brideprice of thirty-seven shells, twenty-five would go to the father's side, twelve to the mother's side. The primary distributor then hands out shells to the father's side, larger items being given to those with greater claims. Certain claims to shells are rarely disregarded, no matter what relative acts as distributor, particularly the claims of the bride's close agnates. However, the distributor has some leeway to favor his own relatives as opposed to those of the bride. Often he gives shells to his in-laws or trading partners, men who

may have no claim at all to the brideprice of the particular woman, only a claim upon the distributor. Some men who are offered shells refuse them because they were major contributors to the brideprice, others because the shell offered is too small, still others because they disapprove of the marriage. Typically, such men do eventually get a shell. A man who disapproves of the marriage may allow his wife to take a shell, or may arrange to be given a shell before the distribution (one which formally comes from the distributor rather than the groom). Men who refuse shells because they are too small usually are given larger ones later on, unless their claims are weak.

The shells which go to the mother's side are distributed in the same fashion by a mother's brother or mother's brother's son of the bride, acting as secondary distributor. If the bride has been raised by a foster-father who is not also her patrilineal clanmate, he is usually given a third portion of the shells to distribute (perhaps twelve out of a total of forty). The aya.busi, relatives of the bride's father's mother and of her mother's mother, receive shells in the distribution for the father's side and the mother's side, respectively. At the end of the distribution, some men may have received shells on both the mother's and father's sides (but usually men are not major recipients on both sides). Men who contributed to the brideprice may also have received shells (but not usually men who were major contributors).

Some minor transactions take place after the main distribution. Men who have given pearlshells for the bride to wear to her husband's house (shells which the husband of the bride takes possession of) are given pearlshells in return by the husband's clanmates. Care is taken to make

sure that pearlshells of exactly equal value are exchanged. In addition, strings of cowry shells (specially long strings called ka bari) are distributed in the women's house. Female relatives of the bride give her skirts or string-bags as a "trousseau" and in return receive the cowry-shell strings.

Other ceremonial payments cannot be described in the same detail. Most of them fall under the heading of death payments and these were discontinued before the period of my fieldwork. It seems easiest to describe the death payments for men separately from those for women.

According to my informants, when a man died, the first payment, ka yaro bana?anu (widow payment) was made by his wife's relatives, assuming that the dead man was married when he died. It was given to his close agnates, or to whatever other relative was giving his death payments. The Foi say that the wife's relatives give shells so that the dead man's relatives will not hold her responsible for his death. Ordinarily, the payment amounted to only six or eight pearlshells. However, if the woman was known to have behaved badly to her husband before he died, a larger payment of perhaps nineteen pearlshells might be demanded as a compensation for damages.⁷ In practice the payment often consisted of pigs, which were slaughtered at a feast for the dead man (kabaye ha.bora) along with pigs contributed by the dead man's agnates and other allies. The pork was "sold" for shells, rather than being given out. The shells obtained were then used to give the death payments proper. Probably the feast was indispensable as a means to amass shells, since the dead man's relatives would have had little time to amass shells by selling kara?o or asking for loans.

The death payments proper were not formally distributed in the Mubi area. Instead, those relatives entitled to a shell came separately to the man, or men, giving the payments on the dead man's side and demanded shells. It is said that they often became angry if no shells were forthcoming, beating on the man responsible for giving payments or killing his pigs to take away with them. At the Lake Kutubu villages, death payments were formally distributed in the same fashion as bride-price. In both locales, three named payments were given. Men of the dead man's mother's clan and their affiliates (hua.busi) gave small payments (bana?anu igaira) to the dead man's agnates and, in return, were given larger payments (abi gira). A close matrilineal relative might give a pearlshell and four cowry-shell strings and receive in return two pearlshells and nine cowry-shell strings. The shells received as bana?anu igaira were then supposedly used for the payments (bana?anu gira) which went to the dead man's mother's mother's clanmates. A close relative of this sort might receive a pearlshell and several cowry-shell strings. It seems unlikely that the sequence of payments indicated by informants--ka yaro bana?anu, then abi gira and bana?anu igaira, then bana?anu gira--was followed strictly. Probably there were delays in some payments so that the man responsible for giving abi gira and bana?anu gira was being dunned for payments by some men before others had paid him.

At the same time as the death payments were given, a sort of inheritance (denane.ga ma?ame gira) was distributed to the dead man's agnates. Supposedly, shells and pigs which the dead man had on hand at the time of death were given out, generally to his children and siblings, or to men he had "lived with." It was deemed especially appropriate that those

relatives who agreed to take care of his unmarried children should receive a shell. In many cases, there was little to give out. Relatives who had lived with the man, however, might be accused by the others of hiding away his possessions. In defense, they often gave away shells or pigs of their own (according to them). This distribution was not classed with the rest of the death payments and consequently has not been discontinued as the rest have been.

When a woman died, much the same payments were given, but they passed between different groups. The husband gave abi gira to the same relatives who receive brideprice for a woman, her father's clanmates and her mother's clanmates. In return they gave smaller payments, bana'anu igaira, to the husband. He then gave bana'anu gira to her father's mother's and mother's mother's clanmates (aya.busi). Usually, the mature sons of a dead woman helped her husband give the payments. If she were a widow, they assumed the sole responsibility.

The total death payments given out by a dead woman's husband or a dead man's agnates was often of comparable size to brideprice. Payments of much smaller size were given for unmarried children by the father or foster-father. Presumably the contributions given to a man responsible for giving abi gira and bana'anu gira came from the same sort of individuals who would contribute to a brideprice given by the man. Little data is available, but it indicates that lineage-mates and allies who "lived with" a man giving death payments usually helped him. The distribution of abi gira and bana'anu gira, however, seems to have been based more strictly on clanship ties than the distribution of brideprice. Male clanmates, female clanmates and sons of female clanmates received shells

due to the clan, and sometimes a foster-son who lived with the clan, but few other non-clanmates.

Consider, now, all the ceremonial payments that traditionally resulted from a single marriage. The genealogical diagram shown below will provide a framework.

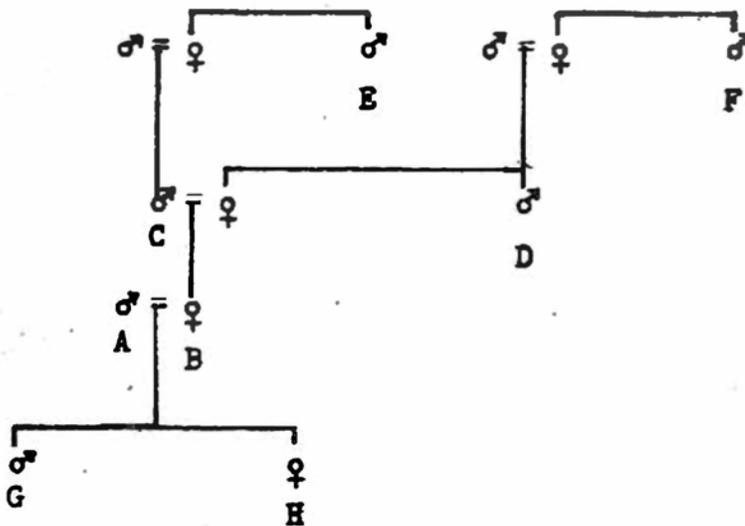


Figure 6. Hypothetical Genealogy

In order, the following payments are made between a man A and his clan on the one hand and the relatives of his wife B on the other.

1. brideprice for B (A → C's clan, D's clan, E's clan, F's clan)

2. death payments for A (if he dies before B):

ka yaro banaʔanu (C's clan → A's clan)

3. death payments for B (if she dies before A);

banaʔanu igaira (C's clan, D's clan → A)

abi gira (A → C's clan, D's clan)

banaʔanu gira (A → E's clan, F's clan)

4. death payments for G:

banaʔanu igaira (C's clan → A's clan)

abi gira (A's clan → C's clan)

banaʔanu gira (A's clan → D's clan)

Clearly the payments given by man A and his clan far outweigh those given in return by the wife B's relatives.

Analysis of Brideprice Contributions

The groundwork has now been laid to describe a decision model for predicting contributions (gifts) to brideprice payments. As in the case of land use, the model is based largely upon Foi explanations; and it will be tested against a sample of brideprices. In the case of land use, the decision maker must often choose one from among several relatives who offer him primary land use. In the case of brideprice contributions, there is no very significant process of choice among relatives apparent. Presumably a man can contribute to the brideprices given for and by all of his close relatives if he wishes. By contributing to one he does not very much reduce his capability of contributing to another. The choice that he makes is more accurately that of whether to contribute a shell to a given relative, or to allocate his resources in some other way, perhaps loaning a shell instead or trading it for consumable items (or of course he might not expend the effort to acquire a shell in the first place).

Brideprice contributions are generally made only by males. Occasionally a sister or foster-sister of the groom contributes a shell, but ordinarily it is her husband who does so. Men who are unmarried or only recently married (perhaps within the year) are not expected to contribute to others' brideprices and they do so only rarely. They have few shell

resources and what they have are generally tied up in their own marriages. Likewise, men who have grown too old or too crippled to walk around much are not expected to contribute. They can no longer gather kara?o to sell, nor can they easily visit other men to obtain loans. Thus, the prediction of contributors will be limited to married men who are not physically disabled.

The main categories of contributors are (1) lineage-mates of the groom or patron (father, brother, son, father's brother, father's brother's son), (2) primary land users or land donors of the groom or patron, (3) husbands of female lineage-mates of the groom, and his mother's lineage-mates, (4) clients of the groom, of his father, or of his patron, and (5) men to whom either the groom or the patron has given contributions earlier for brideprice. Of these, the most important are lineage-mates. They are said to contribute to each other's brideprice payments because they "live together" (i.e. they use the same inherited land). There is a strong feeling that all lineage-mates ought to contribute to a man's brideprice. However (although the Foi do not say this), it seems that lineage-mates who do not use the same land as the groom normally do not contribute. In such cases, the main allegiance of either the lineage-mate or the man giving brideprice lies outside the lineage. Although the ideal of lineage solidarity remains, it is rarely adhered to in such a case. Likewise, when a man is marrying for the first time and seems unlikely to use lineage land after his marriage, his lineage-mates will rarely contribute to his brideprice.

Clanmates outside the lineage are generally not expected to contribute. A man who receives no contributions to his brideprice will say

that it is because he had no "true brothers" (brother, father's brother's son), or because they were too young at the time. In certain circumstances, however, more distant clanmates do contribute. Some clanmates outside the lineage contribute because they fall into other categories of contributors, e.g. primary user of the groom's lineage land or client of the patron. In other cases, the subclan (or perhaps the whole clan) is so small that the separate lineages have merged in terms of bride-price contributions, just as they do in terms of land use (see above, pp. 132-3). Usually the separate lineages begin to contribute to each other's brideprices before they begin to use each other's lands. The Foi recognize that this process occurs, but they do not define size limits for the merger. On the basis of the recorded cases, it appears that two lineages which are part of the next larger segment (usually a named subclan) will begin to contribute to each other's brideprice payments once their total falls to about six married men.⁸

Frequent reference has been made to the fact that a primary land user is expected to contribute to brideprice given by the relative who allows him land use. In fact, he must contribute to all the men of the land-owning lineage to make his position secure, since any of them can force him to leave. Conversely, the Foi say that the land-owning lineage has "taken the man in" and that the lineage members should contribute to brideprice given by the land user, for himself or his clients. I did not elicit statements about the land user's obligations to contribute to clanmates beyond the lineage, or to contribute to other non-clan users of the lineage land. It appears from the cases that where the land-owning lineage is small and contributes to another lineage within its clan, the

land user also generally does so. He does not usually contribute to other non-clan users of the lineage land unless he is otherwise related to them.

In more than half of the cases where a contribution is made, the contributor is reciprocating for an earlier contribution given to him. A patron is said to demand that his client contribute to brideprice for him or his new clients if the client himself does not take the initiative. Less strong obligations to reciprocate hold between sobomena trading partners of different villages, and between certain pairs of men within the same village who help each other make payments. The latter are said to be "like sobomena", but the term is not actually applied to them. The Foi explicitly deny that reciprocity is the reason for contributions between men who are agnates or men who live together. Undoubtedly the pressure to reciprocate constitutes an additional reason for contributions between agnates and between land user and land donor, however.

A young man's foster-father is expected to act as his patron for his first marriage, or at least to contribute to it substantially, unless they have quarreled and the young man has left to live with another. Foster-relatives would normally fall into other categories of relatives--land donor and land user, patron and client, for example--or one would owe the other contributions by reciprocity. There are so few cases where fosterage is the only tie between men that it is difficult to determine whether fosterage itself constitutes a basis for brideprice contributions (other than the obligation of a foster-father to give brideprice when his foster-son marries for the first time). I suspect that in cases where no other relationship exists besides fosterage, one relative

has usually been disappointed by the other and might be expected not to contribute to the other.

Finally, relatives through women also contribute to brideprice payments. According to my informants, the groom's actual mother's brother or mother's brother's son should contribute, as should his actual sister's husband or foster-sister's husband. These and more distant relatives of the same types may have practical reasons to contribute as well. The mother's brother or mother's brother's son always receives brideprice for his sister's daughters. However, by contributing to the brideprice of his sister's son, he ensures that he will receive brideprice as aya.busi (father's mother's clan) for the boy's daughters. Otherwise, he might be ignored. When the line of the actual mother's brother has died out, a classificatory mother's brother might contribute to establish himself as the major recipient on the mother's side, so that he would be the one to distribute on the mother's side for the boy's sisters.

Ordinarily a man who contributes to another's brideprice can expect two sorts of return. First, he expects to receive contributions to brideprice that he gives in reciprocity for the contribution he has made, a sort of direct reciprocity. Second, he expects to receive shells from the brideprices of daughters who result from the marriage he helped to finance. In the case of a sister's husband or foster-sister's husband who contributes to a man's brideprice, there is no direct return by reciprocal contributions from the man. (Thus a man does not contribute to brideprice given by his sister's husband, except for the marriage of his sister's son.) This can be seen as part of the subordinate status of the sister's husband relative to the wife's brother. The sister's

husband, by contributing to a man's brideprice, merely assures himself of receiving shells from the brideprices of the man's daughters or sisters.

The model for predicting brideprice contributions follows. Part I predicts contributions by clanmates of the groom (except for those related by closer ties of fosterage, patronage or land use). Part II predicts contributions by clanmates of the patron. Part III predicts contributions by non-clan relatives of either the groom or the patron. Mother's brothers and sister's husbands of the groom are not considered by the model. The motivation for their contributions seems clear enough, but I could find no way to predict contributions on that basis.

Model for Prediction of Brideprice Contributions

Initial Procedure to Select Sample

Consider for prediction of contributions only those men who have been married for a year or more and who are not significantly debilitated by age or sickness at the time the brideprice in question is amassed.

Part I. Clanmates of the Groom

a. Lineage-mates of the groom are predicted to contribute to his brideprice, so long as both lineage-mate and groom can be supposed to use the same lineage land in the future. Thus, lineage-mates are predicted to contribute except under the following conditions:

- (1) The relative does not use his lineage land;
- (2) The groom has already been married and does not use his lineage land;
- (3) The groom has not been married before and his patron is a man from outside the groom's natal village. (Normally the groom would be expected to use his patron's land and would be unable to use his own.)
- (4) The groom has not been married before and has no ties to his own lineage land because he has been fostered from a young age outside his clan or subclan, and his patron is outside his subclan.^a

b. Clanmates beyond the groom's lineage are predicted to contribute to his brideprice if both groom and clanmate are users of their lineage land and they are members of small coordinate segments within the clan. Where the total number of primary land users (both lineage owners and non-owning land users) for the two segments totals no more than six and where the two segments form part or all of the next larger segment (usually the named subclan or local clan segment), then contributions are predicted.^b

As in part a, contributions are predicted only where conditions (1) through (4) (as above) do not hold.

c. Any clanmate is predicted to contribute to the groom's brideprice by reciprocity if the groom has earlier contributed to brideprice given by the clanmate or for him.

Part II. Clanmates of the Patron

Clanmates of the patron are predicted to contribute to brideprice for his client under the same conditions as they would to him as groom.

a. Lineage-mates of the patron are predicted to contribute to brideprice for his client, unless

- (1) the lineage-mate does not use his lineage land; or
- (2) the patron does not use his lineage land.

(Conditions (3) and (4) of Part I are inapplicable since unmarried men do not act as patrons.)

^a The wording here is ambiguous for certain cases. Where the groom's father is using land other than his natal lineage land; his sons would normally use that land also if they marry before he dies. Father and sons would then be predicted to contribute to each other. They use the same land, partly by virtue of their agnatic relationship, even though it is not their own lineage land.

^b Usually the several lineages within a subclan are equally separate, but sometimes two are more closely related to each other than to the rest, being linked by overlapping land ownership and remembered or supposed genealogical connection. Likewise, several subclans within a clan are usually equally separate. In the case of Egadobo at Herebo in particular, this is not so, however. Two named groups--Sebebe Egadobo and Sebebe Aidobo--form a larger group (elsewhere called a subclan), as opposed to Isa Egadobo. In such cases, the subgroup of linked lineages or linked subclans is taken as a segment, in addition to the usual levels of the named subclan and the local clan segment. If coalescence of two lineages or subclans occurs, it would normally occur through such a linkage, where it exists (or through patronage, which is dealt with later).

b. Clanmates beyond the patron's lineage are predicted to contribute to brideprice for his client if both clanmate and patron use their lineage land and if they are members of coordinate clan segments where the total number of land users does not exceed six.

c. Any clanmate of the patron is predicted to contribute to brideprice for his client if the patron has earlier contributed to brideprice given by the clanmate or for him.

Part III. Non-clan Relatives of the Groom or Patron

a. A primary land user is predicted to contribute to brideprice for any member of the lineage whose land he uses, so long as that member uses the land (i.e. unless condition (1) (above) holds). Likewise members of the lineage are predicted to contribute to brideprice for the land user, so long as those members use their lineage land.

b. Contributions are predicted between the user of land and more distant clanmates of the land donor where both the land donor and his clanmates are members of small coordinate clan segments predicted to contribute to each others' brideprices.

a'. Primary land users, on the one hand, and lineage owners of the land used by them, on the other, are predicted to contribute to brideprice for each others' clients (so long as the lineage owners use their land).

b'. Contributions are predicted between the primary land user and clanmates of the land donor beyond his lineage for each others' clients, where the land donor and his clanmates are members of small coordinate clan segments predicted to contribute to each other.

c. A primary land user and any clanmate of his land donor are predicted to contribute to each other for own brideprice or client's brideprice when they are obligated to contribute by reciprocity for earlier contributions.

d. A man is predicted to contribute to brideprice for his patron, patron's son (for his first marriage) or patron's client (for the marriage payment given by the patron).

e. A man is predicted to contribute to brideprice for his foster-son's first wife, unless the foster-son has quarreled with him and gone to live with another.

Table 16, below, compares predicted contributions with actual contributions for a sample of seventy-one brideprices. The process of prediction is carried out in Table 32, Appendix D. Overall, 89.8 per cent of the predictions are correct (359 of 400 cases). As in the case of the land use model, this overall percentage means little: the factors used to predict contributions must be evaluated separately for an adequate test of the model. It seems appropriate to lump certain segments of the model together, however. This is effected by subtotals 1 through 6 in the table. Thus, for example, factor a (lineage-mates who use the same lineage land) is lumped over Parts I and II of the model in subtotal 1. For positive factors a, b and c, and for conditions 1 and 2 (used to eliminate predictions) the results seem significant since the sample size exceeds fifteen.⁹ For factors d and e, and for conditions 3 and 4, the significance of the results is open to question.

The level of correct positive predictions is consistently high for factors a, b and c (approximately eighty per cent or more). Conversely, there are few cases in the sample where unpredicted contributions were given. The rate of predictions seems sufficient to establish these three factors as valid, with certain reservations. One rather striking result shown is that, for clanmates, factor a (contributions between users of the same lineage land) consistently predicts better than factor b (contributions between members of small coordinate clan segments), about ten per cent better. We should expect factor b to be less successful, actually, since the process for predicting "merger" between small coordinate clan segments is obviously somewhat arbitrary. Undoubtedly the "merger" depends not only on the number of land users in the two

Table 16

Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Brideprice Contributions Model

Category of the Model	Correct Predictions ^a	Incorrect Predictions	Uncertain	Per Cent. Correct ^b
<u>Positive Predictions</u>				
Lineage-mates:				
Part I, factor a only (conds. 1-4 absent)	26	1	1	96 %
Part II, factor a only (conds. 1-4 absent)	1	-	-	
Subtotal 1 - factor a	27	1	1	96 %
Agnates of small, coordinate segments:				
Part I, factor b only (conds. 1-4 absent)	12	3	-	80 %
Part II, factor b only (conds. 1-4 absent)	1	-	-	
Subtotal 2 - factor b	13	3	-	81 %
Land users: land donors:				
Part III, factor a only (cond. 1 absent)	7	1	-	88 %
Part III, factor a' only (cond. 1 absent)	3	1	1	
Subtotal 3 - factors a, a'	10	2	1	83 %
Part III, factor b only (cond. 1 absent)	12	3	2	80 %
Part III, factor b' only (cond. 1 absent)	2	-	-	
Subtotal 4 - factors b, b'	14	3	2	82 %
Clients:				
Part III, factor d only	8	1	2	89 %
Foster-fathers (for the first wives of foster-sons):				
Part III, factor e only	7	-	1	100 %

Table 16 continued. Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Brideprice Contributions Model

Category of the Model	Correct Predictions	Incorrect Predictions	Uncertain	Per Cent Correct
Reciprocity for earlier contributions:				
Part I, factor c only	16	1		94 %
Part II, factor c only	-	1		
Part III, factor c only	4	3		
Subtotal 5 - factor c	20	5		80 %
Combinations of factors:				
Part I, factors a and c, or a and c?	12	1	-	92 %
Part I, factors b and c, or b and c?	16	3	-	84 %
Part II, factors a and c, or b and c	12	-	-	100 %
Part III, factors (a or a') and (c or c?)	13	3	2	81 %
Part III, factors (b or b') and (c or c?)	12	-	1	100 %
Part III, factors (a or a') and d	10	1	-	91 %
Part III, factors (b or b') and d	1	-	1	
Part III, factors a and e	3	-	-	
other (factors from more than one part of the model)	7	2	-	
Total Positive Predictions	185	25	11	88 %

Factor c? .

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Negative Predictions

Part I, factors a or b only:

Conditions 1 and/or 2	15	5	-	75 %
Conditions 3 and/or 4	11	2	-	85 %

Table 16 continued. Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Brideprice Contributions Model

Category of the Model	Correct Predictions	Incorrect Predictions	Uncertain	Per Cent Correct
Part I, factors a or b only (continued):				
Conditions 1, 2 and 3	4	1	1	
Part II, factors a or b only:				
Conditions 1 and/or 2	2	-	-	
Part III, factors a, a', b or b' only:				
Condition 1	3	1	-	
Condition 4	1	-	-	
<hr/>				
Subtotal 6 - conditions 1 and/or 2	20	6	-	77 %
Subtotal 7 - all conditions	36	9	1	80 %
<hr/>				
No positive factors:				
Part I	94	9	-	
Part II	8	-	-	
Part III	42	2	1	
<hr/>				
Subtotal 8 - no positive factors	144	11	1	94 %
<hr/>				
Total Negative Predictions	180	20	2	90 %

^a All cases which are prefixed by a "p." in Table 32, indicating that probably a contribution was made, or probably no contribution was made, are included as correct or incorrect predictions.

^b Uncertain cases are excluded from the percentage figures.

segments, but also upon their compatibility, the extent of their extra-clan allegiances, and so on. Some of the errors for factor b, then, are probably due to simplification of a more complex process. A few errors in prediction are probably due to incomplete data. I have attempted to remove those cases where the data seemed inconclusive, but probably without complete success. Information on brideprice contributions was normally obtained by eliciting a list of the contributors from the groom or patron. In many cases, it was impossible to induce the informant to account for the origin of every shell that was given, and some contributors may have been omitted (particularly those outside the informant's lineage).

The most significant reason for errors in positive prediction is probably a "personality" factor omitted from the model because it would be difficult to apply systematically. Of the twenty-five errors in positive prediction, twelve are cases where the relative predicted to contribute was described as a dibumena or 'nothing man.' Such men might be characterized as "lazy" or "unsuccessful" and are generally known to be lax in fulfilling their shell-money obligations. In many of the cases under question, their behavior was labelled as gaifore ('bad'), indicating that a contribution should have been made. By contrast, there are only four cases where a big man failed to make a predicted contribution, and in three of them, the big man helped by a loan (yano) instead of a gift. The model is, in a sense, incomplete since the prestige status of the participants is not considered. It seems clear, however, that the factors which are considered (principally factors a, b and c) are the important sociological factors which produce brideprice contributions.

Let us consider the rest of the model now. Prediction of contributions by the foster-father for his foster-son's first wife (factor e) seems well established. Even though the sample size is small, all the cases are correctly predicted. Prediction of contributions to a patron by his former client (factor d) is reasonably well established by the case materials, but the sample size is rather small. Since ordinary reciprocity (factor c) seems established as a determinant of contributions, one might assume that the reciprocity of client to patron (which involves greater obligation) would also be established if a larger sample were available.

For those relationships considered by the model (clanmates, users of the same land), few contributions are made to brideprice payments other than those predicted by the model. Negative predictions (predictions of no contribution) are of two sorts, cases where no positive factor occurs and cases where the positive factors are eliminated by conditions 1 through 4. Cases of the first sort present little problem: the number of errors in prediction is so small that it can easily be accounted for by mistakes in the data used. Cases of the second sort, where conditions 1 through 4 apply, do present problems. Conditions 1 to 4 seem to be only partially valid. Moreover, there are no Fof statements which bear these conditions out (see above, p. 192). For conditions 1 and 2 (where the relatives involved have established land use of different lands) the sample size is large enough to make it clear that contributions occur rarely. It appears, however, that the two conditions apply more as a rule of thumb, and not invariably. The same conclusion probably would hold for conditions 3 and 4 if more cases were available.

Conditions 3 and 4 are not appropriately lumped together, as conditions 1 and 2 are. Unfortunately, there are too few cases to independently establish either condition 3--the patron is outside the groom's village--or condition 4--the groom's foster-father and patron are both outside the groom's subclan.

Overall the model seems to be about as good as can be constructed given the available data. In particular, it is clear that a model which relies upon land use relations and reciprocity to predict brideprice contributions is better than one which relies only upon ties of clanship. Except for conditions 1 to 4, the model seems to be valid in terms of the case materials and to correspond with Foi explanations as well. Some improvement in the construction of conditions 1 to 4 might be expected with further case materials, but none can be suggested at present.

It is really impossible to say anything about the effect of foster-relationships in determining brideprice contributions (except for the special case where a foster-father contributes for the first wife of his foster-son). Only five cases are found in the data where contributions are given by foster-relatives other than the foster-father and no positive factor posited by the model exists.

The importance of contributions by sister's husbands and mother's brothers can be summarized, even if such contributions cannot be predicted.¹¹ Most contributions by "mother's brothers" (matrilateral relatives) are made by men of the groom's mother's brother's local subclan. In a sample of thirty-four brideprices, men of the mother's lineage contributed about thirty-eight per cent of the time (six out of sixteen possible cases).¹² Men outside the mother's brother's lineage, but part

of the local subclan, contributed only about twenty per cent of the time (eight out of forty-two possible cases). The latter more often contributed in cases where the mother's lineage had no mature males. It would be in such situations that they could easily establish the main matrilineal claim to future brideprice distributed by the groom under question. In a number of cases, even more distant matrilineal relatives contributed. (Eleven such relatives contributed out of a large but undetermined set of possible cases.) In all of these cases, either the groom lived far from his closer matrilineal relatives, or they were all dead or immature.

Most contributions by "sister's husbands" are by the husband of lineage females or foster-sisters of the groom. In the sample of thirty-four brideprices, about twenty-five per cent of these men contributed (ten out of thirty-eight possible cases). The percentage of more distant sister's husbands who contributed was not calculated, but it must be quite low since only four such relatives contributed.

Finally, something needs to be said about contributions to brideprice between men who are not related in any of the ways so far considered. Contributions are not predicted between men who use the land of the same lineage or clan as non-agnates, and they almost never occur on that basis alone. No contributions were recorded between such relatives, although twenty-six possible cases are found in the data. Among other men, only fifteen contributions are recorded in the data, covering sixty-one brideprices. Since the data are complete for only about half of these brideprices, the actual number of such contributions must be greater than this, but still would probably not be very significant. Of the fifteen contributions recorded, six were from sobomena trading

partners in villages different from the groom, or from men of the groom's village who are "like sobomena" to him. They would probably be predicted by factor c (reciprocity for earlier brideprice contributions) in the model. Three contributions were from men who formerly used the groom's land (and possibly were still using that land at the time the brideprice was amassed). Two contributions were given in return for services performed by the groom: the groom had helped the contributor build a bush-house. The remaining four contributions cannot be accounted for.

It seems clear that, excepting affines, matrilineal relatives and trading partners, the primary motivation for contributing to a man's brideprice is the fact of living together with him and sharing use of the same land. A relative contributes either because he lives with the groom (or patron), expects to do so in future, or has established a reciprocal aid relationship by living with him in the past. While reciprocity is itself a powerful motivation, normally the original contribution which produces the obligation to reciprocate is prompted by considerations of land use. Of course, agnates of small coordinate clan segments may contribute to each others' brideprice payments without necessarily sharing land use. However, they have secondary claims on each others' lands, and as the segments continue to remain small or to dwindle further, the likelihood of common land use would increase.

Analysis of Brideprice Distributions

A man who distributes a brideprice is involved in a complicated process of weighing his obligations to various relatives and distributing the shells accordingly. The shells differ in value and must be

distributed so that the size is appropriate to the claim. Usually some claims must be disregarded as there are not enough shells to go around. The distributor is almost certain to disappoint someone who claims a shell. The Foi are explicit about the difficulty of distributing shells "fairly." Some say that distributors are no longer so careful to honor their obligations as they once were. This seems unlikely, but it does indicate that general dissatisfaction exists with the choices made by the distributors. Occasionally a distributor even violates normal procedure and keeps a substantial number of the shells for himself, or uses them to pay off his brideprice debts. This seems more often to be true of the distribution on the mother's side than on the father's side.

A large corpus of Foi statements has been collected about why particular individuals should receive brideprice, most of them in the context of explaining a particular distribution. Let us consider first the distribution on the father's side. An informant usually takes the (married) male clanmates of the bride for granted. They are the "normal" recipients according to Foi ideology. If the recipient is not a clanmate, the explanation may be (1) that he fostered the bride, (2) that he received shells "through his wife" or "through his mother" who is a clanmate of the bride, (3) that he lives with the bride's lineage or clan, or that of the distributor, or that the distributor, or father or brother of the bride lives with the recipient, (4) that he acted as patron for the bride's father, brother or distributor, (5) that the recipient gave a shell for the marriage of the bride's father and mother, (6) that the distributor and recipient have a reciprocal relationship which involves giving each other shells from brideprices they distribute, (7) that the

shell is in return for a particular favor done by the recipient, (8) that the shell is in repayment for one refunded by the recipient when an earlier brideprice given for the bride had to be returned. Analogous reasons are given for distribution to non-clanmates on the mother's side or to non-clan relatives of the bride's foster-father if he is given shells to distribute. To summarize, the main reasons for distributing shells to non-clanmates are having fostered the bride, primary land use relations with the bride's lineage or that of her mother, and various sorts of reciprocity.

Unfortunately, these statements say nothing about the relative weight of different reasons for giving brideprice shells. Only a limited number of the statements collected apply to this question. The closest relatives of the bride and her mother are called the gi gara, which might be translated as 'main recipients.' The gi gara have the greatest claims to shells and generally receive the largest ones. They include, in addition to married male lineage-mates of the bride and her mother, the bride's foster-father, her mother's foster-father (or his son if he is dead as would usually be the case), the patron for the marriage of the bride's mother and father, sometimes foster-sons of the bride's father or her mother's brother (particularly if fostered from a young age and using the lineage land), and users of lineage land of either the bride or her mother where the user is firmly established in the lineage, by long and exclusive residence there and by giving payments for the lineage. Unmarried male lineage-mates of the bride or her mother may also receive shells, but the priority of their claims is lower than the gi gara and they do not receive large shells. Those men who gave a shell

for the marriage of the bride's mother and father (not as patron) are said to have a claim that cannot be denied. They should receive large shells, even though they are not considered as gi gara.

Certain other categories of relatives are stated or implied to have relatively weak claims to brideprice shells. For example, it is said that the aya.busi (father's mother's people, mother's mother's people) do not receive brideprice unless they have contributed to payments made by the bride's father or bride's mother's brother, depending on their relationship. Distant male clanmates have stronger claims than this and need not contribute to payments in order to receive shells. However, men say that they stagger the obligations to distant clanmates, so that part of them receive from one brideprice, part from the next. Their claims are not strong enough to warrant a shell from every brideprice that a man distributes. The claims of affiliates of these distant clanmates--their sister's husbands, sister's sons, land users of their lineage land, etc.--should be even weaker, probably about the same as those of the aya.busi.

The Foi statements are sufficient to indicate that within each main category of relatives--male agnates, husband and sons of female agnates, users of clan land, and other dependents--there is a gradation in the strength of claims to brideprice shells according to segmentary closeness to the bride and her lineage, or to the bride's mother and her lineage. In addition, they indicate that close foster-sons and land users have stronger claims than distant clanmates. One might expect that within any category, claims would depend upon reciprocity in addition to segmentary distance, i.e. upon whether the relative is a patron of the

distributor or of a lineage-mate, or has contributed to payments made by those individuals. The Foi recognize reciprocity explicitly only for more distant relatives, however.

Apparently, it is more important to distribute to a man who is owed reciprocity for his contributions to one's previous payments, than to a man who is owed reciprocity for shells given to one earlier, in bride-price distributions. Shells from distributions are said to be reciprocated between men whose only relationship is shell exchange--sobomena trading partners and others. But between other relatives--agnates or land owner and land user--such reciprocity is said to be unimportant. The father of the bride, in particular, is obligated to give shells from the brideprice to his sobomena partners and to other men who have shared their brideprice distributions with him. Such men have a strong personal claim on the father when he acts as distributor. They have no right to the particular brideprice as such, however, and if the father is dead they often do not receive shells. When the brideprice is small, the father will often give his own shells to them, rather than pressing the groom or his patron for additional shells.

A tentative preference order for distributions follows, based on the Foi statements summarized above, and upon actual distributions. Five numbered categories are shown and the order 1 to 5 represents descending priority of claims. Lettered differentiations within the numbered categories represent uncertain or less important differentiations of priority within the larger categories. (The numbers in parentheses indicate nothing about priority of claims. These numbers serve merely to distinguish types of relatives.) The reasoning behind the preference order is

that distributions are based on a set of inter-related factors--type and segmentary distance of the relationship to the bride and/or distributor, common land use with the bride's closest relatives and/or distributor, reciprocity for previous contributions, and reciprocity for previous distributions. Figure 7, below, shows the assumed relationships among these factors.

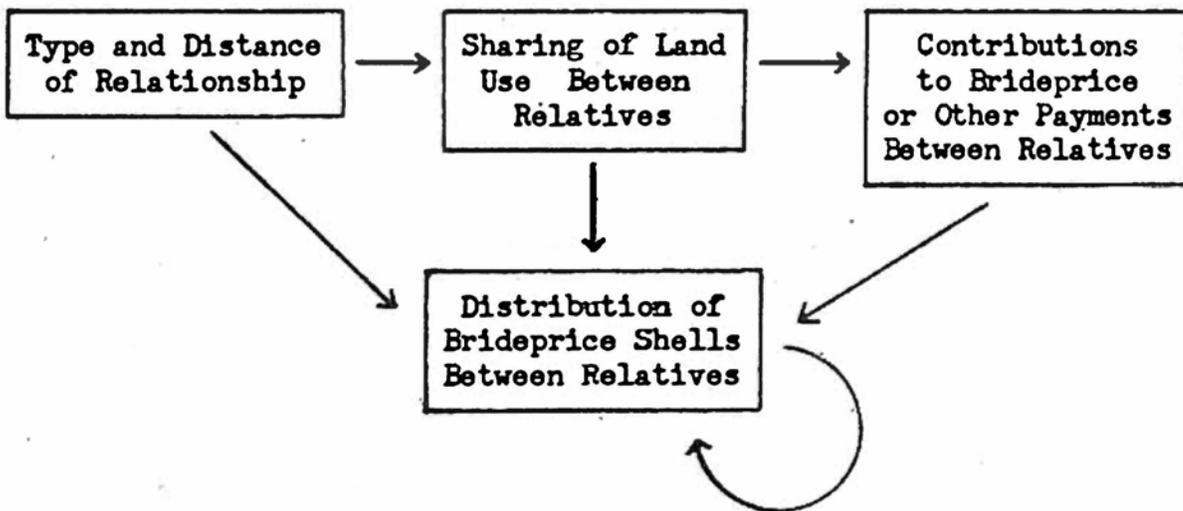


Figure 7. Determinants of Brideprice Distribution

Naturally, it is difficult to disentangle the motivations behind bride-price distributions if so many factors are important. (Reciprocity for distributions, however, will generally be discounted, except where no other influencing factors exist.)

Tentative Preference Order

aba.busi (father's side)hua.busi (mother's side)1. a. gi gara (main recipients):

(1) married male lineage-mates of the bride (F,B,FB,FBs,Bs)

(1) married male lineage-mates of the bride's mother (MB,MF,MBs)

(2) bride's foster-father or guardian^a (or fFs if the fF is dead)

(2) bride's mother's foster-father's son

(3) father's patron for his marriage to the bride's mother (or FPs if the P is dead)

(4) married foster-son of the bride's father (or FF), if fostered from a young age and using the father's land in primary degree

(4) married foster-son of the bride's mother's father or brother, if fostered from a young age and using the land in primary degree

(5) distributor (if none of the above)^b(5) distributor (if none of the above)^b

b. (6) men who contributed (but not as patron) to the father's marriage to the bride's mother.

(7) men who helped refund an earlier brideprice given for the bride

(7) men who helped refund an earlier brideprice given for the bride

. a. (8) relatives of the bride (any type) who have contributed to payments made by her brother or father^c(8) relatives of the bride's mother (any type) who have contributed to payments made by her mother's brother or mother's brother's son^c

2. a. continued

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(9) relatives of the distributor who have contributed to his payments (and not to those of the bride's father or brother)^c</p> | <p>(9) relatives of the distributor who have contributed to his payments (and not to those of the bride's mother's brother or mother's brother's son)^c</p> |
| <p>b. (10) patron of the bride's father (but not for the marriage of her mother), her brother or the distributor^d</p> | <p>(10) patron of the bride's mother's brother or his son, or of the distributor^d</p> |

Relatives who have not contributed to earlier payments given by the bride's close relatives or the distributor:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>3. a. (11) primary land users of the bride's lineage land</p> | <p>(11) primary land users of the bride's mother's lineage land</p> |
| <p>(12) married males of a lineage whose land is used in primary degree by the bride's father or brother</p> | <p>(12) married males of a lineage whose land is used in primary degree by the bride's mother's brother or his son</p> |
| <p>(13) close relatives of the distributor (if outside the bride's lineage), including his married male lineage-mates, users of his lineage land, his land donors</p> | <p>(13) close relatives of the distributor (if outside the bride's mother's lineage), including his married male lineage-mates, users of his lineage land, his land donors</p> |
| <p>b. (14) married male members of the bride's subclan (outside her lineage)</p> | <p>(14) married male members of the bride's mother's subclan (outside her lineage)</p> |
| <p>(15) husbands or sons of female lineage-mates of the bride</p> | <p>(15) husbands or sons of female lineage-mates of the bride's mother</p> |

3. b. continued

- | | |
|--|--|
| (16) dependents of the bride's lineage, other than primary land users (fs's, fss's, cl's) | (16) dependents of the bride's mother's lineage, other than primary land users (fs's fss's, cl's) |
| (17) foster-father or foster-brother of either the bride's father or brother (not a land user or land donor of either) | (17) foster-father or foster-brother of bride's mother's lineage-mate (not a land user or land donor of such) |
| (18) man to whom the father (as distributor), or the foster-father, owes shells in reciprocity for previous brideprice distributions | ---- |
| c. unmarried relatives of the bride (c. ten years or older): | unmarried relatives of the bride's mother (c. ten years or older): |
| (19) brother, foster-brother | (19) mother's brother's son or foster-son |
| (20) father's brother's son or foster-son | |
| a. (21) married males of the bride's local clan segment (outside her subclan) | (21) married males of the bride's mother's local clan segment (outside her subclan) |
| b. (22) husbands or sons of female members of the bride's subclan (outside her lineage) | (22) husbands or sons of female members of the bride's mother's subclan (outside her lineage) |
| (23) dependents of the bride's subclanmates (outside her lineage), including land users, foster-sons, clients | (23) dependents of the bride's mother's subclanmates (outside her lineage), including land users, foster-sons, clients |
| (24) subclanmates of the bride's father's or brother's or the distributor's land donor for primary land use | (24) subclanmates of the bride's mother's brother's (or MBs's) or the distributor's land donor for primary land use |

5. (25) husbands or sons of female members of the bride's local clan segment (outside her subclan) (25) husbands or sons of female members of the bride's mother's local clan segment (outside her subclan)
- (26) dependents of the bride's local clan segment (outside her subclan), including land users, foster-sons, clients (26) dependents of the bride's mother's local clan segment (outside her subclan), including land users, foster-sons, clients
- (27) clanmates of the bride's brother's or father's or the distributor's land donor for primary land use (27) clanmates of the bride's mother's brother's (or MBs's) or the distributor's land donor for primary land use
- (28) aya.busi (father's mother's lineage) (28) aya.busi (mother's mother's lineage)

^a The scope of this category is broad, constituted by the Foi category garanira (see p. 85). It includes, of course, a man who has fostered the bride from a young age, but also a man who has taken her in for a short time before her first marriage, or between an earlier marriage and the present one.

^b Usually the distributor falls into one of the categories (1) to (4). Occasionally there are none of these relatives (or at least none who are adults). Then the distributor is normally a more distant clanmate.

^c These categories are meant to include clanmates, sister's sons and sister's husbands, aya.busi, lineage dependents and land users who contribute often to the father, brother or distributor (on the father's side) or to the mother's brother or mother's brother's son (on the mother's side), as well as other relatives of each. In practice, relatives had to be assigned to the categories on the record of one such contribution.

^d These patrons might have been included in category (8) or (9) since they have contributed importantly to at least one brideprice. However, a patron may give brideprice once and then remain isolated from the groom in terms of subsequent contributions to brideprice and other payments. For this reason, patrons are separated from categories (8) and (9), unless they have also contributed on one or more other occasions to the bride's relatives or the distributor.

It is not really feasible to use the preference order to predict particular distributions and then to compare predicted with actual distributions. Each preference rank applies to a number of individuals, who would be equally predicted to receive shells. In actuality, some of these receive shells and some do not, particularly in categories (3), (4) and (5). It is not always possible to distinguish "correct" rankings of relatives from "incorrect" rankings simply from data on the receipt or nonreceipt of shells. It would be possible to overcome this difficulty, in large part, if the data on brideprice distributions were complete enough to show the size of all shells distributed. Then the hypothesized ranking of individuals could be compared with their ranking in terms of the size of shells received, rather than only depending on receipt versus nonreceipt of shells. However, complete data on shell size is available for only a few brideprices.

A couple of examples of brideprice distributions are shown below which show the ranking of relatives in terms of size of shells received. The general fit of the distributions and the preference order provides some slight evidence for the validity of the preference order. Primarily the preference order is to be tested indirectly, however, by comparing different categories in the ranking by the percentage of cases in which brideprice is received. Whether a low priority relative receives a shell or not would depend on the total number of shells distributed, as well as the number of higher-priority relatives. Over a large number of brideprice distributions, however, the size of brideprice and the number of various types of relatives should even out, so that the percentage of receipt figures should reflect the priority of the types of relatives.

Table 17

Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables ^a
Case 1. Betrothal of Faiyanabo (♂) and Ama?a (♀), distribution to the <u>aba.busi</u>			
1a. (1) lineage males	Orokara (father, distributor)	5 long cowry strings [pearlshell ^b]	1*
1b. (6) contributors to father's marriage to bride's mother	Sabekemo (subclanmate)	large pearlshell, 2 long cowry strings	1*
	Koya (subclanmate)	medium pearlshell, long cowry string	1
	Iraa (clanmate of linked subclan)	large pearlshell, long cowry string	1*
	Ibusesa?o (FSH)	medium pearlshell	1
	Arase (contributor to father's payments; omitted as lineage-mate of groom)	--	-
2a. (8) contributors to lineage males	<u>Kahagema</u> (FfSH) ^c	--	-
	Yefetage (Ffs, Fcl, F's land user)	large pearlshell, cowry string	1*
3a. (11) user of lineage land	Besebo (FfB, Fcl, F's land user = clanmate)	large pearlshell	1*
3b. (15) subclanmate	Enemano (clanmate of linked subclan)	medium pearlshell	1
	Tauwadobo (clanmate of linked subclan)	2 small pearlshells	2
	<u>Orobora</u> (clanmate of linked subclan)	--	-
	<u>Hasuwabo</u> (clanmate of linked subclan)	--	-
3b. (15) lineage SH, Ss	Faragu (FSH)	2 small pearlshells	2
	<u>Egira</u> (FfSH)	--	-
	Ayabe (divorced FS)	2 long cowry strings	2

Table 17 continued Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables
Case 1. continued			
3b. (15) lineage SH, Ss	Orofage (FSH)	2 long cowry strings	2
	Tuʔu (fSH, former user of father's land)	small pearlshell	2
3b. (18) men who distribute to the father	Suʔuri (F's <u>sobomena</u>)	medium pearlshell	1
	Hagamu (FfF's land donor)	medium pearlshell	1
	Asuhua (FfF's land donor's clanmate's cl)	bamboo of <u>karaʔo</u>	2
3c. (19) unmarried B, fB	Waʔari (unmarried Ffs = FSs)	2 small pearlshells	2
	Gaʔanaboga (unmarried Ffs = FSs)	2 small pearlshells	2
3c. (20) unmarried FBs, FBf's	Gooba (unmarried FBs)	2 small pearlshells	2
4a. (21) clanmate	Masahimo (clanmate)	medium pearlshell	1
	Aramene (clanmate)	--	-
	Karua (clanmate)	--	-
4b. (22) subclan SH, Ss	Baiga (subclan SH)	medium pearlshell	1
	Kubia (FFBdH)	--	-
5. (25) clan SH, Ss	Orobi (clan Ss = <u>distant aya.busi</u>)	2 small pearlshells	2
	Buanobo (clan Ss = <u>distant aya.busi</u>)	--	-
	Aebo (clan Ss)	small pearlshell	2
	Nemo (clan Ss)	--	-
	Meya (clan Ss)	--	-
	Gifagira (clan Ss)	--	-
5. (26) land user of clan land	Fara (land user of clan land)	--	-
other:	Kemo	medium pearlshell, long cowry string	1
	Amenahui (unmarried of linked subclan)	small pearlshell	2

Table 17 continued Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables
Case 1. continued			
other:	Wanabo (FMSs)	small pearlshell	2
Case 2. Marriage of Baehua (♀) and Hema (♂), distribution to the <u>hua.busi</u>			
1a. (1) lineage males	Faragu (MBs)	large pearlshell, long cowry string	1*
	Aebo (MBs)	medium pearlshell	1
	Yefetage (MBs, distributor)	medium to large pearlshell	1
	Nemo (MBs)	medium pearlshell	1
2a. (10) patron of MB, MBs or distributor	Orokara (distributor's patron and land donor)	very large pearlshell	1*
	Arase (MBsP = subclanmate)	medium to large pearlshell	1
	Iraa (MBsP)	small pearlshell	2
	Aramene (MBsP)	small pearlshell	2
	<u>Orobi</u> (MBsP)	--	-
3b. (14) subclanmate	Kasiare (subclanmate)	2 small pearlshells	2
	Iradugi (subclanmate)	small pearlshell	2
	Kuigarabo (subclanmate)	--	-
	Yimakaba (subclanmate)	--	-
	Tufu (subclanmate)	--	-
	Hobe (subclanmate)	--	-
	Yawarafo (subclanmate)	--	-
3b. (15) lineage SH, Ss	Kuiware's H (MSH)	--	-
	Kuidobo (MSs)	--	-
3c. (19) unmarried MBs, MBfs	Agimabo (MBs)	cowry string	3
	Wafari (MBs; omitted because outside area)	--	-
4a. (21) clanmate	Sabewayo (clanmate)	--	-
	Hobeba (clanmate)	--	-

Table 17 continued Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables
Case 2. continued			
4b. (22) subclan SH, Ss	Buanobo (subclan SH)	--	-
	Wanabo (subclan SH)	--	-
4b. (23) user of subclan land	Sohai (subclanmate's client, land user)	--	-
4b. (24) subclanmates of MBs's land donor	Enemano (subclanmate of MBs's land donor)	--	-
	Iraa (subclanmate of MBs's land donor)	--	-
	Hasuwabo (subclanmate of MBs's land donor)	--	-
5. (25) clan SH,Ss	Masahimo (clan SH)	--	-
	Gerebo (clan SH)	--	-
	Koya (clan Ss)	--	-
	Sabekemo (clan Ss)	--	-
5. (27) clanmates of MBs's land donor	Karua (clanmate of MBs's land donor)	--	-
Case 3. Marriage of Buanobo (♂) and Yane (♀), distribution to the <u>aba.busi</u>			
1a. (2) bride's ff, guardian	Kahagama (guardian = Ffs)	large pearlshell, 2 small pearlshells	1*
	Yefetage (guardian = FBdH)	large pearlshell, pig	1*
2a. (8) contributors to lineage males	Ugiga (subclan SH)	small pearlshell, pig	1*
	Enaho (subclanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Gifagira (clanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Huarehabo (clanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2

Table 17 continued Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables
Case 3. continued			
2a. (8) contributors to lineage males	Damaiyu Suiya (sub-clanmate's fs, land user = clanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
2a. (9) contributors to distributor	Aidobo (distributor's client = clanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Barutage Suiya (distributor's FBs)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Orobi (F's fs and land user = clanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Fasinabo (subclan SH)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Gorafere (FfdH)	--	-
2b. (10) patron of F, B or distributor	Kasiare (F's P, land user = FSH)	large pearlshell, small pearlshell	1*
3c. (18) unmarried B, fB	Tabaremabo (unmarried B)	small pearlshell	2
	Waibi (unmarried son of dead guardian)	large pearlshell	1*
4a. (21) clanmate	Dawano (clanmate)	--	-
	Fufuwabo (clanmate)	--	-
4b. (22) subclan SH, Ss	Arase (subclan SH)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Tami (subclan SH)	--	-
	Masahimo (FFSs)	small pearlshell	2
4b. (23) dependents of subclanmate	Aebo (Ffsc1 = F's land user)	--	-
	Enemano (subclanmate's fs, cl, land user)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Orobora (subclanmate's fss)	--	-
other:	Baiga (did favor for F)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Egira (distributor's WSH)	small to medium pearlshell	2

Table 17 continued Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables
Case 3. continued			
other:	Faragu (distributor's WSH)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Kuigarabo	small to medium pearlshell	2
Case 4. Marriage of Buanobo (♂) and Yane (♀), distribution to the <u>hua.busi</u>			
1a. (1) lineage males	Tu?u (MB)	large pearlshell, pig	1 ^u
2b. (10) patron of MB, MBs or distributor	Kahagema (MBpatron = bride's guardian)	(received only as <u>aba.busi</u>)	-
3b. (14) subclanmate	Kuigarabo (subclanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Aebo (subclanmate)	small to medium pearlshell	2
	Iradugi (subclanmate)	small pearlshell	2
	Yimakaba (subclanmate)	--	-
	Faragu (subclanmate)	--	-
	Arase (subclanmate)	--	-
	Kasiare (subclanmate)	--	-
	Yefetage (subclanmate)	--	-
	Nemo (subclanmate)	--	-
	Hobe (subclanmate)	--	-
3c. (19) unmarried MBs, MBfs	Kibusae (unmarried MBs)	--	-
4a. (21) clanmate	Sabewayo (clanmate)	--	-
	Hobeba (clanmate)	--	-
4b. (22) subclan SH, Ss	Iraa (subclan SH)	--	-
	Wanabo (subclan SH)	--	-
	Kuiware's H (subclan SH)	--	-

Table 17 continued Sample Brideprice Distributions, Showing Rank of Shells Distributed

Category of Relative	Name & Relationship	Valuables Received	Rank of Valuables
Case 4. continued			
4b. (23) dependent of subclanmate	Sohai (subclanmate's cl, land user)	--	-
5. (25) clan SH,Ss	Masahimo (clan SH)	--	-
	Aramene (clan SH)	--	-
	Gerebo (clan SH)	--	-
	Orobora (clan SH)	--	-
	Koya (clan Ss)	--	-
	Sabekemo (clan Ss)	--	-

^a The rank of shells and other valuables is given according to the scheme on p. 179, category 1 for large shells, etc., category 2 for small shells, etc., category 3 for ordinary strings of cowry shells. In addition, an asterisk (*) is used to denote a shell of specially large size or a pig.

^b The individuals noted were supposed to receive the shell in brackets in the future. The size of the shell to be received is unknown.

^c In the four distributions in the table six men do not receive shells who would be expected to receive them according to the tentative preference order. Their names have been underlined in column two of the table. These are the most flagrant differences from the postulated preference order.

We are interested in using the percentage figures to validate in a general way the total preference order. (Not all the categories in the preference order can be tested, since some occur rarely.) In particular, we are interested in establishing that distant clanship in itself gives less priority than reciprocity or common land use; and that segmentary distance from the bride, or her mother, reciprocity for previous contributions, and land use relationship each has an independent effect on the distribution. Table 18, below, shows the percentages for various categories of relatives. (The actual distributions are given in Appendix E, Table 33.)

The conclusions which can be drawn from Table 18 are limited. Only the category of contributors to previous payments, and the various sister's husband - sister's son and clanmate categories are large enough to establish priorities with confidence. As anticipated, lineage-mates have the highest priority, followed by contributors, and then the other categories of clanmates and sister's husbands - sister's sons, according to their segmentary distance from the lineage-mates. Some claims can be made about other categories, however. The gi gara types other than lineage-mates always received shells in the cases considered. Their priority is clearly high, although it is not possible to say that it is as high as that of lineage-mates since the number of cases is too small. The patron category (10) has a priority at least equal to that of sub-clanmates (13) and greater than that of clanmates (21). In the case of land users and land donors of the bride's or bride's mother's lineages (11, 12) the number of cases is small. (Such individuals would normally have contributed shells to the lineage. Thus they would be included in category (8) or (9) and excluded from categories (1) and (11).) Even so,

Table 18

Proportion of Relatives Who Received Brideprice

Category of Relative	Proportion of Recipients: Father's Side		Proportion of Recipients: Mother's Side	
1.a. (1) lineage-mate (≠ distributor)	12 of 13	92 %	14 of 14 ^a	100 %
$\overline{[}$ lineage-mate = distrib'r $\overline{]}$ ^b	15 of 15 ^c		16 of 16	
(2) fF(s) (≠ BF); MfF(s) (≠ MBF)	7 of 7	100 %	none	
$\overline{[}$ fF = MB $\overline{]}$	--		4 of 4	
$\overline{[}$ fF = BF; MfF = MBF $\overline{]}$	3 of 3		5 of 5	
(3) FP for bride's M	4 of 4	100 %	--	
(4) fs of lineage from young = land user (≠ P of lineage member)	6 of 6	100 %	3 of 3	100 %
$\overline{[}$ fs = P of lineage member $\overline{]}$	2 of 2		0 of 1	
(5) distributor (excl. categories 1-4)	3 of 3	100 %	3 of 3	100 %
1.b. (6) contributor for F's marriage to bride's M	9 of 9	100 %	--	
2.a. (8) contributor to B,F,MB,MBs (excl. categories 1-6,10)	60 of 65	92 %	35 of 49	71 %
(9) contributor to distributor (excluding categories 1-6,8,10)	17 of 21	81 %	9 of 18	50 %
2.b.(10) non-clanmates (excl. categories 1-5):				
P of F,B,MB,MBs = contributor	3 of 4	} 89 %	4 of 5	} 50 %
P of distributor = contributor	5 of 5		0 of 3	
P of F,B,MB,MBs, distributor ≠ contributor	0 of 2	zero	3 of 9	33 %
$\overline{[}$ (10) = clanmate $\overline{]}$	none		8 of 8	
subtotal for (10)	8 of 11	73 %	15 of 25	40 %

Table 18 continued Proportion of Relatives Who Received Brideprice

Category of Relative	Proportion of Recipients: Father's Side		Proportion of Recipients: Mother's Side	
<u>Relatives who haven't contributed to earlier payments:</u>				
3.a.(11,12) lineage land user; land donor for F,B,MB,MBs & land donor's lineage (excl. clanmates and categories 1-10)	6 of 9		6 of 8	
[(11,12) = clanmate]	1 of 1		1 of 2	
[(11,12) = possible contributor]	0 of 1		0 of 1	
subtotal for (11,12)	6 of 9	67 %	7 of 11	64 %
(13) close relatives of the distributor (excluding categories 1-12)	7 of 9	78 %	6 of 12	50 %
3.b.(14) subclanmate (excluding categories 1-13,16,17)	57 of 87	66 %	20 of 86	23 %
[(14) = possible contributor]	7 of 7		3 of 6	
(15) lineage SH,Ss (excluding categories 1-17,23,24)	21 of 30	70 %	10 of 44	23 %
[(15) = possible contributor]	5 of 6		3 of 10	
(16,17) dependent of lineage; fF or fB of F,B,MB,MBs (excluding clanmate and categories 1-13)	1 of 2		0 of 4	zero
[(16,17) = clanmate]	1 of 3		1 of 1	
[(16,17) = possible contributor]	none		1 of 1	
subtotal for (16,17)	2 of 5	40 %		
(18) man who distributes to F, fF = distributor	23 of 36	64 %	1 of 2 ^d	
3.c.(19) unmarried B,fB,MBs	10 of 11	91 %	9 of 14	64 %
(20) unmarried FBs,FBfs	5 of 13	38 %	—	
4.a.(21) clanmate (excluding categories 1-17,23,24)	23 of 55	42 %	14 of 83	17 %
[(21) = possible contributor]	2 of 2		none	
4.b.(22) subclan SH,Ss(excluding categories 1-17,23,24)	15 of 69	22 %	2 of 118	2 %
[(22) = possible contributor]	3 of 4		1 of 1	

Table 18 continued Proportion of Relatives Who Received Brideprice

Category of Relative	Proportion of Recipients: Father's Side		Proportion of Recipients: Mother's Side	
4.b.(23) dependent of subclanmate (excluding clanmates & categories 1-17)	4 of 8	50 %	0 of 11	zero
[(23) = clanmate]	4 of 6		1 of 2	
[(23) = possible contributor]	1 of 1		none	
(24) subclanmate of land donor for F,B,MB,MBs (excluding clanmates and categories 1-17)	2 of 4	50 %	0 of 4	zero
5. (25) clan SH,Ss (excluding categories 1-24)	6 of 50	12 %	1 of 103	1 %
(26) dependent of clanmate (excl. categories 1-24)	2 of 11	18 %	1 of 16	6 %
(27) clanmate of land donor for F,B,MB,MBs	none		none	
(28) <u>aya.busi</u> (FM's clanmates, MM's clanmates) ^e				

^a One mother's brother's son refused to take the shell offered to him. (The case is excluded from the figures in the table.)

^b Some cases overlap between categories. Overlapping categories are placed in brackets. The cases are generally omitted from the percentage figures reckoned for single categories whenever they seem likely to lower the validity of the figures for those categories.

^c One father refused to take any shells for his daughter, giving his portion to relatives instead. (The case is included in the figures.)

^d The only cases included here are those where the distributor on the mother's side is the bride's foster-father.

^e No proportions are reckoned for the aya.busi because such relatives are rarely known to me, except where they received part of the bride-price. Therefore the figures would be biased.

the figures seem sufficient to establish that individuals involved in land use with the lineage have a priority greater than that of clanmates (21).

The percentage figures can also be looked at in other ways to yield more convincing results. The importance of previous contributions can be demonstrated by looking at the distribution to relatives whose relationship, by itself, establishes only small claim to brideprice shells. Table 19, below, compares cases where previous contributions had been made with cases where they had not, by type of relative. (Cases which involve mutual use of the same land or patronage are excluded.) For nearly all the types of relatives considered, those who have given previous contributions received brideprice considerably more often.

The effect of land sharing can be shown by comparing cases where one relative shares land with the other to cases where no such sharing exists for each of the several relationships in which sharing of land can play a part. The results are shown in Table 20, below. (Cases where relatives fall into the category of previous contributor are excluded.) In Table 20, the figures for all users of lineage land or that of the distributor, and for all land donors to the lineage or the distributor, are lumped together in the subtotal for Parts A and B. Similarly, the figures for all users of subclan land and for all subclanmates of land donors to the lineage or distributor are lumped in the subtotal for Part C. These subtotal percentages can then be compared with the percentages for each separate type of relative with no land sharing. Land users receive brideprice more often in every case except bride's mother's clanmates. For example, users of the bride's or distributor's lineage land

Table 19

Effect of Previous Brideprice Contributions on Brideprice Distribution

Relationship	Proportion of Recipients on the Father's Side		Proportion of Recipients on the Mother's Side	
	Previous Contributions	No Previous Contributions	Previous Contributions	No Previous Contributions
subclanmate	15/17	57/87	20/29	20/86
clanmate	7/9	23/55	5/6	14/83
lineage SH, Ss	— ^a	— ^a	4/5	10/44
subclan SH	4/5	11/48	0/3	2/103
subclan Ss	2/3	4/41	0/3	0/15

^a Figures are omitted for lineage sister's husband and lineage sister's son since those relatives nearly always receive brideprice on the father's side, whether or not they have made previous contributions.

Table 20

Effect of Land Sharing on Brideprice Distributions

Relationship	Proportion of Recipients on the Father's Side		Proportion of Recipients on the Mother's Side	
	Land Sharing	No Land Sharing	Land Sharing	No Land Sharing
A. Land Sharing between Relative and Member(s) of the Bride's Lineage or the Bride's Mother's Lineage				
subclanmate	---	57/87 = 66%	---	20/28 = 23%
clanmate	---	23/55 = 42%	1/2	14/83 = 17%
foster-son or client of lineage:				
non-agnate	---	1/2	5/5	0/4
subclanmate	1/1	1/2 ^a 40%	---	--- 20%
clanmate	---	0/1	1/2	1/1
land user or land donor	6/9		3/5	
B. Land Sharing between Relative and Distributor				
foster-son or client of distributor	1/2	---	---	1/3 = 33%
land user or land donor	5/6		2/4	
Subtotal for Parts A & B				
	13/18 = 72%		12/18 = 67%	
C. Land Sharing between Relative and Member(s) of the Bride's Subclan or Bride's Mother's Subclan; Land Sharing between Relative's Subclanmate(s) and Member of Bride's Lineage or Bride's Mother's Lineage				
clanmate	3/5	23/55 = 42%	1/2	14/83 = 17%
foster-son or client of subclan:				
subclan SH,Ss	2/2	--- ^b	---	---
other non-agnate	1/3	1/3 = 33%	0/10	0/1

Table 20 continued Effect of Land Sharing on Brideprice Distribution

Relationship	Proportion of Recipients on the Father's Side		Proportion of Recipients on the Mother's Side	
	Land Sharing	No Land Sharing	Land Sharing	No Land Sharing
foster-son or client of subclan:				
clanmate	1/1	--- ^c	---	---
land user or land donor	---		---	
subclanmate of the patron of bride's F.B,MB	2/4	0/many	0/4	0/many
Subtotal for Part C	7/11 = 63%		1/12 = 8%	

^a For those subclanmates who do not share land use with the bride's lineage taken in general, the percentage of recipients is sixty-six per cent. This would seem to be a more appropriate figure for comparison with land users and land donors than the forty per cent figure given in the table for the whole category of lineage dependents. It is based on a larger number of cases, and surely subclanmates who have a special tie to the bride's lineage would receive brideprice as often as subclanmates who do not.

^b For subclan sister's husbands and sister's sons in general, the percentage of recipients is twenty-one per cent. This figure might be used in comparison with land users and land donors, although it probably is lower than the percentage of such individuals who have a special tie with the bride's lineage through fosterage or patronage. Alternatively, the thirty-three per cent figure for "other non-agnates" might be generalized to cover subclan sister's husbands and sister's sons as well.

^c For clanmates who do not share land use with the bride's lineage, the percentage of recipients is forty-two per cent. This might be an appropriate figure for comparison with those who share land use.

and land donors to the bride's lineage or the distributor (subtotal for Parts A and B, father's side) receive brideprice in seventy-two per cent of the cases. This is higher than the percentage for male clanmates (where no land use relation exists) or that for foster-sons or clients of the lineage. The total number of land use cases available for comparison is small, but the fact that the percentages for relatives with mutual land use are higher than almost all of the percentages for the separate relationships without land use seems sufficient to establish the importance of land use.

In sum, both land use relations with and contributions to the lineage have been shown to have an effect on brideprice distributions by the lineage. Most land users of lineage land, or land donors to the bride's father, brother or mother's brother would contribute to brideprice or other payments for lineage members and establish claims to brideprice in that way. Land use in itself, however, appears to establish claims to brideprice in cases where the land user or land donor has not contributed. Most of such cases in the sample are cases where there appears to have been little opportunity for previous contributions because the relationship had only recently been established.

I have the impression that the prestige of the potential recipient also has some small effect on the distribution of brideprice. Big men are perhaps more likely to receive shells from a brideprice than are others, particularly within the category of clanmates of the bride or the bride's mother. Certainly this tendency is not significant enough, however, to be an important factor in increasing the relative number of shells available to big men, as compared to other men.

The Effects of Adoption and Patronage on Shell Transactions Between
Non-clanmates

In Part I of the thesis (pp. 94-8), the effects of adoption and patronage on Foi social organization were summarized. A flow diagram (Fig. 3, p. 95) illustrates the way in which adoption and patronage lead to ties with non-clanmates in a sample of 122 cases. Then, in Part II (pp. 164-8), the discussion was continued to show how often men in the sample establish primary land use of the foster-father's or patron's land, one measure of the importance of the ties established. A second measure of the importance of those ties is the shell transactions between the men and their foster-fathers or patrons (or the clanmates of the latter)--specifically contributions to brideprice payments and distribution of brideprice payments. Figure 8, below, continues the flow diagram shown in Figure 3 (p. 95), showing the extent to which such shell transactions occur in the sample. Shell transactions cannot be considered for all the men in the original sample of 122. In some cases, the men were young (unmarried or only recently married) at the time of fieldwork, and had had no opportunity to participate in shell transactions as adults. In other cases, insufficient data were collected.

An explanation of the numbered or lettered parts of the diagram follows.

- (12) Foster-father = patron. The man is outside ego's natal village.
- (15) Patron (\neq foster-father). The man is outside ego's natal village.

Both of these cases (which together form subset A of the sample) are cases where ego would normally live with his patron, outside of his natal village, and eventually might be absorbed into his patron's clan.

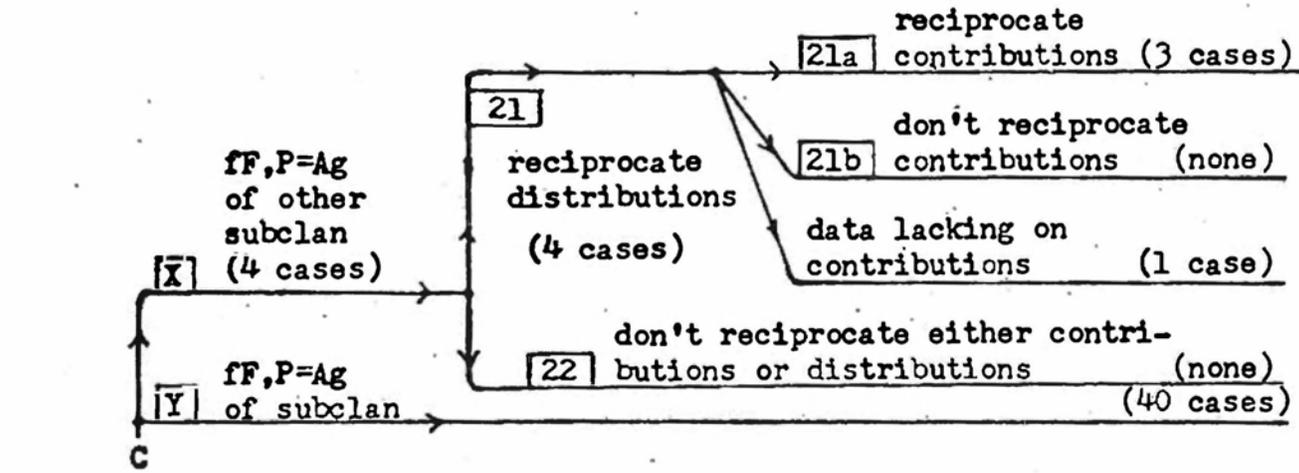
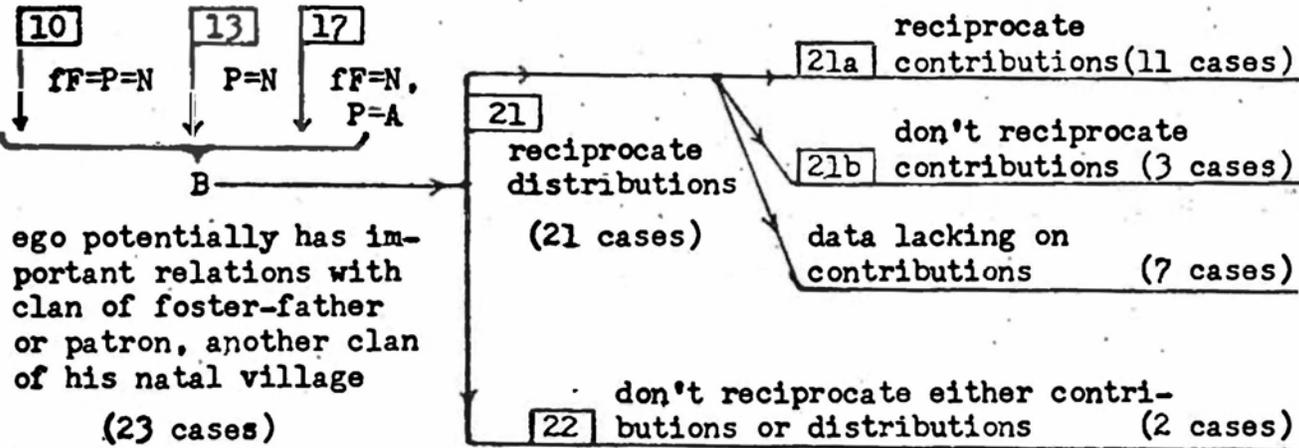
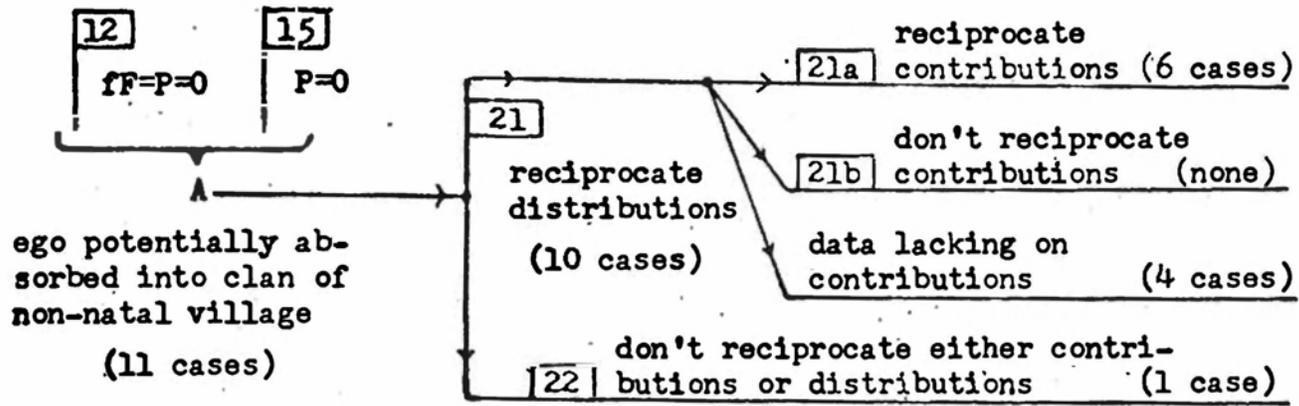


Figure 8. The Effects of Adoption and Patronage on Shell Payments (Continued from Fig. 3)

- (10) Foster-father = patron. The man is a member of a different clan in ego's natal village.
- (13) Patron (\neq foster-father). The man is a member of a different clan in ego's natal village.
- (17) The patron is an agnatic relative, but the foster-father is a man of a different clan in ego's natal village. So long as the foster-father has not been alienated from ego by a quarrel, and so long as he lives until ego reaches puberty, ego is likely to have important ties with the foster-father and his son.

In all three cases (which together form subset B of the sample), ego may develop important relations with the clan of his foster-father or patron, another clan of his natal village.

C. The subset of men in the sample whose patrons and foster-fathers, if they have any, are of the same clan as ego. Such men develop no relationships outside the natal clan except by processes other than adoption and patronage.

- (21) Ego and his patron or foster-father (or clanmates of either) give each other shells from the brideprices they distribute.
- (21a) Ego and his patron or foster-father (or clanmates of either) contribute to brideprice given by the other.
- (21b) Ego and his patron or foster-father (or clanmates of either) do not give each other contributions for brideprice payments.
- (22) Ego and his patron or foster-father (or clanmates of either) do not give each other shells from the brideprices they distribute, nor do they contribute to brideprice given by the other.
- (X) Foster-father or patron = clanmate, but of a different subclan

from ego's natal subclan. Ego would usually establish a closer relationship to the foster-father or patron than is usual between men of different subclans.

- (Y) Foster-father or patron (if any) = clanmate of ego's natal subclan.

Of the thirty-four cases in subsets A and B for which information is available on distribution of brideprice, ego and his foster-father's or patron's clan reciprocate brideprice distributions in nearly every case (thirty-one of the thirty-four cases). Of the twenty cases in subsets A and B for which information is available on contributions to brideprice, ego and his foster-father or patron contribute to each other's brideprice payments (as well as reciprocating brideprice distributions) in most of the cases (seventeen of the twenty cases). The flow diagram does not show extra-clan shell transactions for set C (where ego's foster-father or patron, if any, is within his clan).¹³ It does show transactions between ego and a foster-father or patron in a different subclan of ego's natal clan. In the latter case, reciprocal shell gifts always pass between ego and his superordinate (four out of four cases).

Clearly, the tie between ego and an extra-clan, or extra-subclan, foster-father or patron generally results in a relationship in which they exchange shell gifts. It is also clear that exchange of shell gifts is more common than is primary use of the foster-father's or patron's land. Of the seventeen cases where contributions occur between ego and his superordinate, only twelve of these are cases where ego uses in primary degree the land of his superordinate.

PART IV
RESIDENTIAL GROUPINGS

Since the Foi build several types of houses, residence is not easily categorized. A man generally builds part of the communal men's house, a women's house and a bush-house, and he may choose to build with different individuals in each case. The groupings forced by residence bear little relationship to the patrilineal categories of Foi society. Indeed, they seem to have little order at all if one looks for bounded kin groups. Thus, F. E. Williams, after investigating residence in the men's houses, wrote the following.

The subdivisions of the floor space in the aa [communal men's house] would be expected at first glance to give some clue to a further social organization. But a painstaking examination conducted on these lines gave negative results. It was not perhaps a waste of labor to discover that the hearths are occupied at haphazard. There is no position of honour; the sleeping places belong to their occupants by right of usage, but their allocation seems to have just happened. (Williams 1940-41:44)

The pattern of residence no longer seems haphazard, however, if one tries to account for it as a composite of individual choices, rather than looking for kin groups, as Williams did.

The Foi village as a whole is rebuilt periodically, so that the married men of the village make their residence choices (for the men's

house and for women's houses) simultaneously, as it were. Unfortunately, none of the villages that I knew intimately was rebuilt during the period of my fieldwork, so I was not able to actually observe the process going on. I have tried to reconstruct the process from what informants told me of the basis for their choices, and by trying out various decision models to determine their predictive value. The reconstruction is undoubtedly limited, however, by the lack of first-hand observation. Part of the process whereby people are allocated to houses involves competition: some men cannot build where they wish to and must build elsewhere. This competition is difficult to replicate without observing it, particularly as my informants said little about it.

Men's House Residence

There are two kinds of spatial relationships within the men's house which are socially relevant. It will be remembered that each fireplace is generally built by two men. These two call each other by the term eresaro. Since they share a fireplace, they pool their firewood (placed on a single rack above the hearth). They (and their sons who sleep with them) tend to interact as an exclusive unit at dawn and at dusk when everyone is huddled around the fire. Often the two are related, as father and son, as brothers, as patron and client or as clients of the same patron. In other cases, however, relatives do not build together, even though it would apparently be feasible. Thus far, it has not been possible to predict the eresaro pairs with much success. The relationship seems to be secondary in importance to other spatial relationships.

The whole men's house population is conceived as divided into two or four parts. In every men's house, the population is conceptually divided into those at the "upper end," the end commonly entered by visitors, and those at the "lower end" (presumably in such fashion that there are equal numbers in each half). This division is described as functioning in certain social contexts, although it is probably an inaccurate description. For example, in cases where a village split for a stick-fight in the past, the "upper end" is often said to have fought the "lower end." In larger men's houses, a further division into four quadrants (two in each "end") is apparent in the residence pattern. The Foi do not speak of these quadrants, but they do speak of four borasuira fireplaces (those built by the big men), implying a conceptual division of the men's house into four parts.

It will be recalled that each big man is asked to build one of the borasuira fireplaces. In general, each section of the men's house is occupied largely by one or two big men, plus the clients, prospective clients, co-clients and other dependents of those big men. The placement of the men, other than big men, is determined by two positive factors, their social relations and their placement in earlier men's houses built in the village, and by a constraint, the limitation imposed by form on the number of village men who can build within a certain section of the men's house.

When Foi men are asked why they built in a certain place, a number of explanations are commonly given. A man will often say that he wished to build in the same section as a superordinate relative--his land donor, patron or prospective patron¹, a more prestigious co-client or subclan

relative, or (occasionally) his wife's father or brother. Apparently, if a man has more than one of these relatives alive, he ranks them in preference according to the order given above, i.e. with land donor or patron ranked first. At least, the higher-ranked relatives are the ones usually mentioned as those that men wished to build with. Likewise, a man will often say that he wished to build a fireplace in the same place as he did in the former men's house. If he was building for the first time, he may say that he wished to build where his dead father, foster-father or patron built before. A big man who builds an end fireplace for the first time will build in a new place, but prefers to build in the same section as his former place. These two positive factors are commonly verbalized, but their relative importance is not, nor is the obvious constraint that not every man may be able to build in the same section as his preferred superordinate relative.

The following generative model is a formalization of the Foi statements collected and attempts to predict the placement of men in the communal men's house at the time it was built. No account is given here of the changes in residence after the men's house is built. Once a man has built his place in the men's house, he generally does not abandon it, even though his set of social relationships may alter. He may occasionally sleep elsewhere in the men's house, especially on nights when few men are in the village, but he leaves his possessions at the place he has built. As the years pass, some who built fireplaces die. Immigrants and maturing boys take over their places in the men's house. Very occasionally, a man moves permanently from the place he has built to one vacated by death. (I know of only two such cases in Herebo village over a five year

period.) Such a move is precipitated either by a serious quarrel with the man's eresaro (fireplace partner) or by a change in his primary land use.

Model for Prediction of Men's House Residence

1. For those men who have no superordinate relative living and/or those who are big men of the first rank, choose a place in the same section (quadrant or end) of the men's house as the man's place in the former men's house. If he is a big man, choose an end fireplace.
2. For all other men of the village, pick the closest superordinate relative within the village.
 - a. Assume a man's superordinate relatives are ranked from closest to most distant according to the following order:
 - (1) land donor, i.e. a man who offered him land use, and whose land he now uses in primary degree;
 - (2) patron or prospective patron;
 - (3) more important co-client, i.e. one with higher prestige status;
 - (4) more important subclanmate;
 - [(5) wife's brother or wife's father].*
 - b. Eliminate from consideration any superordinate relative with whom the man has quarreled, so that they are no longer allies (including any superordinate with whom primary land use has lapsed to none).
3. For any man considered in Step 2, choose a place in the same section as his designated chosen superordinate relative. (If the man being predicted is a big man of the second rank, choose an end fireplace.)
4. Total the number of men now assigned to each section by Steps 1 and 3. If the number exceeds the total number of places available, eliminate individuals chosen by Step 3 until there are only as many individuals as places. Assign the individuals eliminated to sections with room.
 - a. Eliminate according to the following order: first, married men

* Wife's relatives are never chosen as superordinate relatives for men's house residence in the data. The choice has been included only for the sake of parallel with the model for women's house residence.

who have not previously built a fireplace in the section; second, men who have not yet married; third, men who have previously built a fireplace in the section.

b. If a man who has been eliminated previously built in a different section, assign him to that section.

This process can be carried out fully for the village of Herebo and the results compared with actual placement in the men's house. For two other villages, Barutage and Tugiri, the process can only be partially carried out, since data on the placement of men in former men's houses was not obtained. The results for these two villages can still be meaningfully compared with the actual placement however. Table 34 in Appendix F carries out the process of predicting residence choices for all three villages. Tables 21 and 22, below, compare predicted with actual residence. It should be noted again that both the predicted and actual patterns shown are for the date when the men's house was first built.

The model for prediction of men's house residence seems to be well established. Overall, ninety-three per cent of the choices are correctly predicted (seventy-seven of eighty-three cases). Table 22 attempts to evaluate the separate parts of the model, although it is often difficult to be sure which factor is operating. The two main factors--former place in the men's house, and residence with closest superordinate relative--seem to be valid. For both, the number of cases is large enough to make the percentage figures significant, and the percentage of correct predictions is above ninety per cent.² There seems to be no single factor at work which would account for the failures in prediction. However, it might be noted that the errors for Step 3 mostly involve cases where there was some difficulty in specifying the preferred superordinate

Table 21

Comparison of Predicted with Actual Men's House Residence
by Quadrant or End

Predicted Groupings	Actual Groupings
<u>Herebo village</u>	
Quadrant A: Arase, Kahagama, Kuigarabo Gibui, Enemano, Enahq, Faragu; two of the set Waibi, Agimabo, Yawara?o, Kibusqe	Quadrant A: Arase, Kahagama, Kuigarabo, Gibui, Enemano, Faragu, Waibi, Agimabo, Yawara?o
Quadrant B: Masahimo, Taywadobo, Fara Sohai, Aramene, Nemo	Quadrant B: Masahimo, Taywadobo, Fara, Sohai, Nemo, Buanobo, <u>Enahq</u> <u>Kasiare, Aebo</u>
Quadrant C: Orokara, Sabekemo, Asuhua, Yefetage, Besebo, Tu?u, Ga?anaboga, Orobi, Aebo	Quadrant C: Orokara, Sabekemo, Asuhua, Yefetage, Besebo, Tu?u, Ga?anaboga, Orobi, <u>Orobora</u>
Quadrant D: Sabewayo, Hobeba, Wanabo, Kemo, Didobo, Kasiare	Quadrant D: Sabewayo, Hobeba, Wanabo, Kemo, Didobo, <u>Aramene</u> , Iradugi, Yimakaba, Kibusqe
Either Quadrant B or D: Orobora, Iradugi, Yimakaba, Buanobo; two of the set Waibi, Agimabo, Yawara?o, Kibusqe	
<u>Barutage village</u>	
Quadrant A: <u>by assumption</u> : Wabiga, Wa?abu/ Hesasi, Wareya, Yamanibu, Dabamena, Ki, Igibu, Ko?oya, Hobe	Quadrant A: Wabiga, Wa?abu Hesasi, Wareya, Yamanibu, Dabamena, Ki, Igibu, Ko?oya, Hobe
Quadrant B: <u>by assumption</u> : Hare, Wa?abeyu, Garubo?o, Kuba, Sage, Yabere, Koe, Siyu, Semai	Quadrant B: Hare, Wa?abeyu, Garubo?o, Kuba, Sage, Yabere, Koe Siyu, Semai
Quadrant D: <u>by assumption</u> : Barinaba, Senagefu/ Meya, Taodehabo, Onoboga, Ogo Abase, Oromena, Kuburu, Furarabo	Quadrant D: Barinaba, Senagefu, Meya, Taodehabo, Onoboga, Ogo, Abase, Oromena, Kuburu, Furarabo
Quadrant C: <u>by assumption</u> : Yaware, Gakaro/ Mabera, Nafa, Suiya, Dena, Tubi, Baruga	Quadrant C: Yaware, Mabera, Nafa, Gakaro, Gebebe, Suiya, Dena, Tubi, Baruga, Tawe
Either Quadrant B or C: Gebebe, Tawe	

Table 21 continued Comparison of Predicted with Actual Men's House Residence by Quadrant or End

Predicted Groupings	Actual Groupings
<u>Tugiri village</u>	
End A: <u>by assumption: Kone fabo</u> Goyane, Da?ara, Gisari, Mabo, Anasebo, Kagerabo, Dosobo, Yafagi	End A: Kone fabo, Goyane, Da?ara, Gisari, Mabo, Anasebo, Kagerabo, Dosobo, Yafagi
End B: <u>by assumption: Waibi,</u> <u>Wareya</u> Era?a, Aiyi, Ya?asa, Gagibu, Nedi, Ima?u, Hayabi	End B: Waibi, Wareya, Era?a, Aiyi, Ya?asa, Gagibu, Nedi, Ima?u, Hayabi

* Those men whose placement is incorrectly predicted are underlined in the right-hand column.

Table 22

Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Men's House Residence Model

Part of Model	Correct Predictions	Incorrect Predictions	% of Correct Predictions
Step 1-prediction by former place	9	-	
Step 4-reassignment by former place	2	1	
Subtotal-former place	11	1	92 %
Step 3-prediction by superordinate relative	60 ^a	4 ^b	94 %
Step 4-elimination	7 ^c	1	88 %
Step 4-assignment to remaining quadrant (no former place)	6	1	86 %
Total (All Predictions)	77 ^d	6	92.8 %

^a This figure includes Yawara?o. He is predicted to be eliminated from the quadrant of his superordinate relative, but built there.

^b This figure includes Aramene, Aebo, Enaho and Nemo. Nemo is not considered as an error in Table 21 since he built in the predicted quadrant. However, he should have built with his superordinate relative (Aramene) according to the model and he did not.

^c This figure does not include Aebo, Aramene or Nemo.

^d This figure includes six cases of successful prediction to either of two quadrants. If these are excluded from the percentage of correct predictions, the percentage is 92.2 per cent.

relative. The elimination procedure cannot be evaluated very well since there are only eight cases where it applies, but it seems fairly successful. Undoubtedly, the actual process of competition for scarce places is less mechanical and depends to some extent on the aggressiveness and status of the individuals involved.

The bases for accepting this particular model are three. First, the steps as formulated (particularly Steps 2 and 3) seem to predict a larger number of correct choices than do various alternative formulations. In particular, a model which ignores patronage and land use relations and predicts solely on the basis of kin and clan relations is less successful. Second, Steps 1 and 3 are modelled on the somewhat vaguer statements of informants as to how they chose to build where they did. Third, the factors which are used to predict men's house residence parallel closely the factors which appear to be important in determining women's house groupings.³

Women's House Residence

Women's houses are rebuilt about twice as often as men's houses. When it is time to rebuild the men's house, the women's houses are torn down and rebuilt first and then the men's house. All the women's houses are rebuilt at much the same time in this case so that all residence decisions must be made concurrently. When a men's house is still standing solidly and only the women's houses need to be rebuilt, I am not sure that they are all rebuilt at the same time, but I have assumed so.

Normally every married man builds a women's house when they are being rebuilt. Those who immigrate into the village later or those who

marry later move their wives into a relative's women's house if there is room for her, or otherwise build one at this later date. As with the men's house, a man will say that he wished to build with a close relative. In some cases he says that although he wished to build with a certain relative, he could not because there would have been too many females for one house. There is no apparent reason why larger women's houses with four or more fireplaces could not be built in such cases. However, the Foi do not seem willing to house more than about five mature women together, even when they build a women's house with four fireplaces. A man will also say that he wished to build his women's house in the same spot as he did the last time. If he was building for the first time, and not with some superordinate relative who claimed a place, he will say he wished to build where his dead father, foster-father or patron built. In almost all cases, the location of women's houses parallels that of the placement of men in the men's house; i.e. a man builds a women's house at the same end of the men's house as the end where he resides, and on the same side if there are rows of women's houses on both sides.

A formal model can be set up to predict women's house residence, as with men's house residence. I shall not deal with the location of the women's houses, but only with the composition of the groups of men whose women live together. This model differs in process from the preceding one for men's house residence, but the relationships involved are much the same. The following model predicts the women's house groups formed when the whole village has been torn down and all the women's houses are rebuilt.

Model for Prediction of Women's House Groups--
Part A, Original Building

1. a. For each married man who builds a women's house and has fewer than four dependent women, choose his closest relative according to the following ranking:

- (1) client or land user allowed primary land use;
- (2) patron or land donor, i.e. the man who offered ego primary use of land which he now uses;
- (3) co-client;
- (4) affine (wife's brother or father, sister's husband, daughter's husband)

(If none of these exists, the man may build with someone unrelated.)

b. Where more than one client or land user exists, choose a recently affiliated man, i.e. one affiliated within the last year or two, over one affiliated earlier.^a

c. Where more than one patron or land donor exists, choose a land donor over a patron who has not given primary land use. Otherwise, choose a more recent patron over an earlier one.

d. Where a quarrel has created a rift between ego and his relative, eliminate the relative from consideration.

2. Combine any pair of men who choose each other by the model and total the number of women dependent on them. If the total is no more than five, allow the unit to stand. If the total exceeds five, eliminate the unit.

3. For any unit which has fewer than four women, choose a second relative of the superordinate relative of the unit. For any man eliminated from a unit because the number of dependent females is too large, choose a second relative by Step 1.^b

4. Again combine units as in Step 2. Eliminate any units where the number of dependent females would exceed five.

Repeat Steps 3 and 4 indefinitely, until no larger units can be formed.

^a In general, a patron hopes that a recently affiliated client will use his land in primary degree, but the client's pattern of land use is not yet clear. The distinction between land user and client is not very relevant, therefore, when the relatives are recently affiliated.

^b A man is not expected to build with a subordinate relative if the subordinate has already decided to build a house with a second superordinate. Two superordinates do not build together because of a common subordinate.

Essentially the same process can be used to predict the group to be joined by a man at some time after the initial building of women's houses. In this case, the groups already formed are taken as given, whether they fit with the prediction for initial building or not. It seems that these later additions are of two sorts, (1) men who have just married or immigrated to the village and are thus the most recent clients or land users of their superordinate relatives and (2) men who for some reason were away from the village when the women's houses were rebuilt (even though it is their natal village) or men who simply failed to build a women's house at the time, even though they could have done so.

The first type always joins the group of his patron or land donor, regardless of its size in terms of dependent women. If the new total of women exceeds five, the group will eventually split, with part of the men building a new women's house. The second type, however, does not join an established group except under the same conditions as for original building. Thus, the second type would only join a unit which has fewer than four females where the new total of females would not exceed five. This can be formalized as follows.

Model for Prediction of Women's House Groups--Part B, Groups
Formed after the Initial Building

- 1'. For men who join a women's house group after the initial building, choose a relative by Step 3 of Part A.
- 2'. a. For a man who has just married or immigrated, add him to the group of his superordinate relative.
 - b. For any other man, total the dependent females for ego, plus those of his relative's group. If the number does not exceed five, add him to the group. Otherwise, repeat with his other relatives in the order of ego's preference.

3'. Where a women's house group exceeds five women, usually as a result of Step 2, a', split the group. Original members who are subordinates of other men in the group should be eliminated first. (This rule does not always give unequivocal predictions.)

The process of predicting women's house groups is carried out in Table 35 of Appendix F, both for original building and for later additions. The predicted groups are compared with actual groups in Table 23, below, and the model is evaluated in Table 24, below. The evaluation of the model to predict women's house groups in Table 24 is done on the basis of the number of pairs of relatives correctly predicted to build together, rather than the number of egos correctly predicted to groups. The former measure seems more appropriate for evaluation of groups formed after the original building. Otherwise, individuals who built the original house would be counted twice. There are really two separate aspects of the model to evaluate, the mechanism by which relatives are chosen, and the limits on number of dependent females who can be housed together. It is not very possible to separate these two factors in tabulating the proportion of correct predictions. Therefore, overall proportions are tabulated, first for original building and then for later additions to the groups.

The number of cases available seems sufficient to establish reliability for the results of prediction for both Part A and Part B of the model. Moreover, there are no cases where the actual groups are unknown, a fact which strengthens faith in the significance of the results. The percentage of correct predictions is eighty-four per cent, somewhat lower than for prediction of men's house residence. The validity of the model might, therefore, be challenged, particularly since it seems less

Table 23

Comparison of Predicted and Actual Women's House Groups

A. Herebo village

Original Building (1964)	Changes: 1965	Changes: 1966-1968
<u>Predicted Women's House Groups^a</u>		
Arase-Faragu(4)		
Enemano-Orobora-Enaho(5)		
Kuigarabo-Yimakaba-Sohai(4)		
Iradugi-Yawara?o(3)	(Yawara?o died)	Iradugi-Enaho-Fayebi(3)
Masahimo-Taywadobo(3)		
Kahagama-Tu?u-Gibui(5)	(Gibui died)	Kahagama-Yefetage(2)/ then, Yefetage-Wa?ari(2) (Kahagama emigrated)
Orobi-Aebo(3)		
Orokara-Yefetage(4)		Orokara-Besebo(5)
Sabewayo-Hobeba-Kemo(4)		
Aramene-Nemo-Asuhya(5)		
	Hagamu-Didobo(3)	
	Kasiare-Wanabo-Tu?u(4)	Kasiare-Hasuwabo(-Wanabo) ^b (3)/ Sabekemo-Gooba(3)
unpredicted: Buanobo, Wanabo	unpredicted: Iraa, Sabekemo	
<u>Actual Women's House Groups^c</u>		
Arase-Faragu(4)		Arase-Faragu(2)/ Arase(1)
Enemano-Orobora(3)		
Kuigarabo-Yimakaba-Sohai(4)		
Iradugi-Yawara?o- <u>Enaho</u> (5)		Iradugi-Enaho-Fayebi(3)
Masahimo-Taywadobo(3)		
Kahagama-Gibui(4)		Kahagama-Yefetage(2)/ then, Yefetage-Wa?ari(2)
Orobi-Aebo- <u>Asuhya</u> (4)		
Sabewayo-Hobeba(3)		
Orokara-Yefetage(4)	Orokara-Yefetage-Iraa(5)	Orokara-Besebo(5)/ then, Orokara-Besebo(2)

Table 23 continued Comparison of Predicted and Actual Women's House Groups

A. Herebo village continued

Original Building (1964)	Changes: 1965	Changes: 1966-1968
Tuʔu-Wanabo(2)	Tuʔu(1)	
Aramene-Nemo-Kemo(4)		
Buanobo(1)	Buanobo(2)	
	Hagamu-Didobo(3)	Hagamu(1) (Didobo quarrelled with him and moved out)
	Sabekemo-Kasiare-Wanabo(5)	Kasiare-Hasuwabo-Wanabo-Sabekemo-Gooba(6)

B. Barutage village

Original Building (1964)	Changes: late 1964-1966	Changes: 1967-1968
	<u>Predicted Women's House Groups</u>	
Gakaro-Dena-Baruga(4)	Gakaro-Dena-Baruga-Tybi(5)	probably: Gakaro-Tubi-Dena(3)/ Yamanibu-Baruga(3)
Waʔabu-Hobe-Igibu(4)		
Hare-Koae(4)	Hare-Sage (-Gebebe)(5)/ Sesaʔahai-Koae(3)	
Barinaba-Kuburu(4)		
Meya-Oromena-Orioboga(5)		
Garuboʔo-Kuba(4)		
Waʔabeyu-Siyu(4)		
Taodehabo-Abase(2)		probably: Taodehabo-Tawe-Abase(3)/ Senagefu-Ogo(3)
Wabiga-Dabamena-Hesasi(4)		Wabiga-Wareya(-Dabamena)(5)/ Hesasi-Soroʔo(2)
Yaware-Suiya-Nafa(4)	Yaware-Suiya-Nafa-Mabera(4)	Yaware-Fahaesobo(-Suiya)(3)/ Mabera(-Nafa)(3)
unpredicted: Senagefu, Ki, Semai, Gebebe	unpredicted: Yawa	

Table 23 continued Comparison of Predicted and Actual Women's House Groups

B. Barutage village continued

Original Building (1964)	Changes: late 1964-1966	Changes: 1967-1968
	<u>Actual Women's House Groups</u>	
Gakaro-Dena-Baruga (4)	Gakaro-Dena-Baruga-Tybi (5)	Gakaro-Dena-Tybi-Baruga-Yamanibu (6) in future: Gakaro-Baruga-Yamanibu (4) / Tybi-Dena (2)
Hare-Koae-Gebebe (5) ^d	Hare-Sage-Gebebe (5) / Sesa fahai-Koae (3)	
Barinaba-Kuburu (4)		
Maya-Oromena (3)		
Garubo?o-Kuba (4)	Garubo?o-Kuba-Yawa (4)	
Wa fabe-yu-Siyu (4)		
Taodehabo-Abase-Senagefu (3)		Taodehabo-Tawe (2) / Senagefu-Ogo (3)
Wabiga-Dabamena-Hesasi (4)		Wabiga-Wareya-Dabamena (5)
Yaware-Suiya-Nafa (4)	Yaware-Suiya-Nafa-Mabera (4)	Yaware-Fahaesobo (2) / Mabera-Nafa-Suiya (4)
Ki-Semai (2)		
<u>Onoboga</u> (2)		Hesasi-Soro?o- <u>Abase</u> (3) ^h

Table 23 continued Comparison of Predicted and Actual Women's House Groups

C. Tugiri village

Original Building (1962)	Changes: 1963-1965	Changes: 1966-1968
	<u>Predicted Women's House Groups</u>	
Goyane-Da?ara(2)	Goyane-Da?ara- Kagerabo(5)	
Kone fabo-Anasebo(4)	Kone fabo(5)/ Dosobo(1) (Anasebo died)	
Gisari-Hayabi(4)		
Era?a-Aiyi(2)		
Waibi(4)	Waibi-Ya?asa(5)	Waibi-Gagibu(5)/ Ya?asa(1)
unpredicted: Wareya, Mabo		
	<u>Actual Women's House Groups</u>	
Goyane-Da?ara(2)		
Kone fabo-Anasebo(4)	Kone fabo(5) Dosobo- <u>Kagerabo</u> (2)	
Gisari- <u>Mabo</u> (4)		
Era?a-Aiyi(2)		
Waibi(4)	Waibi-Ya?asa(5)	Waibi-Gagibu(5)/ Ya?asa(1)
<u>Hayabi</u> (1)		
Wareya(2)		

^a The total number of dependent females for the unit is given by the figure in parentheses which follows the names.

^b In cases where the prediction of a man to a unit is uncertain, the man's name is placed in parentheses. (See Table 35 in Appendix F.)

^c Errors in prediction are underlined in the actual groups. Where groups are predicted to split, discrepancies between the predicted and actual splits are not considered errors unless the most recent subordinate of a superordinate does not stay with him.

^d Gebebe would be expected to have built with an unrelated unit having three or fewer dependent females. However, the case is not considered an error.

^e Since Taodehabo and Senagefu split, Abase would be expected to build with Taodehabo.

Table 24

Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Women's House
Residence Model

Part of the Model	Pairs Correctly Predicted	Pairs Incorrectly Predicted	% Correctly Predicted
A. original building	28	6 ^a	82.4 %
B. post-original building	19	3 ^b	86.5 %
Total	47	9	84.0 %

^a This figure excludes Mabo (underlined in Table 23 as an error). Given that Hayabi did not build with Gisari as predicted, the model process would predict Mabo to build with Gisari.

^b This figure excludes consideration of the way in which large units split (Step 3'), since the model often gives ambiguous results. The only errors counted for Step 3' are Tūbi and Abase. In both cases, they would clearly have been predicted to build with the superordinate relative, but did not.

accurate than the model for men's house residence. Our interest in the model centers in the importance of various relatives as residence choices, and particularly in showing that patronage and land sharing are more important than clanship relations in determining residence groupings. I shall argue that the selection of relatives utilized in the model is indeed valid. The problem with the model lies primarily in the construction of limits on the number of dependent females who may be housed together. If the errors in prediction are examined, five of the nine errors (namely, Enaho, Asuhya, Onoboga, Kagerabo and Tūbi) prove to be cases where the number of dependent females would be five. This seems the most likely reason why the predicted groupings did not occur in these cases. I am reluctant to reduce the maximum number of dependent females allowed in predicted units from five to four, however, since several

groups with five women occur in the actual cases.⁴ Two remaining errors (namely Hayabi and Tufu) can rather easily be understood. Both are cases where ego built with his first choice in the men's house, but was unable to build a women's house with the same relative because there would have been too many women. Instead of building a women's house with a second superordinate relative at the opposite end of the village from his men's house place, he built a women's house near to his first choice relative. The number of such cases seems too small to incorporate this consideration into the model.

Apparently the preference order of relative utilized in the model is valid. What is questionable about the model lies in the mechanics of combining these preferences. Given the available data, it does not seem feasible to improve these mechanics. As in the case of men's house residence, the women's house residence model has been accepted not only because it predicts residence with a fair degree of accuracy, but also because various alternative models which ignore patronage and land use relations predict with less accuracy.

In a sense, the residence arrangements in the village are largely an epiphenomenon, the outcome of other relationships. Both men's house quadrants and women's house groups appear to be the result of relationships of kinship, land use and patronage. Neither unit forms a social group which significantly determines social interaction, although residential arrangements do affect food sharing. Why then are the Foi concerned about residence? Probably these groups have an effect upon the more important relationships which determine them. They are one of many ways that a man shows that one relative is more important than another, and more likely

to receive his support. Village residence, then, seems not so much to create social ties, but to result from and in its turn to affect ties that have already been formed in other ways.

CONCLUSION

Part A: Decision Analysis and Foi Social Organization

The decision analysis approach used here to understand social interaction is somewhat novel and needs to be evaluated relative to the more traditional approaches used in New Guinea. I think, however, that it will be useful first to summarize what the decision analysis reveals about Foi social organization.

The Foi class themselves into social categories which can superficially be taken as patrilineal descent groups--the local clan segment, named subclan and lineage. If asked, they will say that these categories structure activities in the domains of land use and ceremonial shell payments, including brideprice. The usual way to analyze social interaction in these domains would be to take the categories as descent groups and to show how activity sets are formed from them.¹ Instead, I have started from the dyadic ties between individuals, including ties of clan-ship, and have shown how activity sets result from the network of ties surrounding the individuals focal to a given activity.² Thus, for example, a set of lineage-mates inherit common rights to a plot of land and some of them use the plot to plant crops on (primary land use). Those lineage owners who use the plot are the focus for a larger activity set

which uses the land, since they recruit various non-owners and share the land with them. Likewise, the groom and his patron (if any) are the focus of a set of individuals who contribute to a brideprice payment. The formation of the activity set depends upon an evaluation by both the focal individuals and their various relatives of their individual needs and the importance of their mutual relationships. I have, therefore, referred to the approach as a "decision analysis."

This approach clarifies a number of aspects of Foi social organization which would tend to be obscured if the approach were an attempt to describe bounded descent groups.

(1) Foi "descent" categories are not, in fact, bounded social groups. At least, they do not bound interaction in the activities which have been intensively analyzed here. Clanship ties are only one possibility for cooperation among a larger set of possibilities, including land-sharing ties and patron-client ties. Even between clanmates, land sharing and patronage affect the patterns of cooperation. Of course, the degree to which clanship fails as a predictor of activity sets varies from one set of focal individuals to another for a given activity, and in a general way varies from one domain of activity to another. Lack of congruence between "descent" category and activity set is most evident in the domain of village residence. The Foi themselves do not describe village residence in terms of their clan categories and any attempt to do so would, I think, meet with failure. As one moves to brideprice transactions and then to land use, the congruence between activity sets and "descent" categories increases. It would not be so unreasonable to view brideprice distributions and land use as structured by "descent"

groups, particularly if the definition of those groups were stretched to include effectively absorbed immigrants. The analysis, however, would be less accurate than the one which I have given.

(2) Cooperation in one domain of activity is interdependent with cooperation in other domains. Between clanmates as well as non-clanmates, the most intense cooperation is generated by a process in which men use the same land together. Common land use results in reciprocal contributions to brideprice payments, and in turn previous contributions between men result in reciprocal distribution of brideprice between them. Common land use also affects residence within the village.

(3) The shared land use relations of a particular man are determined mainly by two considerations, whether he has ties of fosterage and patronage to men other than his father and how much land is held by him and his various relatives. Shared land use between men who are not close agnates is most often the result of fosterage and patronage outside the subclan. Thus, the establishment of shared land use, both between agnates and non-agnates, is directly dependent upon who raises the men and who gives their brideprices. Ultimately it is dependent upon the age at which men's fathers die.

(4) The predominance of agnatic relationships in the formation of activity sets in various domains is not so much the direct result of felt obligations between agnates as the indirect result of patrilineal inheritance of land rights. For a Foi man, the only secure source of land is the inheritance of rights in land used by his father and his father's father before him. Thus, lineage-mates generally use the same lineage land and this results in further cooperation between them, particularly in

reciprocal contributions to ceremonial payments. Distant clanmates distribute brideprice to each other where they inherit rights to clan land. (Such rights include reversionary claims to each other's lineage land.) Although many clanmates are probably agnatically related, the agnatic relationship is not itself important or emphasized as a determinant of brideprice distributions. As distant agnates migrate from the village and lose their rights to clan land, they are omitted from brideprice distributions, while non-agnates who acquire claims to clan land become included in the distributions.

To support the last three points, it is necessary to give a somewhat more detailed summary. This will also set the stage for comparing Foi society to other New Guinea societies.

I have tried to show that agnatic descent does not create a set of relationships different in kind from the pseudo-agnatic relationships created by fosterage, patronage and extension of land use privileges. All of these create dyadic relationships of equivalent solidarity to lineage ties, relationships which may be inherited by descendants as clan-ship ties. It seems possible, however, to differentiate generally between these agnatic and pseudo-agnatic relationships on the one hand and those between affines and matrilateral relatives on the other. (Of course affines or matrilateral relatives can become pseudo-agnates, but I am speaking of those who do not.) Affinal and matrilateral relationships are expected to be limited in duration and are essentially asymmetrical. A man uses his wife's brother's land, but only so long as his wife is alive. Brideprice contributions move from ego to his wife's brother, while brideprice distributions move from wife's brother to ego.

In the next generation a sister's son is not usually expected to use his mother's brother's land and shell transactions between them remain asymmetrical. The lack of solidarity between these relatives is symbolized in formal rules of etiquette between them and in the belief that matrilineal relatives can cause illness.

By contrast, the relationship between clanmates or between pseudo-agnates is one where permanence and equivalence are sought, if not always present. Clanmates pass on their relationship to their descendants unless those descendants abandon their inherited land. Likewise, patrons and land donors for primary land use usually attempt to create a permanent relationship with their dependents which will continue between their descendants. Contributions to brideprice, as well as brideprice distributions, go both ways in the relationship, and the relationship becomes essentially symmetrical. It is true, of course, that initially the patron or land donor puts his dependent under a one-sided obligation. But in the ideal course of events the dependent obligates him in turn, by contributing to his shell payments.

Shared land use is general for lineage-mates, except where one emigrates to another village or is fostered from infancy by another clan of his village. Foster-relatives and patronage relatives who are non-agnates or distant clanmates use the same land only under special conditions--where one party to the relationship lacks sufficient land, or where one or both parties lack allies to live with. Finally, subclanmates or clanmates may also come to use the same land by fusion of clan segments where there are few of them and they have not recruited non-clanmates as allies. Land owners who lack allies to live on their land might be said

to have two alternatives open to them, to gain allies by offering land use to non-clanmates or to increase their cooperation with distant clanmates. The Foi, however, almost never seem to choose the second alternative to the exclusion of the first.

Shared land use and patronage seem the most important factors which determine contributions to brideprice payments, although they are not the only ones. Lineage-mates, clanmates and pseudo-agnates generally contribute to each other's payments if they use the same land. Clanmates also contribute to each other's payments where there are few of them, even though their use of land may still be differentiated. Otherwise none of these contribute unless they owe reciprocity for earlier contributions. Such obligations to reciprocate are usually generated by patronage and/or former sharing of land which has lapsed. The factors which directly produce brideprice contributions between a pair of men are much the same for clanmates and for pseudo-agnates. Agnatic relationship is not directly relevant and clanship has little effect, except where a clan segment is small and in the process of fusing with another segment into a common land-use unit.

In the distribution of brideprice, membership in the local clan segment of the bride or her mother does, in itself, create claims to shells, regardless of whether common land use or reciprocal contributions take place between a clanmate and the bride's or bride's mother's close agnates. Lineage-mates of the bride are sure to receive a large shell. Clanmates receive smaller shells and only for part of the brideprices distributed by a lineage (unless those clanmates have additional claims). However, for these clanmates, as for pseudo-agnates of the bride's or

bride's mother's lineage, strong claims to shells are established by reciprocity for brideprice contributions. Since such contributions are primarily the result of common land use or of patronage, strong claims to shells derive, in turn, from common land use and patronage. Clanship alone creates a claim to brideprice shells, but a relatively weak one.

The sort of clanship tie which confers a claim to brideprice shells is not simply to be labeled as "agnatic relationship." In the first place, the local clan segment often contains absorbed non-agnates and the Fof recognize this in specific cases, even in general statements. Those who inherit rights to clan land gain claims to clan brideprices, regardless of whether or not they are known to be non-agnates. In the second place, the claim to brideprice on the basis of clanship atrophies when an emigrant line remains outside the village and loses its rights to clan land. Thus claims to brideprice payments are congruent with inheritance of clan land. Both are dependent upon the continued use of clan land over several generations.

Residence alignments in the village are mostly based on patron-client ties. The patron-client relationship is only superseded by the tie between land donor and land user in cases where the client does not use his patron's land. The determination of residence is, thus, largely independent of agnatic or clanship ties per se. However, there is some tendency for a close agnate of the groom (especially the father or brother) to act as patron. In consequence, there is also a tendency for close agnates to reside together.

Agnatic relationship can be seen to have mostly an indirect effect on patterns of cooperation, rather than a direct effect through felt

obligations or agnatic sentiment. The processes which create activity sets in the three domains considered are clearly complex. Setting aside the relationships between distant clanmates for the moment, consider lineage-mates and pseudo-agnates. It seems fair to say that cooperation in shell economics and residence is mostly the direct effect of common land use and/or patronage. The agnatic relationship between lineage-mates appears to directly establish claims to brideprice shells, but not to directly affect contributions to brideprice or residence patterns. The predominance of agnates in the composition of activity sets is an indirect result of the agnatic ideology of land inheritance and of the tendency for close agnates to act as patrons or foster-fathers. When a father acts as patron for his son, he probably does so largely out of feelings of affection and obligation. But when a brother or father's brother's son acts as patron, it seems as likely to be the result of a clear-sighted pragmatism. It has been noted that lineage-mates are not usually close in terms of affection, but that they are considered the most reliable allies since they are tied to the same land by their own self-interest.

To return now to the relationship between distant clanmates, it is clear that clanship serves as a direct basis for cooperation, both through fusion where the clan becomes small and by establishing claims to brideprice. But in the final analysis, clanship obligations are the result of several generations of use of clan land, not of agnatic relationship itself. Likewise, the segmentation of the clan segments, or alternatively the strength of clanship obligations, is the outcome of a land division based upon the historical division of land use, and not on genealogy.

If we look at the maintenance of cooperative relations through time, the effect of patrilineal inheritance of land becomes more striking. There appear to be two opposing tendencies in Foi social organization. In every generation the men of a village establish a network of pseudo-agnatic relationships in addition to agnatic ones. As sons succeed their fathers, however, the pseudo-agnatic relationships which have been established tend to lapse, while the agnatic ones tend to continue. Within a man's lifetime, the relationships he establishes with pseudo-agnates are much more likely to be curtailed than those with agnates. The most important pseudo-agnatic relationships involve land use by one man of another's lineage land. Such land use can easily be terminated by the land owners, curtailing or ending the relationship. Agnatic relationships, based in mutual land ownership, are less fragile. Likewise, agnatic relationships are more likely to be transmitted from father to son after the father's death. A large proportion of Foi men lose their fathers before they are married. Such men frequently use their inherited lineage land and thus maintain relationships with their father's agnates. They are unlikely to maintain the pseudo-agnatic relationships established by their fathers. If they choose to use land other than that they have inherited, it will normally be land of a foster-father or patron, and not land used by their fathers.

Among pseudo-agnatic relationships which involve shared land use, those where a man immigrates are more likely to persist than those where a man uses land of another clan within his natal village. This is easy to understand since immigrants and their descendants have no inherited land to fall back upon in their village of residence. They are bound

to be more careful to cement the relationship and assure continued land use. Conversely, land donors may be more reluctant to evict them, since they have no land of their own to use in the village.

Part B: Decision Analysis and Other New Guinea Societies

I have tried to show in the preceding section that decision analysis clarifies certain features of Foi social organization which would tend to be obscured in a descent group analysis. I wish, finally, to consider the usefulness of decision analysis in the context of other societies of the New Guinea Highlands. It seems to me that the approach used in this study would lead to more accurate conceptualization and detailing of social behavior than has been achieved thus far by means of the more traditional descent group approach. Likewise, decision analysis would seem to offer a more useful basis for comparison of Highlands societies, in particular for relating agnatic composition (of activity sets or groups) to system variables such as land pressure or intensity of warfare.

I will restrict myself here to considering societies of the New Guinea Highlands. Those societies have been more extensively described than societies elsewhere in New Guinea and, thus, provide a better basis for comparison. This is unfortunate from my point of view, because the closest parallels to Foi social organization undoubtedly lie in the New Guinea Lowlands, where subsistence and population density are more similar to Foi.

The main political unit in most Highlands societies--the unit which consistently joins in warfare and within which warfare is disapproved--

is the "clan," "clan-parish" or "district" (Berndt 1964:183). In Foi society, the group which corresponds most closely to this is the region. The Foi region has about 500 members, while the main political unit in other Highlands societies has usually something like 300 to 700 members. The Foi region, perhaps, has somewhat less political unity. The region does not join in giving pig feasts as does the usual Highlands political unit, but it does join fairly consistently in warfare.

In most Highlands societies the "descent idiom" is extended to the political unit, or to even larger groupings. A number of societies to the east of the Chimbu, including the Benabena and the Fore are exceptions to this. Here the political unit, termed the district, is composed of several clans which do not recognize common descent. The Foi clan is an additional step down the segmentary hierarchy from this. In the Foi case, the descent idiom is extended to only a segment of the village, within the region. This contrast in the spread of descent categories can be seen in terms of differing processes of immigration and absorption. In most Highlands societies, the descendants of an immigrant become undifferentiated members of the clan which receives them, so long as they do not return home. In the space of two or three generations their alien clan designation is normally forgotten. The descendants of a Foi immigrant, on the other hand, become undifferentiated members of the village which receives them, but often they are not conceptually absorbed into the sponsoring clan. Typically, their alien clan designation is remembered if they come to form a large segment, and they may come to form a separate clan within the village.

It seems likely, also, that warfare was less frequent and less severe in its effects in Foi society than in the denser societies of the Highlands proper.³ This is entirely to be expected given the much greater population densities of most Highlands societies. Territorial displacement, permanent dispersal and decimation of clans in warfare seems to have occurred with some frequency in most of the Highlands (Reay 1959: 31-2, 48-9; Langness 1964:164, 167; Meggitt 1965:68, 78; Brookfield and Brown 1963:79; Strathern 1971:144-5). In the Foi case, dispersal of a village due to warfare was rarely permanent. Decimation of a village was definitely a goal of warfare, but this also occurred very rarely. I also have the impression that warfare was more frequent in the denser Highlands societies than among the Foi. It is difficult to support this impression, since ethnographers rarely give any quantitative information on the frequency of warfare, but to some extent differences in frequency can be inferred. For example, the Dani of the Dugum neighborhood are said by Heider to have participated in fourteen battles or raids during a four and one-half month period of his fieldwork (Heider 1970:106-7). Since Foi wars rarely amounted to more than two or three battles or raids, a Foi village would have participated in that many engagements only over a period of ten to fifteen years.

Broadly speaking, the analysis of Highlands societies has been carried out using some variant of--or perhaps variation from--a patrilineal descent group model. (There are some notable exceptions, especially Langness 1964, 1968, Watson 1970, and Glasse 1968.) The more traditional concept of the patrilineal descent group (as affirmed by Fortes 1959:208, 211-212 and Leach 1962:130-31) involves two main characteristics.

(1) Recruitment to the group is solely by patrilineal descent, i.e. by supposed connection through a line of male progenitors to a common ancestor. (2) Membership in the group entails the obligation to participate in certain joint activities, and often rights to a joint estate. It seems clear that this traditional concept does not fit Highlands societies very well. In fact, most Highlands ethnographers have pointed to discrepancies between this traditional concept of the patrilineal descent group and Highlands societies as they are actually organized. Analysis has generally been unduly influenced by the traditional conception, however. Summary statements describe Highlands societies as "primarily" determined by patrilineal descent or clanship (Meggitt 1965:263ff; Reay 1959:51; Brookfield and Brown 1963:9-13, 155). Even where there is a rejection of patrilineal descent (actual or putative) as the determinant of social grouping, the analysis rarely goes beyond the notion of bounded groups.

At this point in time, there appear to be three major problems in the way Highlands societies are described. First, there has been a distortion of the native ideology of descent. Local groups describe themselves as groups of brothers or as groups having a common patrilineal ancestor. Ethnographers have usually assimilated this to the anthropological model of the patrilineal descent group and asserted that the native rule of recruitment to local groups is one of patrilineal descent. Thus the situation is seen as one of conflict between an ideal rule of patrilineal recruitment and actual recruitment which is often not to the father's and father's father's group. In fact, informants' statements of the rules for recruitment appear to be more flexible than has often been asserted.

Second, there has been insufficient examination of the actual processes involved in recruitment to groups (more accurately to activity sets). Most ethnographers have noted that there is a considerable proportion of non-agnates in local groups. But there is rarely any detailed consideration of case materials which would make it clear why some men affiliate through the father (the preferred alternative), while others do not. Thus, the reasons for the composition of groups (or activity sets) in a particular society remain obscure.

Third, activities have generally been conceptualized in terms of bounded groups. Reay (1959), for example, defines the clan-parish as the autonomous political unit in Kuma society and describes several levels of segmentation within it, the subclan, subsubclan and subsubsubclan. Each of these is said to carry out certain activities as a unit. Particularly for activities said to be carried out by lower-order segments, it is often clear from the more detailed statements of ethnographers that this is a convenient fiction (e.g. see Brown 1970:110-111; 1962:161; Meggitt 1965:240-42). Activity sets are not perfectly congruent with the groups defined as segments of the clan and they shift depending on the ego-focus. To some extent, then, the picture of cooperation in activities is distorted. But more important, the processual interrelationship between various domains of activity is obscured. Group membership--whether defined by belief in common clanship (Reay 1959:51) or by co-residence (Langness 1964:172)--is reified and made to seem the determinant of cooperation in all domains. In fact, some activities are probably prior and produce cooperation in other activities, as I have argued for the Foi.

I do not mean to imply that formal decision analysis, as I have applied it, is the only way to resolve these problems; but I think that it can be an important tool. To clarify this, I wish to examine a pair of recent monographs on the Melpa, written by Andrew Strathern, The Rope of Moka (1971) and One Father, One Elood (1972). Strathern's work is not only meticulously detailed; it seems to have gone farther than earlier monographs in resolving the problems I have described, although it does not rely much upon formal decision analysis or upon analysis of ego-focused networks.

In One Father, One Elood, Strathern (1972:1-2) addresses himself first of all to the distinction between Melpa (patrilineal) descent idioms, which describe the "...solidarity, continuity and segmentation patterns of their main social groups," and their stated recruitment rules, which favor filiation through the father but allow filiation through either father or mother. It is not the case that there is a conflict between ideology and practice, but rather that the ideology contains its own conflicts. Recruitment through the father is preferred, all other things being equal, but in certain circumstances recruitment through the mother is an appropriate and valued alternative.

Strathern also gives considerable attention to the actual processes of recruitment to groups, conceptualizing the problem somewhat as I have. He argues that social grouping results from a series of individual choices, and that to understand social grouping in a society we need to examine the circumstances (transactions) which affect individual choice (Strathern 1972:4-5, 130). His conceptualization differs from mine mainly in that cooperation in various activities is not analyzed at the

level of activity sets in various activities, but rather is amalgamated into the concept of group membership. Thus, in Strathern's terms, he examines the circumstances which lead individual men to join the father's clan, the mother's clan or some other. (Among the Melpa, the clan is the autonomous and war-making unit.) Basically, individuals are seen as joining a particular clan, and a particular subgroup within the clan. One problem with this "group" approach is that it leads Strathern to slight the question of choice in affiliation at lower levels of social grouping. We learn a great deal about why an individual chooses to join his mother's or his father's clan, but rather little about how much choice of affiliation he has within the chosen clan, or what basis there might be for such choice.

Strathern has examined the question of individual choice in clan affiliation by considering a reasonably large sample of men who affiliated with a clan other than the father's. Thus, he is able to make reasonably well-based statements about the conditions which produce non-patrilial membership in clans. About half the non-natal members⁴ in his sample were brought by the mother to her natal clan as children--when she was divorced, widowed or separated from the father--and have remained as adults (Strathern 1972:109). The rest migrated as adults because the natal clan was dispersed in warfare, because of need for land, or because of quarrels with clanmates (Strathern 1972:114, 156-60, 169-70). (Unfortunately there seems to be some question about the exact importance of these latter three motivations in the total sample of non-natal clan members. Their relative priority is the same as the order in which I have given them, apparently, but their exact weighting

is in doubt.) Strathern emphasizes that there are two sides to the question of choice in affiliation. Not only are there reasons for ego to move from his father's clan, there are also reasons for particular hosts to accept him. Big men are more likely to welcome non-agnates, as potential supporters, than are other men (Strathern 1972:166); and the mother's clan is much the most likely group to welcome an emigrant (Strathern 1972:131, 160). At the level of the clan, Strathern's analysis of affiliation seems to me about as good as we can expect to obtain. The use of formal decision models to predict cases is certainly not essential to such an analysis, as Strathern's work shows, but it might increase faith in the analysis. There is a disadvantage to Strathern's method of investigating only the cases of non-agnatic affiliation. He cannot show that the factors which are said to produce non-agnatic affiliation are absent in the case of agnatic clan members.

The main shortcoming of Strathern's work, as I see it, is that basically it fails to go beyond the notion that activities are carried out by bounded groups. Strathern (1972:99-100) makes it clear that certain activities, such as house-building are carried out by ego-focused activity sets. Indeed, an important point of his first book, The Rope of Moka (1971:220-22) is that big men depend, in part, on their personal networks of extra-clan relatives for financial support. (This is seen as increasing the competition between big men and consequently as increasing the access to prestige and power within the clan.) However, in dealing with the ego-focussed nature of such activities, Strathern distinguishes between the group-mates of the principal and his extra-clan network of associates (Strathern 1972:100; 1971:220). The implication

is that extra-clan associates help because of personal ties to the principal but group-mates help to validate their group membership. It may well be that extra-clan kin help for different reasons than do clanmates or co-resident non-agnates. But the result of this distinction between the clan as group and extra-clan kin as personal network is that there is insufficient examination of which group-mates participate on particular occasions and why. The extent of ego-focused recruitment within the clan is obscured.

Strathern's work is detailed enough to show that there is some overlapping in activities between the lower-order segments he defines (sub-clan, lineage) (e.g. see Strathern 1972:61-3), and considerable fluidity in their membership (Strathern 1971:26). Further, it seems that all members of a segment do not necessarily participate in all its activities. In the case of certain moka presentations, for example, there is ambiguity about whether the gift is being given by a group, or by a big man together with his supporters (Strathern 1971:137-43). However, the overall picture presented is that activities are carried out by the clan or its bounded subgroups. Thus, the processes which determine cooperation between particular clanmates can only be extrapolated indirectly. Segmentation of the clan and subclan is said to be partly dependent upon the division between supporters of competing big men and upon splits in residence (Strathern 1971:28, 48-51). These two factors may, apparently, outweigh agnatic relationship as a determinant of cooperation in other activities among clanmates. However, the processes are neither clearly presented, nor documented. It should be said that Melpa subsubclans may operate more as bounded groups than do their

Foi counterparts, the clan and subclan. But it is important to be able to draw more accurate comparisons of this sort than we can do, given Strathern's account.

In fairness, it should be said that Strathern's monographs are more detailed in examining ego-focused recruitment than are other Highlands ethnographies. The only fieldworker who has paid much attention to the problem of ego-focused recruitment to activity sets is Langness.⁶ In his 1964 article, Langness described the Benabena in terms of a hierarchy of groups, the tribe⁵, clan, subclan and lineage. The three larger units were said to be corporate groups. More recently, Langness has revised his analysis. A later article (Langness 1968:193) indicates that there are very few activities in which any of these categories acts as a bounded group, perhaps none for the subclan and lineage. For example, offensive warfare was nominally an activity of the subclan, clan or tribe, but was actually carried out by an action set (Langness's term) drawn from various units and recruited through personal ties to a big man who initiated the warfare. (Defense, on the other hand, might mobilize the tribe as a whole.) Indeed, Langness (1968:195) specifically states the need for an ego-focused approach to understanding Benabena activities:

...to understand any given public affair in Korofeigu [a Benabena tribe]--whether warfare, marriage, or whatever, it is probably necessary to begin from the standpoint of one or more egos and work outwards.

Thus Langness is essentially calling for the kind of approach I have used here, although he has not actually carried it out. Langness suggests that societies to the West of the Benabena, like the Mae Enga and the Kuma, are differently organized, that activities there are more

bounded by clan groups. This may be true at the level of the clan or subclan, but the evidence seems to be that it is unlikely to be true at lower levels of segmentation.

Let us move on to consider more fully the matter of cross-cultural comparison in the Highlands. Among other things, we should like to be able to explain variation in the degree of patrifilial recruitment to activities. (Usually this has been phrased as variation in the percentage of non-agnatic or non-natal members of the clan.) More comprehensively, we should like to be able to state the variation between societies in the general nature of recruitment to activities, not just the degree to which patrifilial recruitment is important. At a large-scale level this would mean comparison of recruitment to territorial groups (clans or districts), including variation in the provenience of immigrants to groups, in the causes of migration, and in the permanence of immigrant members. At a smaller-scale level, it would mean comparison of recruitment to activity sets, including variation in the importance of big man-supporter ties, or foster-kin ties, to the recruitment of activity sets, and variation in the degree to which activity sets are ego-focused.

There has already been considerable interest in describing and explaining such variation. Meggitt (1965:263-80) attempts to relate agnatic composition of clans in various Highlands societies to land pressure. Kelly (1968) refines this analysis by considering the relationship between land pressure, ecological variation and group composition in more detail than Meggitt. In fact, most of the recent ethnographies (including Strathern's) pay some attention to the problem of

variation in patrifilial recruitment. Understandably, the interest centers in relating agnatic composition to system variables such as land pressure. But the attempts at explanation have, I think, gone beyond what the evidence can support. Both Meggitt and Kelly include societies in their comparison for which the estimate of the percentage of non-agnates (or non-natal members) in clans of the society is based on the analysis of a single group, e.g. the Kuma (Reay 1959:47-50) and the Siane (Salisbury 1956:4).⁷ The reliability of these estimates, as a measure of the societies in question, must be considered dubious. Where more detailed figures are available, there are shown to be considerable differences between the clans in a single society. The range in percentage of non-agnate members for three Central Enga clans is four per cent to twelve per cent (Meggitt 1965:10,269) and for three Melpa clans is nineteen per cent to fifty-one per cent (Strathern 1972:104). Clearly the figures for a single clan cannot adequately represent the larger society, since the ranges indicated within a society approach the amount of variation indicated between societies.

A number of writers besides Strathern have paid some attention to the question of how individuals make decisions about affiliation at the level of the territorial group (clan or district), for example Reay (1959:47-50) and Meggitt (1965:27-30). But, I would like to suggest that to understand cross-cultural variation in affiliation in New Guinea much more attention will have to be paid to the question of individual decision-making. The lack of attention to this has meant, for example, that the importance of differences in fosterage has been ignored.

In the Foi case, recruitment to non-natal villages takes place in two ways. Unmarried men are often fostered outside the village and later have brideprice given for them by a man outside the village. Adolescent or married men also emigrate to another village, usually as the result of a quarrel. It is apparent that fosterage is a more significant source of permanent non-natal members of the village than is adult migration (see above pp. 51-4). Fosterage is significant because there is little tendency for a widow to remarry a clanmate of her dead husband. She frequently marries outside her dead husband's village and her young sons go with her, only rarely to return home. Even older boys are frequently fostered by a sister's husband living in another village and continue to live there after they marry.

This pattern appears to contrast with that of the Central Enga and the Kuma, where fosterage rarely results in incorporation of non-natal members into the subclan. (The subclan in these societies is comparable to the Foi village.) In the Kuma case, boys whose fathers die would seem to be generally brought up in the father's subclan, since widows are usually remarried to a subclanmate of the dead husband (Reay 1959:79). Further, Reay's analysis of the members of Kugika clan-parish shows no adopted sons from outside the clan who remained as mature males (Reay 1959:47-50). In the Mae Enga case, widows remain with the dead husband's subclan in sixty-eight per cent of the cases; fatherless children remain in the father's clan in eighty-one per cent of the cases (Meggitt 1965: 133-4). If sons are brought up outside the clan, they should still return to the father's clan at adolescence, although not all of them do so (Meggitt 1965:25-6).

The Chimbu case approximates to the Foi in the importance of fosterage to non-natal recruitment. Apparently widows often remarry outside the dead husband's clan and take their young sons with them (Brookfield and Brown 1963:127; Brown 1962:66-7). The importance of fosterage in producing non-natal clan members in Chimbu society tends to cast doubt upon Kelly's analysis (1968:55-7) of the reasons for a high percentage of non-natal membership. The relatively high percentage may not reflect need for land outside the clan, but only what happens to widows and their young sons.

It seems likely that fosterage plays a greater role in non-natal recruitment among the Foi than in most other Highlands societies, at the level of the Foi village or Highlands subclan that is. In large part this seems the result of differences in widow remarriage. Foi wives tend not to become attached to the husband's group permanently, perhaps because the range of exogamy is smaller so that their own kin are generally physically closer. (This of course does not explain why fosterage should be so important among the Chimbu as a source of non-natal clan members.) It may also be that more boys are made fatherless in Foi society than in others. Certainly Foi fathers are more likely to die of malaria. However, the greater intensity of warfare in other Highlands societies might be expected to offset this.

It appears that conclusions about the relationship of land pressure and agnatic recruitment are likely to be faulty, so long as the full range of factors responsible for individual decisions about recruitment are not considered. The failure of Meggitt and Kelly to pay attention to differences in fosterage is a case in point. Partly, they may have

ignored differences in fosterage because they were focusing on the effect of land pressure. But also they are likely to have done so because the sources do not analyze fosterage.

The lack of attention given to ego-focused recruitment to activities at lower levels is equally as serious as the lack of attention to individual decision-making at the territorial group level. It seems to me that a full understanding of cross-cultural differences in affiliation requires comparison at all levels of grouping. The influence of the traditional descent group model has been such that writers consider the amount of non-patrilial affiliation at the clan level, but do not consider "shifts" of affiliation between lower-order segments of the clan. Obviously this is related to the lack of consideration given to ego-focused recruitment, as I have argued for Strathern. Not only does this preclude comparison of recruitment at the lower levels of grouping, it may preclude any meaningful comparison on present evidence between societies where "clans" are not comparable groups, e.g. between societies such as Siane and Benabena on the one hand and societies such as Chimbu and Kuma on the other.⁸

At present, we cannot really compare affiliation below the level of the clan at all, although there are likely to be differences between societies. For example, many commentators, such as de Lepervanche (1967-68:176-85), have felt that big man-supporter ties are crucial in affecting affiliation within the clan, perhaps more important than patrilial ties. The evidence in hand is enough to support this, but not enough to say what differences might exist between societies in the importance of such ties.

APPENDIX A

ALLIANCES IN WARFARE AND INTERVILLAGE MARRIAGE AND CLANSHIP TIES

The following three tables set forth the data used to describe intervillage friendship and alliances earlier (see pp. 43-4). Table 25 shows marriage patterns for four villages, Herebo, Barutage, Tugiri and Hegisa. The figures given for marriage frequency have been calculated from genealogies collected in those four villages. All marriages in the genealogies were tabulated back two generations before living men (back to c. 1890). There are undoubtedly slight biases in the figures, as there are biases in the remembering of genealogy. For example, childless wives are more often remembered when their origin is inside the village than otherwise. The basic trend of marriage alliance to a few villages, mostly those from the same region, is clear. (See Figure 2, p. 43 for the regions in Foi society.) So is the fact that the amount of intra-village marriage varies according to village size. At present Tugiri (at eighty-eight residents) is about half the size of Herebo (168 residents), Barutage (194 residents) or Hegisa (159 residents). Probably the relative size of these four villages was not too different in 1900 from what it is today. Intra-village marriages occur about four to five times as often in the three larger villages than they do in

Tugiri village over the whole period considered in the table (c. 1890 to the present).

Marriages after 1947, after warfare was completely ended, are tabulated separately from earlier marriages in Table 25 so that any change in marriage patterns due to the establishment of peace will be made evident. The changes shown in the table could be due to systematic biases in the sample. It is more likely, however, that intermarriage with formerly hostile villages has increased slightly since 1947, while that with the formerly friendly villages has decreased slightly. (Three percentage figures are shown in a row of the table. From left to right, the first figure is that for intra-village marriage, the second includes all marriages to formerly friendly villages, the third all marriages to formerly hostile villages.)

Table 26 tabulates socially-important clanship ties to other villages for the same four villages during the period of my fieldwork (1965-1968). Any clanship tie which was during this time the basis for brideprice contributions or for distribution of brideprice was reckoned as socially important. Most of such ties are the result of migration in the last two or three generations. Frequency of clanship ties is reckoned in two ways, by the number of subclans which have members in both villages, tied by brideprice transactions (shown in Part A of the table) and by the number of pairs of clanmates shared by the two villages who are tied by brideprice transactions (shown in Part B). The figures in Part B seem more pertinent than those in Part A. In general, socially important clanship ties are concentrated between formerly friendly villages. (Note, however, that there are few clanship ties of social

importance between Herebo and Hegisa.) Probably the patterns shown here for 1965-1968 can be projected back in time to 1900 or earlier. Since one purpose of examining these clanship ties is to show how they correlate with warfare alliances, it would be preferable to examine clanship ties during the period of warfare, before 1947. However, there is no way of evaluating the social importance of ties during this period: the brideprice data collected do not go back so far.

Table 27 shows the patterns of alliance and opposition in warfare for the northern villages of the Foi area during the years c. 1920 to c. 1945. Since my data on warfare come from only two Foi regions, the Lake Kutuba region and the Herebo-Hegisa-Barutage region, only those (eight) wars which involved these regions are tabulated. It will be seen that villages of the same region always fought together or abstained from fighting, never fighting against each other. (In Table 27, those blocks of the table which are enclosed by a double line represent regions. All cells within such a block are cells for pairs of villages within the same region.) Villages of different regions fought against each other in some, at least, of the wars tabulated. This is true for Herebo and Damaiyu-Fimaga, which are villages of different regions, even though they were "friendly" villages connected both by marriage and clanship ties.

Table 25

The Frequency of Inter-marriage Between Villages

Unit	Total Marriages	Marriages with:							
		Herebo	Barutage	Hegisa	Damaiyu- Fimaga	Ifigi	Other Mubi Villages	Kutubu Villages	Other
Herebo: before 1947	123	52 42.3 %	22	19	13	7	7	1	2
			43.9 %			13.9 %			
after 1947	120	53 44.2 %	20	16	13	11	6	1	1
			40.0 %			15.9 %			
all years	243	105 43.2 %	42	35	26	18	13	2	3
			42.4 %			14.8 %			

Unit	Total Marriages	Marriages with:							
		Barutage	Herebo	Hegisa	Damaiyu- Fimaga	Other Mubi Villages	Kutubu Villages	Other	
Barutage: before 1947	80	33 41.2 %	22	18	2	3	1	1	
			50.0 %		8.8 %				
after 1947	112	49 43.8 %	20	25	7	6	3	1	
			41.1 %		15.2 %				
all years	192	82 42.7 %	42	44	9	9	4	2	
			44.7 %		12.7 %				

Table 25 continued The Frequency of Intermarriage Between Villages

Unit	Total Marriages	Marriages with:					
		Tugiri	Wasemi	Yojobo	Gessge	Mubi Villages	Other
Tugiri: before 1947	40	6 15.0 %	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
			80.0 %			5.0 %	
after 1947	36	1 2.8 %	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>
			77.8 %			19.5 %	
all years	76	7 9.3 %	<u>25</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>
			78.9 %			11.8 %	

Unit	Total Marriages	Marriages with:						
		Hegisa	Herebo	Barutago	Damaiyu-Fimaga	Other Mubi Villages	Kutubu Villages	Other
Hegisa: after 1947*	95	46 48.5 %	<u>16</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
			43.1 %		8.5 %			

* The data collected for Hegisa village for marriages before 1947 are omitted because there is an obvious distortion of the sample in favor of Herebo and Barutago villages.

Table 26

The Frequency of Socially-important Clanship Ties
Between Villages (1965-1968)

Part A. Number of Subclans which Tie Pairs of Villages

Village	Ties with:							
	Herebo	Barutage	Hegisa	Damaiyu- Fimaga	Ifigi	Du?ubari	Gesege	Wasemi
Herebo		3	2	1	2	0	2	0
Barutage	3		6	1	1	1	0	0
Hegisa	2	6		1-2	0	0	0	1

Ties with:

Village	Ties with:				
	Yo?obo	Wasemi	Gesege	Damaiyu-Fimaga	Other
Tugiri	3	1	1	0	0

Part B. Number of Pairs of Clanmates which Tie Pairs of Villages

Village	Ties with:							
	Herebo	Barutage	Hegisa	Damaiyu- Fimaga	Ifigi	Du?ubari	Gesege	Wasemi
Herebo		23	6	20	8-10	0	7	0
Barutage	23		24	5	7	2	0	0
Hegisa	6	24		1-2(?)	0	0	0	20(?)

Ties with:

Village	Ties with:				
	Yo?obo	Wasemi	Gesege	Damaiyu-Fimaga	Other
Tugiri	10	5	1	0	0

Table 27

Sides Taken by Villages in Warfare, c. 1920-1945

Village(s) Opposition or Alliance with^a:

	Fasu	Kutubu Villages	Damaiyu-Fimaga	Barutage	Herebo	Hegisa	Tunahufu	Genefaebo	Ifigi	Irakqo	Dufubari to Yamasi
Fasu	+1,	+1,-2	-1,-1	-1	-1	-1	?	?	-1	-1	-1
Kutubu Villages	+1,-2	+6	+3,-1	+1,-2	-1	+1,-3	?	?	-2	-2	-2
Damaiyu-Fimaga	+1,-1	+3,-1		+1,-2	+1,-3	+1,-1	?	?	-2	-2	-2
Barutage	-1	+1,-2	+1,-2		+3	+3	?	?	+2,-1	+1,-2	+1,-2
Herebo	-1	+1,-1	+1,-3	+3		+3	-1	?	+2,-1	+1,-1	+1,-1
Hegisa	-1	+1,-3	+1,-1	+3	+3		-1	?	+2,-1	+1,-2	+1,-2
Tunahufu	?	?	?	?	-1	-1		?	?	?	?
Genefaebo	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		?	-1	?
Ifigi	-1	-2	-2	+2,-1	+2,-1	+2,-1	?	?		+2,-1	+2,-1
Irakqo	-1	-2	-2	+1,-2	+1,-1	+1,-2	?	-1	+2,-1		+3
Dufubari to Yamasi	-1	-2	-2	+1,-2	+1,-1	+1,-2	?	?	+2,-1	+3	+3

^a The figure preceded by a plus sign is the number of wars where the two villages fought on the same side; the figure preceded by a minus sign is the number where they fought on opposite sides.

^b Cells surrounded by a double line include all the pairs of villages within the same region.

APPENDIX B
KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Table 28

Foi Kin Terms (Reference Usage)^a

Term	Kin Types Included
aba	F
hpa	M
u?ubi	ch
mae	MH, FB, MSH; Wch, σ^r Bch, WSch
babo	FW, MS, FBW; Hch, φ Sch, HBch
abiya	MB; σ^r Sch
abe	FS; φ Bch
yage	FSH; WBch
wame	σ^r B, σ^r FBs, σ^r MSs
boba	φ S, φ FBd, φ MSd
ana	φ B, φ FBs, φ MSs; σ^r S, σ^r FBd, σ^r MSd
kumi	FSch, MBch
ima	H
kae	W
kauwa	WF, WMH, WPaB, WMSH; σ^r dH, WdH, σ^r BdH, σ^r SdH, WSdH; WFS
yumu	WM, WFW, WPaS, WPaBW; φ dH, HdH, φ BdH, φ SdH, HBdH, HSdH; WoS, φ SH; WBW
ta?wa	a) HF, HMH, HPaB, HPaSH; b) PaF, σ^r chch

Table 28 continued Foi Kin Terms (Reference Usage)

Term	Kin Types Included
aya	a) HM, HFW, HPaS, HPaBW; b) PaM, qchch; c) MEW, HSch; d) all kin types listed for <u>yumu</u>
u?ubi.kae	sW, SsW, BsW, SpsW, SpBsW, SpSsW
base	♂SH, ♂FBdH, ♂MSdH; ♀oSH
ka.busi	WB, WFBs, WMSs; WyS
karege	♂EW, ♂FBsW, ♂MSsW; HB, HFBs, HMSs
u?ubi.kamo	HS, HFBd, HMSd
kena?ae	♀EW, ♀FBsW, ♀MSsW

^a For a fuller description of the kinship terminology see Langlas (n.d.)

APPENDIX C

PREDICTION OF THE USE OF RELATIVES' LAND

Table 29 carries out the process of predicting use of relatives' land. To clarify the process, let me discuss the first case (Yefetage). At the time he married, Yefetage had two relatives who might have offered him land use--his foster-father Orokara (entries 1 and 2) and his wife's brother Kahagama (entry 3). Orokara had control of his own clan land (entry 1) and also that of his dead foster-father (entry 2). These two sets of land are lumped together for prediction. A fair amount of close land is owned by Yefetage's lineage, but the lineage was also rather large at the time. Informants stated that there was too little land and sago for the lineage to use. In fact, the wives of the lineage males had quarrelled over the lineage's long-term crops and sago. Yefetage's younger brother nearly left the village because of this quarrel. Orokara and Kahagama, on the other hand, both own more land, long-term crops and sago than they need. (Thus c and c' appear in the fifth column of the table.) The land use model predicts primary use to be offered by both relatives (Step A). (Step B, the elimination of an offer, does not apply in Yefetage's case.) Primary use of Orokara's land is predicted (Step C), since Orokara is preferred as foster-father to Kahagama as wife's brother according to the ranking postulated, and

since both relatives have excess land. Since Kahagema has excess land, secondary use of his land is then predicted by the model (Step C).

Tables 30 and 31 show the proportion of correct predictions of the land use model. Table 30 gives a more detailed breakdown of the factors used in the model than does Table 11 in Part II. Table 31 tabulates the proportion of correct predictions by type of relative, rather than by model part.

Table 29

Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land
(Other Than Own Land Inherited Through the Father)

Ego:	Case	Influencing ^d Factors	Steps A,B ^e (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use ^e	Owner ^b (if Dif- ferent)	Former Owner ^c (Dead)			
Part A. Decisions made at ego's first marriage (Part I of the land use model applies)					
<u>Herebo village</u>					
Yefetage:					
1. fF=P		c,c'	1°	1°	1°
2. fF=P		fFfF			
3. WB		c,c'	1°	2° (by 9)	2°
Wafari:					
5. fF=MB		c,c'	1°	1°	1°
6. fF=MB		fFfF			
7. fB		c,c'	1°	1° (by 10)	1°
Tauwadobo:					
8. fF=P= clanmate		y,x	1°	1°	1°
9. fF=P= clanmate		fFWB ^f			
10. fB= clanmate			no	2° (by 10)	2°
11. cl. MB			no	no	no
R-39. SH _a		o',x	3°	3°	no
R-53. SH _b			no	no	no
Wanabo:					
12. fF=P		a',c',x ^g	p. 1°	p. 1°	no
13. WF/omit: WF hardly used his own land/			—	—	no
14. WF	WFcl. WB	FWFB	c',x	3°	p. 3°
15. MB			no	no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Owner	Former Owner (Dead)	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Orobi:							
	16. fF=P=clanmate			d,x	1°	1°	p. 1°
	17. WfB=subclanmate		WF	d,p,x	1°	p. 2° (by 9)	?
	18. WfB=subclanmate						
	19. cl. MBs		MB	x	no	no	no
Aramene:							
	20. fF=P=subclanmate			c,d	1°	1°	1°
	21. MfBs			a,x	1°	2° (by 9)	1°-2°
	22. WB			c,c',d	1°	2° (by 9)	2°
Orokara:							
	24. fF=P=clanmate			y,x	1°	1°	1°
	26. MBs				no	no	no
Enemano:							
	27. fF=P=MB			y,c',x	1°	1°	1°
	28. SH				no	no	no
Orobora:							
	29. F=P ⁱ		FMBs	F uses (c',x)	1°	1°	2°
	30. WB			a _o ^g ,c',x	p. 1°	p. 2° (by 9)	2°
Besebo:							
	31. P=fB _a =clanmate			d,x	1°	1°	p. 1°
	32. P=fB _a =clanmate (fFfs)		fF ^j				1°
	33. fB _b			d (ego's land much; fB's little)	1° (eliminated by 7)	no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)			
Abui:					
	34. fF/died before Abui's first marriage; Abui inherited land/	y,a,d	[1°]	[1°]	1°
	36. P=SH	a,d,x	1°	1°	1°-2°
	37. WB	d, p. x	1°	p. 2° (by 9)	?
Kahagema					
	38. WB		no	no	no
	39. fB		no	no	no
	40. cl. MB	p. a,x	p. 1°	p. 1°	no
Fayebi:					
	41. P=cl. MB		no	no	1°
Asuhua					
	42. P	d,x	1°	1°	1°-2°
Fura:					
	44. P=cl. SH		no	no	1°-2°
Aebo:					
	45. co-P ^k	c	1°	1°	2°
	46. cl. MB		no	no	no
Nemo:					
	47. P		no	no	no
Tutu					
	49.		no	no	no
	50. WFF	a ₀ ,x	1°	1°	p. 1°
Nemo:					
	51. cl. MB		no	no	no
Faragu:					
	53. cl. MB		no	no	no
Sohai:					
	54. fF=P ₁	a ₀ ,b-d,c,c'	1°	1°	1°
Hasuwabo:					
	57. WF	b-d,c	1°	1°	1°

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)			
Masahimo:					
58. WB=c1			a, d, c' (ego's land much; WB's little)	1° (eliminated by ?)	3° p. 3°
60. MBs				no	no
Buanobo:					
62. cl. MB				no	no
Kasiare:					
63. WB				no	1°
64. cl. MB				no	no
Arase:					
65. WB				no	no
Kemo:					
68. WfB			a ₀ ^g , d, x	1°	1° p. 1°
Hobeba:					
71. WF=SH _a			d ₀ ^g , x	p. no	p. no no
72. Ffs			d ₀ ^g , x	p. no	p. no no
73. SH _b				no	no no
R-30. SH _c				no	no no
R-68. fSH				no	no p. 2°
Enahq:					
75. Ffs				no	no no
<u>Barutage village</u>					
Kuba:					
1. fF=P				no	no no
2. WFB				no	no no
Ki:					
3. fF=P ₁			y, x	1°	1° p. 1°
5. MBs				no	no no
Nafa:					
7. fF=MB				no	no 3°

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)			
Mafa:					
8. WB			no	no	no
Kuburu:					
9. fF	fFfFs		y	1°	1°
10. FMBs			F used 1°	1°	no
				(by 9)	
11. MBs			no	no	no
12. WF			no	no	no
Baruga:					
13. fF=P			b-d,c'	1°	3°
				(by 9)	p. 2°
14. fB, FV			b-d,c,c'	1°	1°
15. WB			b-d,c,c'	1°	2°
				(by 9)	p. 2°
16. MB			F used 1°	1°	no
				(by 9)	p. no
Mabera:					
17. fF=P ₁ =SH			y,c,c',d _o	1°	1°
Taodehabo:					
19. (=R-72.) fF=P			y, p. d	1°	2°
				(by 9)	2°
20. WF			c,c', p. d	1°	1°
					p. 1°
Gakaro:					
21. fF=P				no	no
22. MB=FMB			F used 1°(x)	1°	1°
Wareya:					
25. fF=P			c,d	1°	1°
26. fF=P		fFFFfF			p. 2°
24. WfF				no	no
27. FMBs			F used 1°(d)	1°	no
				(by 9)	?

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use	
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)				
Wareya: 29. fB			a ¹ ,c',d	p. 1 ⁰	p. 2 ⁰ (by 9)	2 ⁰
Yamanibu: 30. P	PfB		d ¹ ,c,x	1 ⁰	1 ⁰	?
(R-55) SH	SHWB					
(R-79) fSH						
31. cl. MB				no	no	no
32. fB			a (ego's land enough; fB's little)	1 ⁰ (eliminated by 7)	no	no
Igibu: 33. fF-P				no	no	no
34. co-P				no	no	no
35. MfB				no	no	no
36. WB, WfB			c',x	3 ⁰	3 ⁰	3 ⁰
Onoboga: 39. fB [fF died before ego's first marriage; ego inherited the land]			F used (b-d,c)	1 ⁰	1 ⁰	1 ⁰
40. P			d	1 ⁰	1 ^{oh}	1 ⁰
41. fB [omit; fB doesn't use his own land]				--	--	no
42. MB				no	no	no
Garubo?o: 43. fF			c'	3 ⁰	3 ⁰	?

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land
 Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)			
Hare:					
44. Ffs			no	no	no
45. MB (cl.)		MB	no	no	no
Fahaesobo:					
47. fB=MBs			no	no	no
48. WfF		WfFWB	no	no	no
Suiya:					
49. fF=P=MfB			y, b-d, c, c'	1°	1°
50. fB			b-d	1°	no (by 9)
51. WfB			b-d	1°	no (by 9)
WaTabeyu:					
52. fF=P=MB			p. y, b-d, c'	1°	2° (by 9)
53. fB			b-d	1°	no (by 9)
54. WB			b-d, c, c'	1°	1°
Hesasi:					
57. fF, P	P	fFfF, PffF	b-d, c, a ₀	1°	1°
58. P					
59. WB			b-d	1°	p. 2° ^P
60. WB	(immature WB) ^P	WBWF	b-d, c, c'	1° ^P	?
WaTabu:					
62. fF=P=MBs			b-d	1°	1°
64. WB			b-d, c'	1°	3° (by 9)
Hobe:					
67. P=fF	fFfFFBs		b-d	1°	1°
Meza:					
68. Ffs			p. a (fB's land lit- tle; ego's enough)	1°	no (eliminated by ?)

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use	
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)				
Meya: R-90. SH			c',x	3°	3°	1
Barinaba: 71. fF=P			b-d	1°	1°	1°
Semai: 76. WF				no	no	no
Dena: 78. MB				no	no	no
79. WfB			a (ego's land (eliminated enough; WfB's little)	1° (by 7)	no	no
Abase: 80. fF=P ₁			b-d,c,c'	1°	1°	1°
Koae: 83. fFV			b-d	1°(?)	no (by 9)	no
84. P			b-d	1°	1°	1°
Tawe: 85a. P			b-d	1°	1° ^P	1°
85b. P	PWB ^P		b-d,c,c'	?	? ^P	?
86. FV			F used 1°(b-d)	1°	no (by 9)	2°
Sage: 87. WF		WFFF		no	no	no
88. WF						
Wabiga: 89. P ^q		PfF, FfF	F used 1° (c,d)	[1°]	[1°]	1°
Dabamena: 91. B=P ^q		FfF	F used 1° (c,x)	[1°]	[1°]	1°
92. WfB=fSH				p. no ^q	p. no	3°

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)			
Irakama ?u:					
93. WFB			no	no	2°
Senagefu:					
95. FV			no	no	no
96. F=P ¹	MB	F uses 1° (a?, b-d)	1°	2°-no	1°
97. WF		b-d, c, c'	1°	1°	1°
Ogo:					
98. F/as heir/		MF	F uses 1°	[1°]	[1°]
Oromena:					
99. FV=SH			b-d	1°	no (by 9)
100. WB			b-d, c, c'	1°	1°
			<u>Tugiri village</u>		
Aiyi:					
1. fF=P			y, x	1°	1°
2. fB			F used 1°, x	1°	2°
Hayabi:					
4. fFV=clanmate, fB ^m			a, c', x	p. 1°	p. 1°
5. cl. MB		MB		no	no
Era ?a:					
6. fF=P=MB			a, x	1°	1°
7. FfB			F used 1° (x)	1°	2° (by 9)
Gagibu:					
10. fF=P, FV			F used 1° (b-d, c)	1°	1°
11. fB _a			b-d, c	1°	2° (by 9)
12. fB _b /omit: fB doesn't use his own land/				--	--
13. fB _c =Ffs			b-d, c	1°	2° (by 9)

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part A. continued Decisions made at ego's first marriage

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use	
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)				
Yarugi:						
14. fF=P	[omit]		(b-d,c,c')	--	--	no
15. FV			F used (b-d,c)	1°	1°	1° ^t
16. Ffs			b-d,c	1°	1°-2° ^t	1°-2°
Dosobo:						
17. fF=P			d,x	1°	1°	1°
Gisari:						
18. P=cl. MB			c',p. d,x	p. 1°	p. 1°	1°-2°
19. WB	WBFFV		c',p. d,x	p. 1°	p. 2° (by 9)	p. 2°
Kagerabo:						
20. fF=P	fFFFV		b-d,c,c'	1°	1°	1°
21. WFF			b-d,c	1°	2° (by 9)	p. 3°
Kone fabo:						
23. F=P ¹	FFV		F uses (b-d,c,c')	1°	1°	1°

Part B. Decisions made after ego's first marriage for an ego with no non-clan primary affiliation established (Part I of the land use model applies)^uHerebo village

Tu?u:						
52. WfB			c,c',c ^v	1°	1°	2°
Faragu:						
53. P ₂ =cl. WfB			d,x	1°	1°	1°
Soha?:						
55. P ₂ ^w			c,c',d ^w	1°	1°	1°
Masahimo:						
R-9. fs=cl ₂				no	no	no
Buanobo:						
62. WB				no	no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part B. continued Decisions made after ego's first marriage for an ego with no non-clan primary affiliation established

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use
	Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner Former Owner (Dead)			
Arase:					
	67. WF _a		no	no	no
	68. WF _b		no	no	2 ^o (part of land)
Didobo:					
	70. Wcl. B		no	no	no
	71. WB	c'	3 ^o	3 ^o	3 ^o
Orokara:					
	R-1. fs		no	no	no
	R-52. fdH		no	no	no
	25. fB=cl= subclanmate	a,x	1 ^o	1 ^o	1 ^o
Enaho:					
	R-68. dH		no	no	no
Kuigarabo:					
	77. WB, cl. WB=cl		no	no	2 ^o -no
Iradugi:					
	78. FSs=cl		no	no	no
Iraa:					
	79. cl. SH=cl		no	no	no
Hagamu:					
	80. SH		no	no	no
<u>Barutage village</u>					
Kuba:					
	R-8. SH		no	no	no
	R-12. dH [omit: dH doesn't use his own land]		--	--	no
Nafa:					
	R-82. SH	SHfF	no	no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part B. continued Decisions made after ego's first marriage, for an ego with no non-clan primary affiliation established

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Steps A,B (Predicted Offer)	Step C (Predicted Use)	Actual Use	
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)				
Mabera: 18. P ₂ ^x			c ^o , d _o	1 ^o	1 ^o	p. 1 ^o
Igibu: 37. WB	WBFB			no	no	no
38. WB		WBWF	c ^o (but ego uses sago of 40.)	no	no	no
Hare: 26. WB				no	no	no
Meya: R-39a. cl				no	no	no
R-39b. cl		clFF				
R-46. SH			c ^o	3 ^o	3 ^o	?
Sage: R-94. SH				no	no	no
Wabiga: 90. WB				no	no	no
Irakama?u: R-2. BdH				no	no	no
94. WB				no	no	no
<u>Tugiri village</u>						
Era?u: 18. fB [omit: fB doesn't use his own land]				—	—	no
Waibi: R-1. fs _a				no	no	no
R-6. fs _b				no	no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part C. Decisions made by egos with prior primary affiliation outside own clan (Part II of model applies)

Ego:	Case	Influencing ^y Factors	Predicted Use	Actual Use
	Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Dif- ferent) Former Owner (Dead)		
<u>Herebo village</u>				
Yefetage:				
4. fB		a.x	1°(by 10)	1°
Oribi:				
R-46. cl			no	no
Aramene:				
23. fB	[omit: fB doesn't use his own land]		—	no
R-51. cl			no	no
Abui:				
35. WF			no	?
R-17. fSH			no	?
Kahagema:				
R-3. SH			no	no
R-50. cl			no	no
Asuhua:				
44. WB		d(?) (ego's land much; WB's enough or less)	no	no
Tufu:				
R-62. SH			no	no
Sohai:				
56. WB			no	no
Masahimo:				
R-20. fs=cl		(ego's land much; fs's little)	no	no
R-67. dH _a		C'	3°	2°-3°
60. WB=dH _b		C'	3°	3°
Kasiare:				
R-13. dH			no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Part C. continued Decisions made by egos with prior primary affiliation outside own clan

Ego:	Case	Influencing Factors	Predicted Use	Actual Use
Relative Who May Offer Land Use	Owner (if Different)	Former Owner (Dead)		
<u>Barutage village</u>				
Ki:				
4. P ₂ =MBs	PfFcl. Bs		no	no
6. Wcl. B		WF	no	no
Baruga:				
R-30. cl= subclanmate		a ¹	p. 2 ^o	2 ^o
Wa?abeyu:				
R-47. fdH			no	no
55. WB			no	no
Wa?abu:				
63. fB			no	no
65. WB [omit: WB probably has no title to village land]			—	no
66. WfB		c ^o	3 ^o	?
R-4. cl [omit: client doesn't use his own land]			—	no
Barinaba:				
72. fB		p. a (ego's land enough; fB's little) ^z	p. 2 ^o (eliminated by 7)	no
R-9. fs			no	no
74. WB		c ^o	3 ^o	2 ^o
Abase:				
81. P ₂			no	no
82. WB			no	no
Oromena:				
101. WfF		c ^o	3 ^o	?
<u>Tugiri village</u>				
Kone fabo:				
R-19. SH			no	no

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Notes

^a Listed here are all those relatives alive at the time of ego's marriage when they might offer ego land use. The usual symbols are used for kin and pseudo-kin. In addition the following symbols are introduced: cl., classificatory; V, land donor for an immigrant. An equals sign between two symbols, e.g. FF=P, indicates a multiple relationship between ego and his relative.

Some of the numbers used to designate relatives who might offer land use are preceded by an 'R-.' This indicates that the relationship is the reciprocal of the numbered relationship, which can be found elsewhere in the table.

^b In some instances, a relative may offer ego the use of land which he does not own but uses in primary degree, the owner being some mature man (or men) of another clan. In such instances, the owner is indicated here. Only those cases are included where the land user has established a strong claim to the land he uses, by making shell payments for the land owners.

^c In some instances, a relative has come into control of land which is not his own clan land. In such instances, the original clan owner's relationship to ego (through the relative who offers land use) is shown here.

^d Listed here are all the factors which influence the relative in deciding whether to offer land use, and ego in deciding whether to accept. The following symbols are used:

- a relative lacks allies;
- a_o relative lacks allies except for old men;
- b-d ego has no land (or only outlying land) and, thus, also lacks allies;
- c ego lacks sufficient land, relative has excess land;
- c^o ego lacks sufficient sago, relative has excess sago;
- d ego lacks allies;
- d_o ego lacks allies except for old men;
- x relative has excess land;
- y ego was adopted by the relative as a young boy (five years or younger).

^e In some cases, there is uncertainty about the correct prediction of an offer of land use, or about the actual usage. A question mark indicates complete uncertainty; a 'p.' before the symbol indicates that this is the likely prediction or the likely actual usage, but there is no certainty.

Where ego has control of the land in question at the time of his first marriage, having claimed the land when his relative died, prediction of land use by the model is presumably irrelevant. Such predictions are surrounded by brackets ($\overline{\quad}$) and are eliminated from the test of the model.

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Notes continued

^f Actually, Tauwado's foster-father did not come to control the land until about a year after Tauwado's marriage. That short period has been ignored for the sake of easier presentation.

^g All five of these cases are related. At the time Hobeba married, his father was old and he had no other allies, only secondary land users. About this time, Orobor and Kemo married sisters of Hobeba and his foster-brother Wanabo also married. The exact order of these events cannot be reconstructed, but they can probably be treated as simultaneous. Thus, three men (Orobor, Kemo, Wanabo) were potentially primary users of Hobeba's land, while at the same time he was potentially a primary user of his wife's father's (Masahimo's) and his foster-brother's (Wanabo's) land. Kemo is predicted to use Hobeba's land on other grounds as well: he had no allies at the time. Probably not all the other cases should be predicted as primary offers. I assume that Hobeba would not be offered primary land use (on the basis of factor d) by any of his relatives, since he had three potential allies. I assume, further, that he would offer primary land use to both Orobor and Wanabo in addition to Kemo.

^h Note that here, as in other cases later, wife's foster-brother or foster-father appears instead of her actual brother or father. The same is true of mother's foster-brother. Where ego's wife or mother has been fostered outside her clan, normally only the foster-relatives would offer ego land use. Her actual agnates maintain claim to her brideprice, but otherwise her affiliation is with her foster-relatives. The only exception is the case where both the woman and her actual brother are fostered by the same non-clanmate.

ⁱ See note 2 to p. 124 (Part II of the thesis).

^j Besebo was adopted as a young boy by his foster-father. This may have affected his claim to his foster-father's land, even though the foster-father died long before Besebo married and the land was under the control of his foster-brother and patron.

^k Occasionally one man acts as the main patron for a marriage, taking the primary responsibility for giving the brideprice, but a second gives an appreciable number of the shells as well. In such cases the second man will be termed the "co-patron", symbolized as 'co-P.'

^l These three cases (including R-30 Baruga, p. 307) are related. Wareya and Yamanibu were married about the same time, Baruga earlier. Yamanibu has no allies on his land. Thus Wareya was a potential primary user of Yamanibu's land, Baruga a potential secondary user. Yamanibu was a potential user of Baruga's foster-brother's land. I assume that all three offers would be made, since there are no grounds for eliminating one more than the other two.

^m All three relatives are clan owners of the same land.

Table 29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Notes continued

ⁿ Onoboga's foster-father died shortly before Onoboga was to marry, and Onoboga was able to assert control over the land, together with others. The other men who lived on the foster-father's land did not include mature clan owners. Thus, Onoboga might be said to have had no definite allies at the time of his marriage, although it seems reasonable to consider the foster-father's land as Onoboga's own. Following this line of reasoning, the model predicts primary use of the patron's land. Onoboga could affiliate primarily with his patron and live on the patron's land, while still using his foster-father's land. (There were no clan owners of the foster-father's land to raise objections.)

^p In both cases the same relative (Tawe's patron, Hesasi's wife's brother) was in control of the land of his wife's brother who was a young boy. The relative, however, used this land in concert with others who may have held superior rights. I am unsure whether he was in a position to offer land use or not. At any rate, his use of this land probably gave him sufficient land in toto to offer use of his own land to Hesasi and Tawe.

^q When Wabiga married, he and his patron had assumed control over the land in question, since the clan owners had died out. However, a set of brothers, still immature, were considered to have superior claims to the land. It seems best to consider that Wabiga inherited the land through his father, and thus that Dabamena did too. In this case, Dabamena had plenty of land and no reason to use that of his wife's father's brother and foster-sister's husband.

^r Hayabi was adopted by an immigrant who used land of his clan, but of a different subclan. His foster-father died before Hayabi married. However, the foster-father had established claim to the land by giving shell payments for the owners. Thus, Hayabi was offered land use by the owners of the land in the same way as the actual sons of the foster-father were.

^s Yarugi quarreled with his foster-father before he married. Thus the tie to his foster-father was broken and no land use would be offered.

^t The model would predict the foster-brother (Hayabi) as the preferred choice for primary land use. Hayabi uses in primary degree the land of Yarugi's father's land donor (Waibi). In fact, he uses it more than he does his own land. Formally, the model would predict primary use by Yarugi of the land of both Hayabi and Waibi, by 10. However, perhaps the use of Hayabi's land should be predicted as secondary, since Hayabi does not use it fully himself.

^u These cases have been separated from those in Part A of the table, since ego never has to make a choice between offers in the Part B cases. Otherwise decisions are made in the same way.

Table.29 continued Prediction of Specific Cases of Use of Relatives' Land

Notes continued

∇ Tufu actually had subclanmates living on land to which he had claim, since it was land his father had used. However, he had repudiated this land some time earlier and taken a few small pieces for his exclusive use. Effectively, he lacked both land and allies.

∞ Earlier, Sohail had used the land of his first patron, but he had then quarreled with that man's son and left that land. He owned only a bit of land given him by his mother's brother's son.

× Earlier, Mabera had used the land of his first patron. At this time, however, he had quarreled with that man and no longer lived with him. (Still later, he quarreled with the second patron and returned to live with the first again.)

∫ The following symbols are used for "influencing factors":

- a the relative has no mature allies to live with;
- C ego lacks sufficient land to use, including that of a relative who allows him primary land use; the relative being considered as a potential donor has excess land;
- C' ego lacks sufficient sago to use, including that of a relative who allows him use of his sago, while the relative being considered as a potential donor has excess sago.

⊠ Barinaba had no clan land in Barutage village. However, he was some years older than his foster-brother Taodehabo. By the time Taodehabo married, Barinaba had probably already established claim to the land of their joint foster-father by making shell payments. Thus, Barinaba effectively had more land than his foster-brother.

Table 30

Proportion of Correct Positive Predictions of the Land Use Model,
Part I (Segments 3,4,5) by Individual Predictive Factor

Factor*	Correct Predictions	Incorrect Predictions	Prediction Uncertain
a,x	5	2	1
d,x	5	0	4
a,d,x	1	0	1
d ± a (not x)	3	0	0
b-d	4	0	1
b-d,c	10	2	1
d,c	3	2	1
c	3	1	0
a,b-d,c	3	0	0
<u>Total</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>

* For an explanation of the symbols used here, see pp. 146-7 and note d to Table 29 (p. 308).

Table 31

Proportion of Correct Predictions of the Land Use Model
by Type of Relative

Relationship to Ego	Correct Predictions	Incorrect Predictions	Prediction Uncertain	% Correct Predictions*
fF	29	5	0	85 %
P	10	3	4	77 %
F's relative	5	4	3	55 %
fB	19	0	3	100 %
WB or W's "agnate"	40	8	8	83 %
MB or M's "agnate"	18	1	2	95 %
cl	8	0	0	100 %
fs	6	0	0	100 %
SH	16	2	4	89 %
<u>Total</u>	<u>161</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	

* The percentage of correct predictions excludes uncertain predictions.

APPENDIX D

BRIDEPRICE CONTRIBUTIONS

Table 32

Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Groom: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity ^a	Segment Size ^b Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors ^c	Land Use ^d	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Part A. Clanmates of the groom						
Besebo:						
FFBs: Karua	p. no	1 1	b	x	yes	yes
clanmate: Masahimo	no	7 3		x	no	yano
Aramene	no	7 3		x	no	yano
Wa?ari:						
B: Yefetage	no	- -	a	x	yes	yes(P)
FBs: Aebo	to P	- -	a,c	x	yes	yes
Nemo	to P	- -	a,c	x	yes	yes
Faragu	to P	- -	a,c	x	yes	yes
sub-						
clanmate: Arase	to P	5 6	c	x	yes	yes
Kuigarabo	p. no	5 6		x	no	no
Iradugi	no	5 6		x	no	no
Yimakaba	p. no	5 6		x	no	no
Kasiare	no	(5 8)		1	no	no
Hobe	no	(5 8)		1	no	no
Tu?u	no	5 6		x	no	yano
clanmate: Hobeba	p.no	2 11		x	no	yano
Iawara?o:						
FB: Kuigarabo	to P?	- -	a,c?	x	yes	yes
Arase	to P?	- -	a,c?	x	yes	yes
FBs: Iradugi	no	- -	a	x	yes	yes(P)
sub-						
clanmate: Tu?u	to P?	6 1	c?	x	?	yano
Kasiare	no	(6 1)		1	no	no
Faragu	no	6 4		x	no	no
Yefetage	no	6 4		x	no	yano
clanmate: Sabewayo	p. no	10 2-3		x	no	yano
Sohaj (marriage 2):						
B: Fa?owe	no	- 0	a	2	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size Ego's Rela- tive's		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- butions	Actual Contri- butions
Schaï (marriage 2):							
sub- clanmate: Iratoro	no	(2	2)	b	2	no	yes
Sesamena	no	(2	2)	b	2	no	no
Schaï (marriage 3):							
B: Fa?owe	no	-	-	a	2	no	no
sub- clanmate: Iratoro	no	(2	2)	b	2	no	yes
Sesamena	no	(2	2)	b	2	no	no
Warubi:							
F: Masahimo	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes(P)
clanmate: Enemano	p. no	(4	11)		1	no	yano
Orobora	no	(4	11)		1	no	yano
Orokara	no	4	9		x	no	no
Besebo	no	4	9		x	no	no
Koya	p. no	4	9		x	no	no
Sabekemo	no	4	9		x	no	no
Gooba	p. no	4	9		x	no	no
Hasuwabo	p. no	4	9		x	no	no
Karua	p. no	4	10		x	no	no
Enahq:							
sub- clanmate: Kahagama	p. to ego	2	4 ^f	b,c	x	yes	yes
Gibui	p. to ego	2	4 ^f	b,c	x	yes	yes
clanmate: Buanobo	p. no	8	3		x	no	no
Abui	p. to ego	8	3	c	x	p.yes	yes
Aiyu?abo	p. no	2	2	b	x	yes	no
Bubia	p. no	8	4		x	no	no
Gifagira	to ego?	8	4	c?	x	?	no
Huarehabo	p. no	8	4		x	no	no
Orobi:							
sub- clanmate: Abui	no	1	1	b	x	yes	yes
clanmate: Gifagira	to P?	10	5	c?	x	?	no
Bubia	p. no	10	5		x	no	no
Huarehabo	p. no	10	5		x	no	yes
Kemo:							
sub- clanmate: Hagamu	no	1	1	b	x	yes	yes(P)

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Fahaesobo:						
F: Irakama?u	no	- -	a	x	yes	yes(P)
Nafa:						
sub- clanmate: Irakama?u	to ego?	1 2	b,c?	x	yes	yes
Dena:						
B: Semai	no	- -	a	x	yes	no
FBs: Gakaro	p. no	- -	a	x	yes	yes(P)
Soha?	no	- -	a	1	no	no
sub- clanmate: Igibu	to P?	5 1	b,c?	x	yes	yes (co-P)
Gebebe	to P?	5 2	c?	x	?	no
Siyu	to P?	5 2	c?	x	?	no
Koae:						
FBs: Oromena	no	- -	a	x	yes	yes
Waibi:						
F: Gibui	no	- -	a	x	yes	yes
FB: Kahagama	no	- -	a	x	yes	yes(P)
FBs: Suiya	no	- -	a	1	no	no
sub- clanmate: Enaho	to P	6 2	c	x	yes	yes
clanmate: Gifagira	p.to P	8 4	p. c	x	p. yes	yes
Huarehabo	to P?	8 4	c?	x	?	no
Aramene:						
clanmate: Enemano	no	(4 8)		1	no	no
Iraa	p. no	4 6		x	no	no
Hasuwabo	p. no	(4 8)		1	no	no
Orokara	no	4 6		x	no	no
Koya	no	4 6		x	no	yes
Sabekemo	no	4 6		x	no	no
Karua	p. no	4 6		x	no	no
Fayebi:						
FB: Hasuwabo	no	- -	a	x ⁶	yes	yes
sub- clanmate: Enemano	no	(2 4)	b	1	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom:	Relative(Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Fayebi(continued):								
sub- clanmate:	Orobora	no	(2 4)		b	1 ⁿ	no	no
	Sabekemo	to ego	5 6		c	x	yes	yes
	Koya	no	5 6			x	no	yes
	Tauwadobo ⁱ	no	(2 4)		b	1	no	no
clanmate:	Karua	no	8 2			x	no	no
	Masahimo	p. no	8 3			x	no	yano
	Aramene	no	8 3			x	no	no
Anenahui:								
F:	Enemano	no	- -		a	x	yes	yes(P)
B=Pcl:	Orobora	to P	- -		a	x	yes	yes
					(Pt. III,d)			
FBs:	Tauwadobo	no	- -		a	1,4 ^j	no	yes
sub- clanmate:	Koya	to P	(7 7)		c	4	yes	yes
	Sabekemo	no	(7 7)			4	no	no
	Hasuwabo	p. no	(4 2)		b	4	no	no
clanmate:	Karua	p. no	(13 2)			4	no	no
	Masahimo	p. no	(13 3)			4	no	no
	Aramene	no	(13 3)			4	no	no
Tauwadobo:								
FB:	Enemano	no	- -		a	1,4	no	yano?
sub- clanmate:	Iraa	p. no	(3 2)		b	1,4	no	no
	Hasuwabo	p. no	(3 2)		b	1,4	no	no
	Koya	p. no	(7 4)			4	no	no
	Sabekemo	no	(7 4)			4	no	no
Enemano:								
sub- clanmate:	Iraa	p. no	(2 2)		b	1,2	no	no
	Hasuwabo	p. no	(2 2)		b	1,2	no	no
	Koya	p. no	(5 6)			2	no	no
	Sabekemo	no	(5 6)			2	no	no
clanmate:	Karua	no	(10 1)			2	no	no
	Masahimo	p. no	(10 3)			2	no	yano
	Aramene	no	(10 3)			2	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom:	Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size Ego's Rela- tive's		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Nemo (marriage 2):								
FBs:	Faragu	no	-	-	a	x	yes	?
	Yefetage	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate:	Arase (P.)	no	4	6		x	no	yes
	Kuigarabo	p. no	4	6		x	no	no
	Iradugi	no	4	6		x	no	no
	Kasiare	p. no	(4	7)		1	no	no
	Tu?u	no	4	6		x	no	no
clanmate:	Sabewayo	p. no	10	2-3		x	no	no
Yefetage:								
FBs:	Faragu	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate:	Arase	to P	2	5-6	c	x	yes	yes
	Kuigarabo	no	2	5-6		x	no	no
	Iradugi	no	2	5-6		x	no	no
	Kasiare	no	(2	6-7)		1	no	no
	Tu?u	no	2	5-6		x	no	no
clanmate:	Sabewayo	p. no	7-8	1		x	no	no
Koya:								
B:	Sabekemo	to ego	-	-	a,c	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate:	Orokara	to ego	2	2	b,c	x	yes	yes
	Anabeya	to ego	2	2	b,c	x	yes	no
	Iraa	p. no	4	3		x	no	yes
	Hasuwabo	to ego?	(4	5)	c?	1	?	no
	Enemano	to ego?	(4	5)	c?	1	?	no
	Ka?oma?ame	?	4	3	c?	x	?	no
clanmate:	Masahimo	p. no	6	1		x	no	no
Sabekemo (marriage 1):								
B:	Koya	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes (1 ^p)
sub- clanmate:	Anabeya	to P?	2	1	b,c?	x	yes	no
	Iraa	p. no	4	3		x	no	no
	Hasuwabo	to P?	(4	5)	c?	1	?	yano
	Enemano	p. no	(4	5)		1	no	yano
	Ka?oma?ame	to P?	4	3	c?	x	?	no
clanmate:	Masahimo	p. no	6	2		x	no	yano

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A, continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom:	Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size Ego's Rela- tive's		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Sabekemo (marriage 2):								
B:	Koya	to ego	-	-	a, o	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate:	Orokara	to ego	2	2-3	b, c	x	yes	yes
	Iraa	p. no	(4	5)		l	no	no
	Hasuwabo	p. no	(4	5)		l	no	no
	Enemano	p. no	(4	5)		l	no	no
clanmate:	Masahimo	p. no	6	2		x	no	no
	Aramene	no	5	3		x	no	no
Orokara:								
FBs:	Anabeya	to P?	-	-	a, c?	x	yes	p. no
sub- clanmate:	Koya	p. no	2	2	b	x	yes	yes
	Sabekemo	no	2	2	b	x	yes	yes
clanmate:	Masahimo	p. no	6	2		x	no	no
Hagamu:								
sub- clanmate:	Waribu	p. no	2-3	3	b	x	yes	yes(P)
	Hua labo	to P?	2-3	3	b, c?	x	yes	yes
	Berero	to P?	2-3	1	b, c?	x	yes	yes
clanmate:	Dumabo	p. no	6-7	5		x	no	no
	Yo forawe	p. no	6-7	5		x	no	no
	Karage	p. no	6-7	5		x	no	no
	Gagihimo	p. no	6-7	5		x	no	no
Gefane:								
F:	Berero	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes(P)
sub- clanmate:	Hagamu	to P	2	2-3	b, c	x	yes	yes
	Soro	p. to P	2	2-3	b, c	x	yes	yes
	Waribu	p. to P	2	3	b, c	x	yes	yes
	Hua labo	p. to P	2	3	b, c	x	yes	yes
clanmate:	Gagihimo	p. no	6-7	5		x	no	no
	Karage	p. no	6-7	5		x	no	no
	Fura	no	6-7	5		x	no	no
Ki (marriage 1):								
B:	Aruhuga	no	-	-	a	4	no	no
	Banamodobo	no	-	-	a	4	no	yes
	Yawa	no	-	-	a	4	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative(Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Ki(marriage 1, continued):								
sub- clanmate:Hare	p. no	(4	4)			4	no	no
Kuba	no	(4	4)			4	no	no
Aso	no	(4	4)			4	no	no
Ki(marriage 2):								
B: Aruhuga	no	-	-		a	2	no	no
Banamodobo	no	-	-		a	2	no	yes
Yawa	no	-	-		a	2	no	no
clanmate:Hare	p. no	(4	3-4)			2	no	no
Kuba	no	(4	3-4)			2	no	no
Gakaro:								
sub- clanmate:Naya	p. no	3	1		b	x	yes	no
Hayabi:								
FB: Gisari	no	-	-		a	x	yes	yes(P)
sub- clanmate:Wareya	to P?	2	1		a,c?	x	yes	yes
Waibi	?	3	2		b,c?	x	yes	yano
Anabeya:								
sub- clanmate:Koya	p. no	2	2		b	x	yes	yes
Buanobo (marriages:)								
(1) B: Orobi	no	-	-		a	3	no	yes
(2) B: Orobi	no	-	-		a	x	yes	yes
(3) B: Orobi	no	-	-		a	x	yes	yes
(4) B: Orobi	no	-	-		a	x	yes	yes
Hobe:								
FB: Arase	no	-	-		a	3,4	no	no
Kuigarabo	no	-	-		a	3,4	no	no
FBs: Iradugi	no	-	-		a	3,4	no	no
Gibui:								
B: Kahagema	to ego	-	-		a,c	x	yes	yes
FBs: Suiya	no	-	-		a	1	no	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions
 Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Gibui (continued):							
sub- clanmate: Enahq	to ego	2	5 ^j	c	x	yes	yes
Aidobo	to ego	(2)	1)	b,c	1	yes	yes
clanmate: Gifagira	to ego?	8	3	c?	x	?	yes
Huarehabo	p. no	8	3		x	no	yes
Abui	p. to ego	8	3	p. c	x	p. yes	yes
Kahagema:							
B: Gibui	to ego	-	-	a,c	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate: Enahq	to ego	2	5 ^j	c	x	yes	yes
Aiyu?abo	to ego?	2	5 ⁱ	c?	x	?	yes
clanmate: Abui	to ego?	8	3	c?	x	?	yes
Gifagira	to ego?	8	4	c?	x	?	yes
Huarehabo	no	8	4		x	no	no
Bubia	p. no	8	4		x	no	yes
Faragu (marriage 2):							
sub- clanmate: Kuigarabo	no	2	5		x	no	yes
Arase (P ₁)	p. no	2	5		x	no	no
Kasiare	no	(2)	7)		1	no	no
Iradugi	no	2	5		x	no	yano
Tufu	no	2	5		x	no	no
clanmate: Sabewayo	no	7	2		x	no	no
Faragu (marriage 1):							
sub- clanmate: Arase	no	3	3	b	x	yes	yes (P)
Aebo:							
B: Faragu	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes (co-P)
FBs:							
Yefetage	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate: Arase	to P?	4	6	c?	x	?	yano
Kuigarabo	p. no	4	6		x	no	yano
Iradugi	p. no	4	6		x	no	yano
Kasiare	p. no	(4)	7)		1	no	no
Tufu	no	4	6		x	no	no
clanmate: Sabewayo	no	10	2-3		x	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Orobora:							
F: Enemano	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes(P)
sub- clanmate: Iraa	p. no	(2	2)	b	1,4 ^k	no	no
Hasuwabo	p. no	(2	2)	b	1,4	no	no
Koya	p. no	5-6	5		4	no	yes
Sabekemo	no	5-6	5		4	no	no
clanmate: Karua	no	(9	1)		4	no	no
Masahimo	p. no	(9	4)		4	no	no
Aramene	no	(9	4)		4	no	no
Guni (marriage 1):							
B: Asuhua	no	-	-	a	3,4	no	no
Guni (marriage 2):							
B: Asuhua	no	-	-	a	2	no	no
Asuhua:							
B: Guni	no	-	-	a	1	no	no
Giraro	to ego	-	-	a,c	1	yes	yes
Giraro:							
B: Asuhua	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes(P)
Suiya¹:							
FBs: Kahagama	no	-	-	a	3,4	no	no
Gibui	no	-	-	a	3,4	no	no
Ka?oma?ame:							
sub- clanmate: Koya	p. no	4	4		x	no	yano
Wanemabo:							
FBs: Kemo	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes
Gooba:							
FBs: Orokara	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes
Mare:							
sub- clanmate: Yefetage	to P	4	6	c	x	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions
 Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative(Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Arase: sub- clanmate:Yefetage	to ego	2	5-6	c	x	yes	yes
Kibusae: sub- clanmate:Yefetage	to P	4	6	c	x	yes	yes
Gifagira: clanmate:Orobi	to ego	8	4	c	x	yes	yes
Huarehabo's son: clanmate:Orobi	to P	8	6	c	x	yes	yes
Kayaba: F: Koya	no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes(P)
FB: Sabekemo	to P	-	-	a,c	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate:Orokara	to P	3	2-3	b,c	x	yes	yes
Hasuwabo: sub- clanmate:Koya	no	4	3		2	no	yes
Aidobo(marriage 1): sub- clanmate:Enahq	p. no	3	3	b	x	yes	yes
Kahagema	to P?	1	2	b,c?	x	yes	yes
Gibui	to P?	1	2	b,c?	x	yes	yes
Kuisa: sub- clanmate:Era?a	p.to ego	2	1	b,c	x	yes	yes
Mabo(marriage 1): sub- clanmate:Era?a	p. no	2	1	b	x	yes	yes
Mabo(marriage 2): sub- clanmate:Era?a	p. no	2	1	b	x	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part A. continued Clanmates of the Groom

Groom: Relative(Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
		Ego's Rela- tive's					
Erafa:							
sub- clanmate:Kuisa	no	1	2	b	x	yes	yes
Mabo	p. no	1	2	b	x	yes	no
Hobe(continued):							
sub- clanmate:Faragu	no	(7	4)		3,4	no	no
Kasiare	no	(5	1)	b	3,4	no	no
Tu?u	no	(5	1)	b	3,4	no	no
clanmate:Sabewayo	no	(11	2)		3,4	no	no

Part B. Clanmates of the Patron^m

Groom/Patron: Relative of Patron (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
		P's Rela- tive's					
Besebo/Orokara:							
sub- clanmate:Sabekemo	to P	3	2	b,c	x	yes	yes
Koya	to P	3	2	b,c	x	yes	yes
Soha? (marriage 3)/ Kuigarabo:							
B: Arase	to P	-	-	a (Pt.III,d)	x	yes	no
son: Iradugi	to P	-	-	a (Pt.III,d)	x	yes	yes
sub- clanmate:							
Kasiare	to P	(6	1)	(Pt.III,d)	1	yes	no
Tufu	p. no	6	1		x	no	no
Yefetage	no	7	4		x	no	no
Faragu	to P	7	4	c	x	yes	no
Fayebi/Iradugi:							
F: Kuigarabo	p.to P	-	-	a,c	x	yes	yes
B: Yimakaba	p. no	-	-	a	x	yes	yes
FB: Arase	p.to P	-	-	a,c	x	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part B. continued Clanmates of the Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative of Patron (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	P's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Fayebi/Iradugi (contd.):							
sub-clanmate: Faragu (Fcl)	no	6	5	(Pt. III, d)	x	yes	yes
Aebo	no	6	5		x	no	no
Yefetage	[omit: contributed as MB of groom]					-	-
Nemo	no	6	5		x	no	no
Tu?u	p. no	6	5		x	no	no
Kasiare	[omit: contributed as MB of groom]					-	-
Orobi/Awane:							
B: Asabo	to P?	-	-	a, c?	x	yes	yes
sub-clanmate: Enaho	p. no	6	2		x	no	no
Aiyu?abo	to P?	6	2	c?	x	?	yes
Gibui	to P	4	1	b	x	yes	no
				(Pt. III, d)			
Koae/Hare:							
sub-clanmate: Kuba	p. to P	4-5	1	b, c	x	yes	yes
Ki	no	5-6	3		x	no	no
Yawa	no	5-6	3		x	no	no
Nemo/Aramene:							
sub-clanmate: Masahimo (patron)	to P	2-3	1-2	b, c ⁿ	x	yes	yes
Yefetage/Orokara:							
sub-clanmate: Koya	to P	3	2	b, c	x	yes	yes
Sabekemo	to P	3	2	b, c	x	yes	yes
Orokara/Ka?oma?ame:							
sub-clanmate: Hasuwabo	p. no	(2	3-4)	b	1	no	no
Enemano	p. no	(2	3-4)	b	1	no	no
Iraa	p. no	2	1-2	b	x	yes	yes
Gooba/Sabekemo:							
PB=G's subclanmate: Koya	to P	5	2	a, c	x	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron^o

Groom/Patron: Relative(Type:Name) ^p	Recip- rocity	Segment Size ^q	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors ^r	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Besebo/Orokara: subclanmate of							
P's LD: :Hasuwabo	to P?	(LD-3 4)		d?	1	?	no
Enemano	to P	(LD-3 4)			1	no	no
Orobora	no	(LD-3 4)			1	no	no
Iraa	p.no	LD-3 1		b'	x	yes	p.yes ^s
P's Lu=Pcl: Yefetage	to P	- -		a',d	-	yes	yes
subclanmate of							
G=GfB=GfFcl: Orokara	-	G-2 5		d	x	yes	yes(P)
Wa?ari/Yefetage: Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Sohaï	no	G-5 5			x	no	no
P's LD=PfB: Besebo	to P	- -		a',c	-	yes	yes
P's LD=GfF=GMB:Orokara	to P	- -		a',c,e	-	yes	yes
subclanmate of							
P's LD: Koya	p.no	LD-5 2			x	no	no
Sabekemo	no	LD-5 2			x	no	no
Enemano	no	(LD-4 4)			1	no	no
Tauwadobo	no	(LD-4 4)			1	no	no
Orobora	no	(LD-4 4)			1	no	no
Hasuwabo	p.no	(LD-4 4)			1	no	?
clanmate of							
P's LD: Masahimo	no	LD-8 3			x	no	no
Aramene	no	LD-8 3			x	no	no
Yawara?o/Iradugi: G & P's lineage- mate's Lu:							
Sohaï	to P	- -		a,c	x	yes	yes
Aramene(marriage 2): Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Abui	p.to G	G-1 3-4		b,c	x	yes	yes
Fara	no	G-1 3-4		b	x	yes	yes
subclanmate= LD:							
Masahimo	p.no	G-1 3-4		a	x	yes	yes
Sohaï(marriage 2): G's LD:							
Sabewayo	p.no	- -		a	x	yes	yes
clanmate of							
G's LD: Kuigarabo	no	LD-2 7			x	no	no
Arase	no	LD-2 7			x	no	no
Iradugi.	no	LD-2 7			x	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
		Ego's Rela- tive's				
Sohaï (continued):						
clanmate of						
G's LD: Tuʔu	no	LD-2 7		x	no	no
Yefetage	no	LD-2 7		x	no	no
Faragu	no	LD-2 7		x	no	no
Fayebi/Iradugi:						
Lu of G's						
subclanmate: Orokara	no	G-1 4	b	x	yes	yes
PF's Lu: Sohaï	to P	- -	a',c	x	yes	yes
Amenahui/Enemano:						
Lu of G's						
subclanmate: Orokara	no	(G-4 4)		4	no	no
Yefetage	no	(G-4 4)		4	no	no
Besebo	no	(G-4 4)		4	no	no
P(=F)'s LD=						
Pcl: Enahq	to P	- -	a,d	x	yes	yes
subclanmate of						
P(=F)'s LD: Kahagama	no	LD-3 4		x	no	no
Waibi	no	LD-3 4		x	no	no
Taywadobo/Masahimo:						
GfF(=GP): Masahimq	no	- -	e	-	yes	yes
Pcl=GfB: Aramene	to P	P-3 1	d (Pt.II,b)	x	yes	yes
Pcl=P's Lu: Abui						
	to P	- -	a',d	-	yes	yes
Lu of P's						
clanmate: Orokara	no	P-4 5		x	no	no
Yefetage	no	P-4 5		x	no	no
Tufu	no	P-4 5		x	no	no
Warubi/Masahimo:						
P(=F)'s cl= G's						
subclanmate: Aramene	to P	G-3 1	d (Pt.I,b)	x	yes	yes
F's Lu= Pcl=						
GfB: Taywadobo	to P	- -	a,d	-	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Enahq:							
Lu of G's subclanmate: Orobi	no	G-2	4	b	x	yes	yes
Kasiare	p.no	G-2	4	b	x	yes	yes
Suiya	p.no	G-2	2	b	x	yes	yes
G's Lu=GfB: Enemano	p.no	-	-	a	-	yes	yes
Orobi/Awane:							
GfF=GP: Awane	no	-	-	e	-	yes	yes(P)
P's Lu: Kasiare	no	-	-	a'	-	yes	?
Lu of P's subclanmate: Enemano	no	P-6	2		x	no	no
Suiya	p.no	P-6	2		x	no	yes
Fahaesobo/Irakama ?u:							
P(-F)'s cl=G's subclanmate: Nafa	to P	G-4	1	d (Pt.I,b)	x	yes	yes
Pcl=F's Lu= GMB=GfB: Mabera	to P	-	-	a,d	-	yes	yes
Pcl=F's Lu= GfB: Suiya	to P	-	-	a,d	-	yes	yes
Nafa:							
Lu of G's subclanmate: Suiya	p.to G	G-3	1	b,c	x	yes	yes
GfB=GMBs: Gebebe	no	-	-		-	?	yes (as MB)
Dena/Gakaro:							
GfF=G's Lu: Wa?abeyu	to P?	-	-	a,e,c?	-	yes	yes
P's Lu: Baruga	to P?	-	-	a',c	-	yes	?
Koae/Hare:							
P's Lu: Wa?abeyu	p.to P	-	-	a',c	-	yes	yes
Pcl=P's Lu: Baruga	to P	-	-	a',d	-	yes	yes
Pcl: Gakaro	to P	-	-	d	-	yes	?
Waibi/Kahagema:							
Pcl: Tu?u	to P	-	-	d	-	yes	yes
Pcl=G's subclanmate: Aidobo	to P	G-3	1	b,d	1	yes	?

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative(Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Waibi/Kahagema (contd.):							
Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Enemano	no	G-5	3		x	no	no
Orobi	no	G-3	2	b	x	yes	yes
Buanobo	to P	G-3	2	b,c	x	yes	yes
Suiya	p.to P	G-5	1	p.c	x	p.yes	yes
Gibui:							
Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Kasiare	?	G-2	3	b,c?	x	yes	?
Enemano	p.no	G-5	2		x	no	no
Orobi	no	G-2	3	b	x	yes	yes
Buanobo	?	G-2	3	b,c?	x	yes	yes
Suiya	?	G-5	1	b,c?	x	yes	yes
Kahagema (marriage 2):							
Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Kasiare	p.no	G-2	3	b	x	yes	?
Enemano	p.no	G-5	2		x	no	no
Orobi (GfB)	no	G-2	3	b	x	yes	yes
Buanobo	to G	G-2	3	b,c	x	yes	yes
Suiya	?	G-5	2	c?	x		yes
Faragu:							
Lu of							
clanmate: Sohai	no	G-7	2		x	no	no
Aebo:							
Lu of							
subclanmate: Sohai	no	G-4	7		x	no	no
Fura (FSH)	no	G-4	7		x	no	yes (co-P as FSH)
Orobora/Enemano:							
F(=P)'s LD: Enahq	to P	-	-	a,c	-	yes	no
subclanmate of							
F's LD: Kahagema	p.no	LD-3	5		x	no	yes (as SH)
Gibui	p.no	LD-3	5		x	no	no
Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Orokara	no	G-4	2	b	4	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative(Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Enemano:								
Gcl=G's LD =								
GfB: Enahq subclanmate of	to ego	-	-		a,d	-	yes	no
G's LD: Kahagema	p.no	LD-3	5			x	no	no
Gibul	p.no	LD-3	5			x	no	no
Lu of subclanmate: Orokara	no	G-4	2		b	1	no	yes
Nemo/Aramene:								
P's LD: Asuhua	p.no	-	-		e	-	yes	yes
Yefetage/Orokara:								
GfF(=GP): Orokara	no	-	-		e	-	yes	yes(P)
P's LD's subclanmate: Iraa	p.no	(LD-3)	3)		b'	1 ^u	no	no
Hasuwabo	p.no	(LD-3)	3)		b'	1	no	no
Enemano	p.no	(LD-3)	3)		b'	1	no	no
P's Lu: Tufu	no	-	-		a'	-	yes	p.no
Sabekemo:								
Lu of subclanmate: Tufu	no	G-2	3		b	x	yes	no
Orokara/Ka?oma?ame:								
GfF= G's subclanmate: Ka?oma?ame	no	G-2	2		e (Pt.II,b)	x	yes	yes(P)
Hagamu/Waribu:								
Pcl: Asuhua	to P	-	-		d	-	yes	?
Lu of clanmate: Mabe	p.no	G-6-7	6			x	no	no
Kosa?ahubu	p.no	G-6-7	6			x	no	no
Gfcl=G's Lu: Ka?oma?ame	no	-	-		a,d	x	yes	yes
Gefane/Berero:								
cl of G's subclanmate: Asuhua	to P?	-	-		c?	-	?	?
Lu of subclanmate: Ka?oma?ame	?	G-2	3		b,c?	x	yes	yes
Lu of clanmate: Mabe	p.no	G-6-7	5			x	no	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's		Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Gefane/Berero (contd.):								
Lu of clanmate:	Kosa?ahubu p.no	G-6-7	5			x	no	no
Gakaro:								
G's Lu:	Baruga p.to ego	-	-		a,c	-	yes	?
Lu of G's FBs:	Wa?abeyu ?	-	-		a,c?	-	yes	yes
Asuhua:								
G's Lu:	Aramene to G	-	-		a,c	-	yes	yes
Wanabo/Sabewayo:								
fF of G:	Sabewayo no	-	-		e	-	yes	yes(P)
GFB=GFcl:	Didobo no	-	-		d (Pt.I,a)	x	yes	yes (co-P)
Aidobo/Suiya:								
Lu of G's subclanmate:	Orobi to P	G-3	5		c	x	yes	yes
	Buanobo p.no	G-3	5			x	no	yes
	Enemano p.no	G-3	2		b	x	yes	no
	Kasiare no	G-3	5			x	no	?
	Suiya no	G-3	1		b	x	yes	yes(P)
P's LD=PfB: subclanmate of	Gifagira to P	-	-		a',c	x	yes	yes
P's LD:	Huarehabo ?	P-3	1		b',c	x	yes	yes
Gooba/Sabekemo:								
Lu of GFBs:	Yefetage to P	-	-		a',c	-	yes	yes
Wa?abeyu:								
G's LD _a =GfB:	Hare to G	-	-		a,c	-	yes	yes
FBs of G's LD _p :	Gakaro to G	-	-		a,c	-	yes	p.yes ^v
subclanmate of G's LD _o :	Igibu to G	LD-6	1		c	-	yes	p.yes ^v
subclanmate of G's LD _a :	Kuba p.to G	LD-3	2		b,c	x	yes	yes
	Sage p.to G	LD-3	2		b,c	x	yes	yes
LD _a 's Lu:	Koae to G	-	-		c	-	yes	p.no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Onoboga (marriage 2)/Meya:							
P's Lu = GFSH:Barinaba	to P?	-	-	a',c?	-	yes	yes
Lu of PFBs: Wa?abu	to P?	P-4	2	b',c?	x	yes	yes
Onoboga (marriage 3):							
G's LD: Meya	no	-	-	a	-	yes	no
G's LD's Lu: Barinaba	no	-	-		-	no	yano
Lu of G's							
LD's FBs: Wa?abu	no	-	-		-	no	no
Yamanibu/Baruga:							
(Wabiga-co-P)							
cl of co-P: Hesasi	to co-P	-	-	d	-	yes	yes
Hesasi/Wabiga:							
G's fF=GMB: Saberedobo	no	-	-	e	-	yes	?
GfFcl: Wabiga	no	-	-	d	-	yes	yes(P)
Oromena (marriage 1):							
GSH=G's pros- pective LD: Meya	no	-	-	(a?)	-	?	yes
Oromena (marriage 2):							
G's LD = GSH:Meya	no	-	-	a	-	yes	yes
Soro?o/Hesasi:							
GfB=G's Lu(?): Hesasi	no	-	-	a?	-	?	yes(P)
P's LD: Taodehabo	no	-	-	a'	-	yes	yes
Gfcl=P's LD?: Wabiga	to P	-	-	c,d (a?)	-	yes	yes
Yamanibu/Baruga (contd):							
(Wabiga-co-P)							
PB: Senagefu	p.to P	-	-	c (Pt.II,a)	-	yes	yes
P's LD: Gakaro	to P	-	-	a',c	-	yes	no
co-P's B: Dabamena	to co-P	-	-	c (Pt.II,a)	-	yes	yes
P's LD's son: Tybi	to P	-	-	a',c	-	yes	yes
PLD's FBs: Semai	to P?	-	-	a',c	-	yes	no
PfF: Hare	to P	-	-	c	-	yes	yano
PfB: Sage	p.to P	-	-	c	-	p.yes	no

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions
 Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative (Type/Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Yamanibu/Baruga (contd.):							
P's LD's							
subclanmate: Siyu	p.no	LD-6	3		x	no	no
Igibu	?	LD-6	1	c?	x	?	no
Gebebe	p.no	LD-6	3		x	no	no
Asabo:^W							
G's Lu: Kasiare	p.no	-	-	a	-	yes	yes
Awane:							
G's Lu: Kasiare	p.no	-	-	a	-	yes	yes
Ga?anaboga/Buanobo:							
GfF=GMB: Orokara	no	-	-	e	-	yes	yes
GfFcl=GfB: Yefetage	no	-	-	d	-	yes	yes
Wareya/Wabiga:							
Pcl: Yesasi	to P	-	-	d	-	yes	yes
GfF: Wabiga	no	-	-	e	-	yes	yes(P)
Kahagema (marriage 1)/							
Awane:							
P(= subclan- mate)'s Lu: Kasiare	no	-	-	a [?] (Pt.II,b)	-	yes	yes
Suiya/Irakama?u:							
Pcl=P's							
subclanmate: Nafa	to P	P-3	1	b [?] ,d	x	yes	yes
Dabamena (marriage 1)/							
Wabiga:							
Pcl=P's Lu: Hesasi	to P	-	-	a [?] ,d	-	yes	yes
Dabemena (marriage 2):							
G's former Lu: Hesasi	to G	-	-	c	-	yes	yes
Igibu (marriage 2):							
Lu of G's							
subclanmate: Wa?abeyu	no	G-1	5	b	x	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Part C. continued Pseudo-agnatic Relatives of the Groom or Patron

Groom/Patron: Relative (Type:Name)	Recip- rocity	Segment Size	Ego's Rela- tive's	Positive Factors	Land Use	Predic- ted Contri- bution	Actual Contri- bution
Gebabe/Naya: Lu of G's subclanmate: Waʔabeyu	to P?	G-2	3	b	x	yes	yes (co-P)
Siyu/Waʔabeyu: Lu of G's subclanmate: Waʔabeyu	no	G-2	4	b	x	yes	yes
Semai (marriage 1)/ Waʔabeyu: Lu of GFBs= GfF: Waʔabeyu	no	-	-	a,e	-	yes	yes(P)
Semai (marriage 2): Lu of G: Waʔabeyu	no	-	-	a	-	yes	yes
Tawe/Taodehabo: PFB: Barinaba P's Lu: Hesasi	? to P	-	-	c? a',c	-	? yes	yes yes
Gooba/Sabekemo: GfF=G's subclanmate: Sabekemo	no	G-5	2	e	x	yes	yes(P)
Sage/Hare: Pcl=P's Lu: Koaε	to P	-	-	a',d	-	yes	yes
Kuba (marriage 3): Lu of sub- clanmate of G:Koaε	to G	G-3	1	b,c	x	yes	yes
Baanobo (marriage 2): G's LD's subclanmate: Kahagama	p.no	LD-3	2	b	x	yes	yes
Tutu/Kahagama: Lu of P's subclanmate: Kasiare	no	P-3	3	b'	x	yes	yes

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Notes

^a The following are used to indicate whether or not earlier contributions were made to the relative in question by the groom or his patron. (Such contributions would call for reciprocity.)

- to ego Ego contributed to the relative for an earlier brideprice payment (i.e. the groom did so).
- to P The patron contributed to the relative for an earlier brideprice payment.
- no Definite information indicates that neither the groom nor his patron contributed to the relative for an earlier brideprice payment.
- p. no No contributions to the relative are known from either the groom or his patron. No definite information exists but contributions seem unlikely because of the distant relationship.

^b No entry is made in this column for lineage-mates of ego (the groom) since they belong to the same segment as ego. Where either ego or his relative does not use his clan land, or where one or the other seems unlikely to do so after marriage, he is not considered part of the effective membership of his segment, according to the model and would not be counted in determining the size of his segment. Nevertheless, a count of the segments is made in the table, so that conditions 1 to 4 in the model can be tested. Cases where the segments are large should be excluded from such a test. In order to make the test more difficult, the count of segment size is expanded in cases where conditions 1 through 4 apply to include all members, land users or not. The count is then inclosed in parentheses.

^c The symbols used here are mostly taken from the model for prediction of brideprice contributions (see pp. 196-8). They include the following.

- a The relative is a lineage-mate of ego (Part I) or the patron (Part II).
- b The relative is a member of a small segment coordinate to that of ego, the groom (Part I) or that of his patron (Part II).
- c The relative owes reciprocal contributions to the groom or to his patron.
- d The relative is expected to contribute because he is a client of the groom, patron or groom's father.

^d The symbols used here are mostly taken from the model for prediction of brideprice contributions (see pp. 196-8). They include the following.

- 1 The relative does not use his lineage land.
- 2 The groom (Part I) or his patron (Part II) has been married and does not use his lineage land.
- 3 The groom's patron is a man outside his village. Ego will be expected not to use his lineage land.
- 4 The groom has been fostered from a young age outside his subclan and his patron is outside the subclan. The groom will be expected not to use his lineage land.

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Notes continued

^d (contd.)

^x Both groom (Part I) or patron (Part II) and the relative use their lineage land, or can be presumed to do so in future.

^e Usually a 'yes' or 'no' will be entered in this column. A 'p.' indicates the probable event, when there is some uncertainty. If the relative gave a loan, rather than a gift, the word "yano" is used. It can be counted as a 'no' answer.

^f There is some question about which segments are coordinate in these cases. Enahq and Enemano form one segment (a), Kahagama and Gibui another (b), Kasiare, Orobi, and later Buanobo another (c). Segments b and c are all land users of a dead man's land. These two are lumped together vis a vis the first segment by virtue of this relationship. The question of segmentation is confused by such land use relationships for all of Kuidobo clan.

^g Hasuwabo started using his own lineage land shortly before Fayebl married, even though he continued to live in another village.

^h Oroboru uses the land of another in secondary degree, but he has no primary land use outside his clan. However, he uses only a small portion of his clan land, as does his father.

ⁱ Tauwadobo has here been counted as a subclanmate. He uses the land of a clanmate, and could therefore also be considered in Part III as a land user of a clanmate.

^j This case is somewhat ambiguous. Amenahui was raised by his father, who essentially does not use his own clan land. Thus, Amenahui can be expected not to use his clan land, though technically he wasn't raised by a man outside his subclan.

^k The situation is the same as for Amenahui. Oroboru would be expected not to use his clan land, though technically he wasn't raised outside his subclan.

^l From here to the end of Part I, information on contributions was collected mainly from the relative who might have contributed. The list of contributors to a particular brideprice is likely to be incomplete.

^m Some entries listed here would also be appropriately listed in Parts I or III. Where a relative is related as clanmate to both groom and patron, he is listed for whichever is the closer. Where Part III also applies, the positive factors for Part III are shown in parentheses.

ⁿ At one time, Aramene used Masahimo's land in primary degree, but he may have stopped by the time of the marriage. (Part III, a' would be added as a positive factor if he did use the land.)

^o Some clanmates of the groom are listed here because they are more closely related through non-clan ties to either the groom or patron.

Table 32 continued Prediction of Specific Brideprice Contributions

Notes continued

^P Some symbols are used here to denote the type of relationship to groom or patron in addition to the usual ones.

G groom

LD land donor for primary land use (the man who actually made the offer)

Lu primary land user

^q The segments whose size needs to be specified are not necessarily those of the groom or his relative. On ego's side, the segment might be that of the patron, patron's land donor or groom's land donor instead. Where the segment is the groom's, the symbol 'G' appears; where it is the patron's the symbol 'P' appears; where it is that of the groom's or patron's land donor, the symbol 'LD' appears. On the relative's side, the segment might be his or that of a group whose land he uses.

^r The symbols used to denote positive factors are taken from the model for brideprice contributions (see pp. 196-8). They include the following.

a The land owners who link the groom or patron to the relative are lineage-mates. The potential contribution is one by a land owner for a land user or vice versa.

b The land owners who link the groom or patron to the relative are members of small coordinate segments. The potential contribution is by a land owner for a land user or vice versa.

a' The land owners who link the groom or patron to the relative are lineage-mates. The potential contribution is by a land user for a land owner's client, or by a land owner for a land user's client.

b' The land owners who link the groom or patron to the relative are members of small coordinate segments. The potential contribution is by a land user for a land owner's client or by a land owner for a land user's client.

c (See n. c to the table.)

d (See n. c to the table.)

e The relative is foster-father to the groom and is expected to contribute to this, the groom's first marriage.

^s Iraa gave a shell to Orokara, but the data conflict over whether or not it was a gift. It is counted here as a gift, rather than a loan, since Iraa gave gifts to Orokara on other occasions.

^t Aramene was also a subclanmate of the patron (factor b, Part II thus applies) and was possibly a primary land user of the patron's land at this time.

^u Iraa moved back and forth between Herebo and Ifigi village. He used his clan land only while at Herebo.

^v It is known that some of the clanmates of Gakaro (LD_b) contributed to this brideprice, but not which ones. These two seem the most likely.

^w From here on, the list of contributors to a brideprice is likely to be incomplete. Data were collected from the potential contributors.

APPENDIX E

TABULATION OF SPECIFIC BRIDEPRICE DISTRIBUTIONS

Table 33

Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Category of Relative ^a	Relative (Name:Relationship ^b)	No. Pearl- shells Received ^c
Part A. Distributions to the <u>aba.busi</u>		
(1) Marriage of Aboka (♀) and Gerebo (♂) (1957)		
1.a. (4)	Sohaï: md. fs of BrF = Flu = Dr	2*
1.a. (1,2)	Sabewayo: FB = Br's guardian	4
1.b. (6)	Bubia: cont'r. for BrM	1
2.a. (9)	Iratoro: Dr's clanmate	-
3.b. (15)	Masahimo: FBdH	1
	Aramene: "	1
	Waribu ^d : "	1
	Gagihimo ^d : Ss	1
	Kosa?ahubu ^d : "	1
3.a. (13)	Fa?owe: Dr's B	1
3.c. (20)	Hobeba: FBs	1
	Wanabo: FBfs	-
4.a. (21)	Kuigarabo ^d : clanmate	1
	Arase: "	2
	Kasiare: "	2
	Faragu: "	-
5. (25)	Sabekemo: clan Ss	-
	Koya: "	1
	Hiyane: clan SH	-
	Iraa: "	-
5. (26)	Abui: clanmate's fs	1
5. (28)	Baruga: <u>aya.busi</u>	1
	Senagefu: "	1
other:	Kone Yawa: reciprocity for help giving a fine	1
	Enemano: "	1
	Hamoderaro: Dr's MBs	1
	total	26

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
(2) Marriage of Turua?aka (♀) and Wanabo (♂) (1962)		
1.a. (1)	Kasiare: F = Dr	pig
1.a. (3)	Kuigarabo: FP for BrM	2
2.a. (8)	Tirifa: <u>sobomena</u> of F	1,pig
3.b. (14)	Arased: <u>subclanmate</u>	3
	Iradugi: "	2
	Yimakaba: "	1
	Faragu: "	1
	Aebo: "	1
	Nemo: "	1
	Yefetage: "	1
	Tufu: "	-
3.b. (15)	Iraa: FSH	-
3.b. (18)	Yima: <u>sobomena</u> of F	1
	Sufuri: "	1
	Arere: "	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: <u>clanmate</u>	1
	Hobeba: "	-
4.a. (23)	Soha: cl and Lu of <u>subclanmate</u>	-
	Fura: "	-
4.a. (22)	Kuiware's H: <u>subclan SH</u>	-
5. (25)	Masahimo: <u>clan SH</u>	2
	Aramene: "	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	Koya: <u>clan Ss</u>	-
	Sabekemo: "	2
5. (28)	Hagamu: <u>aya.busi</u>	?
	Baruga: "	1
	Senagefu: "	-
	Daegi: "	-
other:	Gifagira: FSdH	1
	total	24
(3) Marriage of Aguyu (♀) and Hasuwabo (♂) (1966)		
1.a. (1)	Kasiare: F = Dr	6,pig
1.a. (3)	Kuigarabo: FP for BrM	1
2.a. (8)	Tirifa: <u>sobomena</u> of F	2
3.b. (14)	Arased: <u>subclanmate</u>	1
	Iradugi: "	1
	Yimakaba: "	1
	Faragu: "	1
	Aebo: "	1
	Nemo: "	1
	Yefetage: "	1
	Tufu: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name; Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Aguyu-Wanabo marriage continued		
3.b. (14)	Hobe: subclanmate	-
3.b. (15)	Wanabo: SH	-
3.b. (18)	Yima: <u>sobomena</u> of F	1
	Su?uri: "	-
	Arere: "	1
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	1
	Hobeba: "	-
4.b. (22)	Kuiware's H: subclan SH	-
4.b. (23)	Sohai: cl and Lu of subclanmate	1
5. (25)	Masahimo: clan SH	2
	Aramene: "	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	Orobora: "	-
	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
5. (28)	Kemo: <u>aya.busi</u>	?
	Hagamu: "	?
	Baruga: "	1
	Senagefu: "	-
other:	unidentified Kewa-speaker	1
	total	25
(4) Marriage of Igaka (♀) and Barinaba (♂) (1960)		
1.a. (1)	Kuigarabo: F = Dr	2
	Iradugi: B	3
	Arase: FB	3*
3.a. (11)	Fura: cl and Lu of F	-
3.b. (14)	Kasiare ^d : subclanmate	2
	Tu?u: "	1
	Faragu: subclanmate = FBcl	-
3.b. (18)	Garubo?o: clanmate of other village (reciprocates distributions)	1
	Su?uri: FBMs (reciprocates distributions)	2
	Enemano: FFMBs (reciprocates distributions)	1
3.c. (19)	Yimakaba: unmd. B	1
3.c. (20)	Yawara?o: unmd. FBs	-
	Hobe: "	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	1
	Hobeba: "	1
4.a. (22)	Iraa: subclan SH	1
	Kuiware's H: "	-
5. (26)	Sohai: cl and Lu of clanmate	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Igaka-Barinaba marriage continued		
5. (25)	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Masahimo: clan SH	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	Abui: "	-
5. (28)	Igibu: <u>aya.busi</u>	1
other:	Hare: FMSs	1*
	Gorafere: FMSs	1
	Kemo	1
	Homene: six year old B	1
		total 25
(5) Marriage of Garare (♀) and Fu?uwabo (♂) (1962)		
1.a. (1)	Faragu: B	2
	Aebo: B	1
	Yefetage: FBs	2
	Nemo: FBs	3
1.a. (2)	Arase: BrfF = EP = Dr	3
2.a. (9)	Orokara: FBsP; contributes to Dr	1
	Su?uri: DrMs; contributes to Dr	1
2.b. (10)	Aramene: FBsP	1
	Orobi: EP	-
	Iraa: FBsP = subclan SH	-
3.a. (13)	Soha?i: cl and Lu of DrBcl	1
	Fura: "	-
3.b. (14)	Kuigarabo: ^d subclanmate	1
	Iradugi: "	1
	Yimakaba: "	1
	Kasiare ^d : "	2
	Tu?u: "	1
3.b. (15)	Kuiware's H: FSH	-
3.b. (18)	Kuba: <u>sobomena</u> of Dr	1
3.c. (19)	Agimabo: unmd. B	1
3.c. (20)	Wa?ari: unmd. FBs	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	1
	Hobeba: "	-
5. (25)	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Masahimo: clan SH	1
	Gerebo: "	-
other:	Iyo: FBsM	1
		total 26

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
(6) Marriage of Kosa?ahua (♀) and Kuidobo (♂) (1966)		
1.a. (1)	Gifagira: FB = Dr	pig
2.a. (8)	Damaiyu Suiya: FFFBs = DrP	1
3.b. (14)	Fu?uwabo: subclanmate	-
	Dawano: "	1
3.b. (15)	Tu?u: SH	2*
3.c. (19)	Ga?anaboga: unmd. B	\$ 6
3.c. (20)	Gooba: unmd. FBs	-
	Obo: "	-
4.a. (21)	Enaho: clanmate	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Barutage Suiya: clanmate	-
	Aidobo: clanmate	-
5. (25)	Ugiga: clan SH	-
	Fasinabo: "	-
	Gorafere: "	-
	Yefetage: "	-
	Tami: "	-
	Arase: "	-
5. (26)	Aebo: cl of clanmate	-
5. (28)	Masahimo: <u>aya.busi</u>	1
	Aramene: "	-
other:	Su?uri	1
total		10
(7) Marriage of Yegeame (♀) and Soha? (♂) (1955)		
1.a. (1)	Enaho: FBs = Dr	yes ^e
1.a. (4)	Enemano: FBfs = FBsLu	yes
1.b. (6)	Hui: cont'r. for BrM	yes
	Hogebo: "	yes
3.b. (14)	Awane ^d : subclanmate	yes
	Asabo ^d : "	yes
	Gibui: "	yes
	Aiyu?abo: "	no
	Kahagama: "	yes
3.b. (15)	Kigiwa?abu ^d : FBdH	no
	Ibueraro: FBfdH	no
4.a. (21)	Abui: clanmate	yes
	Buanobo: "	yes
	Bubia: "	yes
	Gifagira: "	yes
	Huarehabo: "	no
(=23)	Orobi: clanmate = fs of subclanmate	yes
(=23)	Damaiyu Suiya: clanmate = Lu of subclan	yes

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Yegeame-Sohaj marriage continued		
4.b. (22)	Masahimo ^d : subclan Ss	yes
	Bogodobo: subclan SH	no
(=23)	Kasiare: subclan SH = Lu of subclan	yes
	Ka?oma?ame: subclan SH	no
5. (25)	Soro: clan SH	yes
other:	Buri: clanmate of another village	yes
	Meya: "	yes
	Wa?abu: "	yes
	Barinaba: "	yes
	Arase	yes
	Kuigarabo	yes
	Hiyane: (reciprocity for a favor)	yes
(8) Marriage of Ibu (♀) and Arase (♂) (1961)		
1.a. (1)	Enahq: F = Dr	1, pig
1.a. (4)	Enemanó: FFfs = FP = FLu	1
2.a. (8)	Kahagama: subclanmate	1
	Gibui: "	1
	Abui: clanmate	-
	Orobi: clanmate = Lu of subclan	1
	Masahimo: subclan Ss	2
2.b. (10)	Kasiare: FP = subclan SH = Lu of subclan	1
3.b. (14)	Aidobo: subclanmate	-
3.b. (18)	Hare: <u>sobomena</u> of F	1
4.a. (21)	Gifagira: clanmate	-
	Huarehabo: "	-
(=23)	Damaiyu Suiya: clanmate = Lu of subclan	-
(=23)	Buanobo: clanmate = Lu of subclan	1
4.b. (22)	Fasinabo: subclan SH	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	-
	Ugiga: "	-
	Tami: "	-
other:	Ubibira: FMs	1
	Iraharabo: FSdH	1
	Wabiga: FW ^m B ^m	-
	Sorofo: FWs	-
	Sabewayo	1
	Fura	1
	total	15

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
(9) Marriage of Yogame (o) and Arase (o') (1967)		
1.a. (1)	Enahq: F = Dr	(refused)
1.a. (4)	Enemano: FFfs = FP = FLu	1
2.a. (8)	Kahagama: subclanmate	1
	Orobi: clanmate = Lu of subclan	-
	Masahimo: subclan Ss	1
2.b. (10)	Kasiare: FP = subclan SH = Lu of subclan	-
3.b. (16)	Orobora: FFfss	1
3.b. (18)	Hare: <u>sobomena</u> of F	-
3.a. (14)	Aidobo: subclanmate	-
	Barutage Suiya: subclanmate	-
4.a. (21)	Gifagira: clanmate	-
	Huarehabo: "	-
	Dawano: "	-
	Fufuwabo: "	-
	(=23) Damaiyu Suiya: clanmate = Lu of subclan	-
	(=23) Buanobo: clanmate = Lu of subclan	1
4.b. (22)	Fasinabo: subclan SH	-
	Ugiga: "	-
	Tami: "	-
4.b. (23)	Tufu: clan SH = cl of subclanmate	-
5. (26)	Aebo: cl of clanmate	-
other:	Taywadobo: (reciprocity for favor)	1
	Ubibira: FMs	1
	Iraharabo: FSdH	1
	Wabiga: FW ^m B ^m	1
	Soro?o: Fws	1
	total	10
(10) Marriage of Sonahubu (o) and Gorafere (o') (1957)		
1.a. (1)	Kahagama: B = Dr	1*
	Gibui: B	3*
1.a. (2)	Awane: BrfF = EP	4
2.a. (8)	Asabo: subclanmate = BrMH	2
	Aiyufabo: subclanmate	-
	Orobi: clanmate = fs and Lu of subclanmate	1
	Damaiyu Suiya: clanmate = subclan Lu	1
	Kasiare: subclan SH = Lu of subclan	3
	Ugiga: subclan SH	1
	Gifagira: clanmate	1
	Huarehabo: "	1
3.b. (14)	Enahq: subclanmate	1
	Aidobo: "	1

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Sonahubu-Gorafere marriage continued		
3.c. (20)	Barutage Suiya: unmd. FBs	1
4.a. (21)	Buanobo: clanmate	1
	Abui: "	-
4.b. (22)	Tami: subclan SH	1
	Ka?oma?ame: "	1
	Bogodobo ^d : "	1
	Ibueraro: "	-
	Masahimo: subclan Ss	1
(=23)	Enemano: subclan Ss = Lu and fs of subclanmate	1
5. (28)	Dumabo: <u>aya.busi</u>	1
	Karage: "	1
other:	Berero: MSH	1
	total	30
(11) Marriage of Murebame (o) and Yefetage (o') (1961)		
1.a. (2)	Kahagama: Br's guardian = BrMs	2*
	Gibui: "	2*
1.a. (3)	Enahq: s of FP for BrM = Dr	1*
2.a. (8)	Gifagira: clanmate	1
	Huarehabo: "	1*
	Damaiyu Suiya: clanmate = Lu of subclan	1*
	Ugiga: subclan SH	1
	Kasiare: FSH = Lu of subclan	1
2.a. (9)	Orobi: clanmate = fs and Lu of subclanmate	1
	Buanobo: clanmate = Lu of subclan	1
	Fasinabo: subclan SH	1
	Gorafere: "	1
	Masahimo: subclan Ss	-
	Abui: clanmate	-
2.b. (10)	Enemano: DrP = DrfB = Dr's Lu	1
3.a. (14)	Aidobo: subclanmate	1
3.c. (20)	Tabaremabo: unmd. FBs	1
4.b. (22)	Tami: subclan SH	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	-
4.b. (23)	Tu?u: cl of subclanmate	1
5. (28)	Fura: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
other:	Arase:	1
	Kuigarabo	1
	Barutage Suiya: unmd. Dr's FBs	1
	total	23

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
(12) Marriage of Yane (o) and Buanobo (o') (1966) ^f		
1.a. (2)	Kahagema: subclanmate = Br's guardian	3*
	Yefetage: FBdH = Br's guardian	\$ 22, pig
2.a. (8)	Enahq: subclanmate	1
	Gifagira: clanmate	1
	Huarehabo: "	1
	Damaiyu Suiya: clanmate = Lu of subclan	\$ 4, 1
	Ugiga: subclan SH	1
	Fasinabo: "	1
2.a. (9)	Orobi: clanmate = Lu and fs of F	1
	Barutage Suiya: subclanmate	1
	Aidobo: subclanmate = Drcl	1
	Gorafere: subclan SH	-
2.a. (10)	Kasiare: FSH = FP = FLu	2*
3.c. (19)	Tabaremabo: unmd. B	1
4.a. (21)	Dawano: clanmate	-
	Fu?uwabo: "	-
4.b. (22)	Masahimo: subclan Ss	1
	Arase: subclan SH	1
	Tami: "	-
	(=23) Enemano ^d : subclan Ss = fs and Lu of subclanmate	1
4.b. (23)	Orobora: fss of subclanmate	-
5. (26)	Aebo: cl of clanmate	-
other:	Baiga: (reciprocity for favor)	1
	Egira: Dr's WSH	1
	Faragu: "	1
	Kuigarabo	1
		total 25
(13) Marriage of Sowame (o) and Arugai (o') (1960)		
1.a. (1)	Enemano: F = Dr	6
1.a. (3)	Enahq: s of FP for BrM	1
1.b. (6)	Sabewayo: cont'r. for BrM	1
3.b. (14)	Iraa: subclanmate	1
	Hasuwabo: "	1
	Saberedobo: "	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	1
	Orokara: agnate of linked subclan = fs and Lu of subclanmate	-
	Koya: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Sabekemo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Faragu: FBdH	2
	Kahagema: "	1
	Meya: FSs	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Sowame-Arugai marriage continued		
3.b. (16)	Aramene: clanmate = FBf's	-
3.b. (18)	Kuigarabo: (reciprocity for distributions)	-
	Arase: "	-
	Iradugi: "	1
3.c. (19)	Orobora: unmd. B	2
3.c. (20)	Taywadobo: unmd. FBs	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Hagamu: subclan Ss	-
	Baiga: SH of linked subclan	-
	Ibusesa?o: "	-
	Orofage: "	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (26)	Fara: Lu of clanmate	1
	Abui: "	-
other:	Amenahui: 9 year old unmd. B	1
	Suiya	1
	Tu?u	1
	Kigiwa?abu: FMBdH	1
	Diabe: FFSds	1
	total	26
(14) Marriage of Ama?a (♀) and Gagihimo (♂) (1952)		
1.a. (1)	Ka?oma?ame: F = Dr	(refused)
1.a. (4)	Orokara: Ffs = FLu	1
2.a. (8)	Koya: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Ibusesa?o: fSH	1
	Waribu: subclanmate of FLD	1
	Hua?abo: "	1
	Berero: "	1
3.a. (12)	Soro: FfB = FLD	1
	Hagamu: "	1
3.b. (14)	Enemano: subclanmate	1
	Iraa: "	1
	Hasuwabo: "	1
	Saberedobo: "	1
	Anabeya: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Sabekemo: "	1
3.b. (15)	Bubiad: fSH	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
4.b. (22)	Meya: subclan Ss	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Ama?a-Gagihimo marriage continued		
other:	Hababo: BrM's clanmate	1
	Haimabo: "	1
	Nanamena: MSs	1
	Kuigarabo: MMB's subclanmate	1
	Sabewayo: "	1
	Arase: "	1
		22
	total	22
(15) Marriage of Iginu (♀) and Gagihimo (♂) (1958)		
1.a. (1)	Ka?oma?ame: F = Dr	3*
1.a. (4)	Orokara: Ffs = FLU	1*
2.a. (8)	Koya: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Kahagama: fSH	-
	Ibusesa?o: fSH	1
	Waribu: subclanmate of FLD	1
3.a. (12)	Hagamu: FfB = FLD	1
3.b. (14)	Enemano: subclanmate	1
	Iraa: "	1
	Hasuwabo: "	1
	Saberedobo: "	-
	Sabekemo: agnate of linked subclan	-
3.b. (15)	Hogebo: fSH	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Aramene: "	-
4.b. (22)	Meya: subclan Ss	-
	Faragu: SH of linked subclan	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
		13
	total	13
(16) Marriage of Bosidobo (♀) and Egira (♂) (1957)		
1.a. (1)	Ka?oma?ame: F = Dr	1
1.a. (4)	Orokara: Ffs = FLD	1
2.a. (8)	Koya: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Kahagama: fSH	1
	Ibusesa?o: "	1
	Waribu: subclanmate of FLD	1
	Hua?abo: "	1
	Berero: "	-
3.a. (12)	Soro: FfB = FLD	1
	Hagamu: "	?

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Bosidobo-Egira marriage continued		
3.b. (14)	Enemano: subclanmate	1
	Iraa: "	1
	Hasuwabo: "	1
	Saberedobo: "	1
	Anabeya: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Sabekemo: "	1
3.b. (15)	Gagihimo: SH	1
	Bubia ^d : fSH	1
	Hogebo: "	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Aramene: "	-
4.b. (22)	Meya: subclan Ss	-
	Faragu: SH of linked subclan	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
other:	Sa?ariya: clanmate of another village	1
	Su?uri: <u>sobomena</u> of Ffs	1
	Arase: MMB's subclanmate	1
	total	20
(17) Marriage of Negirame (♀) and Faragu (♂) (1956)		
1.a. (1)	Sabekemo: FBs	-
	Koya: FBs	1
1.a. (2)	Asuhua: Br's guardian = BrMH = Dr	3
	Sauwa: BrfFs	1
1.b. (7)	Masahimo: (returned earlier brideprice distribution for bride)	2
3.b. (14)	Orokara: subclanmate	-
	Anabeya: "	-
	Ka?oma?ame ^d : agnate of linked subclan = fF of subclanmate	2
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Enemano: "	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
4.b. (22)	Meya: Ss of linked subclan	-
	Ibusesa?o: SH of linked subclan	-
	Gagihimo: "	-
	Kubia: subclan SH	-
	Hogebo: "	-
	Bubia: "	-
5. (26)	Abui: Lu of clanmate	-
	total	9

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. of Pearlshells Received
(18) Marriage of Iyo (o) and Orofage (o) (1958) ^f		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: B	(refused)
	Anabeya: FB	1
1.a. (2)	Ka?oma?ame: BrfF = BP	1
2.a. (8)	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Sabekemo: "	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Ibusesa?o: SH	1
	Kohagama: fSH	1
3.b. (14)	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Kubia: FBdH	1
3.b. (18)	Sufuri: (reciprocity for distributions to B)	-
	Arase: "	-
	Hagamu: "	-
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Aramene: "	-
4.b. (22)	Faragu: subclan SH	-
	Meya: Ss of linked subclan	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (28)	Iraharabo: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
other:	Agu?uru: clanmate of another village	1
		total 11
(19) Marriage of Godoro (o) and Ayebo (o) (1960)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: FBs = Dr	1
2.a. (9)	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Ibusesa?o: FBdH	1
	Arase: cont'r. to Dr	1
2.b. (10)	Ka?oma?ame: DrP = DrfF = DrLD = agnate of linked subclan	1
3.a. (11)	Tu?u: FBs = Dr's Lu = FBsfidH	-
3.b. (14)	Hasuwabo: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Enemano: "	-
3.b. (15)	Kubia: FBdH	1
	Orofage: "	-
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Godoro-Ayebo marriage continued		
4.b. (22)	Meya: subclan Ss	-
	Faragu: subclan SH	-
	Egira: "	-
	Kahagama: "	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
5. (26)	Fara: Lu of clanmate	-
	Abul: "	-
5. (28)	Iraharabo: <u>aya.busi</u>	1
	total	8
	(20) Betrothal of Ama'ia (♀) and Faiyanabo (♂) (1955)	
1.a. (1)	Orokara: F = Dr	6 cowry strings ⁵
1.b. (6)	Arase: cont'r. for BrM	-
		(cont'r. to groom)
	Ibusesafo: cont'r. for BrM = FSH	1
	Sabekemo: cont'r. for BrM = subclanmate	1*
	Koya: "	1
	Iraa: cont'r. for BrM = agnate of linked subclan	1*
3.a. (11)	Besebo: FLu = Fcl = clanmate	1*
3.b. (14)	Hasuwabo: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Enemano: "	1
	Tawadobo: "	1
	Orobora: "	-
3.b. (15)	Ayabe: unmd. FS (widow)	cowry string
	Tufu: fSH	1
	Faragu: FfsH	1
	Egira: "	-
	Orofage: FSH	cowry string
3.b. (18)	Sufuri: (reciprocity for distributions)	1
	Hagamu: "	1
	Asuhua: "	1
3.c. (19)	Wafari: BrfB = Fss, unmarried	1
	Gafanaboga: "	1
		g
3.c. (20)	Gooba: unmd. FBs	-
2.a. (8)	Kahagama: FfSH	1
	Yefetage: Ffs = Fcl = FLu	1*
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Ama?a-Faiyanabo betrothal continued		
4.b. (22)	Kubia: FFBdH	-
	Baiga: subclan SH	1
	Nemo: Ss of linked subclan	-
	Aebo: "	-
	Meya: "	-
5. (25)	Orobi clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (26)	Fara: Lu of clanmate	-
5. (28)	Gifagira: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
other:	Amenahui: unmd. agnate of linked subclan	1
	Aebo: FFBddH	1
	Wanabo: FMSs	1
	Kemo	(cowry string)
	total	22 (+ cowry strings)
(21) Marriage of Furage?abo (♀) and Asuhua (♂) (1956-7)		
1.a. (1)	Gagihimo: B = Dr	2
	Yo?orawe: F	2
	Ka?anobo: FB	1
1.a. (4)	Kosa?ahubu: Ffs (fostered from young) = FLu	2
2.a. (8)	Karage: FFBss	1
	Dumabo: FFBs	2
	Enemano: FMBs	1
3.b. (14)	Fura ^d : FFBss	1
3.b. (15)	Goturahua: S (widow)	1
4.a. (21)	Berero: clanmate	1
	Hua?abo: "	-
	Waribu: "	-
	Hagamu: "	-
	Soro: "	-
4.a. (22)	Awane ^d : FFBds	1
	Kuigarabo: subclan SH	-
	Arase: "	-
	Anabeya: "	-
	Asabod ^d : "	-
4.b. (23)	Mabed: Lu of subclanmate	?
other:	Masahimo: (possibly EP)	1
	total	16

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
(22) Marriage of Garura?akae (♀) and Kemo (♂) (1962)		
1.a. (5)	Fura: FFBs = Dr	1*
2.b. (10)	Kuigarabo: Dr's P & LD = FSH	2*
2.b. (9)	Arase: FSH	2
3.a. (13)	Iradugi: s of Dr's LD	1
	Yimakaba: "	1
3.b. (14)	Ka?anobo: subclanmate [omit: didn't return shells from an earlier brideprice]	
3.c. (19)	Goro: unmarried B	1
4.a. (21)	Baruga: clanmate	2
	Senagefu: "	2
	Hagamu: " [omit: patron of groom]	
4.b. (22)	Koya: subclan SH	-
	Asuhua: "	-
4.b. (24)	Kasiare: subclanmate of Dr's LD	1
	Tu?u: "	-
	Faragu: "	1
	Yefetage: "	-
other:	Soha?i: Lu of Dr's LD	1
	Hare	1
	Wa?abeyu	1*
	Wabiga	1
	total	18
(23) Marriage of Hugafabo (♀) and Onoboga (♂) (1961)		
1.a. (5)	Hagamu: FBfs = Dr	1*
2.a. (8)	Ka?oma?ame: Dr's Lu	-
3.a. (13)	Wabiga: Dr's LD	1*
	Dabamena: "	1
3.b. (14)	Daegi: subclanmate	-
	Baruga: "	1*
	Senagefu: "	1
3.b. (15)	Didobo: FBdH	1
	Suabe: "	-
3.b. (18)	Orokara: (reciprocity for distributions)	1*
4.a. (21)	Fura: clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Ayabo: subclan SH	-
	Kasiare: subclan Ss	?
	Sabewayo: subclan Ss	-
4.b. (23)	Asuhua: subclanmate's cl (reciprocity for distributions)	1
(= 18)		
3.b. (18)	Sabekemo: (reciprocity for distributions)	1
	Koya: "	1
5. (28)	Orobi: <u>aya.busi</u>	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba, busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Hugafabo-Onoboga marriage continued		
other:	16 men of Barutage: Dr was living at Barutage	16
	total	28
(24) Marriage of Tinimame (♀) and Fahaesobo (♂) (1965)		
1.a. (5)	Hagamu: FBfs = Dr	2
1.b. (6)	Masahimo: cont'r. for F's marriage to BrM	1*
2.a. (8)	Arase: cont'r. for BrB	1*
	Orokara: "	1
2.a. (9)	Ayebo: subclan SH	1
3.a. (13)	Wabiga: Dr's LD	1
	Dabemena: "	-
3.b. (14)	Kemo: subclanmate	1
	Yamanibu: "	1
	Baruga: "	1
	Senagefu: "	1
3.b. (15)	Onoboga: SH	2
	Didibo: FBdH	1
	Suabe: "	1
3.b. (18)	Sabekemo: (reciprocity for distributions)	1
	Koya: "	-
3.c. (19)	Gefane: unmarried B	2*
4.b. (22)	Sohaŋ: subclan SH	-
	Sabewayo: subclan Ss	-
4.b. (23)	Asuhua: subclanmate's cl (reciprocity for distributions)	-
4.b. (22)	Kasiare: subclan Ss	1
5. (28)	Orobi: <u>aya, busi</u>	-
other:	Bui: unmd. subclanmate	1
	Wanemabo: "	1
	total	21
(25) Marriage of Gera (♀) and Didobo (♂) (1960) ^f		
3.b. (14)	Hagamu: Ffs = subclanmate (closest relative of Br)	1*
	Baruga: subclanmate	1
	Senagefu: "	-
	Daegi: "	1
3.b. (15)	Suabe: SH	1
	Onoboga: FBdH [omit: received as <u>hua, busi</u>]	7
3.b. (18)	Koya: (reciprocity for distributions)	1
	Sabekemo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. of Shells Received
Gera-Didobo marriage continued		
3.b. (18)	Orokara: (reciprocity for distributions) [omit: received as <u>hua.busi</u> J	-
4.a. (21)	Fura: clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Kasiare: subclan Ss	1
	Sabewayo: "	-
	Hefa: subclan S	1
	Ayebo: subclan SH	1
4.b. (23)	Ka?oma?ame: Lu of subclanmate (Hagamu) [omit: received as <u>hua.busi</u> J	1
	(=18)Asuhua: subclanmate's cl (reciprocity for distributions)	1
5. (28)	Orobi: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
other:	Kemo: unmd. subclanmate	1
	Gibui:	1
	Yabea:	1
	Keno:	1
	total	14
(26) Marriage of Dimame (♀) and Nafa (♂) (1962-63)		
1.a. (1)	Hagamu: B = Dr	1
1.a. (4)	Ka?oma?ame: Ffs from young = FLu [omit: received as <u>hua.busi</u> J	1
3.a. (12)	Wabiga: B's LD	1
	Dabamena: "	-
3.b. (14)	Kemo: subclanmate = Bcl	1*
	Baruga: subclanmate	-
	Senagefu: "	-
	Daegi: "	1
3.b. (15)	Suabe: fSH	-
	Didobo: "	2*
	Onoboga: fFBdH	1
3.b. (18)	Orokara: (reciprocity for distributions) [omit: received as <u>hua.busi</u> J	1
	Sabekemo: (reciprocity for distributions)	1
	Koya: "	-
4.b. (22)	Hefa: subclan S	1
	Kasiare: subclan Ss	-
4.b. (23) (=18)Asuhua:	subclanmate's ol (reciprocity for distributions)	-
4.b. (22)	Ayebo: subclan SH	1
	Sabewayo: subclan Ss	-
other:	Hesasi: MSs = Dr's LD's Lu	1*
	Wareya: Dr's LD's Lu	1

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part A. continued Distributions to the aba.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Dimame-Nafa marriage continued		
other:	Bui: unmarried subclanmate	1
	Yamanibu: "	1
	total	14
(27) Marriage of Hefa (♀) and Sohaꞑ (♂) (1963)		
1.a. (1)	Kemo: FBs = Dr	3*
2.a. (8)	Ayebo: FBdH	-
2.b. (10)	Hagamu: FBs = Dr's P = subclanmate	1*
3.b. (14)	Baruga: subclanmate	1
	Senagefu: "	1
3.b. (16) (=18)	Asuhua: FBcl (reciprocity for distributions)	-
3.b. (18)	Dabamena: sobomena of Dr	1*
	Orokara: (reciprocity for contributions)	2*
3.c. (20)	Bui: unmarried FBs	-
	Wanemabo: "	-
4.b. (22)	Onoboga: subclan SH	1
	Suabe: "	-
	Didobo: "	1*
	Kasiare: subclan Ss	-
	Sabewayo: "	-
other:	Yamanibu: unmarried subclanmate	1
	Wabiga	1
	Wareya	1
	Abase	1
	total	15

Part B. Distributions to the hua.busi

(1) Marriage of Furageꞑabo (♀) and Asuhua (♂) (1956-57)		
1.a. (1)	Sabewayo: MB = Dr	5
1.a. (4)	Sohaꞑ: MB's, fostered from young = MB's Lu	1
3.b. (14)	Wano: MFBS	-
3.b. (15)	Masahimo ^d : MBdH	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Waribu ^d : "	-
	Karage ^d : "	-
	Gagihimo ^d : MSs	-
	Kosa ꞑahubu ^u : "	-
3.o. (19)	Hobebe: unmarried MBs	1
4.a. (21)	Kuigarabo: clanmate	-
	Arase: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Furage?abo-Asuhua marriage continued		
4.a. (21)	Kasiare: clanmate	-
5. (25)	Iraa: clan SH	-
5. (26)	Abui: fs and Lu of clanmate	-
5. (28)	Senagefu: <u>aya.busi</u> (MMBs)	-
	Baruga: "	-
	total	7
(2) Marriage of Godoro (o) and Ayebo (o ^r) (c. 1961)		
1.a. (1)	Sabewayo: MB = Dr	2
	Hobeba: MBs	1
3.b. (15)	Masahimo ^d : MBdH	2
	Aramene: "	-
	Gerebo: "	-
3.b. (16)	Sohai: ^d MBfs, fostered from young = MBcl h	-
3.c. (19)	Wanabo: unmd. MBfs	-
4.a. (21)	Kuigarabo: clanmate	-
	Iradugi: "	-
	Arase: "	-
	Kasiare: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Tufu: "	-
	Yefetage: "	-
5. (25)	Kuiware: clan S	-
	Iraa: clan SH	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
5. (28)	Fagira: <u>aya.busi</u> (MMs)	-
	Senagefu: <u>aya.busi</u> (MMBe)	-
	Baruga: "	-
	total	5
(3) Marriage of Garura?akae (o) and Kemo (o ^r) (1962)		
1.a. (1)	Sabewayo: MF = fF of Br = Dr	9*
	Hobeba: MB = fB	2*
3.b. (15)	Masahimo ^d : MSH = fSH	1
	Aramene: "	1
	Orobora: "	1
3.b. (16)	Sohai: MFcl	-
	Wanabo: MBfs = BrfB	-
4.a. (21)	Kuigarabo: clanmate	-
	Iradugi: "	-
	Arase: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Garura?akae-Kemo marriage continued		
4.a. (21)	Kasiare: clanmate	-
	Yimakaba: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Tufu: "	-
	Yefetage: "	-
	Nemo: "	-
	Aebo: "	-
4.b. (22)	Gerebo: MFbH	-
5. (25)	Kuiware: clan S	-
	Iraa: clan SH	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
5. (28)	Senagefu: <u>aya.busi</u> (MMBs)	-
	Baruga: "	-
	total	15
(4) Marriage of Soaemabo (p) and Mabera (o ^r) (c. 1963)		
1.a. (5)	Tufu: MFbS = Dr	2
2.b. (10)	Kahagama: Dr's P	-
3.a. (13)	Orokara: Dr's LD (reciprocity for favor to Dr)	2
3.b. (14)	Kuigarabo: subclanmate	1
	Faragu: "	-
	Aebo: "	-
	Iradugi: "	-
	Yimakaba: "	-
	Arase: "	none, but seized groom's pig
	Kasiare: "	-
	Yefetage: "	-
	Nemo: "	-
	Hobe: "	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	-
	Hobeba: "	-
4.b. (22)	Iraa: subclan SH	-
	Wanabo: "	-
	Kuiware: subclan S	-
4.b. (23)	Soha: Lu of subclanmate	-
5. (25)	Masahimo: clan SH	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Orobora: "	-
	Gerebo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Soaemabo-Mabera marriage continued		
5. (25)	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
5. (26)	Wanabo: fs and cl of clanmate	-
	total	5
(5) Marriage of Yane (♀) and Buanobo (♂) (1966) ^f		
1.a. (1)	Tufu: MB	1*, pig
2.b. (10)	Kahagama: MBP	-
3.b. (14)	Kuigarabo: subclanmate	1
	Faragu: "	1
	Aebo: "	-
	Iradugi: "	£ 1
	Yimakaba: "	1
	Arase: "	-
	Kasiare: "	-
	Yefetage: "	-
	Nemo: "	-
	Hobe: "	-
3.c. (19)	Kibusae: unmarried MB	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	£ 1
	Hobeba: "	-
4.b. (22)	Iraa: subclan SH	-
	(=26)Wanabo: subclan SH = fs and cl of clanmate	-
	Kuiware: subclan S	-
4.b. (23)	Soha: Lu of subclanmate	-
5. (25)	Masahimo: clan SH	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Orobora: "	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	Koya: clan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
	total	7
(6) Marriage of Hugafabo (♀) and Onoboga (♂) (o. 1961)		
1.a. (1)	Faragu: MBs = Dr	2*
2.b. (10)	Arase: MBs(=Dr)'s P	1*
	Iraa: "	1, pig*
3.b. (14)	Kuigarabo ^d : subclanmate	1
	Kasiare: "	2
	Iradugi: "	1
	Tufu: "	-
3.b. (15)	Kuiware: MS	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Hugafabo-Onoboga marriage continued		
3.c. (19)	Aebo: unmarried MBs	1
	Nemo: "	1
	Yefetage: /omit: at work on the coast/	
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	1
4.b. (23)	Fura: cl and Lu of subclanmate	-
	Soha: "	-
5. (25)	Masahimo: subclan SH	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	Koya: subclan Ss	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
5. (26)	Abui: Lu and fs of clanmate	-
other:	Yimakaba: unmarried subclanmate	1
	Hasuwabo: MBsPB	1
	Su?uri: MBsPB	1
	total	15
(7) Marriage of Hefa (o) and Sohai (o?) (1962)		
1.a. (1)	Faragu: MBs = Dr	4
	Yefetage: MBs	1
	Aebo: "	1
	Nemo: "	(refused shell)
2.b. (10)	Arase: MBs(=Dr)'s P	1
	Iraa: "	-
	Orobi: MBsP	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Orokara: MBsP = MBsLD	1
3.b. (14)	Kuigarabo ^d : subclanmate	-
	Iradugi: "	-
	Kasiare: "	-
	Yimakaba: "	-
	Tu?u: "	-
3.b. (15)	Kuiware: MS	-
	Kuidobo: MSs	-
3.c. (19)	Agimabo: unmarried MBs	axe
	Wa?ari: "	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	-
	Hobebo: "	-
4.b. (22)	Buanobo: subclan SH	-
4.b. (23)	Fura: cl and Lu of subclanate	-
	Soha: "	-
5. (24,25)	Koya: clan Ss; MBsLD's subclanmate	-
	Sabekemo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Hefa-Sohai marriage continued		
5. (25)	Masahimo: clan SH	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	total	9
(8) Marriage of Baehua (♀) and Hema (♂) (1963)		
1.a. (1)	Yefetage: MBs = Dr	1*
	Faragu: MBs	1*, long cowry string
	Aebo: "	1
	Nemo: "	1
2.b. (10)	Arase: MBsP (contributes to Dr)	1*
	Iraa: MBsP	1
	Orobi: "	-
	Aramene: "	1
3.b. (14)	Orokara: MBs(=Dr)'s P and LD	1*
	Kuigarabo ^{cl} : subclanmate	-
	Kasiare: "	2
	Iradugi: "	1
	Yimakaba: "	-
	Tu'u: "	-
3.b. (15)	Kuiware: MS	-
	Kuidobo: MSs	-
3.b. (14)	Yawara'o: subclanmate	-
	Hobe: "	-
3.c. (19)	Wa'ari: unmd. MBs [omit: at work on coast]	small cowry string ¹
	Agimabo: "	-
4.a. (21)	Sabewayo: clanmate	-
	Hobeba: "	-
4.b. (22)	Buanobo: subclan SH	-
	Wanabo: "	-
4.b. (23)	Sohai: Lu and cl of subclanmate	-
5. (24,25)	Koya: clan Ss = subclanmate of MBsLD	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
5. (25)	Masahimo: clan SH	-
	Gerebo: "	-
	Orobora: "	-
	total	12

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hwa.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
(9) Marriage of Turua?aka (q) and Wanabo (o ^r) (1962)		
1.a. (3)	Enahq: s of MBP = subclanmate = Dr	3
2.a. (8)	Damaiyu Suiya:subclanmate's Lu = clanmate	2
	Gifagira: clanmate	-
	Huarehabo: "	1
2.b. (9)	Kahagama: MBfs = MBcl	1
	Orobi: MBfs = MBcl = MB's Lu	1
	Gibui: MBcl	1
	Masahimo: subclan Ss	-
2.b. (10)	Enemano: Dr's fB = Dr's P = Dr's Lu ^j	-
3.a. (11)	Huanobo: MB's Lu = clanmate	1
3.a. (13)	Orobora: Dr's Ffss	-
	Arase: Dr's dH = Br's subclan SH	1
3.b. (14)	Aidobo: subclanmate	-
	Barutage Suiya: subclanmate	-
3.b. (15)	Yefetage: MBdH	-
4.a. (21)	Dawano: clanmate	1
4.b. (22)	Gorafere: subclan SH	-
	Ugiga: "	-
	Tami: "	-
	Fasinabo: "	-
5. (28)	Fura: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
	total	12
(10) Marriage of Aguyu (q) and Hasuwabo (o ^r) (1967)		
1.a. (3)	Enahq: s of P for marriage of BrF and BrM = subclanmate = Dr	2
2.a. (8)	Damaiyu Suiya:Lu of subclanmate	2
	Huarehabo: clanmate	1
	Gifagira: "	1
2.b. (9)	Kahagama: MB's fs and cl	1
	Orobi: MB's fs, cl and Lu	-
	Gibui: MBcl	1
	Masahimo: subclan SH	-
2.b. (10)	Enemano: Dr's fB, P and Lu ^j	-
3.a. (13)	Orobora: Dr's Ffss	-
	Arase: Dr's dH	-
3.b. (14)	Aidobo: subclanmate	-
	Barutage Suiya:subclanmate	-
3.b. (15)	Yefetage: MBdH	-
4.a. (21)	Dawano: clanmate	1
4.b. (22)	Gorafere: subclan SH	-
	Ugiga: "	-
	Tami: "	-
	Fasinabo: "	-
	total	9

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
(11) Marriage of Yofoka (♀) and unidentified man of Genefaebo (1966)		
1.a. (1)	Enahq: MB = Dr	1
1.a. (4)	Enemano: MFfs from young = MB's P & Lu ^j	-
2.a. (8)	Orobi: subclanmate's Lu, fs & cl	-
	Kahagema: subclanmate	-
2.b. (9)	Masahimo: subclan Ss	-
2.b. (10)	Kasiare: MBP = subclan SH	1
3.b. (14)	Aidobo: subclanmate	-
	Barutage Suiya: subclanmate	-
3.b. (15)	Arase: MBdH	1
3.b. (16)	Orobora: MFfss	-
3.c. (19)	Iburuvi: unmd. MBs	-
4.a. (21)	Gifigira: clanmate	-
	Huarehabo: "	-
	Dawano: "	-
	(=23) Buanobo: Lu of subclanmate = Br's clanmate	1
	(=23) Damaiyu Suiya: Lu of subclanmate = Br's clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Gorafere: subclan SH	-
	Taxi: "	-
	Ugiga: "	-
	Fasinabo: "	-
	Yefetage: "	-
5. (28)	Ubibira: <u>aya.busi</u> (MMs) = Dr's Ms	4
	total	8
(12) Marriage of Afi (♀) and Tybi (♂) (1965)		
1.a. (1)	Aidobo: MB	2, pig*
2.a. (8)	Gifagira: clanmate	1
	Huarehabo: "	1
	Enahq: subclanmate	1
	Orobi: subclanmate's fs, cl & Lu = clanmate	1
	Buanobo: subclanmate's Lu = clanmate	1
	Sabewayo: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
2.b. (9)	Gorafere: subclan SH	-
	Ugiga: "	-
	Kasiare: subclan SH = subclanmate's Lu	-
	Barutage Suiya: subclanmate	1
2.b. (10)	Kahagema: MBP = Dr	2*
	Damaiyu Suiya: MBP = subclanmate's Lu	1
3.a. (13)	Yefetage: Dr's SH = subclan SH	1
	Tufu: Dr's cl	1

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Afi-Tubi marriage continued		
4.a. (21)	Dawano: clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Arase: subclan SH	2*
	Tami: subclan SH	-
	Masahimo: "	-
	(=23)Enemano: subclanmate's fs,cl & Lu = subclan Ss	-
4.b. (23)	Orobora: subclanmate's Ffss	-
other:	Bafuwa: MB's WB	1
	Dabi,aso: MB's WB	1
	? MB's WF	1
	? MB's	1
	total	21
(13) Marriage of Faya?a (o) and Anabeya (o) (c. 1962)		
1.a. (1)	Aramene: MB = Dr	3
2.a. (8)	Abui: MBPcl = subclanmate's Lu	1
	Tauwadobo: MBfB = subclanmate's Lu = clanmate	1
	Fara: MB's Lu	-
2.b. (10)	Masahimo: MB's P, fF & LD	1
3.a. (12)	Asuhua: MB's LD = MffBs(<u>aya.busi</u>)	-
3.b. (16)	Nemo: MB(=Dr)'s cl	-
4.a. (21)	Enemano: clanmate	1
	Orobora: "	1
	Iraa: "	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	-
	Orokara: "	-
	Koya: "	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Gifagira: subclan Ss	-
	Hobeba: subclan SH	-
5. (25)	Baiga: clan SH	-
	Asi: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Arugai: "	-
	Kahagama: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Egira: "	-
	Ibusesa?o: "	-
	Orofage: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hwa.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl- shells Received
Fayaia-Anabeya marriage continued		
5. (25)	Tagemena: clan SH	-
	Garage: "	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Hagamu: clan Ss	-
	Meya: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (26)	Yefetage: clanmate's Lu	-
	total	8
(14) Marriage of Igaka (o) and Barinaba (o') (1960)		
1.a. (1)	Aramene: MB = Dr	3*
2.a. (8)	Abui: MBPcl = subclanmate's Lu	2
	Fara: MB's Lu	1
2.b. (10)	Masahimo: MB's P, fF & LD	2*
3.a. (12)	Asuhua: MB's LD = MMfBs(<u>aya.busi</u>)	1
3.b. (17)	Tauwadobo: MBfB = subclanmate's Lu = clanmate	1
4.a. (21)	Enemano: clanmate	1
	Iraa: "	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	-
	Orokara: "	-
	Koya: "	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
4.b. (22)	Gifagira: subclan Ss	-
5. (25)	Baiga: clan SH	-
	Asi: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Arugai: "	-
	Kahagama: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Egira: "	-
	Ibusesa?o: "	-
	Orofage: "	-
	Tagemena: "	-
	Garage: "	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Hagamu: clan Ss	-
	Meya: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the huz.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Igaka/Barinaba marriage continued		
5. (28)	Girigi: <u>aya.busi</u> (MMfFdH) ^k	1
	Orokara: <u>aya.busi</u> (guardian of MMBs)	1
other:	Faboro: MSdH ^k	1
	total	14
(15) Marriage of Garare (o) and Fufuwabo (o') (1962)		
1.a. (1)	Enemano: MB = Dr	1
	Taywadobo: MBs	1
	Orobora: MBs	1
2.b. (10)	Enahq: MBfFs = MBFs = MBLD	-
	Masahimo: MBsP = MBs's fF & LD = clanmate	1
3.b. (14)	Koya ^d : subclanmate of linked subclan	-
	Orokara: "	1
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Iraa: subclanmate	1
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	-
3.b. (15)	Kahagemad: MBdH	-
	Arugai: "	-
	Fura: "	1
	Meya: MSs	-
3.b. (16)	Aramene ^d : MBfs = clanmate	2
3.c. (19)	Amenahui: unmarried MBs	1
4.a. (21)	Karua: clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Egira: subclan SH	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Garage: "	-
	Hagamu: subclan Ss	-
	Ibusesa?o: SH of linked subclan	-
	Baiga: "	-
	Asi: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Orofage: "	-
	Tagemena: "	-
4.b. (23)	Yefetage: subclanmate's fs,cl & Lu	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (26)	Fara: Lu of clanmate	1
	total	11

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
(16) Marriage of Gera (o) and Didobo (♂) (1959) ^f		
1.a. (1)	Saberedobo: MB	2
1.a. (4)	Hesasi: MBfs from young = MB's Lu	1
3.a. (11)	Wabiga: MB's cl & Lu	1
3.b. (14)	Ka?oma?ame ^d : subclanmate	2
	Enemano: "	2
	Iraa: "	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Onoboga: "	1
	Orokara: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Koya: "	-
3.c. (19)	Baisabe: unmarried MBfs	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Kahagama: subclan SH	-
	Garage: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Ibusesa?o: SH of linked subclan	-
	Baiga: "	-
	Orofage: "	-
	Asi: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Meya: subclan Ss	-
4.b. (23)	Tu?u: Lu of subclanmate	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Kuigarabo: clan SH	-
5. (26)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu	-
5. (28)	Gakaro: <u>aya.busi</u> (MM's clanmate)	1
	total	13
(17) Marriage of Sika (o) and Tu?u (♂) (1958)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB = BrfF	1
1.a. (2)	Ka?oma?ame: MfF = MB's P & LD = Dr	1
2.a. (8)	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Sabekemo: "	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	1
	Ibusesa?o: MSH	pig*
3.a. (13)	Hagamu: Dr's Ps & LD	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Sika-Tufu marriage continued		
3.b. (14)	Anabeaya: MFBs	1
	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	1
	Saberedobo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Hogebo: MSH	1
	Gagihimo: MfSH	-
	Kahagama: "	-
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Kubia: MFBdH	1
	Asi: subclan SH	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Baiga: "	-
	Meya: subclan Ss	-
5. (25)	Kuigarabo: clan SH	-
	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (26,28)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu = <u>aya.busi</u>	-
	total	10
(18) Marriage of Geri (q) and Sohaj (o') (c. 1959)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB	1*
1.a. (2)	Ka?oma?ame: MfF = MB's P & LD	1*
1.a. (2)	Ibusesa?o: MH = Br's fF	7*, pig ¹
2.a. (8)	Koya: subclanmate	-
	Sabekemo: "	1*
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
3.a. (11)	Tufu: MB's Lu = MSdH	-
3.b. (14)	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Orofage: MSH	-
	Kahagama: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
3.c. (19)	Yefetage: unmd. MB's [omit: at work on coast]	-
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Baiga: subclan SH	-
	Asi: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Geri-Sohai marriage continued		
4.b. (22)	Kubia: subclan SH	-
	Meya: subclan Ss	-
5. (25)	Kuigarabo: clan SH	-
	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
5. (26,28)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu = <u>aya.busi</u>	-
	total	9 [4 8]
(19) Marriage of Kuburuhua (♀) and unidentified man (1955)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB = Dr	1
1.a. (2)	Ka?oma?ame: MfF = MB's P & LD	1*
2.a. (8)	Koya: subclanmate	-
	Sabekemo: "	-
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
3.b. (14)	Anabeya: MFBS	-
	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
e.b. (15)	Bubia ^d : MSH	1
	Hogebo: "	1
	Gagihimo: MfSH	-
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Asi: subclan SH	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Baiga: "	-
5. (26,28)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu = <u>aya.busi</u>	-
	total	4
(20) Marriage of Da?uwaka (♀) and Yago (♂) (1956)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB = Dr	2
1.a. (2)	Ka?oma?ame: MfF = MB's P & LD	1
2.a. (8)	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Sabekemo: "	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
3.b. (14)	Anabeya: MFBS	-
	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Bubia ^d : MSH	small cowry string ¹

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Da?uwaka-Yago marriage continued		
3.b. (15)	Hogebo: MSH	-
	Kahagama: MfSH	-
	Gagihimo: "	-
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
4.b. (22)	Asi: subclan SH	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Baiga: "	-
	Kubia: "	-
5. (26,28)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu = <u>aya.busi</u>	-
	total	5
(21) Marriage of Kosa?ahua (o) and Nemo (o') (1961)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB = Br's fF = Dr	1
1.a. (2)	Ka?oma?ame: MfF = MB's P & LD	1
2.a. (8)	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Sabekemo: "	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Ibusesa?o: MSH	1
3.a. (11)	Yefetage: MB's Lu, cl & fs	1
	Tufu: MB's Lu = SH ^m	1
3.b. (14)	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Egira: MfSH	-
	Kahagama: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Orofage: "	-
3.b. (18)	Sufuri: <u>sobomena</u> of Brf ⁿ	1
	Arase: (reciprocity for distributions to Br fF ⁿ)	-
3.c. (19)	Besebo: MfB = MBfB (unmarried)	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	1
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Baiga: subclan SH	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Asi: "	-
	Tagemena: "	-
	Meya: subclan Ss of linked subclan	-
	Arugai: "	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Kosa?ahua-Nemo marriage continued		
5. (25)	Orobi: clan Ss	-
5. (26)	Fara: clanmate's Lu	-
5. (26,28)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu = <u>aya.busi</u>	-
other:	Wayabo	1
	total	11
(22) Marriage of Kosa?ahua (♀) and Kuidobo (♂) (1966)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB = BrfF ⁺	pig, to be given later*
1.a. (4)	Besebo: MfFfs from young = MBfB = MB's cl, Lu & clanmate = Dr	f 5, large cowry string
2.a. (8)	Yefetage: MBfs = MBLu	f 10
	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Sabekemo: "	2
	Ibusesa?o: MSH	1*
	Kahagema: MfSH	1
3.a. (11)	Wa?ari: MBfs = MBLu = MSs	f 1
3.b. (14)	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Taywadobo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Ayabe: M	f 3½
	Egira: MfSH	-
	Faragu: "	1
	Iyo: MS	pig*
3.o. (19)	Igare: unmarried MBfs	axe
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	f 1, pig*
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: clanmate = Dr's subclanmate	-
4.a. (22)	Baiga: subclan SH	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Asi: "	-
	Tagemena: "	-
	Meya: Ss of linked subclan	-
	Aebo: "	-
	Nemo: "	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Faboro: clan SH	-
	Hobeba: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name: Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Kosa fahua-Kuidobo marriage continued		
other:	Kemo ^o	axe
	Sufuri ^o	-
	Arase ^o	1 ^p
	Tufu: ^o SH(as <u>aba.busi</u>)	2*
	total	19 [+ pig in future]
(23) Marriage of Yafuka (♀) and Wayabo (♂) (1964)		
1.a. (1)	Orokara: MB = Dr	1*
2.a. (8)	Sabekemo: subclanmate	1*
	Koya: "	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Kahagema: MfSH	-
3.a. (11)	Yefetage: MB's fs, cl & Lu	1*
3.b. (14)	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Tauwadobo: "	-
3.b. (15)	Iyo: MS	1
	Ayabe: "	-
	Faragu: MfSH	-
	Egira: "	-
3.c. (19)	Besebo: unmarried MBfB	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
	Aramene: "	1*
	Karua: "	-
4.a. (22)	Kubia: subclan SH	-
	Tagemena: "	-
	Asi: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Baiga: "	-
	Meya: Ss of linked subclan	-
	Nemo: "	-
	Aebe: "	-
	Arugai: SH of linked subclan	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Hobeba: clan SH	-
5. (26)	Fara: clanmate's Lu	-
other:	Arase ^q	1*
	Sufuri ^q	1*
	Asuhua ^q	1*
	total	10

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
(24) Marriage of Arageka (♀) and unidentified man (1958)		
1.a. (1)	Sabekemo: MB = Dr	1
	Koya: MB	1
2.a. (8)	Orokara: subclanmate	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	1
3.b. (14)	Hasuwabo ^d : "	1
	Enemano: "	-
	Saberedobo: "	-
	Ka?oma?ame: "	-
	Anabeya: subclanmate	1
3.b. (15)	Baiga: MBdH	1
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	1
4.b. (22)	Kubia ^d : subclan SH	1
	Ware: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Ibusesa?o: "	-
	Kahagama: SH of linked subclan	-
	Gagihimo: "	-
	Garage: "	-
	Meya: Ss of linked subclan	-
	Hagamu: "	-
5. (25)	Kuigarabo: clan SH	-
	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
5. (26)	Abui: clanmate's cl & Lu	-
5. (28)	Taodehabo: <u>aya.busi</u>	2
other:	Sufuri	1
	Waribu: MMSH	1
total		12
(25) Marriage of Guyu (♂) and Aebo (♂) (1962)		
1.a. (5)	Enemano: agnate of linked subclan = Dr	1
2.a. (9)	Orokara: MFBs	1
	Koya: subclanmate	1
	Kahagama: SH of linked subclan	-
3.a. (13)	Arugai: Dr's dH = subclan SH	-
	Orobora: Dr's s = agnate of linked subclan	1
	Enahq: Dr's LD	-
3.b. (14)	Sabekemo: subclanmate	1
	Iraa: agnate of linked subclan	-
	Hasuwabo: "	-
	Taywadobo: "	-

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearl-shells Received
Guyu-Aebo marriage continued		
4.a. (21)	Masahimo: clanmate	-
	Aramene: "	-
	Karua: "	-
4.b. (22)	Ibusesa?o: subclan SH	-
	Kubia: "	-
	Baiga: "	-
	Orofage: "	-
	Tagemena: "	-
	Ware: "	-
	Asi: "	-
	Tegebo: "	-
	Egira: SH of linked subclan	-
	Garage: "	-
	Faragu: "	-
	Meya: Ss of linked subclan	-
	Hagamu: "	-
5. (25)	Gifagira: clan Ss	-
	Orobi: "	-
	Buanobo: "	-
	(=28)Hobeba: clan Ss = <u>aya.busi</u>	1
5. (26)	Fara: clanmate's Lu	-
5. (28)	Sabewayo: <u>aya.busi</u>	-
other:	Amenahui: Dr's unmarried son	1
	Senagefu	1
	Gooba: unmarried MFBs	1
	total	9
(26) Marriage of Negirame (♀) and Faragu (♂) (1956)		
1.a. (1)	Dumabo: MB = Dr	2
	Karage: MBs	1
	Fura: MBs	2
2.a. (8)	Yo?orawe: subclanmate	1
	Gagihimo: "	1
	Kosa?ahubu: subclanmate's fs & Lu	1
3.a. (11)	Mabe ^d : MB's Lu	-
3.b. (14)	Ka?anobo: subclanmate	-
3.b. (15)	Kuigarabo: MBdH	-
	Arase: "	-
	Anabeya: "	-
	Abui: "	-
	Awane: MSs	-
	Asabo: "	-
4.a. (21)	Waribu: clanmate	2
	Hua?abo: "	1

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Part B. continued Distributions to the hua.busi

Category of Relative	Relative (Name:Relationship)	No. Pearlshells Received
Negirame-Faragu marriage continued		
4.a. (21)	Hagamu: clanmate	-
	Soro: "	-
	Berero: "	-
5. (25)	Degayo: clan SH	-
	total	<u>11</u>
(27) Marriage of Yawaraka (o) and Baisidobo (o') (c. 1960)		
1.a. (5)	Asuhua: MFBs = Dr	1
3.a. (13)	Aramene: Dr's Lu	1
3.b. (14)	Guni: MFBs	} 5 ^r
	Giraro: "	
3.b. (15)	Amenahui: MSH	-
	Gahaemena: "	-
other:	Orokara: (distributes to Asuhua, the Dr)	1 ^s
	Hagamu: "	1 ^s
	total	<u>9</u>

^a The categories listed in this column are those given in the "Tentative Preference Order", pp. 213-16.

^b The relationships listed here are understood to be relationships to the bride, unless otherwise indicated as relationships to the distributor or other individual. Some abbreviations are used here, in addition to the usual ones for kin and pseudo-kin, as follows.

md. married
 unmd. unmarried
 Lu (primary) land user
 LD land donor (for primary land use)
 Dr distributor of the brideprice
 Br bride

^c Not only pearlshells, but all valuables distributed are listed here, with the exception of small cowry strings, i.e. with the exception of category 3 items, cf p. 179. Items other than pearlshells are designated (as axes, cowry strings, pigs, etc.). All undesignated items are pearlshells. An asterisk (*) is used to designate a category 1 item (of p. 179). Such items cannot be distinguished from category 2 items for all distributions tabulated. Totals are for all items.

^d The marked cases are individuals who might have contributed to the distributor or to the bride's lineage for brideprice payments and thus might have a claim to brideprice shells by reciprocity. No definite contributions are known, however.

^e The exact number of shells given to individuals is unknown here.

Table 33 continued Herebo Brideprice Distributions

Notes continued

- ⁱ The marked brideprices were not formally distributed. Brideprice shells were given out by the groom (or patron) one at a time.
- ^k Orokara was also supposed to receive a large pearlshell later. Gooba was supposed to receive a small pearlshell later.
- ^h At about this time Sohai quarreled with Sabewayo and left his land. If Sohai had left, the appropriate category for him would be (16); if not, (4). The exact date cannot be determined relative to the distribution of the brideprice.
- ⁱ This is counted as none.
- ^j It is likely that Enahq ignored Enemano in these three distributions to the hua.busi (9,10 and 11) because Enemano had ignored him in the distribution of Garare's brideprice (15, distribution to hua.busi).
- ^k These two shells were given by the bride's father, although both relatives are on the hua.busi side.
- ^l My informant listed these shells on the hua.busi side. For the purposes of tabulation in Part III, they are counted on the aba.busi side. In actuality, Ibusesa?o, as foster-father of the bride, received enough shells to distribute them separately himself.
- ^m Tu?u may also have received a shell on the aba.busi side as the bride's sister's husband.
- ⁿ The foster-father (= mother's brother) would be expected to give these men shells in return for their distributions to him, just as an actual father of the bride.
- ^o All four of these men give brideprice shells to Orokara when they distribute. Since Orokara was not the distributor, he would not be expected to give shells from this brideprice to them. However, Orokara oversaw the distribution (made by his client Besebo). Presumably this is the reason that three of the men received shells.
- ^p Arase's shell was given by Orokara, rather than the groom.
- ^q As distributor, Orokara gave shells to these three men because they give him shells when they distribute. This is not usually done by the distributor on the hua.busi side and the procedure is not incorporated into the "Tentative Preference Order."
- ^r These two men live with the bride's father. They received their shells directly from him. Probably they got more shells than others for that reason.

APPENDIX F

PREDICTION OF VILLAGE RESIDENCE IN SPECIFIC CASES

To clarify the process used to predict men's house residence in Table 34, consider the cases of Arase and Faragu (see p. 379). Arase is definitely a big man of the first rank. (Thus "1" is noted in the column for prestige status.) Therefore, his place is to be predicted by his former place in the men's house (Step 1) and not by his superordinate relative (Step 2) and he is predicted to quadrant A, his former place. Faragu is not a big man at all. (Thus no notation occurs under prestige status.) His place is to be predicted according to where his preferred superordinate relative is predicted to build. In 1964 Faragu had two superordinate relatives, his patron Arase, a big man of his subclan, and a second big man of his subclan. The model predicts choice of Arase, since a patron is preferred over a more important subclanmate, according to Step 2 of the model. Since Arase is already predicted to build in quadrant A, Faragu is also predicted to that quadrant (Step 3).

To clarify the process used to predict women's house residence in Table 35, let me first discuss the cases of Arase and Faragu (see p. 387). Among Arase's relatives that he might build with were his patron, two clients and several co-clients. Nemo, the more recent client (cl_2) is

eliminated from consideration because of a quarrel. Nemo refused the girl that Arase had given brideprice for. Arase was so angry that he told Nemo to leave him and Nemo had to find another patron. The other client, Faragu, is chosen over the remaining relatives, since client is the highest relative in the preference order of the model (Step 1). Among Faragu's relatives were a client, a patron, a co-client and a wife's brother. The client, Aebo, is eliminated from consideration because of a quarrel. Aebo's wife moved into Faragu's women's house when Aebo married. Their wives quarreled so badly that Faragu told Aebo to take his wife elsewhere. Faragu's patron, Arase, is chosen over his remaining relatives, according to the preference order given in the model (Step 1). Since Faragu and Arase have been predicted to choose each other, they are predicted to build together (Step 2). If Arase had not been predicted to choose Faragu, then a second choice of relatives would have been made for Faragu. The total number of dependent females for the pair, Arase and Faragu, is four. Thus, no additional relatives are predicted to join them in building a women's house.

To show the process of prediction for joining a women's house after the original building, let me discuss the case of Hasuwabo (see p. 393). Hasuwabo was an immigrant, so he is predicted to join the women's house of Kasiare, his land donor at Herebo (actually his only relative there), regardless of the total number of women who will be living there (Step 2^a, a). It happens that the total number of women predicted to live together is six. (Kasiare's, Sabekemo's and Wanabo's women were already living together, and were joined by the wife of Sabekemo's client Gooba at the same time that Hasuwabo immigrated.) The group is thus predicted

to split (Step 3'). The only definite predictions to be made about the split are that new subordinates will remain with their superordinate relatives. Thus, Kasiare and Hasuwabo are predicted to stay together, as are Sabekemo and Gooba. It seems probable that Sabekemo and Gooba would form a separate unit from the others, since the addition of Kasiare, the other original builder besides Sabekemo, and of Hasuwabo with him, would increase the number of women to five. If Hasuwabo and Kasiare did split off, then Wanabo would probably build with them.

Table 34

Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Ego	Prestige Status ^a	Marital Status ^b	Alternative Choices ^c (Superordinate Relatives)	Other Relatives ^d	Former Place ^e	Step 1	Step 2 ^f (Relative Chosen) 3	Step 3	Step 4 ^g
Herebo village (1964)									
Buanobo	-	m	---	oB, WB	-	-	---	-	-
Arase	1	m	P(=oB)	WF	A	A	---	-	-
Faragu	-	m	P(=so _a), sc _b	-	A	-	Arase-P(=so _a)	A	-
Enemano	-	m	---	LDs(=cl) ^h	A	A	---	-	-
Orobora	-	m	P(=F)	-	-	-	Enemano-P(=F)	A	el. ⁱ
Kuigarabo	1	m	---	-	A	A	---	-	-
Yimakaba	-	m	P(=F=sc _a), sc _b (=FB), c(=oB)	-	-	-	Kuigarabo-P(=F)	A	el.
Sohaɿ	-	m	P ₁ *, P ₂ =LD, c _a , c _b	-	B	-	Kuigarabo-P ₂ =LD	A	el. → D
Enahɔ	-	m	P(=Lu) ^h , sc	-	A	-	Enemano-P or Kahagama-sc	A	-
Iradugi	2	m	P(=F=sc _a), sc _b	-	-	-	Kuigarabo-P(=F)	A	el.
Yawara?o	-	o	pP(=fF=sc _a), sc _b	-	-	-	Arase-pP(=fF)	A	el. X $\frac{1}{2}$ ^j
Masahimo	1	m	---	WF, WB	B	B	---	-	-
Taywadobo	-	m	P(=fF)=LD, c(=fB)	-	-	-	Masahimo-P=LD	B	-
Gibui	-	m	c(=yB)	-	A	-	Kahagama-c(=yB)	A	-
Kahagama	2?	m	---	c _a (=oB), c _b (=fB), WB	A	A	---	-	-
Tufu	-	m	P, wFF=LD, sc _a , sc _b	-	-	-	Orokara-wFF=LD	C	-

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Ego	Prestige Status	Marital Status	Alternative Choices (Superordinate Relatives)	Other Relatives	Former Place	Step 1	Step 2 (Relative Chosen)	Step 3	Step 4
Orobi	-	m	$c_a (=fB)$	$c_b (=ofB)$	C	-	Kahagema- $c_a (=fB)$	A	el. → C
Aebo	-	m	$P (=oB), co-P, sc_a, sc_b$	-	-	-	Faragu- $P (=oB)$ or Orobi-co-P	C or A	el. A
Wanabo	-	m	$P (=fF), c (=fB),$ $co-P (=FB)^k$	WF	-	-	Sabewayo- $P (=fF)$	D	-
Ararene	-	m	$P (=fF) (=LD?), LD$	WB, WF	B	-	Masahimo- $P (=fF)$ or Asuhua- LD^1	B^1 or C	el. C^m
Kemo	-	m	WFF=LD	-	-	-	Sabewayo-WFF=LD	D	-
Nemo	-	m		oFBs	-	-	Aramone- P_2	B^1 or C	el. C^m
Orokara	1	m	---	-	C	C	---	-	-
Yefetage	-	m	$P (=fF) = LD, sc_a, sc_b$	oFBs, WB	-	-	Orokara- $P = LD$	C	-
Asuhua	-	m	---	-	C	C	---	-	-
Fara	-	o	sc	-	-	-	Masahimo-sc	B	-
Besebo	-	o	$pP (=ofB_a)$	ofB _D	-	-	Orokara-pP	C	-
Ga'anaboga	-	o	$pP (=fF), sc$	ofB	-	-	Orokara-pP (=fF)	C	-
Didobo	-	m	---	-	D	D	---	-	-
Waibi	-	o	$pP (=F), sc (=fB)$	-	-	-	Gibui-pP (=F)	A	el. X $\frac{1}{2}$
Agimabo	-	o	$pP (=oB), sc_a, sc_b$	-	-	-	Faragu-pP (=oB)	A	el. X $\frac{1}{2}$
Kibusae	-	o	$pP (=sc_a), sc_b$	oB	-	-	Arase-pP (=sc _a)	A	el. X $\frac{1}{2}$
Sabewayo	1	m	---	-	D	D	---	-	-

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Ego	Prestige Status	Marital Status	Alternative Choices (Superordinate Relatives)	Other Relatives	Former Place	Step 1	Step 2 (Relative Chosen)	Step 3	Step 4
Hobeba	-	o	P(=F)	WF	-	-	Sabewayo-P(=F)	D	-
Kasiare	-	m	P(=so _a), sc _b	-	D	-	Kuigarabo-P	A	el.--> D
Sabekemo	2	m	so	-	-	-	Orokara-so	C	-
Barutage village (1964)									
Yaware	1	m	---		(C) ⁿ	(C)	---	-	-
Suiya	-	m	P(=fF)=LD, c(=fB)	-	-	-	Yaware-P=LD	C	-
Mabera	-	m	P(=fF)=LD, sc(=FB)	-	-	-	Yaware-P=LD	C	-
Nafa	-	m	P(=sc), c	-	-	-	Yaware-P	C	-
Gakaro	-	m	P(=fF)*	-	(C)	(C)	---	-	-
Dena	-	m	P	oB, fF	-	-	Gakaro-P	C	-
Baruga	-	m	c=LD(=ofB), P(=fF)	oB	?	-	Gakaro-c=LD	C	-
Senagefu	-	m	---		(D)	(D)	---	-	-
Wa?abu	1	m	---		(A)	(A)	---	-	-
Hobe	-	m	P(=fF)=LD	ofB	-	-	Wa?abu-P=LD	A	-
Ki	-	m	P, c	-	?	-	Wa?abu-P	A	-
Igibu	-	m	c(=fB)=co-P	-	-	-	Wa?abu-c=co-P	A	-
Wabiga	1	m	---		(A)	(A)	---	-	-
Dabamena	-	m	P(=oB)=sc, o	-	-	-	Wabiga-P=so	A	-
Hesasi	-	m	P=LD	WB	-	-	Wabiga-P=LD	A	-
Hare	1	m	---		(B)	(B)	---	-	-

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Ego	Prestige Status	Marital Status	Alternative Choices (Superordinate Relatives)	Other Relatives	Former Place	Step 1	Step 2 (Relative Chosen)	Step 3	Step 4
Koae	-	m	P=LD, c _a , c _b	ofB	-	-	Hare-P=LD	B	-
Gebebe	-	m	---	-	-	-	---	-	-
Semai	-	m	P(=fF)=Lu ^P	FBs	-	-	Wa?abeyu-P(=fF)	B	-
Onoboga	-	m	P=LD	ofB	?	-	Meya-P=LD	D	-
Taodehabo	2?	m	c(=ofB), so	-	?	-	Barinaba-c	D	-
Abase	-	m	P	fFBs	-	-	Taodehabo-P	D	-
Barinaba	1	m	---	c=LDs ^q , WB _a , WB _b	(D)	(D)	---	-	-
Kuburu	-	m	P(=fF)=LD	-	-	-	Barinaba-P=LD	D	-
Meya	2?	m	c=Lu(=ofB) ^q	WB	?	-	Barinaba-c=Lu	D	-
Oromena	-	m	LD(=SH)	WB	-	-	Meya-LD	D	-
Garubo?o	-	m	c _a , c _b	-	?	-	Hare-c _a & Wa?abeyu-c _b	B	-
Kuba	-	m	P(=fF), so	-	?	-	Garubo?o-P	B	-
Wa?abeyu	2	m	c _a (=fB)=LD, WB=LD	c _b , ol _a =LD, ol _b =LD	?	-	Hare-c _a =LD	B	-
Siyu	-	m	P=Lu ^P	oB	-	-	Wa?abeyu-P	B	-
Tybi	-	o	pP(=F)	-	-	-	Gakaro-pP	C	-
Yamanibu	-	o	pP, so	-	-	-	Wabiga-pP	A	-
Sage	-	o	P(=fF)=so, c _a	o _b (=fB)	-	-	Hare-pP	B	-
Ogo	-	o	pP(=F), sc	-	-	-	Senagefu-pP	D	-

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Ego	Prestige Status	Marital Status	Alternative Choices (Superordinate Relatives)	Other Relatives	Former Place	Step 1	Step 2 (Relative Chosen)	Step 3	Step 4
Wareya	-	p	pP	fF*	-	-	Wabiga-pP	A	-
Kofoya	-	o	pP(=fF)=sc _a , sc _b	-	-	-	Wa?abu-pP	A	-
Furarabo	-	o	pP(=B)	-	-	-	Abase-pP	D	-
Tawe	-	o	---- ^r	-	-	-	----	-	-
Tugiri village (1962) ^s									
Goyane	2	m	so	-	?	-	Kone fabo-so	A	-
Da?ara	-	m	P(=fF)=so _a , so _b	-	-	-	Goyane-P=sc _a	A	-
Wareya	2	m	----	-	(B)	(B)	----	-	-
Kone fabo	1	m	----	-	(A)	(A)	----	-	-
Gisari	2	m	sc, WB=LD	-	?	-	Kone fabo-WB=LD	A	-
Hayabi	-	m	P(=FB)=so _a , LD, sc _b	-	-	-	Waibi-LD	B	-
Era?a	-	m	P(=fF), so	-	-	-	Waibi-P	B	-
Aiyi	-	m	P(=fF)=LD, sc _a , sc _b , c(=fB)	FB	-	-	Waibi-P=LD	B	-
Waibi	1	m	----	-	(B)	(B)	----	-	-
Mabo	-	m	c	-	?	-	Gisari-o	A	-
Anasebo	-	m	P(=B)=sc _a , sc _b	-	-	-	Kone fabo-P=so _u	A	-
Kagerabo	-	o	pP(=fF)=sc _a , sc _b	-	-	-	Goyane-pP=sc _a	A	-
Dosobo	-	o	pP(=fF)	-	-	-	Kone fabo-pP	A	-
Yafagi	-	o	pP(=fF)	-	-	-	Anasebo-pP	A	-

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Ego	Prestige Status	Marital Status	Alternative Choices (Superordinate Relatives)	Other Relatives	Former Place	Step 1	Step 2 (Relative Chosen)	Step 3	Step 4
Gagibu	-	o	pP(=fF)=sc _a ,so _b	ofB	-	-	Waibi-pP=so _a	B	-
Nedi	-	o	pP(=fF)	-	-	-	Waibi-pP	B	-
Ima?u	-	o	so	B,ofB	-	-	Waibi-so	B	-

^a Prestige status is indicated by the following symbols.

- 1 big man of the first rank
- 2 big man of the second rank
- not a big man

The rankings were determined mostly from informants' evaluations of the men, but data concerning the men's activities were also considered.

^b Marital status is indicated by the symbols "m" for a man married when the men's house was built and "o" for a man unmarried at the time.

^c The following symbols are used to indicate relatives, other than the usual ones.

- LD land donor for primary land use
- c co-client
- sc subclanmate
- pP prospective patron
- Lu land user (primary land use)

Subscripts are used to differentiate relatives where more than one of a kind exists for an ego. For patrons, subscript 1 indicates an earlier patron than subscript 2. An asterisk (*) following the symbol for a relative indicates a rift in the relationship and signifies that the relative has been eliminated from consideration.

Note that in the case of land donors, only the actual man who offered land use is symbolized by LD. The son of such a man would be symbolized LD's s.

^d In this column are listed certain relatives which are not available choices in step 2, such as foster-relatives and affines. They have been listed to show that they were considered in formulating the model, but turned out not to be significant.

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Notes continued

^l (continued) Masahimo, but by 1968 he used the land of Asuhua in primary degree and that of Masahimo in secondary degree. I am unsure of his land use in 1964. When questioned, Aramene said that he moved to quadrant C to build with his wife's father (Sabewayo), leaving his patron, Masahimo. He said nothing about Asuhua. It is possible that he was attempting to use the land of his wife's father in 1964 as his primary land use. In that event, quadrant C would be the appropriate prediction for men's house residence. (Nemo's choice would be predicted to follow that of Aramene in any case.)

^m The reasoning which supports the elimination of quadrant C is given in note 1, above. If quadrant C is eliminated, the model predicts B.

ⁿ Since the places which Barutage men built in the former men's house are not known, Step 1 cannot be carried out. It is assumed that the five big men of the first rank and the three other men with no superordinate relative built in the same quadrant as their former place, since all are older men. Their places cannot be said to be predicted, however. Only by assumption are their residence choices held to follow step 1. (Therefore the prediction is placed in parentheses.)

^o Senagefu used the land of his mother's father's brother, Garubo?o, at the time. Garubo?o has not been considered as a superordinate relative, however. The original land donor was the mother's father of Senagefu and the original land user his father. Even though Senagefu continues to use the land in primary degree, his main land use is of the land of his wife's dead father.

^p Wa?abeyu, Siyu and Semai have an ambiguous relationship in terms of the residence model. Originally Wa?abeyu used the land of his wife's brother (Semai's father). When the wife's brother died, Wa?abeyu fostered Semai and later acted as patron for his marriage. Still later, he acted as patron for Siyu's marriage and began to use Siyu's land as well. (Siyu is of the same clan as Semai, but of a different lineage.) Wa?abeyu is considered a superordinate relative for both Semai and Siyu. (The case is similar to that of Enemano and Enah? of Herebo village. However, Wa?abeyu is more appropriately considered a superordinate relative since he is a big man, while Enemano is not.)

^q Barinaba and his co-client, Meya, also have an ambiguous relationship in terms of the residence model. Barinaba was offered primary land use by Meya's father, who acted as patron for both Meya and Barinaba. Barinaba is the more important of the two co-clients and is thus considered the superordinate relative, even though Meya owns the land used by Barinaba.

^r The prospective patron for Tawe's first marriage had just died.

^s Since Tugiri is a small men's house, residence is organized by end, rather than by quadrant.

Table 34 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Men's House Residence

Notes continued

^e In this column and in the columns headed Step 1, Step 3 and Step 4, men's house places are given by quadrant or end of the men's house as A, B, C or D.

^f Occasionally two relatives are listed as equally likely choices.

^g The symbol 'el.' indicates that the man is eliminated from the quadrant chosen (by Step 3) because of lack of space. An arrow to a letter following the symbol indicates the quadrant to which the man is re-assigned (if any) on the basis of his former place in the men's house. (The phrase "el. C", on the other hand, is used where either of two quadrants is predicted and quadrant C is eliminated for lack of space.)

^h Enemano and Enahq have an ambiguous relationship in terms of the predictive model. Enemano was fostered by Enahq's father and offered primary land use by the father. He still uses Enahq's land. More recently he acted as patron for Enahq's second marriage. It would be inappropriate to consider Enahq the superordinate relative, particularly as the model specifies only the man who offered primary land use, not his heir. Enemano has been considered the superordinate, but this is not completely appropriate either.

ⁱ It seems best to describe the elimination process in detail. Since there are thirty-six Herebo men who built the men's house, each quadrant will have nine places for men to build. To quadrant A are assigned seventeen men by steps 1, 2 and 3, plus, perhaps, Aebo. Eight of these, plus Aebo, must be eliminated: first, those already married but without a former place in the quadrant--Orobora, Yimakaba, Sohaj, Iradugi, Orobi, Kasiare, and Aebo; then, two must be eliminated from the set of four unmarried men--Agimabo, Waibi, Yawara?o and Kibusae. To quadrant C are assigned seven men (by steps 1, 2 and 3); to quadrant B, three men; and to quadrant C, five men. Of those eliminated from quadrant A, one, Sohaj, can be assigned to his former place, quadrant B, and another, Kasiare, to his former place, quadrant D. There is some ambiguity about two pairs of men, Orobi-Aebo and Aramene-Nemo. Orobi (and Aebo) are reassigned to quadrant C, since Orobi formerly built in C. They are assigned there in preference over Aramene (and Nemo) for two reasons. Aramene's choice is uncertain. Moreover, Orobi has more claim to build in C, presumably, since he built there formerly. Thus, Aramene (and Nemo) are assigned to Aramene's other possible choice, quadrant B. The other five men eliminated, and Buanobo, who is unassigned by the model, are assigned at random to either quadrant B or D, which still have room.

^j For all four men, there is one-half probability of elimination. (See note 1, above.)

^k See note k, Table 29, for explanation of the term 'co-patron,' symbolized here as 'co-P.'

^l It is not certain which relative Aramene should be predicted to build with. He started out using in primary degree the land of his patron,

Table 35

Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part A. Original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	No. φ 's ^a	Alternative Choices ^b (Relatives)	Step 1: First Choice	Step 2: Pair(No. φ 's)	Step 3: Next Choice	Step 4: Group(No. φ 's)
Herebo village (1964)						
Buanobo	1	WB* (B)	---	---	---	---
Arase	3	$cl_1, cl_2^*, P(=B), c_a, c_b, c_c, c_d, WB$	Faragu- cl_1	} Faragu-Arase(4)	} ---	} ---
Faragu	1	$cl(=B)^*, P, c, WB$	Arase-P			
Enemano	2	$ol_1=LDs(=fB), ol_2(=s)$	Orobora- cl_2	} Enemano-Orobora(3)	} Enah φ - $cl_1=LDs$	} Enemano-Orobora-Enah φ (5)
Orobora	1	$P(=F), c, WB$	Enemano-P			
Kuigarabo	2	$cl_1(=B), cl_2(=s), cl_3(=s), cl_4=Lu$	Sohai- $cl_4=Lu$	} Kuigarabo-Sohai(3) ⁱ	} Yimakaba- cl_2	} Kuigarabo-Sohai-Yimakaba(4)
Sohai	1	$P_1^*, P_2=LD, c_a^*, c_b, c_c, c_d, c_e$	Kuigarabo- $P_2=LD$			
Yimakaba	1	$P(=F), c_a(=B), c_b, c_c, c_d$	Kuigarabo-P	---	(Kuigarabo-P) ^c	
Enah φ	2	$P=Lu(=fB), c, dH$	Enemano-P=Lu	---	(Enemano-P=Lu)	(See Enemano)
Iradugi	2	$cl(=fB=FBs), P(=F), o_a, c_b(=B), c_c, c_d$	Yawara φ - cl	} Iradugi-Yawara φ (3)	} Kuigarabo-P	} --- (see p. 389)
Yawara φ	1	$P(=fB=FBs) (fF, FB, FBs)$	Iradugi-P			
Orobi	1	$cl, c_a(=fB), c_b(=fB)$	Aebo- cl	} Orobi-Aebo(2)	} Gibui-c ^a or Kahagemā-c ^b	} ---
Aebo	1	P_a^*, P_b	Orobi-P _b			

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part A. continued Original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	No. ♀'s	Alternative Choices (Relatives)	Step 1: First Choice	Step 2: Pair(No. ♀'s)	Step 3: Next Choice	Step 4: Group(No. ♀'s)
Masahimo	2	$cl_1 (=fs), cl_2 (=fs) = Lu, WF$	Tauwadobo- $cl_2 = Lu$	Masahimo-Tauwadobo(3)	Aramene- cl_1	---
Tauwadobo	1	$P(=fF)=LD, c(=fB), SH_a, SH_b, (FB, FBs)$	Masahimo-P=LD			
Gibui	2	$c_a (=B), c_b (=fB), SH$	Kahagema- c_a^o	---	(Kahagema- c_a)	(see p. 389)
Kahagema	2	$cl, c_a (=B), c_b (=fB), SH, WB$	Tu?u-cl	---	(Tu?u-cl)	Kahagema-Tu?u(3)
Tu?u	1	$P, WfF=LD, SH^*$	Orokara-WfF=LD	---	Kahagema-P	
Sabwayo	2	$cl_1^*, cl_2 (=fs), ol_2 (=s), dH_a, dH_b, dH_c, fdH = Lu$	Hobeba- cl_2	Sabwayo-Hobeba(3)	Kemo-fdH=Lu ^f	Sabwayo-Hobeba-Kemo(4)
Hobeba	1	$P(=F), o_a (=fB), c_b^*$	Sabwayo-P			
Kemo	1	$WfF=LD$	Sabwayo-WfF=LD	---	(Sabwayo-LD)	
Wanabo	1	$P(=fF), o_a (=fB), c_b^*$	Sabwayo-P	---	---	---
Aramene	2	$cl, P(=fF)=LD(?), LD, c(=fB), WF$	Nemo-cl	Aramene-Nemo(3)	Asuhua-LD	Aramene-Nemo-Asuhua(5)
Nemo	1	P_1^*, P_2, c	Aramene- P_2			
Asuhua	2	<u>Lu</u>	Aramene- <u>Lu</u>	---	(Aramene- <u>Lu</u>)	
Orokara	3	$cl(=fs)=Lu, fdH=Lu$	Yefetage- $cl=Lu$	Orokara-Yefetage(4)	---	---
Yefetage	1	$P(=fF)=LD, WB$	Orokara-P=LD			

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part A. continued Original Building of Women's Houses

Continuation of pp. 387-8 (Additional Steps)

Ego (± Chosen Dependent)	Step 5: Next Choice	Step 6: Group(No. ♀'s)
Iradugi(-Yawara?o)	Arase-c _a	---
Gibui	(Kahagema-c _a)	} Kahagema-Tu?u- Gibui(5)
Kahagema(-Tu?u)	Gibui-c _a ^e	

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part A. continued Original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	No. ♀'s	Alternative Choices (Relatives)	Step 1 First Choice	Step 2: Pair(No. ♀'s)	Step 3: Next Choice	Step 4: Group(No. ♀'s)
Barutage village (1964)						
Yaware	2	$cl_1, cl_2 (=fs) = Lu$	Suiya- $cl_2 = Lu$	} Yaware-Suiya(3)	Nafa- cl_1 (Yaware-P)	} Yaware-Suiya.. Nafa(4)
Suiya	1	$P(=fF) = LD, c$	Yaware-P=LD			
Nafa	1	$P, o, SH (fB)$	Yaware-P			
Gakaro	1	$cl, P(=fF)*,$ $c_a (=fB) = Lu, c_b$	Dena- cl	} Gakaro-Dena(2)	Baruga- $c_a = Lu$ (Gakaro- $c_a = LD$)	} Gakaro-Dena.. Baruga(4)
Dena	1	$P(=FBs), wfB, SH$ (B, fF=SH)	Gakaro-P			
Baruga	2	$P(=fF), o_a (=fB) = LD, c_b$ (B)	Gakaro- $c_a = LD$			
Senagefu	1	(B, FLD's B)	---	---	---	---
Wa?abu	2	$cl_1, cl_2 (=fs) = Lu, c$	Hobe- $cl_2 = Lu$	} Wa?abu-Hobe(3)	Igibi- c^g (Wa?abu-c)	} Wa?abu-Hobe.. Igibu(4)
Hobe	1	$P(=fF) = LD, c$	Wa?abu-P=LD			
Igibu	1	$c(=co-P)^g$	Wa?abu-c			
Ki	1	$P, c (fB)$	Wa?abu-P	---	---	---
Wabiga	2	$cl_1 = Lu, cl_2 (=B), WB$	Dabamena- cl_2	} Wabiga-Dabamena(3)	Hesasi- $cl_1 = Lu$ (Wabiga-P=LD)	} Wabiga-Dabamena.. Hesasi(4)
Dabamena	1	$P(=B), c, wFB_a, wFB_b$	Wabiga-P			
Hesasi	1	$P = LD, wFB = LD(?)$	Wabiga-P=LD			
Hare	3	$cl_1*(=fs), cl_2(=fs),$ $cl_3 = Lu, c_a*, c_b(=fB)$	Koae- $cl_3 = Lu$	} Hare-Koae(4)	---	---
Koae	1	$P = LD, c_a*, c_b (FBs)$	Hare-P=LD			

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part A. continued Original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	No. ♀'s	Alternative Choices (Relatives)	Step 1: First Choice	Step 2: Pair (No. ♀'s)	Step 3: Next Choice	Step 4: Group (No. ♀'s)
Gebebe	1	WfB (fB, B)	Meya-WfB	---	---	---
Semai	1	P(=fF)=SH, c (B)	Wa?abeyu-P=SH	---	---	---
Meya	2	$cl_1 = Lu, WB_a = Lu, fSH, c_a (=fB), c_b (=fB), WB_b$	Oromena- $WB_a = Lu$	Meya-Oromena (3)	Onoboga- $cl_1 = Lu$ (Meya-P=LD)	Meya-Oromena-Onoboga (5)
Oromena	1	LD=SH (FBs)	Meya-LD=SH			
Onoboga	2	P=LD, SH (fB)	Meya-P=LD	---		
Barinaba	3	$cl (=fs) = Lu, c_a (=fB), c_b (=fB), WB_a, WB_b$	Kuburu- $cl = Lu$	Barinaba-Kuburu (4)	---	---
Kuburu	1	P(=fF)=LD	Barinaba-P=LD			
Garubo?o (or 1?)	2	$cl (=fs), c_a, c_b$	Kuba-cl	Garubo?o-Kuba (4?)	---	---
Kuba (or 1?)	2	P(=fF), WfF	Garubo?o-P			
Wa?abeyu	3	$cl_1 = WB = LD, cl_2 = LD, c_a (=fB), c_b, fs = LD = WB$	Siyu- $cl_2 = LD$	Wa?abeyu-Siyu (4)	---	---
Siyu	1	P=Lu, c (B)	Wa?abeyu-P=Lu			
Taodehabo	1	$cl, c (=fB), c_b, BdH (=Lu?)$	Abase-cl	Taodehabo-Abase (2)	Meya- c_a or Barinaba- c_b	h
Abase	1	P, WB	Taodehabo-P			

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part A. continued Original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	No. ♀'s	Alternative Choices (Relatives)	Step 1: First Choice	Step 2: Pair(No. ♀'s)	Step 3: Next Choice	Step 4: Group(No. ♀'s)
Tugiri village (1962)						
Goyane	1	<u>cl</u> (=fs)	Da?ara- <u>cl</u>	} Goyane- Da?ara(2)	---	---
Da?ara	1	P(=fF)	Goyane-P		---	---
Wareya	2	---	---	---	---	---
Kone fabo	3	<u>cl</u> (=B),SH	Anasebo- <u>cl</u>	} Kone fabo- Anasebo(4)	---	---
Anasebo	1	P(=B)	Kone fabo-P		---	---
Gisari	3	<u>cl</u> (=Bs),o,WB-LD	Hayabi- <u>cl</u>	---	(Hayabi- <u>cl</u>)	} Hayabi- Gisari(4)
Hayabi	1	P(=FB),LD	Waibi-LD	---	Gisari-P	
Era?a	1	P(=fF),c(=fB)	Waibi-P	---	Aiyi-c	} Aiyi- Era?a(2)
Aiyi	1	P(=fF)=LD,c(=fB)	Waibi-P=LD	---	Era?a-c	
Waibi	4	<u>cl</u> ₁ (=fs), <u>cl</u> ₂ (=fs)= <u>Lu</u> , <u>Lu</u>	---	---	---	---
Mabo	1	c	Gisari-c	---	---	---

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part B. Post-original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	Date	Status	No. q's	Alternative Choices	Step 1': Relative Chosen	Step 2': Group Predicted (& No. q's)	Step 3': Fission of Group
Herebo village--post-1964							
Kasiare	1965 (early)	returned prisoner	2	P, c _a , c _b , c _c , c _d , dH	Kuigarabo-P	--- ¹ (see p. 395)	---
Sabekemo	1965 (early)	returned emigrant	2	---	---	---	---
Hagamu	1965 (early)	returned emigrant	1	cl	Kemo-cl	--- ¹	---
Iraa	1965 (late)	returned emigrant	1	(cl ^j), WB	Kasiare-WB	--- ¹	---
Didobo	1965 (late)	ongoing resident	2	(cl ^j), WB	Hagamu-WB	Hagamu-Didobo(3)	---
Besebo	1966	just married	1	P(=fF), c(=fB)	Orokara-P	Orokara-Yefetage-Iraa(5)-Besebo(1)	split: Orokara-Besebo(5)/ (Iraa died)/ Yefetage(1)
Yefetage	1966	left P's group	1	WB ^k	Kahagama-WB	Kahagama(1)-Yefetage(1)	---
Hasuwabo	1967	immigrant	1	WF=LD	Kasiare-WF=LD	Kasiare-Wanabo-Sabekemo(4)-Gooba(1)-Hasuwabo(1)	split: Kasiare- ¹ Hasuwabo(-Wanabo)(3)/ Sabekemo-Gooba(3)
Gooba	1967	just md. ^m	1	P(=fF) (FBs)	Sabekemo-P		
Fayebi	1967	just married	1	P=LD	Irادugi-P=LD	Irادugi-Enahq(2)-Fayebi(1)	---
Wa?ari	1967	just md.	1	P(=B) (fF=LD)	Yefetage-P	Yefetage-Wa?ari(2)	---

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part B. continued Post-original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	Date	Status	No. ♀'s	Alternative Choices	Step 1': Relative Chosen	Step 2': Group Predicted (& No. ♀'s)	Step 3': Fission of Group
Barutage village---post-1964							
Mabera	1965	returned immigrant	2	$P_1(=fF)=LD, c_a, c_b(=fB), P_2^*$	Yaware- P_1 -LD	Yaware-Nafa-Suiya(2)-Mabera(1)	---
Tybi	1966	just married	1	$P(=F), c$	Gakaro-P	Gakaro-Dena-Baruga(4)-Tybi(1)	---
Fahaesobo	1967	just married	1	$P(=F), c_a(=fB), c_b(=fB), c_c$	Yaware-P	Yaware-Nafa-Suiya-Mabera(5)-Fahaesobo(1)	split: Yaware-Fahaesobo(-Suiya)(3)/Mabera(-Nafa)(3)
Yamanibu	1967	just married	1	$P(fB, fF)$	Baruga-P	Baruga-Gakaro-Dena-Tybi(5)-Yamanibu(1)	split: Baruga-Yamanibu(3)/ probably Gakaro-Tybi-Dena(3)
Sesa?ahai	1966	immigrant	2	LD	Hare-LD	} Hare-Koae-Gebebe(5)-Sesa?ahai(2)-Sage(1)	split: Hare-Sage(-Gebebe)(5)/ Koae-Sesa?ahai(3)
Sage	1966	just md.	1	$P(=fF), c_a, c_b, WF$	Hare-P		
Tawe	1967	just md.	1	$P=LD, c$	Taodehabo-P=LD	} Senagefu-Ogo-Taodehabo-Abase-Tawe(6)	split: Senagefu-Ogo(3)/ probably Taodehabo-Tawe-Abase(3)
Ogo	1967	just md.	1	$P(=F)$	Senagefu-P		
Wareya	1967	just md.	2	$P(B)$	Wabiga-P	Wabiga-Dabamena-Hesasi(4)-Wareya(2)-Soro?o(1)	split: Wabiga-Wareya(-Dabamena)(5)/ Hesasi-Soro?o(2)
Soro?o	1967	just md.	1	$P(fF)$	Hesasi-P		
Yawa	1967	returned emigrant	1	(B)	---	---	---

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

Part B. continued Post-original Building of Women's Houses

Ego	Date	Status	No. Alternative ♀'s	Alternative Choices	Step 1': Relative Chosen	Step 2': Group Predicted (& No. ♀'s)	Step 3': Fission of Group
Tugiri village--post-1962							
Kagerabo	1964	just married	1	$P(=fF)=LD, c_a(=fB), c_b,$ WfF	Goyane-P=LD	Goyane-Da?ara(4) Kagerabo(1)	---
Dosobo	1964	just married	1	$P(=fF)=LD, o$	Kone fabo-P=LD	Kone fabo(5)- Dosobo(1)	split: Kone fabo(5)/ Dosobo(1)
Ya?asa	1964	just married	1	$P(=F), c_a(=fB),$ $c_b(=fB)$	Waibi-P	Waibi-Ya?asa(5)	---
Gagibu	1966	just married	2	$P(=fF)=LD,$ $c_a(=fB), c_b,$ $c_c(=fB)$	Waibi-P=LD	Waibi-Ya?asa(5)- Gagibu(1)	split: Waibi- Gagibu(5)/ Ya?asa(1)

Continuation of p. 393 (Additional Steps)

Ego	Step 1' Repeated	Step 2' Repeated	Step 1' Repeated	Step 2' Repeated	Step 3'
Kasiare	Arase- c_a or Iradugi- c_b	---	Wanabo-dH	Kasiare-Wanabo- Tu?u(4)	---

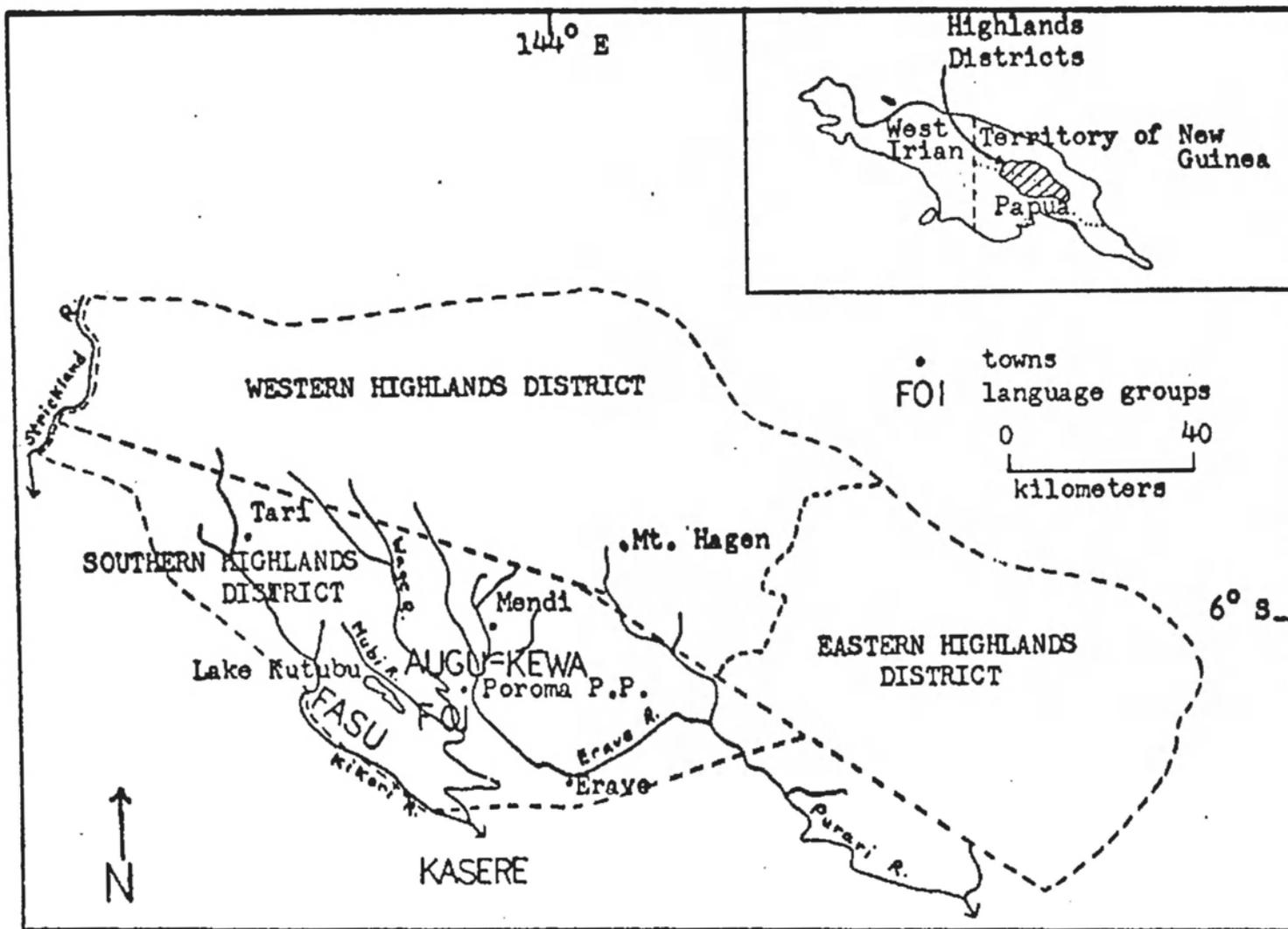
^a In this column are shown the number of mature females dependent upon ego. The number of dependent females for a pair or group of men are likewise shown (in parentheses) in the columns for Step 2 and Step 4.

^b The same symbols are used to indicate relatives here as in Table 34. Recently affiliated clients are indicated by underlining. Relatives not available as choices are given in parentheses. An (contd.)

Table 35 continued Prediction of Specific Choices of Women's House Residence

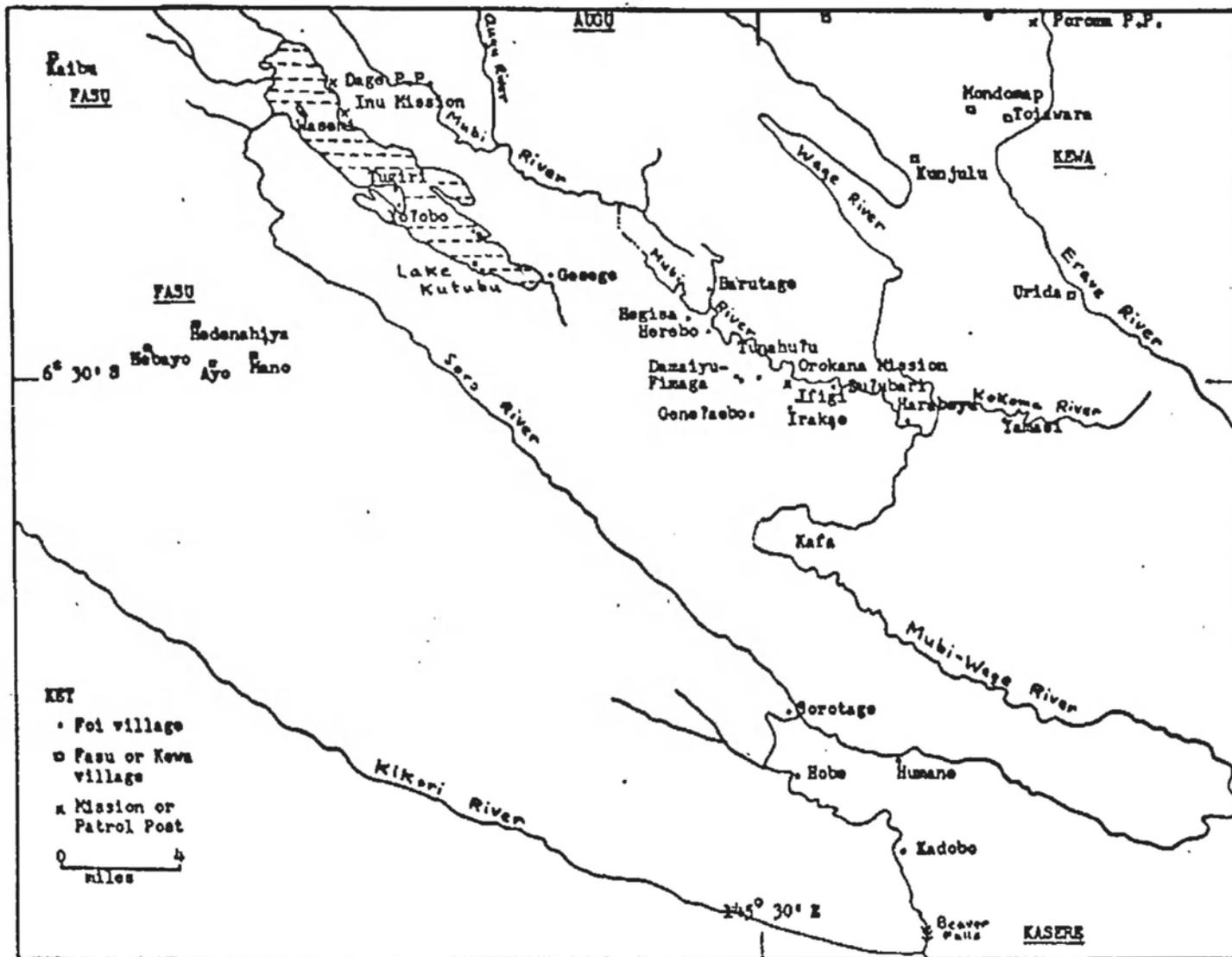
Notes continued

- ^b (continued) asterisk (*) following the symbols for a relative indicates a rift in the relationship and signifies that the relative has been eliminated from consideration as a possible choice.
- ^c It often happens that a first choice of relatives is made for ego in Step 1, but that relative does not choose ego until Step 3. In such cases ego's first choice is carried over to Step 3 and placed in parentheses. No second choice is made for ego at this point.
- ^d It seems likely that Kuigarabo would choose either Yimakaba or Sohaj, with equal probability.
- ^e Gibui, Kahagema and Orobi are all co-clients. Gibui and Kahagema are also brothers and use the same land, while Orobi uses a different land holding. I have, therefore, predicted that Gibui and Kahagema would choose each other in preference to Orobi.
- ^f Kemo is predicted to be chosen in preference to Wanabo, since Wanabo does not (and did not) use Sabewayo's land, while Kemo did.
- ^g Igibu's patron was dead. Wa'abu, his co-client, gave a minor part of the brideprice for Igibu after the patron died. Wa'abu can be seen as co-patron to Igibu, Igibu as client to Wa'abu.
- ^h The only other choice for Taodehabo is Hesasi (EdH=Lu(?)). This choice would not be allowed by the model, since Hesasi is already predicted to join a unit with four dependent females and another superordinate relative.
- ⁱ The group of the relative chosen by ego already has four or more dependent females, and so would not be predicted to build with ego.
- ^j The client is eliminated as a possible choice because he lived with another superordinate relative already.
- ^k Yefetage left his patron's group because it split when Besebo joined. (See the entries for Besebo as ego, p. 393.)
- ^l Parentheses indicate probable, but uncertain, affiliations when a group splits.



MAPS
APPENDIX C

Map. 1. The Highlands of Australian New Guinea
(adapted from Map Ic. James Watson (ed.), New Guinea: the Central Highlands)



Map 2. The Fof Area (adapted from "Nipa Subdistrict", drawn by N. Wright, M.D.O. and from "Fof" and Fasu Census Divisions", cartographer unknown)

Notes

Introduction

¹ Williams (1940/41) provides a general description of Northern Foi culture, based upon six months of research at Lake Kutubu shortly after the area was first penetrated by the Australian Administration. His study describes the broad patterns of Foi society well enough, but there is no detailed analysis of economics, land use, residence or politics. Generally, Williams' monograph is complementary to this study, since he concentrates on material culture, religion and folklore, topics to which I give little attention.

² Some commentators on Goodenough's approach, and that of the cognitive anthropologists in general, have imagined that an "emic" description of a culture would be phrased entirely in terms of the verbal categories of informants and the rules for behavior verbalized by informants. From the beginning Goodenough (1951:11) has made it clear that this is not what he intends:

In the case of kin-groups, for example, we have sought so to define the Trukese lineage that everything to which the Trukese react as such is accounted for by our definition while everything else is excluded. As products of analysis, our definitions frequently fail to coincide with those given by informants, which were usually in the nature of rules of thumb.

Clearly, Goodenough takes native verbalizations as a starting point for his description, but no more.

³ Barth's and Davenport's analyses are both inappropriate applications of game theory. Davenport (1960) makes the error of considering nature as a rational opponent trying to defeat men. He uses the theory of the two-person game in a situation where he should use a form of decision theory appropriate to making decisions against an unrational opponent (nature). Barth (1966) applies the solution for a five-person game to a situation where many more persons are competing, without showing that the solution generalizes to an n-person game.

⁴ In general, one cannot solve a game, i.e. determine the choices which rational actors should make, unless the possible outcomes can be specified on an interval scale of value. In many applications of game theory, the outcomes are evaluated according to their money value. Where a

⁴ (contd.) general-purpose money does not exist (or where it is inappropriate to evaluate outcomes in terms of money), it would usually be difficult to evaluate the outcomes and impossible to solve the game.

Part I. A Sketch of Foi Culture

¹ This series of narrow valleys and high ridges proved sufficiently difficult to cross that early Australian explorers in the Southern Highlands District termed it the "limestone barrier" (Hides 1936:35,150).

² Williams' monograph on the Foi refers to them as "the natives of Lake Kutubu" (Williams 1940/41).

³ The terms Augu and Fasu used here, and the term Huli used later, are in fairly general use for the language groups in question. They are, for example, used by Wurm (1964). The term Kewa has recently been extended to the people living north of the Foi and south of Poroma Patrol Post by Franklin (1971:3). Wurm (1964) terms them the Pole. Identification of the people living to the southeast of the Foi on the Kikori River is difficult since there are few references to them. Apparently, they are the people called Dikimu by Chance and said to trade with the Foi (Papua, Annual Report 1925-26:35, and map following p. 125). More recently, Franklin has used the term Kasere for what seems to be the same group that Chance called Dikimu.

⁴ Smith, in the reference cited, seems to have had no idea where he was, but his route was retraced by the rescue expedition and the route of the latter is well described (Annual Report 1910/1911:182-4).

⁵ Since 1970, the Unevangelized Fields Mission has changed its name to the Asia Pacific Christian Mission.

⁶ Population density was determined in a rough way by estimating the total land area claimed by the 2600 Foi speakers.

⁷ Herebo village uses approximately eight hundred sago palms annually. According to Massal and Barrau (1956:4) an acre of 'normal' sago swamp supplies twenty-five trees per year worth felling. Given these figures, forty-five acres of sago swamp should supply Herebo village with sago. Herebo must have about 1200 acres of sago swamp, far more than necessary, even if sago is less productive than usual at the altitude of the Northern Foi area.

⁸ All of this data on gardens comes from Herebo village. There may be fewer gardens made at Lake Kutubu since fish are so plentiful there as a source of food. Otherwise, the statements made should hold for all Foi.

⁹ The Foi pattern of raising pigs--allowing them to forage, castrating the males, and importing shoats from other groups--is virtually duplicated by the Maring people on the northern fringe of the Highlands (Rapaport 1968:70-71, 105).

¹⁰ Men who are very old or crippled are an exception. Such men give up their places in the men's house and stay either in a bush-house or in the men's portion of a village women's house. Ostensibly they do this because the smaller houses are snugger and warmer.

11 There are good reasons for considering the subclans as land-holding units when their close lands are completely differentiated. First, distant lands are far less important to subsistence than are close lands, so that the joint or differentiated nature of ownership of distant lands is less significant. Second, where the close lands of two subclans are completely differentiated, they have virtually lost all reversionary rights to each others' lands. More details are given in Part II.

12 The construction has shifting referents. It may refer strictly to the lineage or it may refer to a wider group, the lineage plus immigrants who use lineage land, clients and foster-sons of lineage members. Context determines which referent is intended. In a discussion of land ownership, reference would be to the lineage, since only agnates have rights to land. In other contexts, the wider group is usually intended.

13 The sample of 116 men used for tabulation in Part A of the table includes all the resident adult males of Tugiri, Barutage and Herebo villages, as of May, 1968, plus men who had recently died as residents of the three villages. This sample of 116 corresponds to a sample of 122 men used throughout the study. Some of these 122 are eliminated from Table II, Part A, because they are natal members of one of the three villages but resident in a fourth village. Their inclusion would bias the sample in favor of migrants. The eliminated individuals are, however, included in Parts B and C of the table.

14 For purposes of comparison, it may be useful to note that only nine men of the 116 male residents of Herebo, Barutage and Tugiri (i.e. eight per cent) were non-natal members from outside the region where they were resident at the time of fieldwork. This compares to twenty-seven of the 116 (i.e. twenty-three per cent) who were non-natal members from other villages of any region.

15 There is some controversy about how "agnate" should be defined in the New Guinea context. Meggitt (1965) apparently follows Mae Enga practice in eliminating the grandsons of immigrants from the category of non-agnate clan members. McArthur (1967:282) has complained--correctly I believe--that this does not fit with usual anthropological definitions. Non-agnatic clan members should include all effective members known to be other than patrilineal descendants of a common ancestor of the group. In the Foi case, the problem lies not so much in defining non-agnate, as in defining effective clan member.

16 One house in the sample had only one fireplace for women, while four houses had four fireplaces for women. The larger houses do not necessarily house more women. Two of the larger houses had four or fewer women.

17 A full list of Foi kin terms and their referents is given in Appendix B.

18 Later, I shall term both real fathers and foster-fathers patrons when they have given brideprice for their sons or foster-sons, respectively. They are patrons, but they are also more than that.

19 The most common of disapproved marriages is one by a man to his wife's daughter by another man, living in his household. The man finds

19 (contd.) it easy to seduce his ward and to convince her to marry him. Besides, he has considerable control over her disposal in marriage since he has raised her for several years and her actual father is dead.

20 My use of activity set is very similar to Mayer's use of action set (see Mayer 1966:108-110). The action sets he describes are all tied to a particular event, e.g. he describes the set of individuals who are recruited to vote for a political candidate. Most of the activity sets that I deal with here are also event-focused and could appropriately be termed action sets. However, the set of individuals who use the land of a lineage is not an event-focused assemblage and would probably correspond better to Mayer's concept of the quasi-group (Mayer 1966:115). There is no reasonable way of isolating out particular events from the process of land use by the assemblage. Rather than stretch Mayer's term action set to cover the case of land use, I have preferred to use a related term.

21 All of these are either objects which are traded to the Augu-Kewa for pearlshells, or they are of red color, which is symbolically associated with pearlshells in myth and magic.

22 Among the accounts of warfare that I collected were several, referring to the dim past, in which villages were decimated or forced to move to a new location. These accounts were told me as part of clan origin myths. I have no reason to doubt their veracity, and they indicate that such events as decimation and forced movement of villages did occur in warfare. However, I doubt that these accounts represent very common occurrences. Such events would probably be remembered more than ordinary wars, since they help to account for the present location of clans.

23 My informants varied considerably in the details of their descriptions of these spirits and their activities. The account given here has been homogenized in the interest of brevity.

Part II. Land Tenure and Use of Others' Land

1 Later, Sebebe Egadobo and Sebebe Aidobo are referred to as linked subclans, i.e. two subclans which are part of a larger subclan, as opposed to a third subclan (in this case Isa Egadobo).

2 The situation differs if the father is dead from that if he is still alive. Where ego's father is still alive at the time of ego's marriage, so that he acts as patron, and where the father uses in primary degree the land of a relative, ego would be expected to choose the land of father's relative for use over that of his other relatives. Formally, he chooses the father as patron.

3 The evaluation of amount of land and sago available for use is, therefore, subjective on the part of my informants. Of course, it is the subjective evaluation of amount on the part of the principals (ego and his relative) that affects the decisions made, but the evaluation incorporated into the model is not that of a principal. There seems to be some likelihood that the principals might perceive the amount of land

3 (contd.) differently from the evaluation utilized here, particularly when it comes to the difference between "just enough" land and "too little." However, there might also be a methodological problem involved in accepting statements made by the principals in the absence of objective measurements. They might be expected to misrepresent the situation to rationalize actual use or lack of use.

4 In some cases, the relationship was overlooked during fieldwork, so that possible land use was not investigated. In others, the land use at the time of fieldwork is known, but the initial land use arrangement may have been different. Initial land use, if different, would probably have been greater than present land use, rather than less.

5 There are only ten errors in negative predictions and four of these can be rather easily accounted for. In three cases (Fayebi 41, Kasiare 63, Fura 44) land use seems to be the result of interpersonal considerations omitted from the model. Each man was estranged from his clan allies and close to the relative who offered land use. In two of the cases, ego went so far as to abandon his own clan lands. Informants regarded the cases as unusual. Fura, for example, was angered because none of his lineage-mates would contribute to the brideprice for his marriage, the whole amount being given by his classificatory sister's husband. In the fourth case (Oromena 99), the sister's husband-father's sponsor was predicted not to offer any land use, since Oromena would choose instead to use the land of his wife's brother. However, the wife's brother failed to offer land use. Given this, the expectation would be that the sister's husband would offer land use, as seems to have been the case.

6 One would like to apply statistical tests of significance to the samples for individual elements, but this has not been possible. There are at least six variables considered to affect land use, although they may not be completely independent. No simple statistical test such as chi square can be appropriately applied under these circumstances. I have not been able to explore more complicated tests.

7 The effective sample may be said to be biased, since there are a number of cases where land use is uncertain. This could mean that the percentage figures are not significant, even with a substantial number of cases. I discount this possibility for two reasons. The bias in the sample is the result of uncooperativeness on the part of certain informants and would seem to be unrelated to the problem under consideration. Moreover, the cases listed as "uncertain" for segments (2) to (5) are not simply unknown. In five of the nine cases, usage is at least secondary and possibly primary; the predicted usage is sometimes primary, sometimes secondary. Thus, were it possible to include these cases, the success of the positive predictions would probably not be greatly lowered.

8 This sample of sixty-two cases includes all the primary land use cases for which data is available from the sample of 122 men used for the flow diagram (Fig. 3) on page 95. Only fifty-six of these cases are included in Tables 11, 12, 13 and 24.

9 The figure sixty-seven per cent is derived by taking the percentage of men who have maintained primary land use for the eleven to thirty year period, then adding the percentage who have maintained primary use for the six to ten year period multiplied by the probability that primary use will not lapse thereafter, then adding the percentage of primary users who have maintained primary use for the five to ten year period, multiplied by the probability that primary use will not lapse thereafter. Thus:

$$\begin{aligned} & \% \text{ of permanent primary land users (use continues until death)} \\ & = \text{No. contd. 1-30 yrs.} + (1-.075) \times (\text{No. contd. 6-10 yrs.}) + \\ & \quad (1-.075) \times (1-.083) \times (\text{No. contd. 5-10 yrs.}). \end{aligned}$$

10 The percentage can be roughly calculated as follows.

generation 1:	67 % of original users continue primary use	
generation 2:	1/3 of 67 % inherit the land.....	22 %
	1/3 of 67 % use land in primary de-	
	gree and 67 % of use doesn't lapse..	14 %
		36 %
generation 3:	some inherit the land from father....	22 %
	1/3 of 14 % inherit the land.....	4 %
	1/3 of 14 % use land in primary de-	
	gree and 67 % of use doesn't lapse..	3 %
		29 %

Twenty-nine per cent is probably too high a figure. Some men have no sons or other heirs to pass primary land use on to. More important, the rate of inheritance from clan owners and the rate at which sons continue the primary use established by their fathers may both be unreliable since they are estimated from a sample of only fourteen cases. Most of the cases of inheritance from clan owners occur in one village, Barutage, and the rate seems abnormally high.

11 Of the sample of 122 men used elsewhere, fifteen are unmarried, although brideprice has been given for them, so that their land use is not yet known. For eight others, land use is not known to me. Thus the sample is here reduced to ninety-nine.

Part III. The Economics of Pigs and Shells

1 Small pearlshells may be cut into a thin crescent and worn suspended from the neck as jewelry. Occasionally they are decorated by a row of holes drilled along the border. Such shells are worn permanently and are removed from circulation as a medium of exchange. Large and valuable shells used in exchange are decorated with a woven red band attached to the ends and with bits of fur. These shells cannot be worn around the neck, since the band is too short. Hence, the shells used in exchange and the smaller ones used as jewelry form separate categories by virtue of their decoration as well as their use. The smallest shells used in exchange, however, are not decorated and may be worn by a bride at the time of her marriage. After the marriage they come into her husband's possession and pass back into exchange.

2 The distinction into spheres of exchange was suggested by Salisbury's work among the Siane (Salisbury 1962:39-41, 105-6). However, Salisbury distinguishes three "nexuses" of transactions in the Siane economy.

3 In its specifics, this summary holds only for the northern Mubi valley (Barutage and Hegisa east to Harabeyu), since it describes heavy dependence upon the kara?o trade. In other respects, it probably holds for the rest of the Foi as well.

4 The Kewa, however, rarely learn the Foi language.

5 There are only three cases of men marrying older women given in Table 14. The average brideprice given for older women is 30.0 shells (including both categories 1 and 2) as compared to 32.6 shells given by non-big men for young women. The difference is not large enough to be significant given the small number of cases. The relationship between size of brideprice and age of the bride does seem to hold in the larger sample of brideprices collected, however.

6 By rough calculation, the average 1963-1968 brideprice would have bought slightly more young pigs than the maximum pre-contact brideprice, as estimated by my informants. I do not place a great deal of faith in the calculation, however, because I recorded few exchange rates of shells for pigs in pre-contact times and those I did record are likely to have been distorted by my informants' memories. One might expect that the value of women, as measured in pigs, has increased slightly. Men marry earlier today than in pre-contact times and big men do not seem able to marry as many wives as they did in consequence. Apparently the competition for women has increased, and one might expect that the "real" value of brideprice has accordingly increased.

7 The larger payment was demanded for offenses such as disparaging the husband in public, swearing at him, or contaminating his food with menstrual blood. A living husband would demand compensation for these offenses from his wife's agnates, but probably not as much as that given when the husband has died.

8 Six is not a magic number of course and sometimes lineages merge under different conditions, i.e. lineages whose total is less than six sometimes merge and lineages whose total is six or seven sometimes do not merge. However, six adult males is apparently perceived as a comfortable size for the lineage, as the main solidary group, and is about the maximum size of the lineage.

9 Another way of evaluating the significance of the results is to consider the number of cases which cannot be evaluated as to the correctness of prediction. Only a few cases are listed as uncertain, i.e. as cases where it is uncertain whether a contribution was made or not. Knowledge of these cases would not change the results very much. However, there are also twenty-five cases listed as "c? only" which should be considered. These are cases where no other positive factor exists, but where it seems possible that reciprocity should be predicted on the basis of earlier contributions between the individuals in question. The significance of the results for factor c appears to be open to question given this consideration.

10 In fact, some of these "loans" may not be appropriately classed as failures to contribute. The distinction between gift and loan is not always made consistently, as I have noted earlier.

¹¹ Cases where the mother's brother is also a foster-relative, land user, land donor or client of either the groom or the patron are excluded from this summary. In these cases, the mother's brother usually contributes in the latter capacity rather than as mother's brother. Normally, the two kinds of contributions are differentiated when the brideprice is amassed, since a contribution by mother's brother does not call for reciprocal contributions. I have followed the same procedure for sister's husbands.

¹² Data on the role of "mother's brothers" and "sister's husbands" were not collected for the full sample of seventy-one brideprices used earlier.

¹³ Actually, nearly every man gives brideprice shells to men outside his clan when he distributes brideprice, and most contribute to men outside the clan for brideprice payments, e.g. to sobomena partners, land donors or land users, sister's husbands and sister's sons.

Part IV. Residential Groupings

¹ By prospective patron I mean either the father or foster-father of ego, who would be expected to give brideprice for him, or some man who has promised to give the brideprice.

² Note, however, that the relative ranking of relatives below patron cannot be regarded as well established, since there are few cases where such relatives are chosen.

³ In fact, the pattern of men's house residence was unravelled only after the factors which determine women's house residence became apparent.

⁴ Three actual women's house groups are listed which have five dependent females. Two of these (Iradugi-Enahq-Yawara?o and Hare-Gebebe-Koae) may be in error. Both groups include recent clients who may not actually have been married when the women's house was built. The third (Waibi-Gagibu) is a case where the client's wife (Gagibu's wife) moved in after the house was built. The arrangement has lasted for some time, but might be regarded as temporary.

It is also possible that the limit recognized on number of women to be housed in a women's house is not universal. Individuals might vary in what they allow.

Conclusion

¹ My emphasis on recruitment through dyadic ties to focal individuals has similarities to Lawrence's use of the concept of "security circle" to describe the Garia (Lawrence 1965-66:375), to Mead's analysis of Manus political and economic interaction as structured by the relations between big men and followers (Mead 1934:218) and to Langness' analysis of Benabena political organization (Langness 1968).

² See p. 101 and note 20 to Part I for discussion and definition of my term "activity set," which parallels the more common "action set."

³ The two contrasts described--in intensity of warfare and in extension of descent categories--are likely to be related. It seems reasonable to suppose that the extension of the notion of brotherhood or common descent to the war-making unit or beyond is an attempt to increase solidarity and the possibility of alliance. Where warfare is more intense, one would expect larger-scale extension of descent ideology (cf Service 1971:100-102, 106-7). There might, of course, be additional reasons for such extension.

⁴ The more common measure of non-patrilial membership in Highlands groups has been percentage of non-agnates. Kelly (1968) tabulates the percentage of non-natal members instead. The latter seems preferable, because it eliminates the possibility that the percentage figures reflect, in part, different sorts of assimilation to the status of agnate in different societies. Strathern (1972) gives figures for non-agnates, but it is easy to calculate the figures for non-natal members from his material.

⁵ In the later article, Langness (1968) calls the largest group a district, rather than a tribe.

⁶ Watson (1970, especially pp. 108-9) has argued for an approach which is similar in some respects to the one I use here. Watson argues that New Guinea societies seem complex because they have been described in terms of static groups. Given the extensive amount of movement and re-alignment which goes on, an approach which focuses on the flow of personnel would be more successful. We should seek for order in the processes of recruitment, rather than in the forms of social grouping. Watson, however, focuses on the large bloc movements between local groups which occurred in traditional Tairora society, movements which were practically non-existent in traditional Foi society. He pays little attention to the lower-order flow of personnel between the activities sponsored by members of local groups. In effect, he ignores most of the processes which I have dealt with here.

⁷ The percentage figure for non-agnates in Siane clans used by Meggitt and Kelly is, in fact, based on a casual statement by Salisbury that he knew of only two men in the village he studied who were residing uxori-locally.

⁸ The Siane and Bena clans (c. 200 members) would better be compared with the Chimbu and Kuma subclans (c. 120 members), than to the Chimbu clan (c. 700 members) or the Kuma clan (c. 500 (?) members). It is clear that the Kuma or Chimbu clan corresponds to the larger Bena tribe, since all three are the unit which consistently joins in warfare in the society and within which warfare is disapproved, rather than the smaller Bena clan (Brown 1960; Reay 1959; Langness 1964). The Siane phratry is somewhat anomalous, but it appears to be the closest parallel in Siane society to the Kuma or Chimbu clan and the Bena tribe. The phratry joins in pig feasts, but not in warfare (Salisbury 1962:14). However, warfare is disapproved within the phratry and rarely occurs.

In comparing these societies, it is difficult to do anything but to compare clans, since most authors give non-agnate percentages only for the clan. If the clan groups are not parallel between the societies, the

8 (contd.) comparison will be misleading. There should be a systematic tendency for the clan in any society to have a lower percentage of non-agnate members than the subclan, since movements within the clan are added to movements between clans for the percentage of non-agnate members of the subclan.

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