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# THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMBRYM AND PENTECOST KINSHIP SYSTEMS

LORENZ G. LÖFFLER

IN THEIR PAPER on the *Evolution of Ambrym Kinship*<sup>1</sup> Robert and Barbara Lane have tried to reconstruct former stages of the Ambrym kinship system by analyzing the kinship terms reported from several regions of Ambrym, especially those from Ranon. I think it rather difficult to accept their explanations and intend to show in this paper (1) why there are objections to the authors' reconstructions, and (2) how the system can be explained more adequately.

## I

R. and B. Lane are primarily concerned with the system of kinship terms. They correlate its evolution with changes in the regulation of exogamy, neglecting other aspects of social structure as far as possible, especially avoiding the question what stimulated the assumed changes in the rules of exogamy. Even then, the reader would expect a little explanation of how these transitions were possible at all. I heartily accept the authors' point of view that kinship terms reflect the regulation of exogamy and that changes in these regulations (the primary marriage rules) will lead to new forms of the term-system, which, however, for some time continues to reflect the older rules, furnishing a most valuable instrument for reconstructing underlying systems of exogamy.<sup>2</sup> But I maintain that changes in the rules of exogamy cannot occur haphazardly or at random, and that new rules cannot be introduced deliberately. Their development must be consistent with a new situation to which they are adapted. This applies especially to a closed kin group system (with so-called "prescriptive" marriage), for there is but one group of marriage partners of but one classificatory degree of relationship.

In a four-section system, e.g., everybody must marry his cross-cousin; they belong neither to ego's patrimoiety nor to his matrimoiety. Everyone not belonging to one of these moieties is classed as a cross-cousin, and reciprocal cross-cousin marriage is unavoidable. Since mother's brother had to marry father's sister, the matrilineal and the patrilineal cross-cousins are identical, and it is impossible to prohibit marriage with the patri- or matrilineal cross-cousin only.<sup>3</sup>

The only new regulation which has been reported to develop from a four-section system is an eight-section system. R. and B. Lane suggest that this development was achieved by tabooing marriage with both first cousins and substituting

1 Lane and Lane, 1958.

2 Löffler, 1960.

3 Lane and Lane, 1958, pp. 128, 132.

other persons.<sup>4</sup> But this is equally impossible, since within a four-section system there are no marriageable "other persons." A distinction between first and second cousins is impossible, and a mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter is actually a mother's brother's daughter in the same way as ego's father's son is actually ego's brother. The distinction between first and second cousins cannot evolve in a four-section system. It is the result of an achieved eight-section system. Equally, the taboo on first cousins cannot lead to an eight-section system, though an eight-section system must lead to this taboo. The extension of exogamy is a consequence of the existing system, not vice versa.

Since the authors' concern is not the development of an eight-section system, but that of a six-section system, I will not demonstrate here how a transition from a four-section system into an eight-section system becomes necessary when the rules of residence are changed while the old regulations of exogamy (against marrying into one's father's or mother's localized moiety) are retained. A process similar to that will be demonstrated below, and the transition to an eight-section system will become easily comprehensible when the same principles are applied to a four-section system.

As to the development of the kinship system in Ambrym, the authors themselves seem to suggest that the change from their assumed four-section system to a six-section system was not achieved by an internal process alone, but that a third patrilineal group was added to the existing two patrilineal moieties.<sup>5</sup> This development seems extremely improbable. If an outsider marries someone belonging to a certain section, then all his relatives will be classed like those of the possible marriage partners of the section member, i.e. he or she and his or her kin will automatically be incorporated into the section system. This process has been amply reported from Australia. There is absolutely no reason why girls of moiety A should continue to marry boys of moiety B, whereas the girls of B start marrying no one but boys of an outside section (C), whose girls, instead of marrying their partners of their own four-section system, start marrying only boys of A. It is necessary that the C members break all connections with their former system partners, lest everybody have two different kin groups to marry into, starting a system which Lévi-Strauss called "échange généralisé."<sup>6</sup> The whole religious and social system based on dualistic concepts has to be overturned: a rather unbelievable revolution.

Let us now consider the second stage of transition proposed by the authors. Given a system of three patrisibs, marrying A-B-C-A, and of two intersecting

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 131.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, p. 130.

<sup>6</sup> Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 291.

matrimoieties, marriage with the matrilateral cross-cousin must be obligatory. Every marriageable girl is necessarily classed as a matrilateral cross-cousin. The authors assume that for an unknown reason the people decided to taboo henceforth marriage with just this matrilateral cross-cousin. The effect is rather obvious: no one will be able to marry anyone. According to the authors, sister exchange should result, but I cannot imagine where these sisters could be taken from. They say that with three patrisibs, if marriage is forbidden into ego's father's sib and into ego's mother's patrisib, one sib remains.<sup>7</sup> This cannot be true. Even if sib C is neither a male ego's father's (A) nor his mother's (B) patrisib, his own sib (A) is a mother's patrisib for every girl of sib C. If female C is prohibited from marrying male A, then male A cannot marry female C. Either the one-direction rule did not exist at all or the assumed sib of marriageable partners is a fourth sib.

Equally mistaken are the authors in their indication that a taboo on mother's brother's daughter is a sign of strengthening the patrilineal idea. Marriage with the matrilateral cross-cousin is common in strongly patrilineally organized societies (Omaha systems). The development of a six-section system out of a three-sib system cannot be explained by a strengthening of the patrilineal idea. Probably it cannot be explained at all since a six-section system without sister exchange has never been reported to exist and cannot have existed in Ambrym.

As to the authors' first hypothetical stage of Ambrym kinship organization, the (bilateral) generation type system, they do not demonstrate its transition into the alleged four-section system. Their reason for leaving the question open is obvious: sister exchange and marriage with both cross-cousins may (or must) be practiced in both systems, and no change in the regulation of exogamy can account for such a transition. The authors state that there is growing evidence beyond the scope of their paper which indicates an underlying generation type system in the central and northern New Hebrides. There is also evidence in the kinship-term systems of Ambrym, though the authors list the points in question under another heading.<sup>8</sup> There are indications of former marriage with both (first) cousins, and the sister exchange terminology is prevalent all over Ambrym. In most places, the grandparents are called by a single term, although they belong to four different sections, etc.<sup>9</sup>

If there is any evidence certain from the kinship terms which covers all reported systems, it is a prior stage where sister exchange was practiced and where grandparents and grandchildren were classed according to their generation and not according to sections. Assuming that the cross-cousins were marriageable partners,

7 Lane and Lane, 1958, p. 123.

8 *Idem*, pp. 127, 128.

9 *Idem*, pp. 118, 119.

there might have existed a system in which two kin groups of either patri- or matrilineal descent exchanged marriage partners. An appropriate kinship-term system may be reconstructed without difficulty. Like R. and B. Lane I use the Ranon system, although the other systems lead equally well or even better to this reconstruction. The modern system is diagrammed in Figures 1 and 2.

To rearrange the terms into a simple dual system, only few changes have to be effected. They are fewer than those needed for the reconstruction of a six-section system without sister exchange. Apart from the common term for all grandparents, no changes are necessary in the ascending generations. In the descending generations, only affinal degrees have to be rearranged. In ego's generation, the affinal terms will replace the modern terms for the cross-cousins and their apparently secondary equation with grandparents or grandchildren. The term *wunyug*, referring to a person's own parents-in-law, and probably not of classificatory significance, has been omitted. *Tug* for brother's children (w.s.) is indicated by the Sulol and Olal system where it is used still today. There are no indications for a special lineal arrangement (see Fig. 3).

## II

The system of kinship terms reconstructed above might be consistent with a dual system. If patriline (A, B) and matriline (1, 2) were recognized, a man might not be allowed to marry into his father's patriline (A) nor into his mother's matriline (1). There remain only two lines, B and 2, and it is they to which his cross-cousins belong. If ego is A1, then his father and his father's siblings are A2, his mother and her siblings are B1, ego's wife must be B2, his children are A2, etc. Thus, within this closed dual system, the distribution of lines is practically the same as within a four-section system.

In the modern system, ego marries his mother's brother's daughter's daughter or a girl of the corresponding section. In the above system, this girl would belong to A2, i.e. she would not be marriageable, and by adding a new prohibition she would be even more prohibited than before. This again proves that a four-section system cannot have preceded the present system. To be marriageable according to an old system, she should belong to B2, and if she did, ego's mother necessarily had to belong to A1 (because the B2 girl is her brother's daughter's daughter). But ego was A1 as well; i.e. if a man was going to marry his MBDD,\* he must have belonged to his mother's matriline and his mother's father's patriline, but to none of the lines of his father. The girl, on the other hand, must have belonged to her mother's matriline and to her father's line, else a father would have been

\* Abbreviation of kinship terms is by initial letter of the English word except that *sister* is indicated by the terminal letter.

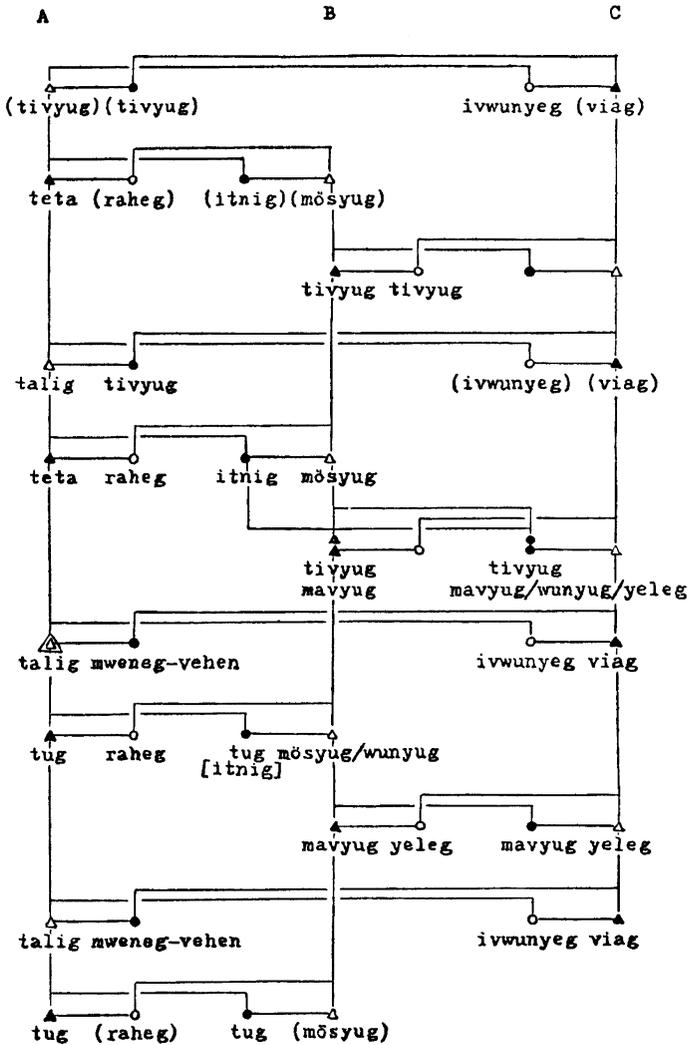


FIG. 1. The man's set of kinship terms (Ranon system). A,B,C, patriline (corresponding to R. and B. Lane, 1958, fig. 2). The terms in parentheses were supplied by the present author. Solid symbols indicate the opposite moiety.

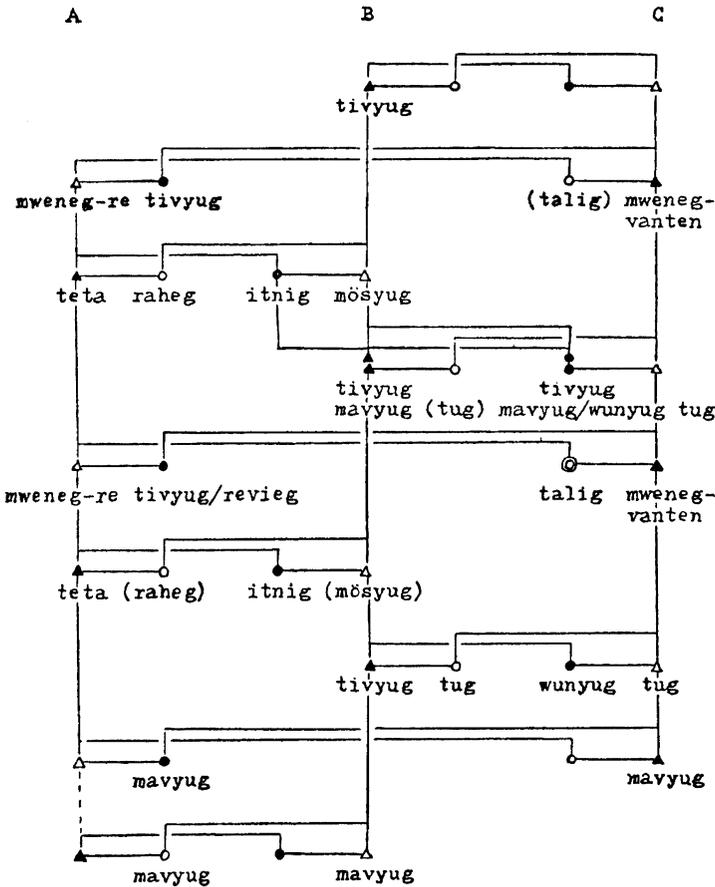


FIG. 2. The woman's set of kinship terms (Ranon system). A,B,C, patriline (corresponding to R. and B. Lane, 1958, fig. 3).

able to marry his daughter as he married her mother. This father's "line" is no patriline, since the son does not continue it. It goes from father to daughter to daughter's son to daughter's son's daughter, and it cannot account for any lineal structure. There may have been an undefined number of these "lines," and no patrimoieties were possible. The political structure must have depended on the matriline. Two of these lines in a dual arrangement correspond to the system of kinship terms: in a closed kin group system they will be represented by two

matrimoieties. Residence should be matrilocal. A man may marry any woman of his opposite moiety with the exception of his daughter. Moiety sister exchange will be necessary, cross-cousin marriage will be common. The reconstructed system of kinship terms may be consistent with this structure.

Having to choose between a double descent (four-section) system and a matrilineal dual system, both of which are consistent with the reconstructed system of kinship terms, I suggest that the latter must be regarded as the antecedent of the

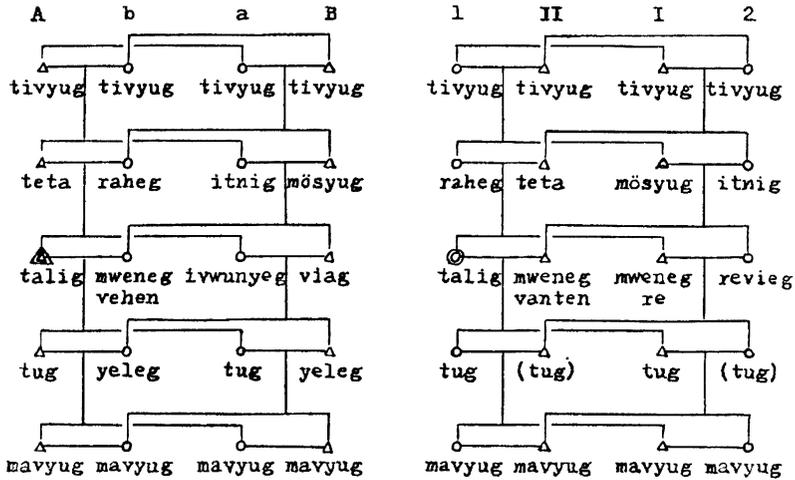


FIG. 3. The Ranon kinship terms in a reconstructed dual arrangement. *Left*, the man's set. *Right*, the woman's set.

modern Ambrym system, since a transition from a four-section system to a six-section system seems unfeasible. The view that the Ambrym system developed from a matrilineal dual system was also expressed by Seligman.<sup>10</sup> Seligman showed how the transition might have been possible: I intend to show why it was necessary.

Today in Ambrym residence is patrilocal with considerable village exogamy.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, local descent lines are patrilineal. In former days, under the matrilocal conditions of the matrilineal dual system, local descent lines were necessarily matrilineal. Since the moiety was an exogamous unit (as it is still today) local groups had to be exogamous. Under the conditions of shifting residence rules, the exogamous matrimoieties continue to exist, but they cease to be localized. The exogamous local descent lines become patrilineal; ego's mother's local matriline

10 Seligman, 1927, p. 358.

11 Lane and Lane, 1958, p. 109.

(into which he is forbidden to marry) becomes his mother's local patriline. If a man is forbidden to marry into his mother's natal locality, i.e. members of his mother's patriline, then he will be unable to marry his mother's brother's daughter, and insofar as mother's brother's daughter is identical with father's sister's daughter, and since he belongs to her mother's local patriline, ego will be prohibited from marrying both his cross-cousins. But he can marry their daughters if his cross-cousins live virilocal in a place different from that of their parents. These cross-cousins may have married ego's classificatory brothers who do not live in his (ego's) or their (ego's cross-cousins') father's locality.

This situation must be also explainable in terms of ego himself marrying a cross-cousin who belongs neither to his father's nor to his mother's local patriline. On no account can this cousin be his mother's brother's or his father's sister's daughter! To analyze the situation existing between second cousins, let us assume two matrimoieties (1, 2) and a number of local patrilines (A, B, C, etc.). If ego's father's father's father was 1A and his wife 2B, their son was 2A. He should have married a woman of another local line (C or D, etc.) and the opposite moiety (1). His son (ego's father) then belongs to 1 and A and cannot marry into C (or D, etc.). He will have to marry a woman of 2 and B (or E, etc.), so that ego and his siblings belong to 2 and A and are forbidden to marry into B (or E, etc.).

Ego's father's father's sister was like her brother a member of 2 and A and could not marry into B. If she married C (or D, etc.), her son belonged to 2 and C (or D, etc.) and was forbidden to marry into A. Therefore he married a wife of 1 and B (or E, etc.), and his children belong to 1 and C (or D, etc.), and are forbidden to marry into B (or E, etc.), but they can marry A2, i.e. ego may marry his father's father's sister's son's children = father's mother's brother's son's children. In the same way it can be shown that, on condition of classificatory sister exchange, no possible marriage regulations exist between the other types of second cross-cousins.

These conclusions are corroborated by the actual marriage regulations in Ambrym.<sup>12</sup> There is not a single exception nor any additional possibility. This proves that a regulation of exogamy by which marriage is allowed with MBDC = MFRC, FRDC = MMBC, and FMBSC = FFRSC arises when the rules regulating exogamy in a matrilineal dual system with matrilocality are adapted to the conditions of patrilocality. The new rules are in fact nothing but the old rules retained under the new conditions.

The number of matrilineal local lines of the dual system having been  $n$ , the number of patrilineal local lines in the new system will be  $n$  as well. In fact ego

<sup>12</sup> Lane and Lane, 1956.

will not start reckoning, whether his marriage mates are first, second, or whatever cousins or cousins' children, but will simply have to look for a local line which is neither his father's nor his mother's local patriline. From the remaining  $n - 2$  lines he may choose any girl who does not belong to his mother's moiety and for whom he does not belong to her mother's local patriline. The smallest number of local lines necessary for the system to function is three (ego's mother's patriline = his wife's mother's patriline), but there is no upper limit.

With the establishment of the new system the local patrilines may be called sibs. Within each sib there are two sections, one belonging to ego's moiety, one to the opposite moiety. The minimal number of three sibs then will embrace six sections. These six sections may marry amongst each other, but each sib may also partake in other six-section systems. From a classificatory point of view, there can be no more than six sections for ego, for though he and his siblings may marry *de facto* into different sibs, *de jure* the members of these sibs will all belong either to the section which embraces his classificatory marriage mates (and their fathers' fathers and their sons' children) or to the section which embraces the children of his siblings of the opposite sex and his spouse's father ('s siblings). Thus, the six-section system must be regarded as a classificatory scheme: that actually three sibs marry round about only amongst each other need not constitute the rule. This conclusion is corroborated by the further development reported by Deacon for southern Ambrym.<sup>13</sup> Here no term for "moiety" exists. If the intermarriage of three sibs would constitute the rule, the notion of the two moieties would always be present. But if ego marries into an undetermined sib, then it is only postnuptially that moiety relations and equations are established. With no equation of moieties existing before marriage, ego is free to marry any girl he likes. Classification is optional in a multi-sib system, and two classificatory brothers of one sib may in effect marry two classificatory sisters of another sib, though of different moiety. Prenuptial moiety equations lacking, postnuptial moiety affiliations may contradict each other, and the resulting affiliations cannot be called moieties any longer but are just a set of matriline differing for each group of actually related persons. Marriage being regulated by the prohibition against father's and mother's sib, the only function of the matriline is to prohibit marriage with a daughter's daughter (resp. mother's mother) which by itself is rather improbable. And if, as I suggested, the function of the matrimoiety in the six-section system is implicit, not explicit, then the rôle of what once had been a matrimoiety is practically extinct and can be neglected and forgotten, as was the case in southern Ambrym.

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13 Deacon, 1927, p. 333.

## III

The development of the kinship term system from the simpler stage reconstructed above (fig. 3) to the complicated modern form (figs. 1, 2) can be explained easily by a transition from the matrilineal dual system to the six-section system. Terms which cover the same degree of relationship need not be specially discussed. Most of the equations of affinal and consanguineal relations having changed, the old significance of the terms was kept for the relatives nearest to ego, married or unmarried. Hence *itnig* still refers to father's sister, but no longer to wife's mother (or more exactly to sibling's spouse's mother; ego's own mother-in-law was probably *wunyug*); *mösyug* remained mother's brother, but not (sibling's) spouse's father; *yeleg* remained sister's child (m.s.) / wife's brother's child, but not daughter's husband or son's wife; and *vehen* and *viag* (*vanten* and *revieg*) remained the terms for the possible marriage mates (or spouse's siblings = siblings' spouses) and could no longer designate the cross-cousins (if they ever did).

It was usual to call relatives who had to be renamed by the same terms as their section mates. A man's children-in-law belong to the same section as his mother's brother/father's sister's husband and mother/father's brother's wife, i.e. the section of *mösyug* and *raheg*. No other terms in this section being available, the children-in-law (m.s.) and their siblings were called *mösyug* and *raheg* as well. For a woman, her daughter's husband belongs to the section of her mother's father and is accordingly called like him *tivyug*. A woman's daughter-in-law is not called *tivyug* but *wunyug*. This term shall be considered later, but that son's wife (w.s.) should not be *tivyug* is plausible since this term, though used for both sexes, relates in the first instance to a married couple and not to siblings. This explains why tertiary relatives of the second ascending generation who had been equated with the secondary relations in the old system, and who now belong to a different section, are not called *tivyug* but according to their new section membership. The only departure reported is father's mother's brother (w.s.) who, instead of being equated with mother's father, enters the section of the husband and is classed with him.

The difference in the terms used by man and woman for their children-in-law results from the different section membership. For a woman they belong to the same section as her father and his sister (for they are their grandchildren in the paternal line), and are called *teta* and *itnig*. The terms used for the parents-in-law correspond to those used for the children-in-law. If a man calls his daughter's husband *mösyug*, then the reciprocal term is *yeleg*, and actually a wife's father belongs to the *yeleg* section. Consequently he is called *yeleg*. If a man calls his son's wife *raheg*, then the reciprocal term is *tug*, and actually a husband's father belongs to the same section as a woman's children. Consequently he is called *tug*.

But a person's mother-in-law belongs neither to the *yeleg* nor to the *tug* section, and she is called *wunyug* as she used to be called in the old system. Equally, a wife's father, besides being called *yeleg*, is still called *wunyug*. I mentioned that a woman's son-in-law had to be called *tivyug*, whereas a corresponding term for women was lacking in this section except for *wunyug*, a husband's mother. Therefore, a son's wife (w.s.) had to be called *wunyug* as well, making the term reciprocal as it is between male persons.

The rearrangement of *tivyug* (and the reciprocal term *mavyug*) in the second ascending (resp. descending) generation has been amply discussed by R. and B. Lane,<sup>14</sup> so that no further explanation seems necessary. There remains but one question: the terms used for the cross-cousins. A wife's mother can be a female cross-cousin. She could accordingly be called *wunyug*, but this usage does not seem to prevail, and the term cannot be applied when classificatory cross-cousins are concerned. Instead, father's sister's children are called *mavyug* (i.e. grandchildren) and mother's brother's children are called *tivyug* (i.e. grandparents). But I miss an indication by which term ego's classificatory cross-cousins are designated, since he has no possibility of distinguishing between children who are at the same time his (classificatory) mother's brother's and father's sister's children. They all belong to the same section, and if there is no distinction between those older and those younger than ego, he must either call them *tivyug* or *mavyug*, so that in the long run one of these terms must come to designate all cross-cousins.

The question arises how ego came to distinguish between his patrilineal and his matrilineal cross-cousins at all. There is absolutely no possibility of explaining this distinction as a consequence of the classificatory system. This distinction is possible only in relation to ego's real consanguineal cross-cousins. Under the conditions of the old system, a man was actually more closely related to his mother's brother than to his father and his father's sister, who, though necessarily marrying her brother's wife's classificatory brothers, need not have married her actual brother-in-law. Thus, ego will be able to distinguish between his cross-cousins on his mother's side and those on his father's side. The former are by far more important than the latter, since their father is ego's mother's brother who retains his importance even under patrilocal conditions. Mother's brother's children belong to a man's mother's patrisib. Father's sister's children belong to a sib which need not be related to a man's own sib other than by his aunt's marriage. If, accordingly, the cross-cousins are to be classed differently, then the mother's brother's children should be classed as grandparents but the father's sister's children (reciprocally) as grandchildren.

<sup>14</sup> Lane and Lane, 1958, pp. 115, 116.

This is actually the case in Ranon and Olal. But—I again stress the point—this distinction is only possible as long as real cross-cousins (or members of mother's sib) are concerned. All persons who belong to the cross-cousin section just by classification can be called by one term only, so that a general term will at last replace the special (non-classificatory) distinction, be it "grandchildren" as in Linbul or "grandparents" as in Balap, Port Vato, and Southeast Ambrym. The more progressive forms may be seen to exist in the southern part of Ambrym, a fact which corresponds to the development of the matrimoiety mentioned above.

To sum up: the whole terminology used today in Ambrym is the necessary (or possible) result of the adjustment of the old sets of terms to the new six-section system. There are absolutely no exceptions which ought be explained by a system without sister exchange, asymmetrical regulation of exogamy, or by a four-section system.

#### IV

According to Seligman's analysis,<sup>15</sup> a system similar to that of Ambrym, insofar as it contains six "marriage classes," may be assumed to exist in Pentecost. Having read and commented on Deacon's record of the Ambrym system, Seligman reexamined Rivers' notes on the Pentecost system which is characterized by dual organization with matrilineal descent, each moiety containing three subdivisions. But contrary to Ambrym, reciprocal marriages are prohibited. I have tried every way possible to make the Pentecost rules fit into a six-section system (without sister exchange) or any other system based on double descent. But the only system which might conform with the Pentecost marriage regulations, a nine-section system, is ruled out by the matrilineal dual division. Only one alternative remains: the three subdivisions of each moiety must be matrilineal as well. Murdock's classification of the Pentecost system as a double descent system<sup>16</sup> cannot be accepted.

In fact, Seligman did not endeavor to construct a six-section system. She proposed a system of six matrisibs within two matrimoieties. Each sib marries into only one of the other sibs, and in one direction only, so that a descendant in the male line of the seventh generation will belong to ego's sib again. Every second sib belongs to the opposite moiety. A man's marriageable partners always belong to his mother's brother's wife's sib, although even within this sib there are several women whom ego cannot marry, e.g. his daughter and his mother's brother's daughter. According to Seligman, these persons "cannot be regarded as mates for reasons which would be familiar to everyone."<sup>17</sup> But we are quite familiar with matrilinear cousin marriage. To be sure, if ego marries his mother's brother's

<sup>15</sup> Seligman, 1928.

<sup>16</sup> Murdock, 1949, pp. 247, 342.

<sup>17</sup> Seligman, 1928, p. 538.

daughter's daughter, then his cross-cousin is his mother-in-law whom a man generally does not marry, but this does not explain why this woman, instead of becoming ego's mother-in-law, should not have become his wife. And even if a man may marry his mother's brother's wife, this provides no explanation why he should not marry his classificatory cross-cousins.

Equally, I disagree with Seligman in her assumption (stimulated by the analysis of the six-section system of Ambrym) that the tripartite division of the Pentecost

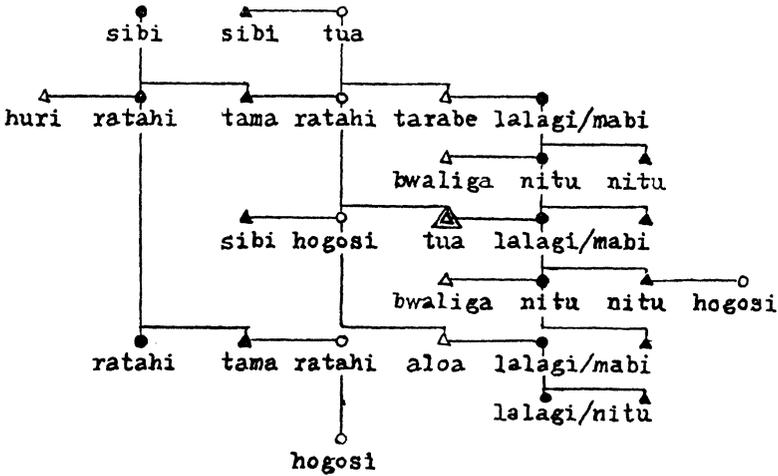


FIG. 4. The man's set of kinship terms (Pentecost system).

moiety resulted from partial recognition of patrilineal descent,<sup>18</sup> because there is absolutely no chance of establishing matrilineal sibs and of prohibiting marriage with the female descendants of father's sister if a recognition of patrilineal descent by men were introduced into a matrilineal dual organization.

To provide a new explanation, let me start with an analysis of the system of kinship terms. Instead of listing the terms, I enter them into a genealogical diagram suggested by their distribution (Figs. 4 and 5). The distribution of kinship terms clearly indicates that the system is based on a very special marriage regulation by which mother's brother's daughter's daughter is ego's appropriate wife. The other women whom ego can marry in his wife's matriline are called, like her, *lalagi* (potential spouse). Excluded are ego's mother's brother's daughter and his own daughter. If patriline were recognized, these two women would belong to ego's and

18 Seligman, 1928, pp. 547, 548.

his mother's patriline, and there might be a prohibition to marry into these lines. But this regulation, whether applied to men only or to both sexes, cannot be made responsible for the marriage prohibition against the patrilateral cross-cousins, because, contrary to Ambrym, these patrilines cannot keep fixed marriage relations or prohibitions, else ego's father could not have married ego's mother. Moreover, the prohibition against marriage with father's sister's daughter's daughter would remain unexplained.

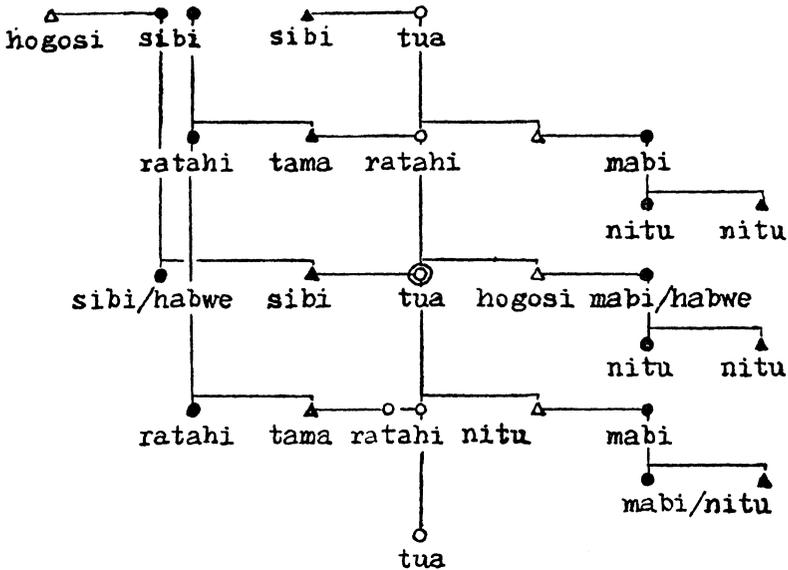


FIG. 5. The woman's set of kinship terms (Pentecost system).

A far better solution is provided by the assumption that ego is prohibited from marrying into his father's matriline. All prohibitions mentioned up to now are covered by this single rule. A regulation by patrilines need not be assumed at all. For a male ego this rule excludes marriage with his father's sister's daughter and her daughter. For a female ego it excludes marriage with her father and her father's sister's son. Since for the latter she is his maternal cross-cousin, a man can marry only his mother's brother's daughter's daughter. There is but one point of discrepancy with the kinship system: according to Rivers a man may call his sister's son's daughter *lalagi*, but if she is forbidden to marry into her father's matriline, then ego cannot marry her. As the terms *nitu* (child) and *lalagi* (wife) exclude each

other in every other position, I suppose that *lalagi* for sister's son's daughter is a misapplication, and that, in consonance with the general rule, she cannot be married by ego.

There remains another more important question. The prohibition against marriage into one's father's matriline does not explain why a male ego cannot marry (1) his mother's brother's son's daughter, and (2) his mother's father's sister's daughter. There are two possible explanations: either the matriline forms a closed sib system (only three sibs exist: if a man cannot marry into his father's matriline, a girl consequently cannot marry into her father's father's matriline, and marriages of both types in question, i.e. such as 1 and 2, are excluded), or there is a dual division (ego's father's sister belongs to the same moiety as ego's children, and marriages of the first type are excluded) and an additional prohibition for men alone to marry their mother's father's matriline (preventing marriages of the second type). Only the second possibility is consistent with Rivers' statement of a matrilineal dual division.

If we accept it, a man will have to distinguish within his opposite moiety (1) women who belong to his father's and his mother's father's matriline, (2) women for whom he belongs to their father's matriline, and (3) marriageable partners. A woman will have to distinguish (1) men who belong to her father's matriline, (2) men for whom she belongs to their father's or mother's father's matriline, and (3) marriageable partners.

The kinship terms are in remarkable consistence with this grouping: all persons of ego's mother's father's matriline are called *sibi* (grandparents); all persons of ego's father's matriline (except father's mother) are called *tama* and *ratahi* (father and mother); all persons with respect to whom ego belongs to their father's matriline are called *nitu* (children); and all persons with respect to whom ego belongs to their mother's father's matriline are called *mabi* (grandchildren). A male ego may marry his *mabi* (then called *lalagi*), but not his *sibi*; a female ego may marry her *sibi*, but not her *mabi*; and the *tama-ratahi-nitu* group constitutes a classificatory family. I suppose that it is this (amitalineal) "family" which is designated by the term *verana*.<sup>19</sup> According to the system, each person will have to distinguish within his opposite moiety (1) members of his *verana*, (2) members of a group whose men marry women of his own group (*sibi*), and (3) members of a group whose women are married by men of his own group (*mabi*). Sister exchange will be impossible under these conditions. I suggest that the three "subdivisions" of each moiety, mentioned by Rivers, are formed by these three categories of mem-

<sup>19</sup> Rivers, 1914, vol. 1, p. 189.

bers of the opposite moiety which must exist for everyone, differing from sibs in that they cannot form stable units nor a closed system.

The kinship term system is nearly consistent with the *verana*-structure. *Sibi* (grandparent, instead of *ratahi*, mother) for father's mother and *mabi* (grandchildren, besides *nitu*, children) for son's children (w.s.) (corresponding to the exception *lalagi* for sister's son's daughter [m.s.], instead of *nitu*) indicate a prior stage of distribution of kinship terms. The woman's set of terms lends itself very well to a reconstruction of a simple dual arrangement (see Fig. 6).

Nearly every term has a phonetic and semantic relationship to the reconstructed Ambrym system (Fig. 3). But, contrary to Ambrym, special terms for parent's siblings of the opposite sex are lacking. It will be noted that *ratahi* = father's sister (m. and w.s.) is reciprocal to *nitu* = brother's children (w.s.). *Hogosi* (originally "sibling of opposite sex") for mother's brother (w.s.) is suggested by its modern application to husband's father and (reciprocally) son's wife. This usage surely does not indicate marriage between a man and his father's sister (his *ratahi*) or a woman and her brother's son (her *nitu*), but if *hogosi* were reciprocal between mother's brother (w.s.) and sister's daughter (m.s.), and if a man's son married his sister's daughter, then *hogosi* had to be applied to husband's father and son's wife as well. In the wife's terminology, husband's sister is equated with brother's wife (the term is reciprocal). A corresponding term is lacking in the man's set. Probably *huri* took its place (cf. *huruk* MBC and MB in Sulol, *huri* FRH and FRDH in Pentecost); today the pair *sibi-mabi* (cf. Ranon *tivyug-mavyug*, cousins) is used instead.

Following the indications given by the kinship terms, we may conclude that the old Pentecost system was very similar to that of old Ambrym. There can be little doubt that it was based on matrilineal descent, matrilocality, and cross-cousin marriage. A similar change in the rules of residence like that of Ambrym should have led to a similar section system. But, as I have shown, there are no indications of a patrilinealization of the Pentecost system. Nevertheless, the transition from the old to the new system should be explainable by a process corresponding to that of Ambrym. The fact that in the modern Pentecost system of kinship terms a man calls his father's sister's son as he does his father and his father's sister's daughter as his mother (and probably a sister's husband and his sister as his own mother's parents), i.e. that pairs of siblings are called like their maternal uncle and his wife, leads me to suggest avunculocal residence. This assumption will be confirmed, when the change in the regulation of exogamy can be shown to be the result of a transition from matrilocality to avunculocal residence.

With reference to Ambrym, I maintained that the old matrilineal and matrilineal dual system prevented a man from marrying a girl of his mother's moiety and (consequently) locality. Under avunculocal residence, ego's father's sister's children will live with their maternal uncle and his wife, who are ego's parents. Consequently, ego cannot marry his father's sister's daughter who is a member of

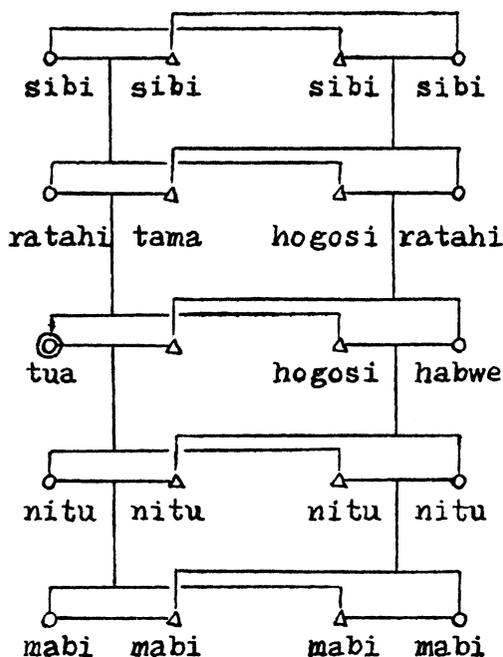


FIG. 6. The woman's set of terms in a reconstructed dual system (Pentecost).

his mother's locality where he cannot take a wife. The same relation exists between ego's sister and his father's sister's son or, reciprocally, between his mother's brother's daughter and himself. Moreover, ego cannot marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, since she lives with her maternal uncle who (being ego's patrilineal male cross-cousin) lives in ego's father's = ego's mother's locality. The daughters of his male cross-cousins belonging to ego's own moiety, there remains only mother's brother's daughter's daughter. She lives with ego's mother's brother's son who himself lives with ego's mother's brother's wife's brother and his wife. No forbidden locality relations existing, ego may marry her.

Her brother, on the other hand, might marry ego's sister, if there were not another prohibition by which a man cannot marry his mother's father's sister's daughter who, according to the new locality rules, lives in ego's mother's father's = mother's mother's place. Apart from the identification of local line and descent line, a girl living in ego's mother's mother's house represents something like his grandmother's secondary daughter or his own "step-mother" and cannot be married. For a woman the situation is different. Her mother's father's sister's son, living with her mother's mother and being a secondary son to her, cannot be called this female ego's "step-father," since he is only her "step-mother's" brother. By marrying this man, the woman reestablishes part of the old residence rule, since when residence was matrilineal, a woman always lived (together with her husband) in her mother's and hence mother's mother's place. These two points may explain why the rule not to marry into one's mother's mother's place (= mother's father's matriline) was restricted to men only. Without this restriction, not a single first or second cousin or cousin's child would have remained marriageable, whereas, by now, a man may only marry either his MBDD or his MMBDD. This regulation may be seen to be consistent with the arrangement of the kinship terms.

Thus, as in Ambrym, the extension of exogamy, i.e. the persons covered by its regulation, of the modern Pentecost system differs from that of the hypothetical former simple moiety system not because of an introduction of new exogamous regulations, but because the old rules of matrilineal local exogamy were retained under the conditions of avunculocal residence.

The kinship terms were adjusted accordingly. Ego's cross-cousins being no longer marriageable partners, had to be called by new terms. Father's sister's daughter living in the house of ego's *ratahi*, her mother being called *ratahi*, and no other term being available, she was called *ratahi* as well, and her brother was called like the man in whose house he lived, *tama*. The terms between cross-cousins being reciprocal, mother's brother's children had to be called *nitu*. Ego's mother's brother's wife was no longer his father's sister; to distinguish her from the paternal aunt (*ratahi*) ego called her *lalagi* or *mabi*, since she belonged neither to ego's nor to his mother's or mother's mother's local line, but to his opposite moiety, and ego could marry her after the death of her husband. A woman still called her husband's father (and he his son's wife) *hogosi*, but they were no longer mother's brother (w.s.) or sister's daughter (m.s.), and new terms are lacking. Sister's husband, being no longer mother's brother's son, was called like the man in whose house he lived, *sibi*. Reciprocally, wife's brother was called *mabi*. The terms *sibi* and *mabi* having thus become designations for the members of the opposite moiety standing in father's matriline relation to ego, the persons called *sibi* and *mabi* in ego's own

line had to be renamed. A woman living postnuptially in her mother's mother's house and marrying a man of the same line as her grandfather, mother's mother, sister, and sister's daughter's daughter could be called by the same term, at least in the woman's set (*tua*), a man taking over the term for mother's mother from his sister's terminology.

If residence shifts from avunculocality to patrilocality no new marriage regulations will result, as ego's only marriageable partner, (mother's) mother's brother's daughter's daughter, remains marriageable, whether ego is allowed to marry into his and his mother's patriline or not (*v.s.*). As long as the old rules of exogamy are not changed voluntarily, marriage with the members of ego's father's matriline remains prohibited. No six-section system can develop, and even the formation of exogamous patrilineal sibs is prevented by the combination of exogamous rules resulting from the coexistence of matrimoieties and the amitalineal *verana*—"clans."

#### V

Regarding Ambrym, I have tried to show that the reconstructions proposed by R. and B. Lane are neither necessary nor possible. Since neither a four-section system nor a three-sib system may be taken as a basis of the modern Ambrym system, I myself followed the last suggestion of the authors and started with a dual system as indicated by the kinship terms. But the structure of this dual system must have differed from that of a four-section system. By testing the modern lineation, I received indications of a dual division on a matrilineal basis without intersecting patrilineal formations characterized by matrilocality, possible sister exchange, and cross-cousin marriage. A comparison of this matrilineal dual system with the modern Ambrym system showed that residence rules must have changed. Why they changed cannot be determined by an analysis of the kinship system; but my conclusions that they were the first to change in the system of the old society is corroborated by the evidence which Murdock gained from his material of samples all over the world.<sup>20</sup> Since local exogamy was necessary in the old system and still may be found today, exogamous local patrilines must have originated when residence became patrilocal. Thereby, because the old rules of exogamy were retained, the persons (and consequently the relationship degrees) covered by these rules changed, and the marriage regulations resulted in the modern system. This system must be understood as a classification scheme applicable to an undefined number of sibs based on patrilineal descent.

Regarding Pentecost, I have tried to show that the system proposed by Seligman is neither necessary nor able to explain the regulations recorded by Rivers. From

<sup>20</sup> Murdock, 1949, pp. 212, 221.

an analysis of the kinship terms, I arrived at the idea that the development of the Pentecost system started from a matrilineal basis similar to that of Ambrym. A comparison of the old and the modern lineation showed that no regulations based on patrilineal had to be assumed, but that the change must have been due to a prohibition of marrying into father's matriline and (men only) into mother's father's matriline. Following the indications given by the kinship term system and paying special heed to the "family" structure of the *verana*, I assumed that avunculocality must have replaced former matrilocality. This assumption was corroborated by the fact that the old rules of exogamy, if retained under the conditions of (prenuptially) avunculocal (postnuptially virilocal) residence, resulted in the same system of marriage regulations which can be deduced from the modern kinship term system. A further change to patrilocality could be shown to remain without influence on the marriage rules and the matrilineal structure of the descent groups.

Allowing for special derivations and deviations the following general rules may be abstracted: Given a system based on exogamous matrimoieties without intersecting patrilineal formations (implying matrilocal residence, reciprocal cross-cousin marriage, and local exogamy) and provided that the old rules of lineal and local exogamy are retained, there must develop (1) if residence becomes patrilocal, a double descent system of matrimoieties and patrisibs (implying marriage with the daughters of both female cross-cousins), (2) if residence becomes avunculocal, a subsidiary system of matrilineal (local avunculines) (implying marriage with the daughters of the matrilineal female cross-cousins only). In both cases the extension of exogamy will be consistent with the old rules functioning under new conditions.

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