

ABSTRACT OF D.PHIL THESIS ENTITLED

'THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE TRIO INDIANS OF SURINAM'.

The Trio are a group of Carib-speaking Amerindians who live on both sides of the Surinam/Brazilian Frontier. At present they number about 600 and they retain much of their traditional culture. This thesis deals with the social organisation of these people, and the subject is treated in three parts. The first part - Chapters I, II, and III - provides a background to the main part of the study which is to be found in the second part - Chapters IV to X inclusive. The final part - Chapter XI - consists of certain comparative and theoretical points which arise from the thesis.

The area inhabited by the Trio is a headwater region covered with dense tropical forest, and it lies within a few degrees of the equator. Communication in the area, except by foot, is impractical, and the difficulty of travel on the main rivers which rise in the region helped to discourage early exploration and until recently it has remained relatively isolated from 'western' influences. The nature of the environment and the form of Trio material culture do not allow for thorough archaeological investigation, and accordingly the prehistory of the area can be little more than conjecture. Even within historical times (first European contact with the Trio was not until 1843) the number of ethnographic accounts of the Trio is small. It would appear, however, that the present Trio consist of the remnants of a number of formerly distinct groups which probably arrived in the area from different directions. A few of these groups may well have represented the survivors of people who had suffered, probably from disease, as a result of contact with Europeans from whom they had retreated. There seems no doubt that the Trio population was also declining but the recent events in the area are likely to halt this.

Both Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries are now working among the Trio, and the Protestant group has had a considerable influence on the Indians who have abandoned their traditional small scattered villages and have gone to live in two large settlements near the mission stations. The medical aid provided by the missionaries is likely to check the gradual extinction of these people.

The average population of a traditional Trio village was 30 inhabitants, and the settlements were at least half a day's march from each other. The villages were semi-permanent and a number of reasons existed for their frequent shifting. The village populations were also temporary and an Indian regarded a number of neighbouring settlements as his village.

Subsistence is based on cultivating and hunting; agriculture is of the slash-and-burn variety and the staple crop is cassava. The heavier agricultural work is performed by the men, but the care and preparation of cassava is the main female subsistence activity. There is a moderately well-defined division of labour on a sexual basis, and the man/woman partnership forms the basic viable economic unit. The importance of women as a factor in survival is shown by the well-developed property concepts in relation to them, while towards most other objects which can be easily replaced from the resources of the environment there is little trace of such attitudes. The possible exception to this are dogs which are important currency in the trade with Bush Negroes from whom the Trio obtain manufactured goods. The Trio attitude towards the Bush Negro is an ambivalent one; they are welcomed as the providers of much-wanted manufactured goods, but they are also dreaded as the source of the diseases which are exterminating the Trio. The Trio attitudes to women and to strangers are both important factors in the understanding of Trio social organisation.

There are 42 relationship terms used by the Trio and these have been classified into three types, Nominal, Organisational and

Structural. Chapter IV is concerned with the formal analysis of the Structural terms. The important fact which emerges from this analysis is that the relationship terminology, while basically that of a two-section system (marriage is prescribed with the bilateral cross-cousin), is completely adjusted to marriage with the sister's daughter, so that the father's sister's daughter is equated with the mother. It is shown that the identification of a marriageable 'mother' rests partly on experiential knowledge of the relationships and partly by the criterion of age. Age, as a means of social classification, is also explored in reference to ego's own male descent line and the opposing descent line. It is possible to show by this means that ego defines his patrikin by genealogical criterion but his matrikin by less definitive means including relative age. The only logical method of providing a diagrammatic representation of the system involves placing siblings only at any single genealogical level.

A further interesting feature of the relationship terminology is the absence, for a male ego, of distinct terms for his own or brother's children as against those of his sister. This feature is logically related to the lack of any definite rule of descent, and this subject is explored thoroughly in Chapter V. Although descent is ordered bilaterally this is only realised by reference to the senior generation. Locality can be seen to play a more important part than descent in the ordering of relationships. Inheritance has a strong affinal character, and it is only in the inheritance of a shaman's rattle that a definite patrilineal tendency emerges.

The disappearance of the traditional settlement pattern prior to the start of the field investigations among the Trio offered a serious obstacle in the way of fully understanding their social organisation. However, an analysis of an ethnographic source suggested a suitable line of approach which was then applied to the new large settlements. There is general agreement in the results

obtained which show that about 80 per cent. of the brother/sister pairs live together, that nearly a third of the sister pairs do so and that only one half of the brothers live together. There is associated with this a slight hint of matrilocal post-marital residence, but there is an equally strong tendency for married couples to live with both sets of parents or the surviving parent of either spouse. House residents normally consist of the members of a single nuclear family.

Conventional attitudes between different categories of kin are not clearly expressed. Two general rules of behaviour are clearly defined; reserve between members of proximate generations and restraint between men and women which is only relaxed between potential husbands and wives. Following the lines of the division of labour a man's behaviour vis-à-vis his father or mother's brother is one of co-operation, while that between a man and his mother or his sister is one of interdependence. For a variety of reasons the elder sister is usually an influential figure in a man's life, and although she is superseded by her brother's wife, who can offer both economic and sexual services, the tie between brother and sister never dies and at death of either or both of their spouses it is rejoined as strongly as before.

The subject of marriage is a very important one since it is the means by which the Trio exchange their most valuable property and it is thus the central institution of the social organisation. The conventional rules prescribe marriage with the bilateral cross-cousin but secondary preferences also exist which include the marriage with the sister's daughter. Village endogamy is also favoured. The coincidence between convention and practice is high, but the secondary forms represent a large proportion of the total. It is also shown that there is a correlation between conventional and oblique marriages when the total society is viewed through the eyes of one of its members. This suggests that oblique marriages

are a function of the terminology, and this is demonstrated by the fact that almost 95 per cent. of the marriages are between people of the same age generation.

It is then shown that the Trio do marry the closest genealogically related person of the prescribed categories, although the proportion of such marriages is small. A larger number of spouses have previous relationship by marriage. Various secondary types of marriage are aligned with the main system and emphasise the organisation of the structure. A few examples of direct exchange, which is the important aspect of Trio marriage, are given.

There is no ritual involved in the process of marriage or divorce although a stranger may have to bargain in a ceremonial dialogue to obtain a wife, settle the question of bride-price (which is not paid when a marriage is between closely-related people), and of post-marital residence. Chance of success in ceremonial dialogue is heavily weighted towards the older man, a fact which accounts for the matrilocal residence.

The Trio see marriage as a step towards having sons-in-law or daughters-in-law who will provide for them in their old age. The attitude between affines is marked by avoidance, but the degree to which this is practised depends upon the relationship. In the case of unrelated strangers it is severely applied but when a closely related co-resident is involved the attitude does not alter from that existing prior to the alliance. Affinal avoidance is interpreted as a method of reducing social friction, of enforcing certain standards of behaviour in cases where they are not implicit in the relationship, and of deterring men from marriage into a strange community. There is no evidence to suggest that the bride-service performed by a stranger is particularly onerous nor that marriage with the sister's daughter eliminates bride-service. In both cases the obligations between the affines are reciprocal, and while for the stranger the

duties are new ones, for the close relative they are merely the re-affirmation of pre-existing ones. The obligation between affines reduplicates the co-operation between kin.

The exchange of prestations by affines marks every aspect of Trio life, but it reaches its ritual development in the dance festival which centres on such an exchange. The Trio dance festival also has religious, economic and political functions, and it is a period when the inhabitants of neighbouring villages relax the normal attitude of hostility towards each other and combine in the expression of their common values. The suspicion of strangers which the Trio have is related to sickness and their beliefs concerning the causation of sickness and death.

In the summary it is shown that the various facets of Trio culture are related to each other and together form a logical whole which is the social organisation of the Trio. A conjecture concerning its development is then made - it is suggested that as the size of the population gradually decreased the individual communities became more isolated, introverted and anxious for its members. This in turn resulted in village endogamy and locality becoming more important than descent in the ordering of relationships.

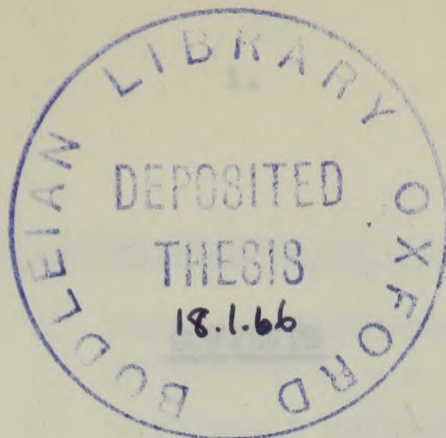
The final part of the thesis which deals with certain comparative and theoretical aspects of marriage with the sister's daughter draws attention to the lack of good ethnographic accounts of this type of alliance both from South America and South India, the two areas in which the trait has been most widely reported. The accounts which do exist show that each society bears some similarity to the Trio. The first theoretical proposition which arises from this study is a new form of prescriptive alliance. It is claimed that marriage prescribed with the mother's brother's daughter who is also the sister's daughter is the ultimate development of direct exchange in a closed system. It bears strong structural resemblances to patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, but it has not been possible

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to relate the theoretical ideal to an empirical example, although it is shown how it could develop.

It is also concluded that evidence from the Trio completely supports Lévi-Strauss's theory concerning the nature of a society which practises avuncular marriage. In an attempt to take Lévi-Strauss's ideas a stage further it is proposed that the development of marriage with the sister's daughter occurs as a result of pressure or shortage on human resources. A number of qualifications have to be made to this initial hypothesis and although not entirely satisfactory its obvious potential universal application makes it worthy of further consideration. On this note the thesis ends.

The thesis includes two maps, fourteen figures, thirty-three tables and a genealogical table containing 786 Indians.



THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION

OF

THE TRIO INDIANS

OF

SURINAM

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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INTRODUCTION

During my months among the Trio my world had shrunk to the size of their world. As the aeroplane lifted above the trees, and the realisation of the immensity of the universe was thrust violently back into my awareness, it was like the re-experience of a long forgotten taste. I sat and savoured this unusual sensation, and absorbed in it came to regret that I had not tried to find out the impressions of the few Indians who had travelled by air.

I doubt that such a line of enquiry would have elicited any coherent ideas. Could the Indian's eyes and mind have adjusted themselves to comprehend such a vast and undifferentiated view as the jungle affords from the air? I found that Indians who had visited the coast of Surinam were no more competent than I was at explaining to their less-travelled compatriots the wonders of civilisation. A Trio in his traditional environment may never have an horizon of more than two hundred yards, the diameter of the village clearing. His life is spent in a wall, with the sky a bright hole above the forest walls so that even the size of the firmament is restricted by the tree tops. Concepts of distance and direction lose meaning away from this world and the Trio language lacks terms to express such ideas which instead rely on common experience. Directions are given in terms similar to those in which music hall jokes portray the efforts of a yokel to direct a motorist. The Trio word for a village is pata which also means place and must be contrasted with the forest, itu which is without a place.

The Trio make more important distinctions between the village and the forest. The village is the world of humans, a sanctuary in which even animals which are normally hunted, when kept as pets, will not be eaten if accidentally killed. The forest is the world of spirits and strangers. But these two

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worlds are not separate and independent; the jungle for ever encroaches on the village and the Trio by cutting and burning his field is not merely performing an essential agricultural activity since these acts symbolise for him a far greater battle. The jungle is ambivalent, it stands between life and death. The Trio do not fear the jungle but there are things in the jungle to be feared.

The Trio are an anxious, fearful people and their apprehension of the world beyond the village is an element of their culture which one cannot ignore. It is not an irrational, ill-defined misgiving but a firmly based and well-founded suspicion which has influenced many facets of Trio life. This aspect clearly emerges in the pages of this thesis, but here I would like to remedy any injustice this impression may cause.

I suppose all anthropologists become emotionally involved, to a greater or lesser degree, with their subjects, and I wish briefly to allow my romanticism free rein to express my sentiments about the Trio. My whole time with these people was spent as their guest, living beneath their roofs, sharing their food and their hunger. The families with whom I lived were kind, generous and solicitous, my informants long suffering and patient, and all the Indians tolerant of my stupidity, ineptness, and awkward behaviour. I cannot recall a single case in which an Indian showed any sign of anger or impatience with me; I cannot maintain that I was always equally civil with them. Finally these charming and hospitable people who looked after me with quite exaggerated care made strong efforts to make me stay, even offering to build me a house. When my actual moment of departure arrived I turned from the aircraft door and made the conventional remark of goodbye to the two hundred Indians assembled, but not a murmur of the conventional assent arose

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The best news which I have had since leaving Surinam is a letter from a missionary to say that during 1964 there were twelve births at the village of Alalaparu, and only one death, a great and heartening improvement over the figures for 1963 which appear in Chapter II of this thesis. I hope it will not be too long before I have the opportunity to revisit yimoititon in the tall, dark forests of Surinam.

These sentiments find no expression in the following pages, and I would like to make an apology to the Trio if I do not represent them favourably. My apologies extend no further for reasons which are implicit in the aims of this thesis. This work is not readable as a literary narrative because it deals with facts, which are notoriously unpalatable even to anthropologists. Facts are the raw material of all scientific thought and this point seems to have escaped the attention of too many social anthropologists who seem intent on restricting the discipline to a level of impressionistic views and ineffectual conjecture. As recently as 1961 Professor Dumont was provoked to write: "as a counterweight to top-heavy generalizations, let us demand facts, more facts and always facts" (Dumont, 1961, p.76). This thesis tries to answer Dumont's plea, and one of its aims is to provide the kind of facts for which he asks.

My fieldwork among the Trio was planned with this in mind, although the intention was slightly different to the result. The Trio appeared to represent the last Carib-speaking group whose cultural and demographic state would allow a final chance to answer many of the questions which still exist concerning this linguistic stock. Accordingly the purpose of my researches was not so much the investigation of any specific problems, but a

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salvage attempt on a people near the brink of extinction and about whom there is little basic ethnographic information. On this score I failed; partly because I was a mere twelve months too late in reaching them, and partly because the Trio were found to possess a social organisation which, with the possible exception of the Waiwai, is strikingly different to that reported from any other Carib group. If my intention failed, it did not do so in vain, since the Trio material has raised further problems and doubts concerning Carib ethnography and has highlighted some of the 'top-heavy' generalizations'. For example, are the Carib-speaking people really matrilineal as writers have glibly asserted? There is certainly no good published evidence on this point, and the present study does not support it.

My main aim, however, is realised in the pages of this work, much of which consists of statistical and factual data concerning the Trio. For this reason these Indians may appear to the reader as so many chessmen. I am not certain, nor am I going to try to see, how far the analogy of chess can be taken, but to play chess it is not enough to be able to identify the pieces, one must also know their value in terms of their moves and the aim of the game. In the same way the facts of Trio social organisation need interpretation. Perhaps the one trouble in social anthropology has been the tendency to make an interpretation without providing the facts upon which it is based. This has been the cause of much wasted time, for it is not about facts that we should be arguing but about their interpretation. On this the ethnographer has an undoubted advantage since there is much in human behaviour which defies precise definition, and its measurement relies on the subjective criterion applied by the observer. Experience is the essential factor, since there is no way

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of translating the variables of human behaviour, which have been subjectively gauged, into simple objective quantities, and expect to leave their implications and nuances intact. However this is a digression and our lead in this matter should come from the Année Sociologique school and from the pride which Malinowski professed when his ethnography was good enough to allow Mauss to make an alternative interpretation from it (Malinowski, 1926, p.41, fn.) . I would like to think that my ethnography shows some of this quality, and I would indeed be delighted if someone were to reanalyse it and reach a different conclusion from my own.¹

This thesis contains, therefore, a great weight of factual detail concerning the social organisation of the Trio, and my interpretation of these facts. I feel that this is the first stage in the understanding of a society. It provides a solid foundation upon which my further work on these people may safely rest, it provides a clear factual basis which will permit comparative studies, and it is the first deep reservoir of knowledge in an area which is an ethnographic wilderness. The reader will find that certain aspects of Trio culture have been treated summarily, but this has been done in order to keep the thesis strictly within its terms of reference. These can be simply stated; to reach a logical explanation of Trio social organisation which is supported both by the factual evidence and by Trio ideology. In this attempt I have drawn my conclusions from all Trio social institutions, but I have

1, Co-operation is another quality which seems to have lost ground among anthropologists since the days when Malinowski wrote Crime and Custom.

In learning the Trio language, for their complete understanding of interpretation, and for the evidence which they can provide on the subject.

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isolated the relevant elements without describing in detail their background. For example, Trio ideas concerning the causation of sickness and death are mentioned, but the reader will not find a description of the total system of Trio beliefs. I believe this course to be justifiable and that the reader will accept that I have not concealed any contradictory evidence.

In writing this thesis I have been faced with a difficulty as to the tense in which certain parts should be expressed. This problem arises from the fact that recent events (described in the thesis) have disrupted certain features of Trio life. For example, the Trio have abandoned their small villages and now live in large communities. Many of the ideas associated with the traditional distribution still exist although others have disappeared along with other features of Trio culture. In order to resolve this confusion those traits which no longer exist are referred to in the past tense, and elsewhere the present tense is used.

The conditions under which the fieldwork was conducted were in many ways ideal. It has already been mentioned that I lived with a Trio family as a member of it, and in a house without walls in the centre of the village which allowed a commanding view of all comings and goings. This is well illustrated by Plate VI, a photograph which was taken from the comfort of the hammock which was my vantage-point. All my researches were carried out in the Trio language, which is the only language the majority of Indians can speak. I am grateful to the members of the West Indies Mission and to Claude Leavitt of the Unevangelised Fields Mission for help in learning the Trio language, for their occasional services as interpreters, and for the kindness which they and their wives showed me.

Introduction

I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr. Vera Rubin and the Research Institute for the Study of Man in New York who completely financed my fieldwork by a most generous grant-in-aid and whose generosity has extended to a further grant towards the analysis and preparation of my field notes. My thanks are due also to the pilots of the Missionary Aviation Fellowship who in three hours safely transported me a distance it would have otherwise taken weeks to cover. My admiration for their skill and courage in their daily flights in small single-engined aircraft across such terrain is boundless.

There is obviously not room here for me to thank individually everybody who helped me - although my gratitude is no less strongly felt - but I would like to single out three people for special mention. Firstly, Audrey Butt who encouraged me to return to social anthropology; secondly, my supervisor Rodney Needham; and finally Sarah, my wife, without whose understanding and help this thesis would never have been written.

PART 1

BACKGROUND TO THE TRIO

This first part of the thesis is designed to provide an introduction which, while not intended to be exhaustive, will provide an adequate, if general, description of the Trio. The purpose of this is twofold; firstly, to avoid distracting the reader's attention by superfluous explanations in the main body of the work, secondly, to give the reader a clear idea of the setting of the main theme of the thesis without which any feeling of reality will be diminished.

This introduction is divided into three chapters which deal respectively with the area and environment in which the Trio live, the history and sources of information about these people, and a general review of the way in which they live.

The area which, until recent times, remained remote from the world which occurred at the mouth of the river to which it gave name, and even today relatively little of the region is known.

To the East, the watershed is formed by the East-West range of the Tunchumun Mountains; for the most part these consist of a series of forest-covered hills which rarely exceed 1,000 ft. in altitude. These hills are interspersed with massive blocks of vertical-sided black rock which rise to over 1,000 ft. above the surrounding forest. In the extreme west of the Trio territory a spur of the Tunchumun, the Grande Montagne, runs northward into Surinam between the basins of the Likaal and Palikur rivers. It about 30 degrees West longitude the base of this range turns north-south and as the Kikorta or Rapo River flows upriver the Surinam river, the Tunchumun and the Palikur.

The watershed to the west of this is less well-defined until the extreme west of the region where it is marked by an extreme extension of the Palikur range.

CHAPTER I

THE SETTING

Geographical location - Topography -
Climate - Fauna and Flora - Isolation
of the region

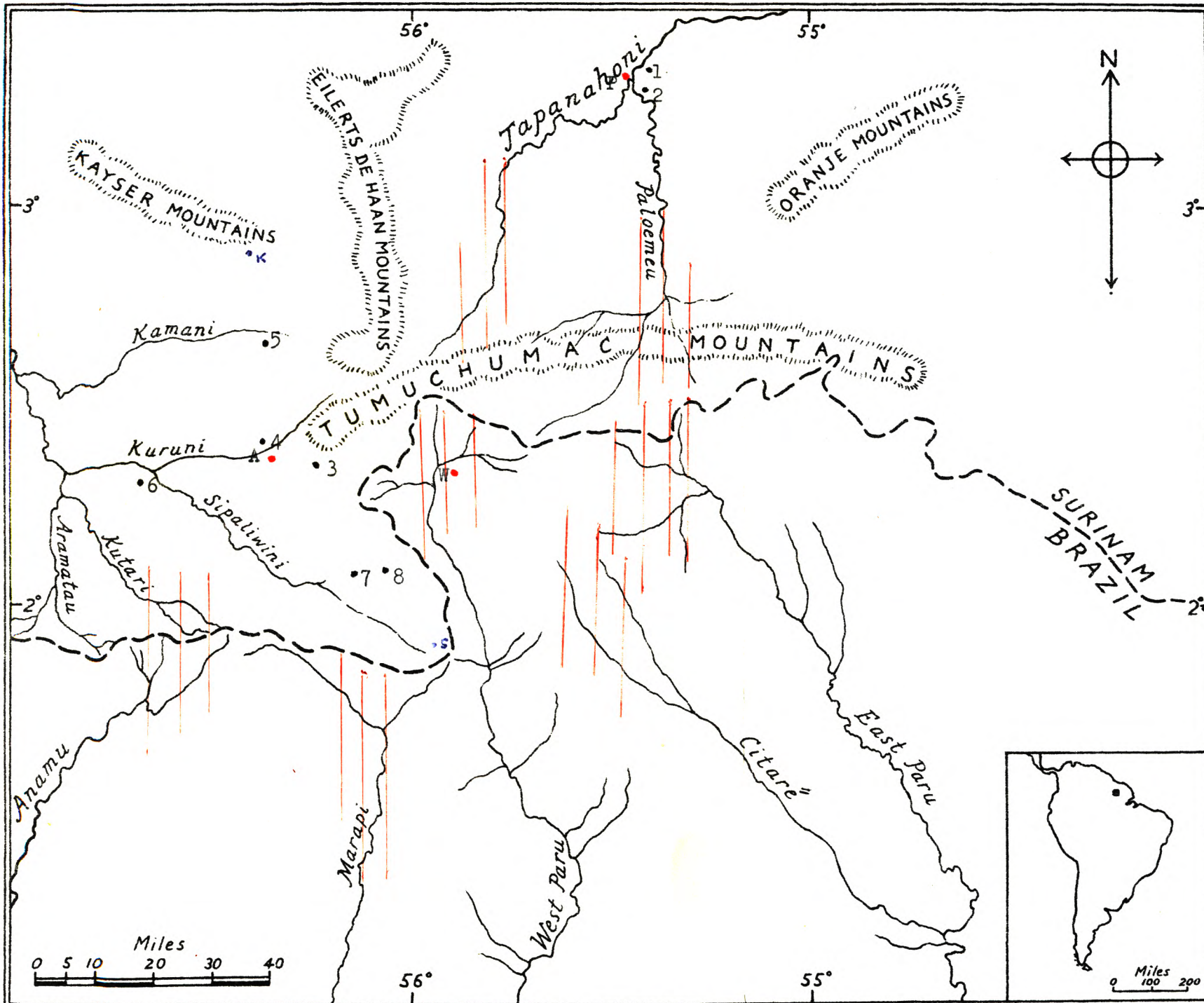
The Trio live in an area approximately bounded by 1 and 3½ degrees North latitude and by 55 and 57 degrees West longitude. The region is politically divided between Brazil and Surinam, and the frontier shared by these two countries follows the watershed which separates the rivers which flow northwards directly to the South Atlantic from those which run south to join the Amazon. It is an area which, until recent times, remained remote from the events which occurred at the mouths of the rivers to which it gave birth, and even today relatively little of the region is known.

To the East, the watershed is formed by the East-West ranges of the Tumuchumac Mountains; for the most part these consist of a series of forest-covered hills which rarely exceed 1,000 ft. in altitude. These hills are interspersed with massive blocks of vertical-sided black rock which rise to over 3,000 ft. above the surrounding forest. In the extreme east of the Trio territory a spur of the Tumuchumac, the Oranje Mountains, runs northward into Surinam between the basins of the Litani and Paloemeu Rivers. At about 56 degrees West longitude the main axis of this range turns north-south and as the Eilerts de Haan Mountains separates the Surinam rivers, the Tapanahoni and the Sipaliwini.

The watershed to the west of this is less well-defined until the extreme west of the region where it is marked by an eastern extension of the Sierra Acarai.

MAP 1: The region inhabited by the Trio Indians.





KEY

• Missions stations

P = Paloemeu

A = Alalaparu

W = West Paru

• Trio villages which are known to have existed in 1961

1, Kumarukonre

2, Koepipanompe

3, Panapipa

4, Mahatitiki

5, Maha

6, Sipaliwini

7, Tepu

8, Aro

Other areas in which the Trio are said to have been living in 1961.



The nature of the ground away from these main ranges varies; the largest rivers have worn wide peneplains which extend many miles either side of their main course, and their uniform flatness is only occasionally interrupted by single hills. Away from the larger rivers the ground is frequently undulating, and when traversing the country on foot one climbs and descends innumerable steep-sided hills whose presence is barely discernible from the air.

As topographical features watercourses are more important than mountains; the main rivers of Surinam which rise in this region are, from east to west, the Paloemeu, the Tapanahoni, the Sipaliwini and its tributaries the Kutari and Aramatau. Important right-bank tributaries of the Sipaliwini are the Kuruni and Kamani.

The Amazonian rivers which have their source in the region are the East Paru, the Citaré, the West Paru, Marapi, and the Anamu, which is an upper tributary of the Trombetas. A feature which the Surinam and Brazilian rivers have in common is that they are blocked along much of their courses by a series of falls and rapids making them of limited practical use as navigable waterways into the interior - a factor which has played an important part in the history and development of the frontier region.

Besides these main rivers the whole area is criss-crossed by a great complex of permanent smaller streams and a multitude of creeks, rivulets and swamps of which many have only a seasonal life. While the level of the smaller streams will fluctuate quickly and greatly as a result of a single storm, the main rivers rise and fall more sedately. The difference between high and low water levels in a big river is as much as 15-20ft. Great tracts of the forest are inundated at the wettest time of the year, and during the dry season, the high water mark may be visible above the level of one's head many miles from a large river. During the wet season

travel by land is difficult if not impossible, and going by canoe on the main rivers is considered dangerous by the Indians.

There are slight variations in the rainfall regime depending on the exact location in the area (see rainfall and temperature graphs between pp.4-5.). In general the wet season occurs between April and August with May and June the wettest months. The main dry season lasts from August to November with September and October being noticeably the driest months. In November the rains return, but in the eastern part of the region there is a distinct secondary dry season in March before the onset of the main rains.

The rainfall of December and January is normally insufficient to affect the rivers, in which the water reaches its lowest level during March. Precipitation during the dry season falls in occasional storms, but it is rare for more than two weeks to pass without any rainfall. The change from wet to dry season, or dry to wet season, is usually marked by a series of violent storms. The prevailing winds in the area are consistently from the east, except in storms when 180 degree variation in the direction of sharp squalls is experienced.

The dry season is the hottest time of the year, and is also the period when the diurnal range of temperature is greatest. These factors are connected; the early hours of the morning feel very cold, and as soon as the sun rises above the horizon a thick mist develops, particularly over the surface of water, the temperature of which is warmer than the surrounding air. The heat of the sun soon disperses this mist, and the days are hot and clear. After sunset the temperature drops rapidly. In the wet season both the actual temperature and the diurnal range is lower, especially on those days which are overcast and the cloud hangs about the top of the trees. Deep in the forest there is probably not much difference between the annual and diurnal temperature range, but in a village clearing the diurnal range is in excess

Notes on rainfall and temperature graphs

Meteorological records have been kept at Government airstrips in the interior since they were opened. Since none of these strips have been open more than five years, the graphs which have been prepared are based on averages from the figures collected over four years. Although this is insufficient time to remove the discrepancy of any exceptional season the graphs do provide an adequate representation of what subjective measurement gave the impression of happening.

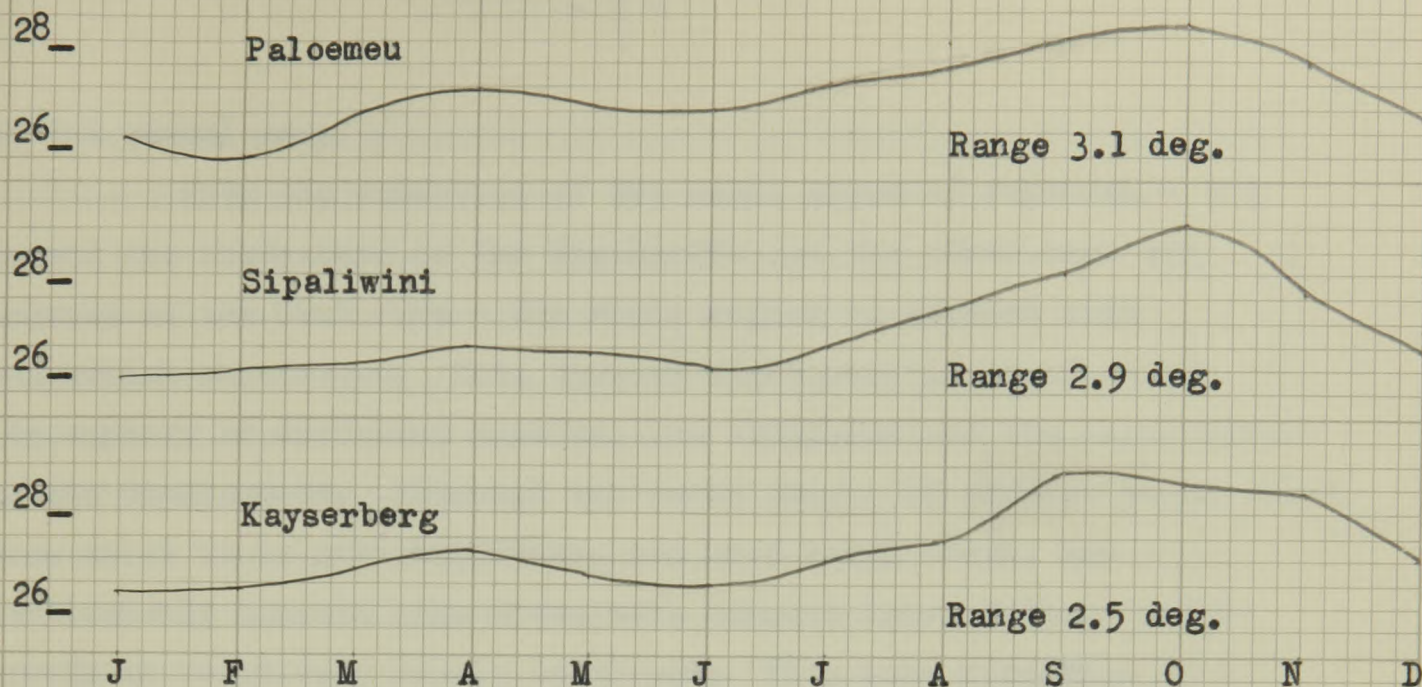
The position of these sites will be found on the map between pp. 2-3.

P. = Paloemeu

S. = Sipaliwini

K. = Kayserberg

TEMPERATURE(in degrees Centigrade)



RAINFALL(in millimetres)

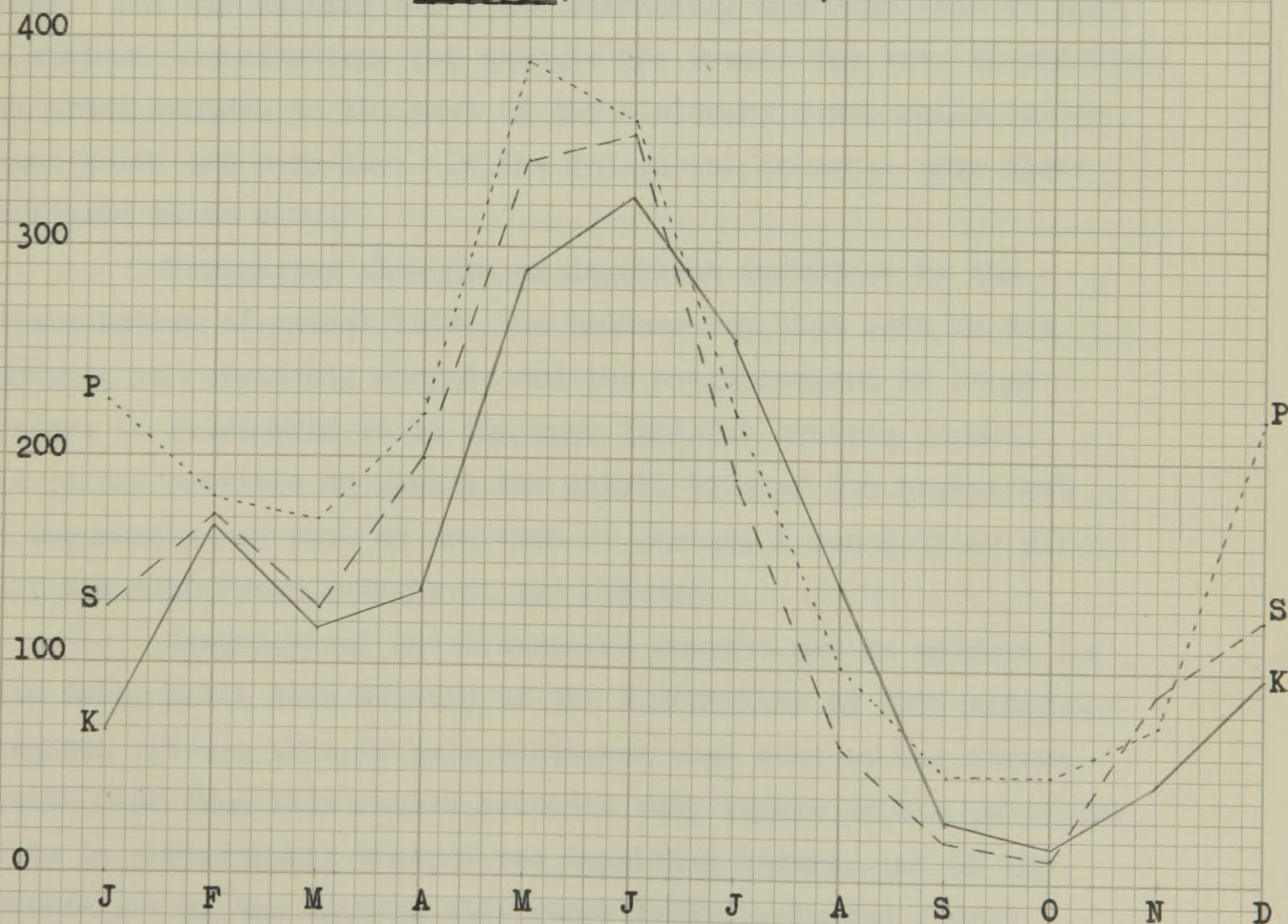


Figure 1: Seasonal distribution of rainfall and temperature for three sites in the interior of Surinam.

of the annual one. With the exception of two small areas of savannah - one around the headwaters of the Sipaliwini and the other near the sources of the West Paru - the whole region is covered with equatorial rainforest. This type of vegetation is typified by its variety of different species, its abundance and the magnificence of its development. Although the dense jungle of popular imagination does exist it is not ubiquitous, and over large areas, and particularly beneath high trees with massive upper foliage undergrowth is relatively poorly developed. This more open type of environment is usually restricted to the higher ground, and the swampy areas and river banks are distinguished by many species of palm. Not all species are found everywhere and some seem to have a curious distribution; for example the Brazil Nut tree flourishes in great numbers to the west of the Alalaparu creek while to the east there are very few. In the Tapanahoni/Palcemeu area there are said to be none. Topography also has an important influence in the distribution of animal life; the Indians say that game in the uplands is relatively scarce, and the neighbourhood of large rivers is considered to be the most fruitful hunting ground. It is not possible to assess the animal life of the region but I can merely say that at one time or another I saw dead or alive all the best known animals of the Guianas. Geographical and historical reasons can be adduced for the delay until this century of the exploration of this watershed region. It has already been mentioned that none of the rivers which flow from this region provides easy access to the interior. This is particularly true of the Brazilian rivers, and of the Courantyne on the Surinam side whose falls prevented ascent until the early 19th century. The majority of exploration involving

by even such an indomitable adventurer as Robert Schomburgk. This comment is only partly true of the Maroni but the main course of this river does not lead to the territory occupied by the Trio. It is worth noting that the only other main river which flows from the Tumuchumac range to the Guiana Coast is the Oyapock which forms the frontier between Cayenne and Brazil. This river is a relatively easily navigable waterway and the earliest explorations to the source of this river and over the watershed date from the first half of the XVIIth century. However, the physical difficulties of ascending these rivers cannot be taken as the only reason for the delay in exploration or it would be safe to assume that they would still remain impassable, which is not the case.

Another difference existed between the Oyapock and the Maroni and Courantyne; from the XVIIth century the French colonised the lower reaches of the Oyapock but no European settlements were founded near the mouth of the other two rivers until the beginning of the XIXth century. The reason for this seems to be attributable to the large population of Caribs which we know to have lived on the banks of these rivers, and which were perhaps powerful enough to dissuade the early colonists from settling there.

The role of the Caribs as an obstruction in the way to the interior was taken over in the XVIIIth century by the escaped African slaves, the Bush Negroes. These people were sufficiently powerful to prevent all European movement into the interior until a peace treaty was signed in 1860. By this date the Bush Negroes had developed a valuable trade with the Indians of the interior, and the difficulties which the Bush Negroes continued to place in the way of would-be travellers until the last decade has generally been regarded as an attempt to preserve their trading monopoly.

Further to this the great impetus and goal of the early explorers, the search for fantastic riches, had for the great part waned by the XIXth century. The majority of immigrants arriving

in South America during this century came to find wealth in less risky ways.

On the Brazilian side of the frontier, colonisation of areas immediately adjacent to the Amazon had begun in the XVIIth century, and these activities are well documented. Little is known about the exploration of the Amazonian tributaries in Para. There is the record of Francisco de San Mancos who made an ineffectual attempt at exploring the Trombetas in 1725 but as late as 1873 a writer noted that the Trombetas was little known (de Souza 1873: p.233). The French explorers of the XIXth century mention Brazilians whom they met on these rivers which shows that it is wrong to assume that the area remained unvisited, but merely that accounts are lacking of such journeys many of which must have been made by illiterate balata-bleeders and diamond hunters, or mucambeiros, the Brazilian equivalent to the Bush Negro. The earliest accounts we have of the rivers of Para come from these French explorers who crossed the eastern end of the Tumuchumac range and travelled down the Yary and East Paru rivers. It was not until the beginning of the present century that the explorations of the Coudreaus provide the first coherent description of such rivers as the Trombetas and the Cumina. The outstanding feature to be deduced from these accounts is the almost total absence of population on the lower and middle reaches of these rivers.

Up to 1900 only two European travellers had entered the watershed region occupied by the Trio; during this century a number of Dutch and Brazilian expeditions and individuals have traversed the region, and finally, in 1959, European settlement started among the Trio. Since our historical knowledge of the Trio is inevitably related to this gradual European infiltration of the area in which they live, the subject more correctly belongs to the next chapter where it is considered in parallel with the history of the Trio and a review of the ethnographic material.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE TRIO

Prehistory - History - Trio sub-groups - Historical conclusions - Demography

This chapter begins with a review of the meagre prehistorical knowledge of the area in which the Trio now live, and then goes on to outline the history of the Trio, of which our awareness is directly related to the increasing entry into their territory of people of European and African descent. The chapter ends with a summary of the Trio's demographic state.

a. Prehistory

The most that can be offered under this heading is a series of more or less inspired guesses; there is very little information available which can be considered as established fact.

A Roman Catholic priest, Protasio Friel, who has probably had more experience of the area than any other living person, claims to have identified the following set of culture sequences (Friel, 1961a).

- i. The first inhabitants of the region were pre-ceramic stone-age hunters and collectors who survived until the XVth or XVIth century. He thinks that certain inaccessible Trio sub-groups still retain this type of culture.
- ii. In the XVIth or XVIIth century these earliest inhabitants were over-run by immigrants who came from the West. Friel has called these people the Proto-Trio of the Archaic level. These people, although still possessing a stone-age culture, practised primitive cultivation.

iii. A further wave of immigrants during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries introduced more highly developed forms of the existing culture traits. These people were the forerunners of the present Trio.

iv. The fourth phase is the one through which the Trio are currently passing, and the changes are the result of contact with exotic cultures.

Disregarding other criticisms which can be made of this plan, the main trouble about Frikel's outline of culture sequences is that it has no basis of fact, and even if he is right the lack of any detail except of the most superficial kind provides no assistance in a present understanding of the Trio. I have previously criticised Frikel's work (Rivière, 1963, pp.27-29), but my fieldwork in the area has exposed a number of other mis-interpretations or misunderstandings on the part of Frikel. For example he gives the names of some Proto-Trio sub-groups as Tchoni, Kaike and Aturai (Frikel, 1961a, p.5). These names are all characters in Trio myths, and while it is possible that they are groups of people personified as individuals for the purpose of the myths, Frikel gives no indication that he is even aware of this. Confusion on this subject can easily arise in Trio language since the word for people (witoto) is the same as that for a person; although a plural form does exist it is rarely used.

No methodical archaeological investigation has been undertaken in the area. Frikel has examined some cave sites on the Brazilian side of the frontier but no detailed report of his findings has so far been published. The little he has written is confusing since he has made an attempt to correlate his work with that of Evans and Meggers (1960) in British Guiana, but has shown that he has failed to understand their results (Frikel, 1961a, p.14). I have previously demonstrated Frikel's erroneous reading of Evans and Meggers' work (Rivière, 1963, pp.28-29).

His conclusion on archaeological evidence that older villages were on high ground away from the main watercourses, whereas the more recent settlements tend to be on the banks of larger rivers, seems to be correct, and there is ample evidence that this has happened in the Paloemeu river area during the last twenty years. Not so acceptable is his claim that old village sites can be dated back 200 years by the Indians being able to trace genealogical relationship through five or six generations to someone who is buried in an old village (Frikel, 1961a, p.13). My reasons for doubting this will be found at the beginning of the Index to the Genealogical Table where I have discussed certain problems in the collection of genealogical data.

Frikel, in another work (Frikel, 1961b), has postulated a more northerly origin for the earliest inhabitants of the Tumuchumac region. This in itself is not a startling claim but his evidence is the existence in the area of what appear to be obsolete ceremonial sites and the Indian tradition associated with them. He considers these sites to belong to an extinct people and to be connected with ritual surrounding the winter solstice - a suggestion which demands a migration of people or ideas from a latitude north of the South American sub-continent, and certainly from an environment other than Tropical forest. While such an explanation may well be right it does pose a number of questions. Who were these people? Where did they come from? When did they come?

If an area of origin has to be found for the people of this region, Frikel's earlier and less radical proposition of somewhere to the immediate north or north-west seems more reasonable in the present state of our knowledge about the whole region. In this he is supported by Fock who considers certain Waiwai culture traits to be linked with features of Sub-Andean cultures (Fock, 1963, pp.237-238).

Finally perhaps after undermining much of what has been written about the area,¹ I should add some constructive comment. There have been reported from almost every part of the interior of Surinam rock grooves. These grooves which can be found at falls and rapids on even the smallest creeks occur in very great numbers. On the Alalaparu creek I counted over 100 on a stretch of less than a mile. The present Trio have no idea what they are or how they were made, and there is some doubt concerning the obvious cause - the manufacture of stone implements. Some may be the result of natural rather than human agency, but only a small proportion. Disregarding such questions as why and how they were made, these grooves do indicate that a previous aboriginal people were much more widely distributed over the interior of Surinam than has been recorded within historic times, and that this population either lived there for a very long time or its density was far higher than at present, or a combination of these factors.

It is not surprising that indications other than an infrequent stone axe and odd pieces of pottery have not been found to support the idea of a larger population; the characteristics of the environment makes archaeological investigation very difficult, and the ephemeral nature of the settlements and the objects of the material culture further militate against the appearance of such evidence.

The prehistory of the Tumuchumac region is likely to remain obscure until it can be seen as a part in the whole picture of the prehistory of Guiana.

1, If my criticisms of Frikel can be simply stated it is his over-eagerness to see things in black-and-white. His attempts to do this result in the necessity to make assumptions, a dangerous exercise considering the shortage of factual data.

b. History

Trio is the name which is in common usage in Surinam and almost certainly derives from a Bush Negro corruption of Tiriyo¹ which the more easterly group of Trio call themselves as also do their Amerindian neighbours, the Waiyana. The Brazilians use the name Tiriyo. The westerly group of Trio are self-styled Tareno, and those tribes still further west who are aware of them call them Yawi.²

There is evidence to suggest that Trio is a generic term for a number of previously dispersed and autonomous groups. This situation no longer exists, but it would be wrong to ignore this possibility, and the history of these groups is included here. Although some of these groups are only nominally and artificially distinct from the Trio it is easier to separate them, and first consider those people who appear in the literature under the name of Trio.

The inhabitants of the Surinam coast were aware as early as the XVIIIth century that there lived in the interior a group of Indians called Trio. This information presumably reached them through the agency of the coastal Indians or the Bush Negro since no actual contact between the European colonists and the Trio is recorded in this century. The first meeting between the Trio and a European was in 1843 when Robert Schomburgk found them living near the source of the Anamu river, and on the Kutari (Schomburgk, 1845, p.85).

The next reference is an extremely brief one in an official document of Cayenne which states merely that 'the Trio

1, A note on the Trio language and its pronunciation will be found in Appendix A.

2, According to Waiwai mythology, the Yawi-yenna were the children of the Red Macaw and the Buzzard (Fock, 1963, p.63); this identifies them which Fock was unable to do (idem. p.73).

are no longer seen' (Rivière, L, 1866, p.147). The difficulty of this remark is that it obviously implies that the Trio had previously been seen, and except for Schomburgk no such reference appears to exist, and certainly not in relation to Cayenne.

In 1878 the French explorer, Jules Crevaux met a few Trio, the survivors of an epidemic, on the upper reaches of the East Paru (Crevaux, 1883, p.261 sqq.). Coudreau, who never met the Trio, states that they had retired from the Oelemari river region to the Tapanahoni in order to avoid the raids of the Wayarikure (Coudreau, 1893, p.78). He describes the Trio as being the most numerous of the Guiana tribes (*idem*, p.548) but his estimates always need to be treated with caution.

Thus during the XIXth century there were only two contacts between the Trio and European travellers, and in 1900 as little was known about these people as had been in 1800. In 1904 van Panhuys was able to write,

'Between these Indians and the colonists is no communication' (Panhuys, 1904, p.8).

In the six years between 1904 and 1910 the situation underwent a sharp change. Three official Dutch expeditions entered the area - the Tapanahoni expedition of 1905, the Tumuchumac expedition of 1907, and the Courantyne expedition of 1910-11. The reports prepared by the members of these expeditions, and particularly those of de Goeje in ethnographic matters, give the first general and clear idea of the region. The reports show that at this time the Trio were living among the headwaters of the East Paru, West Paru and Paloemeu rivers, and in the basin of the Sipaliwini; an area stretching between the two points where they had been found in the XIXth century. The members of these expeditions were told by the Joeka Bush Negroes that when they, the Bush Negroes, first reached the Tapanahoni the Trio were living on its lower reaches. Initially the relations between the Bush

Negro and the Trio were good, but they deteriorated, and the Indians retreated into the headwaters of the Paloemeu, and finally their most northerly village was a day's march overland from the source of this river.

Five years after the Dutch Courantyne expedition, the American Farabee crossed the region by the same route as Schomburgk had taken 70 years before and met the Trio in the same area as his predecessor. His work The Central Caribs adds only a little to the sum knowledge of the Trio.

The region then remained undisturbed for another decade, and in 1928 a Brazilian expedition under General Rondon visited the area and revealed the presence of Trio Indians, who had previously been unknown, on the Marapi. In 1937 the Dutch/Brazilian Frontier Commission worked in the region but their report is of relatively little ethnographic value. In 1938 two Americans entered the area in search of a compatriot, Redfern, whose aeroplane was thought to have crashed in the area; their search was not rewarded and on their homeward journey one of them was drowned in the Tapanahoni when their canoe capsized on the falls below the Paloemeu mouth.

In 1940 to 1942, a Surinamese of African descent, Lodewijk Schmidt, made three journeys to the area in the course of which he travelled through nearly the whole territory occupied by the Trio.¹ The account which he wrote of these journeys, although not such competent ethnography as the writings of de Goeje, has proved to be of incalculable value in the preparation of this thesis. In particular his census of Trio villagers is a remarkable achievement. Schmidt found the Trio living in the same general area as had been recorded by the earlier travellers to the region. The distribution of Trio villages as recorded by Schmidt is shown

1, I have been told, although I cannot vouchsafe the story's truth, that the purpose of Schmidt's journeys was to ensure that the Japanese had not constructed secret landing grounds in the interior!

on Map 2.

Schmidt's journeys among the Trio can be taken to mark the last phase in the exploration of the area, for in 1948 the first visit of Protasio Frikel heralded the initial stage of the present developments in the area. In 1959 Frikel's activities in the area culminated in the Brazilian Air Force making a landing ground on the savannah around the upper reaches of the West Paru, and in the same year a Franciscan Mission was founded nearby.

In Surinam, with the exception of an expedition in 1952 which entered the region to investigate a report that the Trio were suffering from a severe influenza epidemic, there was little activity until Operation Grasshopper began. This operation, which involved the opening up of the interior by the cutting of a series of airstrips, did not impinge on the Trio territory until 1960 when work was begun on an airstrip on the Sipaliwini savannah, and another on the left bank of the Tapanahoni opposite the mouth of the Palcemeu. The distribution of Trio villages had undergone one noticeable change since Schmidt's visits; the Indians had moved their villages down the Palcemeu river, and by 1961 there was one Trio village just above this river's junction with the Tapanahoni and another on the Tapanahoni just below the mouth of the Palcemeu.

More important for the Trio than Operation Grasshopper was that in 1959 the Surinam Government granted permission to the American Door-to-Life Gospel Mission to work among them. In the spring of 1960 this mission made its first contact with the Trio in the Sipaliwini basin¹, and a tiny airstrip was cut alongside the

1, Some idea of the isolation of the Trio can be gained from this story. At the first Trio village which the missionary Claude Leavitt entered, an old man, since dead, told him that he had seen only three pananakiri before. These had been Schmidt and the two Americans looking for Redfern. The Trio call Bush Negroes mekaro but classify negroes from the coast as pananakiri, as they do all white men except Brazilians who are called karaiwa.

Alalaparu creek at a point three miles from where it joins the Kuruni River, itself a tributary of the Sipaliwini. After the landing strip had been completed, the site was abandoned until August 1961 when the missionary work really began. A little earlier in the same year another station of the same mission had been founded at the Paloemeu airstrip.

In August 1962, the Door-to-Life Gospel Mission collapsed and the whole organisation was taken over by the West Indies Mission under whose auspices both the Alalaparu and Paloemeu stations continue to flourish.

The three mission stations, the two Protestant ones in Surinam and the Roman Catholic one in Brazil, have become centres of Trio population. As early as 1961 the Roman Catholic mission was described as becoming a focus of convergence for all neighbouring Trio sub-groups (Figueiredo, 1961, p.12). Since this date the distribution of the Trio has undergone some drastic changes, which appear to be the result of the greater attraction of the Indians to the Protestant missions in Surinam, and there has been a steady drift of population to these stations over the last three or four years.

When I began my researches among the Trio in 1963 the following situation existed; all the Trio in the Sipaliwini basin had moved to the Alalaparu mission station, and a few Indians had arrived there from Brazil. The Paloemeu station had attracted all the Trio living in the immediate vicinity and from higher up the Tapanahoni. A group from the East Paru area had reached the Paloemeu village in 1962, and in the dry season 1963/64 there was a large scale migration and it is said that there are now no Trio in the East Paru basin. The Trio from the West Paru are reported to be settling round the Roman Catholic mission, and only the villages on the Marapi and Anamu retain their traditional character. Thus in a space of four years the traditional settlement pattern of

the Trio had disappeared, and the small scattered villages have been replaced by large, but more widely separated settlements. Although I was too late to observe the Trio living in their traditional units, I have as far as possible related their social organisation to its old setting; indeed many aspects of it are inexplicable in the present social environment. While certain features of the system may already have become obscured, it is equally certain that the stresses involved in this upheaval have thrown into prominence many of their fundamental values.

It is now necessary to turn back and consider the various sub-groups of which the modern Trio are possibly composed.

c. The Sub-groups.

Frikel must be praised for being the first person to make a conscientious and methodical attempt to order and classify the tribes of the whole region. Earlier writers have been satisfied to provide a list of real and imagined people and have given the subject no further thought.

In his original classification Frikel considered the Trio to consist of six 'friendly' sub-groups, and a further six 'wild' ones. These were (Frikel, 1957, pp.541-562):-

<u>Friendly</u>	<u>Wild</u>
1. Maracho (Pianokoto)	7. Akuriyo
2. Okomoyana (Maipuridjana, Waripi)	8. Wayarikure
3. Prouyana	9. Wama
4. Arimihoto	10. Kukuyana
5. Aramagoto	11. Pianoi
6. Aranicho	12. Tiriyometesem

Three years later he revised this list and suggested the

Trio were formed from the following 13 sub-groups (Frikel, 1960, p.2):-

1. The Maracho who are the Pianokoto.
2. The Akuriyo.
3. The Okomoyana.
4. The Prouyana and Ragu.
5. The Arimihoto.
6. The Aramagoto.
7. The Aramicho.
8. The Wayarikure.
9. The Wana.
10. The Tiriyometesem.
11. The Pianoi who are a sub-group of the Aramagoto.
12. The Kukuyana who are a sub-group of the Pianokoto
(and also, presumably, of the Maracho)
13. The Kirikirigoto.

The addition to this list is the Kirikirigoto whom Frikel classifies with the Maracho, Okomoyana, Prouyana, Arimihoto, Aramagoto and Aramiso as being friendly and accessible while the rest he considers to be wild or, at least, inaccessible. In a still more recent article (1964) Frikel proposes some simplifications, but it is easier to review in more detail his 1960 list and consider his further modifications in their appropriate place.

At the beginning of the section on these groups, their name according to the phonetic spelling used for the Trio language elsewhere in this thesis is given after the name used by Frikel. This is followed in brackets by other orthographic equivalents which are to be found in the literature. A comment is also added on the meaning of the name in which matter I am in general agreement with Frikel, except in the case of Trio itself. Frikel claims that Tiriyo means 'club' or 'murder people' (Frikel, 1957, p.559), and although he may be correct in this, I found slight evidence to

support his translation. The Trio word for club is siwarapun and the stem of the verb to kill is watiri; presumably Frikel has derived the meaning of Tiriyo from the latter.

1. Maracho - Maraso: "Eagle (people)"; maraso is the Trio name for a specific white eagle which I have been unable to identify. It is also the name of a mythical character who by accidentally answering a tree instead of a rock when he heard a call caused the Trio to become short-lived like trees.

There does not appear to be any reference to the Maraso in the literature earlier than the first mention by Frikel in 1957. In 1963 my Trio informants knew a tribe by this name but said that they were all dead. Frikel has always bracketed the Maraso and the Pianakoto and he has recently concluded that they were essentially the same (Frikel, 1964, p.100). There seems to be no reason for doubting this conclusion, nor in fact for excluding from this simplification the Kukuyana, and treating all three under the heading of Pianakoto. The advantage in this being that the existence of this last group is better and more continuously documented from the middle of the XVIIIth century onwards than is any other group in this area.

Pianokoto - Pianakoto (Pianocoto, Pianoghotto, Pianogoto, Piannacotou, Piannocotou); "Harpy eagle people".

The Pianakoto were first reported in 1755 by Schumann as living on the upper Courantyne river (de Goeje, 1943, p.340), and in the same area by the English soldier Stedman in the 1770s (Stedman, 1796a, p.405). Robert Schomburgk was the first person actually to meet the Pianakoto, and in 1843 found them on either side of the Sierra Acarai in the region of the Anamu-Kutari divide. The Zurumata which he had seen on the Alto-Trombetas he considered to be a sub-group of the Pianakoto, and that the Pianakoto themselves to be a sister tribe of the Trio (Schomburgk, 1845, p.64 sqq.). There is in his writing a clear distinction between

the Trio and Pianakoto.

Forty years later the Waiwai told Coudreau that the Pianakoto lived south of the Alto-Trombetas and extended eastward to the country of the Waiyana (Coudreau, 1887, p.356). On his last voyage (up the Trombetas) Coudreau was told by his guides that the Pianakoto lived on the Anamu, but failed to see any of these people, although he claimed to have reached the mouth of this tributary (O. Coudreau, 1900, pp.70-79).

After her husband's death, Olga Coudreau continued to explore the rivers of Para, and on a journey up the Cumina met a number of Pianakoto dwelling below the junction of the Marapi and West Paru (O. Coudreau, 1901, p.119).

The reports of the Dutch expeditions which took place in the first decade of this century are notably silent on the subject of the Pianakoto, and de Goeje assumed them to be still living on the Anamu (de Goeje, 1906, p.4). Farabee also fails to mention the Pianakoto.

General Rondon, in 1928, found this tribe in the same area as Olga Coudreau had seen them (Rondon, 1953, p.12 & p.43). The Frontier Commission reported the Pianakoto as living among the upper tributaries of the Anamu (Aguilar, 1943, p.133). Once again the information from the Brazilian side contrasts curiously with that from Surinam territory. Only a few years after the Brazilian Frontier Commission, Schmidt could find out no more than that the Pianakoto whom the Trio considered to have been fierce had once lived in the Sipaliwini basin but that they had now all disappeared. Even in the villages on the Marapi nothing was known of the Pianakoto, and the Bush Negroes said that they had never traded with a people of this name (Schmidt, 1942, pp.47-48). In 1948 Frikel was told of the Pianakoto living near the source of the Kachpakuru - a middle reach tributary of the Trombetas (Frikel, 1964, p.98). The Trio of the Sipaliwini basin whom I questioned on

this subject in 1963 were mainly ignorant of the name, and even denied the previous existence of such people. Finally, in 1964, Frikel published an article suggesting that the Trio and Pianakoto are basically the same people. Today the name Trio is in use while formerly they were known as Pianakoto; the change in name being the result of inter-tribal mixing in the area (Frikel, 1964, p.104). This seems a reasonable proposition, the other possibilities being that a tribe of Pianakoto who once lived in the area have died out or moved away. The single certainty is that their existence is no longer recognised by the present Trio.

2. Akuriyo - Akuriyo (Acouri, Akolie, Akouris, Akuliju, Akuri).
"Cutting (people)?"

In Surinam the Akuriyo have always been associated with the Trio, and they are frequently considered as optional names for the same people. The use of the name Akuriyo when referring to the Trio was still common at the beginning of this century (*vide* de Goeje, 1906, p.2). Furthermore there is one XVIIIth century example of a confusion between the Akuriyo and Pianakoto (de Goeje, 1943, p.340).

Today the Trio say that all the Akuriyo are dead, but the name of these people does occur in the mythology and certain current culture elements are considered to have been borrowed from them. In a myth of which I heard two versions the second author substituted the Akuriyo for the Okomoyana who appeared in the first version. When I queried this the author seemed to think they were the same people.

3. Okomoyana - Okomoyana (Comayana, Komajana, Kumayana). "Wasp people".

Coudreau first reported the Comayana as living on the upper reaches of the Arcué River and being related to the Wayarikure (Coudreau, 1893, p.79). De Goeje wrote that the Okomoyana had

formerly (before the coming of the Bush Negroes) lived on the Paloemeu, and had moved to the Kuruni, Sipaliwini and Saramakka¹ river areas (de Goeje, 1906, p.4). The Okomoyana were said to have previously fought a bloody war against the Trio in the region of the Paloemeu (Franssen, 1905, p.131). Bakhuis met an Okomoyana at the Trio village of Apikollo (in the Sipaliwini basin), and wrote of him that he spoke and understood the Trio language (Bakhuis, 1908, p.111). Farabee visited a village of Kumayena near the junction of the Kutari and Sipaliwini rivers (Farabee, 1924, p.214).

An Indian mentioned to Schmidt the name of the Okomoyana but the latter never records meeting any of these people. By the middle of this century Frikel stated that no more than six or eight Okomoyana still existed, and that they lived scattered among other Trio sub-groups (Frikel, 1957, p.552). According to the information which I collected the Okomoyana who had once lived in the Sipaliwini basin were, with one exception, all dead. They were killed by colds, whereas Frikel says that they were exterminated by the Kukuyana (Frikel, 1957, p.552).

It has already been mentioned that there is some confusion between the Akuriyo and Okomoyana.

In his 1957 classification Frikel recognised two Okomoyana sub-groups, the Waripi and the Maipuridjana, but has left both names out of his 1960 list. He would appear to be right in having done this. In Trio a waripi is a small wasp, and according to Trio mythology an individual of this name was the first of the Okomoyana and he had his village at the junction of the Sipaliwini and Kuruni Rivers. This seems to be an error of the type described on p.9.

1, I have been unable to identify the Saramakka River but I assume that de Goeje is not referring to the Saramacca River whose source is many miles from the frontier region.

The Maipuridjana - Maipurisana are the Tapir people (there is doubt about this name being of Trio origin since the Trio word for tapir is pai). Trio informants considered this to be an alternative name for the Sikiyana who live on the Trombetas tributaries in the region of the Anamu River. They are said to be very fierce and to have killed many people with clubs and arrows.

This agrees with the warlike nature of the Tshikianas described by Schomburgk (Schomburgk, 1845, p.84) and of the Chikenas by Farabee (Farabee, 1924, p.194); the similarity of name, location and character makes their identification with the Sikiyana appear to be as definite as anything can be in this ethnographic chaos. However a Sikiyana woman married to a Trio stated that her people had been attacked and slaughtered by the Maipurisana. Regardless of who the Maipurisana are it seems certain that they do not belong among the Trio sub-groups.

4. Prouyana - Pireuyana (Proupe, Pleojana, Prauyana, Praupe). Arrow or "Arrowcane people".

First reference to these people comes from the reports of the Dutch Tapanahoni Expedition of 1905, but de Goeje describes them as being like the Waiyana and living in very large houses. Their villages are on the unidentified Pletani River (de Goeje, 1906, p.4). The name of these people does not appear on Schmidt's list (Schmidt, 1942, p.18).

Frikel found the Pireuyana in 1950 and again in 1952 living in seven or eight villages on the rivers Kumaruwini, Marapi, and Upper Arakopina in Brazil, and on the Tapanahoni and Akalapi in Surinam. He was told that the name derived from their practice of always travelling with big bundles of arrows (Frikel, 1957, p.555).

The information I was able to obtain on these people was rather more sparse. I met no one who claimed to be a real

Pireuyana, but Boyari (62)¹ said that his father and Aiyatu's (28) mother had been Pireuyana. They had all died as a result of a cold which a Bush Negro called Asuku had given to them. Very long ago the Pireuyana had lived at Samawaka which is an area of whitesand located near the headwaters of the West Paru and the Sipaliwini. It is the legendary homeland of all the Trio who later migrated to live in scattered villages. The reasons why the Pireuyana were called by that name were that they were always shooting their bows and because they had long thin legs like arrow canes - a physical feature which was certainly true of Boyari (62).

No information was forthcoming on the Ragu who are first mentioned by Rondon. Frikel describes them as a sub-group of the Pireuyana who had previously been an independent group but had been captured (Frikel, 1957, p.555).

One informant suggested that the Pireuyana were responsible for stopping the Trio from marrying their mothers and their sisters; this in a modified form is identical with the subject of the story in which the Akuriyo and Okomoyana variously figure. This is the single piece of evidence which in any way relates them to the other Trio sub-groups.

5. Arimihoto - Arimikoto (Arimigoto, Arimiyana). "Spider Monkey people".

According to Frikel this sub-group lived in the Paloemeu, Tapanahoni and Sipaliwini basins and numbered 100-120 souls (Frikel, 1957, p.545). This coincides with my own information except that they were said to have recently died out.

6. Aramagoto - Aramayana (Aramakoto, Aramogoto, Armagotou, Aramacoutou).

1, The number which appears after an Indian's name is his reference number in the Index to the Genealogical Table.

"Sweat Bee people".

I considered these people at some length in a B.Litt thesis (Oxford 1963, pp.171-172), and wrote,

"Frikel's Armagoto seem to be directly identifiable with the Armagotou, a tribe which is frequently mentioned during the second quarter of the XVIIIth century as living on the divide between the Camopi and Couyary. Sergeant La Haye found them first in 1728, and saw them again in 1731 in which year his word is substantiated by Capperon and de Monty. In 1742 a Mon. de Chabrilan was sent to the Camopi to stop a war that had broken out between the Armagotu and a tribe called the Caicouchianes. The Census of the Oyapock in 1749 lists forty-four Armagotu dwelling on the Oyapock. Prior to this, however, the Armagotu had suffered at the hands of the Oyampi, who were forcing their way northwards from the Amazon. The last reference to this tribe is 1769 when Patris' chronicler, Claude Tony, described the Armagotu as almost extinct, annihilated by the Oyampi who had been given guns by the Portuguese. The survivors lived on the Oyapock."

In the following paragraph I suggested that part of this group fled westwards away from the Oyampi migration; a possibility to which I can add no more factual evidence but one which I continue to favour.

Frikel found the Aramayana, numbering about 150, in the region of the West Paru and Citare; their name, he states, is derived from their rather dark complexion (Frikel, 1957, p.543). A Trio informant in the Sipaliwini area described the Aramayana to me in the same terms but added that they lived in hollow trees, and although they knew about cooking preferred to eat their meat raw. Another Indian said that the Aramayana did not know about fire and that their language was only slightly like that of the Trio.

Two features from this are worthy of further comment; Frikel considers that the Trio can be divided into two distinct physical types; one short, thick set and dark skinned, the other taller, with slender build and light coloured skin. He believes the darker type to be the earlier inhabitants of the region, and

the lighter coloured ones to have arrived more recently (Frikel, 1960). Although some Indians are shorter and more thickset than others who are taller and more slender, I cannot admit there is a correlation between these physical types and the colour of the skin, nor will I accept that the paler ones, when angry, will taunt the darker with the colour of their skins, as Frikel suggests. The skin colour of any individual Trio varies widely; a few days working in the hot sun and he becomes very dark, but a week sick in his hammock and he will be as pale as many Europeans.

Secondly, the Aramayana's purported ignorance of fire is of value in trying to identify another group, the Amikouan (Amiouana, Amikwan) of whom I have elsewhere written,

"This tribe, which was first seen by Sergeant La Haye in 1728 on the banks of the Kou, caught the popular imagination. The reason for this was La Haye's description of them as being 'long-eared'; this no doubt refers to a habit of piercing and distending the lobe of the ear to take an ornament.

In 1729 Father Lombard wrote a letter saying that the Amikouan were very primitive and even ignorant of fire. I have not seen a copy of this letter but in 1898 Henri Froidevaux published a paper refuting this, and producing as evidence a letter from La Condamine in which the geographer claimed to have discussed the Amikouan with Father Lombard who had admitted that he was wrong about believing this tribe to be unaware of fire.

Although listed as dwelling in the Oyapock basin in both 1730 and 1749, none of the travellers to the interior during this period mentions having met this tribe. In 1769 Patris is told that the Amikouanes live somewhere away to the southwest of the Ouaqui (in the Maroni?) but does not see them. This is the last definite news that is heard of this tribe. Many years later Coudreau suggests that the Amikouanes are the Oyaricoulets (Wayarikure), but gives no reason for making such a proposal.

Some doubt must surround the actual existence of this tribe; though La Haye's testimony on other groups is sound." (Rivière, 1963, pp.207-208).

The similarity of the Aramayana's and Amikouan's history is remarkable: they were initially reported by the same person, in the same year and in the same area. Both tribes are mentioned as living on the Oyapock by the 1749 census, and the last reference to them is in 1769 when one is described as having moved away to the south-west and the other as having been killed off by the Oyampi. The description of the Amikouan as 'long-eared' is unimportant since all the tribes of the area pierce the lobes of the ear, although admittedly not to the extent that the distension deserves such a nickname. The reputed ignorance of fire is the feature which first drew my attention to the similar background of these two tribes; this, in itself, is insufficient reason for assuming that the Aramayana and Amikouan are the same people, but it is not a totally unreasonable supposition.

The Pianoi belong under this heading since Frikel has classified them as an inaccessible sub-group of the Aramayana who live near the Citaré. I possess no information about these people and the details recorded by Frikel which include web-feet and the practice of eating the tips of their victims' tongues, seem inadequate grounds on which to believe in their existence.

7. Aramicho - Aramiso (Aramichaux, Aramih.tcho, Aramisho). "Pigeon (people)".

Once again it is simplest to quote the conclusions of my earlier researches on this sub-group.

"On their travels into the interior in 1674, the missionaries Grillet and Béchamel hear of them as a great nation living near the source of the Maroni. They are next heard of on the banks of the River Ouaqui by Mon. de Chabrillan in 1742, and a few are recorded as living on the Oyapock in 1749. In 1766 Simon Mentelle found them well to the west of the Camopi but it is difficult to identify the exact location. Tony, in 1769, is more precise and describes the Aramichaux as having villages on the Ouaqui, Tampoc and Maroni.

They are not again referred to as a tribe although individual Aramichaux Indians are mentioned by Milthiade

in 1822 and by Crevaux in 1878; in both cases on the Maroni.

The traditional home of the Aramichaux appears to have been near the Maroni and its upper east bank tributaries. The last record of them in this area as a tribe is very nearly coincidental with the arrival of the Bush Negroes on these rivers. The Aramichaux may well have fled southwards to live on the Amazonian side of the Tumuchumac Mountains, and become part of the Trio complex." (Rivière, 1963, pp.172-173).

In 1955 Frikel found them again near the upper East Paru and on the surrounding savannahs. He estimated there to be about 100 of them living in three villages and their culture to be 'stone age' (Frikel, 1957, p.545). The information which I collected from the Trio about the Aramiso was that they were all dead, but they had been small people with hairless bodies who were otherwise very like the Trio.

13. Kirikirigoto; I can find no mention of a tribe of this name anywhere in the literature although it appears on some XVIIIth century maps of the region (vide Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla, 1775). Kirikiri is the Trio name for a small green parrot, but a widely-travelled Indian had not heard of a people by this name.

This leaves 8. Wayarikure, 9. Wama, 10. Tiriyometesem which are the sub-groups Frikel defines as inaccessible and also unattached to any of the accessible groups. In 1963 I wrote of these tribes,

"Hoff considers the Tiriyometesem and the Wayarikure to be the same and in all probability extinct. Crevaux was the first to hear of the Wayarikure but virtually no specific details about them have ever been recorded. The Wama were contacted by members of the Frontier Expedition in 1937, and again by Ahlbrinck in 1938. These tribes are reputedly Carib-speaking." (Rivière, 1963, pp. 173-174).

All who have travelled among the Trio have heard fantastic stories about these 'wild' tribes, and in this respect I was no exception since the Wayarikure are a favourite topic of conversation among the Trio. I hesitate to suggest whether these people exist now, or even did so previously, but since it is certain that they

do not at present form part of the Trio it allows me to beg the question. My inclination is to place them with the other extraordinary people who dwell only in the Trio's imagination.

d. Historical Conclusions

Firstly, it is valuable to note that two distinct categories of Trio sub-groups can be recognised. On the one hand there are those which have been reported in the more westerly area, and are distinguished by the inter-changeable use of their names not only in the literature but in the present Indians' minds. At some period or another the following equations have occurred: Pianakoto = Trio, Trio = Akuriyo, Akuriyo = Pianakoto, Akuriyo = Okomoyana, Pireuyana = Akuriyo/Okomoyana. Information about these groups, except for occasional references to a name, is lacking until European travellers entered the region.

In contrast to these are the Aramayana and Aramiso who have a well documented history reaching back to the early XVIIIth century, and are now considered to constitute the more easterly Trio groups. There is considerable evidence to suggest that these groups migrated from somewhere further to the north and east, probably as a result of the Tupian migrations or of French intrusion along the Oyapock.

It is also suggested in the literature that the Indians who were found living near the frontier by the early explorers had previously lived further north but had retreated away from the Bush Negroes. It would appear then that the watershed region occupied its classic role as a retreat area, and although there is no precise knowledge about movements on the Amazonian tributaries, the harsh treatment which the Amerindians received at the hands of the Portuguese and the absence of an aboriginal population on the lower and middle reaches of these rivers indicate that a

northward migration of fleeing tribes might be a reasonable supposition.

What happened to the west of the region is still a mystery and is likely to remain so; legends, however, indicate an eastward movement. The Waiwai consider that the Yawĩ-yena went to live in the east (Fock, 1963, p.63), and it is interesting to note that the easterly sub-groups are said by the Trio to have introduced the existing marriage rules. Waiwai and Trio relationship terminologies have a strong structural resemblance.

There is ample if not firm evidence to suggest that the Tunuchumac region has been an area of inter-tribal mixing, and the vital question is how important are these sub-groups or tribal remnants in the present composition of the Trio and whether there is any advantage to be gained in distinguishing them.

It is possible to say with assurance that whatever the distinction may have been previously it is now virtually non-existent. The Trio, even if they are composed of previously independent groups who reached the area from different directions at different times, now think of themselves, with the possible exception of the Aramayana on the West Paru, as a single group having a common name, language and culture. Furthermore while old distinctions have disappeared there are indications that new ones are emerging, and are being fostered by the lack of contact between the new large villages. Speaking only of the Surinam Trio, the difference in the influences to which the two villages are exposed is sufficient to cause a diverging development. There already exist slight differences in language (and in the use of relationship terms) between Palcemeu and Alalaparu, and this is even seen in the names by which they call themselves, Tiriyo at Palcemeu, Tareno at Alalaparu. Perhaps the most revealing remark on this subject came from a Palcemeu Indian who said 'The people

at Alalaparu are not Tiriyo'.

The sub-groups are not clans, lineages, totemic, descent, or any other type of formal alliance group. Frikel regularly describes them as sibs, and although he never defines his use of the term, it would appear that he means it to refer to an extended family or a group of inter-related people rather than in the sense of a patri-clan. This is probably a fair assessment of the sub-groups, but one can add to this description a greater or lesser degree of territorial isolation (it has just been shown how, in this area, separation quickly blossoms into distinction).

If the sub-groups can be defined as groups of closely inter-related people living in one or more villages which are relatively close together but territorially separated from a neighbouring sub-group, their part in the total organisation of Trio society becomes clear. Further discussion of this subject must be delayed until later in the thesis.

The disappearance of these sub-groups can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the congregation of all the Indians from wide areas into large settlements would obscure the sub-groups which rely for their distinction on isolation. Secondly, there is some indication that the sub-groups were disappearing before the recent population movements. This, I believe but cannot prove, is because of the gradual decrease in the population of the area. Some sub-groups died out completely while others became so numerically weak that they had to merge with other sub-groups in order to survive. It is probable that such integration was sometimes violent, particularly in cases where there was a shortage of women. This, it must be admitted, is basically conjecture, but the past and present demography gives, as we shall see, some idea of their declining numbers.

e. Demography

At the beginning of this chapter mention was made of the rock grooves which abound in the interior of Surinam; one way to account for the large number of these it to presuppose a far larger population at sometime in the past. The earlier ethnographic sources are of no help in this matter, and it is not until the first decade of this century that any idea is given of the numerical strength of the Trio.

After the Tumuchumac expedition Bakhuia estimated there to be about 1,000 Trio (Bakhuia, 1908, p.110), but at the same date de Goeje assumed fewer, viz., a total of 800, of which 500 lived in Brazil and 300 in Surinam (de Goeje, 1908, p.1,119). The most valuable information on this subject is provided by Schmidt whose census of the Trio although not perfect is an impressive achievement. He gives a total of 687 Indians of which 226 were in Surinam and 461 in Brazil (Schmidt, 1942, pp.50-51). Taking into account that a number of individuals appear more than once in the census (this can be demonstrated not to be different people with the same name) and that some people inevitably were missed, a figure in the region of 700 seems reasonable.

In 1957 Frikel estimated there to be between 1,000 and 1,200 Trio and this does not include those sub-groups which he describes as 'inaccessible' (Frikel, 1957, p.514). I consider his figure to be over-optimistic, and certainly my own findings are more in keeping with Schmidt's. After the northward migration of the 1963/4 dry season there were at the Alalaparu mission 157 Trio and at Paloemeu 219, a total of 376 in Surinam. As far as it possible to ascertain there are eight or nine Trio villages in Brazil, two small ones on the Anamu, one large and two small on the Marapi, and three or four large ones near the Roman Catholic

Mission on the West Paru savannah. It is agreed by all sources that the average number of inhabitants in a Trio village is about 30, and the largest number about 50. This means that the absolute maximum number of Trio in Brazil is approximately 450 Indians, but there are more likely to be somewhere between 240 and 270, perhaps 250. This gives an overall estimated total of 626 Trio.

These figures by themselves are inadequate proof of a declining population although they do seem to indicate it. The Trio themselves admit that they were facing extinction, and were fully aware of the reason. The effect of exotic sickness and disease among Amerindian people is too well documented to require comment here.¹ It will suffice to say that everyone who has visited the Trio has written of deaths caused by foreign ailments. Also the Trio have known for a long time that sickness and death is related to visits of strangers; it is perhaps in this sense that one must interpret the Pianakoto tradition recorded by Schomburgk that 'the arrival of the first white man betokened the extinction of their race' (Schomburgk, 1845, p.87). More explicit were the Trio of the East Paru who directly accused the pananakiri of bringing disease among them (Crevaux, 1883, p.273). The same theme continues through all accounts of the Trio, and today their fear of strangers, a particularly well-marked feature of the Trio character, has only slightly diminished. The greatest fear is reserved for the Bush Negroes who, because of their greater contact with the Trio, are undoubtedly the most to blame; even so this attitude extends to other Trio who, it is recognised, can equally well be carriers of disease.

1, The destruction of the indigenous population of Oyapock has been described by Sausse who estimated that the number decreased, almost entirely as a result of disease, from 20,000 to 500 between 1700 and 1900 (Sausse, 1951, pp.67-98).

As recently as 1952 Frikel noted the death of 25 Indians from colds, and a further 17 in 1962 from the same cause (Frikel, 1960). While the medical care provided by the missionaries has removed the worst effects of these epidemics, the demographic situation is still precariously balanced between existence and extinction.

In the year 1963 at Alalaparu there were seven births and eleven deaths. More disastrous is the fact that of those who died seven were aged thirteen and under, and five of these were less than a year old. The situation was a little better at Palcemeu where there were six births (excluding one stillborn), and five deaths of which two were adult and the other three were children of four years and younger. It is obvious that no society can survive this kind of mortality rate but with the introduction of medical aid it is possible to hope that the fall in population will be checked and that the Trio will survive.

As the fall in population is the most serious threat to the survival of the Trio, much attention has been given to this problem. The present study is a preliminary attempt to provide a basis for further research into the causes of the fall in population and to provide a basis for the development of measures to counteract it.

This chapter is based mainly on my own observations, and only exceptionally does I quote from the literature. The information about the Trio is based on my own observations and on the information provided by the missionaries. The ethnographic material is used throughout the chapter, but it would be recommended that some material be included here on the Trio's social organization and on their religious beliefs as a basis for the present study. The Trio are a people of the Amazon and their culture is unique.

CHAPTER III

SELECTED ASPECTS OF TRIO CULTURE

Physical appearance, dress, decorations -

Settlement pattern, villages, houses -

Household furnishings, property - Primary

economic activities - Secondary economics

activities - Transport, communications, trade

and contact - Socio-economic aspects -

Summary to Part One

The selection of subjects for discussion in this chapter has been dictated mainly by the requirements for the understanding of the main body of the thesis. Some additional and not directly pertinent information is provided both for sake of general interest and to fill in gaps in the reader's background knowledge of these people. Such subjects have not been treated exhaustively but since they are the ones with which the earlier ethnographers have dealt, anybody who finds the brevity of these descriptions to be unsatisfactory can easily turn to other sources for additional details.

This chapter is based mainly on my own observations, and only occasionally when I have been suspicious about the indigenous nature of some trait have I turned to the ethnography for confirmation. The ethnographic present tense is used through most of the chapter, but it should be remembered that some cultural features have disappeared and others are disappearing or changing as a result of the recent developments in the area and among the Indians.

a. Physical appearance, dress, decorations:

The average height of the male Trio is about 62 ins, but one or two individuals are as much as 10 ins above this mean. The women are mostly a few inches shorter than the men. The weight of only a few men was recorded, an insufficient number to suggest a reliable average, but the range is from 100 lbs to 140 lbs. Both men and women have slender, even graceful lower halves to their bodies surmounted by waistless, heavy trunk-like torsos and relatively large shoulders. The apparent unrelatedness between the upper and lower halves of the Indians' bodies is one of the most characteristic physical features of the Trio.

Skin colour varies from light to dark brown, and the little body and facial hair which does grow is plucked, as are the eyebrows and eyelashes. The hair of the head is thick and black, and is worn long, down the back by both sexes. From the crown of the head the hair is combed to the front and sides; in front of the eyes the hair is cut level with the centre of the forehead, and allowed to fall either side of the eyes to the cheekbone (on average, but sometimes lower) at which level it is clipped to the ears. This style of haircut is used by the Trio to distinguish themselves from neighbouring Amerindian groups such as the Waiyana who part their hair down the middle, or the Waiwai whose hair is combed forward like the Trio but is then cut in a fringe, above the level of the eyes from ear to ear. This latter style has been adopted by a number of the Trio at Alalaparu who have been influenced by Waiwai Christian missionaries.

The Trio cut off all their hair for one of three possible reasons: an excess of lice, in mourning for a close relative, or, for a girl, at her first menstruation or at the birth of her first child.

The single piece of dress worn by the men is a length of cloth for which the term 'lap' has been generally accepted. The

lap is supported by a cotton waistband; one end is tucked through the waistband at the front and several inches allowed to hang down. The rest of the cloth is passed between the legs and fixed in a similar manner at the back. Previously these laps were woven from local cotton but they are now universally made from red trade cloth.

The woman's dress is even more meagre, and merely consists of a small, red cloth apron which supported from a thin cotton thread hangs down over the pudenda. A number of women own more elaborate aprons made with coloured glass beads.

Supplements to this basic dress are shared, for the most part, by men and women, and any individual may wear all, none or any combination of the following: armbands, wristlets, calf-bands, and anklets. Today these are often made with glass beads, but previously they were of palm leaves or bark; the calf-bands which remain unchanged are woven from cotton and left with long fringes reaching to the ankles in extreme cases. Two items of dress which seem to have fallen into abeyance are the decorated bead armbands worn by adult males, and a device of similar construction which the women reputedly wore across the small of the back.

These items, with the exception of the last two, are worn continuously, and could perhaps be considered to belong to the category of dress although no distinction exists in Trio thought. The strings of beads which both sexes wear round the neck or in bandolier fashion stand somewhere between dress and decoration: some Indians wear beads everyday but there is a tendency for the majority to wear more beads on special occasions. Ear ornaments are fitted on most days, and in the manufacture of these glass and aluminium are replacing the traditional snail shell.

Simple feather decorations at the waist or in the armband are fitted on any day, but the more complicated head dresses and crowns are reserved for ceremonial and ritual occasions. The

practice of wearing a feather in a hole in the lower lip or septum of the nose seems to have died out. The highly decorated queues which are a feature of the Trio's westerly neighbours are rare, but simple bamboo tubes or fibre bindings are used by men to retain the hair while occupied in strenuous physical labour. The hair is anointed with vegetable oil about once a week, and is then sometimes decorated with white eagle's down.

Tattooing and body-deformation are not practised, but both the body and face are painted, and two types of this can be distinguished. Red paint (Bixa Orellana) is used to cover the whole body, or sometimes only the lower half in a single monochrome wash. The pigment is often applied with a mixture of krapa oil (Carapa guianensis), and in these cases the strictly practical explanation of body painting as a means for keeping warm or discouraging the attention of mosquitoes has some justifiable validity, especially when its application coincided with a journey. However the Trio see it as a protection against spirits, and without becoming too involved with Trio beliefs it is sufficient to note that although the spirits are unable to see the colour red, the smell of red paint is distasteful to them.

On this point it is interesting to note that a large number of Trio spirits are like Bush Negroes, and that the Bush Negroes themselves express great disgust at the Indians' habit of body painting. However, I could never get a Trio informant explicitly to admit the obvious implication.

Black paint (Genipa Americana) is never applied indiscriminately all over the body but is either painted in complicated overall designs, or only on certain parts of the body and in particular over the joints of the lower limbs. The Trio say that the black paint is merely to make themselves more beautiful and attractive to the opposite sex, but the application of the genipa to the joints possibly disputes this since the spirits

are considered to attack a person through these parts. Red and black paint, together with a yellowish one (probably Bignonia Chica) are used for executing on the face simple patterns such as straight lines and dots.

b. Settlement pattern, villages, houses:

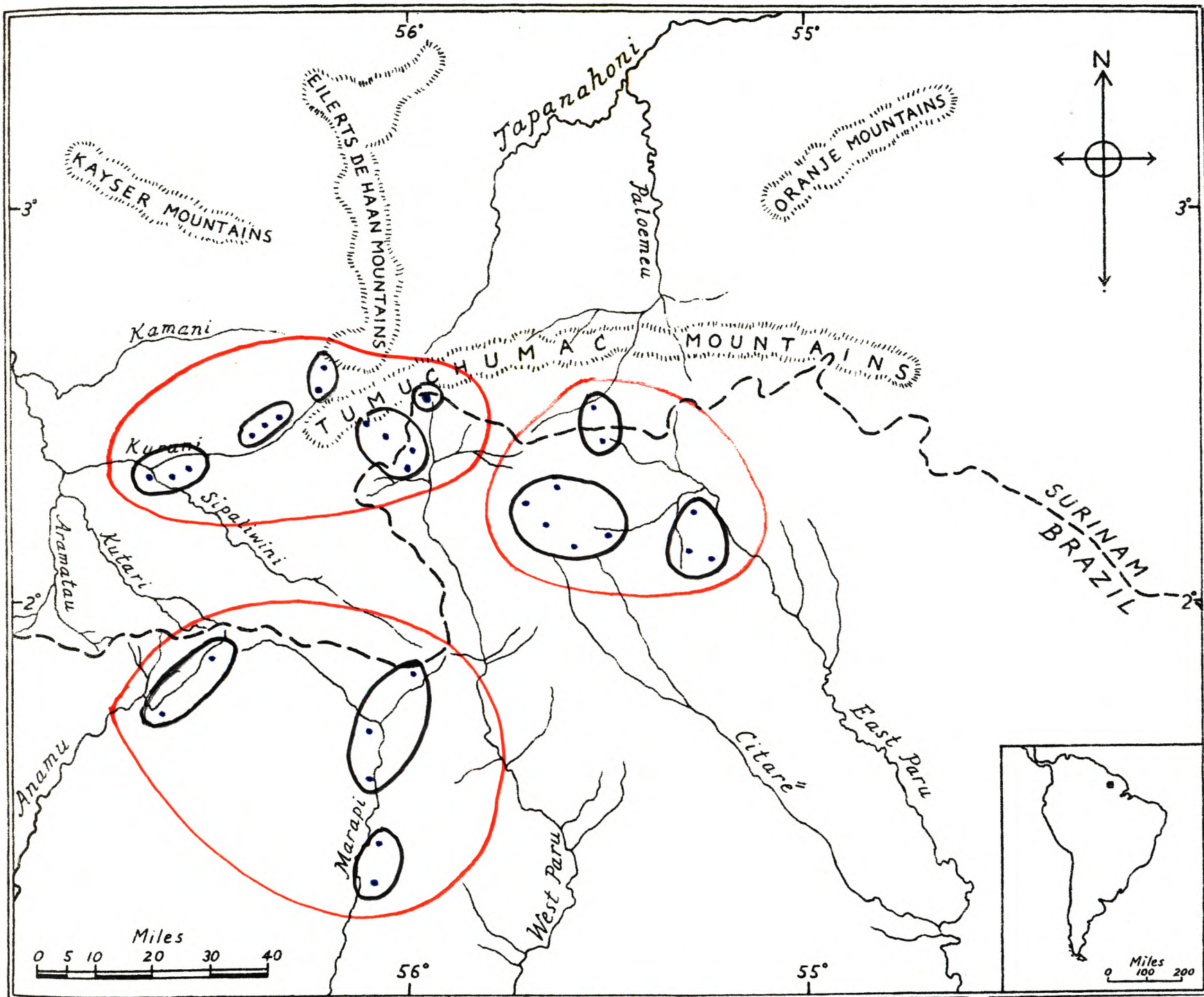
The disappearance of the traditional settlement pattern which had occurred by the time my investigations began proved the most serious handicap to a full understanding of Trio social organisation. To some extent this deficiency has been overcome partly by my own questioning of informants and partly from the ethnography. Although such a reconstruction can in no way be regarded as a totally adequate substitute for observation of the actual pre-existing situation, I am certain that a high degree of accuracy has been achieved.

The various sources are more or less agreed upon the number and size of Trio villages; at the beginning of this century there were estimated to be 20-30 Trio villages (Bakhuis, 1908, p.110), Schmidt gives the name of 25 Trio villages of which he visited 20 (Schmidt, 1942, pp.55-62), and Frikel reckoned there to be 30 villages or more (Frikel, 1957, p.514). Relating these figures to the population size considered in the last chapter, it is obvious that these villages are small. Schmidt's census shows that the average number of inhabitants in the Surinam Trio villages was 38 Indians, in Brazil only 24, and an overall average of 27.8 (Schmidt, 1942, pp.50-51). Frikel notes "Theoretically there is an average of 30 souls per village but the actual figure varies from 15 to 50 although rarely does a village contain more than 50 inhabitants" (Frikel, 1957, p.514). This size of village is widely reported among the Cariban Tropical Forest groups of Guiana.

These communities, as well as being small, are scattered; a clear idea of their distribution can be gained from Schmidt's

MAP 2: The traditional distribution of Trio villages
(after Schmidt, 1942).





KEY

Main group: —

Agglomeration: ○

Village: •

account of his journeys and his sketch map. On Map 2 the villages visited by Schmidt have been plotted, and when their distances apart in units of day's travel marked, a distinct pattern emerges. The Trio villages can be divided into three main groups which correspond with the river basins of the Sipaliwini, Citaré and East Paru, and the Marapi and Anamu. Except in the extreme west, at the Anamu/Kutari divide, a stretch of savannah divides these main groups. The nearest villages of the main groups are separated by not less than 3-4 days' march.

Within the main groups clusters of villages which will be called agglomerations can be distinguished; the nearest villages of different agglomerations are about two days' march from each other.

Within an agglomeration the villages are normally only a few hours apart, and never more than a day.

For the moment it is only intended to draw attention to the existence of this pattern; its function in Trio economy is discussed later in this chapter, and in Trio social organisation in Chapter VI.

The actual location of a village varies greatly; for the most part villages are not built on the banks of large rivers, but this may well be because the Trio live in an area where there are relatively few large rivers. The favourite site seems to be near a smaller, but perennial river, but resources other than water are taken into account in selecting a suitable site. One old village which I visited was about a mile from the nearest water in the dry season, but the soil around the village was said to be exceptionally good for cassava.

The Trio, in common with most other Tropical Forest cultivators, move their villages frequently. A number of different reasons can be shown to account for this but in the case of the Trio it is mainly related to the exhaustion of cultivable land in

the immediate vicinity, or to the death of an inhabitant. Other factors enter into this including the infestation of the village by various types of parasites and insects, and the unwillingness of Indians to replace the thatch of an old house and their preference for building a new one. The thatch of a house lasts three to five wet seasons.

It is impossible to gauge how often the Trio used to move their village sites, and, although de Goeje suggests every five to ten years (de Goeje, 1908, p.1,102), it is unwise to be too definite about this and Schmidt records a case of an almost new village being abandoned because a Bush Negro spat in the fire (Schmidt, 1942, p.32).

It is unusual for the Trio to build a new village more than a short distance away from its predecessor - the reasons for this being that one of the garden sites would remain productive for almost a year, and that intimate knowledge of the area is a great asset for the hunter.

The number of houses in a village varies but as many as eight is a large settlement, and four or five is nearer the average size. In Surinam, during 1964, there was an average of approximately five Indians to a house but this figure should be treated with caution since the recent migrations have caused undue pressure on housing while the influence of Christian teaching in persuading nuclear families to live alone has had an incalculable effect. There is no evidence that the Trio have ever lived in the large, communal houses which are a feature of their western neighbours and many other groups of Guiana.

Four different types of permanent houses can be recognised; two of these are explicitly recognised as having been borrowed from neighbours - a round type from the Waiwai and a rectangular one from the Waiyana. A very recent development is the construction of houses on short stilts - this is probably in imitation of the missionary or airfield staff houses although such houses were reputedly built

by the Galibi of Cayenne at one time.

The traditional Trio houses are either a conical shape with the thatch reaching to the ground and with one or two doors, or a shed type which in its simplest form is open at the back and front, but may be closed at one or both ends with a semicircular extension so that in its most complete form it has a lozenge-shaped ground plan. The majority of houses face north or south, a natural adjustment for protection against sun and weather, but the increasing use of walls, made from wood or thatch, is beginning to reduce the preponderance of this alignment. The traditional plan of the village is a number of houses grouped around and facing on to a central open space called the anna.

Other less important houses are the temporary shelters which Indians make while travelling or in a village which they are visiting. A few work houses in which the women prepare the cassava may exist, but there are no special houses for men, bachelors or any other group. A small thatch house, a miniature of the conical type mentioned above, is made for a shaman's seance but this is destroyed after use. Today there is a Christian church at both Alalaparu and Paloemeu and these buildings are very much larger than any other in the village.

All houses are wooden framed and thatched, and they are constructed exclusively by men.

c. Household furnishings, property:

The earth floor inside a house will be kept more or less clean but most of the few possessions are stored off the ground on trestles, stuck in the thatch, hung from the roof, or balanced in the rafters.

Every house has its hearth and in the houses without walls the fire is kept going all night and the hammocks of the occupants cluster round within the range of its warmth. Married couples

sometimes share a hammock but more often they sleep in separate ones, the woman's slung beneath that of her husband's and in a position from which she can tend the fire without moving from her bed.

Two types of hammock are found among the Trio: a cotton kind (perhaps of Waiyana origin), which is made on a simple loom consisting of two posts in the ground, is woven by women. The preparation of cotton is exclusively confined to women, and their association in Trio idiom is comparable with the term 'distaff' in the English language.

The other kind of hammock, which is woven on a frame by men, is made from silk-grass fibre: the working of this material is as strictly reserved for men as cotton is for women but it lacks the symbolic representation. Both types of hammock are used indiscriminately by men and women.

During the day a man will probably sit on a stool which is sometimes no more than a crudely shaped block of wood, but a number of Indians owned carved and decorated ones. These conferred upon their owners some ill-defined status; no one borrows or uses such a stool without first trying to ask the owner's permission but nobody thinks twice about using another person's hammock. Women normally sit on mats made from the inner bark of the Brazil Nut tree (the same material is used as a sanitary towel), and do not use stools of their own accord. The only occasion on which I observed a woman sitting on a stool was when I suggested it to her; she did, but with obvious embarrassment.

Most of a man's or woman's possessions are related to their respective role in the economy. A man owns his hunting equipment, a bow, arrows, a knife, a machete, an axe, a file, a fishing rod with some spare hooks and line, and, in a number of cases, a shot gun. The richer Indian owns a surplus of these items which are stored in a basket or tin canister which lives

in the rafters. As well as these strictly economic tools, a man will also have his various ornaments, feather head dress, beads and a vanity box containing a comb, little gourds of pigment, a mirror, a pair of scissors, and perhaps some spare lengths of red cloth. These, to a greater or lesser degree, form the total belongings of a Trio male.

A woman's possessions are slightly more extensive since they include all the domestic utensils, although some of these will be shared with other women. The full range of kitchen equipment includes a cassava grater, a cassava squeezer, a sieve, a clay griddle, an assortment of clay or metal pots, and a variety of flat basketwork for use as dishes, plates or fans for the fire.

There is a startling difference between the basketwork which is woven by the men and is of a high quality, and the pottery made by the women, of which the technique is poor and the resulting product crude, ill-shaped, fragile and undecorated.

A woman will also own a number of different sized gourds; the larger ones are used as water containers, and a range of smaller ones hang from the roof and contain dried peppers, vegetable oil and other commodities. In a simple palm leaf basket a woman will keep her precious cotton, both the untreated raw material and balls of spun thread.

Food and drink which is the property of women is kept on shelves or in the rafters out of the reach of animals. None of the animals which the Trio keep as pets have any subsistence value since they strongly decry the eating of any pet even if it is an animal which is regularly shot for food. Most pets are birds such as parrots, toucans or macaws which have some intrinsic value as trade items and as a source of feathers for making decorations. The Trio also keep chicken but regard them as pets and their flesh with revulsion although they will eat the eggs. The missionary at

Alalaparu has introduced Muscovy duck and domestic pigs, but it is too early to say what the Indians' attitude to these animals is going to be.

The most important animal in the Trio culture is the hunting dog, and it is valued both for hunting and trading. Men, not women, normally own dogs but there are exceptions to this rule. More often than not a woman will look after her husband's dogs, feeding, watering and exercising them, but she is not allowed to approach them when she is menstruating. The value of a dog is expressed by the question 'Will it chase pig?'. If a dog hunts well it is well cared for and spends much of its life on a dog table either within the house or in a special kennel just outside; the purpose of this being to prevent it collecting any parasites, jiggers, ticks or fleas, from coming to any harm, or perhaps from injuring anybody. The dogs which will not chase pigs are allowed to wander round the village, ownerless, unfed, fighting with fellow failures for any edible scrap, and kicked by anybody in whose range they come. It is these curs who come rushing and snarling at any stranger who enters the village.

The property of a Trio man and woman is small in amount and simple in its nature; the traditional objects can be created from the resources of the environment and the total technique of their manufacture is known and practised by any adult male/female partnership. Towards such items property concepts are poorly developed, as is shown in this attitude of an informant when asked if anyone had ever stolen his bow or arrows, 'why should anyone take mine, they can make their own.'

At the other end of the scale are women, towards whom the concept of property is well developed; women are intrinsically valuable not only as vital economic partners but because they cannot be made or replaced. This seems, perhaps, a rather shallow

argument but when seen in its correct social setting it assumes greater weight, and it will be shown that many Trio institutions have among their functions the preservation of the community's female resources.

Between these two extremes lie the attitudes to belongings such as dogs, exotic manufactured goods, and certain cultivated plants. The value placed on these items varies from case to case and while some informants say that no one would throw away an axe at the death of its owner, others say that even the deceased's dogs may be destroyed. All agreed that it is usual to destroy a dead man's bow or arrows but his widow is never harmed - 'she is a woman'. One must not give the idea of ownership too rigid an application when applying it to women, and indeed the Trio do not recognise in this context the use of either of their words which have this meaning. It is more that women belong to the society, but it is a male society.

d. Primary economic activities:

These consist of cultivating, hunting including fishing, and collecting, and these occupations provide the raw material upon which the traditional Trio subsistence and material culture is based. It is not absolutely obvious to the observer which of these activities is most important but to the Trio there is no doubt; 'We can live without meat; without bread we die.'

i. Cultivation

The Trio consider the year to begin at the end of the wet season, and this is also the beginning of the agricultural cycle which is marked by the appearance of the Pleiades (women - a container) in the eastern horizon just before dawn. During August or September the new field is cut, for which a sandy, well drained area near the village is selected. The cut trees are

left to lie under the hot sun of the dry season, and then about mid-November when the foliage is brown and withered but before it has fallen, they are burnt. The amount of secondary clearing which is required depends on the effectiveness of the burning, but no attempt is made to remove larger trunks or roots, and only the smaller branches are piled in heaps for re-burning.

Even before the secondary clearing is completed and with the onset of the December rains the planting of bananas, pineapples, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, taros, yams and maize begins. The earlier operations are performed by men, but both sexes join in the planting. The main crop, bitter cassava, is planted during January, after the December rains but before the arrival of the main wet season which is marked by Orion (Yaraware - a culture hero) beginning to fall from its zenith into the western sky during the early part of the night. The Trio say that the rains fall with Yaraware who owns them.

The task of planting cassava is shared by men and women; men dig mounds of earth with hoes while the women collect cassava stocks from their old fields. These stocks are cut into lengths of about 8 ins by men or women, and both sexes plant them by pushing a number into the mounds of loose earth.

From this point on the field becomes very much the domain of the woman, and its future care and harvesting of its produce is her job. Bitter cassava has a lengthy growing period; ten months being the minimum time before the root is considered suitable for harvesting. As the women dig the crop they re-plant, but as the second harvest is collected the field is allowed to fall into disuse, and it soon reverts to secondary forest. Supplementary crops are not normally planted twice in a field. After the second crop of cassava has been lifted a number of visits might be made to pick bananas or cotton but these soon

become stifled by the undergrowth and weeds. The Indians do not like visiting old gardens for the practical reason that the characteristic plants are thorns and razor grass, and together with fallen trees make progress difficult and unpleasant. The life of a garden from the time of cutting until it is finally abandoned is about three years.

As well as the food crops other plants are grown in the fields; these include cotton, calabashes, gourds, tobacco and silk-grass. Cotton and pepper are usually also found growing around the periphery of the village. The bamboo used for arrows is sometimes grown in the neighbourhood of the village.

Agricultural labour does not absorb much of the men's time; at certain periods they may be fully occupied with it but it is a seasonal activity restricted mainly to August-September, and December-January, while the months in between are free from such work. For a man the most unpleasant work is probably that of secondary clearing and digging which take place in the hot sun. The cutting of fields is enjoyed and is considered, quite understandably, exciting work.

Agriculture and the preparation of cassava are the most important female activities, and unlike the the men, they have no respite from it.

ii. Hunting and Fishing

These activities are only a shade less important than cultivation, but their pursuit is the men's prime role in the subsistence economy. The methods and techniques employed by the Trio show no important variations from those described for other Tropical Forest hunters of Guiana.

The main weapon of the Trio is the bow and arrow of which a variety of types can be distinguished and each has its special purpose. A long flat bamboo point is used for the main land game

such as wild pig, tapir or forest deer, a long barbed point with a round cross-section for the larger birds such as bush turkeys, and a small detachable head smeared with curare poison for monkeys. Blow pipes are not used and the idea of them is unknown to the Trio.

A number of Indians own shot guns, and they are a much prized possession. I saw no trace of the spears which the Trio are reported to use by the earlier ethnographers. The clubs they carry are not hunting weapons.

The normal practice is for an Indian to go hunting alone with his dogs, but he may sometimes be accompanied by one or two other men, or a woman, his sister or wife. The task of the dog is to corner the game, and hold it at bay until the hunter can arrive to kill it. About half the ground game killed is credited to the action of dogs. On a few occasions large parties of men go out on a collective hunt when there is the rare appearance of a herd of white-lipped peccary (Tayassu pecari) in the district. Hunting is only slightly restricted by the wet season and it is at this time of year that game is most valued because it is at its fattest. One informant could never mention the rainy season without saying in the same breath that it is when the Spider monkeys are fat.

It has been noted earlier in this chapter that the lack of suitable agricultural land in the immediate vicinity of a settlement is one of the main reasons for the relatively frequent shifting of village sites. A new village is rarely far from the old one, and the tendency for the community to remain in the same neighbourhood may well reflect the Indians' wish to stay in an area with which they are familiar - an important factor in hunting. It appears, however, that the quantity of game in a given district fluctuates from one year to the next; a fact which provides a clue to the function of the village agglomerations which have been mentioned.

Fishing, in purely quantitative terms, has more seasonal importance than hunting. Fish are caught at any time of year by shooting with a bow and arrow or by use of a line and hook. A harpoon-type of arrow is used for fishing which may or may not have feather flights, a detachable head, or three prongs. There may have been bone fish-hooks before the introduction of manufactured metal ones but it is doubtful if they were adequate for catching the larger fish. Although the Trio appear to know about fish traps I never saw one which had been made by a Trio nor heard of a Trio using one. Women occasionally go fishing with a hook and line, or catch small fish in pots as they jump the falls at the beginning of the dry season.

Fish are most important in the subsistence during the dry season, when very large quantities can be caught by the poisoning of pools which have been left by the dropping water level, or even in medium-sized rivers when their flow is greatly diminished. A large scale fish poisoning is attended by nearly every inhabitant of the village, and in the event of a successful day they will return with a truly prodigious catch. In running water this is always a wasteful process but particularly so with the Trio who make no effort to dam the stream so that no stupefied fish are swept away. According to the Indians the poisoning of a creek has no detrimental effect on the supply of fish during the following year.

iii. Collecting

This third section in the tripartite division of the subsistence economy is no less important for Trio culture. It is not always easy to distinguish between hunting or fishing and collecting, or between cultivating and collecting. In the latter case Yde has tried to bridge the gap by the recognition among the Waiwai of semi-cultivated plants or protected weeds (Yde, 1960, p.84). At this level of description there seems to be little

value in attempting to do so, but a valid distinction can be made between the collecting of animals or items related to animal life (such as honey or turtle's eggs) which form part of the diet, and objects from plant life which may equally well contribute to the diet or technology.

A slight difference can be noted between the plants collected as food and those as raw material for manufacture; the former seem to have a more seasonal distribution. Collecting rarely provides the mainstay of the diet, although for a brief period near the beginning of the main rains some palm and other trees bear fruit which the Indians consume in vast quantities, and apparently in preference to the more normal diet. (The abundance of tree fruits at this season presumably explains the fatness of the Spider monkey during the rains.)

Raw materials which are used in the manufacture of every item in the Trio's traditional culture are mainly collected as required, and the range of such materials is immense. The greatest proportion are of vegetable origin, and few items come from the animal or mineral worlds. Leather is not used except as a covering for the containers of curare points, bone for arrow heads and barbs, or the hooks for cotton spindles. The jaw of a pig is used for carving bows. Clay is collected for making pottery, and stone is used for cassava graters, hearth stones, and, at one time, for axes. Earth eating among the Trio has been reported (de Goeje, 1910, p.5) but this may have been through lack of salt of which they now have plenty.

Two Trio attitudes are well expressed in their collecting techniques. Time and effort are unimportant in relation to the result; a great deal of both will be expended in cutting down a tree to get a minute quantity of honey, or in the hope that macaw fledglings will survive the fall to become pets. Secondly, they

have a not-surprising disregard for the resources of their environment, and in particular vegetable ones. The collection of tree fruits is always achieved by cutting the tree down; a practice which is allied to their complete failure to understand my suggestion that the tree could not thus bear fruit next year.

Dietary items are normally collected by either sex as the opportunity arises but both men and women will make special journeys to collect certain types of food. In the case of raw materials collection is usually restricted to the sex who will process it; a man will go to fetch material for weaving or making a house, but does not go to collect pottery clay which is done by a woman as she needs it.

In summary, hunting and fishing is mainly a male occupation while farming is a female one, although male help is provided for the heavier tasks. Collecting is performed by both sexes, but in the case of any particular raw material its collection is confined to the sex which is involved in its processing.

e. Secondary economic activities

This section deals with the preparation and consumption of food. It is not concerned with such techniques as house building, pottery making, weaving or spinning although these activities rightly belong under this heading. The reason for this is that food as the basis of subsistence is surrounded by social values and behaviour which are absent from these other facets of the culture.

The Trio eat every bird and animal except carnivores, carrion-eaters, and snakes, the classes of fauna with which Trio beliefs are mainly involved. This distinction, however, does not extend to fish and amphibians such as the carnivorous pirai or the crocodilians which are regularly eaten.

It is not certain which meat the Trio like most but it is possibly the collared peccary (Tayassu tajacu); an assumption based on the oft expressed wishes for this kind of meat made by women whose husbands were out hunting. Disregarding the type of animal, the most important consideration is whether or not it is fat - the first question asked of a successful hunter whose return to the village never fails to arouse interest and even excitement.

The kill is normally cut up by a man, but the hair or fur is scraped off by women who dip the skin in boiling water to ease the process. Smaller animals and birds may be entirely treated by a woman. The skin is not removed from the flesh but is cooked and eaten. The meat is usually cooked by the women, and this consists of boiling with peppers. Very little of the animal is considered unsuitable for adding to the pot. Some odd scraps may be cut off and roasted over the fire or in the embers. If there is a surplus of meat or fish it is smoked on a trestle over the fire; meat treated in this way can be stored for several months, but when it comes to be eaten it will also be boiled in water with peppers.

The emphasis on boiling seems only partially related to the preservation of the meat, and seems to be as much connected to the difficulty of eating cassava bread which has not been dipped in liquid. The gravy made by boiling meat is almost public property and anyone may come and ask for some, and indeed it is the epitome of Trio meanness to refuse. This is not true of the meat over which the owner has the right to give or deny, but its distribution, as will be shown later in this thesis, has considerable meaning in the social organisation. During periods when there is no meat or gravy a suitable sauce for softening the cassava bread is made by boiling peppers with water or cassava juice. Meat is not boiled in cassava juice, and in this the Trio differ markedly from some other Carib groups. Salt, a valuable and imported commodity, is

not added during cooking but only to the gravy just prior to eating.

In contrast to the excited activity which surrounds the return of a hunter with his kill and the ensuing preparation of it, is the dull routine connected with the collection and preparation of the cultivated crops. This work is restricted to women, and certain features of the cassava crop such as its long growing period, absence of a single harvest, and the numerous processes required to turn it into bread all help to emphasise the monotony of this female occupation.

Although on two exceptional occasions men were seen to carry back cassava from the fields, and more frequently to help in the peeling of the root, no man was ever seen to grate, squeeze, sift or bake cassava.

In quantitative terms bitter cassava is the only important cultivated plant; the auxiliary crops play only a subsidiary part in the diet, and many of them are consumed in the form of drink. Sweet potatoes, which are used to make a thick gruel, are also roasted in the embers as are plantains. Bananas and pineapples may be eaten raw or turned into a drink, and sugar cane is mostly chewed. Maize is turned into a coarse flour with a pestle and mortar, and Brazil nuts are grated and the flour baked into bread. The fermented drinks which the Trio used to make from these plants have disappeared since the arrival of the missionaries.

A meal normally consists of meat, or at least gravy, cassava bread and drink. Meals may be taken at any hour of day, and often at frequent intervals if meat is available. Food is normally taken in the morning before the day's activity begins, and again towards dusk. It is rare for an Indian to go through the day without additional food. When the men are working in

the fields the women take out drink to them, and when out hunting or collecting they usually find something out of which to make a snack - honey, tree fruits, beetle larvae, or small birds or fishes roasted over a quickly kindled fire.

There are two kinds of meal, the family one and the communal one. Those who attend a family meal are normally the residents of a single dwelling, although related people may join in, and anybody who happens to be in the house or even passing may be invited to eat. On occasions a man would go and make a special invitation to someone to come and eat. It is rude to refuse the offer of food although the obligation need not involve more than a mouthful before indicating one has had enough by saying naka. Men and women eat together at family meals except when some unrelated man is present and then the women will eat separately.

At the communal meal which takes place in the anna men and women always eat separately. The food for these meals is provided by several families and the whole affair is presided over by the village leader who calls the people to come and eat, distributes the meat, and to whom naka is said. The wife of the leader administers the women's food.

The communal meal as I observed it in the setting of the large newly-formed villages, seems to be a development of similar meals, which in the traditional-sized settlements, would have merely been an extension of the family meal. Indeed at Palomeu the large influx of immigrants while I was there resulted in a re-multiplication of communal meals which were then eaten in the various sub-divisions of the village, and only on Sunday did the entire community eat together.

The subject of the distribution of food, and in particular who gives what to whom and what the gift means or

entails is described further on in this thesis. The range of such behaviour is wide; the giving of food to a stranger is an accepted obligation and its denial an act of hostility. Commensalism is a mutual acceptance of strangers, and a symbol of both trust and unity. The provision of food or drink of different types to different people may be the reciprocal prestation in a series of obligations, or a single act whereby an individual can invite or encourage one or many to fulfil some well-defined role, whether it be for a woman to provide a sexual service, or for a man his assistance in cutting a field. To understand the distribution of food is to understand some of the fundamental aspects of Trio social organisation.

f. Transport, communications, trade and contact:

The most important and the traditional means of Trio transport is manpower, and the system of communications is by foot along ill-defined jungle trails. The Trio did not make extensive use of canoes since even the lightweight barkskin type is difficult to navigate in the narrow creeks which are choked with fallen trees. The use of dug-out canoes and the technique of their manufacture is almost certainly a recent adoption and one borrowed from either the Waiyana or Bush Negroes. The presence or absence of canoes still depends on the size of rivers in the area. At Paloemeu the numerous dug-out canoes are in daily use on the wide deep waters of the Tapanahoni and Paloemeu rivers. At Alalaparu, where the creek contains only a few inches of water in the dry season, and the Kuruni is not much deeper, there are only two dug-out canoes; one was built for the missionary by a Mawayana, and another by a Trio who had learnt the art during a stay on the Tapanahoni. These canoes were only used once in the six months of my stay at Alalaparu, and then at the instigation of

a Waiwai Indian. Three old barkskins are kept on the Kuruni, but these had been brought from the Sipaliwini, had fallen into disrepair and are not being replaced.

The usual means of transporting a load is by carrier basket which hangs down the back and is supported by a band round the forehead. Both men and women carry loads in this manner, and considerable weights can be transported for short distances. A woman will carry a basket full of cassava weighing over 50 lbs back from her field. This figure coincides with the 20-25 kg which is the load Schmidt considered an Indian capable of carrying on the trail while he himself claimed to carry 80 kg (Schmidt, 1942, p.32).

Distance is an important factor in the transport of such weights, and one which must be taken into account when considering the reasons for moving a village site; cassava is a bulky crop and a garden at some distance from the village adds greatly to the women's economic burden. Steward has even suggested that the knowledge of the dug-out canoe coupled with cultivation was sufficient reason to permit the formation of semi-permanent communities of hundreds and perhaps a thousand people (Steward, 1963e, p.699).

The Trio travel extensively inside limited areas (probably most journeys were restricted to the agglomeration and few would be outside the territory of the main group). Journeys are made during the dry season and movement is restricted by flood and swamps during the rains. The Indians are unwilling to travel by canoe during high water partly through the danger of navigating the numerous rapids and partly through the slow progress of upstream travel.

There are three reasons why the Trio travel away from their agglomeration (why they travel inside their agglomeration is explained in section (g)) - curiosity, search for a wife, and trade.

The Trio trade among themselves, with other Amerindian groups, and with the Bush Negroes or Mucambeiros. The opportunity to trade or work for Europeans (including Brazilians) has recently become a possibility.

Trio trade and contact with other Amerindian groups is now limited although it was more extensive in the past. At present there is permanent contact in the east with the Waiyana. The Trio and the Waiyana are very different people both in character and appearance; the Waiyana are tall and thick-set, swaggering and demanding. In the East Paru basin the two groups have lived juxtaposed for a long time, and intermarriage had begun by 1878 (Crevaux, 1883, p.268). Perhaps as a result of a declining population (the Waiyana have suffered even more than the Trio) such marriages now seem to be more frequent than a generation ago; at Paloemeu in March 1964 there were 11 mixed Trio/Waiyana marriages. Six Trio men had Waiyana wives, and five Trio women had Waiyana husbands, but there is only one adult, Marinu (415), who is of mixed parentage. The consensus of opinion among the Trio is that it is bad for a Waiyana man to marry a Trio woman but there is nothing wrong with a Trio taking a Waiyana wife - a conviction in accord with the Trio's general attitude towards their women.

There is no contact between the Sipaliwini basin Trio and the Waiyana so it is possible to observe at Paloemeu a number of different items and techniques which have obviously been borrowed from the Waiyana. The cultural inter-change appears to be on a superficial level and the contact has not disturbed any important Trio values.

To the west the Trio no longer have any permanent or even regular contact with any Amerindian group. Their neighbours in this

direction were the Saluma (who are the Charuma and possibly Taruma¹) who lived in the Anamu and Trombetas areas. At one time contact and trade with these people seems to have been considerable and de Goeje (1906) describes many Trio objects as being of Saluma origin. Trade with the Saluma ceased sometime in the 1930s as a result of a war between the two tribes. Schmidt, however, is of the opinion that the Saluma withdrew from contact with the Trio because of the 'coughing sickness' which they passed on from the Bush Negroes (Schmidt, 1942, p.41). The fate of the Saluma is uncertain, and the whole problem of this group, its history and its linguistic affiliations is too complicated a subject to discuss here, nor, indeed, is it directly relevant. The pertinent fact is that sometime between 1910 and 1940 intercourse, either because of extinction or migration, ceased between the Trio and Saluma.

The older Trio still remember that they use to trade dogs from the Saluma who, in turn, obtained them from the Waiwai. There must also have been some direct contact between the Trio and the Waiwai since there is reputed not so long ago to have been a fight between them and even before the recent developments there was one mixed Trio/Waiwai marriage. A number of Waiwai were introduced among the Trio as Christian missionaries and their cultural influence has been very powerful; it is unlikely that the Protestant missionaries could have achieved the same result in such a short space of time without their help. Unfortunately this intriguing subject has no place in this thesis.

There are now no indigenous people living to the immediate

1, According to Frikel (1961a, p.11) the Charuma are also called the Tunayana; an associate of the Waiwai at Alalaparu was reputed to be a Mawayana but when I asked him to confirm this he said he was a Tunayana. The Mawayana and Taruma languages do not belong to the Carib group; nor presumably does the Tunayana's.

north and south of the Trio, and it has been suggested in Chapter II that the previous inhabitants of these areas have partly died out and partly constitute the modern Trio.

The diffusion of certain material culture traits among the Waiyana, Trio and Saluma has been discussed by Frikel (1961a) with whom I agree on general grounds if not, because of unacceptable assumptions on his part, in detail. Finally on this subject it might be noted that no European is recorded as having reached any of these groups prior to the arrival among them of manufactured iron goods. This is partly because of the Amerindian trade routes and partly because of the activities of the Bush Negroes.

The subject of contact and trade with the Bush Negroes is important since in the ambivalent attitude towards these people a certain aspect of Trio ideology finds its most overt expression.

Trio contact with groups of escaped slaves began in the XVIIIth century on the Tapanahoni, and as has been mentioned in Chapter II this resulted in the withdrawal of the Trio to the southern side of the watershed. To begin with the Bush Negroes may have had partly to depend on the Indians for survival, since those living on the coast were hostile. This dependence developed into a trade which was of equal value to both sides, and the Bush Negroes were trying to safeguard this monopoly until a decade ago. From this trade the Trio received all types of manufactured goods but in particular axes, knives, machetes and beads, and the Bush Negroes collected in exchange dogs, cassava squeezers, pets, and basketwork. Dogs were and still are the most valuable trade item; at the beginning of this century a good hunting dog was worth an axe, a sheath knife, an ordinary knife, a pair of scissors, a piece of cloth, and a small bunch of beads (de Goeje, 1906, pp.28-29). In 1964 I saw a hunting dog sold for two axes, two machetes, a big knife, a metal canister with padlock, a litre bottle of salt, two

mirrors, a pair of scissors, and a metal basin.

The Trio accuse the Bush Negroes of being hard and unfair bargainers, but I am not too certain about the scrupulous honesty of the Trio in these affairs; the sign of a good hunting dog is a curly tail, but the Trio ensure this by twisting the tails of young puppies.

Although the Trio have been in touch with the Bush Negroes for almost two hundred years the total extent of this contact is relatively small since it has been restricted to brief trading visits. The Trio have accepted the material benefits which the Bush Negro has had to offer, but they have not assimilated any of his ideas. Furthermore the possession of more efficient tools has probably had little influence on the basic form of Trio culture other than to make the traditional tasks simpler and quicker. One indirect effect of this trade has already been touched upon; the introduction into the society of property, other than women, which has an intrinsic value, and cannot be replaced by any member of the society out of the resources of the environment.¹

It is as the provider of valuable manufactured objects, and furthermore the only source of them, which is one view the Trio hold of the Bush Negro.

It was not, one can be certain, the dislike of the Bush Negroes' business methods which caused the Trio to retreat away from them; it was the disease and sickness which they brought with them. This attitude to the Bush Negroes has already been described on p.33, and the facts do not need repeating in detail but require further emphasis.

Schmidt was told that the Trio had abandoned the Kamani

1, It has also altered the value of dogs.

river area because the region was too remote and outside the sphere of Bush Negro trade (Schmidt, 1942, p.34) but a few pages earlier the same ethnographer records an impassioned speech by Pika (39) in which he directly accuses the Bush Negro of coming uninvited, bringing disease and thus killing hundreds of Trio (Schmidt, 1942, p.20). This fear, horror and dislike is still plainly present in the Trio attitude to the Bush Negro, and in spite of this Temeta (482) told me that the Trio had moved their villages back down the Puloemeu for the specific purpose of trading with the Bush Negroes.

It is not surprising that this embodiment in a single group of the dual personality of provider and killer has produced conflict in the Trio attitude not only towards it but also to all strangers. In an area of dwindling population the fear of death brought by the traveller is only offset by the necessity of social intercourse if the small isolated community is to survive. The Trio's attitude towards the Bush Negroes reflects plainly the less obvious pattern of hostility and inter-dependence which exists between Trio villages and will be shown to be an important factor in their social organisation.

E. Socio-economic aspects:

The smallest viable economic unit is the partnership of a man and woman. The combination of an adult of each sex is theoretically capable of existing alone because between them they should know every technique of the traditional culture which the Trio use for exploiting the resources of their environment. Obviously the abilities of individuals vary, but broadly speaking this is true. However, this male/female partnership implies some specialisation on the basis of sex.

There are certain jobs which I never saw performed by a man and others never by a woman; for example I never saw a man

spinning cotton, fetching water, making a clay pot or baking bread, nor a woman weaving the more intricate basketry, making or using a bow and arrow, or thatching a house. On the next level are a number of occupations which are recognised as predominantly belonging to one sex but will occasionally be performed by the other; a man might help his wife peel cassava or fetch firewood, or a woman plait herself a simple basket. Finally there are those economic activities such as planting, fishing with a line and hook, or collecting in which both sexes join indiscriminately.

It is obvious that in some of the more strictly sex-linked occupations it may be difficult for the opposite sex to achieve proficiency without the years of childhood practice which they normally involve. There are tasks such as grating cassava which a man could equally obviously do without a thought. Even so the Trio are resolute on the division of labour and say that no man could or would attempt to do such a thing, and informants seemed doubtful about it when I suggested a hypothetical situation in which there were no women (not an idea the Trio can readily grasp). For the purpose of this thesis it is not important whether the refusal of one sex to participate in certain economic activities of the other is a physical or innate inability or the response to a socially conditioned attitude¹, but it is fundamental to note such behaviour since the rigid adherence to it emphasises the economic inter-dependence of man and woman.

If the male/female partnership is the smallest viable economic unit, what then in the wider sphere is the smallest economic

¹, This value is inculcated at an early age; a small boy who carried some food to the anna for his mother was mocked by the other boys with cries of 'woman, woman'.

social group? A consideration of this obviously involves a number of factors but at the moment we are concerned with the economic aspects of the case.

The Trio live in an area of approximately 10,000 square miles of which they are almost the sole inhabitants. With a density of less than one person to 100 square miles there is no strain on the natural resources of the area as a whole. If, as has been suggested, the population of the past was considerably larger than it is at present, then some form of environmental determinism might have influenced the density and distribution of this former population; such a factor can no longer have an influence on the general pattern of settlement.

My first assumption was that the village is the basic economic unit; this I based on the following evidence. The village site was moved at frequent intervals and often as a result of the exhaustion of suitable agricultural land. The new village was built in the same general area which implies that the other natural resources of the region, those obtained by hunting, fishing and collecting, were not exhausted. Thus the size of a village was in a harmonic balance with the hunting and collecting resources in the neighbourhood, and thus an economically self-supporting unit.

However, there are indications that this assumption is wrong and that the single village is not an entirely independent economic unit; in some years and in some ways it is, at other times and for other things it is not. This state of affairs is reflected in a number of things. Firstly the size of villages waxes and wanes and although other than economic factors can help to account for this, there is no doubt that it is partly a response to the exploitation of the area's natural resources. This view is supported by the explicit statement of Indian informants when they

said they went to that village to hunt, that one to poison fish, and another to collect Brazil nuts. Secondly, a number of Indians said they had several villages and a garden at each one.

One has, therefore, the picture of a number of villages together which form the basic independent economic unit. This group is most likely to coincide with the villages which form the fundamental social grouping, and this is the agglomeration as the detailed evidence in Chapter VI shows. It would be useful to be able to associate the agglomeration with tribal sub-groups; unfortunately there is not a single shred of evidence to support such a conjecture.

If the high degree of isolation and the lack of contact with manufactured goods introduced from the outside world are really wiped out the tribe has also lost its traditional life. The fearful attitude towards all strangers, which has been a characteristic of the tribe, has completely disappeared. The traditional pattern of small isolated villages, and the intense contacts, between missionaries, will probably change very fundamentally the situation. The social life now available will almost certainly allow these people to survive.

The material culture and economy show no basic differences to other groups of the Guianas. Specialization and the concept of exchange only appears in the social division of labour as that the cooperation of the two sexes forms a viable economic partnership. This village of men on whom is a central auxiliary of the property concepts surrounding them. In the wider social sphere it is the agglomeration of villages which constitutes the basic socio-economic group. These facts become very clear in considering the social organization of the tribe.

Summary to Part 1

This first part of the thesis has been concerned with giving a general background to the Trio Indians. It has been shown that they live in an isolated headwater region, and that their environment is typical of many Tropical Forest cultivators. Relatively little is known about the prehistory of the area, and what historical knowledge we have indicates that the region has been a retreat area where various tribal remnants have amalgamated to form the present Trio.

Trio contacts with the outside world have mainly been through the medium of the Bush Negroes, who as well as providing useful manufactured goods introduced disease which not only nearly wiped out the Trio but also accounts for these people's fearful attitude towards all strangers. Recent developments in the area have completely destroyed the traditional settlement pattern of small isolated villages, and the latest contacts, Christian missionaries, will probably change many fundamental Trio attitudes. The medical care now available will almost certainly allow these people to survive.

The material culture and economy show no basic differences to other groups of the Guianas. Specialisation with the exception of shamanism only appears in the sexual division of labour so that the co-operation of the two sexes forms a viable economic partnership. This reliance of men on women is a natural corollary of the property concepts surrounding them. In the wider social sphere it is the agglomeration of villages which constitutes the basic socio-economic group. These facts become very clear in considering the social organisation of the Trio.

PART 2

SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE TRIO INDIANS

This second part represents the main body of the thesis; in it are explored various facets of Trio social organisation. A start is made with the formal analysis of the relationship terminology, and this is followed in turn by chapters on descent, residence, patterns of behaviour among kin, marriage, patterns of behaviour among affines, and the final chapter of Part Two deals with certain related features and attempts a summary.

One of the main troubles about such a descriptive work is that certain aspects have to be treated out of order and out of context; this seems inevitable unless one can devise a method of total and instant description. Failing this it does mean that certain traits seem nonsensical in their initial setting, but they are explained at a later point when they recapture their lost meaning. This is another way of saying that many aspects of Trio social organisation are only explicable in the setting of the whole system.

CHAPTER IV

A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF THE TRIO RELATIONSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of reference - Terms of Address - Nominal terms -
Organisational terms - Structural terms - Analysis of
structural terms - Conclusions

The formal analysis of Trio relationship terms is a valuable exercise, but one which unless treated with caution tends to obscure rather than reveal fundamental features of the system. This analysis begins with a complete list of Trio relationship terms and their English equivalents. These terms are then classified into three types, Nominal, Organisational and Structural; after a brief review of the first two types the rest of the chapter is concerned with the examination of the Structural terms. An initial inspection indicates a two-section terminology but containing some apparently irreconcilable equations. An explanation of these is sought and found in a more detailed study of the terms, and the chapter ends with the conclusions reached by the analysis.

Trio relationship terms.

a. Terms of reference for a male ego:

1. tamu, tamusimpe: FF, MF, FFB, MFB, FMB, MMB, WF, WZH.
2. nosi, nosimpe: MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFZD, MMBD, WM, MBW.
3. kuku: MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFZD, MMBD, WM, MBW.
4. ipapa: F, FB, FFBS, FMZS, MFZS, MMBS, MH, MZH, WMB.
5. imama: M, MZ, FFZD, FMBD, MFBD, MMZD, FZD, FW, FBW, WFZ.
6. tī: MB, FFZS, FMBS, MFBS, MMZS, FZS, FZH, ZH, WF, WFB.
7. ipipi: eB, FBSe, MZSe, WZHe, MH.
8. wei: eZ, FBDe, MZDe, MBW.
9. akemi: yB, yZ, FBSy, MZSy, FBDy, MZDy, SW.
10. kiri: yB, FBSy, MZSy.
11. weri: yZ, FBDy, MZDy.
12. pito: FZS, MBS, ZS, ZH, DH, WB.
13. emerimpe: FED, MBD, ZD, BW, WZ.
14. ipi: W.
15. imuku: S, BS, ZS, FBSS, MZSS, FZDS, MBDS, FZSS, FBDS, MBSS, MZDS, DH, MBS, ZH.
16. emi: D, BD, ZD, MBD, FBSD, MZSD, FZDD, MBDD, FZSD, MBSD, FBDD, MZDD, SW, BW.
17. ipa: SS, SD, DS, BSS, DD, BSD, BDS, BDD, ZSS, ZSD, ZDS, ZDD.

18. yau: WF.
19. yaupi: WM.
20. konoka: WB, ZH, FZH, MZH, MH.
21. ipaeye: SW, BSW, ZSW, MBW.
22. ipami: DH, BDH, ZDH.
23. kirimuku: A young man, a youth.
24. werimuku: A young girl.
25. yumme: Old man or woman.
26. tamutupe: Old man.
27. notipe: Old woman.

b. Terms of reference for female ego (where they differ from those used by male ego):

1. tamu, tamusimpe: HF. (and all other relations as for male ego except WF).
2. nosi, nosimpe: HM. (and all other relations as for male ego except WM).
3. kuku: HM. (and all other relations as for male ego except WM).
6. ti: HF. (and all other relations as for male ego except WF).
12. kori, koko: FZD, MBD, BW, HZ.
13. emerimpe: FZS, MBS, MB, ZH.
14. inyo: H.
15. imuku: S, ZS, FZDS, MZDS, MBSS, FZSS, ZH, MBS.

16. emi: D, ZD, FBDD, MZDD, MBSD, FZSD, BW, MBD.
17. ipa: BS, ED, FBSS, MZSS, FBSD, MZSD, SS, SD, DS, DD, BSS, BSD, BDS, BDD, ZSS, ZSD, ZDS, ZDD.
18. yau: HF.
19. yaupi: HM.
20. As 12 above : BW, HZ.
21. ipseye: BW, HZ, SW, BSW, ZSW, MBW.

There are fewer direct address terms than terms of reference, and the differences which occur are important to the understanding of the system.

c. Direct Address terms used by a male ego (a female ego's usage where different in brackets):

1. tamu: FF, MF, FFB, FMB, MMB, WF(HF), MZH.
2. nosi: MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFZD, MMBD, WM(HM), MBW.
3. kuku: MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFZD, MMBD, WM(HM), MBW.
4. pa, pahko: F, FB, FFBS, FMZS, MFZS, MMBS, MH, MZH, WMB.
5. ma, manhko: M, MZ, FFZD, FMBD, MFBD, MMZD, FW, FBW, WFZ, BW, FZD.
6. yeti: MB, FFZS, FMBS, MFBS, MMZS, FZH, ZH, WF(HF), FZS.
7. pi, pihko: eB, FBSe, MZSe, WZHe, MH.
8. wei, weihko: eZ, FBDe, MZDe, MBW.
9. kami: yB, yZ, FBSy, MZSy, FBDy, MZDy, SW.

10. yikiri: yB, FBSy, MESy.
11. yiweri: yZ, FBDy, MZDy.
12. pito: FZS, MBS, ZS, ZH, DH, WB (kori, koko: FZD, MBD, BW, HZ).
13. yemerimpe: No direct address term.
14. mi, mihko: Reciprocal term between spouses.
15. yimuku: S, BS, ZS, FBSS, MZSS, FZDS, MBDS, FZSS, FBDS, MBSS, MZDS, MBS, DH, ZH. (for female ego not BS, FBSS, MZSS).
16. yemi: D, BD, ZD, MBD, FBSD, MZSD, FZDD, MBDD, FZSD, MBSD, FBDD, MZDD, SW, BW. (for female ego not BD, FBSD, MZSD).
17. yipa: SS, SD, DS, DD, BSS, BSD, BLS, BDD, ZSS, ZSD, ZDS, ZDD (BS, BD, FBSS, FBSD, MZSS, MZSD).
18. yau: No direct address term.
19. yaupi: No direct address term.
20. konoka: No direct address term (for female ego as 12.).
21. yipaeye: No direct address term.
22. yipami: No direct address term.
23. kirimuku: 24. werimuku: 25. yumme: 26. tamutupe: and
27. notipe: are descriptive terms and the individuals will
be addressed according to whichever category he belongs.

d. Terms which lack a reference form:

28. metati: This term is rarely used and is difficult to define, but it is used between affines. The Trio word metati means 'do you (pl) hear?' but it is not possible to correlate this with its relationship usage. At Alalaparu it is used as a reciprocal term between a husband's sister and a brother's wife. Siwapun (53) said that she used this term to Tarara (8) and Pakiri (6), but I never heard her do so. At Puloemeu it is said to be used between konoka but also said to be Alalaparu talk. Temeta (482) who had visited Alalaparu said he calls Orosisi (126) by this term because he calls Orosisi's wife, Sine (82), sister.

29. yahko: This term is very widely used by men, but lacks precise categorical definition. It is a reciprocal term, and this fact alone clearly distinguishes it from the other terms for 'brother' to which group it is more closely allied than to male cross-cousin. If a translation of this word is needed, 'comrade' is perhaps the closest English equivalent. It is used between Trio who have not reached or agreed upon a more exact degree of relationship, and also by a Trio to a Waiyana. Its present extensive use may be the result of the large-scale migrations which have recently occurred and have thrown into contact many slightly acquainted Indians.

30. yari: I was informed that this term was used in addressing a younger brother but only twice did I ever hear it used, and in both cases it was by a man to a classificatory sister's son.

31. napa, patu: An affective term of address used by a man to his own elder sister. Patu = Pot, but napa does not appear to have any meaning unless it is related to inapa, the verb 'to provide fruit and vegetable' which is a logical connotation.

32. ai, aimpe: Reciprocal term between old married couples.

33. yemu: Used to a baby boy. Literally means 'testicle'.
34. epa: Used to a baby girl. Literally means 'vagina'.
35. musere: Used to a young boy, but it is sometimes retained as a proper name. e.g. Musere (488) and Musere (535).
36. papoti: Used to small girl until time of first menstruation, and is sometimes retained as a proper name. e.g. Papoti (651).

e. Archaic terms no longer in use:

The Trio themselves say that these terms are not used today and that only the older men know them. I found this to be true by trying out the terms on the younger Indians. De Goeje's Trio vocabulary confirms this since the term sikami is recorded in it (de Goeje, 1906, p.73).

37. sikami: direct address by an elder sister to a younger brother.
38. sika: direct address to a child of either sex.
39. moka: direct address by a man to a young girl.
40. mori: direct address by a woman to a young girl.
41. arike: direct address by a man to his sister's son.
42. sipiki: direct address by parents to their son.

Two of these terms call for brief comment; firstly, arike as a specific term for the sister's son, and, secondly, there is a current example of Sipiki used as a proper name, i.e. 311.

This list of 42 Trio relationship terms can be divided into three classes, and it is important to do so if an understanding of the structure is to be reached. Firstly, there are the Structural terms with which this chapter is mainly concerned; secondly, there are the Organisational terms which for the most part lack a direct address form, and finally, what might be called Nominal terms which

are also partly descriptive but lack structural implication. To this last category can be assigned the archaic terms.

The simplest approach is first to identify and separate out the Nominal terms since the rest of the thesis is little concerned with these.

1. Nominal Terms:

Under this heading can be included all those terms listed under d. Terms which lack a reference form and which have already been described. The same applies to e. Archaic Terms. The others which belong to this category are terms 23 to 27 inclusive.

23. kīrimuku: This word is made up from kīri = man, and muku = child and is used to refer to a young man or youth. A man may continue to be classified as this until he is the father of at least one child.

24. werimuku: This word is made up from weri = woman, and muku = child, and is used to describe a girl between the time of her first menstruation and sometime after her first child is born. A woman ceases to be a werimuku when her breasts begin to sag which occurrence is directly related to suckling a child. An elderly but childless woman may be considered to be still a werimuku. The word is sometimes used as a proper name, e.g. Werimuku (216).

25. yumme: literally a 'mature one' with the connotation of wise. Applies equally to men and women, and the criterion for its application is judged by the number and age of a person's children. Yumme also covers the terms 26. tamutupe, and 27. notipe who are old men and women whose children have married and have had children. In the case of an old woman this is further qualified by the onset of the menopause.

These mixed terms have been separated from the others because they lack any precise categorical significance; they are for the most

part affective or descriptive, and are used irrespective of any actual or classificatory genealogical relationship. A further qualification for inclusion in this class is rarity or uncertainty of usage, and under this proviso come the archaic terms and those such as metati or yari which have defied precise definition because they are too infrequently employed and in such varying situations. Only passing reference is made to these Nominal terms in the remainder of this thesis.

ii. Organisational terms:

A more precise description for these would perhaps be re-organisational terms since they result from the adjustment of relationships following marriage. All these terms accordingly refer to affines. They are characterised by their lack of direct address form which is logical in view of the fact that affines do not talk to each other. The subject of affine avoidance is discussed in Chapter IX.

The usual categories covered by these terms are spouse's father, spouse's mother, son's wife, daughter's husband, and for a man his wife's brother, and a woman her husband's sister. These terms are used for these people regardless of their relationship category, and therefore although they are an important part of the social organisation they lack structural significance. This fact will become clear in the course of the thesis. The actual terms classed as Organisational are listed and explained below:

18. yau: Spouses's father who, for either sex, normally belongs to the category of tamusimpe or tĩ but is applied regardless of relationship.

19. yaupi: Spouses's mother who, for a man, normally belongs to the category of nosi or wei, and for a woman just nosi. Applied regardless of pre-marital relationship category.

20. konoka: This term refers to the brother-in-law, either the wife's brother or sister's husband, and is applied regardless of the term the man had been known by prior to the marriage. Konoka is also extended to include step-fathers, and even under some circumstances the husband of a father's sister. This rather complex application is considered fully in Chapter IX. At Puloemeu there is said to be a direct address term for use between konoka which is kono; I never heard this term used and it is identical to the reciprocal term used by Waiyana male cross-cousins.

The female equivalent to konoka is kori or koko by which names a woman refers to her sister-in-law. There is no difference in usage between them and a woman will use them indiscriminately in referring to another. I was told at Alalaparu that they were the terms by which women addressed their female cross-cousins but I never recorded their use in this context, and as will be explained later in this chapter other terms are used in addressing either a father's sister's daughter or a mother's brother's daughter.

At Puloemeu the terms are used both for reference and address for brother's wife or husband's sister. A feature of their usage in this village is the lengthening of the words by the suffix -mpe which means 'former'. When I queried this addition it was explained to me that they did not previously speak to a kori or koko¹ but now they do talk so they are 'former kori (or koko)'. The implication is that the direct address usage of these terms has only recently been adopted.

21. ipaeye: This is the term of reference for the daughter-in-law, but it may be extended to include the wife of any sibling's son. For

1, There are indications of the collapse of affinal avoidance as a result of unification in large villages and because of Christian teaching.

a woman it also covers the sister-in-law category, and thus overlaps the usage of the terms kori and koko.

22. ipami: used to refer to the husband of own or any sibling's daughter. Its application follows the same pattern as for other Organisational terms.

These terms have been distinguished from the Structural terms because they lack categorical definition, and their usage varies from individual to individual, and from circumstance to circumstance. Regardless of their importance they have no place in the formal analysis of the Trio relationship terminology.

iii. Structural terms:

These are now listed below in a revised form which has been achieved by the elimination of organisational coincidence. By this is meant the removal of those terms which exist within a structural category but could equally well belong elsewhere. For example ipapa is defined as F, FB, FFBS, FMZS, MFZS, MMBS, MH, MZH, WMB but, in fact, there is no certainty about the last three relatives belonging to this category. The MZH may be identified with the father, but he may equally well belong to the category of grandfather or brother, and in such cases MZH does not belong to the category of father, and is not called by this name.

Structural terms for male ego.

1. tamu: FF, MF, FFB, MFB, FMB, MMB.
2. nosi: MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFZD, MMBD.
3. kuku: MM, FM, MMZ, FMZ, MFZ, FFZ, FZ, FFBD, FMZD, MFZD, MMBD.
4. ipapa: F, FB, FFBS, FMZS, MFZS, MMBS.
5. imama: M, MZ, FFZD, FMBD, MFBD, MMZD, FZD.
6. ti: MB, FFZS, FMBS, MFBS, MMZS, FZS.

7. ipipi: eB, FBSe, MZSe.
 8. wei: eZ, FBDe, MZDe.
 9. akemi: yB, yZ, FBSy, MZSy, FBDy, MZDy.
 10. kiri: yB, FBSy, MZSy.
 11. weri: yZ, FBDy, MZDy.
 12. pito: FZS, MBS, ZS, ZH, WB.
 13. emerimpe: FZD, MBD, BW, 'potential wife'.
 14. ipi: W.
 15. imuku: S, BS, ZS, MBS, FBSS, MZSS, FZDS, MBDS, FZSS, FBDS, MBSS, MZDS.
 16. emi: D, BD, ZD, MBD, FBSD, MZSD, FZDD, MBDD, FZSD, MBSD, FBDD, MZDD.
 17. ipa: SS, SD, DS, DD, BSS, BSD, BDS, BDD, ZSS, ZSD, ZDS, ZDD.
- Structural terms for female ego (where they differ from male ego's).
12. No female term for this category.
 13. emerimpe: FZS, MBS, ZH, 'potential husband'.
 14. inyo: H.
 15. imuku: S, ZS, MBS, FBDS, MZDS, MBSS, FZSS.
 16. emi: D, ZD, MBD, FBDD, MZDD, MBSD, FZSD.
 17. ipa: BS, BD, FBSS, MZSS, FBSD, MZSD, SS, SD, DS, DD, BSS, BSD, BDS, BDD, ZSS, ZSD, ZDS, ZDD.

From this terminology the following equations can be derived:

$$F = FB;$$

$$B = FBS = MZS;$$

$$Z = FBD = MZD.$$

and the following distinctions made:

$F \neq MB;$ $B \neq FZS, MBS.$

$M \neq FZ;$ $Z \neq FZD, MBD.$

and these together with a marriage prescribed with an emerimpe which category covers the bilateral cross-cousin indicates a two-section terminology. Other factors, however, indicate that the system is more complex and the following equations suggest a number of inconsistencies:

$M = FZD.$

$MB = FZS.$

$S = BS = ZS = MBS.$

$D = BD = ZD = MBD.$

These are matched from the female ego's terminology by the identification of the brother's children with the grandchildren which is a logical reversal of equating the father's sister with the grandmother.

All these inconsistencies are in fact related to the practice of marriage into a different genealogical level, and are only explicable in the light of such alliances.

Although it is possible to represent diagrammatically the terminology as an orthodox two-section system such an approach is too superficial and this is quickly realised when one tries to interpret features of Trio social organisation in such terms. If, however, at this level the interpretation is too shallow, the diagnosis of this complaint is not difficult to make. The problem lies in imposing our own relationship terminology on Trio categories; accordingly the next step in this analysis is to make a re-appraisal of the Structural terms, re-endow them with their Trio value, and only accept English descriptive terms where they coincide with these values.

1. tanu: There are no complications concerned with this category and the term covers all men of the second ascending generation from a male or female ego. When the term covers such relationships as MZH or spouse's father, it indicates the presence of an oblique marriage.
2. nosi: This term covers the relationships FM, MM, etc., but it also includes father's sister. Regardless of this the term must be taken to mean 'a woman of the second ascending generation from a male or female ego'. The concept of father's sister belonging to the generation immediately senior to ego is wrong, and is certainly not a distinction which exists in Trio thought.
3. kuku: No difference exists between this term and nosi. Although all the Trio are aware of it and its application, I have no record of its everyday use. At one time I suspected that it could be used to distinguish between father's sister and grandmother, but if this were ever so it is certainly not recognised now. The term is ignored for the rest of this thesis.
4. ipapa: The father of a male or female ego; the term also covers father's brothers and those called brother by the father. A precisely defined category.
5. inama: This term applies to the mother of a male or female ego, and also covers mother's sisters and those called sister by the mother.

A second division in this category must be recognised since the term also covers the female patrilateral cross-cousin who is categorically indistinguishable from the true mother who will call her sister. This usage derives from the practice of marriage with the sister's daughter, and is a logical adaptation to it. However, the patrilateral cross-cousin is a potential wife while the mother is not; how a distinction is made is discussed in the paragraph on emerimpe.

6. tĩ: Mother's brother and all those called brother by the mother of a male or female ego. This means that the category should include all male patrilateral cross-cousins and this is so for a female ego for whom the father's sister's son is a potential husband and identified with the mother's brother. For a male ego there is available the term pito to use for the bilateral male cross-cousin; in spite of this tĩ is often the term a man uses for such a relative.
7. ipipi: An elder brother and elder male parallel-cousins of both a male and female ego. This category is precisely defined.
8. wei: An elder sister and elder female parallel-cousins of both a male and female ego. This category is precisely defined.
9. akemi: A younger brother or sister and younger male or female parallel-cousins of both a male and female ego. This term is sometimes used for other relations, but these cases lack any pattern other than that they were used to someone younger than the speaker; one was by a woman to her son, one by a man to his sister's son who was also his wife's eldest brother and the other brothers he addressed as yimuku, and one by a man to his future wife who was his MBD/ZD.
10. kiri: This word literally means 'man', but is also used in referring to or addressing a younger brother or younger male parallel-cousin. Rarely used except when it is important to distinguish the sex of a younger sibling.
11. weri: This word literally means 'woman', but is also used in referring to or addressing a younger sister or younger female parallel-cousin. Rarely used except when it is important to distinguish the sex of a younger sibling.
12. pito: This category includes the patrilateral, matrilateral

and bilateral male cross-cousin, and is confined to men in its use. It has the distinction of being the only structural term of address which is reciprocal.

There are, however, complications about the use of this term since the matrilateral and patrilateral male cross-cousins are consigned to other categories as well. The FZS, nosi imuku, is frequently identified with tĩ, the mother's brother, and the MBS is equated with the sister's son and called imuku. The controlling factor being the relationship with the mother who is either his own or father's sister. Nor is pito necessarily applied to the bilateral male cross-cousin. Some idea of the inconsistent use of this term can be demonstrated by considering some actual examples.

Iyakepo (52) recognises four Indians as pito; their parents he calls ipipi and nosi, tamu and nosi, tĩ and nosi, tĩ and wei.

Korokoro (300) calls five people pito, three are the sons of a tamu and a nosi, and one each the son of a tĩ and nosi, and a tĩ and wei. Parentage is an inadequate criterion for the recognition of a pito.

The term is also used for the relationship class of wife's brother and sister's husband, and in Table 1 is shown the relationship of four men to the husbands of their real and classificatory sisters.

Table 1. Relationship of four informants to their sisters' husbands.

Relationship of ZH.	Informants				Total
	52.	32.	300.	482.	
<u>Pito</u> :	1	4	5	1	11
<u>Tĩ</u> :	1	2	0	1	4
<u>ZS</u> :	1	0	5	0	6
<u>B</u> :	5	3	0	0	8
<u>BS</u> :	2	1	1	1	5
	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>34</u>

This table shows that nearly one third of the sisters' husbands are called pito, and that in 21 out of the 34 cases the husbands belong to the group of tĩ, pito and sister's son. The rather disproportionate number of sisters of informants 52 and 32, both from Alalaparu, who have married brothers and brothers' sons is exceptional, conventionally wrong, and is explained in Chapter VIII.

From the aspect of wife's brother, Iyakepo (52) recognises 18 women as belonging to his potential wife group; nine of these have brothers, real or classificatory (but not beyond the limit of FBS/MZS). Three of these men Iyakepo (52) calls yeti (including the half-brother of his actual wife), two pito, and four yimuku (ZS). The sisters of the two men whom he calls pito he considers to be sisters' daughters. There seems to be no obvious reason why these two should be called pito rather than imuku since they share no common feature which could distinguish them from those called imuku. However this does re-inforce the conclusions which have been drawn from Table 1 - namely that a group of men variously belonging to the categories of tĩ, pito and imuku (ZS) possess a vertical cohesion as the husband of ego's sister or brother of ego's wife. There is still the lack of any horizontal definition for these categories, and the following examples seem to indicate that the conception of such limitations is unimportant.

- (i) Iyakepo (52), so he said, had at one time, when younger, called Eoyari (62) pito but now addressed him as yeti.
- (ii) Pessaie (93) admitted that Eoyari (62) was a classificatory brother of his mother, but in spite of this called him pito.
- (iii) Sipare (89) who is Pessaie's (93) father's brother informed me on separate occasions that he calls Eoyari (62) pito and yimuku (ZS); a fact confirmed by Eoyari who said that Sipare is both his tĩ and pito.

Figure 2: Age as a method of classification for the categories of ti, pito and imuku (28).

This clearly indicates that it would be wrong to try and circumscribe the upper and lower boundaries of this category too tightly.

There is one further means by which this category can be defined, and that is by age. In Figure 2 the ages of those individuals whom three different informants call yeti, pito and yimuku (28) are plotted. This diagram shows clearly that this group can be regarded as a continuum with the terminology applied on a basis of age so that the criterion for pito is contemporaneity rather than genealogical connection. Since the Trio possess no way of determining age accurately this is by no means a precise method of classification, and can easily account both for the variable use of these terms and for the overlap which occurs in the graph and is symptomatic of the same thing.

Although the category of pito does seem to be definable in this way there are a number of other factors to be considered. The term pito has no place in the immediate range of relatives amongst whom only ti and imuku are recognised, and these terms are used to closely related people in preference to pito. For example the three Indians over the age of 30 which Iyakepo (52) calls yimuku (28) are all closely related. Emopiripe (165), aged 40, is the son of Iyakepo's father's brother's daughter; Kesepe (139), aged 33, is Iyakepo's mother's half-brother's son; and Kamape (83), aged 32, is the son of a woman whom Iyakepo regards as a close sister although no genealogical connection can be traced.

The two men aged 30 whom Iyakepo calls pito are also exceptional; Maiyiniampe (131) is called pito because his two elder brothers are addressed by this term, and Piwara (156) is a stranger to the Sipaliwini basin, his home being in one of the Marapi villages, and has received the community's disapprobation because of the way in which he had treated his late wife. This is almost paralleled in the

Figure 2: Age as a method of classification for the categories of tĩ, pito and imuku (ZS).

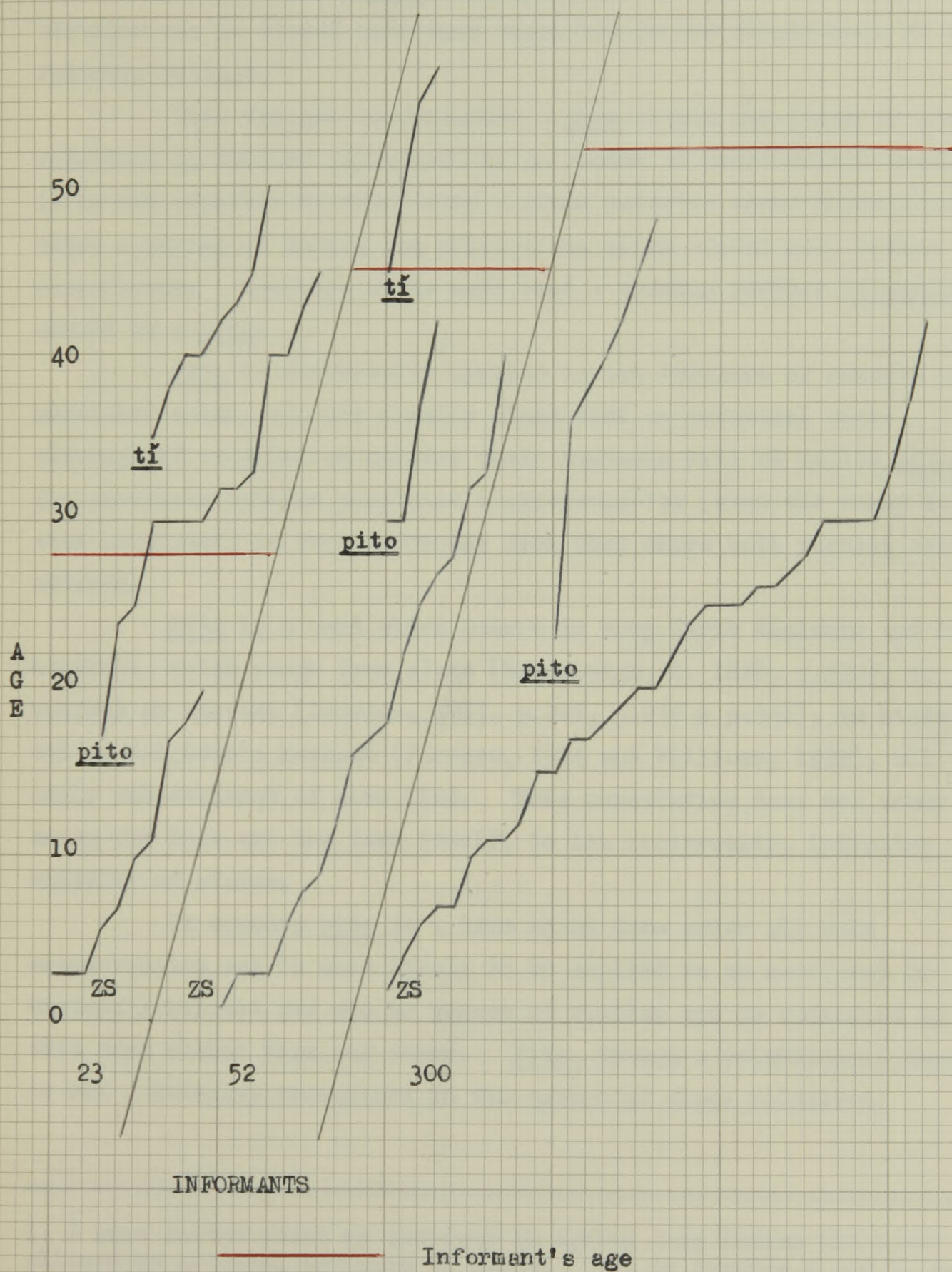


diagram of Korokoro's (300) relationships; the one very much younger man whom Korokoro calls pito is Asepe (636) who is an unrelated stranger who is viewed with some suspicion by the inhabitants of the Puloemeu village.¹

This failure to recognise a pito within the range of close relatives is further emphasised by an aspect of intra-tribal trading. It is not possible to trade with a close relative since there already exist a series of duties and obligations which render such action superfluous. However, it is said that a trading partner (ipawana) should be a pito.

Pito is universally applied to the brothers of unknown and unrelated women, who are usually classified as potential wives, although if regarded as sisters their husbands will be called pito. The behaviour between unrelated brothers-in-law (when the woman is also unrelated) is very different from that where both parties are related.

Pito is a word which occurs in many Carib dialects and its meanings, which range from slave (Schomburgk, R. 1848, p.430), to subject or servant (Crevaux, 1883, p.226, p.236 & p.241), to sister's son or daughter's husband (Farabee, 1924 and Williams, 1932), all imply subservience of some kind. This connotation does not occur among the Trio and the term itself, in its reciprocity, indicates equality of status.

In summary pito is a term which does cover all male cross-cousins but is more likely to be applied to an unrelated or distantly related man who by reason of similar age is addressed by this term rather than any other. Pito, though a relationship term, is not a category recognised in the sphere of close relatives.

1, I have doubts about my accuracy in ageing this Indian but have allowed my original estimate to stand. If, in Figures 2 and 3, the ages are adjusted by the 10% margin of error which is assumed, very little age overlap occurs.

It has already been mentioned that there is no reciprocal term between female bilateral cross-cousins, and a woman always distinguishes between her female patrilineal and matrilineal cross-cousins. The lack of any equivalent term to pito in the female terminology is a perfectly logical and demonstrable corollary of the assumption that pito is not a kinship term.

13. emerimpe: This is the term of reference for a potential spouse of both a male and female ego, and conventionally includes all cross-cousins of the opposite sex but can extend to all unrelated people.

This term was said to lack a direct address form, and I initially accepted this statement, mainly because a similar feature had been reported among the Waiwai (Fock, 1963, p.190). But such a practice seemed illogical since, unlike the avoidance between affines, freedom of speech, joking (sometimes obscene) and familiarity mark the behaviour between emerimpe. Furthermore the questioning of informants about their relationship with every member of the community showed that none claimed to have an emerimpe, other than those such as a brother's wife.

It was then possible to question informants directly about whom they considered to be a potential spouse, and it emerged that a man addresses his emerimpe as either manhko or yemi (2D), and a woman as yetĩ or yimuku (2S), but not everybody whom they addressed by these terms. Unfortunately it was difficult to get much information about various informants' emerimpe since Christian teaching had stressed the iniquity of casual extramarital sexual intercourse. However sufficient evidence was collected to be certain how the system is ordered, and, in fact, it is only logically explicable in terms of oblique marriage.

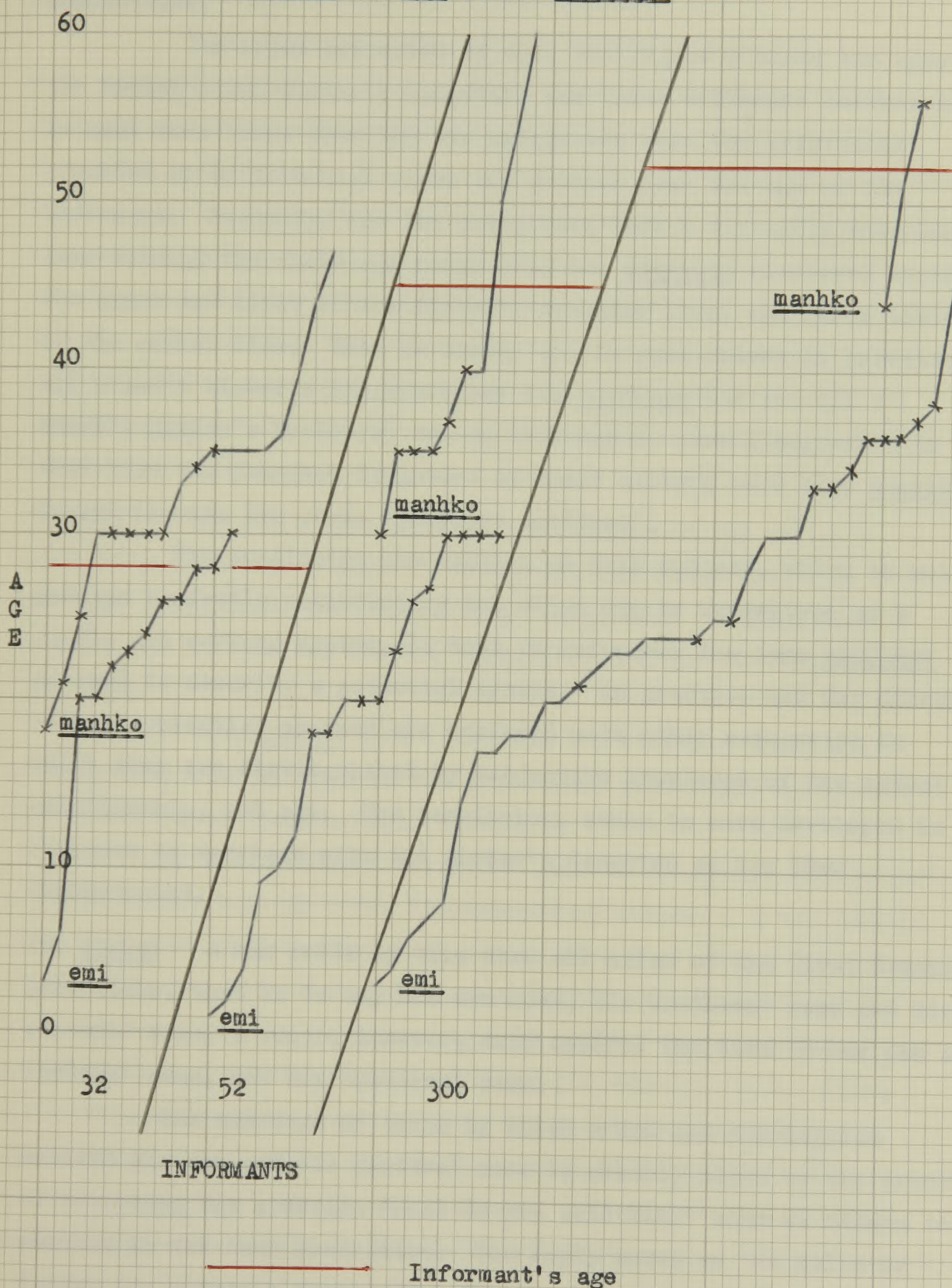
If ego's mother is his father's sister's daughter then it follows that all those whom his mother calls sister and brother

will be mother and mother's brother respectively to ego. Thus FZD = M, and FZS = MB, and the patrilateral cross-cousins are transferred to the first ascending generation. However ego's sister is the potential wife of one of these mother's brothers of ego since she stands in relation of both MBD and ZD to him, thus MBD = ZD and MBS = ZS, and the matrilateral cross-cousin is moved down a generation.

The question of the bilateral cross-cousin is slightly more complex but this is only a formal difficulty. Ego's mother belongs, by definition, to the first ascending generation and so therefore do her brothers. It has already been stressed that the correct interpretation of nosi is woman of the second ascending generation so that even the marriage between the father's sister and mother's brother is oblique. Relationship to the bilateral cross-cousin is traced through the father and considered as nosi's child and thus equated with the mother and mother's brother. It should be remembered that underlying all this is the idea that there is no direct address term for the emerimpe who is conventionally recognised as being the bilateral cross-cousin of opposite sex to the speaker. Furthermore the direct question to a man 'Do you marry a woman whom you call mother?' will elicit a denial as will the reverse of the question to a woman. In spite of this, less direct inquiry to suitable informants always produced the response 'manhko!'. Implications of such behaviour are discussed in Chapter XI; here it is intended to consider by what criteria some members of a conventionally prohibited category are recognised as potential spouses.

Two possible methods exist. Firstly, it is known in the community which relatives whom a man calls mother or a woman calls son are emerimpe. This purely experiential approach is, I am certain, the normal means of identification in such circumstances, nor should one consider it surprising in such small, isolated and introverted

Figure 3: Age as a method of classification for the categories of manhko and emi (ZD). Emerimpe marked *



of the first descending generation is only realized in the relation-
communities.

The other criterion is age, and Figure 3 shows the ages of the mother's and sister's daughters for three different informants. In each case those from the two categories whom the informants consider to be potential wives are grouped near the age of the informant. Secondly, the two categories form a virtually unbroken line through the whole age range with the emerimpe clustered around the upper age limit of the sister's daughter line, and lower limit of the mother line. Both in theory and to some extent in practice all a man's sister's daughters are his emerimpe (as are all a woman's mother's brothers) but my informants, when I suggested to them that the youngest daughters of their sisters were also emerimpe, denied it with the words 'they are children'.

The conclusion one reaches on this subject, which is not perhaps perfectly satisfactory but which can be understood as a viable and working system, is that in reference the term emerimpe is used to describe a potential spouse. In practice and for direct address potential spouses are confused with other categories in which they are distinguished by subjective knowledge of the actual relationship, and age. The terminology seems to have developed in response to marriage with the sister's daughter as has been demonstrated.

15. imuku: A man calls by this term all males of the first descending generation, that is to say his own sons, his brothers' sons and his sisters' sons; a woman, however, only applies the term to her own and sisters' sons, not her brothers' sons.

The shortage of terms by which a man can distinguish between his own and his sisters' sons is clearly shown by the practice of reversing the question 'what do you call him?' when it refers to someone in the next generation. The reply comes as 'he calls me father (or mother's brother)'. Thus ego's relationship to a male

of the first descending generation is only realised in the relationship of such a man to ego.

If we assume for ego that it is unimportant for him to make such a distinction in a society which lacks any definite rule of descent, we are left with the problem how the young man learns to distinguish between the classes of men of his parents' generation. One reaches the conclusion that this distinction is learned in the general process of growing up, and, in fact, quite young children are aware of the term by which they should address their elders. The problem does not arise in referring to women since only the mother and those she calls sister will address a son by the term imuku; the father's sisters using the term ipa to their brothers' children.

16. emi: A man calls by this term all females of the first descending generation, that is to say his own daughters, his brothers' daughters, and his sisters' daughters; a woman only uses it for her own and sisters' daughters and not her brothers' daughters.

As with imuku, a man reverses the question about his relationship with a woman of the proceeding generation and gives the answer as her relationship to him.

For a long time I assumed I must be wrong and that somehow a relationship term or terms had escaped my notice. I was finally convinced that what is described above is correct when I had the opportunity to check with a number of Indians who were fluent in both the Trio and the Waiyana language. The Waiyana system of relationship terminology has four terms for members of the first descending generation which clearly distinguishes between ego's and brother's son, ego's and brother's daughter, sister's son, and sister's daughter. While the bilingual informants unhesitatingly made these distinctions in the Waiyana language, they always reverted

Figure 4: Generation, as distinct from age, is the classification of Brothers (B) and Brothers' Sons (BS) to the practice just described when speaking Trio.

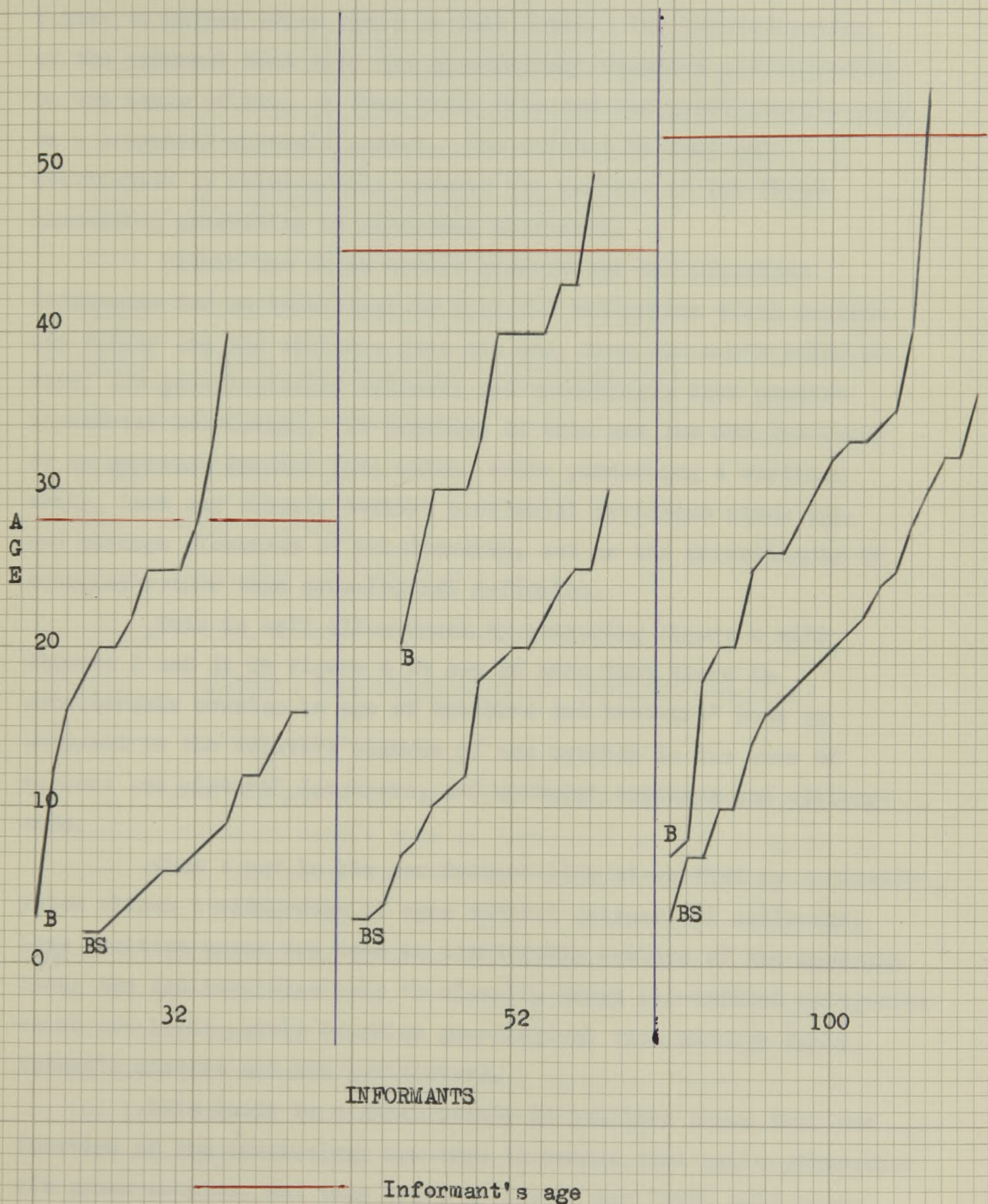
Distinction on a basis of age is no help in this matter and one has to fall back on the assumption that a man knows from experience which children are which, but that a young man or woman has to learn his position in the society by relating himself categorically to his parents' generation.

This might appear to be an easy way out but, in fact, when studying small communities whose average size is thirty inhabitants and where the lifetime social contacts of an individual may not exceed 100 and are unlikely to pass 200 a social classification based on personal knowledge is not impossible. When I was puzzling not only over this particular problem but also how a man distinguishes between the nosi emi whom he may marry and the one whom he may not, my informants could never offer a solution other than 'we know' or 'the old people know'. The personal and individual nature of such means of classification is in agreement with a number of other features of Trio social organisation, and in particular with the behaviour towards affines.

17. ipa: This term covers all those on the second descending generation from a male or female ego, although for a woman this category also includes her brothers' children. This is a logical usage since the father's sister is equated with the women of the second ascending generation.

Before attempting a logical diagrammatic representation of this system, certain features which have emerged from this examination of the terminology need to be emphasised. The second descending generation is unique as it is the only level upon which no distinction is made between the sexes. The second ascending and first descending generations share the common feature of being distinguished by sex but not by relationship. The failure to distinguish relationship of the second ascending generation is

Figure 4: Generation, as distinct from age, in the classification of Brothers(B) and Brothers'Sons(BS).



logical in such a system because the lines traced through the father or mother merge again at this level. The identification of the paternal aunt with the grandmothers requires a distinction on the basis of sex, as does their role and the grandfather's role as a potential spouse's parent. The failure to make any distinction by relationship between the members of the first descending generation is discussed elsewhere.

Within the three middle generations the important difference for an individual is that the categories which contain his father and his siblings (and his son, from his son's point of view) are genealogically defined, and accordingly have precise horizontal boundaries. In contrast to this are the men and women of an opposing descent line which, while possessing a vertical unity, lack any clearly defined horizontal divisions since age, and perhaps closeness of relationship, act as the determinants of category rather than genealogical definition.

This is well illustrated by comparing Figure 4 with Figures 2 and 3; in Figure 4 it can be seen that there is considerable overlap in age of brothers and brothers' sons as compared to the relative absence of age overlap in the case of mothers and sisters' daughters, and mothers' brothers and sisters' sons.

Thus a man in his own descent line classifies by generation, which allows a wide range of ages without categorical confusion. Less positive means are used in identifying members of the opposing line; age and knowledge help to classify broad ill-defined categories which are inadequately based on genealogical ties through ego's father's sisters and his own sisters.

This leads to a final point; it has been shown that one function of the terminology has been to remove from ego's generation his cross-cousins, and thus leave at his or her level only those

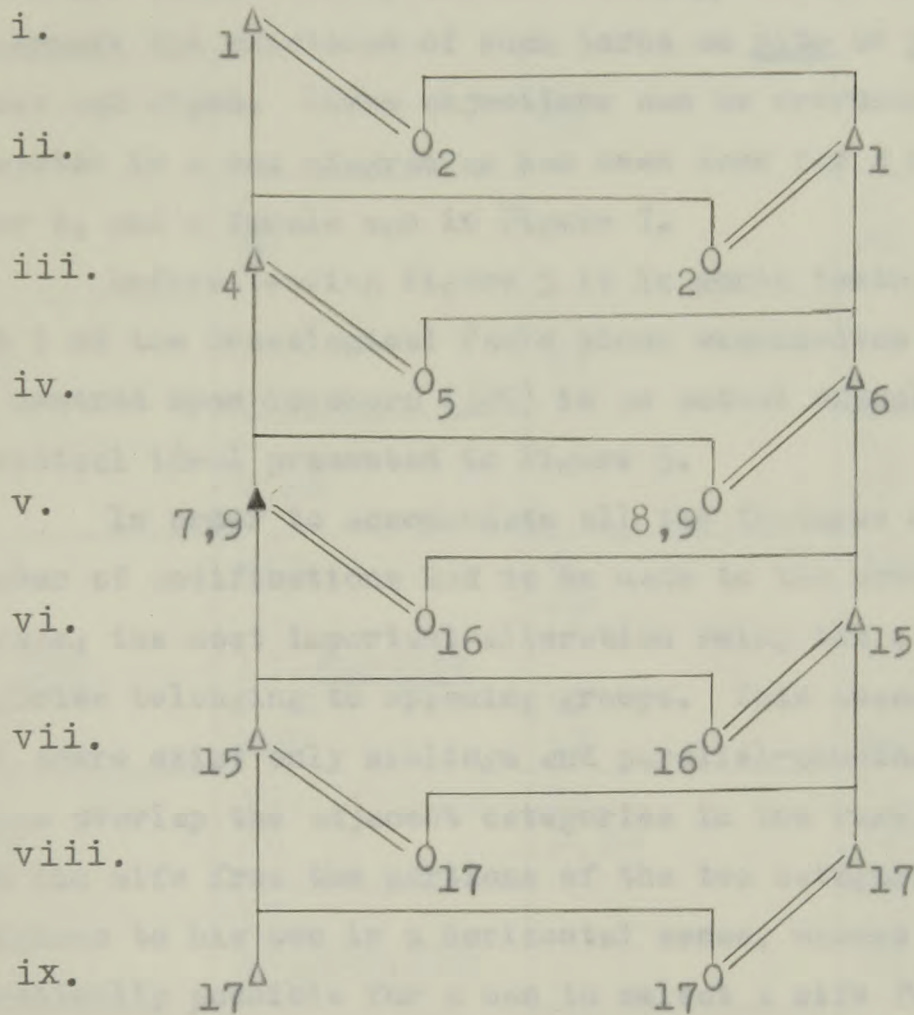
called brother or sister. My attention was first drawn to this by an actual example which suggested to me that the system could only be logically represented in diagrammatic form by allowing only siblings at any one genealogical level. Using the following terminological definitions for a male ego Figure 5 was drawn. (see page 94.)

1. tamu: men of second ascending generation.
2. nosi: women of second ascending generation.
4. ipapa: Father and his brothers.
5. imama: Mother and her sisters including FZD.
6. ti: Mother's brother and FZS.
7. ipipi: Elder brothers.
8. wei: Elder sisters.
9. akemi: Younger brothers and sisters.
15. inuku: Son, brother's son, sister's son.
16. emi: Daughter, brother's daughter, sister's daughter.
17. ipa: Grandchildren.

From the point of view of a female ego the diagram remains basically unchanged except that at level vii the relationship is altered to 17. ipa since they are the brother's children.

As far as it goes this type of genealogical diagram is useful in demonstrating a number of important features which have been mentioned in the text. It shows clearly how the father's sister becomes identified with the women of the second ascending generation and accordingly why a woman calls her brother's children by the same term as that used for grandchildren. It can also be seen why the equations $M = FZD$, $MB = FZS$, $ZD = MBD$, $ZS = MBS$ occur.

Figure 5: Genealogical diagram of relationship terms.



The drawback to this type of diagram is that it does not easily permit the portrayal of certain features such as marriage with the patrilateral cross-cousin, or the well-defined categories of ego's own group compared with the weak horizontal divisions between the categories of the wife-taking/wife-giving group. Furthermore the existence of such terms as pito or emerimpe becomes sub merged. These objections can be overcome by representing the system in a box diagram as has been done for a male ego in Figure 6, and a female ego in Figure 7.

Before leaving Figure 5 it is worth taking a glance at Sheet 1 of the Genealogical Table since examination will reveal that centred upon Korokoro (300) is an actual example of the theoretical ideal presented in Figure 5.

In order to accommodate all the features of the terminology a number of modifications had to be made to the usual shape of such diagrams, the most important alteration being the offsetting of the categories belonging to opposing groups. This means that at any one level there exist only siblings and parallel-cousins while the cross-cousins overlap the adjacent categories in the vertical sense. A man takes his wife from the portions of the two categories which are contiguous to his own in a horizontal sense, except that it is theoretically possible for a man to select a wife from anywhere within the sister's daughter category. In spite of this the worst gaps of Figure 5 are remedied in this type of diagram. A further advantage of this form of diagram is that the organisational values of any particular individual can be fitted into the correct category without need for modifying it.

It will be noticed that all the diagrams have been drawn as if the society were patrilineal. This has been done, not because the society can be said to practise this type of descent, nor because it is the convention so to present such systems, but because it is not possible to construct this diagram except in this form. Although

Figure 6: Box-type diagram showing relationship terms for a male ego.

A b a B
 (Δ) = (O) = (Δ)

1. FF		2. MM	
	2. FM		1. MF
4. F,FB		2. FZ	
	5. M,MZ		6. MB
7. eB	FZD	8. eZ	FZS
<u>EGO</u>	13. <u>emerimpe</u>		12. <u>pito</u>
9. yB	MBD	9. yZ	MBS
15. S,BS	16. <u>emerimpe</u> ZD	16. D,BD	15. ZS
	17. DD,BDD,ZSD		17. DS,BDS,ZSS
17. SS,BSS,ZDS		17. SD,BSD,ZDD	

Figure 7: Box-type diagram showing relationship terms for a female ego.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} a & & B & & b & & A \\ (O) & = & (\Delta) & & (O) & = & (\Delta) \end{array}$$

2. MM				1. FF
	1. MF	2. FM		
2. FZ				3. F,FB
	6. MB	5. M,MZ		
8. eZ	FZS	FZD		7. eB
<u>EGO</u>	13. <u>emerimpə</u>			
9. yZ	MBS	MBD		9. yB
17. BD,DD,ZDD	15. S,ZS	16. D,ZD		17. BS,DS,ZDS
	17. SS,ZSS,BDS	17. SD,ZSD,BDD		

not applicable to the Trio, it should be remembered that a society with more formal exogamous descent groups and which practises marriage with the sister's daughter must be patrilineal.

Finally, although unlike Figure 5 it is not possible to indicate a compact group which can be slotted directly into the format of Figures 6 and 7 this is much closer to the system which is practised by the Trio.

Summary

This formal analysis has shown that the Trio possess a closed system of symmetric alliance. The two-section terminology has become partly obscured by the practice of oblique marriages. Although it is a matter of conjecture which is discussed fully in the final chapter, it seems probable that the terminological confusion has resulted from the extensive development of avuncular marriage on top of a system of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and the study of Trio social organisation is conducted on this assumption. From the view point of any individual in the society there is a discernible dichotomy of its members who are distinguished not only categorically but also by the method in which the categories are imposed. This dichotomy, however, has no formal social recognition but is a highly individual view of society which may be unique to one man or at the most a group of full siblings. A number of factors operate to maintain this, and not least the lack of any precise rule of descent, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

DESCENT, INHERITANCE, SUCCESSION

Ordering of descent - Factors influencing affiliation -
Biological relationship - Jural authority - Inheritance -
Succession - Summary

The first part of this chapter is a continuation from the point which the discussion of Trio relationship terminology reached in the previous chapter, and consists of an examination of the method which the Trio employ in reckoning descent. The second part of the chapter is concerned with some of the factors involved in this, and the final part with the Trio rules of inheritance and succession.

a. Ordering of descent:

There is no doubt that with the Trio we are dealing with a lineal descent system, and several features of it militate against an alternative interpretation. The structure of the system is based on a two-section terminology. On a formal level a man sees the individuals of his society divided into two classes; one of which, at his own genealogical level, will consist of his brothers and sisters, and the other, which lacks the same precision of genealogical distinction, is the one from whom he takes his wife and to whom he gives his sister. However, there are no formal descent groups, and moreover there is no definite rule of descent. Needham has recently quoted me as saying just that (Needham, 1964, p.237, n.9), and in the course of this chapter I will provide the evidence for this claim.

There is one feature of the Trio system which could, but only on casual reflection, lead one to classify it as cognatic,

viz., that only full brothers possess for certain an identical set of relations, although, allowing for an adjustment for sex, this is shared with a full sister. The reason for this is not any cognatic element but lies in the large proportion of marriages between different genealogical levels, and further emphasises the strongly individual nature of the ordering of Trio relationship terminology. This aspect of the society, which is clearly expressed in the terminology and has been demonstrated in its analysis, must be the first feature of Trio descent to be explored.

The offspring of an alliance between individuals of different generations will belong to different categories and even different genealogical levels depending from which side of the family the relationship is viewed. Many complicated examples of this can be given, but a single instance in which I was personally involved will illustrate the point.

One evening I was talking to Korokoro (300) and Pisikiki (312) whom I address as yeti and pihko respectively (Pisikiki also calls Korokoro yeti). We were joined by a seven-year old boy, Taimu (658) whom Korokoro calls kami; I queried this and was told that Taimu's father was the younger brother of Korokoro's father, thus Korokoro who is at least forty years older than Taimu calls him younger brother, and is reciprocally addressed as elder brother. I then asked if I should call the boy yeti, and Korokoro laughed and said that I should, but Pisikiki interrupted to say that it would be wrong and he should call me yeti since he, Pisikiki, had called his mother elder sister.

Two facts emerge from this simple example; firstly, with only three people involved there are as many different ways of tracing the relationship between them. Secondly, my relationship to Taimu is correctly traced through my own sibling, i.e. Taimu's mother. Both these points need further investigation.

The first problem is most clearly demonstrated in diagrammatic form; in Figures 8 and 9 the same 50 people are shown from the viewpoint of two different individuals, and these diagrams can be further compared with the same 50 people as they appear on Sheets 3 and 4 of the Genealogical Table. These diagrams are self-explanatory, but the important feature which arises from them is the variation in genealogical level of the individuals in each diagram.

There is a 64% coincidence between the Genealogical Table and Figure 8.

There is a 50% coincidence between the Genealogical Table and Figure 9.

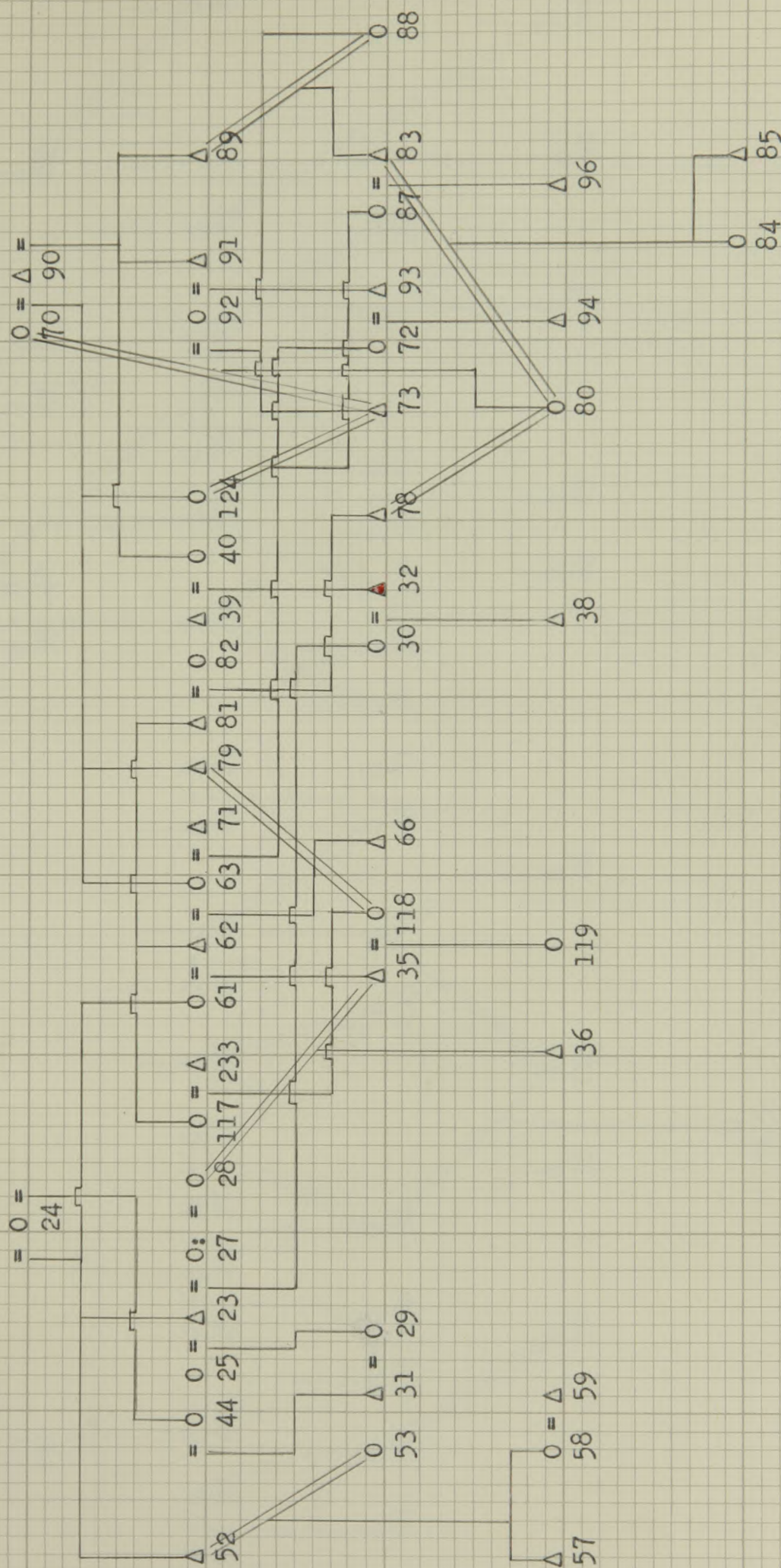
There is a 44% coincidence between Figures 8 and 9.

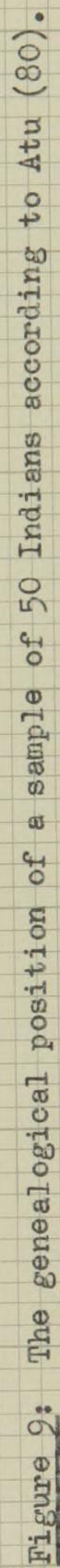
There is a 30% coincidence between all three samples.

With the addition of further viewpoints this figure of coincidence would continue to fall.

One example of the numerous complications which occur in just this small sample can be quickly described.

Iyakepo (52) called Arensu (73) elder brother because he called his parents father and mother, and he calls Kiwaipipi (63) younger sister for the same reason. Atu, however, he calls brother's daughter and she calls him father because he and her father, Arensu (73), called each other brother. But Atu (80) calls Kiwaipipi elder sister because they are half-sisters, having the same mother but different fathers. Therefore seen from Iyakepo's viewpoint Kiwaipipi belongs to his own genealogical level and Atu to the first descending generation; Atu, however, sees Kiwaipipi as belonging to her genealogical level, and Iyakepo to the first ascending generation.





It is now necessary to examine a larger number of examples to see if any pattern by which relationships are ordered emerges. To explore this problem Iyakepo (52) from Alalaparau and Korokoro (300) from Puloemeu are used as controls. Table 2 shows their relationship to the offspring of all marriages in which one or other or both partners are considered to be a brother or sister.

Table 2: Relationship of children resulting from marriages involving brothers or sisters.

<u>Form of Marriage:</u>	<u>Number and relationship of offspring:</u>	
<u>Z = MB</u>		
i. Puloemeu.	17.	ZS/ZD
ii. Alalaparau.	6.	ZS/ZD
	1.	Pito/ZD
	<u>24.</u>	<u>23 ZS/ZD; 1 Pito/ZD.</u>
<u>Z = Pito</u>		
i. Puloemeu.	18.	ZS/ZD
ii. Alalaparau.	4.	ZS/ZD
	<u>22.</u>	<u>ZS/ZD</u>
<u>Z = ZS</u>		
i. Puloemeu.	4.	Ipa
ii. Alalaparau.	1.	Ipa
	<u>5.</u>	<u>Ipa</u>
<u>Z = BS</u>		
i. Puloemeu.	1.	Ipa

Z = Tamu

i. Paloemeu.	3.	ZS/ZD
	3.	Manhko

Z = F

i. Paloemeu.	2.	Z
ii. Alalaparu.	1.	ZD
	3.	2 Z; 1 ZD.

B = Manhko

i. Paloemeu.	12.	BS/BD
ii. Alalaparu.	4.	BS/BD
	5.	B/Z
	21.	16 BS/BD; 5 B/Z.

B = ZD

i. Paloemeu.	10.	BS/BD
	6.	Ipa
ii. Alalaparu.	2.	BS/BD
	2.	Ipa
	20.	12 BS/BD; 8 Ipa.

B = BD

i. Paloemeu.	1.	Ipa
ii. Alalaparu.	2.	Ipa
	1.	BS/BD
	4.	3 Ipa; 1 BS/BD.

B = Z

i. Paloemeu.	4.	ZS/ZD
	1.	BS/BD
ii. Alalaparu.	11.	ZS/ZD
	9.	BS/BD
	25.	15 ZS/ZD; 10 BS/BD.

Of the 131 relationships listed in Table 2, 92 of them (70.2%) result from conventional marriage unions (i.e. Z = MB, Z = Pito, Z = ZS, B = M, B = ZD). If we consider the relationship to the children of these marriages first we can see that for the most part they are ordered in a perfectly orthodox manner, and that 73 of them are related through the sibling connection. This then we can assume to be the normal method of deciding relationship, as the formal analysis of the terminology indicates. It is therefore with the other examples that further examination is concerned.

Continuing with the conventional marriage forms, in the Z = MB type the single exception refers to Aiyatu (28) and her brothers, Paru (11) now dead, and Apipi (399) at Paloemeu. Aiyatu is the wife of Iyakepo's full younger brother, Sipi (23), and they live at Alalaparu. Distance therefore may play a part in this case, but even so, as has already been shown confusion of pito and ZS is to be expected.

The relationship with the offspring of Z = Pito is entirely conventionally ordered, but the children of marriages Z = ZS (which is the female equivalent of B = M) are all classified as Ipa and relationship thus traced through the ZS and not the sibling. It is impossible to be precise about the reason for this since it rests on a number of individual and subjective factors which for the purpose of this thesis will be collectively called 'degree of relatedness'. This term is fully explained in the next part of this chapter - it may merely be noted here that it does not completely depend on genealogical relationship. Some idea of this has already been hinted at in the comment that a pito does not belong to the sphere of close kin.

Degree of relatedness also enters into the ordering of the relationship with the offspring of a B = ZD marriage; in such

alliance 60% of the issue are conventionally ordered as brothers' sons and daughters, but in the other 40% they are equated with the second descending generation and thus relationship is traced through the ZD. An example of closeness of genealogical relationship can be described here; Iyakepo's brotherhood with Pesaipo (93) or Kinini (79) is far closer than that with either Muse (182) or Taiyape (125), and the issue of the first two Iyakepo regards as his brothers' children, and of the second two as his sisters' daughters' children.

This same criterion can be carried over into the cases of B - manhko type of marriage. This form also allows a distinction to be made between marriageable and non-marriageable mothers which is anyhow a distinction partly based on age and partly on degree of relatedness. Where the children of this form of marriage are regarded as brother or sister, the brother in the alliance is always an elder one, and the manhko is usually of the non-marriageable type. At Alalaparu in four out of the five cases this is certainly so, and the fifth case possibly so. On the other hand in three out of the four cases where the relationship to the children is traced through the father, the manhko is of the marriageable class. In the fourth case the woman is not marriageable, and Iyakepo regards her children by a former husband, whom he called father, as brothers and sisters.

At Paloemeu in half of the 12 cases (all of which are BS/BD type) the children are the result of unions between brothers and women which Korokoro regards as marriageable mothers, and a further four probably are. The last two cases are similar to the one quoted above; both women had two husbands, the first in each case Korokoro called father and the children brothers and sisters. The second husbands are both called brother by Korokoro, who considers the issue of these unions as his brothers' children.

In the less conventional marriage forms, of which the major proportion occur at Alalaparu, subjective and individual criteria are undoubtedly the decisive factors.

The single example of Z = BS, the three of Z = F, and the four of B = BD are too few to be significant of anything. Five of the eight involve tracing the relationship through the woman, and in the three cases where the relationship is through the man, the offspring are regarded as belonging to the same genealogical level as the mother.

At first glance, in the six examples of Z = Tamu form of marriage the relationship to the children seems equally divided between descent through the father and mother. It is not so simple since the terms hide the true identity of the relationship, and, in fact, Korokoro regards them all as his emerimpe, except the man who is classified as a ZS. The distinction seems to be based on age; two of the three manhke being dead and the other an older woman, the two ZD being of the same age or younger than Korokoro.

Finally there are those marriages between brothers and sisters which represent a sizeable proportion of the whole sample, especially the Alalaparu batch. Reasons for the large number of a proscribed type of alliance are given in Chapter VIII. The subject here is how the relationship to the children of such unions is determined. In fifteen out of the 25 cases relationship is traced through the woman and in ten through the man. It is not possible to say from these figures that there is any firm rule of descent, and once again the deciding factor is the subjective measurement of the individual which is based on a number of variables.

In summary it can be noted that the relationship to the issue of conventional marriages is ordered along a bilateral system. However, it must be stressed that this is an artificial

distinction since ego does not distinguish terminologically between his brother's child and his sister's child. A feature which also finds expression in the distinction by sex on the grandparent level but not on the grandchild level. A hypothesis which may repay exploration is that a society which possesses a two-section terminology but fails to distinguish between the brother's and the sister's children will lack any definite rule of descent. However such a terminological feature can be no more than diagnostic and certainly not explanatory; it is mere tautology to say that a society lacks any rule of descent because it fails to distinguish between two sets of offspring. As has been described, ego fixes his social status by reference to the preceding generation in which his agnatic males are clearly distinguished from those of the maternal side. Thus relationship is decided by reference to the social world of the parents.

However, nearly one-third of the sample concerns unconventional forms of marriage to which this method is inapplicable. These, more than the conventional types, show that descent is not rigidly reckoned from father's or mother's side, but that a number of other factors are involved; so far these have been collectively referred to as degree of relatedness. It is now necessary to analyse this feature.

b. Factors influencing affiliation:

Degree of relatedness as used in this thesis consists of two basic components; one is genealogical connection which it is possible within certain limits to define exactly. Beyond these limits it depends on the experience of the individual and how closely he feels related to any particular person. This feeling is to a great extent controlled by how well a person is known and this, in turn, on common residence. Thus the fact of joint

residence has an important influence on degree of relatedness, and correspondingly on the ordering of relationships. First is examined the various grades of actual or assumed, social or genealogical relationships recognised by the Trio.

The suffix -men can be fixed on the end of any of the relationship terms of reference although it is not normally applied to those of the second ascending or descending generation.¹ It means a distant or undefined form of relationship which has been decided by discussion, not direct genealogical connection. Such an action is described by the Trio word ikuhtunte, to measure, or less frequently ikuku, to try. Thus a previously unknown person who is measured or tried becomes an ikuhtu. This term is not very precise in its meaning and may be used to refer to anyone, be they closely, distantly or not related, with whom the use of a relationship term has been decided. It is even possible to use the term ikuhtumen.

This process of measuring could be formal or informal, brief or prolonged. For example, at Alalaparu the day after some strangers had arrived from Brazil, a party of men, including two of the strangers, went out in search of fish poison. During a lull in the proceedings one of the men and the strangers started 'measuring' each other; this lasted for some minutes since it was sometime before they found a mutual acquaintance from whom they could trace a satisfactory degree of relationship.

On another occasion, this time at Paloemeu, a large party of Trio arrived from the East Paru region; food was immediately provided for them in the anna and when they had finished eating the older men walked round the newcomers saying

1, That the term nosimen is not really recognised, although understood, supports the idea that a nosi belongs to the second ascending generation.

the normal greeting - 'you came, brother' (or whatever term was appropriate). To those whom they did not know the question was first put 'who is your mother?'. Being older men it was rare that the discussion needed to go further than this since when the visitor said his mother's name, the host could normally reply straightway that he called her by some term, and then using the newly-formed relationship made the greeting.

Three points emerge from this example. Firstly, the use of the mother as the means of deciding relationship is baffling. It has already been shown in this chapter that such a method is without systematic conclusion and requires far greater knowledge and experience of the society than is contained in question or answer. This leads to the second point since, I believe, this is exactly what it does demonstrate, and that the older Trio, as they claim, have a good enough empirical knowledge of their relationships to allow the system to operate smoothly and efficiently. Thirdly, it indicates that to be untried or unmeasured, not to be an ikuhtu, strips one of social status, so that normal intercourse with such a person is difficult. Welcome cannot be made until this situation has been rectified. This observation made sense of an earlier recorded remark by Iyakepo (52) whom I asked how he addressed a man who had recently arrived at Alalaparu from Brazil. He said that he did not know but I pressed the point and he said that he did not talk to him because he had not measured him.

On a more personal note I found this out for myself; I arrived at Alalaparu ignorant of the language and relationship terminology, and had got into the practice of calling everyone yahko which was difficult to stop. When I moved to Palcoemeu I set out to integrate myself into the relationship system taking Temeta (482) as my father, and Apari (360) as my mother. This was a valuable experience since I found discernible differences

in behaviour depending upon my relationship. It was also noticeable that the further away the relationship from my father or mother, the more illogical and discordant they became. Also while it was fairly simple to remember correctly the agreed relationship with people one saw nearly everyday, this was not the case with those rarely seen. To some extent my experience must parallel those of the Trio so that the relationships with those distantly related and rarely seen will tend to be confused, illogical and even vague.

The next term which must be considered is imoiti; this word describes those who live or have lived in the same village over a period of time. This definition is not entirely adequate since the term possesses wider social significance than this suggests. Co-residence is as closely binding as the ties of kinship, and in Trio thought they are not truly distinguished. Numerous examples can be given of this, since so closely associated are the two classes that it often proved difficult to persuade an informant to make the distinction. For example Temeta (482) considered Sipe (490) and Apokinini (493) to be his brother's son and daughter and it was only in collecting data for the Genealogical Table that it was revealed that no genealogical connection exists, and on further cross-questioning Temeta declared 'Their father is my brother because he was my father's imoiti's son'.

Co-residence is thus a vital factor in estimating degree of relatedness, and of considerable importance in understanding certain aspects of Trio social organisation.

While the word imoiti contains the closeness of relationship which springs from co-habitation, the word iitipime has the connotation of descent. It has a wider application than this since it can also be used in the context of 'generate' or 'continue without break'. Examples of the last meaning include its use to describe two fields which adjoin each other without an obvious

boundary, or is said of someone travelling through a place on the way somewhere else.

When applied to people it may be used in a positive or negative form (iĭtipĭmeta), and a number of factors may decide to which category a person belongs. Basically it is as much a social as biological classification, and certainly the social implications can, in terms of function, be more precisely determined. There is not an agreement among informants as to whether certain categories of relatives are iĭtipĭme or iĭtipĭmeta. It is unanimously agreed that one's own (man speaking) and brother's children are iĭtipĭme but there is not the same certainty about a sister's child. One man described a brother's son as being his yiperi - literally my branch or tributary - but said that the same word does not apply to his sister's children since they are iĭtipĭmeta. However this theoretical distinction, although valuable as an indication of descent traced in the male line, collapses in practical application. There is a relative quality about the term so that while a brother's child may be considered iĭtipĭme in comparison with a sister's child, the latter will take on this value when compared with an unrelated person's child. The importance of this in the social organisation is discussed in Chapter IX.

Degree of relatedness results from the interaction of the values of imoiti and iĭtipĭme to the extent that while it depends upon them, they depend upon it and each other. For example an unrelated imoiti is iĭtipĭme when compared with an unrelated stranger, but is iĭtipĭmeta in comparison with some close relative. Degree of relatedness is an important determinant of behaviour, so that the highly subjective character of this factor suggests the individualising of social attitudes, and personal selection rather than conventional rule as the method of determining descent from an unorthodox union.

c. Biological relationship:

Finally, in this examination of certain aspects of Trio ideology concerning descent, there is the question of actual physical relationship. To do this certain aspects of Trio belief must first be explained. There is a common soul from which reservoir an individual draws his own soul, amore; the culture hero, Pereperewa, created this common soul, and on the head of the first man he placed a spiritual male organ on which he then made a magical blowing which caused the spirit to travel down through the man to the penis. An erection is caused by the spirit of the child in the penis, and during intercourse both the spirit and flesh of the child flow into the woman, the sex of the child being decided in the penis. This patrilineal ideology does not receive unanimous support, and while no informants denied it outright some said that the child's spirit came from both the father and mother, and others that the issue is even more strongly sex-linked, a male child possessing only the spirit of the father and the female child only that of the mother. There is no preponderant opinion on this subject about which most Indians are ignorant or uninterested.

However, the original informant who favoured patriliney, agreed that the minute soul of the child is nourished by the soul of both parents (that of the mother presumably being conveyed through the blood; there is a similarity between the Trio words for blood, munu, and pregnant, munume.). The spiritual connection between parents and child continues after birth - a belief which receives recognition in Trio couvade practices. This tie is considered strongest between child and mother, since it is seen as a spiritual counterpart to the umbilical cord which, it is said, weakens and disappears after the parents' spirits have raised and nurtured that of the child.

The behaviour of the parent is not alone in influencing

the well-being of the child; Makarepen (434) said that the sickness of her late husband's sister's child was caused by the wickedness of her husband. A case of the sister's child influenced by the actions of the mother's brother.

The ritual behaviour surrounding childbirth suggests that the Trio see the child as the product of both parents, but social fatherhood is as important as actual paternity. One Trio who was seen to practise couvade was perfectly well aware that his wife's child was not his.

Furthermore the Tupian belief that a woman is no more than a vessel for the progeny of men does not exist among the Trio, and this is confirmed by the application of contraceptive methods to women (magical ones being the only type known), and because barrenness is also considered the woman's fault.¹

d. Jural authority:

So far this chapter has been concerned with the formal and theoretical approaches in the search for a Trio rule of descent. This method has proved inconclusive although an underlying hint of patriliney exists since any particular male regards himself as belonging to the descent line of his father as opposed to that of the maternal uncles who take his sisters and give him a wife. This distinction disappears in the first descending generation where no categorical difference exists between the children of a man and his sister, nor any rule for ordering such descent, each case being judged on its own merit, the criterion being the degree of relatedness.

¹, It might well pay to re-examine the literature on Tupian couvade practices in the light of Fock's theoretical comments based on his investigation of this subject among the Waiwai. If the Tupian people were as strongly patrilineal as the early accounts seem to indicate, the absence of childbirth ritual behaviour by women could be expected.

The remainder of this chapter is filled with more practical problems of descent as portrayed in the institutions of inheritance and succession. It has been the normal practice among ethnographers to judge the rule of descent according to which parent or parents' group the children, as if they were a kind of property, were allotted to.

The mixed Trio/Waiyana marriages offer no help; there are eight such marriages with issue, in five cases the father is Trio, and in three the mother. The Trio consider all the children of these marriages to be Trio. Children from four out of these eight marriages are old enough to be classified; two are entirely Trio and unable to speak Waiyana, one of these has a Trio father and the other a Trio mother. The other two are bi-lingual and have other Waiyana traits, and once again the father of one is Trio, and the mother of the other. Both these families had lived in Waiyana villages which no doubt accounts for the difference, but since they now live in the large Trio village of Falcemeu it seems probable that they will grow up as Trio.

Some instances of death and divorce, and the fate of the children under these circumstances, can be quoted. The Trio do not recognise any rule in the ordering of such events, and a variety of factors, of which sex and age are the most important, decide each occurrence.

A number of examples will illustrate this;

1. Asoro (435) and Makarepen (434) separated; their son Yemisi (622), aged four or five, stayed with his father but is mainly looked after by his father's mother. Their daughter, Peti (623), aged two or three, stayed with her mother. This case is particularly interesting since Korokoro (300) calls Asoro younger brother and Yemisi brother's son; on the other hand he calls Makarepen sister's daughter and Peti grandchild. A unique example of sex-linked relationship.

ii. Aretina (98), a boy about ten years old, lived with his mother, Pipa (99) when I first knew him. His father, Pesami (97) is dead. During my stay at Alalaparu, he left his mother's house and went to live in that of his father's brother, Pesaipe (93).

iii. Koi (390) left his wife, Wiwi (393) who retained the custody of their two to three year old daughter.

iv. Atu (80) left her husband, Kamape (83) when he took her younger sister Mori (87) as a second wife. She remarried but has no children by her second husband, but her three children by Kamape - a girl of fourteen years, and two boys aged ten and six - live with her in a relatively spacious house. Her former husband has a son by his second wife and they live in a small house with two other families. The elder of Atu's sons frequently eats with his father's parents who are also related to Atu; Kamape's mother being Atu's father's sister.

v. Papope (154) has an eight year old son and a seven year old daughter by Ororinape (155) whom she had left to marry Piwara (156) who, in turn, left her but not before he had had a daughter by her. Papope is now married to Itimare (153), and Piwara's baby remains completely in the care of the mother, but the two older children divide their time between the parents although the boy is more with his father who takes him hunting.

If there is a norm of behaviour it is that young children of either sex will normally stay with the mother in the event of the marriage ending through death or separation. From about eight to ten years old boys will be inclined to stay with their fathers and girls with their mothers. Other considerations will over-ride this scheme, and the much larger sample considered in the next chapter shows that half-brothers or sisters, children of the same mother but different father, are twice as likely to stay together

as those of the same father and different mother. This seems to indicate that children will normally stay with the mother upon whom the child depends for food unless her role is taken over by an elder sibling.

The situation where the elder sister looks after her younger siblings is frequently found even when the mother is alive, and can be considered as normal when the mother is dead. This is a reasonably frequent occurrence since the low life expectancy means that women often die during the early years of their younger children. This subject is more fully discussed in Chapter VII.

The part played by the grandparents must not be overlooked, and either grandmother will often substitute in the absence, temporary or prolonged, or after the death of the mother. The following examples illustrate.

i. Koruyari (195) and Konopo (198) went on an extended journey and their two young sons were left in charge of Isinaoi (201), Konopo's mother.

ii. Aranre (229) and Pipuru (230) had died leaving two young children who are being brought up by Sine (82), Pipuru's mother.

iii. Paruparu (24) brought up her son's daughter, Mikeripe (30) whose mother had died when she was very young.

iv. Surake (744) lives with his dead wife's mother who looks after the three young daughters of the late marriage.

v. Piti's (494) mother died when he was very young so he was brought up by Piropi (499), his mother's mother.

Such duty seems to fall indiscriminately to paternal or maternal grandmother, and the main qualification in the above examples is existence since in four out of the five cases the only

surviving grandmother is involved.

When one or both parents are alive and present it is not uncommon for a child to be brought up by someone else. Three different types of such an arrangement can be recognised.

A. The preference of the child. Panesi (36) prefers to live with his dead father's mother rather than with his mother Aiyatu (28) with whom his younger brother lives.

B. A child, normally a girl, given to an older woman to bring up, and who, in turn, acts as a servant. Timai (143) one of Kesepe's (139) numerous children serves in this capacity to her father's father's sister, Paruparu (24).

C. Avuncular adoption. This institution properly belongs to the study of Trio marriage practices and is considered more fully in Chapter VIII. Under this arrangement a man takes into his care the young daughter (about ten years old) of his sister and brings her up. Finally when she reaches adolescence he takes her as his wife although this is not inevitable. The man is called the girl's arimikane, her 'bringer-up' or 'nurturer'.

The absence of any conventionally understood rule of jural authority over offspring is supported on a practical level by the lack of any definite pattern of behaviour. Once again one factor or several out of a number of variables in any given circumstance may prove decisive.

It is possible to be more definite in the case of women since one of two things can happen to them at the death of a husband. They can either remarry, in which case it will conventionally be to someone whom the dead man called father or brother, or who called him father.

This is merely a re-affirmation, in slightly different terms, of what has already been written; a man belongs to a

descent line which is defined by opposition to another in the giving and taking of women.

It has been indicated that it is both theoretically and practically possible for a man to take his dead father's wife, his step-mother. There is one case of a man marrying his dead brother's wives, but there is no actual example of a man marrying his dead son's wife although it is theoretically possible.

Alternatively a woman will return to economic dependence on her own family and in particular upon her brother. This, in fact, is one of the few clearly expressed conventions; an unmarried man or woman goes to live in economic partnership with a sibling of the opposite sex. This inter-dependence of brother and sister is a recurring theme from this point on in the thesis.

One must be cautious in treating women or children as property but it can be suggested, in summary, that a man has more authority over his sister than over his father's or brother's wife, and this right is reflected in the failure to distinguish between his own and his sister's children. One might expect to find some indications of this in the Trio institutions of inheritance and succession.

e. Inheritance:

Property inheritance is a poorly developed institution among the Trio because of the lack of inheritable wealth. In the traditional culture most material objects can be made by any male/female unit. At death the conventional behaviour is to destroy all the dead person's property, although, in practice, often only a token destruction takes place. The items which are spared are those which it is difficult to replace or require considerable time and effort to do so. For example one informant told me that at the death of a woman her sieve, cassava squeezer and pots would

be broken, but not her baking plate because the younger women do not know how to make one.

Trade with the Bush Negroes introduced into the society many items which are irreplaceable by Trio techniques or out of the resources of the environment and thus possess an intrinsic value which does not belong to traditional objects. Although these new possessions have not changed the basic pattern, since at a man's death objects such as his knife may still be destroyed, the greatly increased amounts of wealth in exotic goods which an individual can accumulate through trading has had a number of consequences, not least of which is the strengthening of the system of inheritance.

The number of cases in which wealth has been inherited are still few but they are sufficient to allow a comparison between conventional and actual behaviour.

A basic feature of inheritance is that it is sex-linked since, as the Trio point out, a man has no use for a woman's things and vice-versa. This is not quite true since knives and beads are things which both men and women use and want.

It is said that a man does not inherit his father's property or a woman her mother's because in their grief they do not want to see their parents' belongings. It is considered that a man's property should pass to his konoka, and a woman's to one who called her nosi but who is also her ipseye, and thus probably refers to the brother's daughter who conventionally belongs to the class of son's wife. However women own far less inheritable wealth so that there is some doubt about female practices.

The following case histories illustrate the extent to which this ideal is followed.

1. When Kumupĩ (301) died his possessions were taken by Pekaraipo (315) whom he called pito but who was also his ipamĩ or konoka since he was his daughter's husband. On Pekaraipo's death

his son, Inesi (317), inherited his goods which, it was said, were very few.

ii. When Koita (661) died Pantape (340) inherited because Koita's wife was his classificatory sister.

iii. Sone (681) inherited Tanari's (444) possessions; Sone called Tanari yeti although the actual connection traceable in the Genealogical Table is MHWSWF (this can be reduced thus: MHW = M; MHWS = MS = B; MHWSW = BW and MHWSWF = BWF = WF who can be expected to be ti in 54% of Trio marriages).

iv. When Simore (463) died, Surekore (471) who was both his daughter's husband and wife's brother inherited his belongings. At Surekore's death, however, Enapere (263) seized them. Enapere called Surekore father because his own father called Surekore younger brother.

v. The hereditaments of the brothers Sariku (472) and Kararemen (308) went to Retipe (359) as he was the husband of their younger sister Aminu (540) and their konoka.

vi. Musere's (535) goods went to Wiwiki (634) who was husband of his sister Nantawi (635).

vii. Amakiriki's (588) possessions went to his classificatory younger brother Pakoti (726), but the informant, Amakiriki's son, said that there were very few.

viii. Amasi (476) said that when his brother Paiye (344) died, everybody seized his belongings.

ix. Asanri (451) said that all his father's goods were destroyed at death and the same with his mother's except for a few balls of spun cotton which he took himself (presumably for his wife).

This handful of examples were all it was possible to collect and most Indians either did not know what had happened to their father's things, or said there had been none, or that they had been destroyed at death. A summary of these case histories does reveal an agreement with the conventional mode of behaviour described by informants.

- i. DH; S.
- ii. WB.
- iii. ZS (perhaps DH).
- iv. WB/DH; BS.
- v. ZH; ZH.
- vi. ZH.
- vii. yB.
- viii. Inconclusive.
- ix. S but probably for SW/BD.

The emphasis is on the affinal character of the inheritance, and the whole system must be regarded as the final act in a wider system of inter-affine prestations not as a single transfer of goods concomitant on death. The full range of these exchanges which begin with marriage and end with death is described in Chapter IX. However in the absence of any means of enforcing such a system opportunity must play a large part in deciding exactly which affine will inherit.

f. Succession:

Succession involves the inheritance of property which confers status. It only concerns two items in the culture; the first of these to be considered is the shaman's rattle and its accompanying spirits. This object is never destroyed at its owner's death since this would allow the spirits to go free. The rattle should pass straight into the ownership of another

person since there is great fear of unowned and uncontrolled spirits. A shaman's rattle is conventionally inherited by his son, and this practice is almost unerringly followed.

i. Sipare (89) inherited his rattle from his father, Pia (90), who had previously obtained it from his father.

ii. Susuku (1) inherited his rattle from his father Tuhori (2).

iii. Makampe's (710) rattle was jointly owned by his wife Rekewa (700) and her eldest son (by a different husband), Atipa (707).

iv. Kusene (756) inherited a shaman's rattle from his father Pisure (671). It was stated by one informant that Pisure's sister, Wiripe (785) had been a shaman but there was uncertainty about what had happened to her rattle. One person suggested that it had been buried with her but the general consensus of opinion was that this would have been far too dangerous.

v. Sirai's (466) rattle had been inherited by his son Nataru (732).

vi. Makara's (196) rattle; this example is not too clear. The rattle apparently passed to his wife Wiwi (197) and at her death it was seized by Pisekane (88) who gave it to her husband (89) - this is not the same rattle as example i. - Mooso (273) who had been married to Wiwi when she died was considered to have some claim to it.

It is clear from these examples that the son of a shaman normally inherits his father's rattle, but this does not mean that he assumes the status of shaman although it seems to give an impetus in that direction. More important is the fact that the Trio believe it to be dangerous for a rattle to lack an owner; a system of patrilineal inheritance is the society's solution of this dilemma.

The other form of succession is to political leadership which is accomplished by inheritance of a village. However for

the reasons outlined below inheritance of village leadership cannot be taken as a valid criterion of any particular form of descent.

Firstly only very few case histories can be supplied. These few examples are drawn partly from ethnographic sources and partly from information which I managed to collect.

i. Village of Panapipa; Eoyari (62) had succeeded his father, Anapi (296). Eoyari, an oldish man, said that Pesaipe (93) who is Eoyari's WDH had taken over the leadership in the more energetic economic pursuits before the village was abandoned at the time of the move to Alalaparu.

ii. Village of Okoime; Kuruwaka (91) was succeeded by Pika (39) although the former was still alive (Schmidt, 1942, p.19). Pika was the husband of Kuruwaka's sister.

iii. Village of Paikarakapo; Tuna (187), an old man, was succeeded while still alive by Kanre (202) (Schmidt, 1942, p.33). Kanre was Tuna's daughter's husband. Sometime after Schmidt's visit, Kanre, at the death of a son, went to live in the village of Aro, and Tunareka (166) became leader at Paikarakapo. At Tunareka's death he was succeeded by his son, Anaore (178).

iv. Village of Alapite; Schmidt observed the death of the headman, Alapite, and assumed that the son Apoeka would succeed him (Schmidt, 1942, p.27).

v. Village of Koepipanampe; Temeta (482) became leader of this village at the death of Arupi (382) in which it is rumoured Temeta had had a hand. No relationship.

From these examples it would appear that kin or affine had equal chance in inheriting the leadership of a village. Indeed more important than relationship are the personal abilities of the

aspiring leader. In the absence of any socially accepted rule of succession, and indeed of any formal and authoritative political office to which to succeed, the control which a village leader exercises rests on his ability to gain and maintain the co-operation of the community in everyday affairs. There are no ties, other than those of kinship, binding the inhabitants of a village together, and nothing to stop a dissenting party from leaving to live elsewhere.

The leader of the village is, in the first place, the man who founds it; a system which allows wide scope for the politically ambitious but which requires the leader to possess definite ability if he is to be successful. A good leader will attract people to his village while the inhabitants under an incompetent one will gradually move away. Nor is a leader necessarily tied to his village, and as well as the example above in which Kanre left his own village to found a new one at Aro, Boyari (62) temporarily deserted Panapipa to build a new village at Matitikiri.

Against this background the search for any definite rule of succession is obviously meaningless; however while an individual's ability will play a large part in this, it is not everything. The less qualified man with ties of kinship and affinity running through the community has more chance of success than the talented stranger. Thus one would expect to find leadership of village pass to someone closely related to the deceased leader, and only the final choice dependent on ability. Certainly there is no place for formally inherited leadership.

Before turning to the summary of this chapter, it is as well to make a brief mention of ethnographic material on the subject of descent. Only Frikel has concerned himself with this subject, and he considers the Trio to be patrilineal and patrilocal (Frikel, 1957, pp.517-519). He re-affirms this in a later publication, and further declared that village leadership passes from father to son

(Frikel, 1960). As usual no evidence is offered for these claims, although he has presumably based his statements on some evidence.

Fock's comments about Waiwai descent, although very brief, closely parallel my own findings among the Trio except that he considers there to be an underlying matriliney rather than patriliney (Fock, 1963, p.203).

Summary

It has been shown that the marriage system which favours union between different genealogical levels allows certain confusions in the ordering of relationship and descent. In the cases of conventionally approved marriages descent is bilateral although no terminological distinction is made on the level of the first descending generation but only at the parents' level. Relationship to the offspring of unconventional marriages is determined by the particular circumstances of the case rather than by matrilineal or patrilineal affiliations. These circumstances have been collectively termed 'degree of relatedness', and this includes factors both of genealogical relationship and residence.

As well as socially the children are biologically and spiritually connected to both parents, so that neither side of the family has any prior claim to them.

Neither inheritance nor succession can be shown to be related to the subject of descent except in the case of the shaman's rattle for which, for reasons already described, the society finds it essential to have a formally recognised rule of inheritance.

If a conclusion has to be reached it would be that there is an underlying patriliney which is discernible in the formal analysis of the relationship terminology and which is weakly reinforced by certain elements that have appeared in this chapter. However the feature of the relationship terminology which has most clearly re-

appeared here is the lack of formality and the emphasis on individual ordering. Any precise rule of affiliation in this society would be more anomalous than is its absence.

CHAPTER VI

THE PATTERN OF RESIDENCE

PART 1. Village residence.

A reconstruction of village residence - A reconstruction of post-marital residence - An examination of relationships at Paloemeu village - Post-marital residence at Paloemeu - An examination of relationships at Alalaparu village - Post-marital residence at Alalaparu - Summary of Part 1.

PART 2. House residence.

An indication of the importance of co-residence as a factor in the ordering of relationships was given in the last chapter. In Chapter III a brief outline of the traditional form of the Trio settlement pattern was described and certain economic functions of it suggested. This chapter is concerned with the social aspects of the settlement pattern, and what groups of relatives constitute the core of any particular settlement unit. As was made clear earlier in the thesis, by the time my investigations among the Trio began the traditional pattern of dispersed villages had been totally disrupted; however an attempt has been made in the first part of this chapter to reconstruct the main features of the relationship between village residents by combining the genealogical information collected by myself with the village census made by Schmidt in 1940-42.

Indications from this approach allow an examination of the new large villages along the same lines, and this is done separately for the villages of Paloemeu and Alalaparu. In the second part of the chapter the subject of the relationship of house residents is examined.

Part 1: Village Residence

a. A reconstruction of village residence:

In Chapter III the following formation of Trio villages was described; three groups corresponding to three different main river basins, agglomerations of villages within the main groups, and finally the villages which form the agglomerations. With the aid of Schmidt's census (1942, pp.55-62) it is possible to make a partial reconstruction of the relationships of village inhabitants of one main group - that in the Sipeliwini basin. In this area there are 13 villages of which eight are inhabited, and these can be divided into five agglomerations.¹

Agglomeration 1: Okoime, Tuhori, Inakpo, Paikalakapo.

Agglomeration 2: Turape.

Agglomeration 3: Panapipa, plus one.

Agglomeration 4: Malaka-eeuku, plus two.

Agglomeration 5: Akame-eeuku, plus two.

In none of these villages has it been possible to identify over 70% of the inhabitants and in some the proportion drops to nearly 30%. In Table 3 are listed all the Indians which are recorded by Schmidt (1942, pp.56-59) and which are identifiable in the Genealogical Table. Against each individual are listed his primary relatives (i.e. those listed in the Index to the Genealogical Table) and immediate affines, and these are classified as living in the same village, same agglomeration, same group or

1, Some of these villages are undoubtedly abandoned ones but in other cases only temporarily deserted while the inhabitants are at the main village of the agglomeration. Schmidt made his journey at the time of year when the Trio congregate to dance.

different group. Children have been ignored for the purpose of this investigation, but a brief comment about them is made at the end of the section.

Table 3: Distribution of relatives and affines in the traditional settlement pattern.

1. Okoime (67% recognition)

<u>No.</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Agglom.</u>	<u>Grp.</u>	<u>ex-Grp.</u>
39.	W.WB.WB.	-	-	-
91.	B.Z.W.S.BW.ZH.SW.SW.	-	-	-
89.	B.Z.W.BW.ZH.WM.	WB.	-	-
413.	F.M.W.W.BW.	-	-	-
603.	W.M.WZ.	-	-	-
1.	W.	F.	-	-
630.	-	-	-	-
40.	H.B.B.BW.BW.	-	-	-
88.	H.M.HB.HZ.	B.BW.	-	-
92.	H.D.S.DH.HB.HZ.SW.SW.	S.SW.	-	-
409.	H.HF.HM.	-	-	-
571.	H.HF.HM.S.SW.	-	-	-
560.	Z.H.D.HM.	-	-	-
459.	Z.ZH.	-	-	-
3.	H.	HF.	D.DH.	-
481.	HB.	-	-	-
604.	M.	-	-	-

2. Tuhori (35.5% recognition)

2.	B.	S.SW.	-	-
512.	WZ.	-	B.WM.	-
557.	F.B.W.	-	-	-
694.	F.B.BW.	-	-	-
575.	S.S.SW.	-	-	-
697.	W.	-	-	-
271.	B.	-	-	-
150.	ZH.	-	Z.M.ZH.	-
558.	H.HF.HB.	-	-	-
722.	H.	-	-	-

3. Inakpo (63.6% recognition)

359.	W.Z.ZH.	B.BW.	-	-
718.	W.	-	-	-
73.	W.	M.Z.ZH.	-	-
405.	W.WM.	-	-	WB.
71.	W.WM.WB.	-	-	-
43.	W.WF.WM.	-	B.	-
45.	W.D.DH.	-	-	-
482.	W.WB.	WB.	-	-
79.	M.Z.ZH.	-	-	-
540.	H.HZ.D.DH.	HB.	-	S.
719.	H.	-	-	-
70.	H.S.D.DH.	HM.HZ.	-	-
356.	M.H.	-	-	B.
44.	H.F.M.	-	HB.	-
24.	H.D.DH.	-	B.S.D.SW.	-
			DH.BW.BW.	-
360.	H.B.BW.	B.BW.	-	-
63.	M.H.B.	-	-	-

4. Paikalakapo (56.7% recognition)

202.	W.WM.WF.WZ.WB.	B.Z.ZH.BW.	-	-
166.	W.D.DH.	-	B.	-
187.	W.S.D.D.SW.DH.	-	-	-
182.	F.M.Z.Z.W.ZH.WF.WM.	-	-	-
508.	W.	-	-	-
192.	W.WM.W.DH.	-	-	-
161.	M.W.WM.WF.	-	-	-
201.	H.F.M.Z.B.BW.	HB.HZ.	-	-
167.	H.D.DH.	-	HB.	-
188.	H.S.D.D.SW.DH.	-	-	-
191.	H.HF.HM.HZ.HZ.	-	-	-
509.	H.D.DH.	-	-	-
244.	H.DH.	-	-	-
152.	F.M.B.Z.ZH.BW.S.SW.	-	-	-
162.	H.F.M.HM.	-	-	-
487.	H.M.	-	-	-

5. Turape (59% recognition)

529.	WM.	-	B.	-
68.	-	-	-	-
382.	W.WM.	-	WZ.	-
26.	S.	-	-	-
125.	F.	-	-	-
11.	W.W.WZ.WZ.	-	-	-
507.	-	-	-	-
521.	D.DH.DH.	-	D.DH.	-
517.	M.H.	-	Z.	-
111.	H.Z.ZH.	-	-	-
12.	H.Z.ZH.	-	-	-

6. Panapipa (60% recognition)

62.	W.WB.	-	B.WM.BW.BW.	-
14.	W.B.WM.	-	-	-
245.	W.WM.W.WZ.	-	-	-
52.	W.WZ.Z.ZH.	-	M.	-
163.	B.	-	-	-
61.	H.B.BW.	-	M.HB.	-
18.	H.H.M.	-	-	-
246.	H.Z.ZH.	-	-	-
53.	H.Z.ZH.HZ.	-	HM.	-
283.	D.DH.DH.	-	-	-

7. Maraka-eeku (62.5% recognition)

295.	B.BW.	-	-	-
104.	-	-	B.BW.	-
132.	-	-	-	-
220.	W.	-	-	-
81.	W.W.	-	B.BW.	-
577.	-	-	B.BW.	-
225.	W.W.	-	Z.WM.	-
227.	W.	-	-	-
160.	-	-	-	-
170.	B.W.WM.	-	-	-
290.	-	-	-	-
221.	H.	-	-	-
82.	H.	-	HB.	-
106.	H.D.DH.	-	HB.	-
226.	H.	-	HZ.	-
252.	H.	-	M.HZ.	-
228.	H.	-	-	-
237.	-	-	-	-
219.	H.M.HB.	-	-	-

8. Akame-eeku (32.1% recognition)

203. WZ. ...
 155. B. ...
 193. B. ...
 233. W. ...
 117. H.ZH. ...

A casual inspection of this table is sufficient to suggest that by far the largest proportion of an individual's primary relatives and affines live in the same village. The precise figures are shown in Table 4 in which is summarised the evidence from Table 3.

Table 4: Summary of distribution of primary relatives and affines mentioned in Table 3.

	<u>Village.</u>	<u>Agglom.</u>	<u>Group.</u>	<u>Ex-Group.</u>	<u>Total.</u>
<u>Primary</u>					
<u>Relatives:</u>	43	5	10	2	60
<u>Affines:</u>	43	8	12	1	64
<u>Total:</u>	86	13	22	3	124

Table 4 shows that 69.3 percent. of an individual's primary relatives and affines live in the same village as himself, the community being equally divided between these two sets of relatives.

It is also clear that all but a very small proportion of

relatives live in the same group. Only three relationships are shown as reaching outside the main group, and, in fact, these all lead to the same man, Asanri (451) whom Schmidt records as living in the East Paru basin (Schmidt, 1942, p.61), while his mother, sister and sister's husband are shown living in the village of Inakpo. Asanri's stay in the East Paru can have only been of a temporary nature since he married his actual sister's daughter by whom he has a full grown daughter. Asanri himself is probably not much over forty years old, and in 1942 his presence so far from home can well be accounted for by the practice of young Indian men to make extended trips during their youth. Two other examples of this almost certainly occur in Schmidt's census although not listed above since Schmidt classifies them as children. Asonko (78) is separated from his father, mother and sister; Anaore (178) is living away from his father, mother and two sisters.

With the exception of these two young men all children are listed as living in the same village as a parent in every case where identification is possible. The number of adult Indians separated from or united with their parents is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Adult children living with or away from parents.

	<u>With Parents</u>	<u>Away from Parents</u>
<u>Men:</u>	8(5 F/S; 5 M/S).	4(1 F/S; 3 M/S).
<u>Women:</u>	12(4 F/D; 12 M/D).	3(0 F/D; 3 M/D).

Thus 33.3 percent. of the men live away from their parents, and 20 percent. of the women. Of the four men away from their parents, one is Susuku (10), who is in the next village to that of his father, and he lives in the village of his wife's half-brother. The case of Asanri (451) separated from his mother has already been mentioned. Arensu (73) lives in the village of his much older wife, and in the last case Iyakepo (52) lives away from his mother but in the same village as his sister and sister's husband who is also his own wife's half-brother.

Of the three women who live away from their mothers, one, Tasi (252), is with her mother's full brother, one is the sister of Iyakepo which case has been mentioned in the previous paragraph, and the last example lacks any remarkable feature. Thus it appears that in the cases where men or women are separated from parents they are normally found to be living in the same village as some other close relative.

In Table 6 is shown the number of separated and united siblings.

The largest proportion of separated brothers and the

Table 6: Number of separated and united siblings.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	6	5	11
<u>Sisters:</u>	4	1	5
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	7	4	11
	<u>17 (63%)</u>	<u>10 (37%)</u>	<u>27</u>

The single case where sisters are separated involves the same woman as in Table 5 who is living away from her mother but without obvious reason. In the four cases of brother/sister pairs being separated, two have already been commented upon since they concern Asanri (451) and Arensu (73). In the third case Kanre (202) has left his brother and sister and lives in the village of his wife. The last example has no explanation.

Of the five separated pairs of brother, two cases have already been explained; one involves Kanre (202), and one is the husband of the separated sisters who has a brother, married to his own wife's half-sister, living at Turape with their wives' mother.

The other three examples are rather curious since all three brothers are shown as living at Maraka-seku where they lack any other identifiable relatives. This is also true of the unexplained example of the brother living away from his sister, and it is a notable feature of all the inhabitants of this village that they lack relationships other than husband/wife ones. There is nothing in Schmidt's writings which can be taken to account for this.

The largest proportion of separated brothers and the smallest of separated sisters offer a hint of matrilocal residence, as does the evidence of Table 5. Before turning to the question of the spouse's parents it should be added that an equal number of united and separated sibling pairs are married or unmarried.

b. A reconstruction of post-marital residence:

While Table 7 shows that there is a tendency for a larger proportion of men to live with their wife's parents, the main emphasis lies on the fact that over three-quarters of the married couples live in the same village as a spouse's parents. When one relates this to Table 5, in which it is shown that the same proportion of adult children live in their parents' village, one

would expect to find examples of married couples living in the same village as both sets of parents. There are, in fact, two examples of this, while there is no single case of a man or woman separated from their own parents and living with the parents-in-law. Thus in all six cases of married couples living away from parents-in-law they are also living away from parents, but the three women living away from their parents-in-law are closely related to the other inhabitants of the village while their husbands are not. Two of the three examples of men living away from their parents-in-law are inexplicable, and in the final case the village is equally divided between kin and affines.

Table 7: Men and women living with or away from spouse's parents.

	<u>With</u>	<u>Away</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Men:</u>	13 (81.2%)	3 (18.8%)	16
<u>Women:</u>	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	9
	<u>19 (76%)</u>	<u>6 (24%)</u>	<u>25</u>

This indicates that brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law can be expected to live together, and this is shown in Table 8.

Table 8: Men living with and away from brothers-in-law (ZH/WB) and women with and away from sisters-in-law (HZ/BW).

	<u>With</u>	<u>Away</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Men:</u>	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	9
<u>Women:</u>	5 (55.5%)	4 (44.5%)	9
	<u>11 (61.1%)</u>	<u>7 (39.9%)</u>	<u>18</u>

This table continues to show a tendency, although a slight one, towards matrilocal residence, but it is more usefully diagnostic of another feature which will be considered below. First, to complete this summary it can be noted that 61.9% of the Indians live in the same village as their parallel siblings' spouses who are also their own potential wives or husbands.

Before attempting a summary of this examination it must be stressed that in the sample with which I have dealt it has been possible to identify only 54.5% of all the names recorded by Schmidt. So there are limitations to the conclusiveness of this investigation.

The feature which recurs throughout is that an individual finds in his own community between two-thirds and three-quarters of his nearest kin and affines, and the proportion is equally divided between the two types. Post-marital residence is neither strongly patrilocal nor matrilocal, although there is a slight tendency towards the latter. This, however, can be explained thus - most marriages occur within the village, but the lack of suitable women will drive a man to search for a wife elsewhere. It is the men who marry outside their own villages who account for the slightly matrilocal flavour which is discernible, since in such circumstances the man remains in his wife's village. I return to this subject in Chapters VIII and IX.

Before leaving Schmidt's account it is valuable to attempt one other approach to the study of the composition of a village; this is by considering the relationship of the inhabitants to the village leader. For this purpose two villages have been selected, partly because they contain a high proportion of recognisable members and partly because the leadership changed during the period of Schmidt's journeys which allows two aspects to be given.

Table 9: Relationship of successive leaders of Okoime to the inhabitants of that village.

<u>Inhabitants</u>	<u>Kurawaka (91)</u>	<u>Pika (39)</u>
Pika (39),	ZH	-
Kurawaka (91),	-	WB
Sipare (89),	B	WB
Apiyantoni (413),	S	WB
Nikiratete (603),	SWS	WBSWS
Susuku (1),	ZHZH	ZH
Yarepe (630),	-	-
Mauri (40),	Z	W
Pisekane (88),	BW	WBW
Munui (92),	BWM	WBW
Kontina (409),	SW	WBSW
Saripen (560),	SWSW	WBSWSW
Sikuripen (459),	SWSW	WBSWSW
Mikuri (3),	ZHZ	Z
Akeri (571),	SW	WBSW
Pansina (481),	SW	WBSW
Paiyemipe (604),	SWSWD	WBSWSWD

It can be seen that with the exception of two people Kurawaka is related to the inhabitants of the village through his siblings or his children; Pika, however, is related to them through his wife except for the two mentioned above who are a sister (FBD) and her husband. The same pattern can be seen in Table 10; Tuna (187) is related to the inhabitants of Paikarakapo through the marriages of

his children, while for his successor, Kanre (202), the relationships are affinal.

Table 10: Relationship of successive leaders of Paikarakapo to the inhabitants of that village.

<u>Inhabitants</u>	<u>Tuna (187)</u>	<u>Kanre (202)</u>
Kanre (202),	DH	-
Tuna (187),	-	WF
Tunareka (166),	DSWF	WZSWF
Muse (182),	S	WB
Yawiken (508),	SWFWFS	WBWFWFS
Paseki (192),	SWF	WBWF
Isinaio (201),	D	W
Imariyee (167),	DSWM	WZSWM
Warepe (188),	W	WM
Ikuwaiyi (191),	SW	WBW
Yawinapu (509),	SWFWM	WBWFWM
Pasawate (244),	SWM	WBWM

Finally, in Table 11, are listed the inhabitants of Panapipa, and the relationships which Iyakepe (52) considers he has with them. This reveals that Iyakepe sees the adult population of this village divided into two genealogical levels - his own, on which he has his brothers and sisters, and a senior one on which there are mothers and their brothers who are also affines. This latter level, from Eoyari's (62) viewpoint, consists of himself and his sisters, and on the level below his sisters' daughters and their brothers who are also his sisters' husbands.

Table 11: Relationship of the inhabitants of Panapipa to Iyakepo (52).

Eoyari (62),	MB/ZH/WB
Mono (14),	B
Tepepuru (245),	B
Apomita (163),	B
Tawiruye (61),	Z
Meme (18),	M/BW
Takinaiu (246),	M/BW/WZ
Siwapun (53),	M/W
Akete (283),	Nosi/BWM

Tables 9, 10 and 11 strengthen the earlier conclusions; for a stranger marrying into a village his relationships with the inhabitants will be universally affinal, but for the man who marries within his own village his relationships will be equally divided between kin and affines. These, at least, are the indications suggested by a study of ethnographic sources; it is now necessary to consider how far my own field notes support these conclusions.

c. An examination of relationships at Paloemeu village:

To inspect either the Alalaparu or Paloemeu settlements as single units would obviously prove a valueless task, and accordingly these villages have been divided into segments. This division has been carried out partly rationally and partly arbitrarily.

At Paloemeu the topography of the river bank is such that the settlement is divided into three distinct parts which are separated from each other by shallow water courses. It is assumed

that those who had lived together prior to the formation of the large Paloemeu village would tend to cluster together in it, and that examination of these three divisions as distinct entities might provide a useful approach to the problem. One or two general comments must first be made about these divisions.

These divisions hold a population of 41 in the smallest and nearly 100 in the largest so that they are two or three times larger than the size of a traditional village. These divisions are thus considered to approximate to an agglomeration, and no method has been found of identifying smaller units within these three divisions.

Secondly, the population has come from diverse areas - the immediate vicinity, the upper Tapanahoni, the upper Paloemeu, and the East Paru providing the bulk of the inhabitants. It is not possible to say whether or not this area represents a main group since by 1960 the pattern observed by Schmidt had undergone a number of changes, and not enough is known about them to reconstruct a settlement pattern which existed prior to the recent upheaval. With these limitations in mind, it is possible to embark upon an examination of the relationships existing within and without these divisions.

Initial investigations showed that an unrealistic view of the situation results if children are included in the study because they overload the proportion of sibling pairs living together. Accordingly the examination has been restricted to adults who are married or have been married.

Conclusions from the first part of this chapter suggest that a start can be made by considering the unity of sibling pairs, and this is done at three levels; full siblings or those sharing the same father and mother (as, in fact, has been done in the analysis of Schmidt's census), half-siblings or those

sharing one parent, and parallel-cousins or the sons and daughters of a father's full brother, or mother's full sister.

Table 12: United and separated full siblings at Paloemeu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	3	3	6
<u>Sisters:</u>	7	3	10
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	15	4	19
	<u>25 (71.4%)</u>	<u>10 (28.6%)</u>	<u>35</u>

Of the four brother/sister pairs which are separated, two live in different divisions at Paloemeu, one has his sister living at Alalaparu, and one a sister living somewhere in Brazil. With the exception of this last case about which I have little information, the other three men are all considered to have transgressed norms of behaviour. Of the two pairs living at Paloemeu, one seems to have little communication with his sister (but I was poorly placed to observe it), but the other man, Koi (390), who had earned the society's disapprobation by putting away his young, nubile wife and taking an older, barren woman, has built himself a house in a relatively isolated position in a different division but is still regularly visited by his mother and sister who bring him gifts of food.

Of the separated brothers, one is married to a Waiyana and lives on the Lawa, and the brothers of the other two are at Alalaparu where they live with their wives' parents.

No common factor marks the separated sisters; one has a sister married to a Waiyana and lives in Brazil, another has a sister at Alalaparu, where she wishes to join her, and the last pair live in different divisions at Paloemeu and there is regular communication between them.

Table 13: United and separated half-siblings at Paloemeu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	3	6	9
<u>Sisters:</u>	9	3	12
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	14	11	25
	<u>26 (56.5%)</u>	<u>20 (43.5%)</u>	<u>46</u>

There is a rather higher proportion of separated half-siblings, and it is useful to take the analysis a stage further.

Table 14: i. United half-siblings at Paloemeu showing relationship to parent.

	<u>Same mother</u>	<u>Same father</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	3	0	3
<u>Sisters:</u>	5	4	9
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	10	4	14
	<u>18 (69.3%)</u>	<u>8 (30.7%)</u>	<u>26</u>

ii. Separated half-siblings at Paloemeu showing relationship to parent.

	<u>Same mother</u>	<u>Same father</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	2	4	6
<u>Sisters:</u>	1	2	3
<u>Brother / Sister:</u>	2	9	11
	<u>5 (25%)</u>	<u>15 (75%)</u>	<u>20</u>

Both parts of Table 14 show that children of the same mother are twice as likely to stay together as are offspring of the same father but different mother.

In Tables 15 and 16 the figures are given in the same way for parallel-cousins which for ease of presentation are shown as brothers and sisters in the tables.

ii. Separated parallel-cousins at Paloemeu showing relationship through parent.

Table 15: United and separated parallel-cousins at Paloemeu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	7	4	11
<u>Sisters:</u>	18	14	32
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	20	14	34
	<u>45 (58.4%)</u>	<u>32 (41.6%)</u>	<u>77</u>

The figures in Table 15 show only insignificant differences from those in Table 13, but they both significantly differ from those

in Table 12. Furthermore Table 16 continues the indications of Table 14, and matrilateral parallel-cousins are more likely to be found living together than patrilateral parallel-cousins.

Table 16: i. United parallel-cousins at Palcoemeu showing relationship through parent.

	<u>Mother's Z</u>	<u>Father's B</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	6	1	7
<u>Sisters:</u>	10	8	18
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	13	7	20
	<u>29 (64.5%)</u>	<u>16 (35.5%)</u>	<u>45</u>

ii. Separated parallel-cousins at Palcoemeu showing relationship through parent.

	<u>Mother's Z</u>	<u>Father's B</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	4	0	4
<u>Sisters</u>	2	12	14
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	9	5	14
	<u>15 (46.9%)</u>	<u>17 (53.1%)</u>	<u>32</u>

Taking the information from Tables 12, 13 and 15 Table 17 provides a summary of the situation.

Table 17: Summary of united and separated full siblings, half-siblings and parallel-cousins at Paloemeu.

<u>i. Brothers:</u>	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Full:</u>	3	3	6
<u>Half:</u>	3	6	9
<u>Parallel-cousins:</u>	7	4	11
	<u>13 (50%)</u>	<u>13 (50%)</u>	<u>26</u>
 <u>ii. Sisters:</u>			
<u>Full:</u>	7	3	10
<u>Half:</u>	9	3	12
<u>Parallel-cousins:</u>	18	14	32
	<u>34 (63%)</u>	<u>20 (37%)</u>	<u>54</u>
 <u>iii. Brother/Sister:</u>			
<u>Full:</u>	15	4	19
<u>Half:</u>	14	11	25
<u>Parallel-cousins:</u>	20	14	34
	<u>49 (62.8%)</u>	<u>29 (37.2%)</u>	<u>78</u>
 <u>TOTAL</u>	<u>96 (60.7%)</u>	<u>62 (39.3%)</u>	<u>158</u>

While nearly two-thirds of the married sister pairs and

brother/sister pairs live together, and in the case of full brother/sister pairs this percentage rises to 80%, only half of the brother pairs are united. This fact suggests a matrilocal tendency, and this is supported by the practice of half-siblings of the same mother but different father tending to stay together while those of the same father but different mother tend to separate. This fact is present, if less emphatically, in the case of parallel-cousins, with matrilinear ones showing a tendency to stay together although the pattern is not so clearly defined.

d. Post-marital residence at Palcoemeu:

The next step is an examination of marriage residence. The Trio lack any rule on this subject, and case histories which I recorded show considerable variation in behaviour with frequent movement between villages of the married couples' respective parents. However, the apparent absence of any rule of post-marital residence, combined with the high proportion of united sibling pairs leads one to suspect village endogamy, or at least, agglomeration endogamy, as the normal practice. The majority of Trio express the opinion that it is best to marry someone from your own village.

Of the 49 Trio marriages at Palcoemeu 24 couples have a parent from one side or the other still living. Five of these couples both have a parent still alive, and they are distributed in the following manner. Three of them practise matrilocal residence, one lives with both sets of parents, and the fifth couple lives away from both sets. Table 18 shows what form of residence the other 19 couples practise.

Table 18: Men and women living with and away from own surviving parents, and spouse's parents.

	<u>With</u>	<u>Away</u>	<u>Total</u>
i. Men			
<u>Own parents:</u>	8	2	10
<u>Wife's parents:</u>	8	1	9
	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>19</u>
ii. Women			
<u>Own parents:</u>	8	1	9
<u>Husband's parents:</u>	8	2	10
	<u>16</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>19</u>

Table 18 shows that in the great majority of cases the married couple will live with a surviving parent whether it be the husband's or wife's. The two cases of a man living away from his parents and one of one living away from his wife's parents involve the same people as the cases of a woman living away from her parents or husband's parents. One of these involves Koi (390) whose case has already been described in this chapter, and in the other two cases the surviving parents live in Brazil and I have inadequate information to account for them.

The evidence from the Paloemeu village, although reservations must exist concerning how accurately it mirrors traditional conditions, conforms with the conclusions reached with

the aid of ethnographic sources. The village or agglomeration consists of a core of siblings and their spouses together with their own or spouses' parents. The greater proportion of separated brothers can be accounted for by the need of some men to leave their own community and search elsewhere for a wife. This also gives a slight flavour of matrilocal residence since this is the normal practice in such circumstances. Finally, further confirmation can be sought by investigating the Alalaparu population in the same way.

e. An examination of relationships at Alalaparu village:

Any attempt of analysis at Alalaparu similar to that carried out for Paloemeu involves a number of difficulties. Firstly the settlement cannot be divided by topographical features, and the expansion of the village was limited by the river on the eastern and northern sides, and artificially on the southern side where the Indians have been dissuaded from building houses because this is the fly-in to the airstrip.¹ Secondly, at least one house, and perhaps others, has been built, at the missionary's instigation, elsewhere than the owner wished. The assumption used at Paloemeu that those who now live together lived together previously is not therefore such a useful criterion at Alalaparu, where it has been necessary to be more arbitrary in dividing the village.

The Indians at Alalaparu, who number about 160, all belong to the Sipaliwini group as territorially recognised from Schmidt's account. When the missionaries first entered the area in 1960, the Trio of the Sipaliwini basin were living in six or seven villages which formed four agglomerations (see Map 1).

1, A new airstrip has now been cut, and the approach to it is well clear of the village.

Within the sphere of the Alalaparu village one of these agglomerations - that consisting of the villages of Tēpu and Aro - is clearly distinguishable by its spatial compactness and the limited social intercourse which its inhabitants have with the rest of the villagers. It is this difference in behaviour which first drew my attention to it.

One of the other agglomerations is fairly well defined on the same grounds, but the boundary between the last two is very indistinct, and it is perhaps wrong to consider them as two rather than one agglomeration. The recognition of two divisions rather than one will give the unity figure in the following tables a rather lower value and the separation figure a rather higher one than they should have.

Table 19: United and separated full siblings at Alalaparu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	3	4	7
<u>Sisters:</u>	4	4	8
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	17	5	22
	<u>24 (64.9%)</u>	<u>13 (35.1%)</u>	<u>37</u>

Two of the separated brother-pairs, one sister-pair and one brother/sister pair have already been mentioned as being divided between Alalaparu and Palocemeu. Three of the brother/sister pairs are divided between the two agglomerations which lack clear distinction, and this is so with one pair of brothers. One pair

of sisters are divided because of a marriage with a Waiwai Indian, and one brother/sister pair and two sister pairs as a result of marital conflict surrounding Piwara (156) and Rori (173). The fourth pair of brothers are practising matrilineal residence, Kesepe (139) living in the the agglomeration with his wife's siblings, and his younger brother Muyope (32) with his wife's father.

Table 20: United and separated half-siblings at Alalaparu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	3	4	7
<u>Sisters:</u>	8	3	11
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	12	4	16
	<u>23 (67.6%)</u>	<u>11 (32.4%)</u>	<u>34</u>

The proportion of united half-siblings is appreciably higher than at Palcemeu (see Table 13), and there is also a difference in the proportions of united and separated half-siblings depending on parentage (compare Tables 14 and 21). At Alalaparu there is little emphasis on children of the same mother but different father staying together as compared to children of the same father but different mother, as is the case at Palcemeu.

Table 21: i. United half-siblings at Alalaparu showing relationship to parent.

	<u>Same mother</u>	<u>Same father</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	1	2	3
<u>Sisters:</u>	4	4	8
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	7	5	12
	<u>12 (52.2%)</u>	<u>11 (47.8%)</u>	<u>23</u>

ii. Separated half-siblings at Alalaparu showing relationship to parent.

	<u>Same mother</u>	<u>Same father</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	2	2	4
<u>Sisters:</u>	1	2	3
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	2	2	4
	<u>5 (45.5%)</u>	<u>6 (54.5%)</u>	<u>11</u>

In the case of parallel-cousins the trend observed at Paloemeu (see Tables 15 and 16) is more definite at Alalaparu. Table 22 shows that parallel-cousins have an equal chance of being united or separated.

Table 22: United and separated parallel-cousins at Alalaparu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total.</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	4	2	6
<u>Sisters:</u>	10	14	24
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	16	14	30
	<u>30 (50%)</u>	<u>30 (50%)</u>	<u>60</u>

Almost three-quarters of the matrilateral parallel-cousins live together, a proportion almost 10 per cent. higher than at Paloemeu, although the proportion of types of parallel-cousin pairs is not significantly different. At the same time there is a proportionate increase in the number of separated patrilateral parallel-cousins (compare Tables 16 and 23).

Table 23: i. United parallel-cousins at Alalaparu showing relationship through parent.

	<u>Mother's Z</u>	<u>Father's B</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	2	2	4
<u>Sisters:</u>	8	2	10
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	12	4	16
	<u>22 (73.4%)</u>	<u>8 (26.7%)</u>	<u>30</u>

ii. Separated parallel-cousins at Alalaparu showing relationship through parent.

	<u>Mother's Z</u>	<u>Father's B</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Brothers:</u>	2	0	2
<u>Sisters:</u>	2	12	14
<u>Brother/Sister:</u>	7	7	14
	<u>11 (36.7%)</u>	<u>19 (63.3%)</u>	<u>30</u>

When one compares the summary of the figures from Alalaparu and Palocemu (Tables 17 and 24) a number of similarities and differences can be seen. Firstly, the proportion of brother-pairs, sister-pairs and brother/sister pairs is similar. The proportion of brothers separated and united is identical at the two villages, and the figures for brother/sister pairs bear a close resemblance to each other; the difference being an insignificant 3.4 per cent. However, the difference in the case of sister-pairs is far greater, and only about half of the sisters at Alalaparu are united compared with 63 per cent. at Palocemu; this is partly explicable by the arbitrary division of the village.

Table 24: Summary of united and separated full siblings, half-siblings and parallel-cousins at Alalaparu.

	<u>United</u>	<u>Separated</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>i. Brothers:</u>			
<u>Full:</u>	3	4	7
<u>Half:</u>	3	4	7
<u>Parallel-cousins:</u>	4	2	6
	<u>10 (50%)</u>	<u>10 (50%)</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>ii. Sisters:</u>			
<u>Full:</u>	4	4	8
<u>Half:</u>	8	3	11
<u>Parallel-cousins:</u>	10	14	24
	<u>22 (51.2%)</u>	<u>21 (48.8%)</u>	<u>43</u>
<u>iii. Brother/Sister:</u>			
<u>Full:</u>	17	5	22
<u>Half:</u>	12	4	16
<u>Parallel-cousins:</u>	16	14	30
	<u>45 (66.2%)</u>	<u>23 (33.8%)</u>	<u>68</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>77 (58.8%)</u>	<u>54 (41.2%)</u>	<u>131</u>

f. Post-marital residence at Alalaparu:

An examination of post-marital residence at Alalaparu shows strong similarity to that at Palcemeu. Of the 43 existing marriages at Alalaparu 24 couples have one or more parents alive, but because of the uncertainty about which division one couple belongs to, the examination is restricted to 23 examples.

Out of this number there are five marriages in which both husband and wife have a surviving parent. In three of these cases the married couples and both sets of parents live together. In the last two examples, the brother and sister, Mitipi (59) and Werimuku (216), live with their mother, Akutape (60), whose husband, Taiyape (125), has left her and is said to be living in Brazil. Mitipi has recently married Weripena (58) whose parents live in a different division at Alalaparu; this then is an example of patrilocal residence. Werimuku is married to Amasina (215) whose father lives at Palcemeu; this is a case of matrilocal residence.

Of the remaining 18 cases in which only one of the married pair has a surviving parent, Table 25 shows their distribution.

Table 25: Men and women living with and away from own surviving parents and spouse's parents.

	<u>With</u>	<u>Away</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>i. Men</u>			
<u>Own parents:</u>	6	3	9
<u>Wife's parents:</u>	8	1	9
	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>ii. Women</u>			
<u>Own parents:</u>	8	1	9
<u>Husband's parents:</u>	6	3	9
	<u>14</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>18</u>

This evidence confirms the conclusion drawn from the Paloemeu data (Table 18); married couples live with surviving parents regardless of whether they are the husband's or the wife's.

Of the three men who live away from their parents (their wives are the women living away from their husband's parents) one is a young man, Sikamimpe (254) who with his old wife is paying a visit to Alalaparu where neither of them have blood relations. One is Sakakimpe (123) whose father Taiyape (125), as mentioned above, has gone to live in Brazil; Sakakimpe lives among a group of his siblings and half-siblings. In the third case a young man Pepu (22) has married a recently widowed girl and they live among her former husband's children and step-children.

The one woman living away from her parents (her husband is the single man living away from his wife's parents) lives among a group of her husband's siblings and half-siblings. Her parents live at Alalaparu and she has considerable communication with them; it is perhaps wrong to consign her to a different division of the village.

problems of living with one's parents, a trait initially apparent

g. Summary of Part 1:

A summary can now be made of the evidence provided in the first part of this chapter. The first point to note is that no important differences can be observed between the figures drawn from three different sources. They all emphasise the following features:-

1. Siblings tend to live together. Of the Surinam Trio 72.1 per cent.¹ of the full sibling pairs live in the same

1, The proportion of united siblings is higher when all the Surinam Trio are considered together because if a man A at Paloemeu has a sister B at Alalaparu this counts as 'separated' in the figures for each place. When the figures are combined this counts as only a single instance. In the case of full siblings there are four such occurrences, one among the half-siblings, and 14 among the parallel-cousins.

village division, 62 per cent. of the half-sibling pairs, and 61 per cent. of the parallel-cousins.

2. Brother/sister pairs (80%) remain together more than sisters (64.7%), and sisters more than brothers (54.5%).

3. Half-siblings who share the same mother and matrilineal parallel-cousins remain together more than half-siblings of the same father and patrilineal parallel-cousins. The higher proportion of separated patrilineal parallel-cousins being obviously related to that of separated brothers.

4. Statistical evidence fails to reveal any set pattern of post-marital residence. Of the 10 marriages in which there are parents from both sides living, four practise matrilineal residence, one patrilineal residence, four live with both sets of parents and the tenth pair live away from both sets. Of the 37 marriages in which the parents of either husband or wife but not of both are alive, 30 couples live with the parents. The practice of living with one's parents, a trait initially apparent in the analysis of Schmidt's material, is a natural corollary of united sibling pairs.

5. The tendency towards matrilocality which is evidenced by the higher proportion of separated brothers and parallel-cousins to other types can be interpreted as the need for some men to find their wives outside the immediate community. In such cases matrilineal residence appears to have been the normal practice.

6. The analysis of Schmidt's material suggests that the village is the important social unit, while the figures for Alalaparu and Puloemeu are assumed to refer to agglomerations. Since the agglomeration is the self-supporting economic unit, and that within it Indians regularly move from one settlement to another in order to exploit fully the resources of the area,

the idea of the agglomeration as a basic social unit receives further support. Following list the numbers refer to the houses and the letters

Certainly it is difficult to visualise a village of 30 inhabitants existing as a socially autonomous unit, and since the Indians live in different villages in the agglomeration at different times and co-residence is a criterion of relationship, it seems safe to assume that the agglomeration is both the basic economic and social unit.

Within the agglomeration a man will expect to find the majority of his kin and affines, and his social contacts will be mainly confined to the inhabitants of his agglomeration. The travels of an Indian within an agglomeration allow the constant renewal of these ties, and at the same time satisfy the requirements of subsistence. However, as will be shown in Chapter X hostility as well as friendship is a feature of the relationship between inhabitants of an agglomeration.

her daughter.

64. Part (420), his wife and baby son.

Part 2

Pepepura (345), and his son by a former wife.

These two men are married to sisters one of

which has a son by a former marriage and is

living after the orphan son of a female

partner (380). Finally there is a

House residence

The first part of this chapter has dealt with the composition of village and agglomeration populations and the relationship of their inhabitants. This second part is concerned with the inhabitants of single dwellings, and describes the situation at Alalapuru on the 1st January 1964 and at Paloemeu on the 1st April 1964.

The Trio as far as we have a record of them have never lived in large communal houses, although it is possible that they once dwelt in larger houses than they do now. The recent population movements have undoubtedly distorted the traditional

1 in. equals
approximately 30 ft.

pattern as, probably, has the missionary influence.

In the following list the numbers refer to the house and the letter to the agglomeration; A (Fig. 10), B (Fig. 11), and C (Fig. 12) at Paloemeu, and D, E, F and G (Fig. 13) at Alalaparu. Where, at Alalaparu, the letter is replaced by a question mark it indicates uncertainty as to which agglomeration the inhabitants belong.

Paloemeu.

- | | No. |
|---|-----|
| 1A. Sapinke (436), his wife, his wife's sister and her son and daughter. The WZH had recently died. | 5. |
| 2A. Pikume (365), his wife and daughter. | 3. |
| 3A. Asanri (451), his wife, married daughter, her husband and two children. | 6. |
| 4A. Rime (364), and his wife. | 2. |
| 5A. Pareya (430), his wife and young daughter. Also his elder sister whose husband had left her, and her daughter. | 5. |
| 6A. Neki (420), his wife and baby son. | 3. |
| 7A. Tepepuru (245), and his son by a former wife. These two men are married to sisters one of which has a son by a former marriage and is also looking after the orphan son of a female parallel-cousin (FBDS). Finally there is a married couple recently arrived from Brazil; the husband is a classificatory brother of the two sisters. | 8. |
| 8A. Inkiman (417) and his wife. Also Tupiro (679) and his wife and her younger brother; these three have recently arrived from Brazil. | 5. |
| 9A. Toropeti (305), his wife, son and daughter; also his younger sister with her husband and son. | 7. |
| 10A. Arena (462) - a widow, with her son and daughter, and her younger half-brother. | 4. |
| 11A. Waiyana family of Anesi (373) who is married to a Trio woman, and they live in 12A. | |

Figure 10: Sketch plan of the middle division of the Paloemeu village (Agglomeration A) in April, 1964.



1 in. equals
approximately 30 ft.

W.H.

1A

2A

5A

6A

3A

7A

8A

21A

4A

17A

9A

16A

10A

20A

18A

11A

15A

12A

14A

13A

19A

T
A
P
A
N
A
H
O
N
I

R
I
V
E
R

Figure 10: Sketch plan of the middle division of the Paloemeu village (Agglomeration A) in April, 1964.

- 12A. Ankapi (361) - a widow, her married daughter with a Waiyana husband and baby son, a younger daughter and the son of an older deceased daughter. 6
- 13A. Pierre (381), his wife and daughter. Also a young man and his wife who have recently arrived from Brazil. 5
- 14A. Napanaki (313) - a widow, her son, his Waiyana wife and their daughter. The Waiyana woman's son by a former marriage. A dead sister's son. 6
- 15A. Yapi (339), his wife and her daughter by an earlier marriage. A male parallel-cousin, and a sister with her husband and his dead brother's daughter. 7
- 16A. Korokoro (300), his wife and her elder and younger brothers. I lived with this family. 4
- 17A. Sanepe (343), and his wife. 2
- 18A. Keriya (346), his wife and son; his wife's father's brother, his wife and her younger brother. 6
- 19A. Koi (390), and his wife. 2
- 20A. Irawipen (327), her Waiyana husband, and her two sons by a former marriage; also her half-sister and her husband and young son, and the husband's brother's son. Finally a man, Nupiyaranke (684) with his wife and daughter, who have recently arrived from Brazil. 11
- 21A. This is a work-house but with the influx of Indians from Brazil a number of immigrants live in it. Koiye (670), his wife, the daughter of a former wife's brother's daughter and her two daughters; Nayiwi (774), a widow, and her three sons. 9
- 22B. Kiyokiyo (578), his wife, his wife's mother, and a younger half-sister of his wife and a baby son of dubious paternity. Kiyokiyo had once considered himself married to both girls but by April 1964 considered only the one to be his wife. 5

Figure 11: Sketch plan of the downstream division of the Palcocha village (Agglomeration B) in April, 1964.

T
A
P
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N
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N
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R
I
V
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R

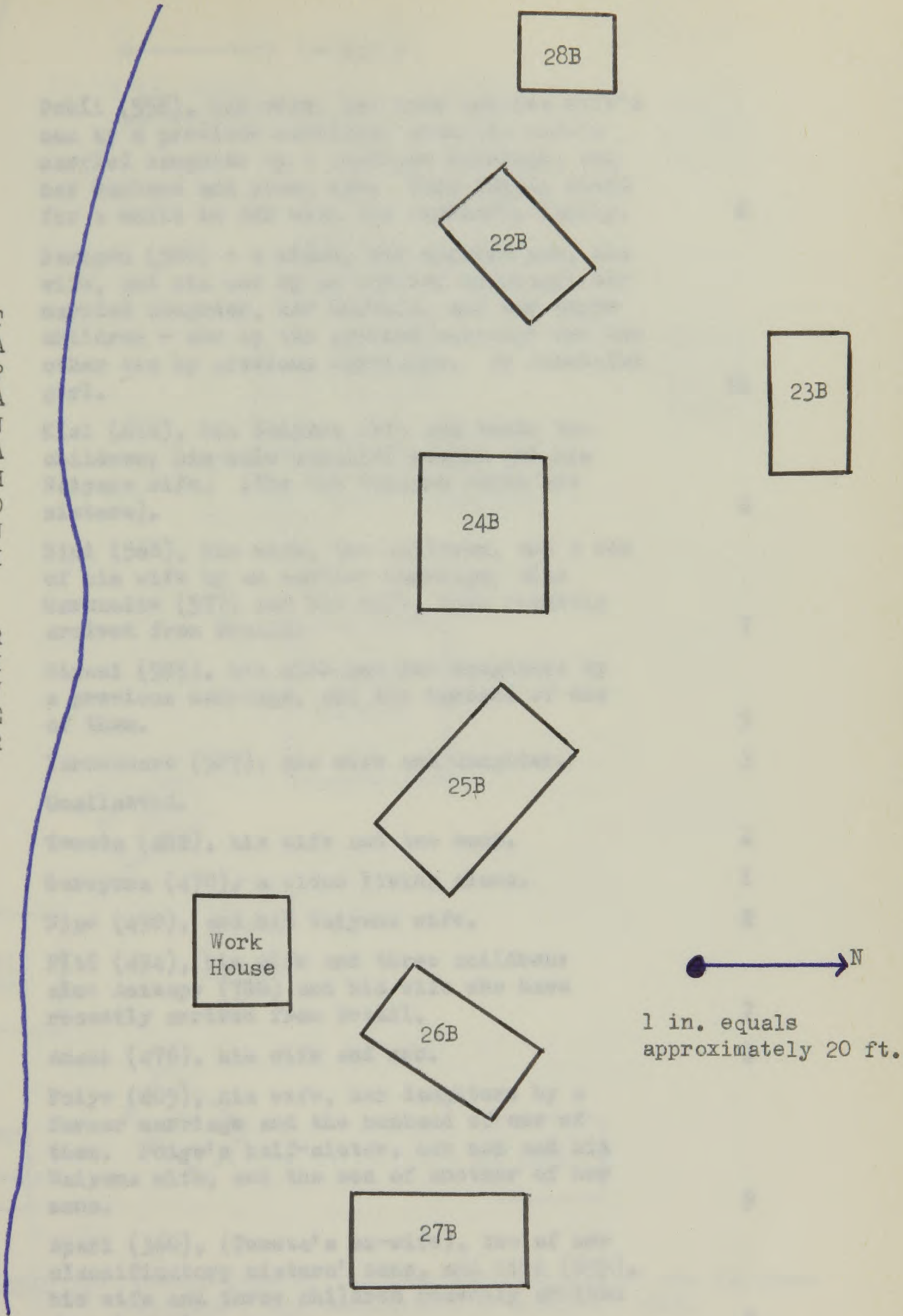


Figure 11: Sketch plan of the downstream division of the Paloemeu village (Agglomeration B) in April, 1964.

- 23B. Pokii (556), his wife, two sons and his wife's son by a previous marriage; also his wife's married daughter by a previous marriage, and her husband and young son. This family lived for a while in 24B with the husband's family. 8
- 24B. Saripen (560) - a widow, her married son, his wife, and his son by an earlier marriage; her married daughter, her husband, and her three children - one by the present marriage and the other two by previous marriages. An unrelated girl. 10
- 25B. Kisi (616), his Waiyana wife and their two children; his male parallel-cousin and his Waiyana wife. (The two Waiyana women are sisters). 6
- 26B. Sini (566), his wife, two children, and a son of his wife by an earlier marriage; also Maruwaika (577) and his wife, both recently arrived from Brazil. 7
- 27B. Sirosi (595), his wife and her daughters by a previous marriage, and the husband of one of them. 5
- 28B. Yaruwanare (587), his wife and daughter. 3
- 29B. Unallotted.
- 30C. Temeta (482), his wife and two sons. 4
- 31C. Sareyuna (470), a widow living alone. 1
- 32C. Sipe (490), and his Waiyana wife. 2
- 33C. Piti (494), his wife and three children; also Asiwaipa (716) and his wife who have recently arrived from Brazil. 7
- 34C. Amasi (476), his wife and son. 3
- 35C. Poiye (405), his wife, her daughters by a former marriage and the husband of one of them. Poiye's half-sister, her son and his Waiyana wife, and the son of another of her sons. 9
- 36C. Apari (360), (Temeta's ex-wife), two of her classificatory sisters' sons, and Siki (699), his wife and three children recently arrived from Brazil. 8

T
A
P
A
N
A
H
O
N
I

R
I
V
E
R



1 in. equals
approximately 35 ft.

40C

32C

30C

36C

33C

37C

38C

31C

35C

34C

MISSION
STATION

39C

44C

41C

Work
house

42C

43C

Figure 12: Sketch plan of the upstream division of the Paloemeu village (Agglomeration C) in April, 1964.

- 37C. Iyetipe (720), his wife and his daughter by a previous marriage, and his sister and her daughter. 5
- 38C. Ameniye (725), her Waiyana husband, and her two children by a former Waiyana husband. 4
- 39C. Enusasa (400), and her two sons by previous marriages; also Watara (732), his wife, and his son and daughter by an earlier marriage - this family has recently arrived from Brazil. 7
- 40C. Anoriya (704), her Waiyana husband, and a deceased brother's two daughters. A number of her husband's Waiyana relatives. 4
- 41C. Asapoti (376), his wife and his wife's daughter by a previous marriage; also a young man Simuru (511), the male parallel cousin of Pesini (528) in a neighbouring house. 4
- 42C. Supipi (514), his wife and daughter. 3
- 43C. Surake (744), his dead wife's mother and his three daughters; also Kusene (756), his wife, his son and two daughters by earlier marriages, the husband of one of the daughters, Kusene's mother, and a small girl in her care. The two families have recently arrived from Brazil. 13
- 44C. Pesini (528), his Waiyana wife and daughter; a number of his wife's Waiyana relations and one of his own classificatory sisters (FBWZD). 4

Alalaparu

- 1?. Mikipe (20), her Waiwai husband, her son and daughter by previous husbands, and her father's sister. 5
- 2D. Akiripe (100), his wife, daughter and adult unmarried sister; joined by Enapere (263) and his wife (whom Akiripe considers to be a classificatory sister) when they arrived from Brazil. 6
- 3D. Kesepe (139), with his two wives and six children, and the infant daughter of one daughter. 10

N ←

1 in. equals
approximately 40 ft.

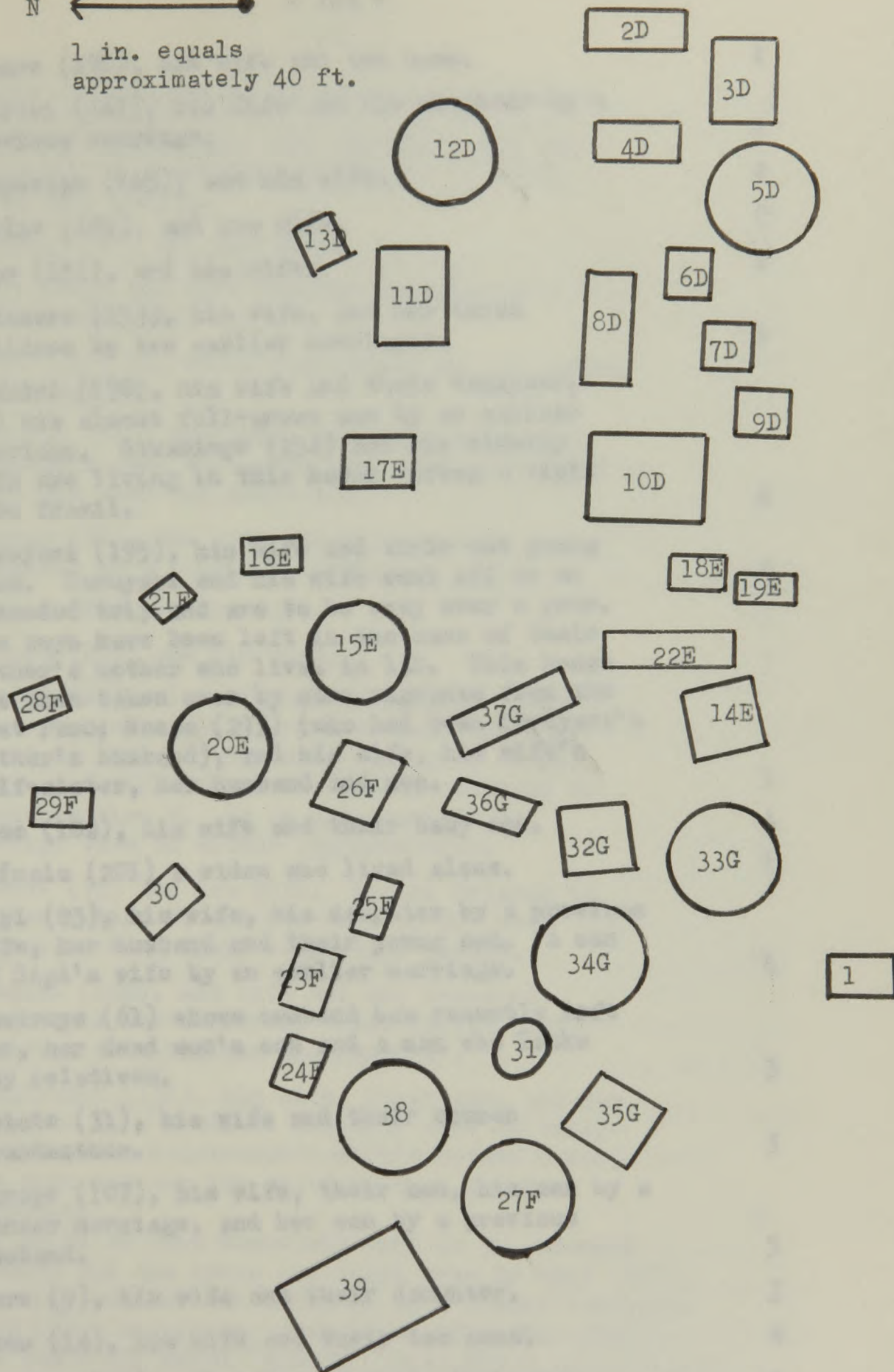


Figure 13: Sketch plan of the village of Alalaparu in January, 1964.

4D.	Anaore (178), his wife and two sons.	4
5D.	Apirosi (161), his wife and her daughter by a previous marriage.	3
6D.	Emopiripe (165), and his wife.	2
7D.	Makipe (169), and his wife.	2
8D.	Sape (151), and his wife.	2
9D.	Itimare (153), his wife, and her three children by two earlier marriages.	5
10D.	Asikiri (170), his wife and their daughter, and his almost full-grown son by an earlier marriage. Sikamimpe (254) and his elderly wife are living in this house during a visit from Brazil.	6
11D.	Koruyari (195), his wife and their two young sons. Koruyari and his wife went off on an extended trip and are to be away over a year. The boys have been left in the care of their mother's mother who lives in 13D. This house was then taken over by some migrants from the West Paru; Mooso (273) (who had been Koruyari's mother's husband), and his wife, his wife's half-sister, her husband and son.	4
12D.	Muse (182), his wife and their baby son.	5
13D.	Isinaio (201) a widow who lived alone.	3
14E.	Sipi (23), his wife, his daughter by a previous wife, her husband and their young son. A son of Sipi's wife by an earlier marriage.	1
15E.	Tawiruye (61) whose husband has recently left her, her dead son's son and a man who lacks any relatives.	6
16E.	Matate (31), his wife and their common grandmother.	3
17E.	Torope (107), his wife, their son, his son by a former marriage, and her son by a previous husband.	5
18E.	Sere (9), his wife and their daughter.	3
19E.	Mono (14), his wife and their two sons.	4
20E.	Iyakepo (52), his wife and their two sons.	4

21E.	Asape (43), his wife and their two daughters.	4
22E.	Susuku (1), his wife and her adult son and daughter by a previous marriage. I lived with this family.	4
23F.	Piriuta (77) and his wife.	2
24F.	Papu (22), his wife and her daughter by a former husband.	3
25F.	Sepi (74), his wife, his mother and his young half-brother.	4
26F.	Pesaape (93), his wife, and their son; also Pesaape's dead brother's son, his half-sister's son, his wife and their son.	7
27F.	Asonko (78), his wife and her two sons and a daughter by a previous marriage.	5
28F.	Sipare (89) and his wife.	2
29F.	Piwara (156) and his wife.	2
30?.	Eoyari (62), his wife and their son. Eoyari who was previously married to Tawiruye then lived in 15E, but the wife with whom he was living at the time of the census belonged to agglomeration F. It is not possible to consign them to either agglomeration.	3
31?.	Kinini (79) and his wife. Kinini belongs to agglomeration F, and his wife to G. They associate with their respective groups.	2
32G.	Orosisi (126), his wife and her deceased daughter's two children. Also Misita (134) a widow, with her son and daughter.	7
33G.	Maiyiniampe (131), his wife, their son, and her daughter by a previous husband; also Sa-akiame (123) who is Maiyiniampe's wife's mother's son, his wife and her two children by a previous marriage. The whole of this household went on an extended journey and the house was taken over by Rori (173), his wife and her two children by a former marriage. Mupi (69), an orphan, also lives with this family and calls the woman 'mother' (probably a patrilineal cross-cousin).	8
34G.	Kumiru (117) - a widow, and her daughter's daughter.	2

- 35G. Siwiri (237) - a widow, her daughter (also a widow) and the latter's two sons and one daughter; the husband of the daughter, and the wife of one of the sons and their baby daughter 8
- 36G. Ororinape (155) and his wife. Sometimes they are joined by his children who otherwise live in 9D with their mother. 2
- 37G. Waikera (203) and his wife. 2
- 38 and 39. Waiwai houses.

There is a total of 82 houses at the two villages of which three are entirely inhabited by Indians other than Trio. The composition of the residents of the remaining 79 can be classified thus:

i. 35 Houses (11 Paloemeu; 24 Alalaparu) contain a single nuclear family consisting of a man, his wife, their children and/or offspring from a previous marriage of either spouse.

ii. 7 Houses (5 Paloemeu; 2 Alalaparu) contain a single nuclear family as defined in (i) plus another unrelated nuclear family. In all but one case (41C) the unrelated family has recently arrived from Brazil and lack alternative accommodation.

iii. 8 Houses (7 Paloemeu; 1 Alalaparu) contain a parent or other relative of the wife (not child or sibling). The example at Alalaparu involves Muyope who has recently arrived from Brazil, dislikes living under his father-in-law's roof, and intends shortly to build his own house.

Of the seven Paloemeu cases, two (12A, 44C) involve marriages with Waiyana, in a further two (27B, 35C) the husband is away for long periods on geological survey expeditions, and in one (23B) the couple sometimes live with the husband's mother whose house is next door.

iv. 4 Houses (3 Paloemeu; 1 Alalaparu) contain a parent or other relative of the husband (not child or sibling). In the single example at Alalaparu (25F) the wife cares for her husband's old mother. Two of the Paloemeu cases (14A, 40C) are associated with mixed Trio/Waiyana marriages, and in the third (7A) a father and son are married to two sisters.

v. 4 Houses (2 Paloemeu; 2 Alalaparu) contain bilaterally extended families. Two (24B, 35G) are composed of an elderly woman living with a married son and married daughter and their children. The third case consists of a brother/sister pair and their married children. The last case only marginally belongs to this class since it consists of a husband and wife living with their common grandmother (his MM and her FM).

vi. 7 Houses (all at Paloemeu) are inhabited by a pair of married siblings; in three (1A, 20A, 25B) are pairs of sisters although in one (25B) the two men are parallel-cousins as well. In the other four cases (5A, 9A, 15A, 37C) they are brother/sister pairs.

vii. 6 Houses (3 Paloemeu; 3 Alalaparu) contain widows; two of these live alone (31C, 13D) but close to a married daughter. The other four live with a variety of relatives; one (10A) with her small children and young brother, one (36C) with deceased classificatory sister's young boys, and two (15E, 34G) with a grandchild.

viii. 8 Houses (4 Paloemeu; 4 Alalaparu) are difficult to classify except individually since they possess no salient common feature.

While this classification is neither perfect nor comprehensive (the number of variables would result in there

being as many classes as examples) it does help to underline some important features. There are relatively few unilateral or bilateral extended families living under one roof, although, as has been demonstrated in the earlier part of this chapter, one can expect to find such relatives living in the same settlement. Complementary to this is the large number of houses containing a single nuclear family, and the proportion of these would be higher if the migrations had not occurred.

Next it is possible to reclassify some of the groups so that 11 houses can be considered to contain married sibling pairs which then form the second largest number in any one category, and together with categories (i) and (ii) make up two-thirds of the total.

This behaviouristic treatment of Trio village and house residence has been necessitated by the lack of Trio categories. The most important Trio term relating to this subject is imoiti which has been described in Chapter V; an imoiti is a closely related person through the qualification of co-residence rather than genealogical relationship although this distinction quickly becomes submerged. The general mobility of population within the bounds of the agglomeration will result in the imoiti status being shared by all the inhabitants of an agglomeration. There is no exact term for a family or a household and attempts to discover one inevitably resulted in the informant coining a suitable expression such as yenuruikaponempeton which means literally 'my ones formerly caused to be born' or yitawereken which can be translated as 'my particular dawning ones' or less literally as 'those who pass the night with me'.

Thus the lack of formality in the Trio social organisation is discernible at the level of the elementary family or immediate household which concepts are not present in the ideology as the

absence of precise terms for them indicates. Accordingly the analysis of Trio residence has involved imposing external and artificial categories which do not exist on the level of Trio thought.

The emphasis on the nuclear family dwelling also provides the first indication of another aspect of Trio socio-economic organisation. The smallest viable economic unit is the partnership of a man and a woman; this fact has been explained in Chapter III. However, economic activities are sexually divided so that rarely do men and women join in the same task; thus the division of labour means that regular co-operation in economic activities is more or less confined to members of the same sex. The large proportion of nuclear family dwellings means, in turn, that most economic co-operation takes place in the sphere of the village and not in the house. Since the inhabitants of a village consist of close relatives, the next step is to consider the attitudes and behaviour, co-operation and obligation between the different categories of these relatives.

Indicates that the Trio's representation of the system on this point is different from that of the general level. It also shows that the Trio's primary concern is to establish a distinction between the members of the same descent line, distinguishing only the nearest relatives of the ascending descent line which consists of his mother's and wife's descent line.

It is further indicated that only married men and women share the same set of relationships, and order their social world accordingly. The degree of my role of descent finds its most important expression in the failure of a man to make a sociological distinction between his own or brother's children and his sister's children. This, perhaps, is further reflected in the high proportion of married brothers and sisters who live

CHAPTER VII

CO-OPERATION - BEHAVIOUR AMONG KIN

General rules of social behaviour - Actual and conventional behaviour between Grandparent/Grandchild; Father/Son; Father/Daughter; Mother's brother/Sister's son; Mother's brother/Sister's daughter; Mother/Son; Mother/Daughter; Sister/Sister; Brother/Brother; Brother/Sister; Husband/Wife - Conventional attitudes in relation to descent.

In this chapter are considered the conventional attitudes and the actual behaviour between different categories of relatives. Before embarking upon this description it will be helpful to summarise briefly some of the salient points so far made in this thesis.

The formal analysis of the relationship terminology indicates that the logical representation of the system entails placing siblings only on any one genealogical level. It also shows that ego, while precisely defining by genealogical relationship the members of his own descent line, distinguishes only the vertical cohesion in the opposing descent line which consists of his mother's and wife's agnatic kin.

It is further indicated that only unmarried full siblings share the same set of relationships, and order their social world identically. The absence of any rule of descent finds its most important expression in the failure of a man to make a terminological distinction between his own or brother's children and his sister's children. This, perhaps, is further reflected in or by the high proportion of married brothers and sisters who live

together. An examination of relationships within the settlement units shows that a man lives in the same village, or compact cluster of villages forming an agglomeration, as three-quarters of his kin and wife's kin. The agglomeration forms an independent social and economic unit. The tendency for the Trio nuclear family to live in its own house and the traditional division of labour mean that everyday contacts and co-operation take place in the milieu of the village. It is with the ordering of behaviour concomitant on these regular contacts that the patterns of behaviour and co-operation between kin are most clearly exposed.

It is valuable, at this point, to try to demonstrate how the Trio distinguish between kin and affine - a distinction which often lacks precision. Affinal terms have no direct address form, which is logical in view of the fact that affines do not talk to each other. However the extent to which an individual avoids his affines depends on the circumstance of his marriage. He may avoid the full range of people whom his wife calls father, mother and brother, or only those considered her near kin, or, in the event of a man marrying a close (itipime) relative, the conventional avoidance is not practised at all. Consanguinity is stronger than affinity among the Trio. This subject is discussed more fully in Chapters VIII and IX; it is merely useful to note that for the Trio all structural categories (except pito) are kin if the degree of relatedness is strong enough. There is no conventional difference between the way a man should behave towards his father and towards his mother's brother, or for man towards his own son and towards his sister's son. This is discussed further on in this chapter, but first one explicit rule of behaviour must be explained.

A Trio divides his social world into those with whom

he can joke (in particular obscene joking) and those with whom his behaviour must be more restrained. The boundary between these two divisions is mainly between the sexes; a man may joke with men but not with women. The exception to this is that a man may joke with the women who are his sex-partners (emerimpe), but not with his male affines, and this behaviour extends even to those male affines who are closely related.

A further aspect of this joking relationship is that a man is expected to be more restrained with men of the first ascending generation than with those of his own genealogical level. It is difficult to be definite about this since the Trio language lacks grammatical form for comparatives,¹ and when one is involved with shades of behaviour other than black and white differences, one has to rely on an impressionistic view.

Bearing in mind the precise conventional behaviour between men and women, and the less definite one between men of proximate generations, the inter-relationships between relatives of the same or different categories can be examined.

1. Comparison is achieved by varying the emphasis on different syllables in the word. The first syllable is lengthened, and in words of more than two syllables the pitch of the voice is raised sharply for the second and gradually dropped for final syllable or syllables, e.g. kutuma, painful; ku-u-u'tuma, more painful or very painful. There are also two emphatic suffixes, -sa used on adjectives, and -ime on nouns. This latter suffix is used in a slightly different way, and is used to distinguish a separate and larger class of objects and not just a particularly large one. For example, a canoe is kanawa, a big canoe is mono kanawa, not kanawaime which means an aeroplane. The suffix -sa is allied to physical size - piya, small, piyasa, very small.

1. Grandparent/Grandchild: The number of such adult relationships is limited by the short expectation of life, and slightly influenced by the fact that both tamu and nosi are potential parents-in-law. The behaviour between grandfather and grandchild of either sex is freer than that between father and child. Men will spend much time playing and fondling their young grandsons or granddaughters while it is very unusual to see a man doing this with his own children.

A paternal or maternal grandmother will frequently substitute for the mother either temporarily while the mother does her work or travels with her husband, or permanently if the mother dies at an early age. In the latter case an identification of the grandmother with the mother appears possible; Mikeripe (30) whose mother died when she was very young was brought up by her father's mother, Paruparu (24) whom she now calls mother.

The practice of women calling their brothers' children by the same term as those of the second descending generation means that there may not be an age difference between two such relatives. In behaviour it is not possible to distinguish such a relationship from that obtaining between brother and sister; for a woman nosi is a potential co-spouse as well as a potential mother-in-law. For a man both nosi and sister are potential mothers-in-law and are also the women of his own agnatic line with whom marriage is proscribed.

2. Father/Son: The attitude between father and son is, at best, ambivalent. The system of marriage means that father and son may be in competition for the same woman. The Trio possess a myth in which the sons kill their father in order to obtain his wives. Only one obvious case of discord between a father and son was observed. An old man Tepepuru (245) and his son Ipanape (655) are married to sisters, and according to Temeta (482) the father had previously been married to both but had surrendered the eldest in

the face of his son's jealousy. I could find no further confirmation of this, although there is certainly some trouble within the family. In theory competition for women will be between father and son or brother and brother, and since in practice all cases of violence concern disputes over women or dogs, an undertone of hostility can be expected to mark such relationships. In fact such open dissension is mainly restricted to strangers.

The father will often take a hand in looking after his son when the child is old enough not to need his mother the whole time but too young to join in the village play-pack, but from the age of five until early adolescence the contact between father and son is limited. The father will make his son's first toy bow and arrows, and when he reaches the age of ten will take him on hunting trips; Kesepe (139) often goes hunting accompanied by his eldest son, 12-year old Tunahkana (142), and Ororinape (155) by his son, 10-year old Pirome (158). Most of a young boy's life is spent in educational play with his age mates - learning to swim, to climb, to hunt and to fish. Any boy is at the beck and call of any adult male who can send a child to run an errand for him, but final authority and responsibility for a child's behaviour rests with the father. This was clearly demonstrated at Alalaparu when the community would not accept Anaore (178) as a Church Elder because he did not control his unruly son. How far this is a new value injected by Christian teaching and how far a traditional view it is impossible to tell. The degree to which a father disciplines his son varies from moderately severe to the downright permissive, the tendency being not to force a child to do something which it really does not want to do. For example, a six-year old boy Sinike (657) was suffering from a severe swelling of the jaw, and the opportunity arose for him to be flown to hospital in Paramaribo. Although his family tried every means of persuading him, the boy refused and was finally allowed his own way.

If the father of a young boy is dead his place is taken by another older male, either a father's brother or mother's brother (which, exactly, the Trio judge to be unimportant).

The practice of father and son hunting together continues when the son is full grown and married; for example Koi (390) frequently accompanies his step-father Poiye (405), and Matate (31) his father Asape (43). However, relatively few grown men have surviving fathers or ones who still hunt, and the tendency, especially at Alalaparu, is for men to hunt alone. At Paloemeu, where there is greater use made of canoes, groups of relatives (composed of all possible combinations of relationships) go out hunting together. Co-operation at other levels does occur; Sipi (23) and Pepu (22) share a field, as do Sipare (89) and Kamape (83).

Social intercourse between father and son is slight and their attitude to each other is marked more by restraint than familiarity. However the father has definite affection for his son, and greatly mourns the death of one. Eoyari (62) who has lost all his children save a young boy whom he cherishes still feels his loss. The son's affection (this may be no more than conventional) for his father is displayed by the unwillingness of the bereaved son to see his dead father's things.

Concern for a living son can also be detected in these two examples. Toropeti (305) made a trip to Brazil lasting several months and while he was away I went fishing one day up the Paloemeu with his father Korokoro (300). When we turned for home, Korokoro paused on his paddle and for a while gazed back upstream in the direction of Brazil. When I asked what he sought he replied that he wanted to see his son. When, however, his son finally returned no sign of affection was to be observed between them.

The other example involves the old man Tepepuru who lives at Palcoemu but one of whose sons is married and lives at Alalaparu. Then I moved to Palcoemu from Alalaparu Tepepuru came often to me to ask about his son's welfare.

The relationship between father and son is marked by a restraint which seems to conceal an underlying affection, but there is one further facet which requires attention. It is an element difficult to define since it lies on the border between mutuality and reciprocity. An example of what is meant will help to clarify the situation. When the 12 batteries of my tape recorder became too weak for that purpose but still retained enough charge for use in a torch, I gave them all to Amasi (476), partly because he had been playing his flute for me to record and partly because he is the only Indian at Palcoemu who regularly hunts at night. Soon after I had given the batteries to Amasi, Sanepe (343) came in, saw the batteries and helped himself to four of them. When I asked why he did this, Sanepe replied 'he is my father' (in fact, father's brother).

The brusqueness of this behaviour is exceptional (although not for Sanepe) but the reason given for his action is not. Within a certain degree of relatedness it is considered reasonable to ask for something which another has (especially if he has more than one), and unreasonable to refuse such a request. Such demands, however, are occasional and lack the essential reciprocity which mark the exchanges between affines, although both types overlap at the point where it becomes a duty to provide certain unsolicited gifts or services. Between kin a request is made directly and the right to ask is implicit in the relationship. A request from an affine is made through the mediation of the third person whose marriage has not only

brought into being the affinity but also represents cause and part of the reciprocal obligations which accompany it. Exchanges between affines are the result of an earlier exchange; rights and obligations between father and son are only preceded by birth.

3. Father/Daughter: This relationship is mainly an affective one, although contact between father and daughter is for the most part slight. An exception to this is Asape (43) who is often accompanied around the village by his young daughter who prefers her father's company to that of her mother. It was explicitly stated by several informants that they would grieve if their daughter married a stranger and went to live in another village. When Susuku (1) was injured by a tree falling upon him, his daughter was greatly concerned about him and his welfare, while his wife left the scene of the accident, saying her husband was dead¹ and took no evinced interest in him until it was obvious that he would survive.

A girl may provide some food and drink for her father, but this is unimportant compared to her role as a link between her parents and her husband, who holds a key economic position in the life of her parents.

The important question of whether or not the father has authority over his daughter to give or refuse her in marriage cannot be answered simply. In some cases the authority does lie with the father but in others the mother is concerned. In the absence of the father jural authority over the girl may be exercised by a brother or mother's brother.

1, The Trio regard any person who is either seriously ill or unconscious (even semi-conscious) as at least socially dead. The same word is used as in actual death, watese which is formed of the negative wa, and the eternal form of the verb 'to be', tese; watese is 'not being', i.e. dead. (cf. Rivers, 1926, pp.36-50).

It should also be remembered that a young girl may pass temporarily or permanently into the care of a mother's brother.

4. Mother's Brother/Sister's Son: This is potentially a restrained relationship since it contains the possible organisational values of ZH/WB and WF/DH, but no difference in behaviour to that between father and son is conventionally understood or empirically observable. The idea of taking or asking because 'he is my father' is equally acceptable in the form 'he is my mother's brother'.

Korokoro (300) stated that the sons of both brothers and sisters should be treated with reserve, and Temeta (482) said that one should not joke or play with a sister's son, but his behaviour belies his word since he carries on a very free and easy relationship with Simuru (511) who calls him yeti.

The lack of terminological distinction between own or brother's child and sister's child is logically reaffirmed by the absence of behavioural differences. For the moment the potential affinal character of this relationship can be disregarded. An individual looks on his mother's brothers as kin since in the absence of formality the concept of wife-giving or -taking only reaches realisation in the actual event. Accordingly affines are individually, not categorically, defined.

5. Mother's Brother/Sister's Daughter: Since the sister's daughter is a potential wife, certain features of this relationship are reserved for discussion later in this chapter.

The practice of a young girl of under ten years passing into her mother's brother's care has already been mentioned, and it is worth repeating that one informant at least did not regard his sisters' young daughters as potential wives.

It is also possible to distinguish between the jural authority which a man exercises over his daughter and the right which a mother's brother has over his sister's daughter. In certain circumstances these different aspects seem to coalesce. For example when Matate (31) wished to marry Numepe (29) her father Sipi (23) was away, so he asked Kinini (79) whom Numepe calls yeti. Again when Papope (154) was maltreated by her husband Piwara (156) it was her mother's brother Asikiri (170) who intervened. However it is also possible to look upon the mother's brother's right over his sister's daughter as the earliest possible return on the marriage of his sister. This subject obviously belongs to the examination of Trio marriage practices.

6. Mother/Son: The dependence of a boy on his mother normally lasts well beyond early childhood. The age at which a child is weaned depends on a number of factors including how soon the mother next gives birth. Boys of four or five years old will frequently return to their mother's breasts in search of satisfaction if not nourishment. The mother is the primary supplier of food, and when the young boy begins to catch fish or shoot small birds and animals, he gives his catch to his mother who prepares it for him. Thus even before a young boy is ten years old, the idea of economic inter-dependence with a woman is realised. All his life an Indian will give his game to some woman; first it will be to his mother, but this economic partnership will sooner or later through death or delegation be replaced by one between brother and sister, and in due course by that between husband and wife.

The mother is more concerned with the discipline of her young children than the father, and although the majority are permissive, the severity of the punishment which some

mothers inflict on their children far exceeds that administered by any father. There is undoubted affection between mother and son, and on a statistical level it has been shown that children of the same mother but different father are more likely to live together than are those of the same father but different mother. This affection receives little overt expression since the conventional restraint between the opposite sexes is further re-inforced by that between *proximate* generations. However, I have a number of records of women showing concern about young and adult sons when they have failed to return to the village at the expected time. Once again, on their appearance there is no obvious sign of affection or delight at the safe return.

7. Mother/Daughter: Together with that between sisters, this relationship is the most obviously close one since it receives continuous expression in economic co-operation. Almost all the female subsistence activities are carried out in working parties which consist of mother and daughters or a group of sisters.

The life of a young girl is very different from that of her brother, and no sooner is she capable of looking after herself than she is given the task of looking after her younger siblings. She will rarely leave her mother's side, and from about the age of five upwards will begin to imitate her mother's everyday chores - carrying small gourds of water or baskets of firewood. By the age of ten her efforts begin to play a substantial part in the subsistence of her family. A girl will normally be married by the time she is fifteen and will before then be fully occupied with the tasks which she will continue to perform for the rest of her life. A number of young girls pass into the care of their mother's brother but this does not necessarily mean that they will be separated from their mother.

For much of a woman's adult life her household duties are completed with the help and companionship of her daughter; they will go together to the creek to wash or collect water, into the forest to fetch firewood, or to the fields for cassava and other produce. These tasks are all ones which, although more pleasant when done in company so that there is relief from the dullness of the routine, are also ones which it is considered improper for a solitary woman to do since they are socially recognised opportunities for extra-marital affairs. The various processes in the preparation of the cassava are also jobs which are lightened by co-operative efforts since they allow the chance for a quiet gossip.

A woman may substitute for her daughter when the latter is unable to fill her normal role because of pregnancy or menstruation, and as she becomes older the mother will take on the duty of minding the grandchildren while their mother is working.

The work party of mother and daughter reflects itself in the layout of the villages; for example houses 18E, 19E and 22E contain a mother and three daughters who regularly form a working party, and so do 15E, 16E and 21E.

This relationship is not a purely economic one and there is also a strong affective tie between mother and daughter which finds overt expression in infantile behaviour throughout life. For example one day Atu (80) who is over 30 years old and has an adolescent daughter of her own was, during the period of half-an-hour I was talking to her, sitting in her mother's hammock and fondling her mother's breasts. Again when Sere (9) went on a journey to Brazil, his wife's mother moved into his house at night in order to keep her daughter company.

Of the four possible relationships between parent and child that between mother and daughter is strongest, both in economic and emotive content. The father/daughter and mother/son relationships are also strong but the father/son relationship is the weakest. The father/daughter relationship is the strongest in the family for both father and daughter are usually young and the father/son relationship is the weakest for the son is usually young and the mother/son relationship is the strongest for the mother is usually young and the daughter/son relationship is the strongest for the daughter is usually young and the son is usually young.

relationships suffer from the double restraint of different sex and generation, and the latent antagonism between father and son is absent between mother and daughter. The mother/son relationship has, however, a theme of economic reliance.

Thus the tendency revealed in Chapter VI of half-siblings of the same mother staying together rather than those of the same father finds tenuous reaffirmation in the form of economic reliance and affection.

8. Sister/Sister: It is natural to move from the mother/daughter relationship to this one since in substance they are very similar, and the latter is a continuation of the former in the next generation. This relationship is more obvious still than the mother/daughter one since there are relatively few surviving mothers with adult daughters but there are numerous groups of female siblings.

In addition to what has already been said, it can be added that sisters commonly marry in the same place. Most cases of polygamy are of the sororal type, and there are examples of the marriage of father and son to sisters, or two brothers to two sisters. The separation of two sisters who have been co-wives does not necessarily stop the pre-existing co-operative efforts. Two good examples of this can be given. Torope (107) was married to two sisters, Sore (109) and Mairupe (110), and they all lived in house 17E. He was ambitious to become a Church Elder for which monogamy is an essential qualification. His efforts to rid himself of Mairupe were successful and she persuaded a young Indian Rorí (173) to marry her. This couple then went to live in house 33C which was empty because the inhabitants were away on a journey.¹ From then on

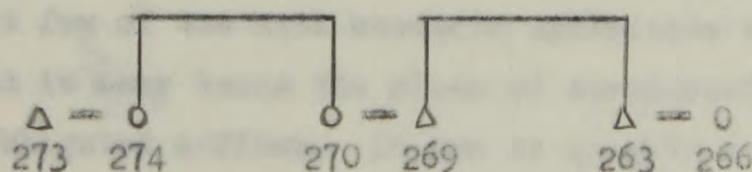
1, This story has a twist in the tail; Torope, in spite of his efforts was considered unsuitable to be a Church Elder, and Rorí who was also in the running for such office was not chosen because his newly acquired wife was thought not to be above suspicion!

there was a constant procession formed by the two sisters and their children walking backwards and forwards between the two houses, and all routine tasks continued to be done together.

A similar continual movement could be discerned between 9D and 37C; the sisters, Ikeri (46) and Papope (154), had previously both been married to Ororinape (155), but Papope had left him and after a number of vicissitudes has settled down with Itiimare (153). The break-up of the polygamous union has not affected the relationship between the sisters who continue to co-operate in daily activities.

However conflict does occur between sisters, and there are several examples of marriages breaking-up as a result of a man taking his wife's sister as a second wife. An example of this is Kamape (83) who had been married to Atu (80) for a number of years and they had three children ranging in age from five to fourteen. Kamape then took as a second wife Mori (87) who is Atu's half-sister (they have the same father, although Mori is also the daughter of another of Atu's half-sisters by the same mother; the sister relationship is dominant). Atu immediately left her husband and is now married to Asonko (78). There is no observable antagonism between Atu and Mori.

This is a suitable point to give an example of sisters staying together while brothers separate; an occurrence which is statistically more probable. Among the group of Indians who arrived at Alalaparau in November 1963 were three married couples who are interrelated thus:



The sisters 274 and 270 are only half-sisters since they have different fathers. The brothers 269 and 263 are full siblings. The sisters, however, stayed together for the couples 273-274 and 269-270 went to live in 11D, and the couple 263-266 in 2D.

In summary it should be noted that the very apparent economic and affective ties between mother and daughter, and sister and sister are important in the routine of everyday affairs, but their obviousness must not mislead one into regarding this relationship as the key one in the social organisation of the Trio. The overwhelming impression which initially confronts the observer is false and merely superficial evidence of the ordering of the division of labour and those tasks performed by the women. The work-group to which a woman belongs is fixed at an early age, and the Trio system of marriage and post-marital residence does little to disturb this.

9. Brother/Brother: This is the sibling group which one is least likely to find living together although statistically only half of them will be separated. This has been accounted for in the previous chapter in these terms; it is normal and conventional for a man to find himself a wife (not a woman a husband) and while there is social pressure to marry within the community, the lack of a suitable spouse will drive men outside their immediate social and residential sphere in order to find one. Since it is usual for those who marry outside to live with their wife's relatives this gives rise to the underlying hint of matrilocal residence.

It is difficult to be too affirmative about the relationship between brothers. It is not as obvious as that between sisters but few of the male economic activities require co-operative effort, and in many tasks the place of co-operating relatives is taken by obligated affines. It can be quickly mentioned that the mass of affinal obligations, prestations and services are exchanged by men.

Brothers, however, do work together and many cases of joint effort were observed. The following examples give some idea of their range: Sipi (23) helped Iyakepo (52) thatch his new house, Seisei (457) gave Pesoro (602) a hand in the construction of his house, and Pisikiki (312) joined Naraeyiyi (310) in the same task. This last pair hunt together as do Kesepe (139) and Muyo (32) on occasion. Brother frequently helps brother with his field but this evidence cannot be taken as entirely reliable since the nature of such working parties has been obscured by missionary activity in encouraging co-operative effort.

However there is little display of affection between brothers, and there were few occasions on which I observed full brothers chatting and laughing together. A man does show concern for his brother's safety and, for example, will worry if he has not returned to the village by nightfall and will go to the edge of the clearing and call for him.

By elimination joking behaviour should reach its most highly developed form among brothers. This is a difficult thing to judge, for although such behaviour conventionally exists the number of occasions on which I heard any form of obscene joking were very few. It is possible that it has been suppressed by the Waiwai missionaries. There is also the question of intimate behaviour among men such as holding hands or entwining arms round each others' necks or waists. The main criterion for such behaviour is friendship and a similarity of age, not specific relationship, and, of course, it also depends on the character of the individuals concerned. Young men, married or unmarried, are more likely to behave in this way than older men. Such behaviour is banned between affines.

Theoretically there is latent competition between

brothers for the same woman but I could not find an example in which this occurred between closely related brothers. It would be going too far to say that a man has socially recognised access to the sexual services of his brother's wife because no informant ever explicitly expressed this opinion. There is a hint of this in the fact that a number of Indians when asked who were their emerimpe only indicated their brothers' wives. This notion is supported by the behaviour of Wisiwa (555) and Minori (306), his elder brother's wife, who when found together in a hammock, showed no sign of guilt or even of disturbing themselves.

10. Brother/Sister: To begin this section it is useful to recapitulate briefly some aspects of Trio ideology concerning the role of women in the society. It has been mentioned that women are the most important single possession in the culture, that subsistence and survival depend on the co-operation of both sexes, and thus the smallest viable economic unit is the male/female partnership. The conventional division of labour and the strict adherence to certain aspects of it means that men and women do not join in the same tasks but that their joint and independent efforts achieve a whole which no uni-sexual co-operation can. For a Trio, both as a boy and man, this partnership can be with his sister.

Initially, of course, the mother is the dominant female figure but for reasons already given this relationship may well fade early in the boy's life. If this does happen the mother's role may be accepted by a woman of the second ascending generation (theoretically this may include a father's sister), by the mother's sister, or by an elder female sibling.

The example has already been given of a girl brought up by her father's mother who now identifies her as mother; when an informant was asked if this could happen with respect to an elder

sister, no example could be given but it was considered possible although thought that such a mistake would be corrected by the sister.

Regardless of whether the mother is alive or not, in a large family a boy will spend much time during his early years in the care of an elder sister who may carry him in a sling from her forehead, balance him on her hip, and later walk hand-in-hand with him. From an early age, therefore, an affective relationship grows up between brother and sister, and in later life develops into an economic inter-dependence which is most apparent when neither is married and is least obvious when both are married. It has already been shown statistically that 80% of the brother/sister pairs live together.

A large number of examples of this behaviour between brothers and sisters can be given, but a limited sample will indicate its range and nature.

The three year old boy Musoro (358) is looked after most of the time by his six year old sister Sirewi (357).

Natete (534), a young married girl, looks after her younger brother Kowerina (553) who lives in the same house as his sister and her husband.

A young widow, Arena (462), looks after her younger brother, eight year old Sipo (685), who is about the same age as her own children.

When Makarepen (434) was deserted by her husband she went to live with her brother Pareya (430).

Tawiruye (61) now her husband has left her, is provided with meat by her brothers Iyakepo (52) and Sipi (23), and she gives them bread and drink.

Siwapun (53) declared that if she lost her husband she would go and live with her half-brother Boyari (62).

Two longer examples will illustrate this behaviour most clearly, and they are also ones of which I have considerable first hand experience since they involve the families with which I lived at Alalaparu and at Paloemeu.

At Alalaparu I lived in house 22E. When I first arrived the residents consisted of Susuku (1), his wife Mikuri (3), and her son by a former marriage, Morime (7). Morime, about 30 years old, is now unmarried although he previously had been married to a woman who must have been much older than himself. In the neighbouring house 18E lives his full sister Tarara (8), her husband and two young sons, and in 19E his half-sister Pakiri (6) (being the daughter of Susuku and Mikuri), her husband and young daughter.

Morime when he hunted gave his game to his mother or sisters, who prepared it for him and fed him. Morime had also cut a field, the only unmarried man at Alalaparu to do so, which he claims to be for the use of his mother and sisters. After I had been living with this family for a few weeks Susuku suffered a serious injury and stayed hamock-bound for sometime. During this period Morime was looked after almost entirely by Tarara since his mother was busy caring for her husband.

Nearly two months after this a second full sister of Morime, Tasi (252), arrived at Alalaparu from Brazil because she had been deserted by her husband. Tasi came to live in 22E and took over much of the household work from her mother, and, in particular, the care of her brother Morime. Morime's life also underwent a change since in partnership with Tasi he began to play a far more normal role in the usual economic activities. Morime and Tasi frequently went hunting together and on one occasion went off for a week on a fishing expedition. When Morime went hunting alone he handed his game to Tasi who gave him drink and prepared his food although he still received some

food from his mother and other sisters.

At Paloemeu I lived in house 16A with Korokoro (300), his wife Ukere (307), and her two brothers, an elder one Pisikiki (312) recently a widower, and a younger one Wisiwa (555). Ukere does not go hunting with her brothers because she is married, and goes out instead with her husband. Her brothers hand their game to her (or sometimes to their other two sisters who live in 7A), and Ukere prepares and gives them their food. This is supplemented with food and drink from the other two sisters who provide all the food if Ukere is away. This behaviour was extended to me (I called Ukere elder sister, and the other two younger sister) and when everybody in my house was away one of my two younger sisters would regularly bring food across to me.

As well as preparing food for her brothers Ukere also performed a number of other routine little services such as stripping back their hammock covers each morning and re-arranging them in the evening.

Besides such full-time services and inter-dependence between brothers and sisters, many casual and intermittent exchanges take place. These mainly consist of small gifts of food; meat normally passing from brother to sister, and drink from sister to brother. Korokoro (300) who claims to have many sisters (they are mainly the daughters of his father's imoiti) carries on, to a greater or lesser degree, such an interchange with all of them. After a successful fishing expedition Korokoro sends presents of the catch to all his sisters. He, in return, receives little presents of cooked food and drink. His closest tie is with his half-sister Napanaki (313) who is a widow, and Korokoro completes for her most of the tasks, such as making various basketwork items, which a husband normally does. Exchanges of one sort or another are almost a daily affair between

these two, and although Napanaki lives with her adult, married son he does little more than supply his mother with meat.

In summary it can be said that a man finds in his sister one possible solution to an economic system which requires a male/female partnership. A man's relationship with his sister may begin when he is very small and his sister substitutes for his mother. Economic inter-dependence may be realised any time after adolescence, but the degree to which it develops at any particular age will depend on the marital status of the partners. It is least developed and least obvious when both brother and sister are married; it is most intense when neither is married, in which case their relationship bears many similarities to that between husband and wife. It is, however, the differences which prevent the brother/sister relationship becoming total. The restraint between brother and sister which is conventionally claimed is also observable in their behaviour. Little affection is shown between a brother and sister, and it is almost rare to see them talking to each other and certainly not conversationally. Morime (7) took little notice when his sister Tasi (252) arrived from Brazil although her mother and sisters expressed both excitement and pleasure. Although not shown, affection does exist between brothers and sisters, and men dislike the idea of being separated from their sisters.

11. Husband/Wife: This relationship, as just stated, has similarities to that between brother and sister. The most important difference is the contrast in behaviour between the restraint between brother and sister and the familiarity between husband and wife. A man may conventionally joke with an emerimpe, and with his wife this behaviour is extended to public acts of physical intimacy such as standing or walking with their arms around each other's waist or shoulder. Another feature which marks the behaviour of husband

and wife is their practice of going to defecate together; behaviour otherwise confined to pairs of related women, usually sisters. I believe also, although I admit some doubt on this point, that only a wife is allowed to paint the complicated body designs on her husband.

The man is expected to be the authoritative partner in the marriage, and Pisere (381) was considered unsuitable to be a Church elder because his wife's talk was a little stronger than his. However a husband is not expected to dominate or maltreat his wife, and Pesoro (602) was blamed when his son fell seriously ill since he had recently beaten his wife for infidelity. Genuine affection exists between many married couples, and a man greatly mourns the loss of a wife. It is said that Ororinape (155) wept when his wife Papope (154) left him. Pisikiki (312) had certainly not completely recovered his composure six months after the death of his wife.

By marriage a man combines in a single woman all the functions which are otherwise only obtainable from separate women; a wife conjoins the functions of sister and emerimpe. The relationship between brother and sister is that of economic partnership in which intimacy and familiarity are forbidden. The relationship between emerimpe is intimate and familiar but lacks economic content. The relationship between husband and wife is both an economic and sexual partnership, and thus marriage can be seen as the joining of two separate roles.

Marriage does not eliminate the tie between the brother and sister, and although the economic inter-dependence appears to diminish when both are married this is mainly an illusion caused by the creation of affinal ties. The cessation of marriage sees the re-emergence of old ties. However, it would be surprising if this close association between brother and sister did not influence such

a fundamental institution of Trio social organisation as their marriage practices. In the next two chapters we will see to what extent it does so.

First, however, and to end this chapter, it is interesting to review the conventional attitudes between Trio relationship categories in the method proposed by Lévi-Strauss (1958, pp.37-62).

We can apply the symbols in the same way as he does, (a plus sign (+) indicating free and familiar relations, and the minus sign (-) hostile and restrained relations) and designate the relationships MB/ZS; B/Z; F/S; H/W with the appropriate one. One set offers no problem and the attitude between B/Z is clearly and conventionally differentiated from that between H/W. These two sets can be attributed the following signs; B/Z (-); H/W (+).

It is not possible to be so definite about the other two sets of relationships; conventionally and terminologically there is no difference in attitude between father and son, and between mother's brother and sister's son. However, the underlying affection, which is observable between father and son is not recorded in the case of mother's brother and sister's son, and on this evidence one can allocate the signs thus; F/S (+); MB/ZS (-).

This arrangement receives some support by the potential affine relationship between a mother's brother and sister's son. The conventional attitude between affines is one of restraint or avoidance, and unless we assume a complete change in attitude following marriage we must suppose at least a prior reserve between these categories.

The drawback to such an allocation of symbols on these grounds is that it is based on an attitude implicit in behaviour rather than explicit in convention, and that affines are not categorical but individual. Assuming however that this distribution

is correct then the whole series is thus, MB/ZS (-); B/Z (-); F/S (+-); H/W (+-), which fits as one of Lévi-Strauss's two basic schemes. Radcliffe-Brown and his more recent followers would presumably interpret this configuration of attitudes, or at least the MB/ZS and F/S components, as indicative of matriliney. Evidence from the Trio does not support such an interpretation because, although there is a hint of matriliney in the predominantly affinal nature of the inheritance, in the unity of half-siblings sharing the same mother compared with those sharing the same father and in the slight preference for matrilocal residence, these features have all been explained in terms other than descent.

Certainly such a configuration of sentiments does not disqualify the tendency of the Trio towards patrilineal descent since an identical scheme is reported from the Wikmunkan whose patriliney is assured (Needham, 1963, p.148).

However, it was Lévi-Strauss's intention to demonstrate that the avunculate behaviour is not rigidly tied to any particular form of descent, and his small sample demonstrates this. At our present stage of knowledge on this subject any particular configuration can hardly be taken to be diagnostic of one or other form of unilineal descent.

Summary

There are only two clearly defined conventions which the Trio recognise in their ordering of social behaviour. One defines the usage of joking and avoidance, and the other places a restraint on the behaviour between members of proximate generations. Within these limits the individual is relatively free to order his own behaviour in respect of any particular category. Thus it is behaviour as much as convention which has to be the criterion in judging the normal attitude between different categories of relatives.

CHAPTER VIII

TRIO MARRIAGE: AN EXCHANGE OF WOMEN.

Conventional rules of marriage - Adherence to conventional rules - Age difference of married couples - Actual relationship of married couples - Secondary marriage practices - Direct exchange in Trio marriage - The process of marriage and divorce.

Marriage is the most fundamental institution in the social organisation of the Trio, but before attempting to describe its social importance, it is necessary to make a detailed examination of Trio marriage practices themselves. The first three parts of this chapter are concerned with the analysis of the system on three different levels - firstly, the conventional rules of marriage; secondly, the extent to which the individuals consider that they abide by these conventions; thirdly, the actual practices. The final part of the chapter deals with the process of marriage and divorce.

a. Conventional rules of marriage:

The conventional rules of marriage have already been mentioned briefly in the formal analysis of the relationship terminology. Marriage for a Trio man or woman is prescribed with an emerimpe which term covers the bilateral cross-cousin. This category, however, lacks any direct address form so that its members are equated with the categories above and below, a man calling his female patrilateral cross-cousin by the same terms as he uses to his mother, and his female matrilateral cross-cousin by the same term as he uses to his sister's daughter. A woman calls her male patrilateral

cross-cousin by the same term as she uses to her mother's brother, and her male matrilinear cross-cousin the same term as she uses to her own or sister's son.

Thus the term emerimpe covers a wider range than the children of opposite sex of either a father's sister or mother's brother. Indeed the Trio classify the categories with which marriage is either prescribed or forbidden by reference to the relationship with the parent. This is a more definitive approach than that allowed by the ambiguous emerimpe category. It is also more valuable since the answers to the question whose daughter or son an informant may marry provides an indication of graduated preference.

It is universally agreed by all informants that a man and woman should marry respectively the daughter and son of either a nosi or a ti, with perhaps the slightly greater emphasis being placed on the nosi.

A smaller number of informants consider it good for a man to marry the daughter of an elder sister or a tamu, and for a woman to marry the son of a tamu. While some informants expressed this preference willingly, others stressed the more conventional angle. For example Eoyari (62) was married to Tawiruye (61) whose mother he calls elder sister. When Eoyari was asked if the Trio married their sisters' daughters he denied such a practice. When asked about his marriage to Tawiruye he answered that she is his mother's brother's daughter, and it was only after cross-examining him over his relationship with Tawiruye's mother that he admitted that he had married his sister's daughter and that this is normal practice among the Trio. The consensus of opinion is that marriage with the daughter of an elder sister is acceptable and while that with the daughter of a younger sister is not actually prohibited it is not so good. There

is a single case of a Trio marrying the daughter of a woman whom he regards as his younger sister. This marriage involves Amasi (476) whose wife's mother is Sareyuna (470).

At the next level no informant expressed the opinion that a woman should marry her sister's son, although it is thought that such a marriage is suitable if the relationship is distant enough. This type of marriage is the counter^{part} of a man marrying someone whom he calls mother, and the same proviso about distance holds good in this case. The problem of identification of marriageable mothers or sisters' sons has been described in Chapter IV.

Finally there are those relatives with whom marriage is forbidden, and although there is no Trio word for incest this is what the prohibition implies. Marriage, for a man, is wrong with those whom he calls nosi, sister or who call him father. For a woman it is wrong with men whom she calls father or brother.

The important contrast between the definitely prescribed and proscribed categories is that the latter all belong to categories which are precisely defined. This indicates that there is a ban on the members of one's own male descent line.

These conventional rules are complicated by the conflict which occurs in Trio thought; while it is said that one should marry a nosi's daughter and it is agreed that such a relative is addressed as manhko, it is equally claimed that man does not marry a woman whom he calls manhko, similar confusion occurring in the case of a woman marrying someone whom she calls imuku. This feature, coupled with the lesser problem of marrying a sister's daughter or mother's brother, supports the hypothesis that some of the curious aspects of the terminology result from an excessive development of marriage with the sister's daughter and corresponding difficulties with the classification of the father's sister's

daughter and her gradual identification with the mother.

Regardless of how the system developed, the situation now is that while marriage is prescribed with an emerimpe, in the case of a woman, she is identified as manhko if the daughter of an union between a tamu or tĩ and a nosi, and emi if the daughter of an union between a tĩ or a pito and a sister; that is to say the relationship is traced through the women of ego's own male line. In the case of a man he is identified as tĩ if the son of a tamu and nosi, and isuku if the son of a tĩ and sister.

Therefore all marriages if they follow the conventional rules are between members of different genealogical levels. The next part of this chapter is concerned with how closely the Trio consider themselves to follow this pattern.

In addition to these prescribed categories, the majority of Trio express the opinion that it is good to marry someone from one's own village, so that a qualification of both residence and relationship category are involved in the ordering of marriage.

b. Adherence to conventional rules of marriage:

In 1963/64 there were 92 all Trio marriages among those living in Surinam; both partners of all these unions were asked 'what do (or did) you call your wife's (or husband's) father and mother?'. In about a third of the cases the answer was unknown because the informant had not known the person as a result of their early death. Table 26 shows the results obtained from this inquiry.

Table 26: i. Relationship of men to their wife's father.

<u>Ti</u>	<u>Tamu</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Pito</u>	<u>Total</u>
34	14	8	5	2	63
54%	22.2%	12.7%	7.9%	3.2%	100

ii. Relationship of men to their wife's mother.

<u>Nosi</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Total</u>
30	21	11	62
48.4%	33.9%	17.7%	100

iii. Relationship of women to their husband's father.

<u>Tamu</u>	<u>Ti</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Brother</u>	<u>Total</u>
23	21	6	3	53
43.4%	39.6%	11.3%	5.7%	100

iv. Relationship of women to their husband's mother.

<u>Nosi</u>	<u>Sister</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Daughter</u>	<u>Total</u>
32	13	10	1	56
57.1%	23.2%	17.9%	1.8%	100

The conventional marriage form with the son or the daughter of a nosi or ti represents the major proportion except in the case of husband's father where it is equally divided with tamu. However nowhere does the conventional relationship far exceed half the total number of cases, and a significant proportion belongs to the less universally prescribed categories. If both prescribed categories

1. See foot of p. 200.

are taken together in every case they represent more than 80 per cent. of the total. Thus under one-fifth of the sample consider their marriage to be outside the conventionally prescribed categories. However this is a superficial level of analysis and in Tables 27 and 28 are shown the results of re-uniting these relationships in their correct combinations.¹

Table 27: Existing marriages among Surinam Trio in which both partners know their spouse's parents.

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Number of marriages</u>
MBD/ND=MBS/NS	2
MBD/ND=TS/NS	1
MBD/ND=MBS/ZS	2
MBD/2D=TS/NS	8
MBD/MD=MBS/NS	1
FD/ND=MBS/NS	1
FD/ND=FS/NS	1
FD/2D=TS/NS	1
FD/MD=FS/MS	1
BD/ND=MBS/NS	2
BD/MD=TS/NS	1
BD/2D=TS/MS	1
TD/ND=MBS/NS	1
TD/ND=MBS/ZS	1
TD/ND=TS/ZS	1
TD/ND=FS/ZS	1
TD/MD=TS/MS	1
TD/MD=TS/ZS	1
PD/ND=MBS/MS	1
Total 29.	

1, See foot of p. 200.

From this table it can be seen that the emphasis is on MBD/ZD=TS/NS which is the conventional form of marriage between mother's brother and sister's daughter. The bilateral cross-cousin form (MBD/ND=MBS/NS) only accounts for two cases, as does the patrilateral form (MBD/ND=MBS/ZS). Of the rest only one contains none of the acceptable categories and that is FD/MD=FS/MS. This particular case is the marriage between Siroso (595) and Asaeye (596); their fathers were imoiti, and both Siroso and Asaeye admitted that they should not be married.² The case of BD/MD=TS/NS is also exceptional but otherwise the principle applied is that marriage is acceptable as long as at least one parent of each spouse belongs to the conventional category.

This approach can be extended to consider marriages where there is knowledge of three out of the four parents.

1, In Tables 27, 28, and 29 and in the text of this chapter where the Trio relationship terms which have an ambivalent value occur, the Trio usage is retained. Thus the symbols T, tamu; N, nosi; P, pito; Y, yipa; and K, konoka (for male informant) and koko or kori (for a female informant) replace the more normal genealogical specifications.

2, When they were asked why therefore did they marry, they answered that there was nobody else. This can be taken to mean nobody suitable in the immediate vicinity which seems to indicate that, for some Trio, marriage with a conventionally prohibited person is preferable to marriage outside the community.

Table 28: i. Existing marriages among Surinam Trio in which the husband knows both his wife's parents, and the wife only one of the husband's.

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Number of marriages</u>
MBD/ND=?/NS	1
MBD/ND-TS/?	2
MBD/ND-MBS/?	1
MBD/ZD=?/NS	2
TD/ZD=?/NS	1
TD/ND-MBS/?	1
TD/ND-ES/?	1
FD/MD-FS/?	1
FD/MD-TS/?	1
FD/ND=?/ZS	1
<u>Total 12.</u>	

Informants: - Lyman (30) Suzanne (12) Barbara (30) Jessie (40)

ii. Existing marriages among Surinam Trio in which the wife knows both her husband's parents, and the husband only one of the wife's.

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Number of marriages</u>
MBS/BS-TD/?	1
MBS/NS=?/ZD	1
MBS/MS-TD/?	1
FS/NS=?/ZD	1
FS/MS-TD/?	1
FS/ZS=?/ND	1
TS/NS-MBD/?	1
TS/MS=?/ND	1
BS/BS=?/ND	1
<u>Total 9.</u>	

In Table 28 there is only one further example of a marriage where none of the parents belong to the approved relationship for the marriage of their children. It can thus be affirmed that very few Trio marriages occur which are not legitimate in the sense that they are to some degree within the conventionally defined limits of the society.

There is yet another way in which this aspect of Trio marriage can be viewed, and that is through the eyes of an individual in the society - the whole seen by one member of it rather than the particular circumstances of each individual. This was done with the aid of four male informants, two from Alalaparu, and two from Palocemeu, and two female informants, one from each village.

Table 29: i. Types and numbers of marriages as seen by male informants.

Informants:- Iyakepe (52) Muyope (32) Korokoro (300) Temeta (482)

Relationships

A. Acceptable Horizontal:

BS=ZD	(16)	3	2	7	4
ZS=BD	(15)	6	0	3	6
P=Z	(12)	2	4	5	1
F=M	(2)	0	2	0	0
Y=Y	(3)	1	0	0	2
MB=W	(1)	0	1	0	0
	49	12	9	15	13

B. Unorthodox Horizontal:

BS=BD	(6)	2	0	1	3
ZS=ZD	(11)	2	0	6	3
B=Z	(7)	4	3	0	0
MB=M	(5)	2	3	0	0
	29	10	6	7	6

C. Acceptable Oblique:

MB=Z	(4)	1	2	0	1
B=ZD	(17)	2	5	8	2
B=M	(6)	2	4	0	0
ZS=Z	(6)	1	0	5	0
P=N	(1)	0	1	0	0
P=BD	(6)	0	3	0	3
ZS=ZDD	(2)	0	0	2	0
BS=ZSD	(1)	0	0	1	0
ZDS=ZD	(1)	0	0	1	0
	44	6	15	17	6

D. Unorthodox Oblique:

MB=ZD	(2)	0	2	0	0
P=ZD	(7)	4	1	1	1
P=BD	(9)	3	0	5	1
BS=Z	(5)	2	1	1	1
P=M	(3)	0	3	0	0
Y=BD	(1)	1	0	0	0
ZS=Y	(4)	1	0	0	3
B=Y	(2)	0	0	1	1
Y=ZD	(1)	0	0	1	0
ZS=M	(2)	1	1	0	0
BS=Y	(1)	0	0	0	1
	37	12	8	9	8

Summary

A. (49)	12	9	15	13
B. (29)	10	6	7	6
C. (44)	6	15	17	6
D. (37)	12	8	9	8
	—	—	—	—
	40	38	48	33

Acceptable

A and C	18 (45%)	24 (63.2%)	32 (66.7%)	19 (57.7%)
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Unorthodox

B and D	22 (55%)	14 (36.8%)	16 (33.3%)	14 (42.3%)
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Horizontal

A and B	22 (55%)	15 (39.5%)	22 (45.8%)	19 (57.7%)
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Oblique

C and D	18 (45%)	23 (60.5%)	26 (54.2%)	14 (42.3%)
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ii. Types and numbers of marriages as seen by female informants.

Informants:-

Atu (80)

Ukere (307)

Relationships

A. Acceptable Horizontal:

BS-ZD (3)	0	3
B=K (4)	3	1
F=M (4)	4	0
MB=N (1)	1	0
T=N (1)	1	0
—	—	—
13	9	4

B. Unorthodox Horizontal:

ZS=ZD	(9)	6	3
B=Z	(9)	2	7
MB=M	(3)	3	0
F=N	(3)	3	0
	24	14	10

C. Acceptable Oblique:

B=ZD	(6)	1	5
ZS=Z	(10)	2	8
B=M	(6)	0	6
MB=Z	(7)	3	4
	29	6	23

D. Unorthodox Oblique:

B=BD	(2)	0	2
MB=ZD	(3)	1	2
F=ZD	(1)	1	0
T=ZD	(2)	1	1
F=Z	(1)	1	0
B=N	(2)	2	0
B=Y	(1)	1	0
BS=Z	(1)	1	0
ZS=M	(2)	1	1
Y=Y	(1)	0	1
MB=K	(1)	0	1
MB=Y	(1)	0	1
Y=M	(2)	0	2
	20	9	11

Summary

A. (13)	9	4
B. (24)	14	10
C. (29)	6	23
D. (20)	9	11
	38	48

Acceptable

A and C	15 (39.5%)	27 (56.3%)
---------	------------	------------

Unorthodox

B and D	23 (60.5%)	21 (43.7%)
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Horizontal

A and B	23 (60.5%)	14 (29.2%)
---------	------------	------------

Oblique

C and D	15 (39.5%)	34 (70.8%)
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From the point of view of any individual, marriages are less conventionally ordered than is the case when each particular union is considered from the viewpoint of those involved. The number of conventional marriages range from as low as 39.5 per cent. to as high as 66.7 per cent., but this is still over 12 per cent. lower than when each marriage is seen separately. This should be no occasion for surprise since it has previously been suggested that genealogically exact relationships become confused as one moves out of the sphere of close relatives or regular

contacts, and this accounts, in part, for the apparent high proportion of marriages at Alalaparu between brothers and sisters.

One fact which this table does reveal is the close coincidence of Acceptable and Oblique marriages. In five out of the six cases a high or low proportion of Acceptable alliances is reflected by a respective high or low proportion of Oblique alliances. This is summarised in Table 30.

Table 30: Correlation of Acceptable/Oblique marriages and Unorthodox/Horizontal marriages.

(+ indicates over 50%; - indicates under 50%)

	<u>Acceptable</u>	<u>Oblique</u>	<u>Unorthodox</u>	<u>Horizontal</u>
<u>Iyskepo:</u>	-	-	+	+
<u>Muyope:</u>	+	+	-	-
<u>Korekoro:</u>	+	+	-	-
<u>Teneta:</u>	+	-	-	+
<u>Atu:</u>	-	-	+	+
<u>Ukere:</u>	+	+	-	-

Thus conventionally approved marriages are related to oblique types, a fact which the relationship terminology leads one to expect. The exception in this table is of value since it leads to a further important point. Oblique marriage on ego's level is a function of the terminology because ego and his brothers and sisters can conventionally only marry someone from the first ascending or descending generation. Thus the proportion of oblique marriages as seen by any individual depends upon the number of his brothers and sisters. From ego's viewpoint marriages not involving

members of his own genealogical level will appear horizontal. This example demonstrates. Tepepuru (245) and his son Ipanape (655) are married to the sisters Napipen (653) and Kuramenaru (654) respectively. Tepepuru calls his son's wife sister's daughter, as he did his own prior to marrying her. Thus his own marriage is oblique (MB/2D) but his son's is horizontal (S/2D). From the son's viewpoint he calls his father's wife mother, as he used to call his own wife; thus the situation is reversed and while his father's marriage appears horizontal (F/M), his own is oblique (B/M). Theoretically a horizontal marriage on ego's own level can only take place between brothers and sisters. Temeta appears as an exception in Table 30 because there are very few people whom he calls either brother or sister.

This proved a crucial problem in the construction of the Genealogical Table and the details of the solution devised will be found in the Notes on the Genealogical Table at the end of the thesis. It is adequate to state briefly that the Genealogical Table was finally drawn as the slightly modified view of Trio society as seen by two of its members. On the Genealogical Table it can be seen that there is a total of 399 all-Trio marriages represented, of these 55.4 per cent. are horizontal and 44.6 per cent. are oblique. If we restrict this number to existing all-Trio marriages of which there are 92, 46 are horizontal and 46 oblique, 50 per cent. each. However, these figures cannot be taken to represent the actual proportion of oblique to horizontal marriages among the Trio for the simple reason that this is an individual's view of a highly individualised society.

In summary on this section a very high proportion of marriages, from the viewpoint of the participants in any union, are conventionally ordered. The figure is over 80 per cent. in

the case of individual terms, while 96 per cent. have a conventional element when the terms are combined into their correct combinations of up to three for each marriage.

The society as seen through the eyes of any particular informant is less conventionally ordered. This emphasises the individual nature of each person's social world, and also explains the high proportion of proscribed alliances such as those between brothers and sisters. However, the advantage of regarding the society through the eyes of an individual stresses the terminological rather than generational aspect of Trio oblique marriages. This is further demonstrated by an examination of the age difference of married couples.

c. Age difference of married couples:

The last section of this chapter indicated that while conventional forms of marriage are oblique this is merely a function of the terminology. Further proof of this is forthcoming by an examination of the age difference between husbands and wives. In Table 31 the ages of couples in existing all-Trio marriages are listed, and to add further emphasis they have been divided into horizontal and oblique types according to the way they are shown on the Genealogical Table.

Table 31: Ages of couples in existing Trio marriages.

A. Horizontal Marriages:

<u>Spouses</u>	<u>Ages</u>	<u>Husband older by</u>	<u>Wife older by</u>
346=347	26=20	6	-
339=331	21=33	-	12
310=306	30=24	6	-
343=337	17=15	2	-

107=109	30=28	2	-
14=8	40=26	14	-
9=6	20=18	2	-
139=140	33=35	-	2
139=145	33=30	3	-
215=216	17=17	-	-
43=44	38=33	5	-
161=162	25=30	-	5
178=179	24=27	-	3
31=29	16=16	-	-
123=120	20=30	-	10
32=30	28=20	8	-
203=204	57=35	22	-
89=88	50=45	5	-
100=99	25=27	-	2
83=87	32=20	12	-
74=75	30=18	12	-
153=154	22=28	-	6
170=174	45=35	10	-
151=152	43=40	3	-
169=168	28=18	10	-
195=198	25=22	3	-
273=274	37=20	17	-
269=270	30=34	-	4
263=266	22=20	2	-
482=485	42=24	18	-
399=395	33=20	13	-
494=493	30=24	6	-
305=354	27=30	-	3
720=721	32=24	8	-
636=604	23=32	-	9

595=596	25=30	-	5
602=565	24=24	-	-
756=763	37=20	17	-
670=673	42=38	4	-
660=626	40=38	2	-
514=516	30=22	8	-
381=368	25=20	5	-
365=409	32=36	-	4
364=378	30=22	8	-
376=345	30=34	-	4
577=427	36=21	15	-

Summary:

	<u>Older Husbands</u>	<u>Older Wives</u>	<u>Same Age</u>
<u>Total:</u>	30	13	3
<u>Average years</u>			
<u>Older:</u>	8	5	-
<u>Range:</u>	2-22	2-12	-

B. Oblique Marriages:

<u>Spouses</u>	<u>Ages</u>	<u>Husband older by</u>	<u>Wife older by</u>
679=680	20=18	2	-
684=686	18=24	-	6
300=307	52=25	27	-
476=475	34=18	16	-
254=257	19=40	-	21
732=733	33=21	12	-
173=110	18=28	-	10

1=3	43=50	-	7
655=654	19=23	-	4
245=653	55=21	34	-
165=164	40=17	23	-
52=53	45=35	10	-
23=28	40=30	10	-
62=63	50=36	14	-
79=118	40=22	18	-
59=58	17=20	-	3
126=82	40=40	-	-
131=130	30=30	-	-
155=46	42=25	17	-
156=183	30=30	-	-
77=19	20=20	-	-
78=80	25=32	-	7
22=13	18=24	-	6
93=72	33=20	13	-
182=189	35=20	15	-
716=717	20=19	1	-
405=392	48=40	8	-
457=456	28=22	6	-
451=454	40=36	4	-
390=385	22=36	-	14
699=696	32=28	4	-
566=569	27=27	-	-
599=598	26=18	8	-
587=590	45=28	17	-
556=559	28=40	-	12
641=638	26=20	6	-
752=755	20=18	2	-
578=581	24=22	2	-

417=415	30=23	7	-
435=633	25=17	8	-
430=414	25=20	5	-
645=644	20=20	-	-
351=354	33=20	13	-
420=423	30=20	10	-
436=437	22=25	-	3
688=689	28=24	4	-

Summary:

	<u>Older Husbands</u>	<u>Older Wives</u>	<u>Same Age</u>
<u>Total:</u>	29	11	6
<u>Average years</u>			
<u>Older:</u>	11	8	-
<u>Range:</u>	2-34	2-21	-

It should be remembered that an error of 10 per cent. is assumed in the estimation of ages, and thus the slight difference in average age between the two types of marriage can be considered to be unimportant. Furthermore in the Oblique list there are two examples of much older men and one of a much older woman which almost entirely account for the higher average in the Oblique form. In the examples where the husband is much older, and this applies also to the single example in the Horizontal list in which the gap is over 20 years, the husband, by Trio standards, is a very old man. Each is over 50, and has lost a former wife or wives who have been replaced by a much younger woman. None of these men has had a child by these younger women. The case in which the wife is many years older than her husband is described later in this chapter.

If the figures from both parts of Table 31 are combined, the average age difference between husband and wife is 8 years, and 68 (73.9%) of the husbands are the same age or older than their wife. Over half (56%) of the marriages fall within the average difference of 8 years, and in 94.6 per cent. of the cases the difference in age is 20 years and less. If we assume that a Trio generation is approximately 20 years, then only just over 5 per cent. of the marriages actually occur between people of different generations as compared to nearly 95 per cent. between different terminological/genealogical levels.

This confirms that among the Trio oblique alliance is a function of the relationship terminology, but that in terms of age all but very few marriages occur between people of the same generation. It is now possible to examine the actual genealogical relationships between spouses as far as they can be traced.

d. Actual relationship of married couples:

Very few of the existing Trio marriages are between people of traceable genealogical connection, and all ten examples are listed below. This is a rather low figure which can be accounted for in a number of ways. Firstly, there are undoubtedly a number of relationships missing from the Genealogical Table. I must accept responsibility for some of these lacunae but not all. There are numerous cases where an informant stressed the closeness of a relationship, and said, for example, that a man was indeed his own father's very own brother. Further questioning would then reveal that the two men shared neither a common father nor common mother. Accordingly in the absence of substantive evidence it is assumed that no genealogical connection exists in spite of any emphatic claims on an informant's part. The tendency for imoiti to become indistinguishable from kin has already been explained.

Further it seems improbable, considering the size of the villages and the preference for village endogamy, that such a small number of married couples' parents are unrelated.

After the examples of genealogically connected spouses is a sample of marriages in which rather more tenuous relationship between the spouses can be traced.

Table 32: i. The cases of genealogically connected spouses
(Relationship in brackets are those considered to exist by the couple concerned).

1. Inkiman (417) = Marinu (415); Inkiman's mother was the full brother of Marinu's father. FZS-MBD (MBD/?=?/?)
2. Asanri (451) = Eukiye (454); Eukiye's mother was Asanri's full sister. MB-ZD (TS/NS-MBD/ZD)
3. Pesaipo (93) = Piruru (72); Pesaipo's father's half-sister is Piruru's mother. MBS-FZD (MBS/NS-BD/ND) The relationship PFDD-MFSS is also traceable.
4. Kamape (83) = Mori (87); Kamape's mother's full brother is Mori's father and his father's half-sister her mother. MBS/FZS-MBD/FZD (MBS/NS-MBD/ND)
5. Korokoro (300) = Ukere (307); Korokoro's father's brother's daughter (i.e. female parallel-cousin or sister) is Ukere's mother. MFBS-FBDD (TS/NS-MBD/ZD)
6. Muyope (32) = Mikeripe (30); Muyope's father's half-sister's son is Mikeripe's father. FMMSS-FMDS (TS/NS-MBD/?.) This is an interesting case since the relationship is traced by Muyope through his mother whom Mikeripe's father called sister.
7. Matate (31) = Numepe (29); Matate's mother is a half-sister of Numepe's father. FMDS-MMSD (NS-MBD)

8. Naraeyiyi (310) = Minori (306); Naraeyiyi's mother's male parallel-cousin (i.e. brother) is Minori's father.
FFBDS=MFBSD (TS/?-MBD/?). Minori did not know her husband's mother but knows that her father had called her husband's father, mother's brother.
9. Pesoro (602) = Iriuna (565); Pesoro's mother's half-sister's daughter (a female parallel-cousin or sister of Pesoro) is Iriuna's mother. MMMDS=MMDDD (NS/?-MBD/ZD).
10. Piti (494) = Apokinini (493); Piti's half-sister is Apokinini's mother. Same father, different mother.

ii. Examples of other relationships between spouses.

1. Asonko (78) = Atu (80); Asonko's father's brother's wife is Atu's elder half-sister. (NS/MBS=ND/BD).
2. Orosisi (126) = Sine (82); traced off the Genealogical Table this relationship is WFBSD=FFDH which formally reduces to WBD=FZH.
3. Pepu (22) = Kurapa (13); FMZDHZ = BWMZSS. This set of terms can be formally reduced thus:

FMZ to FM.	BW to M.
FMZD to FZ.	BWM to MM.
FMZDH to MB.	BWMZ to MM.
FMZDHZ to M.	BWMZS to MB.
M to FZD.	BWMZSS to MBS.

4. Natara (732) = Anitiye (733); This is a complicated case; the genealogical relationship is BWZHFBZHZ=BWFBSWZHB. This can be reduced formally thus:

BW to W.	BWFBS to BWB.
BWZ to W.	BWBW to Ego.
BWZH to Ego.	BWBWZ to Ego.
BWZHFB to F.	BWBWZH to Ego's H.
BWZHFBZ to Z.	BWBWZHB to Ego's H.
and thus to ZH2.	

A ZH is likely to be either MB or ZS and thus the wife M or ZD, and vice-versa for a female ego. The relationship is considered to be $?/NS=MBD/ZD$.

5. Kirimesa (752) = Ponsikini (755); The connection would appear to be that Kirimesa's half-sister is Ponsikini's mother but to be precise it is $FWMS=MDHD$. ($?/?=PD/?$).
6. Sipare (89) = Pisekane (88); This case results from an unorthodox marriage. The tie is $MHB=BWD$. Sipare married the daughter of his brother's wife by a former marriage. ($MBS/NS=MBD/MD$).
7. Itimare (153) = Papope (154); This is $MBSWB=ZHFZD$. It is not possible to make a rational analysis of this example. If one takes ZHF to be MB then it is a B and Z marriage; if ZHF is taken as T, as in fact Itimare considers the relationship, then ZHFZD is M. MBSWB inevitably equals B but then Papope calls her HM, Manhko. ($MBS/MS=TD/?$).
8. Sikemimpe (254) = Mirere (257); this is another tenuous link. $ZHBWZHFBD = FBSWZHBWB$ which can be formally reduced to $ZHZ = BWB$. Since ZH is likely to be either MB or ZS then ZHZ will be M or ZD. Since BW is likely to be M or ZD then BWB will be MB or ZS. ($BS/ZS=?/?$).
9. Arumumpe (351) = Natete (534); This one is $BDHZHZMD = MDBWBWFB$. This one reduces, on both sides to $F = D$.
10. Asapoti (376) = Kamara (345); This case is complicated by the presence of a woman who has had a child by both a man and his son. The connection is $MDHWFDS = MFDHWMD$ when traced through the mother which reduced to $ZS = M$. When traced through the woman's father the connection is $FZHWFDS = MFDHWBD$ which reduced to $FZS = MBD$.

The cases of genealogically related spouses are important because they all follow the conventional marriage rules and also demonstrate that real as well as classificatory members of the prescribed categories are married. There are cases of marriage between actual MBD/FZS, FZD/MBS, MB/ZD and between full bilateral cross-cousins. Further examples of all these types can be found among the pre-existing marriages which appear on the Genealogical Table. None of these marriages are between genealogically related persons of proscribed categories including as the Trio claim no alliances between closely related MZ/ZS.

The second part of Table 32 is also interesting since the relationships between spouses are mainly an adjunct of some previous marriage and contain a strong element of exchange or repetition. Most of the terms when formally reduced to their simplest factor show a coincidence with the conventional marriage rules. Finally, and this applies to both parts of Table 32, there is a general agreement between the actual or reduced relationship between spouses and that claimed by them. This suggests that in other cases where it is not possible to trace a relationship, the claimed one may have some factual basis.

From this examination of actual relationships involved in Trio marriages it can be seen, in spite of the paucity of good examples, that there is a general agreement with the forms of marriage which the Trio consider that they practise.

It is now the intention to investigate certain special and secondary forms of marriage which are found among the Trio.

e. Secondary marriage practices:

i. Polygamy: a weakly developed institution which is anyhow disappearing under missionary influence. The following cases were recorded.

1. Kesepe (139) has two wives and formerly had a third. The two wives are unrelated and there are indications that he wishes to be rid of the elder one by whom he has had five children.
2. Kiyokiyo (578) was married to the half-sisters Tawi (581) and Napiyo (582) but early in 1963 stated that Napiyo was no longer his wife. Napiyo continued to live in the same house as her mother, half-sister and ex-husband, and in January 1964 gave birth. It is mainly assumed that Kiyokiyo is the father which he does not deny. Others, however, say that Simuru (511) is responsible.
3. Supipi (514) had previously been married to the sisters Rena (516) and Tapiro (519) but the latter is no longer his wife.
4. Ororinape (155) had been married to the sisters Papope (154) and Ikeri (46). He had apparently taken them when they were still young and brought them up. Papope, the elder, who had borne him two children, recently left him. She went off with Piwara (156) for a short time (it was said that she ensnared him with love magic), but he left her and she is now married to Itlimare (153). Ikeri continues as Ororinape's sole wife.
5. Torope (107), when I first met him, was married to the two sisters, Sore (109) and Mairupe (110). They had formerly been married to Torope's brother, Rapu (108), while another sister, Tukupe (113), had been Torope's wife. Both Rapu and Tukupe had died, and Torope inherited his brother's widows. (This is the only example of widow-inheritance which I recorded, but a widow's potential husband will almost certainly be a brother of her deceased husband; this is a function of the wider marriage rules and not a leviratic practice). Torope's polygamous marriage broke up under

6. Temeta (482) had been married to both Apari (360) and Kara (485), but has put away Apari under the influence of Christian teaching.
7. Sipi (23) had been married simultaneously to Aiyatu (28) and Makarakara (75), but when I met him he had only Aiyatu as his wife. Aiyatu had previously been the co-wife with Kiwaraiye (118) of Kurumuku (35).
8. Iyakepo (52) whose main wife is Siwapun (53) had a curious relationship with Isaruwiyae (55). Initially I assumed that this was a brother/sister relationship, and in fact, he called another woman of the same parents elder sister. It was difficult to get a straight answer from him on this subject until one day Isaruwiyae moved to another house, and Iyakepo told me that he had sent his second wife away because God did not like it.
9. Eoyari (62) had two wives, Tawiruye (61) and Kiwaipipi (63). When this double marriage broke up Eoyari at first stayed with Tawiruye, but then changed his mind and built a new house for himself and Kiwaipipi.

Finally there are two examples of very short lived polygamous unions, and the taking of a second wife seems to be one of the main reasons for the disintegration of an earlier marriage. Atu (80) left Kamape (83) when he married her half-sister, Mori (87); Tasi (252) left Tepepuru (245) when he married Napipen (653).

Although polygamous marriages do occur there are insufficient examples in these few cases to suggest that it could in any way be described as a popular practice. Polygamy is one of the few social practices to have caught the earlier ethnographers' attention. Schmidt observed nine cases of polygamy among the Trio, six men with two wives, two with three and one with

four (Schmidt, 1942, p.50). Frikel who says that cross-cousin marriage is the ideal Trio form, although MB/ZD is relatively frequent, considers that polygamy, except in the case of village leaders, is a recent innovation borrowed from the Charuma or Waiyana (Frikel, 1960). He also mentions a case of polyandry - a practice of which I have no record.

ii. Woman married to father and son; this type of union has already been mentioned as being theoretically possible, and there are two examples of its actual occurrence. This is not a polygamous union since the men were married successively not simultaneously.

1. Iperika (231) was married to Ponoriu (15), and at his death, Iwana (235), his son by an earlier marriage, took Ponoriu as his wife. Isaruwiyae (55) who is the daughter of Iperika and Ponoriu called Iwana brother as she also calls Mono (14), who is the son of Iwana and Ponoriu.
2. Akowani (550) was married to Yawinapu (509) and at his death, Yawiken (508), his son by an earlier marriage, took his step-mother as wife.

This form of marriage has the same structural significance as that of two sisters married to a father and son. The case of Tepepuru (245) and Ipanape (655) has already been described; other examples include

1. Saimane (68) and his son Supipi (514) who are married to half-sisters.
2. Asonko (78) and his father's brother Boyari (62) who are married to half-sisters.

The third possible arrangement is for a father to marry

a dead son's wife, but I have failed to discover an example of this.

These types of marriage are an ideal which the formal analysis of the relationship terminology suggests.

iii. Man married to mother and daughter; this practice is widely reported among Carib-speaking people, and recent examples have been reported from the Waiwai (Fock, 1963, p.202), and Patamona (Henfrey, 1964, pp.122-123). There are no extant cases of it among the Trio but there is a record of two such instances.

1. Arensu (73) was married to Tinaiye and her daughter Marere (124). This may have been a polygamous union. Tinaiye, the only survivor of this marriage, is an old woman and difficult to understand. The general consensus of opinion is that it was a bad thing, but Arensu's sister Pisekane (88) said it was good because there were very few marriageable women when it occurred.
2. Sanutu (326) was married to Nerui (330) and when she died he took her daughter Irawipen (327). He was not married to them both at the same time. An informant told me that when Sanutu did this people gossiped and said it was bad of Sanutu to behave thus.

Such marriages are anomalous, being conventionally wrong, socially disapproved of, and structurally unsound. They seem to be based on sentiment and an attempt to maintain pre-existing conditions, a feature characteristic of Trio behaviour.

iv. Child marriage; this institution has already been mentioned on several occasions in this thesis, and it is a practice whereby a man takes into his care a young (normally

under ten years old) sister's daughter whom he brings up, and may when she reaches adolescence make his wife. The man is said to be the girl's arimikane, her nurturer, and this term must be distinguished from husband which implies a sexual relationship. Most girls who were brought up under this system mentioned both the relationships, and in those cases where they did not one can perhaps assume only one aspect. The system is falling into disuse, but the following examples were collected.

1. Kara (485) said that her mother's brother had been a 'little' husband to her.
2. Seisei (457) said that he had been both the husband and arimikane of Sinrape (615).
3. Nouku (590) said that Inkiman (417) had been both her husband and arimikane.
4. Ororinape (155) had brought up the sisters Papope (154) and Ikeri (46) and had then taken them as his wives.
5. Mooso (273) took his sister's daughter Pakiŵape (275) to the West Paru but when they returned to the Sipaliwini area, the girl went back to living with her mother.

There is a single case of an older woman Mirere (257) who has taken and brought up a younger man Sikamimpe (254) to be her husband. Unlike the avuncular adoption this action does not have social approval, but the disapproval takes the form of tolerant amusement rather than overt condemnation.

It is normal to interpret avuncular adoption in the terms of a man's earliest claim on the loss of his sister. There are difficulties in the way of unquestioned acceptance of such an interpretation of the Trio practice. In the first place the mother's brother frequently has a wife and the sister's young daughter is a

second wife which eliminates any idea of urgency. Secondly the young girl is not necessarily taken as a wife; this attitude is implicit in the term arimikane and is also revealed by the statements of informants when they said that a sister's young daughter is not an emerimpe. Finally there does not appear to be any explicit understanding of such an element of exchange with regard to this institution. However, the idea of exchange is so well developed in the Trio system of marriage that one cannot dismiss it from being the probable fundamental principle underlying the practice of avuncular adoption. Unfortunately the number of examples and the lack of detail in the case histories I collected do not permit the depth of examination the institution deserves.

Three out of these four types of secondary marriage are logical extensions of the primary form, and each places emphasis on some particular element of it. The polygamous union, because it frequently appears in a sororal form, confirms that sisters tend to marry in the same place. The marriage of father and son to the same woman or to sisters reaffirms the cohesive quality of their descent line vis-a-vis those from whom they have taken their wives. Avuncular adoption demonstrates the crudest form of the system of direct exchange which is a fundamental of Trio marriage practices. The fourth type, that in which a man marries a woman and her daughter, is an interesting example of behaviour which is inspired by sentiment but is structurally wrong; a case in which social convention and approval support structure not sentiment and one of the few instances in Trio society where they are in disagreement.

exchange of women takes in the following form:

As far as data permit the following is a summary of the

marriage have been described, and it is not clear from the text whether social convention is allowed to be violated. The first principle of direct exchange is the exchange of women, and the second is the exchange of men. The third principle is the exchange of property, and the fourth is the exchange of services. The fifth principle is the exchange of affection, and the sixth is the exchange of respect. The seventh principle is the exchange of status, and the eighth is the exchange of power. The ninth principle is the exchange of wealth, and the tenth is the exchange of influence. The eleventh principle is the exchange of honor, and the twelfth is the exchange of glory. The thirteenth principle is the exchange of fame, and the fourteenth is the exchange of reputation. The fifteenth principle is the exchange of honor, and the sixteenth is the exchange of glory. The seventeenth principle is the exchange of fame, and the eighteenth is the exchange of reputation. The nineteenth principle is the exchange of honor, and the twentieth is the exchange of glory. The twenty-first principle is the exchange of fame, and the twenty-second is the exchange of reputation. The twenty-third principle is the exchange of honor, and the twenty-fourth is the exchange of glory. The twenty-fifth principle is the exchange of fame, and the twenty-sixth is the exchange of reputation. The twenty-seventh principle is the exchange of honor, and the twenty-eighth is the exchange of glory. The twenty-ninth principle is the exchange of fame, and the thirtieth is the exchange of reputation. The thirty-first principle is the exchange of honor, and the thirty-second is the exchange of glory. The thirty-third principle is the exchange of fame, and the thirty-fourth is the exchange of reputation. The thirty-fifth principle is the exchange of honor, and the thirty-sixth is the exchange of glory. The thirty-seventh principle is the exchange of fame, and the thirty-eighth is the exchange of reputation. The thirty-ninth principle is the exchange of honor, and the fortieth is the exchange of glory. The forty-first principle is the exchange of fame, and the forty-second is the exchange of reputation. The forty-third principle is the exchange of honor, and the forty-fourth is the exchange of glory. The forty-fifth principle is the exchange of fame, and the forty-sixth is the exchange of reputation. The forty-seventh principle is the exchange of honor, and the forty-eighth is the exchange of glory. The forty-ninth principle is the exchange of fame, and the fiftieth is the exchange of reputation. The fifty-first principle is the exchange of honor, and the fifty-second is the exchange of glory. The fifty-third principle is the exchange of fame, and the fifty-fourth is the exchange of reputation. The fifty-fifth principle is the exchange of honor, and the fifty-sixth is the exchange of glory. The fifty-seventh principle is the exchange of fame, and the fifty-eighth is the exchange of reputation. The fifty-ninth principle is the exchange of honor, and the sixtieth is the exchange of glory. The sixty-first principle is the exchange of fame, and the sixty-second is the exchange of reputation. The sixty-third principle is the exchange of honor, and the sixty-fourth is the exchange of glory. The sixty-fifth principle is the exchange of fame, and the sixty-sixth is the exchange of reputation. The sixty-seventh principle is the exchange of honor, and the sixty-eighth is the exchange of glory. The sixty-ninth principle is the exchange of fame, and the seventieth is the exchange of reputation. The seventy-first principle is the exchange of honor, and the seventy-second is the exchange of glory. The seventy-third principle is the exchange of fame, and the seventy-fourth is the exchange of reputation. The seventy-fifth principle is the exchange of honor, and the seventy-sixth is the exchange of glory. The seventy-seventh principle is the exchange of fame, and the seventy-eighth is the exchange of reputation. The seventy-ninth principle is the exchange of honor, and the eightieth is the exchange of glory. The eighty-first principle is the exchange of fame, and the eighty-second is the exchange of reputation. The eighty-third principle is the exchange of honor, and the eighty-fourth is the exchange of glory. The eighty-fifth principle is the exchange of fame, and the eighty-sixth is the exchange of reputation. The eighty-seventh principle is the exchange of honor, and the eighty-eighth is the exchange of glory. The eighty-ninth principle is the exchange of fame, and the ninetieth is the exchange of reputation. The ninety-first principle is the exchange of honor, and the ninety-second is the exchange of glory. The ninety-third principle is the exchange of fame, and the ninety-fourth is the exchange of reputation. The ninety-fifth principle is the exchange of honor, and the ninety-sixth is the exchange of glory. The ninety-seventh principle is the exchange of fame, and the ninety-eighth is the exchange of reputation. The ninety-ninth principle is the exchange of honor, and the one hundredth is the exchange of glory.

f. Direct exchange in Trio marriage:

While direct exchange is implicit in the Trio relationship terminology and is a part of all marriages, as can be clearly seen from the examples of marriages between related partners, so fundamental is the concept of exchange in the ordering of affinal relationships that a number of examples are given in which this aspect rather than any other is stressed.

1. Boyari (62) married Tawiruye (61) and gave his half-sister Siwapun (53) to his wife's brother Iyakepo (52).
2. Korokoro (300) married Ukere (307) and gave her brother Naraeyiyi (310) his daughter Minori (306).
3. Pisikiki (312) had been married to Pasopo (554) who has recently died. Two of Pisikiki's younger sisters had been taken by his wife's father and brother.
4. Arensu (73) married Sipare's (89) half-sister Marere (124), and Sipare took Arensu's sister Pisekane (88).
5. Amasina took as his wife Werimuku (216), and gave Werimuku's full brother Mitipipi (59) his classificatory sister (MZD) Weripena (58).

As will be seen in the next chapter the exchange of women which is Trio marriage is not an isolated event, and the affinal relationships which arise from marriage are marked by a continuous flow of obligations and prestations, and finally the exchange of more women in the following generation.

So far in this chapter the conventional rules of Trio marriage have been described, and it has been shown to what extent social convention is adhered to in this matter. Finally the underlying principle of direct exchange has been stated, but before making a further study of this feature by reference to the behaviour between affines, a brief description of the actual processes of marriage and divorce is made.

g. The process of marriage and divorce:

There are two Trio words 'to marry'; ipinta used by men which literally means 'to take a wife', and inyota used by women which literally means 'to take a husband'. Conventionally, however, a man marries a woman, and this is explicitly stated although exceptions to the rule do occur. For example Mairupe (110) forced Rorí (173) into marrying her.

The following descriptions of a marriage arrangement is a synthesis of a number of examples recounted to me, and it is unlikely that all, or even any, of the stages are gone through in a particular case. The assumption here is that the marriage is of a conventionally acceptable form and that the participants are fairly closely related or acquainted.

A man goes to a girl once or several times taking her a gift of game and says 'I want you to be my wife'. The girl then goes and tells her mother, who, if she approves, says 'Fine, but it is up to you. Feed him'. So the girl takes the man food and drink, and they eat together after which the man will tell the girl to take the pots or baskets back to her mother. This may happen several times and then the man says to his future mother-in-law 'I want your daughter as a wife!'. Then the girl takes her hammock and hangs it beneath that of her husband. There is no ceremony or ritual attached to the start of co-habitation. When there are no young children who normally sleep in their mother's hammock, husband and wife will often share the same hammock. A woman can refuse to allow her daughter to marry and it is said that Kumarau (152) had for a long time resisted the marriage of her daughter Maposi (168) to Makipe (169).

The affair becomes more complicated when a man wishes to take a wife from a distant village. In such cases the arranging of the marriage is likely to take place with the girl's father or other senior male relative, and involves bargaining with a

ceremonial dialogue. It is not intended to describe in any detail Trio ceremonial dialogues and their functions, but further comment on this subject will be found in Chapter X. It will suffice to say here that it is a formal mechanism for use between strangers in situations which are likely to give rise to conflict. It is conducted in difficult and archaic speech of which few young men have a competent command. In the arranging of marriage it is used for deciding such features as bride-price and the question of post-marital residence. This helps to explain why there is a tendency towards matrilocal residence when marriage occurs between strangers.

Bride-price seems to have been a poorly developed institution among the Trio, and only to have been paid when a man took an unrelated woman. I have a record of only two instances in which bride-price was paid. Korokoro (300) took as his first wife a woman who lived in a village at some distance from his own. He paid her father with beads, salt, an axe and a knife. This contrasts with his second marriage which is with a classificatory sister's (FBD) daughter. Korokoro claims that he did not want to marry this girl but that his father persuaded him to because she is a close relative. No bride-price was paid in this instance.

Temeta (482) claims that he had given many goods, without being specific, to Apari's (360) mother; her father was dead. I am not certain that Temeta was making a clear distinction between bride-price and bride-service; this latter institution is well developed among the Trio, and they both belong to the pattern of behaviour which follows upon the exchange of women. This subject is examined in the next chapter.

Marriages do not take place entirely on the initiative of future spouses, and are sometimes arranged by the relatives of one or other party. There is the example just given in which Korokoro was urged by his father to marry his sister's daughter.

Eoyari (62) persuaded his half-sister Siwapun (53) to marry his wife's brother Iyakepo (52). Asikiri (170) had tentatively arranged that his sister's son Rori (173) should marry his young daughter.

While there is actual encouragement for a man to marry a closely related person, there are also well-defined sanctions to discourage the outsider from poaching on the community's female resources. The absence of bride-price in the marriage with a close relative affords but one example of this. Further aspects of this are considered in the next chapter.

Men normally marry when they are between 15-20 years old, and women at a slightly younger age, 14-16 years. The younger married men are hardly more than boys who have not reached full economic maturity. For the first few years of their married life they depend to some extent on outside assistance which is usually provided by either their father or father-in-law. A young woman by reason of the nature of her upbringing is more suited to take on the economic burden of marriage than is her husband.

Pre-marital sexual intercourse occurs and considerable freedom is allowed for early sexual experiment, and although such activities should conventionally be confined to an emerimpe such limitations are sometimes ignored. If a girl becomes pregnant her mother may try and make the man responsible marry her but there is no obligation upon him to do so. Men think that it is bad for a woman to bear a child out of wedlock, but women do not mind and say that after one has given birth to a child there is no difficulty in obtaining a husband. Three mechanical methods of procuring a miscarriage are known but the single means of contraception is magical.

Extra-marital sexual intercourse occurs to a considerable extent but this depends more on opportunity than on any socially

licensed freedom. In general individuals while gossiping about another's sexual exploits do not condemn them unless their own wife is involved. A man has some right to the sexual services of his brother's wife as has already been mentioned. While adultery is the cause of most social friction and conflict, the woman is not held to blame unless she has actually provoked the affair. A woman is thought unable to deny the sexual demands of any man but this is not promiscuity but the culturally conditioned submissiveness of women in such matters. Accordingly infidelity is not adequate cause for separation or divorce.

Divorce, like marriage, can be expressed in male and female terms, and the actual process involves no more than unknotting the hammock from the house posts to which that of the spouse is tied. This action may be taken by either partner.

It has been noted that divorce frequently occurs when a man takes a second wife, and this is the reason which women normally give for leaving a man. However, on the other side of the coin, a man often takes a second wife because of the inadequacies of the first. Inadequacy is either barrenness or failure, of either spouse, to fulfil their duties in the economic partnership of marriage.

Tasi (252) said that she had left her husband Tepepuru (245) because he had taken a second wife. Tepepuru, on the other hand, said that she is lazy. I can vouchsafe for this from my own experience and add that she is a slut and that her bread is repulsive.

Another example is Koi (390) who left his young nubile wife Wiwi (393) and their baby daughter, and instead married an older barren woman Parososo (385), who has had several former husbands and is only recently separated from her previous one Pisere (381). This is an interesting case because Koi left Wiwi because she was casual

about providing his food and drink - a socially acceptable reason. However his marriage to Parososo has earned him the society's disapprobation because she is barren, although an excellent house-keeper. If Koi had taken another child-bearing woman in place of Wiwi no comment would have been made.

Husbands also send their wives away if they are scolds; Pessipe (93) divorced Mikipe (20) for this reason, and Kessepe (139) put away Weripena (58) because she fought with his other wives. Marriages also seem to have broken up as the result of men returning from a long absence to find their place usurped or even taking another wife on their travels.

A divorced woman will return to her family, or, if her parents are dead, go and live with a brother. Such behaviour is conventionally recognised. Tasi (252) made the journey back to her family at Alalaparu after leaving Tepepuru (245). Makarepen (434) went to live in her brother's household, and Wiwi (393) in her brother's. Siwapun (53) said she would go and live with her half-brother Eoyari (62) in the event of her husband's death or of their separation.

It is not possible to judge what proportion of marriages end in divorce, but it is probable that these unions are more stable than the impression of numerous marriages by some individuals gives. It must be remembered that the low expectancy of life means that any person who has a life longer than average is likely to outlive a number of spouses. This is more pronounced with men since old men are more likely to remarry than are old women.

The end of a marriage is more likely to be brought about by the death of one or other of the partners than by their separation. At the moment there is a rather high proportion of broken marriages as a result of the disruption of some polygamous unions following the arrival of Christianity. There are among the

Surinam Trio both surviving partners of twenty-one broken marriages; of these eight are attributable to a greater or lesser degree to the influence of Christian teaching. This suggests a divorce rate in the region of 15 per cent of the marriages.

The relationship between husband and wife has already been described in Chapter VII. One of the most important features of it is that it combines in one person the separate roles of economic partner and sex partner which are, for a man, otherwise filled by sister or mother and emerimpe respectively. The question arises why a Trio, since he already has his economic and sexual needs provided for, should bother about marriage. The conventional Trio answer to this is that they marry in order to have sons and daughters, not so much that they may look after their parents in old age but that the children may marry and their children's spouses will become their providers. Any aspect of marriage sooner or later brings one back to the subject of behaviour among affines which it is now time to consider.

CHAPTER IX

AVOIDANCE AND OBLIGATION: BEHAVIOUR AMONG AFFINES.

Affinal avoidance - An explanation - Examples - Function -
Affinal obligations - Sporadic services - Routine services -
Kin and affines.

At last, in this chapter, it is possible to draw together some of the threads which have been running through the previous chapters. It has been shown for what reasons women are vitally important both to the Trio male and Trio society. Marriage is the most important social institution because it involves the exchange of women - the exchange aspect being well developed. Since this exchange is important, so also is the behaviour between those who exchange women. Certain aspects of the behaviour between affines have received passing mention earlier in this thesis - these are recapitulated here.

Firstly, the terms for affines were classified in Chapter IV as Organisational terms. These terms are non-structural because they are applied by the individual to the spouse's relatives regardless of what category they may be considered to belong to. In the last chapter it was shown what proportion of which categories these are likely to be for a spouse's parents. Secondly, the Organisational terms are also distinguished by the fact that they only exist in reference form; the lack of any direct address term for affines being a logical extension of the avoidance which they practise. Thirdly the behaviour between affines is marked not by the single exchange of women, but by a concomitant and continuous exchange of gifts and services which lasts through life and after death, and may even find re-affirmation

by a further exchange of women in the following generation. This subject is dealt with in detail in the second half of this chapter, but to begin with the practice of affinal avoidance must be examined. The conventional behaviour and attitude between affines is clearly and precisely understood and explicitly stated - in this it contrasts curiously with the lack of well-defined attitudes between kin. Furthermore it is only in terms of this avoidance that other features of Trio social organisation are explicable.

a. Affinal avoidance:

Avoidance in Trio is expressed simply by the negative of the verb 'to talk', i.e. inyompaiwa, but the reason given for this avoidance is because to talk, for example, to the wife's mother is kutuma, or one does not talk to her because it is kutuma. This word has more than one meaning and in certain contexts it means pain - to have a palm thorn in one's foot is kutuma, to have a headache or fever is kutuma - but it is also used to describe something which is potentially painful - the ears of the electric eel are kutuma even if one does not touch them. In the sense of pain the word is often and precisely used, and when I first came across the word in the context of affine avoidance my immediate reaction was to ask where it hurt when one talked to a mother-in-law. This was considered a terrific joke, and my informant never forgot it and mentioned it on frequent occasions thereafter. This seems sufficient evidence to indicate that there is at least no overt recognition of a connection between the meanings of the word used in the different contexts.

Attempts were made to see if the word, in its two senses, could be brought into the same general sphere of meaning,

and partial success in this was achieved, although the result is perhaps a slightly forced one. First it must be explained briefly that different degrees of avoidance are practised depending on the degree of relatedness of the affine, and a female stated that she was very sad when her child had married a stranger and that her grief had been kutuma. This statement was cross-checked as far as it was possible with other informants, and it emerged that it is grievous for a child to marry a stranger, and such grief is painful. A tentative link.

There is also in the Trio language a verb of which the stem is ikutuma; the exact meaning of this word is still doubtful but a general area of meaning can be suggested. It has the sense of 'to answer in anger', but can also mean 'to avoid scolding in case the person concerned becomes angry and refuses to answer', and thus a natural extension of this to the simple sense of 'to not answer'. To refuse to answer someone who speaks to you is an advanced form of anger among the Trio who have a large number of words to describe this emotion and very few to describe amity. If one relates ikutuma to the practice of the person related to both parties acting as a go-between the avoiding affines - for example a man will make a request of his son-in-law through the medium of his daughter - the verb takes on an added significance and could perhaps be understood to mean 'not asking directly in case of angry refusal'.

Thus the kutuma relationship can, in one sense, be interpreted as a device to reduce friction in the community, by preventing direct demands for services between affines, and also ensures by the use of a mediator who is affectively connected to both sides that even indirect demands do not become too burdensome. This, however, is not the only function of the kutuma relationship, and it is possibly the less important one.

The most apparently perplexing feature of the avoidance behaviour is that it seems to call for a complete change in attitude to an individual from the moment of taking their son, daughter, brother, or sister in marriage. However, this is not so, and the question 'do you talk to your sister after you have married her daughter?' received the answer 'yes, because she is my sister'. A reply which clearly indicates that avoidance is not an inevitable part of affinal behaviour.

Further investigation revealed that there are, in fact, degrees of avoidance and that two factors control the severity of its observance; these are closeness of relationship and co-residence. Both these factors have already been examined and united under the single term 'degree of relatedness' (vide Chapter V.), but this examination gave them an isolated and unrealistic quality. It is now possible to replace them in their correct social setting.

Marriage with someone who is iitipime does not involve kutuma; on this point there is unanimous agreement. This application is useful since it helps to demonstrate who is iitipime. When ego's son marries ego's sister's daughter the avoidance is hardly discernible since the marriage is between two people who are almost equally iitipime. If, however, ego's sister's daughter marries a distant or classificatory brother's son, then avoidance with this man is practised since he is an outsider, or iitipimeta in comparison ~~to~~ the sister's daughter. Marriages which involve people who are both iitipime are considered good. with

Co-residence is nearly as effective in reducing the degree of avoidance; it has already been explained that one's imoiti become merged with kin, and it is explicitly claimed to be kutuna (i.e. without kutuma) to take the sister of one's imoiti as wife. This situation is to some extent qualified by length of co-residence and no distinction is made at the Trio level of thought between those

with whom one lives and those to whom one is related.

Hypothetical cases are not easy to explain to the Trio and it is difficult to get a precise answer to a question unless an informant can think of an actual example. It appears, however, that if a person who is closely related to ego, but is little known because he has spent his life in a distant village, returns and marries ego's daughter he will be only slightly kutuma. One of the obstacles in the way of posing such a question is the difficulty for the Trio to understand the concept of somebody being closely related but little known and living far away.

One can diagnose a pattern of avoidance which is most weakly developed when marriage takes place between closely related people who live in the same village, and at its most intense when between a person closely related to ego and an unrelated stranger. Between these two extremes there are all grades of behaviour depending on the important factors already mentioned and also on the personality of the individuals concerned. Therefore even in such a universally accepted convention as affinal avoidance there is no rigid rule of application, but each individual case is ordered according to the circumstances obtaining. Examples of this are given below, but first it is necessary to make a brief digression to consider all the potential kutuma relations.

Where avoidance is not practised, or practised only on certain occasions, the affine terms of reference are hardly applicable. A man who has married the daughter of his mother's actual brother will call his father-in-law yeti as he did prior to the marriage. If he is asked what the relationship is he will probably say yeti although he will recognise that the man is also his yau. In cases of less closely related people, there is an equal chance of the relationship being regarded as primarily one of mother's brother or father-in-law. Finally, there is the case where only the affinal relationship term is recognised, no direct

address term used and perhaps one not even known. For example Iyakepo (52) had never used a direct address term to Asape (43), his sister's husband, and could not even suggest one. He only thinks of him as a konoka.

Furthermore the extension of avoidance to other members of the same category varies according to the circumstances of a particular situation, and in extreme cases a man does not speak to all those whom his wife calls father, mother, or brother. The same degree of avoidance is not enforced through the whole range, although its potential existence is recognised.

There are, as well as affines, other relatives with whom avoidance is practised. Step-parents are avoided although the same rules apply here as in the case of affines. If, for example, an outsider marries ego's mother he is avoided, but if the father's brother marries the mother this does not apply. It was also suggested that this is the case with a step-mother, but since for a male ego she is an emerimpe if not closely related to the mother, I am suspicious of this since I have no example of it and only heard of such behaviour from one informant. The opposite occurs with a woman who avoids her step-mother but not her step-father. Examples of this can be given. Susuku (1) had married Mikuri (3) and her adult son by an earlier marriage regards Susuku as his konoka. Aiyatu (28) declared that she did not talk to Mikeripe (30) because she is her step-daughter.

A further application which initially appears anomalous but was verified by several informants is that the husband of an emerimpe may be avoided. This case provides a useful key to the understanding of one of the system's functions.

Avoidance, in one role, can be interpreted as an institution which reserves for the community its human resources (especially female ones) by acting as a deterrent against strangers. partly to marry a girl in the village and partly to marry a woman in the village. In this way the way to reach in the village.

This function is clearly understood by the Trio,¹ and finds expression in the idea that now the Trio live together, there need not be any kutuma. Certainly the deterring effect of intensely applied avoidance which may last a lifetime is not to be underestimated. It has already been explained that there exists in Trio thought a correlation between not speaking and anger or hostility which emotions the Trio consider to be similar.

It is now intended to provide two examples which illustrate how avoidance is applied, and how this application varies according to circumstances.

At Alalaparu there is an extended family which in the senior generation consists of Paruparu (24) and her half-sister Mikuri (3). Paruparu's family consists of two sons Sipi (23) and Iyakepo (52), and two daughters Tawiraye (61) and Nuwimpe (44), and various grandchildren some of whom are married. Mikuri's family consists of her son and two daughters by an earlier marriage, and a daughter by her present marriage to Susuku (1). Both Susuku and Nuwimpe's husband Asape (43) are regarded as strangers and avoided by all the men mentioned above.

1, This function of avoidance and the Trio's awareness of it suggest that avoidance is possibly the next means after sister's daughter marriage which can be employed for the same purpose. Although I cannot state emphatically that this is why this type of marriage is well developed among the Trio, its function in this respect is recognised among Carib-speaking people. I am grateful to Dr. Audrey Butt for the following unpublished example from her field notes which she made during her investigations among the Akawaio Indians of British Guiana in 1952. I quote "He (Abel, the first Hallelujah prophet) enjoined that men should not move around so much and leave Amokokupai (village) for marrying. He stated that it was bad to move around as it led to fighting. A man would live with his wife's father, and at that place he might die. Then his kin might think that his wife's father's village had killed him - and that would lead to trouble and fighting. The means of avoiding marrying out was partly to marry a girl in one's own village and partly for a girl to marry a mother's brother. In this way Abel had stated that this was the way to remain in the village."

Asape came from somewhere in the east and only he knew the names of his father and mother who had never been seen by other members of the family. In spite of having been married for at least 20 years (the couple are listed together in Schmidt's census) neither Iyakepo nor Sipi has anything to do with him, or as little as is possible in a community of this size. They do not eat together, they would not hunt or fish together, they do not talk to each other except in cases of absolute necessity and then only a few mumbled words with their faces averted.

So much care is taken to avoid each other that examples of their behaviour vis-à-vis each other were difficult to observe. The following good illustration was recorded. One day while I was sitting talking to Iyakepo, Asape came to me with a bowl of drink (the purpose of his visit being to ask to borrow my shotgun). I drank about three-quarters of the bowl and returned it to Asape with the conventional naka, enough. Asape was then obviously in a quandary about what he should do with the rest of the drink - in the case of non-avoiding people the bowl would have been passed to Iyakepo who would also have drunk and said naka. However, it is conventionally wrong for Asape to offer his wife's brother drink, and care is usually taken to avoid such embarrassing situations.¹ Asape hesitated before offering the bowl to Iyakepo which action he completed half-turned away and it was received in like manner by Iyakepo who, when he had drunk, returned the bowl without a glance and merely a grunt of acknowledgment.

A similar example can be quoted in reference to Susuku. Once again I was talking to Iyakepo, this time in Susuku's house,

1, I have observed occasions when a sister bringing her brother food and finding him absent and only her brother's wife present takes it away again.

when Susuku who was busy about something else in the house, was given a large bowl of drink by his wife. Susuku came across and offered me the bowl and after I had drunk I passed it directly to Iyakepo who after he had drunk and finished the contents returned it to me so that I could give it to Susuku, although they were nearer each other than I was to either of them. Iyakepo, prior to Susuku's marriage with his mother's half-sister, had called him brother, but now regards him as a konoka and step-father. Susuku's life history indicates a very unsettled existence in which he wandered from village to village without anybody asking him to stay. The men are also inclined to gossip about Asape and say that he is a great teller of fisherman's stories (same idiom in Trio as in English), and that while good during the day, he is bad at night. I never discovered exactly what is meant by this accusation. The attitude towards these men contrasts curiously with that towards other men who have married women of the family, such as Eoyari (62), who was until recently married to Tawiruye (61), while his half-sister is married to Iyakepo (52), his wife's brother. Avoidance in this group is not recognised, and the attitude is no different to the conventional restraint between proximate generations, as has been described in Chapter VII. This is an important point to which I will return later.

Finally, in Paruparu's family there are the marriages of the generation below - her grandchildren. Sipi's daughter Numepe (29) is married to her father's half-sister's son, and since both partners are considered iitipime, there is no kutuma in their relationship with the spouse's parents on either side. This case is also valuable since Matate (31) is iitipime because he is a sister's son and in spite of the fact that his father is a complete outsider. Sipi's other daughter, Mikeripe (30), is married to Muyope (32), who is Sipi's mother's half-brother's son,

but the relationship is actually traced through Muyope's mother whom Sipi called sister; thus Sipi regards Muyope as his sister's son and Muyope calls him yeti. There is a slight avoidance between these two men which is possibly based upon difference of residence since Muyope comes from the village of Okoime, and Sipi from Panapipa. It is said of this relationship that while they do not joke, and will not willingly chat with each other, they do talk. It is also said that if Sipi wanted some arrow canes from Muyope it would be conventionally correct to make the request through the mediation of the daughter/wife, but if she were not present the demand could be made direct. On the other hand it is stated that on no account would the formalities be waived in the case of Asape and Susuku.

This example shows very clearly the different modes of behaviour which may be found. A further example can be taken from the Puloemeu village.

Korokoro (300) lives among a group of kin who have practised, with remarkable regularity over a number of generations, marriage with a sister's daughter. An inspection of Sheet 1 of the Genealogical Table will show how inter-married this family has become. Of the present surviving members there are Korokoro, who is married to his father's brother's daughter's daughter, and his wife's brother Naraeyiyi (310), who is married to his daughter Minori (306). The relationship between Korokoro and Naraeyiyi, whose age difference is nearly 20 years, is marked by restraint but certainly not avoidance. Korokoro denied that it is kutuma for them to talk to each other, but said it is wrong for them to be too familiar together because they stand in the relationship mother's brother/sister's son.

Korokoro's wife, Ukere (307), always provides the food for her unmarried brothers who are sometimes joined at meals by Naraeyiyi. Korokoro's behaviour varies - on occasions he eats

with his brothers-in-law and at other times he waits until they are finished and then eats in company with his wife.

Korokoro's behaviour in respect of his sister's sons (which is the way he thinks of them, not as wife's brothers or daughter's husband) as compared to his own son Toropeti (305) was very striking on one occasion. Toropeti, Naraeyiyi and Pisikiki (312) had all been in a group which had made a journey into Brazil. On the evening of their return, no contact was observed between Korokoro and his son, and he sat up late into the night listening to the news from his sister's sons.

Toropeti also said that he does not joke but does talk with Naraeyiyi whom he calls yeti. Toropeti has married a woman Mĩnaiye (354) who only marginally belongs to the central core of this family, and is the one person whom Korokoro thinks and speaks of in affinal terms; he regards her as his ipseye.¹ While Toropeti was away he left behind his wife and children, and Korokoro regularly received gifts of food from his son's wife, but they were always brought by his son's daughter. This is an interesting case because Mĩnaiye (354), while under an obligation to give food to her husband's father cannot do it directly for two reasons. Firstly, they are kutuma and, secondly, she is also an emurimpe and thus presents of food have a sexually suggestive connotation.

This raises the question of the kutuma relationship between women, and men and women. There are no cases of women carrying avoidance to the extreme which it attains among men,

1, Korokoro also regards my wife, whom he has not met, as his ipseye. He does so because he calls me yimuku, my child, and I call him yeti. We are also imoiti.

although this does not mean to say that it is absent. Its function between women is undoubtedly that of restricting conflict in a group which is traditionally co-operative. The other function is not really involved because they are women, and they are exchanged by men.

There are two cross-sex affinal relationships; son's wife/husband's father and daughter's husband/wife's mother. There are two ways of looking at these relationships. Firstly there is an economic aspect. The main reason given by the Trio for marriage is the advantage of having sons-in-law and daughters-in-law to provide for their old age. There are therefore clearly defined economic obligations implicit in this relationship, and with it the possibility of exploitation and potential conflict arising out of it. In the case of the DH/WM relationship there is also a sexual aspect. A man's mother-in-law conventionally belongs to one of the categories which are prohibited. Among close relatives this prohibition is adequately expressed in the actual relationship, but in a wider social sphere this system collapses since all unrelated women are potential sex partners, and in this situation the traditional ban is reinforced by the more powerful sanction of avoidance.

Although the reason Korokoro gave for his son's wife not giving him food directly suggests perhaps a similar interpretation in the case of SW/HF this is unacceptable because this relationship calls for the equal application of avoidance regardless of how close or distant the relationship may be. This is either the case, in which event I must admit a most unfortunate lapse in my ethnography, or there is some other interpretation. In a truly matrilocal society the son's wife and husband's father will have little contact, and the formalities surrounding the relationship are likely to be little developed. The Trio admittedly are not truly matrilocal,

but their present pattern is more likely to be the result of sister's daughter marriage developing on this form of residence rather than the patrilocal form which would remain unaffected by such a process. Furthermore, the matrilateral cross-cousin is not involved in this because the son's wife is then two generations removed from her husband's father. The problem centres on ego's patrilateral cross-cousin (his father's ZD) as is the case with Korokoro and his son's wife. The use of the term manhko for the female patrilateral cross-cousin indicates the confusion which exists around this relationship, and it is perhaps no surprise to discover some anomalies in the ordering of behaviour. This is not a satisfactory conclusion but it bears the same general sense as in the case of DH/MM. Ego may only marry a distantly related person whom he calls manhko, but ego's father may marry the closest of ego's mother's sisters. Thus the avoidance of SW/HF automatically involves a more distant relationship.

A summary of the function of affinal avoidance among the Trio can now be attempted.

Firstly, duties exist between all categories of affines, and avoidance is practised in those cases in which the demand for their fulfilment could cause friction and conflict between the two parties. In cases of marriage between close relatives or near neighbours this avoidance may not differ in form and expression from the conventional degrees of respect and restraint, or the obligations differ from those which already obtain between other categories of relatives. Since conflict is most likely to occur between strangers the avoidance is most highly developed in such marriages.

Secondly, avoidance also acts as a prohibition on sexual behaviour and although this is both explicit and explicable in the case of the wife's mother and the daughter's husband, the relationship between husband's father and son's wife is less easily fitted into the general pattern.

Thirdly, in the wider social sphere, the severe form of avoidance which is practised by men also contains another element. A stranger represents a danger to the community and in particular to its female resources, and avoidance represents a method of deterring the stranger from marriage. This form of avoidance is most intense among men since they are the members of the community who exchange women. To lose a woman to a stranger greatly reduces the chance of receiving another in her place, and this is particularly so in a society which lacks any precise rule of post-marital residence, and where women are the society's main assets.

b. Affinal obligations:

Although a man who marries a close relative is not bound by the avoidance which attaches itself to the stranger, such a marriage does not free a man from obligations to his wife's kin. This is important to note for elsewhere in South America (Kirchhoff, 1933, p.58; Gillin, 1936, p.96; Fock, 1963, p.201; Gillin, 1963, pp. 849-850; Métraux, 1963, p.111) the marriage with a sister's daughter has been interpreted as a method of eliminating bride-service. There is even some doubt in my mind whether, among the Trio, bride-service as such exists, and is not merely an artificial distinction within the complete system of affinal exchanges.

It is not intended to demonstrate this point since it will become clear during the course of this chapter, but there is one aspect which needs clarification. There are obligations between a man and his wife's brother or sister's husband, and between a man

and his wife's parents. The obligations between a man and his ZH/WB will probably last longer than those between a man and his wife's parents who are likely soon to be dead. The removal of a sister from an unmarried man destroys his economic independence and thus there is the primary obligation to replace her, and it is for this reason also that the ZH/WB relationship is more marked by exchange than is that towards the wife's parents. However a further factor should not remain obscured; in many cases the sister's husband is the wife's father, and the wife's brother is the daughter's husband. This more than anything else indicates that exchange, not service, is the important feature in the behaviour between affines. Although one is not justified in using this as a working model, to remember it does help to explain certain features considered in the following pages.

It must not be forgotten that the Trio give as a main reason for marriage, the advantages of having sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. First it is necessary to consider what is conventionally expected of them. A son-in-law is expected to provide meat for his wife's parents, make basketwork, bows and arrows, hammocks, a house or cut a field as and when he is asked. A daughter-in-law is expected to bake bread, make drink, cut firewood, and prepare other food. The extent to which such duties are demanded depends on the individuals concerned. The routine services are performed only for a spouse's parents, although it is said that a dead man's brother or dead woman's sister may sometimes expect such services to be performed for them, but this will depend as much on their rapport with the mediator as on their relationship to the spouse. Minor, more sporadic, services may be demanded by more distant relatives of the spouse's parents.

During discussions on this topic I suggested to my informants that certain of the younger married men, such as

Matate (31) and Mitiipi (59), were too immature and unskilled to carry out some of these tasks. This was agreed, but it was said they would learn and in the meantime they would be provided for by their wife's parents. In the future, when the wife's parents grew old, their daughter's husband would look after them.

Coupled to this is the absence of any such tests of the bride-groom's ability to support his wife and her family as are found among many Carib-speaking people (R. Schomburgk, 1847b, p.316; im Thurn, 1883, p.221; Crevaux, 1883, p.307; de Goeje, 1910, p.18; Farabee, 1924, p.76).

In type and range the services exchanged by brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law are no different to those which a man or woman performs for the spouse's parents. The exchange aspect is not so strongly stressed in the latter, and although economic obligations run in both directions, the more formal type of exchanges only involve konoka. At this point it will be helpful to classify three different types of exchange, although this is purely an explanatory expedient and not a distinction which exists in Trio thought. These types are (a) sporadic services for which actual demands have to be made, (b) routine services which occur automatically, and (c) occasional more formal interchanges between brothers-in-law, which are treated in the next chapter.

It is the intention to give examples of all three types, but no longer to distinguish those between brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law and children's spouses and spouse's parents.

Sporadic services cover many aspects of Trio life as these first three examples indicate.

i. Susuku (1) wanted his daughter's husband Sere (9) to make a journey to Palomeu in order to obtain some metal cooking pots for him.

ii. Sere through the agency of his wife used to borrow his father-in-law's hunting dogs.

iii. When Tamori (273) was ill she asked her brother Susuku to get his wife to cut her firewood and to provide hot water (for medical not hygienic reasons).

However sporadic services are best developed in the case of housebuilding and here are a few examples of this.

i. When Iyakepo (52) built his new house he asked his sister Nuwimpe (44) to ask her husband Asape (43) to fetch leaves for thatch, and his mother's sister Mikuri (3) to ask her husband Susuku (1) to help with the thatching. Iyakepo regards both these men as konoka. Although Iyakepo did much of the work himself he was assisted at odd times by his brother Sipi (23) - only once as far as I have record - and by Matate (31) who is his ZS and BDH, while the most help came from Susuku and Epoika (210), a man without relatives or wife but who is looked after by Tawiruye (61), Iyakepo's sister. It was also noticeable that both Sipi and Matate actually assisted Iyakepo, while Susuku, Asape and Epoika worked regardless of whether Iyakepo was there or not.

ii. Susuku's house was built by his daughter's husband.

iii. Sareyuna's (470) house was built by her daughter's husband Amsai (476) who regards his wife's mother as a younger sister.

iv. Pesoro (602) was helped in building his house both by his brothers and by Pokli (556) who is his WMH and also his ZH and they regard each other as konoka.

v. Kisi (616) built Pikiri's (367) house because he regards her Waiyana husband as his konoka, a brother of his own Waiyana wife.

There are exceptions to this rule, and Sape (151) built a house for his wife's sister Isinaio (201) although her daughter's husband was at hand. This may be accounted for by the fact that her son-in-law is young, and presumably inexperienced in such tasks.

The other clearly defined obligation is cutting a field, but on this subject it is not possible to be very precise since the traditional behaviour in this activity has been disrupted both by the development of large settlements, and, at Alalaparu, by the missionary organising the Indians into a weekly routine and giving them considerable verbal encouragement to follow it. Emphasis is also placed on the total co-operation of all members of the community which has obscured the traditional composition of working parties.

With allowance for the distortion resulting from these factors, the composition of a number of working parties was noted on some occasions when it was known that no active encouragement had taken place. Their composition was invariably an equal mixture of kin and affines as this example shows.

Sepi's (74) field, which had nearly been completely planted by a vast working party, was finished by a group consisting of Sepi himself, Kinini (79) his half-brother, Asonko (78) his sister's husband, Kamape (83) a half-sister's husband and Pesaipo (93) his father's half-brother.

It was also decided to examine the relationships of those who use a field to its owner. A distinction must be made between the main crop, cassava, and the supplementary produce. The subject of cassava is considered first.

i. Sere (9) said that his wife and his wife's mother would use his field. Susuku (1) who had been ill through much of the field-cutting period and accordingly had not cut a field of his own, claimed that this field was in fact his.

ii. Morime (7), whose field has already been mentioned as being the only one cut by an unmarried man, said that his mother, his sister Tasi (252) and his married sister Tarara (8) would collect their cassava from his field. In the case of Tarara, Morime's work might be thought a service rendered for the sister's husband Mono (14) who suffers from bouts of giddiness and is not very active, but Morime stressed that the field was for his mother and sisters.

iii. Muyope (32) said that as well as his own wife, the wives of the following men would take cassava from his field, Sipi (23) his wife's father, Iyakepo (52) his wife's father's brother, Matate (31) his wife's sister's husband, Pepu (22) his wife's brother, and Kesepe (139) his elder brother.

iv. Kinini (79) cut a field which was shared by his wife and his wife's mother although the latter appeared to regard the field as her own.

v. Mitlipi cut a field which was to be used by his wife, his married sister whose young husband had not cut a field, and his widowed mother and grandmother.

It is not possible to draw examples from Paloemeu because at this village a single huge field has been cut and planted by the co-operative effort of the whole village. The question as to which particular part an Indian considered to be his received such variable answers on different askings that one assumes the field to be a communal one, although no confirmation of this impression could be gained from the Indians themselves. However communal ownership of fields does appear when one turns to the question of supplementary crops. The owner of a field does not have exclusive rights to the use of the ground, and a number of people plant crops, other than cassava, in somebody else's field. Ownership

of these plants - usually bananas, sugar cane, yams and sweet potatoes - is known and respected. Before planting in another's field, one is expected to ask the owner's permission. Iyakepo (52) planted bananas in Anaore's (178) field, and asked his permission through the agency of Arami (179) who is his mother's brother's daughter and considered more closely related than is Anaore.

The right to plant in another's field does not rely on any specific relationship, and Mono (14), who planted some bananas in his wife's brother's field, put some others in the field of a totally unrelated person. The general rule seems to be that one plants anywhere it is considered to be convenient, in the case of sugar cane, for example, in fields close to the main paths leading out of the village because it is at hand to cut when leaving the village to spend a day in the forest.

It is difficult to make any firm assumptions about the traditional system from observations made in the present situation. It seems probable that the smaller villages would have only a single field which would be co-operatively maintained by all the inhabitants of the village. The community would cut one field each year and the area would be divided out among the inhabitants. This much is agreed by Boyari (62) who said that when he was leader of Panapipa he decided when and where the field should be cut and would divide it among the people.

This may have happened at the larger villages, but it cannot have always been arranged like this since there is a strong tradition of people preparing their own fields which recurs in the tasks of secondary clearing and planting. One must also relate this to the practice of Indians moving from village to village within the agglomeration, which means that either they owned a field at each settlement or, which is more likely, they had a right to food from another's field, a right which can only have

been based on kinship or affinity. It is valueless to try to reach any conclusions beyond this since there are no facts to substantiate any conjectures. Fortunately, however, while recent developments have upset behavioural patterns of agricultural activity, this is not so in the other main subsistence occupation, that of hunting and fishing. This is demonstrated by the coincidence of claimed conventional behaviour and observable practice. However, the distribution of game belongs to the second class of affinal obligation since it invariably takes place without request, although minor variations occur from time to time.

In Chapter VII it was noted that an unmarried man or a widower gives his game either to his mother or to his sister. This behaviour, in purely quantitative terms, is insignificant since there are few men who hunt regularly but are not married. A married man does not keep the game he brings home, or at least not all of it and often none of it. The husband gives it to his wife who, in turn, hands it over to her parents or brother. Not only does the game change hands, but also the ownership of it in terms of rights over its further distribution. This does not mean to say that a man does not eat the meat he kills, because a portion is handed back.

A man returning from a successful day's hunting walks through the village carrying his game on his back but taking no notice of anybody and ignoring all comments.¹ He drops his load outside his hut and goes and sits in his hammock where he is soon brought a bowl of drink by his wife. His wife takes the game and gives it to her parents. A slightly different pattern occurs at

1, This contrasts with the behaviour of the unsuccessful hunter who waits for semi-darkness and then takes the shortest route from the forest to his house.

Paloemeu where canoes are used; here the man leaves his game in the canoe and his wife goes and collects it from there. The parents-in-law butcher and prepare the meat, and while retaining some for their own use, will return some to their daughter, distribute some other pieces, and provide a communal meal with the remainder.¹ This is the ideal, and while observation shows that practice follows this pattern, variations occur according to circumstances. For example the size of the catch will have an important bearing in any particular instance. In Table 33 are listed twenty Indians from Alalaparu, and the person to whom an informant considered they should give their game. A note is added as to whether or not this practice was observed, and cases where further comment is required are marked with an asterisk and considered below.

Table 33: Relatives to whom men pass their game.

	<u>Hunter</u>	<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Observed</u>
1.	Iyakepo (52)	Eoyari (62)	ZH/WB	Yes*
2.	Sipi (23)	Muyope (32)	WF/DH	Yes
3.	Eoyari (62)	Tinaie (70)	DH/WM	Yes
4.	Kamape (83)	Piriuta (77)	ZH/WB	No *
5.	Pepu (22)	Sere (9)	ZH/WB	No
6.	Sipare (89)	Mori (87)	HF/SW	No
7.	Kesepe (139)	Anaore (178)	ZH/WB	Yes

1, Normally, at a communal meal, a man does not eat meat which he himself has killed. It is said that he does not eat because he has meat in his house, but this does not stop the person to whom the meat has been passed from eating and he has far more meat than the hunter. This behaviour is the everyday realisation of a practice which receives more overt expression on ceremonial occasions. I return to this subject in the next chapter.

8.	Muse (182)	Asikiri (170)	ZDH/WMB	No*
9.	Pesaipa (93)	Kiwaipipi (63)	DH/WM	Yes*
10.	Torope (107)	Sere (9)	ZH/WB	Yes
11.	Rori (173)	Sere (9)	ZH/WB	No*
12.	Apirosi (161)	Anaore (178)	ZH/WB	Yes
13.	Asonko (78)	Tinaie (70)	DH/WM	Yes
14.	Piriuta (77)	Mono (14)	DH/WF	Yes
15.	Waraka (116)	Mono (14)	DH/WF	No*
16.	Ororinape (155)	Pesaipa (93)	Imoitī	Yes*
17.	Orosisi (126)	Pesaipa (93)	Imoitī	No*
18.	Sere (9)	Susuku (1)	DH/WF	Yes
19.	Mono (14)	Mikuri (3)	DH/WM	Yes
20.	Muyope (32)	Sipi (23)	DH/WF	Yes

Before commenting on any particular case it can be seen from Table 33 as a whole that eight out of the 20 examples involve the passage of meat from son-in-law to wife's parent, and two in the reverse direction, from a man to his child's spouse. Seven cases are between brothers-in-law, and the other three are outside both these classifications and are explained below. In none of the cases where meat passes between brothers-in-law is there a surviving parent of the wife, but in the majority of cases where the wife's parent is the recipient there are existing brothers-in-law. The wife's parents thus seem to have a prior right over the game which is brought in by their daughter's husband. However one must not lose sight of the fact that the daughter's husband has a right to the game shot by his wife's father. Although there are only two instances in Table 33 others do occur; for example, Susuku's catch was always passed to Sere (9), his daughter's husband. This behaviour definitely involves a two way flow although the system is best developed in the movement from DH to WF because few men whose

daughters are married still hunt regularly and there are, accordingly, far fewer occasions on which game passes in the direction of WF to DH. However the obligation is conventionally recognised and practised, and therefore it is wrong to regard this transfer of game as a form of bride-service.

The two examples of this in Table 33, cases 2 and 6, both deserve brief comment. Sipi's (23) wife has no close relatives at Alalaparu but it is not because of this that his meat goes to his son-in-law, Muyope (32). Sipi confirmed that his game went to Muyope both because Muyope is his daughter's husband and because Sipi is the recipient of Muyope's game. Also there is the example, not listed in Table 33 of Susuku's game going to Sere; Susuku's wife has a number of close relatives but these are ignored in preference to the exchange with Sere.

In case 6, Mori (87) who is Kamape's (83) wife is the daughter-in-law of Sipare (89), and the correct recipient of her father-in-law's catch, and is regarded as such in preference to Pessipe (93) who is Sipare's wife's half-brother.

Cases 16 and 17 require an explanation since the relationship of imoiti is the reason given for this obligatory gift of game. It is explained in this way; Pessipe (93) is the recognised leader of the Alalaparu village and as such is the controller of the communal meals in which capacity he is called the sipari entu, or the 'owner of the basket'.¹ The food for communal meals is placed in front of him in the anna, he distributes it, and he is the person to whom naka is said at the end of the meal because he is regarded as the provider. This, as will appear in the next chapter, has an undertone of affinal

1, Bread and meat are served on large basketwork mats the largest types of which are used at communal meals.

obligation, and it is in his role as sipari entu that Pesaipo receives meat from these two men. I am, however, uncertain why the informant stressed this transfer since Ororinape (155) certainly gives his game to other people such as his widowed half-sister Misita (134). I am not certain about Orosisi (126) since he left on a journey soon after I met him and had not returned by the time I left Alalaparu.

The other exceptional case is no. 8; Asikiri (170) keeps a very close relationship with his sisters' daughters who are Muse's (182) wife who is the daughter of Asikiri's father's brother's daughter, and Papope (154) and Ikeri (46) who are the daughters of his half-sister. These three are regularly to be found in Asikiri's house where they work together and form a co-operative group. Asikiri undoubtedly exercises some jural authority over these women and it has already been mentioned that he intervened when Papope (154) was maltreated by her ex-husband Piwara (156). This is a valuable case since it demonstrates an extension of iitipime so that the sister's children are not only called by the same term but a similar pattern of behaviour surrounds them as around a man's own children. This explains why Muse passes his game to Asikiri.

In all the other cases in Table 33 which are marked with an asterisk alternative patterns of behaviour were either stated or observed. These are described below.

1. Iyakepo (52) and his brother Sipi (23) both said that they also gave meat to their elder sister Tawiruye (61) who had recently been deserted by her husband, and this behaviour was observed on a number of occasions. Iyakepo also receives a regular supply of game from his son-in-law Mitlipi (59), but my notes lack any reference to a reverse movement of meat although I can recollect it happening on one occasion.

4. Kamape (83) is also said to give his meat to Sepi (74), the half-brother of his wife. On one occasion Kamape's game passed to Pesaïpe who is his mother's half-brother.

9. Pesaïpe (93) also gives meat to his elder half-sister Pisekane (88).

11. I never observed any game caught by Rori (173) go to Sere (9) although his wife, Sere's sister, used to take him cooked food from time to time. On one occasion when Rori brought home a pig it was passed to Itlimare (153), his sister's husband.

15. Waraka (116) is a Waiwai who has married a Trio woman; I have no evidence that he conformed to Trio behaviour in this matter but the Trio informant considered that he should.

While convention stresses the affinal character of these exchanges, in practice there is also a kin element especially marked by that between brother and sister. This pattern must not be considered as too rigid a system of behaviour and an individual's behaviour varied from day to day, and from circumstance to circumstance. For example Piwara (156) and his wife who both lack any close relatives in the village sometimes give their meat to Pesaïpe (93), sometimes to Sipare (89), and on other occasions keep it themselves. Only rarely is the whole bag given away, especially if it consists of more than one item, but that which is given away the hunter loses all rights over, and ownership passes to the recipient. Two personal examples will illustrate this. I played my part in the subsistence of my family at Alalaparu by lending a gun and cartridges to various Indians in return for meat, a system which worked well but which I modified when I moved to Falcemeu

so that ^{my} behaviour coincided more with Trio lines of obligation.¹ I noticed immediately that the meat I received in exchange for the use of the gun rarely came from the Indian to whom I had lent it. One simple illustration will be enough to explain. One day I gave my gun to Piriuta (77) and that evening received half a bush-turkey from the hands of Tarara (8). Traced from Piriuta the bird had followed this route, Piriuta - W - WF - WFW - myself.

On another occasion Sepi (74) came and asked me for some salt which I gave him and in return he brought me some meat. Since I knew that Sepi had not been hunting that day I asked whose game it was. It turned out that it had been shot by Asonko (78), Sepi's sister's husband.

It has also been noted that the transfer of meat does not stop after one movement; some is returned to the hunter unless he has kept some back, some is sent for a communal village meal, some is retained by the first recipient, and some is distributed along further lines of obligation. No rigid pattern for this further distribution can be recognised, and as the following examples show it is distributed through a network of relationships which are based on either blood or affinity.

1. Mono (14) arrived back from a day's hunting with a land turtle and an armadillo. The turtle was kept by Mono and his wife Tarara (8) took the armadillo to her mother Mikuri (3) who passed it to her husband Susuku (1). Susuku butchered the animal and gave a piece to his sister Tamori (270) who, in turn, kept some for herself and husband, and gave the rest to her half-sister Sipakari (274). Sipakari's husband Mooso (273) handed over part of this (not much more than a mouthful by now) to his widowed sister Misita (134).

1, The simplest, and most obvious way of doing this is by integrating oneself into the system of relationships. Once I had people whom I called sister, uncle or whatever appropriate term, the mutual obligations immediately appeared. I was fed by my sisters, or asked for something because of my relationship to the person making the request, and, in turn, made demands in the same way.

2. Muyope (32) came back from hunting with a pig and a small monkey. Both these animals were passed to his wife's father Sipi (23) who kept the pig and sent the monkey across to his elder sister Tawiruye (61). Tawiruye prepared the meat and some was given to her other brother Iyakepo (52) and some to her mother Paruparu (24). The remainder she kept to feed herself, her son's son Panesi (36) and Epoika (210) for whom she cares.

3. Amasi (476) who regularly hunts by night brought home two labba. They both passed through his wife to his wife's mother Sareyuna (470), and then one of them was taken by Sareyuna's younger sister Arena (462) and given to their older brother Korokoro (300). This animal was prepared by Korokoro and his wife; part of the meat was sent for the communal meal and the rest eaten in the family which includes Korokoro's wife's brothers and sisters.

The initial transfer of meat is almost always between affines, but after this the distribution may equally be to kin or affines with considerable emphasis on the brother/sister relationship. It has already been noted that this is the conventional and actual behaviour among unmarried brothers and sisters, and it is now obvious that it continues after marriage. In the light of such practice the advantages of marrying a sister's daughter become obvious. In such a marriage the sister takes on the role of the wife's mother, and there is no disruption in the previous pattern of interdependence but merely that a third and middle party is introduced into the system. Services, duties and obligations continue to flow along pre-existing lines. Nor does this contradict any statement made about affinal obligation because implicit in such a marriage are the equations $ZH=WF$ and $WB=DH$ and every individual relationship is duplicated so that no re-alignment of social or economic obligations is required. This point is a valuable one in the understanding of Trio social organisation.

This discussion on the distribution of meat has mainly been confined to Alalaparu. The system is ordered along identical lines at Palcemeu, but its distribution in any particular case is normally more limited. The first movement, that from hunter to wife's kin, invariably occurs, but only rarely does it move further than this. The reason for this is a simple one; the hunting is much better than at Alalaparu and accordingly most households at Palcemeu are well provided with meat. This can also be seen at Alalaparu by the practice of unrelated people soliciting for meat; behaviour never observed at Palcemeu where the distribution of meat is confined to members of the family. This leads one to suspect that the extended lines of distribution are the result of the large settlement units, and that in the small traditional-sized villages the close degree of relatedness of the inhabitants would make the behaviour similar to that observed at Palcemeu.

Attempts were also made to see if any specific relative had any particular right to any part of an animal. Although informants willingly described how different animals are divided among their relatives, observation revealed that such claims bore no resemblance to practice, and I concluded that informants were merely describing actual incidents, and not conventionally recognised behaviour. What did emerge from this approach is that the liver and skin are considered the poorest part of an animal, and it is observable that the unrelated people who ask for meat are normally fobbed off with one or other of these. The stomach is kept by the first recipient but this is an important ingredient in the making of the gravy which, it has already been noted, is almost public property. Except for this, individual taste seems the important factor save in the universal preference for fat meat.

Before turning, in the next chapter, to the more formalised and ceremonial exchanges which mark affinal relationships it will be

valuable to summarise some of the features described in this chapter and correlate them with other facets with which I have dealt in earlier chapters.

The first and most important point is to compare the behaviour between kin with that between affines. Some hint of this has already been given when it was noted that the equation $WM=Z$ results in the re-affirmation and continuity of pre-existing ties and attitudes. A man already has economic obligations to his sister, and they do not differ from those which a man has to his wife's mother. Nor is the conventional attitude to the sister which is marked by restraint any different to that between the closely related wife's mother and daughter's husband.

This example is an obvious one, but when one turns to consider other affines, one can immediately see that the conventional attitude between kin is closely matched by that between closely related affines. The reason why the Trio system places only siblings at ego's own genealogical level and removes to the first ascending or descending generation his wife's or mother's agnatic kin (i.e. his potential male affines), becomes apparent. It has already been shown that a conventional attitude of restraint exists between proximate generations, and that mutual obligation exists between them. If this obligation involves the exchange of women, the ties are not disrupted but those of blood are confirmed by those of affinity. The restraint between kin is paralleled by the reserve between affines, the duties of kinship are duplicated by the obligations of affinity.

Viewed in this way, the function of the avoidance is simply understood. Avoidance has no place in the event of close relatives being married because its presence would be superfluous, the pre-existing pattern of behaviour implicit in the relationship sufficing to order the new conditions. In the wider social milieu

the weakening bonds of blood relationship are gradually re-inforced by the strengthening imposition of avoidance.

Avoidance as a means for the preservation of women does not contradict the above interpretation of its function. The chance of receiving back a woman in the place of the one given is much greater within the sphere of close relatives or neighbours than is the case with one given to a stranger. In such marriages, therefore, the loss must be reckoned as two, not one. Although often this is overcome by matrilocal residence in such marriages, the fear and hostility which is the normal attitude towards a stranger finds expression in strict avoidance. I have no evidence that the services which such a stranger is expected to perform are continuously more severe although in the first place he may have to provide a bride-price and promise a number of services. The extent of his obligations depends upon his competence in bargaining by use of ceremonial dialogue. The young men fare worst in this since their talk is always 'weaker' than that of their elders, but theoretically success in the dialogue will even allow a man to take away with him his newly won wife. What is clear, however, is that the severe form of avoidance is never lifted nor, even when a woman is returned, do the obligations cease. It is wrong to interpret, even in these cases, these duties as bride-service for this ignores the basic reciprocity which is contained in them. The exchange of women, which is marriage, is not a single act but the first in a series of exchanges and counter-exchanges which are repeated, not only daily in the performance of minor economic duties, but continue after death in the inheritance of the deceased's wealth, and are even renewed in the following generation by a further exchange of women.

One could perhaps expect such a fundamental institution, which is the core of Trio social organisation, to receive some more expressive emphasis than has so far been described. It does, for at the root of the Trio dance festival can be found this very element.

CHAPTER X

DANCING AND DISTRUSTING

The dance festival, an exchange of affinal prestations -
Political organisation and social sanctions - Ceremonial
dialogues - Cursing, sickness and suspicion - The
political function of the dance festival - The social
organisation of the Trio - A conjecture concerning the
development of the social organisation.

a. The dance festival, an exchange of affinal prestations:

The beginning of this chapter is a continuation from the last, and describes the more occasional, formal and ceremonial exchanges between affines. Such an exchange is the basis of the Trio dance festival. Unfortunately by the time my investigations had begun, the Trio, under the influence of Christianity, had ceased to dance. It may be possible to reconstruct from the information which I collected and from some inadequate ethnographic accounts, a reasonably accurate picture of a Trio dance festival. It is not the intention to do so here where my concern is with the affinal prestation aspect of the ceremony - a feature which, presumably through its importance, lingers on although isolated from its proper setting. I had recorded three of these prestations before my questions about dance festivals elicited the fact that what I had observed was the central theme of such ceremonies.

The best approach to this subject is to describe one such incident, make briefer comments on the others observed, and then relate these activities to the description of the traditional dance festivals as given by various informants. The incident

which I intend to describe was the return of an earlier prestation which I had seen but had not fully understood, and of which I had failed to notice the salient features.

One evening at about 6 p.m., about 30 minutes before sunset, Aiyatu (28) placed in the anna four pots of drink - two pots together to the north side of the anna and the other two together on the southern side.¹ Sipi (23), Aiyatu's husband, who was painted and wearing some feather decorations, left his house, taking with him his stool. He went and said a single word to Susuku (1), his mother's sister's husband, whom he regards as a konoka so that they do not talk to each other. Sipi then went to the anna and sat down to north-west of the more northerly pair of pots, and faced slightly away from them.

Susuku finished what he had been doing, dressed himself in a clean lap, painted his face and put on some strings of beads.² His wife Mikuri (3) also put on beads, which is unusual for her, and she and Susuku both went into the anna. In the meantime (about twenty minutes) Sipi had been sitting alone on his stool, taking no notice of anybody and in turn ignored by everyone. Susuku placed his stool to the east (and left) of Sipi, and directly in front of the northern pair of pots where he sat facing them. Mikuri sat on a bark mat near the southern pots facing more or less towards her husband. Aiyatu took up her position on the ground to the right of her husband. Susuku then

1, The compass points are used merely as terms of reference to describe the situation. They are not important for the understanding of the ceremony. The Trio have words for east and west which are derived from the verbs for sunrise and sunset, but none for north and south. Nor are there words in the Trio language for left and right.

2, Paint and decoration are a sign of amity or at least of good intent. Members of a war party wear neither paint nor decorations. Kayser recounts that his Trio guides covered him with urucu before they reached a strange village (Kayser, 1912, p.44.)

called everyone to come and drink. The men congregated around Susuku and drank from the two pots in front of him, and the women settled around Mikuri and drank from those two pots. Little intermingling of the sexes occurred but within these groups the pots of drink were passed around in either direction and handed from neighbour to neighbour without formality.¹ As the pots were emptied they were refilled by Aiyatu who otherwise stayed near her husband; neither of them drank anything and for the most part remained aloof from everyone.² The main body of the people sat or stood around talking and drinking, their behaviour being in no way exceptional. The party lasted for nearly four hours and then people began to disperse. Naka (enough) was said to Susuku, and Sipi entirely ignored. When the last person had gone Susuku and Mikuri retired to their house, and only then did Sipi and Aiyatu gather up the pots and leave the anna.

The following day when I asked Susuku who had been the owner of the drink he replied that he had been.³ The drink, however,

1, This contrasts with the Waiwai who, according to the missionary Claude Leavitt, always pass their drink in a clockwise direction and the pot has to be returned to the originator. The only hint of this in Trio behaviour is their insistence on receiving from the actual hands of the owner any object which they borrow and their care in returning it into the hands of the owner.

2, This isolation and that before the party began can be compared with that of the successful hunter on his return, and the failure to join in the drinking with the refusal of the hunter to eat his own meat at a communal meal.

3, The Trio word for owner in this context is entu; the nearest English equivalent is 'source' although this is not quite adequate. A man is said to be the entu of his house, and a tree root the entu of the tree. But an orphan such as Mupi (69) is said to be entuna, without entu. The word also crops up in Trio beliefs since the kapu entu, the source of the sky, or tuna entu, the source of water, are the same place, i.e. the horizon, and it is the kapu or tuna entuhtao in which departed souls exist and thus also the source of soul matter. Water is undoubtedly a feminine symbol, and, indeed, the first woman was a fish. The sky as such does not appear to be an obvious masculine symbol, but this is more widely true, as Trio feminine symbols are far more obvious than the masculine ones.

was made by Aiyatu who was helped by Tawiruye (61), Siwapun (53), Tarara (8), and Sipi's two daughters.

Two months earlier I had noted the first part of this exchange, although at the time it had meant little to me. I did record that a huge quantity of drink had been consumed in the anna, and that Susuku and his wife had supervised the provision of drink, but that Sipi had been considered the 'owner'.

There is also a slightly more complex example of which I saw only one part. Towards the end of November when the rivers are getting low is the time which the Trio favour for fish poisoning. In 1963 the Indians at Alalaparu planned a grand scale poisoning of the Kuruni river, and the organisation of this was in the hands of Asape (43). The venture was a great success, and when the Indians returned from it, the largest proportion of their catch was given to Asape who with the help of his wife Nuwimpe (44) placed it, on palm leaves, in the anna. Sipare (89) and his wife Fisekane (88) then came and distributed the catch among the villagers. Three days later a party almost identical in form to that described above took place with Asape and his wife providing food as well as drink on this occasion, and Sipare and his wife taking the role of 'owner'.

Sipare is Asape's wife's brother and they regard each other as konoka and do not talk. My enquiries as to whether this was the first or second part of the exchange failed to get a satisfactory answer, and I was left with a strong impression that it is not thought of as a double and reciprocal act, but merely as a single transaction in a whole series of interchanges. The reason given for these gifts is simply stated, 'because they are konoka', implicit in such a comment being the fact that the relationship has previously been brought into existence by either an exchange or a transfer of women. It was also said that such affairs took place when either the cassava is ripe, when fish are poisoned, or when

the spider monkeys are fat. These events cover a period from the end of November until the beginning of April, and one which coincides with the time of Trio dance festivals reported by other ethnographers (Schmidt, 1942, pp.21-22; Figueiredo, 1961, p.2; Farabee, 1924, p.204).

As previously mentioned I had no opportunity to observe a dance festival but I have managed to piece together certain features of them which parallel the behaviour in the devitalised ceremonies described above. My informants on this subject were a number of Indians and one of the missionaries who had attended one dance festival and recalled what he had seen. There are variations between the different accounts but the element with which we are presently concerned stands out clearly in them all.

My attention was first drawn by the description of the missionary who said that at the centre of the dance sat two men facing each other and two women facing each other, and between each pair was a pot of drink. An Indian informant asked to explain this said that the drink for a dance is made by one person but the owner is another. The owner of the drink is a konoka (the informant gave an example in which he had provided the drink for his daughter's¹ husband). The maker does not drink, but the owner drinks with everybody. He, the owner, sits in the anna with his wife alongside him, and men and women come to them and drink; the man gives drink to the man, and the woman to the woman. When the dance is over, the people say naka to the owner.

Another informant who drew in the dust a diagram of how people danced insisted that six people sit in the centre near the drink. I initially suspected that this was the maker of the drink

1, In fact an imoiti's daughter whom the informant considers as his own, and her husband, previously a younger brother, is now a konoka.

and his wife, but it later proved that the third male participant could, at certain dances, have been the provider of the meat, who, on occasions, is a different person to the maker of the drink. However, regardless of how many pairs were involved it was unanimously agreed that the relationship to the 'owner' must be that of konoka, and it is he who is considered the 'owner', host or giver of the feast.

In isolating this single feature of the dance festival from its true setting it has made the whole ceremony appear dull and sterile, and hardly a climactic re-affirmation of the most fundamental social value. It should be explained, therefore, that such festivals were marked by the consumption of large quantities of fermented drink, by dancing and singing, considerable sexual licence, and temporary freedom from the fear in which strangers were held, since it was only at the time of a festival that the inhabitants of different settlements fully united in an expression of common values. The dance festival as an opportunity for social intercourse rather than isolation, for the expression of friendship rather than hostility, brings us to its political function.

b. Political organisation and social sanctions:

In order to understand this, it is first necessary to consider the normal pattern of communication between villages. The economic and social aspects of the traditional settlement pattern have already been explored; now is the point at which to examine how Trio political ideas fit into the scheme. In some ways this is the most difficult part to deal with because Trio political thought lacks any formal or authoritative arrangement.

It seems to me, although I admit that this is perhaps a slightly arbitrary decision but one which is mainly justified by what is written below, that the single village is the autonomous

political unit. One must not take this as a dogmatic statement, since it is obvious that with a mobile population which assembles and disperses either at will or at need, the system must permit wide variations. A small village only a few hours walk away from a larger one may have little contact with it, or it may consider itself affiliated with it. If the inhabitants were formerly all of one village, the attitude will mainly depend upon whether the separation was in anger or amity. However, to a great extent the single village must have represented a single autonomous unit, and before considering the ordering of relations between villages it is useful to consider the mechanisms of social control within a village.

The average size of the traditional Trio villages is about 30 people, all of whom are closely inter-related either by consanguinity, affinity or co-residence. The 'owner of the village' (pata entu) or village leader has no formally invested authority; although he could have inherited his position this depends partly on his age and his place in the network of village relationships. His authority rests upon his own competence in the ordering of everyday affairs; selection of a good garden site, arranging of a successful fish poisoning, and above all the ability to gain the co-operation of all the inhabitants. Failure to do this results in discord which may finally cause the dissenting individual or group to leave the village and live elsewhere. The village of a successful leader increases in size because other people will come to live there. An informant gave Eoyari's (62) village of Panapipa as an example of this. Examples have already been given in which village leaders have abandoned their own villages, or have been superseded while still alive by younger men (vide pp. 123-124), which indicates not only the absence of political allegiance but emphasises the 'leader' rather than 'ruler' aspect of Trio political office.

Within the sphere of the village the maintenance of social order must have rested on the ties which bind kin and affines, and which to a great extent it still does in the milieu of the larger villages. As a final resort there is allowed a release from conflict by moving away. However, as well as these bonds of relationship, there are other mechanisms which act as social regulators.

The first of these is gossip. It is difficult to tell exactly what force gossip might have had in the sphere of the small village, but it is undoubtedly an effective control in the larger settlements. To some extent the influence of gossip will vary in any individual case, but most Indians do not like being gossiped about. Pikume (365), whose attentions to other people's wives were considered excessive, said it was bad for him that his brothers should talk about him. Gossip in its most virulent form becomes an accusation of wizardry¹ which is a powerful sanction acting towards social conformity. In the sphere of the

1, I use this term in the manner suggested by Middleton and Winter to cover both witchcraft and sorcery (Middleton and Winter, 1963, p.3) but for the most part I employ the word 'cursing' because intention plays an important part. For example the act of blowing may heal or kill depending upon the intention of the agent. The methods employed by laymen can definitely be classified as sorcery but it is not possible to be so affirmative about the actions of a shaman. The Trio recognise a difference between death caused by the curse of a layman and the work of a shaman. In the latter case the act of wizardry is performed by spirits but these are sent by a shaman who is in touch with the supernatural world. The layman has no contact with the supernatural world and the body of the deceased killed by a layman's curse will not contain a spirit's 'weapon' (ire) as is the case when death is caused by a spirit either acting on its own volition or at the instigation of a shaman. Spirits are thought of as hunters who shoot people for meat. This is logically related to the dominant part played by carnivores in Trio beliefs.

village it is doubtful if gossip ever developed this far, and one informant declared that no one would curse another member of the same village. This seems reasonable if one considers what disruption cursing or the accusation of its practice could have in such small communities.¹ While perhaps it is unsafe to say that in a village gossip never developed into accusations of cursing, it was undoubtedly a rare occurrence. No one at Alalaparu accused anybody of that village of cursing, although Temeta (482) was mentioned as a curser. The same is true of Palomeu, and here Temeta mentioned Kessepe (139) and Emopiripe (165) as powerful cursers.

If gossip is the most moderate method of expressing popular disapproval, violence is the most extreme. Presumably violence sometimes occurred between close relatives or co-residents but I have no record of such happenings. The majority of cases of violence involve either women or dogs, which is a corollary of the Lévi-Straussian idea of war as trade which has gone wrong (cf. Lévi-Strauss, 1943a). The similarity between trade and marriage occurs in Trio thought and practice as will be seen when the subject of ceremonial dialogue is introduced later in this chapter.

The individual, assuming that he is not supported by popular sentiment, has limited recourse for the reparation of a wrong - cursing or violence, including poisoning, being an extreme form of self-help, the use of which will expose the practitioner to revenge cursing² and further violence. There is a practice whereby

1, cf. Winter (1963) who has demonstrated that among the Amba witchcraft is limited to the sphere of the village. It is useful to be aware of such a possibility but it is not applicable in the case of the Trio.

2, The majority of informants professed to know the method of revenge cursing but denied the knowledge of cursing. The single description of cursing which I collected showed the technique to be the same as in revenge cursing. This is logical since cursing and revenge cursing are not two parts of a complete action but merely two events in an endless series.

a man can declaim his complaint in a loud voice. Since I have only a description of such an action, I have no knowledge of the actual content of such a declamation. One of the cases described involved an axe stolen from Kesepe (139) who went out into the anna and exclaimed for a long time in a loud and angry voice what had happened. The other case involved Keriya's (346) adultery with Sini's (566) wife, and Sini spoke his piece in a field which was being cleared. One thing which is definite is that these speeches do not involve cursing since no Trio would dare to admit openly to such practice. One must assume that this practice, while affording a certain emotional release, does contain the threat of witchcraft and in the case of theft the possibility of reparation. I do not know if Kesepe received back his axe but since he is a shaman it seems probable that the thief would have taken an opportunity to return it.

At this point it is intended to make a brief digression in order to examine the position of the shaman in Trio society. There is only one true shaman among the Trio and he is Temeta (482) whose reputation spreads beyond the Trio and whose power is feared among the Waiyana. Temeta himself has little respect for the others who regard themselves as shamans, and some undoubtedly aspire to such office merely through the possession of a rattle which they have inherited from their father.

A shaman is not necessarily the village leader, although the qualities which both positions require are similar and the two roles are frequently found united in a single person. However, shamanism differs in one important aspect since it is the single socially recognised outlet for ambition, and as such offers opportunity for individual self-expression for which the society makes little other allowance. In fundamentals a shaman's behaviour does not differ from that of the layman, although certain minor

restrictions, such as dietary prohibitions, have to be observed. Within the sphere of close acquaintance, his function is that of medical and religious adviser and although his power is mainly thought of as beneficial, the attitude of all, except those who are closest to him, is tinged with fear. Away from him, this ambivalence is gradually replaced by fear alone, and the strange shaman is thought of as a killer, as will be shown later in this chapter. The shaman emerges as a more important figure in the total social organisation than in that of the village.

The relationships between neighbouring villages must have been to some degree controlled along similar lines to those within a village. The links of kinship still exist but the further one moves away the weaker and fewer these ties will become. Gossip is ineffective in this wider social environment, and the proclamation of injuries or wrongs more difficult to implement. Cursing becomes a potent force but its practice or its threat is of little value in the ordering of face to face contact between strangers or the slightly acquainted. For this purpose use is made of ceremonial dialogue. This institution has previously been mentioned, and now it is intended to describe it more fully. For greater detail and comparative aspects of ceremonial dialogue one can refer to Fock's work on the oho chant among the Waiwai Indians (Fock, 1963, pp. 216-230). The Trio practice is very similar, but those differences which do exist indicate clearly how the system has been adapted to the special social needs of the Trio.

c. Ceremonial dialogues:

There are three forms of Trio ceremonial dialogue, and they are graded by their intensity or strength. The Trio use the word karime which has the meaning of strong and well, in contrast

to weak and sick. Talk can be described by this term, and when applied to ceremonial dialogue it also has the connotation of length. So a person whose dialogue is karime can talk forcibly for a long time, which introduces the basically competitive feature of the institution.

The weakest form of ceremonial dialogue is called tesemiken, and its use involves little formality. It may take part between two or more people, often closely related, and is sometimes used between those who conventionally should not speak to each other. Its purpose is to make a welcome, to pass news or give a plan of intent.

The second grade of ceremonial dialogue is called sipesipeman. This is normally only used by men although it is said that some of the older women know it. This dialogue is made between two men, but it is not used between those who have a close degree of relatedness. For example Boyari (62) said that he used to speak sipesipeman when he visited the village of Are which is in a different agglomeration to his own village of Panapipa. The uses of this talk are similar to those for tesemiken but it also has a competitive or bargaining side and is used in trading or in obtaining a wife.

The third and strongest talk is nokato. It is similar in form and usage to sipesipeman but only the older men are fluent in it. This talk is used between strangers (Boyari said he would use this talk if he visited a Trio village on the Marapi).

Ignoring the tesemiken of which both the form and function differ from the other two, both nokato and sipesipeman are carried on between two Indians sitting on their stools facing each other. The participants take it in turn to speak for about five, ten or fifteen minutes, while the adversary grunts acknowledgment. The dialogue is constructed on the repetition of a single rhyme-word at the end of each short sentence, but the sentences themselves

consist of words and phrases not used in everyday speech. Many of the younger men and most of the women do not understand large parts of these conversations. The older men are considered to know these dialogues best and to have accordingly the 'strongest' talk. When I asked who were the strongest talkers of nokato the oldest men's names were always mentioned. Between two experienced men the ceremonial dialogue could continue for twelve hours or more. When one of the participants finally gives in, he says kone, an expression of agreement, (a strong 'yes') and picks up his stool and leaves.

The function of these dialogues is undoubtedly a socially recognised and ritually marked method of dealing with situations which involve possible conflict. Their use both in settling a marriage and in trading are logically allied to such an interpretation. The value of both these items in Trio culture has already been stressed, and while existing bonds reduce the possibility of disagreement among those of close degree of relatedness, a more formal system is necessary to order the exchanges between strangers. For this reason there is no competitive element in tesemiken, but this talk does share with the two stronger forms the common purpose of making a welcome on one side and a formal announcement of arrival on the other.

The outstanding feature of this aspect of these dialogues is the emphasis from both sides of their goodness, their lack of colds, the absence of evil intent, and that they are not cursers. These claims are reiterated on both sides, and this repetition in the dialogue means that these assertions become intermingled and finally indistinguishable. Since these ceremonial dialogues can only be carried out between Trio, the general suspicion which the Trio have of each other is well demonstrated. This point leads on straight to Trio beliefs on the subject of causation of sickness and death, and to cursing.

d. Cursing, sickness and hostility:

The role of wizardry as a possible social regulator in the setting of the single community has already been mentioned, and the fact that it is conventionally accepted that people do not curse their imoiti. Wizardry, however, plays an important part in the ordering of inter-village relationships and attitudes. It was explicitly expressed by a number of informants that the Trio lived far apart from each other because they were frightened of each other and feared strangers as cursers. They did not like visiting strange villages because of this, and when they went to an unknown village, they said when they arrived 'I am not a curser, I am good, look at my baggage. Now you be good and do not curse me.' When visitors came to their village they gave them food and drink, and were open and laughing - a description of behaviour which matches the overture of the ceremonial dialogues described above. It was further stated that the only safeguard against being cursed is openness and expression of good intent.

Thus there appears to be a double attitude of fear towards a stranger; the stranger as the bringer of colds and the stranger as a curser. In fact these are two ways of looking at the same thing, and in Trio thought they are but one. For the Trio sickness and death are classed together and are not considered to be natural phenomena - death is merely a more violent form of sickness. The Trio sicken or die as a result of being cursed, and for no other reason. Three ways of being cursed are recognised; an Indian may be cursed by a layman, or shot by a spirit who acts either of its own free will (the more infrequent occurrence) or at the instigation of its controlling shaman. Most people are considered to die as the result of a shaman's cursing which is said to be powerful enough to destroy all the inhabitants of a village. It is noticeable that although the Trio think of their

spirits' behaviour as ambivalent, it is the human agency which is considered ultimately harmful.

A curser is not necessarily a Trio, but while a shaman can curse from a distance, a layman needs some contact with his victim if only in the form of a footprint. It is also recognised that cursing is more powerful if contact is involved, and death or sickness following close on the heels of a visit from strangers (as so often happens), brings inevitable accusations of witchcraft against them. Strangers are feared for the sickness which they bring, and because of Trio beliefs concerning the causation of sickness, the stranger is in turn feared as a curser.

The fear exists on both sides; the traveller fearing the inhabitants of an unknown village and the inhabitants fearing the strange visitor. This allows for a tradition of hospitality even if offered as an indication of beneficence or a prophylactic against witchcraft. The desire to trade or the need to seek a wife are the two main reasons for travel, and their urgency is strong enough to overcome the dangers involved. It is logical that the ceremonial dialogue, the only formal method which the Trio possess for ordering relationships, should be best developed for cases of contact, trade and marriage when unrelated, potentially hostile and feared parties meet.

The picture of the Trio living in small, scattered villages with limited communication between them is basically correct, although, for reasons given, it was a cluster of settlements called an agglomeration which formed the independent social and economic unit rather than a single village. Mobility of population within the agglomeration was probably fairly easy although the feeling between any two villages would vary from time to time. The Trio did visit all parts of their territory

and young men in particular seem to have travelled widely. Boyari (62) described how he, as a young man, had visited villages on the Anamu, Marapi and Palcemeu rivers. On one journey he came to a village and the inhabitants refused him food, but stayed in their houses and said 'previously you cursed us when you were here, and now we are going to kill you.' After Boyari got home he travelled no more but stayed in his village, and was fierce to visitors. I do not know how typical this case history is, since I have no parallel examples except an Indian who said that one became more frightened (narike), and thus fiercer (sire), as one grew older.

Such journeys involved comparatively few people, and the normal condition of existence is one of fearing and being feared. Such a relationship even existed between closely sited villages, and one of the missionaries told me that when he arrived the inhabitants of the two Trio villages near the mouth of the Palcemeu, which are less than an hour's paddling from each other, had virtually no contact and were in a state of hostility. He also added that they only got together to dance. This comment is a vitally important one in understanding the function of the dance festival which can be seen as a period in which normal attitudes are forgotten, and the inhabitants of a number of villages meet to dance. It is not possible for me to judge what range of villages were invited to a dance. Presumably all those in the same agglomeration came but the invitation must have occasionally extended further than this since one informant said that either nokato or sipesipeman was sometimes used for asking people to come and dance. No other informants confirmed this which suggests that usually only the inhabitants of nearer villages were invited although sometimes more distant communities were included.

e. The political function of the dance festival:

When I asked an informant why the Trio used to dance but no longer do so, he answered that previously the Trio had danced when they were sasame, and that they do not dance now because it is bad to God and they are always sasame now.

It is true that the Trio use the word sasame frequently, and, in particular, during their church services. In its simplest connotation this word means 'happy', but it also possesses a deeper meaning. When applied to the individual it has a sense not only of an inner contentment but also the feeling of belonging to the society. When used in reference to a whole community or gathering, I can find no single word more apt than the American expression 'togetherness'; it is the word which implies the feeling of social solidarity. Sasame is not only the reason why the Trio danced together, but it is the feeling which dancing together engendered in them.

Sasame is expressed in the dance festival in a number of ways; the act of drinking with the owner of the dance and the holding of a cassava stock by a number of men throughout the period of the dance were explicitly stated to be acts which denote sasame.

The political function of the dance festival can be understood as allowing the members of different communities the chance to unite without fear for the mutual expression of common values. However, if such gatherings gave the opportunity for the reparation of old wrongs and the formation of new bonds, the new found unity was short lived, and dance festivals were the source of much new ill-feeling. The congregation of the inhabitants from a number of villages allowed plenty of opportunity for the spreading of any sickness in the area, and accusations of witchcraft followed. Further, the orgiastic nature of the festival meant inevitable allegations of adultery.

Fock has interpreted the Waiwai Shodewika dance festival as the socially recognised opportunity for the selection of spouses (Fock, 1963, p.74), but this aspect is not explicitly understood in the case of the Trio and would anyhow contradict the socially approved endogamy. However the very fact that the dance festival was a period of relaxation from the normal feeling of antagonism, and of social intercourse means that an opportunity to seek a wife outside one's own village was¹ afforded, although I have no evidence to indicate the extent to which it was taken.

Besides the social and political aspects, there were also economic and religious sides to the Trio dance festival. Dances were certainly associated with the main economic activities of cultivating and hunting, and with the spirits related to these pursuits. These features are not directly relevant to the matter of this thesis, and their understanding is allied to an understanding of the Trio system of beliefs which is a subject outside the terms of reference of this thesis.

In this single ceremony all the basic institutions of Trio culture are to be found, and in the convergence find re-expression. The core of the dance festival is an exchange of affinal prestations in which a group of people share and whose presence is made possible by the temporary replacement of hostility and fear with a sentiment of social solidarity which finds expression in an economic-religious ritual.

f. The social organisation of the Trio:

As the dance festival is the culmination of Trio social ideas, so it brings us to the end of the main body of this thesis. In the last part of this chapter the various facets of Trio culture discussed in earlier chapters are brought together, and amalgamated into a logical whole which is the social organisation

of the Trio.

The first step in this synthesis is to recapitulate the salient features which have been described.

The important relevant elements in Trio culture are the reliance on the resources of the immediate environment, an economic system and division of labour which maintain a male/female interdependence, and relative isolation of communities which is internally maintained by bonds of blood and marriage and externally by an attitude of hostility and fear which is supported by beliefs concerning the causation of sickness and death.

Against the background of these features the other aspects form a logical pattern. Concepts of property are poorly developed with regard to traditional objects since these are available from the boundless resources of the environment. However, this is not true in the case of women, who more than any other resource are vital not only for the survival of the individual but for the existence of the society at any level. At a social level, the conservation of human resources is favoured by the preference for village endogamy, the enforcement of matrilocality by use of ceremonial dialogue, and discouragement of the outsider by a demand for bride-price and the intense application of avoidance.

A Trio man finds his female partner in the form of a sister, and although this partnership may be quiescent while the partners are married, it never totally fades. An unmarried man's dependence upon his sister means that in the event of her marriage, his loss must be made good by another woman. Thus Trio marriage is the exchange of women, and the transfer of this fundamental property brings in its wake an unending series of prestations and counter-prestations.

A man who marries within his own community experiences none of the unpleasantness which befalls the stranger. The

attitudes and behaviour extended towards his affines are no more than a confirmation of those which are applicable to them in the role of kin. Thus marriage strengthens the ties which already exist within the community.

It can be seen how simply the conclusions reached from the formal analysis of the relationship terminology fit into this scheme. The removal to proximate genealogical levels of potential affines means that the conventional restraint which exists between two levels parallels that between two male affines, so that the role of kin can become merged with that of affine without involving any disruption of previous status. This is more obvious in the case of female affines and especially the sister who, in one-third of the Trio marriages, can be expected to be the wife's mother.

If looked at from the view of a young unmarried man his total social sphere will consist of kin; it is only in his or his sister's marriage that the actuality of affinity is realised. Thus a man belongs equally to both sides of the family and only in marriage does the potential dichotomy of his social world receive recognition.

The absence of any definite rule of descent strengthens this situation because a man has no simple method by which to distinguish between his own and his brother's children and those of his sister. The role of descent in the ordering of social relationships is subordinate to the factor of environment. The qualification of co-residence is second only to that of consanguinity in the ordering of these relationships. This factor, and the large proportion of brothers and sisters living together, combine to submerge the distinction between their offspring.

The pattern of behaviour within the circle of kin and acquaintances contrasts vividly with that among strangers. As,

away from the community, the degree of relatedness fades, so the attitude of suspicion and hostility strengthens. The informality which is possible because the ordering of behaviour is implicit in the relationships is replaced by formality - avoidance in the event of new alliances, ceremonial dialogue in the case of new contacts.

The concept of Trio society as consisting of a series of introverted and isolated village communities becomes overwhelming. This, in general terms, is the correct one, and although it has been shown that, for a number of reasons, the single village is not a social and economic independent unit this does not contradict the basic truth of this premise. The counter-balance to isolation and hostility is a tradition of hospitality and trade (including marriage), and the more periodic admission of interdependence that is revealed in the dance festival.

It has been stated that marriage is the most important institution in Trio social organisation, and it is pertinent to ask how the system of marriage can be related to this interpretation of the society. On this subject I offer no apology for the following lengthy quotation from Lévi-Strauss.

"Au point de vue psychologique et logique, les deux perspectives unilatérales traduisent des attitudes différentes. La perspective 'parallèle' aboutit à des résultats plus satisfaisants, quant à la régularité de la structure et à l'atmosphère affective qu'elle contribue à réaliser. Mais elle exige que l'échange soit différé, que la compensation ne se fasse pas au profit des mêmes sujets qui portent le poids du sacrifice, enfin que le mécanisme d'échange fonctionne par rapport au groupe total, et non par rapport aux individus immédiatement intéressés. Au contraire, la perspective 'oblique' résulte d'une attitude à la fois avide et individualiste: celui qui a cédé cherche à obtenir sa compensation immédiatement, ou le plus rapidement possible; et il l'exige sous une forme qui maintienne, au plus haut point, le lien concret et substantiel entre ce qui a été donné et ce qui doit être rendu. Il fait valoir, moins une créance qu'un droit

de suite. Cela est clair, dans le cas du mariage avunculaire; mais ces caractères primitifs subsistent, même quand le droit est cédé au fils par son père: ainsi, le fait que partout où existe le mariage avec la fille de la soeur du père dans l'Inde, ce privilège se traduise par une revendication si anxieuse et si littérale que les mariages inégaux, où l'époux peut encore n'être qu'un enfant, soient courants, exprime bien le lien qui existe, dans cette forme de mariage, entre le fait de la revendication, et l'objet revendiqué.

Quand nous employons ici le terme 'primitif', nous ne songeons pas à affirmer l'antériorité chronologique du mariage avec la fille de la soeur du père sur les autres formes de mariage des cousins croisés, mais plutôt un caractère intrinsèque. Le mariage avec la fille de la soeur du père, comme le mariage avec la fille de la soeur, représentent, tant au point de vue logique que psychologique, la réalisation la plus fruste et la plus grossièrement concrète du principe de réciprocité. Il ne s'ensuit nullement qu'elle doive être la plus ancienne. Ce n'est donc pas par un prétendu - et difficilement vérifiable - caractère de survivance que nous expliquons la moins grande fréquence de cette forme de mariage; comme il résulte de l'analyse précédente, il constitue, plutôt, une forme abortive. La revendication de la fille de la soeur, par l'oncle maternel ou par son fils, est doublement hâtive: d'abord, parce qu'elle est une spéculation sur un avenir encore irréal; ensuite et surtout, parce qu'en se précipitant pour clore le cycle de réciprocité, celui-ci n'arrivera jamais à s'étendre à l'ensemble du groupe. Même clos (et possédant, pour cette raison, sa valeur fonctionnelle), il ne dépassera jamais cette forme naine de tant de plantes précoces: ce ne sera qu'un petit cycle, de deux alliances seulement, au lieu d'en comprendre un grand nombre, données globalement (échange restreint) ou en chaîne (échange généralisé).

Si donc, en dernière analyse, le mariage avec la fille de la soeur du père est moins fréquent que celui avec la fille du frère de la mère, c'est que le second, non seulement permet, mais favorise, une meilleure intégration du groupe, tandis que le premier ne réussit jamais qu'un édifice précaire, fait de matériaux juxtaposés, n'obéissant à aucun plan d'ensemble, et que sa texture discrète expose à la même fragilité que celle de chacune des petites structures locales dont, en définitive, il se compose. Si l'on préfère une autre image, on pourra dire que le mariage avec la fille de la soeur du père s'oppose aux autres formes de mariage entre cousins croisés, comme une économie, fondée

sur l'échange au comptant, s'oppose aux économies qui pratiquent les opérations à terme. Pour cette raison, il est incapable d'utiliser ces assurances qu'apportent les classes matrimoniales, garantie donnée à chaque individu que la contrevaletur de ce qu'il cède sera éternellement présente, dans la classe des conjoints possible, comme le billet de banque est l'assurance de la présence permanente de l'or dans les caisses du trésor public. Le mariage avec la cousine patrilatérale est bien une forme du mariage par échange, mais une forme si élémentaire qu'on peut à peine qualifier cet échange de troc, puisque l'identité substantielle de la chose revendiquée avec la chose cédée est poursuivie, à travers la soeur, dans sa propre fille. Dans l'échelle des transactions matrimoniales, il représente le gagne-petit." (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, pp.557-558)

This description is, in general terms, startlingly close to the conditions existing among the Trio, although perhaps it is possible to modify Lévi-Strauss's analogy in respect of the Trio. A man's relationship with his sister shows that the Trio system demands not only cash payment, but that the transfer is barely more than a tenancy since the man never relinquishes his association with the goods he has provided.

I do not wish at this point to discuss the relationship between patrilateral cross-cousin marriage and oblique alliance, but to return to certain theoretical aspects of the two types in the next chapter. Immediately I intend to make certain conjectural propositions concerning the development of the social organisation of the Trio. This can obviously only be attempted in the broadest terms, but I would suggest a series of events like this.

g. A conjecture concerning the development of the social organisation:

The watershed region became a retreat area where the remnants of a number of different groups, some of whom had possibly already suffered from European contact, settled. Whether or not there was an earlier or indigenous people is not important, but the population density was almost certainly higher than it is now. Mainly as a

result of exotic disease and sickness, introduced into the area by Amerindians and by travellers of other ethnic stock, their numbers continued to diminish. The survivors, their attitude to strangers coloured by their unfortunate contacts with the outside world, became timid, fearful and introverted. In this milieu of a dwindling population where only one's kin and co-residents were certain, the lack of suitable spouses forced men to take their wives from the next generation, to claim on credit not yet realised and before it was too late.

This conjecture is far from perfect but at least it accounts for most of the facts displayed in this thesis. At the end of Chapter IV it was assumed that the relationship terminology results from the extensive development of avuncular marriage on top of a system of bilateral cross-cousin marriage. Nothing has since been written which contradicts this interpretation but further facts have emerged to support it. This is particularly so in the case of the conventionally prescribed marriage categories and associated indications that the terminology has not yet been perfectly adapted to the new situation. However the confusion surrounding the father's sister's daughter cannot be taken as evidence of any recent adoption of the avuncular marriage because there has been time for the system to reach an equilibrium so that all but a very few people marry a person of similar age. As has been made clear the Trio oblique marriage is a function of the relationship terminology, not of generation.

I do not think there is any doubt that the avuncular marriage is the innovation, and not an archaic form. Certainly the idea of marriage with the father's sister's daughter as the new form is implausible, although the implications of a society where marriage is prescribed with the mother's brother's daughter/sister's daughter but prohibited with the father's sister's

daughter are fascinating and will be discussed in the next chapter. It is absolutely safe to assume that the Trio system is a special case of symmetric alliance which is the type of system universally reported for all Carib-speaking peoples. In the next chapter an attempt is made to compare the Trio marriage system first with those reported from other Carib groups, and then to extend the comparison to other peoples of South America, and finally to similar systems in South India.

4. Theoretical aspects of oblique alliance

The first part of this chapter is concerned with some comparative aspects of oblique alliance and in particular marriage with the sister's daughter. In the second part of the chapter I deal with certain other theoretical implications which are suggested by the study of the Trio, and relate these to current disputed points in the field of social anthropology.

4.1 Comparative aspects of oblique alliance

It was suggested at the end of the last chapter that the Trio practice a system of symmetric alliance which has been interpreted from its simplest form as a well-developed system of exchange marriage. Whether or not this is correct is a matter which does not affect the fact that the Trio do possess a system of symmetric alliance in which marriage is based on exchange of women and is of the oblique type.

The most serious difficulty in the way of a complete study is the lack of detailed ethnographic information. The Trio live in a remote area of the Guianas and are not accessible to outside observers. The only reliable information is that of the Trio themselves and that of a few other Carib-speaking peoples. The Trio system of exchange marriage is a special case of the oblique type of exchange marriage which is reported from many other Carib-speaking peoples. It is a system of exchange marriage in which the exchange is made of women and is of the oblique type.

PART 3

CHAPTER XI

COMPARATIVE AND THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF OBLIQUE ALLIANCE

- a. Comparative aspects of oblique alliance - South America - South India.
 - b. Theoretical aspects of oblique alliance
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The first part of this chapter is concerned with some comparative aspects of oblique alliance and in particular marriage with the sister's daughter. In the second part of the chapter I deal with certain wider theoretical implications which are suggested by the study of the Trio, and relate these to current disputed points in the field of social anthropology.

a. Comparative aspects of oblique alliance:

It was suggested at the end of the last chapter that the Trio practise a system of symmetric alliance which has become distorted from its simplest form by a well-developed system of avuncular marriage. Whether or not this conjecture is acceptable does not affect the fact that the Trio do possess a special kind of symmetric alliance in which marriages are terminologically and conventionally of the oblique type.

The most serious obstacle in the way of a comparative study is the lack of detailed ethnography on the subject. The two areas in which this type is most widely reported are South America and South India. From neither sub-continent is there an adequate and comprehensive account of a society which has sister's daughter marriage in conjunction with a system of bilateral cross-cousin

marriage. In South America the two main linguistic groups in which this form of marriage is found are the Cariban and Tupian.

1. South America:

There are cases of sister's daughter marriage recorded for most Carib-speaking groups including the Island Caribs, but the references do little more than mention its existence. The fullest accounts of Carib groups are those by Gillin (1936) on the Barama River Caribs, by Simpson (1940) on the Kamarakoto, and Fock (1963) on the Waiwai. There are recent, briefer reports like those of Wilbert (1963) on the Makiritare, Panare and Yabarana, or of Hurault (1961) on the Waiyana. As yet Butt has busied herself with other aspects of the Akawaio.

Carib relationship terminologies can be classified into two types - those which reflect marriage with the sister's daughter and those which do not. The relationship terminologies which do not indicate this practice include the Akawaio, Waiyana, Makiritare, Panare and Yabarana. Together with the Trio, the practice is most clearly reflected in the terminologies of the Barama River Caribs and the Waiwai. As has been indicated from time to time in this thesis, the Waiwai bear many resemblances to the Trio, and not least in the structure of their relationship terminology. The Waiwai, therefore, are a good point at which to start this comparative study.

The Waiwai live, or at least lived, on both sides of the Essequibo/Mapuera watershed but the actual composition of these people is mixed and they may, like the Trio, consist of the remnants of a number of previously distinct peoples who inhabited this area and also the basin of the Alto-Trombetas. Direct or intermediate contact must have existed between the Trio and the Waiwai, but Fock's account indicates some important differences

between the two people which can be simply summed up by greater formality in Waiwai behaviour.

The account of Waiwai social organisation is not as detailed as one would like, and the author admits failure to understand it completely (Fock, 1963, p.189). The structural resemblance of the relationship terminology to that of the Trio can be seen by the following equations taken from Fock's work (Fock, 1963, pp. 185-193).

1. $F = FB$
2. $M = MZ$
3. $FZ = FM = MM = WM$
4. $MB = WF$
5. $eB = FBSe = MZSe$
6. $Z = FBD = MZD$
7. $FZS = MBS = WZH = WFB = DH = WMB = ZH = WB$
8. $FZD = MBD = BW = WZ = WMZ$
9. $yB = BS = ZS$
10. $S = D$
11. $BD = ZD = SS = SD = DS = DD$

The similarities to the Trio system are obvious but there are some interesting differences. No distinction is made between sisters older and younger than ego, while the younger brother is identified with the brother's and sister's son. The terminology as applied to the genealogical levels below ego has a basically similar form to that found among the Trio, and no distinction is made between a brother's and sister's children. Fock interprets this as a result of the collapse of the traditional matrilineal rule

and its replacement by the co-residence of siblings and half-siblings.

"In a group of this kind there will often be a voluntary change of status between, for example, a man and his wayamnu,¹ so that they achieve the status of mutual siblings, and brotherhoods will be instituted. Both one's sisters and brother's wife will be able to be regarded as sisters (epeka-status),² and the dividing line between paternal and maternal nephews/nieces will lapse. As terms for son and paternal nephew (man speaking) are different, it must mean that the terminologies are disentangled via the woman." (Fock, 1963, p.191).

Fock admits that his information on the relationship terminology from the viewpoint of a female ego is 'far from adequate' (Fock, 1963, p.189), so that further progress in this direction is halted.

Fock interprets the Waiwai system as one of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and assumes that the inconsistencies and confusion of terms result from the close inter-marriage of the 170 surviving Waiwai Indians. Such a suggestion parallels my own ideas regarding the Trio, but Fock seems to have overlooked the possibility of any pattern in the 'inconsistencies'. Although he is aware that the sister's daughter is a potential wife for ego, and even provides two examples of such unions (1963, p.202) he fails to see the whole system as a response to it, and even declares that 'marriages of different generations should, to judge by the terminology, be rare' (1963, p.193).

Furthermore Fock, in regarding ego's generation as divided into the four categories normally found with a two-section terminology, insists on the lack of direct address form for wayamnu,

1, Wayamnu is the Waiwai equivalent to the Trio emerimpe, but unlike the Trio word has a meaning - tortoise.

2, An epeka is defined as 'the closest, blood-related individuals of the same generation' (Fock, 1963, p.194).

sex-partner. At one level, he may well be perfectly correct but he always appears to be dealing with conventional rather than actual behaviour. Conventionally the Trio lack a direct address form for an emerimpe, but, in practice, they use one. It is also noticeable that this is the only Waiwai term without a direct address form, and no special terms of reference for affines are reported. This logically coincides with the poor development of affinal avoidance, and Fock only mentions it as existing between a man and his mother-in-law or daughter-in-law for the purpose of eliminating sexual undertones from the relationship (Fock, 1963, p.201). It is noted that a demand for bride-service is made through the mediation of the linking person. The degree of bride-service depends on matrilocal residence, and both in turn on the result of the ceremonial dialogue which is used to arrange the marriage. It is said that the most effective way of removing bride-service is to give a sister in exchange. While it is interesting to note a hint of exchange in the system, the principle appears to differ from that among the Trio where an exchange of sister does not eliminate but re-affirms existing obligations.

The tradition of matrilocal residence seems to be much stronger among the Waiwai than among the Trio, even if it is not practised to any greater extent. On this subject I would like to digress a moment to consider a recent paper by the archaeologists Evans and Meggers (1964) who visited the Waiwai in the Upper Essequibo in 1952/53, two years before Fock. They spent seven weeks in the area making archaeological investigations and collecting some ethnographic information. In 1964 they published a short paper in which they disagree with Fock on two points (Evans & Meggers, 1964, p.207); the genealogies which they collected show no examples of sister's daughter marriage nor even marriage of cross-cousins. Secondly, Evans and Meggers claim

that Fock is wrong in regarding the core of the settlement unit as the brother/sister relationship, and that matrilocal residence is the traditional rule but that this had become obscured by missionary activity in the two years between their own and Fock's visit to the Waiwai.

I would like to consider their criticisms of Fock's findings since they involve important points in the understanding of the social organisation.

When Evans and Meggers say that there is no evidence of cross-cousin marriage in the genealogical tables, they mean marriage between actual cross-cousins or sister's daughter since this is their interpretation of Fock's comments on the marriage rule, comments which are admittedly far from clear (Fock, 1963, p.134). However there is no positive suggestion that Fock means the genealogically closest relatives of these categories nor do I believe that he does. Evans and Meggers base their claims on the genealogies collected from a single informant, an old woman. This may be a perfectly safe method of collecting information among the Waiwai, but my own experience among the Trio and the form of the Waiwai relationship terminology makes me suspicious of it. Certainly the questions which Evans and Meggers asked (1964, p.199) are ideally designed to hide the Waiwai view of their own society. Disregarding the technique employed, the results are interpreted by Evans and Meggers as evidence of matriliney because,

"It is evident that marriages involving consanguineal relatives are all in the male line. There is no case of marriage between individuals related through the females, i.e., of a man and his mother's daughter by a previous husband, his mother's sister's daughter, his mother's mother's sister's daughter, etc. However, as soon as a male enters the sequence, marriage apparently becomes possible."
(Evans & Meggers, 1964, p.200).

This may be so but it needs more explanation than this, and not least why the relationship terminology so clearly reflects a practice of marriage with the sister's daughter. Then there is the difficulty of such marriages as that between Eoka and Akaurie (Evans & Meggers, 1964, p.203) which is mentioned by Fock as being an avuncular marriage because Eoka regards her mother as sister (Fock, 1963, p.198). Evans and Meggers' interpretation of the genealogical data is in Waiwai terms unsupportable, and their claim of matriliney loses force.

They consider that "matrilineal descent is reflected in matrilocal residence" (Evans & Meggers, 1964, p.200) and that Fock is wrong although he states that matrilocality is an ideal rarely achieved (Fock, 1963, p.203). An examination of the Americans' genealogical tables (Evans & Meggers, 1964, pp.201-204) reveals that there is no definite evidence to support their claim. In the tables there are fifteen brother/sister pairs (full and half-siblings) of which eight are united and seven separated; there are five brother/brother pairs of which three are united, and four sister/sister pairs of which three are united. Furthermore since these tables only deal with the 69 Waiwai Indians living in British Guiana who are scattered among four villages within easy reach of each other, we are presumably dealing with an agglomeration (as defined for the investigation of Trio residence). Of the ten separated pairs all but one are to be found among these four villages, which indicates that at an agglomeration level, the proportion of united siblings is even higher than among the Trio.

However I do not doubt that an idea of matrilocal residence exists among the Waiwai, as it has been shown to exist among the Trio. It must be remembered that Frikel regards the Trio practice as patrilocal residence (Frikel, 1960), and since he had the opportunity to observe the traditional system which I

did not, I would like briefly to consider the effect of an adoption of avuncular marriage on a system of patrilocal residence in comparison with matrilocal residence.

In a society which practises patrilocal residence, a man loses his sister when she marries and moves to her husband's village. His sister's daughter, however, returns as his son's wife, but should he marry her instead it causes no disruption in the system. In a society which practises matrilocal residence, a male ego leaves his sister to live in his wife's village. However, if he marries his sister's daughter, the pattern is changed and he remains in his own community. Thus a practice of matrilocal residence is ideally suited for development by the extension of avuncular marriage into a system of village endogamy and the formation of a residential core consisting of brothers and sisters.

On these grounds alone I believe Frikel to be wrong, and it is not in the rule of residence that the differences between the two societies can be found.

One can perhaps regard the conventions of marriage as important; while the Trio express a preference for village endogamy, the Waiwai convention favours exogamy (Fock, 1963, p.96). Avoidance in one of its Trio aspects is obviously incompatible with a system favouring exogamy, and the other functions of avoidance, which are equally present among the Trio, are shared with other Carib-speaking people. This is obviously a matter for conjecture but it does suggest that the Trio are a stage further in a certain direction of development than are the Waiwai. If this is so, then the structural differences between the Trio and the Waiwai relationship terminology, the difference in attitude towards 'strange' affines, and the continued conventional ideal of matrilocal residence are related features. The historical experiences of the groups forming the Waiwai complex are similar to those suffered by the Trio. Here

also the situation is one of a gradually diminishing population, and indeed the Waiwai are in a weaker demographic state than the Trio have ever been. It is difficult to be definite about why these traits have survived among these people, but perhaps the clue lies in the more formal behaviour which marks many aspects of Waiwai culture. It would be interesting and valuable to make a comparative study of these two peoples, but first certain aspects of Waiwai ethnography need revision. For example, the question of sister's daughter marriage needs clarification. The two most recent ethnographic accounts of the Waiwai tend to deny either its extensive practice or even its existence. While I forbear to say that the ethnographers are wrong, I do think that they have failed to understand what they are dealing with, and accordingly have misinterpreted the evidence which they collected.

In contrast Gillin, almost thirty years previously, had been fully aware of the sister's daughter marriage component in the relationship terminology of the Barama River Caribs. The important equations reflecting this marriage practice being $FZD = MBD = ZD$ for a male ego, and $MB = FZS = MBS$ for a female ego (Gillin, 1936, p.95). A more subtle reflection of this type of marriage is to be seen in "the fact that a woman calls the children of her mother's sister¹ by the same terms which she uses for her own children and the fact that she calls children of maternal parallel cousins by the same term which she uses for her own grandchildren" (Gillin, 1936, p.95).

This usage is interesting since it is reported from elsewhere in South America (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p.34), but does not appear in any other Carib relationship terminology which I have seen. The stress is laid on the distinction between elder and younger siblings, and the freeing of ego's younger sisters'

1, Presumably the mother's younger sister.

daughters for his sons. An idea of this still remains among the Trio, but Fock states that there is only one Waiwai term for brother and one for sister (Fock, 1963, p.190).

Other differences occur in the Barama River Carib relationship terminology when compared with that of the Trio and Waiwai. The father's sister is not identified with the women of the second ascending generation, and a male ego distinguishes between his own or brother's children and his sister's children. Impermanent matrilocal residence appears to be the rule, but the bonds of kinship are stronger than those of affinity and a group of brothers normally forms the core of the village residents (Gillin, 1936, pp.96-97). This presumably means that brothers and sisters are separated, although this is not made clear. Little attention is paid to descent and it appears that the important factor is locality. The distinction between the brother's and sister's children may well rely on a different place of residence of the parents, and co-residence is the factor which eliminates the value of such distinction, but more facts about village residents among Carib groups who make this distinction are required. Certainly this makes sense when applied to the Trio, among whom it has been shown that descent has little meaning whereas considerable importance attaches to locality.

Gillin, as well as noting the avuncular marriage component in the relationship terminology, mentions two cases of such unions. His interpretation of this marriage form is not so happy since he regards it as an archaic type, but he was very much under the influence of Kirchhoff whose work on kinship, which refers particularly to South America, had recently been published (Kirchhoff, 1931 & 1932). We are here touching on certain important theoretical points to which I wish to return shortly, but first I want to consider Kirchhoff's suggested reasons for

sister's daughter marriage among the Tupian peoples. He sees this type of marriage either as a means to eliminate bride-service, or as a method to provide for a widowed sister (Kirchhoff, 1932, p.58). As reasons for sister's daughter marriage these are obviously too naive although they both contain some truth. The first thing to note is that these two reasons cannot logically be divided. We have seen with regard to the Trio that marriage with a sister's daughter eliminates bride-service by reaffirming already existing obligations which include providing for the sister whether she be a widow or not. Gillin considers the removal of bride-service to be the reason for avuncular marriage among the Barama River Caribs (Gillin, 1936, p.96) but has overlooked the fact that with matrilineal residence it is unlikely that Kirchhoff's second reason is entirely absent. I repeat my claim that while sister's daughter marriage may eliminate bride-service per se, there still remain economic obligations which a man is expected to fulfil for his sister, i.e., the wife's mother.

A more valuable approach is an examination of Kirchhoff's ideas about the development of marriage systems. Lévi-Strauss has criticised him both for his suggestion of avuncular marriage as an archaic form (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.156) and his attempt to explain unilateral cross-cousin marriage as a consequence of avuncular privilege (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.539). Certainly, as Lévi-Strauss indicates, the presence in the relationship terminology of a pattern reflecting marriage with a sister's daughter cannot be taken as evidence of ancient usage. His more positive suggestion is that the widely spread South American system (not as widely spread as he claims) whereby the grandparents, parents-in-law, and cross-aunts and cross-uncles are equated, is a solution for resolving the terminological conflict resulting from oblique marriages and at the same time for maintaining intact the four

divisions of ego's own genealogical level (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.155). This conclusion is undoubtedly reached from his work among the Nambikwara, and although, for a number of reasons outlined below, oblique marriages in this group are not directly comparable with those among the Trio, it is important to comment on some significant differences.

Firstly, the oblique marriages among the Nambikwara are secondary and privileged unions and the role of these wives is different to that of the first wife (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, pp.54-62). Oblique marriages among the Trio are neither secondary nor privileged, but primary and fundamental. This contradicts Lévi-Strauss's suggestion that avuncular marriage is a privileged union because it has been grafted onto some other form (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.154). While I do not dispute that this may once have been the case among the Trio, this is no longer so.

Secondly, the relationship terminology employed by the Trio does exactly the opposite to what is suggested by Lévi-Strauss; it does not remove terminological confusions resulting from oblique marriages to a different genealogical level from ego, but centres them on ego's level. The result of this is that ego's genealogical level consists of only two categories, and not the four which Lévi-Strauss feels must exist alongside the reciprocal relations which bind potential spouses, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.155). However, these differences are logically associated with differences of behaviour, and Lévi-Strauss's basic premise stands because of his assumption that, according to the circumstances, different groups will accept one solution rather than another.

Lévi-Strauss has stressed the importance of the brother-in-law status in South America (Lévi-Strauss, 1943b), and it is in this factor that the main differences between the organisation of

the Trio and Nambikwara systems lie. A Trio man and his brother-in-law, either his sister's husband or wife's brother, belong to different generations between which there is a conventional attitude of restraint. Where this restraint is not implicit in the relationship it is replaced by affinal avoidance. This contrasts vividly with the behaviour between Nambikwara affines; a man shows no particular reserve towards his wife's parents and the behaviour between brothers-in-law is marked by a familiarity which includes homosexual play (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, pp.75-76). Accepting that in each case behavioural differences are repeated in terminological differences, is it possible to state why affinity in one case is marked by avoidance and in the other by intimacy?

This, I believe, has to do with the actual exchange of women. Affinity among the Trio is only realised by the actual event of marriage, but do the Nambikwara brothers-in-law actually exchange women? Although Lévi-Strauss does not say so, he hints at it by saying that the Nambikwara make direct exchanges of sexual services as compared with Tupian brothers-in-law who exchange their sisters (Lévi-Strauss, 1943b, p.407). Certainly the attitude between Tupian brothers-in-law is one of reserve, even hostility, and the very term for such a relationship is synonymous with the word for an enemy (Huxley, 1963, p.242). This is perhaps digressing too far from the original subject of sister's daughter marriage, but Lévi-Strauss's description of the Nambikwara bands merging through the adoption by the men of a brother-in-law relationship lacks force when one compares the behaviour among brothers-in-law with that between different bands of these Indians. I think that Lévi-Strauss is overstating his case (especially since he fails to demonstrate it), and that this is no more than the relationship of trade, war and marriage. The importance of these

institutions lies in their reciprocal nature. The Trio term pito, which certainly implies the relationship of brother-in-law, may have a connotation of servant or slave but since the term is reciprocal so is the connotation. Just as the term pito has no place in the Trio group of close kin (or affines), so presumably the Tupian 'enemy/brother-in-law' is absent in the case of avuncular marriage. This has more meaning than the suggestion that such a union eliminates bride-service since this is exchange without tears - marriage or trade without war. Seen in this way the Trio system is not basically different to the Tupian, it has merely reached a different stage of development. Accordingly it should be possible to observe in the social organisation of the Trio an element which, in a less overt form, is present among a large proportion of people who practise symmetric alliance coupled with avuncular marriage.

Before turning to consider what this element might be, it will be valuable to examine briefly accounts of such practice among people of South India.

2. South India:

The ethnography of South India, with regards to sister's daughter marriage, is in no better shape than that of South America. Detailed accounts are lacking, and most authors have been content to mention the trait or to speculate upon it rather than to describe it. One of the earliest of these was Aiyappan, who suggested that the explanation of sister's daughter marriage might lie in the extreme form of patrilineal organisation because in South India it is only such people who practise this form of marriage while it is looked upon with horror by the matrilineal groups (Aiyappan, 1934, pp.281-282). Obviously this is no explanation but merely a related feature. As has already been mentioned, and as Lévi-Strauss has noted (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.537), marriage with the sister's daughter can only occur in

societies which are either patrilineal or lack any precise and firm rule of descent.

The subject of avuncular marriage appears in Mrs. Karvé's review of kinship organisation in India (Karvé, 1953), and a number of pages are devoted to this matter. Her work is too shallow to be useful and although she does mention certain aspects of the system, she shows little understanding of it. In particular, she comes face to face with the problem of the patrilateral cross-cousin becoming identified with the category of mother in a group where marriage with the sister's daughter has occurred over a number of generations (Karvé, 1953, p.194). Having made this discovery Mrs. Karvé shies away from it again and is satisfied with saying that the consensus of opinion is against this type of marriage.

Other features which she notes are the frequency of direct exchange of women (Karvé, 1953, pp.187-188), and the absence of precise definition, in the vertical sense, of relationship categories. She develops this idea and finally suggests the division of the whole society into two groups - those senior to ego and those junior to ego (Karvé, 1953, pp.223-229). On this point, and on many others, Mrs. Karvé's work has been criticised by Dumont and Pocock (1957). On the subject of sister's daughter marriage the most useful remark from their critique arises from the statement by Mrs. Karvé that "There does not seem to be any clear-cut classification of kin on the principle of generation" (Karvé, 1953, p.223). Their comment reads "This would seem to be natural among people practising uncle-niece marriage, but their terminology is characterized rather by the presence of individualising and more or less analytical terms" (Dumont & Pocock, 1957, p.61, n.13).

In a broad sense both Mrs. Karvé's remark and the comment by her critics are borne out by evidence from the Trio - Mrs. Karvé's idea not being applicable to ego's own descent line, but true in the case of an opposing descent line whose members represent wife-givers or -takers to ego. Dumont and Pocock are also correct in one aspect

since their remark adequately describes the Trio system of ordering affinal relationships.

Next I would like to refer in some detail to McCormack's paper "Sister's daughter marriage in a Mysore village" (Man in India, Vol. 38, pp. 34-48) because it is the single published work upon this subject. McCormack's paper deals with two small villages in the Bangalore District of Mysore in which there are eight castes represented, although three-quarters of the population are of the cultivator caste. His work is based on a sample of 518 marriages in which only seven of the eight castes concerned appear in the following proportions: Cultivators - 66.8%; cowherds - 7.5%; leatherworkers - 7.5%; beggar-bards - 6.8%; washermen - 5%; shepherds - 3.5%; basketmakers - 3.3%.

Of these marriages 21 per cent. are between cognatic relatives and 6.2 per cent. between people who had affinal ties prior to marriage. The cognatic proportion is made up of 9.8% - ZD or FBDD; 6.5% - MBD or MFBSD; 4.8% - FZD or FFBDD. Of the affine group, 2.5% - ZHZ; and 3.7% - WZ or BWZ. Of the remainder, 60.4 per cent. of the marriages are between previously unrelated people, and 13.4 per cent. between those said to be related but between whom no genealogical connection can be traced.

McCormack admits that the division into cognatic and affinal ties is artificial and only attempted for the purpose of statistical summary. This indicates that the author has overlooked the element of exchange which such pre-existing ties evince.

A far higher proportion of the non-cultivator castes marry actual or claimed cognatic relatives than do people of the cultivator caste, and McCormack explains it thus:

"Chance, therefore, does not account for the higher frequency of matings between non-relatives among the hereditary cultivators. The frequency differences are explained by the fact that the cultivator caste comprises

a relatively large, locally-situated group of potential spouses and its members are therefore freer to contract marriages with unrelated families. Hereditary cultivators may marry within their own village, whereas the local populations of the non-cultivator caste are nearly always exogamous due to their small size. The non-cultivators, who are faced with these greater difficulties in marital match-making, find their spouses in the families of close relatives, and often even these related families must be found at considerable distances from home" (McCormack, 1958, pp.36-37).

McCormack's reason for these marriages is interesting and can be compared to the situation among the Trio. In both cases the size of the potential spouse class is limited - in one instance by socio-economic factors and in the other by physical isolation and shortage.

While on this point I find myself in agreement with McCormack, and I will expand my case further on in this chapter, the next part of McCormack's paper (pp.37-38) I find baffling. He regards the genealogical specifications of the marriages between related persons as separate and divisible entities. This rather curious action is an attempt to correlate Lévi-Strauss's and Leach's (1951) ideas on social stratification resulting from matrilineal asymmetric alliance to his figures. In order to do this he regards the marriages with the sister's daughter, father's sister's daughter and sister's husband's sister as examples of symmetric alliance or sister-exchange, and marriages with the mother's brother's daughter, wife's sister and brother's wife's sister as examples of asymmetric alliance which result in the formation of a hierarchical system with wife-givers distinct from wife-takers. It hardly seems necessary to comment on this since it is obvious that McCormack has failed to understand ^{either} Levi-Strauss, or Leach, or both. His approach is less defensible when in the next section he demonstrates that he is aware that he is dealing

with a system of symmetric alliance.

The section on kinship terminology (pp.38-43) is unsatisfactory because the actual terms are not given, but instead are provided sets of equations which reflect sister's daughter marriage and a diagrammatic representation of the system which is related to purely English genealogical specifications. Perplexity is increased by the impression one receives that the adjustments to the normal two-section terminology occur only in households where the marriage with a sister's daughter has taken place, and not in the wider social sphere.

The society is patrilineal and patrilocal, and in the male line emphasis is thrown on seniority by age and even between brothers this involves an attitude of respect and deference towards an elder one. In contrast to this is the relationship between brother and sister which is marked by festival gifts and mutual assistance, and it is said that brother and sister participate in choosing spouses for each other's children. McCormack interprets the marriage system as a means of preserving the bonds of friendship and co-operation between brother and sister, and sister's daughter marriage also as a means of bolstering up the traditional asymmetric relationship between spouses required by the ideals of Sanskritic Hinduism, which has suffered as a result of the symmetry in marriages. The sister's daughter marriage renews the authoritarian status of the husband by the age difference between him and his wife, and also presumably by status connected to the difference in generation of the couple.

The last part of McCormack's work (pp.46-48) deals with family alliances and inheritance, but it is difficult to see in what way this has to do with sister's daughter marriage any more than bilateral cross-cousin marriage.

Before offering my own comments on this paper I wish to

mention some criticisms made of it by Dumont (1961, pp.93-95) because in part they are similar to my own views. Dumont's main criticism of McCormack concerns the latter's interpretation of the marriage system as a method of maintaining the bond between brother and sister. I agree, at least in principle, with Dumont, but this topic deserves further exploration. McCormack tends to disregard the role played by the affines, but there is a brief description of the behaviour among brothers-in-law.

"The reciprocal nature of the relationship is further realized in mutual festival dining, aid in agricultural work, aid in choosing spouses, help in buying animals, loans, and by support in family or village disputes" (McCormack, 1958, p.45).

The parallel between this passage and an earlier one on the same page where the behaviour between a brother and sister is described is very obvious. It has been noted with regard to the Trio how the behaviour among kin is matched by the behaviour between affines who are closely related. I cannot see that this in any way disrupts Dumont's alliance theory (Dumont, 1957) and would say that it strengthens it since it demonstrates its even greater universality. In describing the situation among the Trio, Lévi-Strauss's financial analogy was adapted so that marriage could be regarded as a tenancy rather than a sale, but this does not alter the fact that a tenant still pays rent although the right over the property is not completely transferred. This situation in Mysore is complicated by patrilocal residence, but certainly the visits and other transactions between brother and sister are no more than the landlord showing due and proper concern for his property.

Dumont also criticises McCormack on the grounds that he does not understand the relation between reciprocal and unilateral forms of intermarriage. In essence this criticism is similar to

mine, but in slightly different terms. Dumont upbraids McCormack for quoting both from Lévi-Strauss (1949) and from Leach (1951) but omitting a fundamental point from both authors (Dumont, 1961, p.94, n.24). However, Dumont's criticism of McCormack for failing to stress the distinction between younger and older sisters is misplaced, and as well as the single reference to this factor which is noted by Dumont, McCormack mentions elder sister on p.34 of his paper (the very first paragraph, in fact) and again on p.41.

More serious, however, is McCormack's failure to understand that in a society in which avuncular marriage is practised regularly over a number of generations the categories of mother's brother's daughter and sister's daughter become merged, as was pointed out by Leach in the paper to which McCormack refers (Leach, 1951, p.26, n.7). McCormack has not grasped this essential point because he could not otherwise have attempted to divide the genealogical categories in the way he has.

It also escaped McCormack's notice that if marriage with the sister's daughter occurs over a number of generations, the father's sister's daughter becomes identified with the mother. This fact is self-evident from McCormack's diagram (McCormack, 1958, p.40, Fig.1). However, McCormack is not alone in overlooking this, and the only author who has drawn attention to this difficulty is Mrs. Karvé whose comments have already been noted.

Finally, on the subject of South India I would like to mention certain points which arise in Alan Beals' 'Gopalpur', a volume in the series of Case Studies in Cultural Anthropology. Gopalpur is a village near Gulberga in central South India which is inhabited by a community which is both strongly patrilineal and patrilocal. In the relationship terminology (which is provided in rather scanty form, Beals, 1962, p.26) there is a clear distinction made between ego's own male line and the women associated with it, i.e. father's sisters, ego's sister's and ego's daughters, and the

husbands of these women and the potential wives of ego's male line. The most interesting feature is the absence of categorical distinction on a generational basis of these men and women, thus MB = FZH = ZH = WF but the term basically means 'giver of the bride' (Beals, 1962, p.27). In the same way ZS = DH, but the term has the meaning of 'receiver of the bride' and although there is a middle term which means brother-in-law or younger sister's husband and implies equality, it is rarely used since it is considered either rude or humorous (Beals, 1962, p.27). In the case of women

"They are either 'mothers' or 'potential wives'. The term for potential wife includes brother's wife, mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, sister's daughter, daughter-in-law, and lover. Any younger woman who is demonstrably not a member of Ego's line and who might conceivably marry Ego is a 'potential wife'. Because a 'potential wife' is identified through her connection with Ego's sister or Ego's mother's brother or some other similar relative, the kinship system makes no distinction between consanguine and affinal relatives. A consanguine, or 'blood' relationship, is the necessary precondition for the establishment of an affinal, or 'marital', relationship. A sister's daughter is a consanguine relative before she becomes a wife." (Beals, 1962, p.27).

The strong similarity between this and the Trio system is obvious, but Beals fails to explain it except in the most general terms,

"Just as the infant's early needs for affection and food are dependent upon a mother who alternatively feeds it and threatens to refuse food, so the young man's needs for a suitable marriage come also to depend upon a woman, usually upon a strange woman from another village. The advantages of marrying a sister's daughter or a mother's brother's daughter over whom one may exercise control are obvious, but it is not easy to find such a relative who is the right age." (Beals, 1962, p.31).

However, nowhere are the advantages of such a marriage made obvious, although marriage itself is related to the fact that

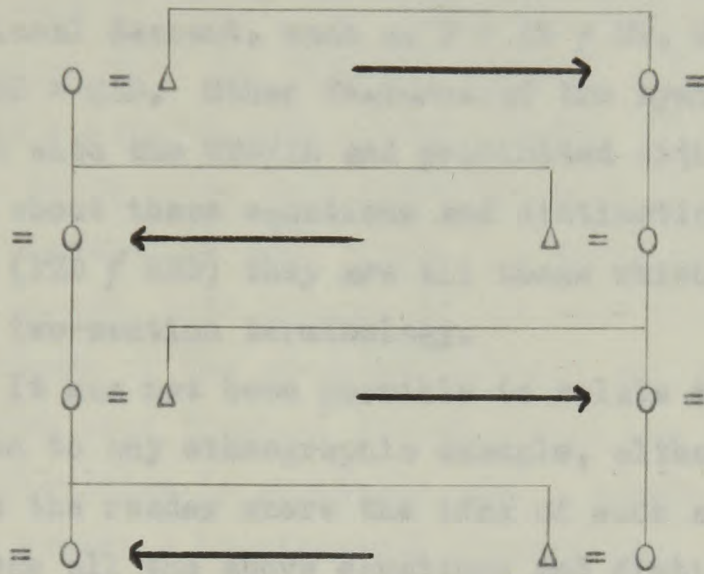
the individual feels "that the major securities and satisfactions of life are to be found in the acquisition of a large number of friends and supporters" (Beals, 1962, p.22). It is through marriage that the individual forms ties in other villages, and these relationships are different to those which a man has with his patrikin among whom he lives and with whom he is in direct competition both in acquiring wealth and in finding a suitable spouse (Beals, 1962, p.32). This case study does not aim to provide the type of information required for a thoroughgoing examination of sister's daughter marriage, but there are hints in the mention of security and competition which indicate that a man's association with his sister's husband will expedite the claim to the sister's daughter, perhaps in face of competition from his patrikin. This is as far as the descriptive generalisations which form this work allow any conclusion to be drawn.

Every one of the societies mentioned in the first part of this chapter has some important cultural feature in common with the Trio. In the second part of this chapter certain general and theoretical conclusions are drawn from this.

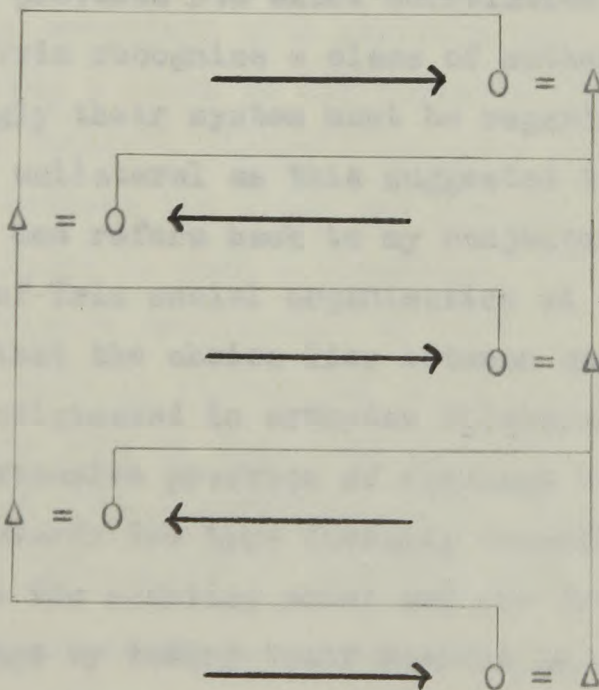
b. Theoretical aspects of oblique alliance:

I wish to start this discussion by considering a purely formal proposition which the equations $FZD = M$, and $MED = ZD$ suggest. The proposition is that the continual marriage with the sister's daughter will result in a new form of prescriptive alliance which will be the ultimate development of direct exchange and will rank as the closed equivalent to patrilineal cross-cousin marriage in an open system, or again it will represent the final development of direct exchange in a strongly patrilineal society as patrilineal cross-cousin marriage does for a matrilineal society. The fundamental similarity of the two systems is demonstrated in Figure 14.

Figure 14: A diagrammatic comparison of a system of FZD marriage with a system of MBD/ZD marriage.



i. Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage.



ii. Mother's brother's daughter/Sister's daughter marriage.

From this diagram it can be seen that the essential diagnostic equations of such a system are $M = MZ = FZD$, and $MBD = ZD$. One would expect to find them in conjunction with certain other terminological equations and distinctions which signify lineal descent, such as $F = FB \neq MB$, $M \neq FZ$, $B = FBS = MZS$, and $Z = FBD = MZD$. Other features of the system would be marriage prescribed with the MBD/ZD and prohibited with the FZD . The point to notice about these equations and distinctions is that with one exception ($FZD \neq MBD$) they are all those which one would expect to find in a two-section terminology.

It has not been possible to relate this formal proposition to any ethnographic example, although it must be obvious to the reader where the idea of such a system lies. The Trio possess all the above equations and distinctions and some other relevant ones, such as identifying the father's sister with the grandmothers. There is a single feature of the Trio system which prevents its exact correlation with this theoretical ideal. The Trio recognise a class of mothers whom they may marry and accordingly their system must be regarded as a true bilateral one, and not unilateral as this suggested type is.

If one refers back to my conjecture concerning the development of Trio social organisation at the end of Chapter X, one can see that the choice lies between assuming that (a) the Trio system originated in orthodox bilateral cross-cousin marriage and by the extensive practice of marriage with a sister's daughter is growing towards the type formally described above, or (b) that this type was the starting point and the Trio have adopted cross-cousin marriage by taking their mothers as wives. When the problem is presented in this way one has little choice, but even in accepting the former case one cannot be more than speculating on its development. Unfortunately the continued development of this system has probably been halted among the Trio by the recent externally imposed disturbances among them.

Although it is not possible to offer any more evidence on this subject, at least it is known from Mrs. Karvé's work that this phenomenon is not restricted to the Trio. Since she claims that sister's daughter marriage is the preferred type of union among some groups of people in South India (Karvé, 1953, pp.187-188) and that marriage with the father's sister's daughter is wrong when she becomes equated with mother (Karvé, 1953, p.194), it suggests that South India will yield the most fruitful results for further investigation of this topic. I doubt if any South American example will appear, both because of the poor state of the ethnography and because of the advanced cultural and demographic degeneration in which most Tropical Forest groups now exist. However, until more information is available such a system of prescriptive alliance must remain a hypothetical possibility, a status which it shares with patrilineal cross-cousin marriage.

Before leaving this subject, one further aspect needs to be mentioned. Lévi-Strauss has noted that marriage with the father's sister's daughter co-exists with marriage with the sister's daughter - a man either taking a woman as his sister's daughter or leaving her for his son as a father's sister's daughter (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p.556). The distinction between the elder and younger sister is often the important determinant in such a situation, but it must be pointed out that any extensive development of marriage with the sister's daughter¹ will result in either the collapse of the patrilineal aspect or a system akin to that described for the Trio.

Although this theoretical notion is of particular interest, the main value of this study of the Trio is the way in which it supports the

1, Indeed, to reach the identification of the sister's daughter with the mother's brother's daughter it needs only a man and his sister's son both to marry their sister's daughter.

general theoretical conclusions reached by Lévi-Strauss concerning the character of a society employing such a system of marriage. His view on this subject is quoted fully in Chapter X.

I feel, however, it is insufficient merely to demonstrate, even at considerable length, the accuracy of this theorising, and that some additional ideas should be added. Any progress must take into account Lévi-Strauss's work and be interpretable in such terms. Let us consider the problem in terms of human resources, male or female. According to Lévi-Strauss the societies which practise this 'primitive' type of alliance will be characterised by an insecurity which is expressed by an immediate demand for a return on what has been given. The various facets of Trio culture described in this thesis, - a well-developed attitude of property in respect of women, an attitude of hostility towards strangers, emphasis on co-residence as a determinant of relationship, and the institutions of marriage and avoidance, - reflect the society's introversion. The cause of this, it has been suggested, lies in the gradual diminution of the population. The human resources are actually decreasing, the shortage is real, and the isolation a physical fact. In such a situation the interest of the small community or individual overrides that of the society. The community's concern over the loss of one of its members finds expression in village endogamy and suspicion of strangers. The individual's anxiety is resolved by calling upon the earliest possible repayment on his sister, his sister's daughter.

Marriage with the sister's daughter as a method of retaining the community's human resources has been illustrated by an example from the Akawaio, and the peculiar development of Trio affinal avoidance is recognised as having the same function. A similar pattern can be seen among the Waiwai although it is not so advanced. This tribe still clings to an ideal of matrilocal

residence, but the relationship terminology reflects marriage with the sister's daughter and descent has given way to locality as a factor in ordering relationships.

This hypothesis appears demonstrable among Cariban people, and would certainly pay closer examination. Two types of relationship terminology exist among the Caribs; one reflects marriage with the sister's daughter, the other does not. In those societies where the terminology is totally adapted to oblique marriage forms one can expect to find co-residence of brothers and sisters, emphasis on common residence rather than descent which will also be less important than alliance, and as a corollary of this, failure to distinguish between a brother's and a sister's children. The Trio are at this stage. Against this one expects to find a Carib group who have a two-section terminology without any hint of avuncular marriage, a definite rule of descent (together with distinction between brother's and sister's children) and less importance attaching to environment in the ordering of relationships. Somewhere between these two types stand the Barama River Caribs.

With the Waiwai, as with the Trio, the factors at work are a true shortage and physical isolation. The question of actual population size can be dismissed in the case of the Tupian peoples such as the Tupinamba whose communities often consisted of many hundreds of people. These people were patrilineal and practised temporary matrilocal residence except probably in the case of the complete stranger whose matrilocal residence was likely to be permanent. An important feature of Tupian culture was the part played by warfare which was a fundamental of the society's social and religious values.¹ However this trait was not associated with

1, It is noteworthy that the Cariban and Tupian peoples among whom sister's daughter marriage is best developed are also those whom the early travellers to South America considered the most warlike. However the absence of sister's daughter marriage among the peaceful Arawakan peoples of Guiana is simply explained by the presence of exogamous matrilineal clans among them.

any greater development of chiefship, although control over manpower was a sign of prestige. This control only existed through the ties of consanguinity or affinity, and in this society marriage with the sister's daughter permitted both the conventional matrilocal residence and the conservation of the pre-existing manpower. One would certainly have expected to have found sister's daughter marriage more highly developed in the smaller, weaker communities. This does not eliminate the idea that bride-service is reduced in the event of sister's daughter marriage, but I suggest that this is an associated feature and not the reason for its practice. Furthermore, the emphasis on bride-service gives a distorted view of the system; in such a society it is as important for a man to have a chief as a chief to have men. The services performed by one side are merely more obvious than those carried out by the other.

In South India two examples of patrilineal and patrilocal societies were examined. In Mysore the marriage with the sister's daughter is associated with small castes in which the shortage of suitable spouses is the result of socio-economic factors rather than the physical lack of people. Patrilocal residence means that brother and sister are separated, but as has been seen, the bond between them continues in the form of gifts, visits and help. In the Gopalpur example, the author has laid the emphasis on the politico-economic aspects of marriage and the non-competitive bonds formed by it which contrast with an individual's relationship with the residents of his own village. Although it is stated that marriage with the sister's daughter is an advantage, the nature of the advantage is not clearly stated. However, in this patrilocal society one is left with the impression that it is forces within ego's own community which encourage him to claim his sister's daughter. This provides an interesting contrast with the matrilocal societies where sister's daughter marriages appears to be the result of external, rather than internal, competition.

The idea of control over human resources as the basic element in sister's daughter marriage can be demonstrated to exist in the handful of societies mentioned above. However it is not an entirely satisfactory explanation and the first question which arises is why sister's daughter marriage has not been far more widely reported than it has been. Some qualifications must be proposed; obviously it has no place in a society which has a formal matrilineal organisation, and it is only likely to appear in societies which practise symmetric alliance.

Perhaps it is now possible to formulate an initial hypothesis. A society which practises symmetric alliance, is either patrilineal or lacks any firm rule of descent and orders itself along informal lines of kinship (consanguinity or affinity) is best suited for the development of marriage with the sister's daughter, the impetus towards this form of alliance coming from either an actual or an artificial boundary to a community's social horizon. This, however, is still unsatisfactory for there are undoubtedly many societies with the above qualifications which do not practise oblique alliance of this type. Certainly the Wikmunkan could probably be quoted as just such an example. This suggests that certain other qualifications exist but at the moment it is difficult to see what these might be. In spite of the objections which exist this solution is not a cultural one but because it involves the basic elements of all societies it automatically possesses potential universal application, and, therefore, is one which deserves consideration.

This conjectural notion does not contradict any Lévi-Straussian principle but rather suggests that the social mechanism of exchange can be modified by the attitudes of the society to its own components. If there is an increased pressure on land resources, the society's ideas of land ownership are likely to be modified; similarly it can be claimed that pressure on human

resources will modify the society's attitude to people. The system of distribution, (i.e. marriage) will undergo change, and in an environment of isolated villages, the role of a descent group, as the corporate (human) property-owners, will be taken over by the community.

Finally, the existence of a model example of one of Lévi-Strauss's 'primitive' or 'abortive' types of exchange theoretically enhances the possibility of finding the other, prescriptive patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. However, there are empirical difficulties; the type of oblique alliance with which we have been dealing results from the degeneration of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and not the original attempt of a society to order itself. It is not clear from what starting point or along what lines of degeneration a society could arrive at prescriptive patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. Any formal attempts to show this brings one back either to a system of bilateral cross-cousin marriage or mother's brother's daughter/sister's daughter marriage, which is an extension of Needham's claim (cf. Needham, 1958).

The final conclusions of this thesis are that on this topic (i.e., oblique perspective) Lévi-Strauss is right and Dumont's ideas are valid.

APPENDIX A

TRIO LANGUAGE

I am deeply indebted to the members of the West Indies Mission for their help in the matter of the Trio language. I have followed and used throughout this thesis the alphabetic and phonetic system employed by them in reducing the Trio language to writing. This reflects the state of the language analysis as it was in 1963/64; no doubt improvements and modifications have been made since then, and this summary takes no account of such developments. Furthermore while allowing all the credit for language work to the West Indies Mission, I accept responsibility for all errors on this subject which may appear here and elsewhere in this thesis.

Phonetic Alphabet

1. Vowels:

A, a as in car

E, e as in pet

I, i as in me

O, o as in dope

U, u as in boot

Ē, ē as in cup

ĩ, ĩ a flat u - similar to boot but with lips kept closed and tongue towards back of the mouth.

There are fourteen diphthongs, and vowel lengthening is achieved by doubling of the vowel.

ii. Consonants:

P, p.	Not aspirated
K, k.	Not aspirated
T, t.	Not aspirated
H, h.	
Y, y.	
W, w.	
S, s.	Pronounced <u>sh</u>
M, m.	
R, r.	When preceded by A, E, or I it is pronounced as a flap R (near a D sound) When preceded by O, U, E, or I it is almost an L sound.
N, n.	Turns to M before P. and is nasalised before K or at end of a word. N. is the only final consonant.
Ñ, ñ.	Written NY, ny in this thesis.

Pronunciation

Syllables end in vowels except occasionally for 'N'.
Vowels are coupled with the preceding consonant. The word
pata (village) is thus pronounced pa'ta, or imuku (child),
i'mu'ku.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

It is not intended that the ten photographs which are included here should portray a complete picture of Trio life, or even any single aspect of it. This small sample is meant merely to give the reader an idea, which no words can, of what the Trio look like, the nature of their villages and houses, and the type of environment in which they live.

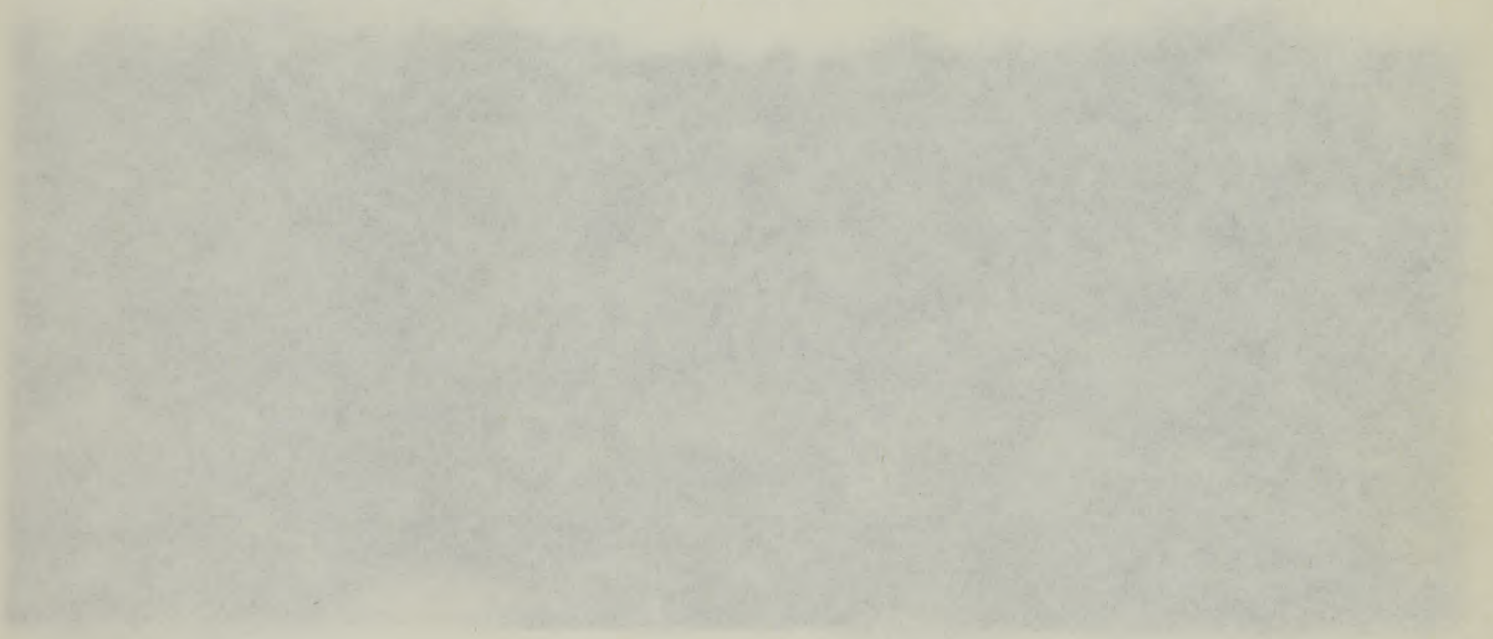


Plate I



The Trio village at Alalaparu lies dwarfed by the surrounding jungle. This settlement is five times larger than the average size of a traditional Trio village. The large new building to the left of the picture is the church, and in the foreground is the beginning of the airstrip, the existence of which made it possible to take this photograph.

Plate II



A party of Indians from Brazil arrive at the village of Alalaparu. Visitors always announce their arrival by shouts or gunshots because stealth is a sign of hostile intent. Travellers wear paint and decorations for the same reason. The open space between the houses is the anna on to which all the houses have a door facing. The layout of a Trio village does not follow any formal pattern but in a large village the anna is likely to be surrounded by houses so that the plan is circular.

Plate III



A number of different types of houses are built by the Trio, some of which have been borrowed from neighbouring peoples. The house illustrated here is a traditional Trio type but one which is falling into disuse, and this is the single remaining example. The name for this house, mine, is also the word for a hunting hide and the temporary shelter built for a shaman's seance. These three structures share the characteristic of being dark inside.

Plate IV



The interior of a Trio house is an untidy jumble. Hammocks drape at all angles, bundles of arrow cane rest on the rafters, storage baskets hang from the thatch, the dogs sleep on their trestle (right background), and the floor is used as a working surface for a group of women preparing cassava. The canoe shaped object (left background) is a crudely hollowed out tree in which cassava is grated. The woman on the left is Pakiri (6).



Sepi (74) and his wife Makarakara (75) return to the village after a successful hunting trip. Sepi is carrying a pig on his back, and his bow and arrows in his left hand. There is no convention as to whether a woman walks in front or behind her husband.

Plate VI



The half-sisters Sore (109), on the left, and Mairiþe (110), co-operate in the preparation of cassava. Sore is sitting on the lever of the cassava squeezer and feeding her baby son, and Mairiþe who has noticed the photographer is pointing at him with her lips.

Plate VII



A young Trio Indian, Pepu (22). He has copied the Waiwai hairstyle. This quantity of beads is normal everyday wear. The subject of body paint is discussed on pp.38-39 and p.191 but, in this example, Pepu, although married, has painted himself because he had recently returned from a journey which he had made without his wife.

of the smaller kind. The favorite
hills. The Trio women enjoy having their
by people they know) but this is one of the
Trio was good.

Plate VIII



A young unmarried man, Arante (329). The hairstyle is typical Trio. The large type of beads which he is wearing are not so popular as the smaller kind. The reason for this is their greater weight and their impure misty colour in comparison with the clearer, bright appearance of the smaller kind. The favourite colours are red, white and dark blue. The Trio rather enjoy having their photographs taken (at least by people they know) but this is one of the few I took for which an Indian was posed.

Plate IX



This photograph, which should be compared with Plate X, shows the nature of the rivers near the Paloemeu village. With the use of the dug-out canoe, these rivers form lines of communication which greatly extend the Indians' sphere of economic exploitation.

Plate X



This photograph shows the type of river which exists in the neighbourhood of the Alalaparu village. These creeks are useless as lines of communication and all movement and transport in this region is by foot. These women are collecting fish which have been stunned by poison placed upstream of them. In the wet season the water level may be 10 ft or more above the level in this photograph.

NOTES ON THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE

There were two main problems in the preparation of the Genealogical Table - one was in the collection of the information and the other in its presentation. Some of the difficulties involved are explained below.

a. Problems in the collection of genealogical data:

The Trio do not use names in direct address, and try to avoid doing so in reference. This ban does not extend to children, so reference to a third person is normally by the use of teknonymy. This means that while a person usually knows the name of someone of his own age and younger, many do not know the names of older people, even those of their own parents or spouse. While this difficulty could be overcome in the case of younger Indians by asking the older members of the community, a similar solution was not available to discover the names of the parents of these older people. This accounts for relative scarcity of people at level A on the Genealogical Table and their virtual absence at a higher level.

Secondly most Trio have more than one name, but it was unusual for an informant to know more than one although two informants might each know different ones. In the case of living people it has been possible to untangle all the confusions arising from this. No such claim can be made in the case of dead people, and although some instances were disclosed it is possible that some remain concealed and that certain deceased Indians are represented on the table under two different names.

b. Problems in the presentation of the genealogical data:

The difficulty was in deciding to which genealogical level any individual belongs. As it has been shown (vide pp.99-101)

according to the viewpoint taken this level will vary. A number of possible solutions presented themselves; four involved the arbitrary selection of a particular system of descent, and one the viewpoint of an individual member of the society. A test sample of 24 marriages was drawn using these different methods, and the proportion of 'horizontal' to 'oblique' marriages calculated for each one. The results were as follows:

<u>Method</u>	<u>Horizontal</u>	<u>Oblique</u>
<u>Senior level:</u>	12 (50%)	12 (50%)
<u>Junior level:</u>	17 (70.8%)	7 (29.2%)
<u>Matriliny:</u>	15 (62.5%)	9 (37.5%)
<u>Patriline:</u>	14 (58.3%)	10 (41.7%)
<u>Individual:</u>	13 (54.2%)	11 (45.8%)

A further test was carried out with a sample of 38 marriages seen by three different individuals to see if such a method would result in a strong bias depending on the individual used. The results show that this is unlikely:

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Horizontal</u>	<u>Oblique</u>
Iyakepo (52)	21 (55.3%)	17 (44.7%)
Muyope (32)	21 (55.3%)	17 (44.7%)
Atu (80)	20 (52.6%)	18 (47.4%)

The coincidence of these figures was so great that further investigation was made to see to what extent actual coincidence occurs.

<u>Marriage</u>	<u>Iyakopo</u>	<u>Muyope</u>	<u>Atu</u>
52=53	O	O	H
52=55	H	O	H
109=107	H	O	H
107=110	H	O	H
107=113	H	O	H
11=12	O	O	O
7=12	O	H	O
3=5	O	O	H
1=3	O	O	O
9=6	H	O	O
22=13	O	O	O
233=117	O	H	O
61=62	O	H	H
62=63	O	H	O
81=106	H	H	H
81=82	H	H	H
70=90	H	H	H
39=40	O	H	H
92=91	O	H	H
232=92	H	H	H
89=88	H	O	O
73=124	H	O	O
73=70	O	O	H
71=63	H	H	H
23=27	H	H	H
23=25	H	H	H
23=28	O	H	H
35=28	H	O	O
35=118	H	H	O
79=118	O	O	O

Join the two parties.

32=30	H	H	O
59=58	O	H	O
78=80	O	O	H
83=80	H	O	O
83=87	H	H	O
93=72	O	H	O
24=41	H	H	H
90=??	H	H	O

Between Iyakepo and Muyope, and between Iyakepo and Atu there is 52.6% coincidence, and between Muyope and Atu 55.3%.

Taking these two sets of figures together they indicate that while the proportion of 'oblique' and 'horizontal' marriages will be approximately the same for any two individuals, in any particular case there is only a half-chance that the marriage will be of the same type.

It was decided that the Genealogical Table should be drawn from the viewpoint of an individual, and, in fact, it has been constructed from that of two individuals - those numbered 1 - 299 inclusive as seen by Iyakepo (52), and those numbered 300-786 inclusive as seen by Korokoro (300). The reasons for this decision are that the individual method did not produce figures which are widely different from the other methods and, in the absence of any conventional rule of descent, it preserves some Trio character while avoiding the possible inherent fallaciousness which the arbitrary selection of some other method might bestow upon it. There are obvious criticisms which can be made of such a method, but even if it does result in a few anomalous situations, it does not give an overall false impression. The lack of any definite rule of descent is further emphasised by the drawing of the lines of affiliation from the 'union by marriage' lines which join the two parents.

Some modifications have had to be made to the individual's viewpoint because early attempts showed that while the only logical method of presentation was along the lines of the diagram in Figure 5 this system was abandoned because it made the chart very complicated and difficult to follow, and, while ideal for close relatives of the informants, had serious drawbacks when one came to consider more distantly related people - a simple example of this being the absence of any clearly defined place for a pito, a category which is anyhow not defined by generation. Accordingly certain adjustments have been made in order to eliminate ambiguities. Firstly, wherever there is no evidence to the contrary, marriages have been drawn as 'horizontal'. Secondly, those called pito are placed on the same genealogical level as the informants unless there is a sister called manhko or emi who allows an alternative view. The same solution is applied to the women called nosi who are regarded as belonging to the same level as their husband unless there is evidence to the contrary. The correctness of this procedure is supported by the final result because as is mentioned above (vide pp. 202-208) the total number of marriages shown on the Genealogical Table is equally divided between 'horizontal' and 'oblique' forms, proportions which other evidence leads one to expect.

c. Explanatory key to Genealogical Table:

Living male.....Δ

Living female.....0

Dead male.....A

Dead female.....@

Index number.....263 (placed under one
of the above
symbols)

Waiyana Indian.....318

Union by marriage.....=

Divorce.....~~X~~

(only shown in cases in which
both spouses are still alive)

INDEX TO GENEALOGICAL TABLE

Explanatory Notes:

All the data required for the construction of the Genealogical Table are contained in this index. Each entry is formed in the following way.

1. Reference number.
2. Name. Other names when known are included immediately below. Underlined names indicate a Waiyana.

3. Sex, and living or dead. Male..... ♂
Female..... ♀
Dead Male..... /
Dead Female..... ∅

4. Reference to location on Genealogical Table.
The number refers to the sheet (1 - 12), and the letter to the genealogical level (A,B,C,D,E). There are a few cases where people fall outside these five levels; those above Level A are marked +, and those below Level E are marked --.

5. Closest genealogical relationships.

The letters give the relationship and the number the actual individual. For example number 1, Susuku, has listed against him F2 which means that his father is number 2, Tuhori, who is reciprocally marked S1 which means his son is number 1, Susuku. The letters are those which are conventionally used to indicate a relationship.

The symbols / or ∅ indicate a second or previous wife or husband. When one or other of the spouses has died and the survivor has remarried, the earlier marriage of the survivor is marked in this way but that of the deceased is not.

6. Relationship to ego and age:

This information is contained in the brackets. The first symbol shows the relationship of the individual to the informants around whom the table is constructed; 1 - 299 incl. with reference to Iyakepo (52) and 300 - 786 incl. with reference to Korokoro (300). The symbols F, M, Z, B, BS, BD, ZS, and ZD represent normal English categories but Trio relationship terms are used for T=Tamu, N=Nosi, P=Pito, and Y = ipa.

In the majority of cases age has been estimated and an error of 10 per cent. either way should be allowed. Attempts at objective determination of age by reference to some datable event did not prove very easy because of the lack of suitable incidents. In the Sipaliwini basin, the visit of Schmidt in 1940-42 is the only outstanding event which has occurred in the lifetime of these Indians.

7. Inverted commas:

A few Indians have certain of the entries against their name enclosed in inverted commas; this indicates that, for the sake of simplicity, this relationship is not shown on the Genealogical Table. A few of the Waiyana have their names enclosed in brackets which means that they do not appear on the Genealogical Table.

1. Susuku Δ. 2/C; F2; W3; D6; (yB; 43yr).
2. Tuhori ♀. 2/B; B271; S1; (F).
3. Mikuri O. 2/B; F212; M213; H1; D6; ^{S7;} /D8, 252; (M; 50yr).
4. Aronki ♀. 2/B; S132; (F).
5. Pesa ♀. 2/C; W3; S7; D8, 252; (eB).
6. Pakiri O. 2/C; F1; M3; H9; D10; (yZ; 18yr).
7. Morime Δ. 3/C; F5; M3; Z8. 252; W12; (B; 30yr).
Cromori.
8. Tarara O. 2/C; F5; M3; B7; Z252; H14; S16, 17; (yZ; 26yr).
Yanmare.
9. Sere Δ. 2/C; F11; M12; Z13, 110, 113; W6; D10; (B; 20yr).
10. infant O. 2/D; F9; M6; (ZD; 1yr).
11. Paru ♀. 3/D; F33; M34; B399; Z28; W12; S9; D13, 110, 113; /111; D109; (P).
12. Kotorita ♀. 3/B; F278; M288; Z111; H11; S9; D13, 110, 113; /7; (M).
13. Kurapa O. 4/C; F11; M12; B9; Z110, 113; H22; /73; D21; (yZ; 24yr).
14. Mono Δ. 2/C; F235; M15; B163; W8; S16, 17; /18; D19, 20; (B; 40yr).
15. Ponoriu ♀. 3/B. M286; H235; S14, 163; /231; D55, 34; (M).
16. Isenka Δ. 2/D; F14; M8; B17; (ZS; 6yr).
17. Penu Δ. 2/D; F14; M8; B16; (ZS; 3yr).
18. Meme ♀. 2/B; F293; M283; H14; D19, 20; /245; D554; (M).
19. Marirepe O. 4/C; F14; M18; Z20; H77; (yZ; 20yr).
20. Mikipe O. 4/C; F14; M18; Z19; H116; /114; D115; /93; S95; (yZ; 26yr).
21. Asiwiripe O. 4/D; F73; M13; (BD; 3yr).
22. Pepu Δ. 4/D; F23; M25; Z29; W13; (BS; 18yr).
23. Sipi Δ. 3/C; F41; M24; B52; Z61; W28; /25; S22; D29; /27; D30; '75';
(yB; 40yr).

24. Peruparu O. 3/B; F212; M214; B225; W45; S114; D44; W41; S23, 52; D61; (M; 58yr).
25. Warapi / . 3/C; H23; S22; D29; W104; S100; D105; (eZ).
26. Sawaki / . 8/B; W522; S125; (F).
27. Anotaiye / . 3/C; H23; D30; (yZ).
28. Aiyatu O. 3/D; F33; M34; B11, 399; H23; W35; S36, 37; (ZD; 30yr).
29. Numepe O. 3/D; F23; M25; B22; H31; D42; (BD; 16yr).
30. Mikeripe O. 3/D; F23; M27; H32; S38; (BD; 20yr).
31. Matate Δ. 3/D; F43; M44; Z48, 49; W29; D42; (ZS; 16yr).
Yanamare.
32. Muyope Δ. 3/D; F39; M40; B139; W30; S38; (ZS; 28yr).
33. Piterita / . 3/B; W34; S11, 399; D28; (MB).
34. Atuwiripe / . 3/C; F231; M15; Z55; H33; S11, 399; D28; (eZ).
35. Kurumuku / . 3/D; F62; M61; W28; S36, 37; W118; D119; (ZS).
36. Panesi Δ. 3/E; F35; M28; B37; (Y; 14yr).
37. Pikuku Δ. 3/E; F35; M28; B36; (Y; 9yr).
38. Kerosu Δ. 3/E; F32; M30; (Y; 4yr).
39. Pika / . 3/B; F280; M214; W40; S139, 32; (MB).
40. Mauri / . 3/C; F90; B89, 91; H39; S139, 32; (eZ).
41. Imaina / . 3/B; F298; M299; B253; W24; S52, 23; D61; (F).
42. infant / . 3/E; F31; M29; (Y; 1yr).
43. Asape Δ. 3/C; F50; M51; B577; Z330; W44; S31; D48, 49; (P; 38yr).
44. Nuwimpe O. 3/C; F45; M24; B114; H43; S31; D48, 49; (yZ; 33yr).
Yimesape.
45. Yakeri / . 3/B; B284; W24; S114; D44; W486; S563; (F).
46. Ikeri O. 4/D; F160; M172; B173; Z154; H155; (ZD; 25yr).

47. Oroiyen φ . 3/B; W61; (P).
48. Simipe O. 3/D; F43; M44; B31; Z49; (ZD; 4yr).
49. Pakeke O. 3/D; F43; M44; B31; Z48; (ZD; 10yr).
50. Sarite φ . 12/B; W51; S43, 577; D330;
51. Piroi φ . 12/B; H50; S43, 577; D330;
52. Iyakepo Δ . 3/C; F41; M24; B23; Z61; W53; S56, 57; D58^{W55;} (ego; 45yr).
53. Siwapun O. 3/B; F297; M65; Z246; H52; S56, 57; D58; (W; 35yr).
54. Pakoni φ . 3/A; W55; (T).
55. Isaruwiyae O. 3/C; F231; M15; Z34; H52; φ 54; (W; 50yr).
56. Kensani Δ . 3/D; F52; M53; B57; Z58; (S; 11yr).
57. Aturai Δ . 3/D; F52; M53; B56; Z58; (S; 7yr).
58. Weripena O. 3/D; F52; M53; B56, 57; H59; D276; φ *39; (D; 20yr).
59. Mitlipi Δ . 3/E; F125; M60; B67; Z216; W58; D276; (Y; 17yr).
60. Akutape O. 4/D; F236; M237; H125; S59, 67; D216; (BD; 35yr).
61. Tawiruye O. 3/C; F41; M24; B23, 52; H62; S35; φ 47; (ez; 47yr).
Mokorope.
62. Eoyari Δ . 3/B; F64; M65; B81; W63; S66; φ 61; S35; (MB; 50yr).
63. Kiwaipipi O. 3/C; F90; M70; B79; Z124; H62; S66; φ 71; D72; (yZ; 36yr).
64. Sawirapo φ . 3/A; F296; M264; B238, 297; W65; S62, 81; (T).
65. Penti φ . 3/B; H64; S62, 81; φ 297; D53, 246; (N).
66. Asiku Δ . 3/D; F62; M63; (ZS; 3yr).
67. Wita Δ . 4/E; F125; M60; B59; Z216; (Y; 7yr).
68. Saimane φ . 9/C; F278; W287; S69; φ 515; S514; (P).
69. Mupi Δ . 9/E; F68; M287; (ZE; 12yr).

70. Tinalye O. 4/B; F247; Z285; H73; S74; D80; Y90; S79; D63, 124; (M; 54yr).
71. Atepi /. 3/C; W63; D72; (P).
72. Piruru O. 4/D; F71; M63; H93; S94; (ZD; 20yr).
73. Arensu /. 4/C; F232; M92; Z88; W124; S76, 77; D87; Y70; S74; D80; Y13; D21; (eB).
74. Sepi Δ. 4/D; F73; M70; Z80; W75; Y246; (BS; 30yr).
Kaiwate.
75. Makarakara O. 4/D; F193; M194; H74; Y23; (ZD; 18yr).
76. Yaroipe Δ. 4/D; F73; M124; B77; Z87; (BS; 12yr).
77. Piriuta Δ. 4/D; F73; M124; B76; Z87; W19; (BS; 20yr).
78. Asonko Δ. 4/C; F81; M82; Z230; W80; (yB; 25yr).
79. Kinini Δ. 3/C; F90; M70; Z63, 124; W118; Y120; S121, 122; (yB; 40yr).
Masiri.
80. Atu O. 4/D; F73; M70; B74; H78; Y83; S84, 85; D86; (BD; 32yr).
Sipo.
81. Akoi /. 4/B; F64; M65; B62; W106; S107, 108; Y82; S78; D230; (MB).
82. Sine O. 4/B; F128; M129; H126; Y81; S78; D230; (M; 40yr).
83. Kamape Δ. 4/D; F89; M88; W87; S96; Y80; S84, 85; D86; (ZS; 32yr).
Mipure.
84. Matu Δ. 4/E; F83; M80; B85; Z86; (Y; 5yr).
85. Riripe Δ. 4/E; F83; M80; B84; Z86; (Y; 10yr).
86. Kuwise O. 4/E; F83; M80; B84, 85; (Y; 14yr).
87. Mori O. 4/D; F73; M124; B76, 77; H83; S96; (BD; 20yr).
Asaiya.
88. Pisekane O. 4/C; F232; M92; B73; H89; S83; (Z; 45yr).
89. Sipare Δ. 4/C; F90; B91; Z40; W88; S83; (eB; 50yr).
90. Pia /. 4/B; S89, 91; D40; Y70; S79; D63, 124; (F).

91. Kurawaka / . 4/C; F90; B89; Z40; W92; S93, 97, 413; (eB).
92. Munui Ø. 4/B; H91; S93, 97, 413; W232; S73; D88; (M).
93. Pesaipe Δ. 4/C; F91; M92; B97, 413; W72; S94; W20; S95; (yB; 33yr).
94. Erka Δ. 4/D; F93; M72; (BS; 3yr).
95. Ekeipe Δ. 4/D; F93; M20; (BS; 4yr).
96. Neri Δ. 4/E; F83; M87; (Y; 3yr).
97. Pesami / . 4/C; F91; M92; B93, 413; W99; S98; W481; S480; (yB).
98. Aretina Δ. 4/D; F97; M99; (BS; 10yr).
99. Pipa O. 4/D; F102; M103; Z615; H100; D101; W97; S98; (BD; 27yr).
100. Akiripe Δ. 4/D; F104; M25; Z105; W99; D101; (BS; 25yr).
101. Tausi O. 4/E; F100; M99; (Y; 2½yr).
102. Kuyopai / . 4/C; W103; D99, 615; (eB).
103. Sinema Ø. 4/C; H102; D99, 615; (eZ).
104. Seni / . 3/C; B166; W25; S100; D105; (eB).
Toroi.
105. Yapa O. 4/D; F104; M25; B100; (BD).
106. Itswiu Ø. 4/B; F281; M129; H81; S107, 108; W282; D219; (M).
107. Torope Δ. 2/C; F81; M106; B108; W109; S205; W110; D207; W113; S206;
(yB; 30yr).
108. Rapu / . 2/C; F81; M106; B107; W109; S208; W110; S209; (yB).
109. Sore O. 2/C; F11; M111; H107; S205; W108; S208; (yZ; 28yr).
110. Mairupe O. 2/C; F11; M12; B9; Z13, 113; H173; W108; S209; W107; D207;
(yZ; 28yr).
111. Mosi Ø. 3/B; F278; M288; Z12; H11; D109; (M).
Moresi.
112. Kenaima / . 4/C; F203; W134; S135; D275; (P).
113. Tukupe Ø. 2/C; F11; M12; B9; Z13, 110; H107; S206; (Z).

114. Akuso φ . 4/C; F45; M24; Z44; W20; D115; (yB).
115. Asusu O. 4/D; F114; M20; (ZD; 12yr).
116. Waraka Δ . Waiwai 'W20' (S).
117. Kumiru O. 3/B; F238; M239; Z204; H233; D118; (M; 37yr).
118. Kiwaraiye O. 3/D; F233; M117; H79; $\cancel{H}$ 35; D119; (BD; 22yr).
119. Tapa O. 3/E; F35; M118; (Y; 6yr).
120. Kuriya O. 3/D; F224; M240; H123; $\cancel{H}$ 79; S122, 121; (ZD; 30yr).
121. Siri Δ . 3/D; F79; M120; B122; (DS; 3yr).
122. Tapae Δ . 3/D; F79; M120; B121; (BS; 8yr).
123. Sakakimpe Δ . 3/D; F125; M221; W120; (BS; 20yr).
124. Marere ϕ . 4/C; F90; H70; B79; Z63; H73; S76, 77; D87; (yz).
125. Taiyape Δ . 4/C; F26; M522; W221; S123; $\cancel{H}$ 60; S59, 67; D216; (eB).
126. Orosisi Δ . 4/C; F222; M223; W82; $\cancel{H}$ 130; D127; (yB; 40yr).
127. Menari O. 4/D; F126; M130; (BD; 6yr).
128. Maripai φ . ^{4/B;} F220; W129; D82; (MB).
129. Surupe ϕ . 4/A; H128; D82; $\cancel{H}$ 281; D106; (N).
130. Amipe O. 4/B; F220; M221; H131; S133; $\cancel{H}$ 126; D127; (M; 30yr).
131. Maiyininimpe Δ . 4/D; F137; M138; B273; Z134; W130; S133; (P; 30yr).
132. Maiyaya φ . 2/C; F4; W145; D136; (eB).
133. Rasare Δ . 4/E; F131; M130; (Y; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ yr).
134. Misita O. 4/D; F137; M138; B131, 273; H112; S135; D275; (ZD; 30yr).
135. Yikumpe Δ . 4/E; F112; M134; Z275; (Y; 3yr).
136. Asikinini O. 2/E; F132; M145; (Y; 12yr).
137. Pantaku φ . 4/C; W138; S131, 273; D134; (eB).

138. Toporiyae ♀. 4/B; H137; S131, 273; D134; W234; S155, 193; (N).
139. Kesepe Δ. 2/D; F39; M40; B32; W140; S141, 142; D143, 144, 147;
W145; D146; W58; (ZS; 33yr).
140. Akarasa O. 2/D; F185; M186; H139; S141, 142; D143, 144, 147; (BD; 35yr)
141. Moisesi Δ. 2/E; F139; M140; B142; Z143, 144, 147; (Y; 2yr).
142. Tunahkana Δ. 2/E; F139; M140; B141; Z143, 144, 147; (Y; 12yr).
Muserei.
143. Timai O. 2/E; F139; M140; B141, 142; Z144, 147; (Y; 9yr).
Mate.
144. Pise O. 2/E; F139; M140; B141, 142; Z143, 147; (Y; 8yr).
145. Riripe O. 2/D; F166; M167; B178; Z162; H139; D146; W132; D136;
(BD; 30yr).
146. infant O. 2/E; F139; M145; (Y; 2yr).
147. Pemona O. 2/E; F139; M140; B141, 142; Z143, 144; D148; (Y; 16yr).
Sikimun.
148. infant O. 2/-; M147; (Y; 2yr).
149. Keiriki ♀. 5/B; W150; S151;
150. Anori ♀. 5/B; F520; M521; Z517, 513; H149; S151; (M).
151. Sape Δ. 5/C; F149; M150; W152; S153, 161, D168; (yB; 43yr).
152. Kumarau O. 5/C; F187; M188; B182; Z201; H151; S153, 161; D168;
(yZ; 40yr).
153. Itiimare Δ. 4/D; F151; M152; B161; Z168; W154; (ZS; 22yr).
154. Papope O. 4/D; F160; M172; B173; Z46; H153; W155; S158; D157; W156;
D159; (ZD; 28yr).
155. Ororinape Δ. 4/C; F234; M138; B193; W46; W154; S158; D157; (P; 42yr).
156. Piwara Δ. 4/C; F248; M249; W183; W154; D159; (P; 30yr).
157. Patoha O. 4/E; F155; M154; B158; (Y; 7yr).
158. Pirome Δ. 4/E; F155; M154; Z157; (Y; 8yr).

159. infant O. 4/E; F156; M154; (Y; 2yr).
160. Kasa / . 4/C; W172; S173; D154, 46; (eB).
161. Apirosi Δ. 3/D; F151; M152; B153; Z168; W162; (ZS; 25yr).
162. Taiti O. 3/D; F166; M167; B178; Z145; H161; W163; D164; (D; 30yr).
Yorina.
163. Aponita / . 3/C; F235; M15; B14; W162; D164; (eB).
164. Yimepe O. 3/E; F163; M162; H165; (Y; 17yr).
165. Enopiripe Δ. 3/D; F227; M228; W164; (ZS; 40yr).
166. Tunareka / . 3/C; B104; W167; S178; D145, 162; (eB).
167. Imariyae / . 3/B; H166; S178; D145, 162; (N).
168. Maposi O. 5/D; F151; M152; B153, 161; H169; (ZD; 18yr).
169. Makipe Δ. 5/D; F170; M219; B171; W168; (ZS; 28yr).
Naimino.
170. Asikiri Δ. 5/B; F241; M242; B295; W174; D175; W219; S169, 171; (MB;
45yr).
171. Mapurikiki Δ. 4/D; F170; M219; B169; (ZS; 17yr).
172. Iyakana / . 4/C; F241; H160; S173; D154, 46; (yZ).
Netei.
173. Rori Δ. 2/D; F160; M172; Z154, 46; W110; (ZS; 18yr).
174. Sokori O. 5/B; F243; M291; H170; D175; W176; S636; (M; 35yr).
175. Ekitali O. 5/D; F170; M174; (ZD; 9yr).
176. Mitī / . 5/B; B177; W174; S636; (P).
177. Aposi Δ. 5/B; B176;
178. Anaore Δ. 3/D; F166; M167; Z145, 162; W179; S180, 181; (BS; 24yr).
Asiripe.
179. Arami O. 3/D; F225; M226; H178; S180, 181; (ZD; 27yr).
180. Piri / . 3/E; F178; M179; B181; (Y; 4yr).

181. Yaroikiri Δ. 3/E; F178; M179; B180; (Y; 6yr).
182. Muse Δ. 5/C; F187; M188; Z152, 201; W189; S190; Y191; (yB; 35yr).
Paresi.
183. Ikina O. 4/D; M184; H156; (ZD; 30yr).
184. Tunakepe φ. 4/C; D183;
185. Petarate φ. 2/C; W186; D140;
186. Ariu φ. 2/C; H185; D140;
187. Tuna φ. 5/C; W188; S182; D152, 201; (eB).
188. Warepe φ. 5/B; H187; S182; D152, 201; (M).
189. Atorī O. 5/D; F192; M244; H182; S190; (BD; 20yr).
190. Meniyo Δ. 5/E; F182; M189; (Y; ½yr).
191. Ikuwaiyī φ. 5/C; H182; (yZ).
192. Paseki φ. 8/B; W244; D189; Y487; D485; (F).
193. Yarita φ. 4/C; F234; M138; B155; W194; D75; (P).
194. Yakipe φ. 4/C; F289; M290; H193; D75; (eZ).
195. Koruyari Δ. 5/D; F196; M197; W198; S199, 200; (BS; 25yr).
196. Makara φ. 5/C; W197; S195; (eB).
197. Wiwi φ. 5/B; H196; S195; Y273; (M).
5/D;
198. Konope O. /F202; M201; H195; S199, 200; (BD; 22yr).
199. Isupe Δ. 5/E; F195; M198; B200; (Y; 2yr).
200. Seresereru Δ. 5/E; F195; M198; B199; (Y; 6yr).
201. Isinaoi O. 5/C; F187; M188; B182; Z152; H202; D198; (yZ; 44yr).
202. Kanre φ. 5/C; F284; M285; B359; Z360; W201; D198; (eB).
203. Waikera Δ. 4/B; F250; M251; W204; Y? S112; (MB; 57yr).

204. Pantiya O. 4/B; F238; M239; Z117; H203; (M; 35yr).
205. infant Δ. 2/D; F107; M109; (ZS; 1yr).
206. Pekope Δ. 2/D; F107; M113; (ZS; 8yr).
207. Raina O. 2/D; F107; M110; (ZD; 2yr).
208. Yaninipe Δ. 2/D; F108; M109; (ZS; 3yr).
209. Pesipe Δ. 2/D; F108; M110; (ZS; 9yr).
210. Epoika Δ. 8/B; F211; Z632; (yB; 30yr).
211. Ataimpe ♀. 8/A; S210; D632; (T).
212. Aketiki ♀. 3/A; B280; W213; D3; ~~W~~214; S225; D24; (T).
213. Ririka ♀. 3/A; H212; D3; (N).
214. Ikaraiya ♀. 3/A; H212; S225; D24; ~~W~~280; D39; (N).
215. Anasina Δ. 2/E; F245; M246; B655; W216; (Y; 17yr).
216. Werimuku O. 2/E; F125; M60; B67, 59; H215; (Y; 17yr).
Papoti.
217. Yanipe Δ. 4/E; F229; M230; Z218; (Y; 8yr).
218. Mariripe O. 4/E; F229; M230; B217; (Y; 8yr).
219. Paruwita ♀. 5/C; F282; M106; H170; S169, 171; (eZ).
220. Maiyue ♀. ^{4/A;} ~~W~~221; D130; ~~W~~7; S128; (T).
Tiwompe.
221. Iwaempe ♀. 4/B; H220; D130; ~~W~~125; S123; (N).
222. Pekura ♀. 4/B; W223; S126; (F).
223. Sorope ♀. 4/B; H222; S126; (M).
224. Yawampe ♀. 4/C; W240; D120; (P).
225. Suriwa ♀. 3/B; F212; M214; Z24; W226; D179; (MB).
226. Sinewaka ♀. 3/C; H225; D179; (eZ).

227. Onape ϕ . 3/B; W228; S165; (MB).
228. Pemuripe ϕ . 3/C; F253; H227; S165; (eZ).
229. Aranre ϕ . 4/D; W230; S217; D218; (ZS).
230. Pipuru ϕ . 4/C; F81; M82; B78; H229; S217; D218; (yZ).
231. Iporika ϕ . 3/A; W15; D55, 34; $\forall$?; S235; (T).
232. Porosisa ϕ . 4/B; W92; S73; D88; (F).
233. Koempe ϕ . 3/C; W117; D118; (yB).
234. Sikaru ϕ . 4/A; W138; S155, 193; (T).
235. Iwana ϕ . 3/B; F231; W15; S14, 163; (F).
236. Paewape ϕ . 4/C; W237; D60; (eB).
237. Siwiri O. 4/C; H236; D60; (eZ; 50yr).
238. Arapi ϕ . 3/A; F296; M264; B64, 297; W239; D117, 204; (T).
239. Imetimpe ϕ . 3/B; H238; D117, 204; (N).
240. Wiso ϕ . 4/C; H224; D120; (eZ).
241. Amiyo ϕ . 4/A; B277; W242; S170, 295; $\forall$?; D172; (T).
242. Amaina ϕ . 4/A; H241; S170, 295; (N).
243. Soni ϕ . 5/A; W291; D174; (T).
244. Pasawate ϕ . 8/C; F277; H192; D189; (yZ).
245. Tepepuru Δ . 2/C; F294; M279; W653; $\forall$ 246; S215, 655; $\forall$ 252; $\forall$ 18; D554; (eB; 55yr).
246. Takinaiu ϕ . 2/B; F297; M65; Z53; H245; S215, 655; ' $\forall$ 74'; (M).
247. Rapai ϕ . 4/A; W?; D70, 285; (T).
248. Peni ϕ . 4/B; W249; S156;
249. Pitarinai ϕ . 4/B; H248; S156;

250. Noeri ϕ . 4/A; W251; S203; (T).
251. Wairu ϕ . 4/A; H250; S203; (N).
252. Tasi O. 2/C; F5; M3; B7; Z8; $\cancel{H}245$; (yZ).
253. Suri ϕ . 3/B; F298; M299; B41; ^{WT;} $\cancel{D}228$; (F).
254. Sikanimpe Δ . 2/D; F255; M256; W257; (S; 19yr).
255. Irumaiyae Δ . 2/C; W256; S254; $\cancel{Y}734$; D733; (P).
256. Mariwaiyae O. 2/C; H255; S254;
257. Mirere O. 2/B; F258; M259; H254; ' $\cancel{Y}260$ '; $\cancel{Y}261$; S436; ' $\cancel{Y}262$ '; (M; 40yr).
258. Tarimpi ϕ . 2/B; B472, 308, 326; W259; D257; (MB).
259. Matukupin ϕ . 2/A; H258; D257; (N).
260. Makeita ϕ . 2/C; 'W257'; (eB).
261. Tawae ϕ . 2/C; W257; S436;
262. Siwaiweri ϕ , 2/B; 'W257';
263. Enapere Δ . 5/D; F379; M265; B269; W266; (S; 22yr).
Senapi.
264. Mariyeti ϕ . 3/~~T~~; H296; S64, 238, 297; (N).
265. Isarina ϕ . 10/C; H379; S263, 269; (eZ).
266. Awino O. 5/D; F267; M268; H263; (BD; 20yr).
267. Saipempe ϕ . 5/C; W268; D266; (eB).
268. Ewarumen O. 5/C; H267; D266;
269. Tayakae Δ . 5/D; F379; M265; B263; W270; S272; (BS; 30yr).
270. Tamori O. 5/D; F271; M292; H269; S272; (34yr).
271. Marasiwana ϕ . 5/B; B2; W292; D270; (MB).
272. infant Δ . 5/E; F269; M270; (Y).

273. Mooso A. 5/D; F137; M138; B131; Z134; W274; Y197; (P; 37yr).
274. Sipakari O. 5/D; M292; H273; (ZD; 20yr).
275. Pakiwape O. 4/E; F112; M134; B135; (Y; 10yr).
276. Puhī O. 3/E; F59; M58; (Y; 2days).
277. Masarorī Ø. 8/A; B241; W?; D244; (T).
278. Arekume Ø. 3/B; W?; S68; Y288; D12, 111; (MB).
Maiyupe.
279. Karirite Ø. 2/B; H294; S245;
280. Pinsi Ø. 3/A; B212; W214; S39; (T).
281. Poncentu Ø. 4/A; W129; D106; (T).
282. Atuku Ø. 4/B; W106; D219; (P).
283. Akete Ø. 2/A; H293; D18; (N).
284. Tarima Ø. 5/B; B45; W285; S202, 359; D360; (F).
285. Sarareu Ø. 5/B; F247; Z70; H284; S202, 359; D360; (M).
286. Ariyeti Ø. 3/A; H?; D15; (N).
287. Iwariu Ø. 9/D; Z583; H68; S69; Y421; S420;
288. Siripe Ø. 3/A; H278; D12, 111; (N).
289. Parakite Ø. 4/B; W290; D194; (MB).
290. Wikape Ø. 4/B; H289; D194; (M).
291. Puimpe Ø. 5/A; H243; D174; (N).
292. Sipete Ø. 5/C; H271; D270; Y?; D274;
293. Naiyempe Ø. 2/A; W283; D18; (T).
294. Paraito Ø. 2/B; W279; S245;
295. Neri Ø. 4/B; F241; M242; B170; (MB).

296. Anapi φ . 3/A; W264; S64, 238, 297; (T).
297. Yarope φ . 3/A; F296; M264; B64, 238; W65; D53, 246; (MB).
298. Nakapuma φ . 3/A; W299; S41, 253; (T).
299. Situpe φ . 3/A; H298; S41, 253; (N).
300. Korokoro Δ . 1/C; F301; M302; W307; W303; S305; D306; (Ego; 52yr).
301. Kumupī φ . 1/B; B334; W302; S300; W314; S336; D313; (F).
302. Piraewaeyae φ . 1/B; M316; B315, 332, 389; Z314; H301; S300; (M).
303. Simai φ . 1/C; F304; H300; S305; D306; (W).
304. Piyanapī φ . 1/B; W7; D303; (F).
305. Toropeti Δ . 7/D; F300; M303; Z306; W354; S358; D357; (S; 27yr).
Yakuni.
306. Minori O. 1/D; F300; M303; B305; H310; S311; (D; 24yr).
Sumin.
307. Ukere O. 1/D; F308; M309; B310, 312, 555; Z653, 654; H300; (W; 25yr).
Umaesaepī.
308. Kareremen φ . 1/B; B472, 326, 258; W309; S310, 312, 555; D307, 653,
654; (MB).
309. Yenyapi φ . 1/C; F334; M335; Z333; H308; S310, 312, 555; D307, 653,
654; (eZ).
310. Naraeyiyi Δ . 1/D; F308; M309; B312, 555; Z307, 653, 654; W306; S311;
(ZS; 30yr).
311. Sipikī Δ . 1/E; F310; M306; (Y; 6yr).
312. Pisikikī Δ . 2/D; F308; M309; B310, 555; Z307, 653, 654; W554;
Epia. (ZS; 25yr).
313. Mapanaki O. 1/C; F301; M314; B336; H315; S317; (yZ; 41yr).
314. Nimoiimpī φ . 1/B; M316; B315, 322, 389; Z302; H301; S336; D313; (M).
315. Kapai Iputipe Δ . 1/B; M316; B332, 389; Z302, 314; W313; S317; (MB).
Pekaraipo.

316. Kenaruye Ø. 1/A; H7; S315, 332, 389; D302, 314; (N).
317. Inesi Δ. 1/D; F315; M313; W318; D321; (ZS; 30yr).
Sisi.
318. Marina O. 1/D; F319; M320; Z617, 620; H317; D321; M322; S323; (Ipaeye).
319. (Muru) W320; D318, 617, 620;
320. (Mairena) O. H319; D318, 617, 620;
321. Tiyokenke O. 1/E; F317; M318; (Y; 6yr).
322. Yayarike Ø. 1/C; F324; M325; W318; S323; (P).
323. Anasinke Δ. 1/E; F322; M318; (Y; 7yr).
324. Arunte Ø. 1/B; F537; M538; W325; S322;
325. Tuma Ø. 1/B; H324; S322; (N).
326. Sanutu Ø. 12/B; B308, 472, 258; M330; S329; D689; M327; S328, 446, 447;
327. Irawipen O. 12/C; F449; M330; H448; M326; S328, 446, 447; (YZ; 38yr).
328. Napumi Δ. 12/D; F326; M327; B446, 447; (ZS; 10yr).
329. Arante Δ. 12/D; F326; M330; Z689; (ZS; 15yr).
330. Nerui Ø. 12/C; F50; M51; B43, 577; H326; S329; D689; M449; D327; (eZ).
331. Paika O. 1/D; F332; M333; B346; H339; M336; D337, 338; (ZD; 33yr).
Arekoa.
332. Yameti Ø. 1/B; M316; B389, 315; Z302, 314; W333; S346; D331; (MB).
Atapepe.
333. Nasari Ø. 1/C; F334; M335; Z309; H332; S346; D331; M362; D361; (eZ).
334. Tapempi Ø. 1/B; B301; W335; D333, 309; (F).
335. Irasamoke Ø. 1/B; H334; D333, 309; (M).
336. Napeta Ø. 1/C; F301; M314; Z313; W331; D337, 338; (yB).

337. Wakuri O. 1/E; F336; M331; Z338; H343; (Y; 15yr).
Rasimoi.
338. Mawiya O. 1/E; F336; M331; Z337 (Y; 3yr).
339. Yapi A. 1/D; F340; M341; Z644; W331; (BS; 21yr).
340. Pantape Ø. 11/C; F539; W341; S339; D644; (eB).
341. Pakii Ø. 11/B; F342; M536; B688, 738; Z640; H340; S339; D644; W535;
S553; D534; (M).
342. Amenkaeyse Ø. 11/A; W536; S688, 738; D341, 640; (T).
343. Sanepø A. 1/E; F344; M345; Z510; W337; (Y; 17yr).
Inarupen, Inature.
344. Paiye Ø. 11/C; F621; B476; W345; S343; D510; (eB).
345. Kamara O. 11/D; F508; M509; H376; W344; S343; D510 (ZD; 34yr).
Tuyuriyu.
346. Keriya A. 1/D; F332; M333; Z331; W347; D350; (ZS; 26yr).
Api.
347. Saneno O. 1/D; F348; M349; H346; S350; (BD; 20yr).
348. Yitapipe Ø. 1/C; F352; M353; B351; W349; D347; (eB).
349. Maparina Ø. 1/B; H348; D347; (M).
350. Pitu A. 1/E; F346; M347; (Y; 2yr).
351. Arumumpe A. 11/C; F352; M353; B348; W534; W120; (yB; 33yr).
352. Nuisa Ø. 1/A; W353; S348, 351; (T).
353. Oriyæ Ø. 1/B; H352; S351, 348; (N).
354. Minaiye O. 7/D; F355; M356; H305; S358; D357; W359; (ZD; 30yr).
355. Apoki Ø. 7/B; M505; B386; Z464; W356; D354; (eB).
356. Yonene Ø. 7/C; F452; M540; B451; H455; D454; W355; D354; W405; (eZ).
357. Sirewi O. 7/E; F305; M354; B358; (Y; 6yr).

358. Musoro Δ. 7/E; F305; M354; Z357; (Y; 3yr).
359. Retipe ∅. 7/C; F284; M285; B202; Z360; W354; Y540; (eB).
360. Apari O. 6/C; F284; M285; B359, 202; Y482; (eZ; 44yr).
361. Ankapi O. 11/D; F362; M333; H370; D367, 368, 369; Y363; S364, 365;
Ankarapi. D366; (ZD; 45yr).
362. Kumpuruni ∅. 1/A; W333; D361; (T).
363. Orokati ∅. 11/C; M372; W361; S364, 365; D366; (eB).
364. Rime Δ. 10/D; F363; M361; B365; Z366; W378; (BS; 30yr).
Sawane, Pareke.
365. Pikume Δ. 10/D; F363; M361; B364; Z366; W409; D412; (BS; 32yr).
366. Pare ∅. 11/D; F363; M361; B364, 365; H376; S377; (BD).
367. Pikiri O. 11/D; F370; M361; Z368, 369; H373; D374; (BD; 24yr).
368. Patoa O. 10/D; F370; M361; Z367, 369; H381; D384; Y376; (BD; 20yr).
369. Make O. 11/D; F370; M361; Z367, 368; (BD; 13yr).
370. Mukeke ∅. 11/C; F371; M372; W361; D367, 368, 369; (yB).
371. Oroti ∅. 11/B; F424; W372; S370; (F).
372. Sekerina ∅. 11/B; H371; S370; Y7; S363; (M).
373. Anesi Δ. 11/D; M375; W367; D374;
Takeman.
374. Unesi O. 11/E; F373; M367; (Y; 2-3yr).
375. (Mopinairu O.) H7; S373;
376. Asapoti Δ. 11/D; F506; M507; Z596; W345; Y366; S377; Y368; (ZS; 30yr).
377. Sira Δ. 11/E; F376; M366; (Y; 9yr).
378. Merinto O. 10/D; F379; M380; H364; (ZD; 22yr).
379. Pemureki ∅. 10/C; F421; M542; W380; D378; Y265; S263, 269; (eB).
Anesi.

380. Arikumare ϕ . 10/C; F543; M544; H379; D378; (yZ).
381. Pisere Δ . 10/D; F382; M383; W368; D384; W385; (BS; 25yr).
382. Arupi ϕ . 10/C; W517; D519, 516; W383; S381; (eB).
383. Awipo ϕ . 10/C; H382; S381; W586; D583; (eZ).
384. Kororiya O. 10/E; F381; M368; (Y; 2yr).
385. Parusoso O. 7/C; F386; M387; H390; W389; W388; W381; (yZ; 36yr).
Maerine.
386. Pepeyuku ϕ . 7/B; M505; B355; Z464; W387; D385; (MB).
387. Maiyeti ϕ . 7/B; M545; H386; D385; (M).
388. Piro ϕ . 7/C; W385; (yB).
389. Nakinike ϕ . 7/B; M316; B332, 315; Z302, 314; W385; (MB).
390. Koi Δ . 7/D; F391; M392; Z395, 396; W385; W393; D394; (ZS; 22yr).
391. Asoropo ϕ . 7/C; W392; S390; D395, 396; (F).
392. Miss O. 7/C; F397; M398; W391; S390; D395, 396; W405; (yZ; 40yr).
393. Wiwi O. 7/D; F478; M479; B720; W390; D394; (BD; 19yr).
394. Peki O. 7/E; F390; M393; (Y; 3yr).
395. Aiyuna O. 6/D; F391; M393; B390; Z396; H399; (ZD; 20yr).
Kuretene.
396. Rupen O. 7/D; F391; M392; B390; Z395; (ZD; 14yr).
397. Yura ϕ . 7/B; W398; D392; (F).
398. Panariwite ϕ . 7/B; H397; D392; (M).
399. Apipi Δ . 6/D; F33; M34; B11; Z28; W395; W400; S403; (ZS; 33yr).
400. Enusasa O. 6/D; F401; M402; W399; S403; Wwaiyana; S404; (ZD; 30yr).
Enupen.
401. Wamiru ϕ . 6/B; W402; D400; (MB).

402. Monosita ø. 6/C; H401; D400; (eZ).
403. Anturu Δ. 6/E; F399; M400; (Y; 1yr).
404. Tamisi Δ. 6/E; M400; (Y; 5yr).
405. Poiye Δ. 7/B; F406; M407; ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ W392; W356; (P; 48yr).
406. Apatu ø. 7/A; B772; W407; S405; W767; D700; (T).
407. Nanau ø. 7/B; H406; S405; W772; D727; (M).
408. Misui ø. 11/A; H442; S681; (N).
409. Kontina O. 10/D; F410; M411; H365; D412; W413; D414; (ZD; 36yr).
Peru, Kawinu.
410. Yarikate ø. 10/B; F547; M546; B627; Z419; W411; D409; W416; D415; (MB).
411. Siwinun ø. 10/C; H410; D409; (eZ).
412. Nansi O. 10/E; F365; M409; (Y; 2yr).
413. Apiyantoni ø. 10/C; F91; M92; B93, 97; W409; D414; W571; D569; (P).
414. Yumia O. 10/E; F413; M409; H430; D431; (Y; 20yr).
Pasorina.
415. Marinu O. 10/D; F410; M416; H417; (ZD; 23yr).
416. Kurawairu O. 10/C; H410; D415;
417. Inkiman Δ. 10/C; F418; M419; W415; (yB; 30yr).
418. Penkina ø. 10/B; W419; S417; (F).
419. Apewasu ø. 10/B; F547; M546; B410, 627; H418; S417; (M).
420. Naki Δ. 11/E; F421; M287; W423; S426; W427; (Y; 30yr).
421. Yuru ø. 9/B; W287; S420; W583; D581; W542; S379; (F).
422. Akiriko ø. 12/A; W?; S428; (T).
423. Maisani O. 11/D; F442; M425; H420; S426; (ZD; 20yr).
Anamu.

424. Tawanai ϕ . 11/A; W7; S371; (T). 446; (ZS; 11-12yr).
425. Piwuri ϕ . 11/C; H442; D423; (yZ).
426. Usepi Δ . 11/-; F420; M423; (Y; 3yr).
427. Momori O. 12/C; F428; M429; H577; $\cancel{H}$ 420; (yZ; 21yr).
428. Kuyenu ϕ . 12/B; F422; W429; D427; (F).
429. Nonowaiyae ϕ . 12/B; H428; D427; (M).
430. Pareya Δ . 10/D; F432; M433; Z434; W414; D431; (ZS; 25yr).
431. Repi O. 10/-; F430; M414; (Y; 2-3yr).
432. Pimen ϕ . 10/C; W433; S430; D434; (P).
433. Napemura ϕ . 10/C; H432; S430; D434; (yZ).
434. Makarepen O. 10/D; F432; M433; B430; H435; S622; D623; (ZD; 25yr).
435. Asoro Δ . 10/C; F458; M560; Z604; W633; $\cancel{H}$ 434; S622; D623; (yB; 25yr).
436. Sapinke Δ . 11/D; F261; M257; W437; (BS; 22yr).
437. Sintori O. 11/C; F444; M445; Z438; H436; (yZ; 25yr).
438. Tankuru O. 11/C; F444; M445; Z437; H439; S441; D440; (yZ; 28yr).
439. Takii ϕ . 11/B; F442; M443; W438; S441; D440; (MB).
440. Tekupi O. 11/D; F439; M438; B441; (ZD; 7yr).
Tunawapii.
441. Nowa Δ . 11/D; F439; M438; Z440; (ZS; 3-4yr).
442. Nawinawi ϕ . 11/A; W425; D423; $\cancel{H}$ 443; S439; $\cancel{H}$ 408; S681; (T).
443. Epumpi ϕ . 11/A; H442; S439; (N).
444. Taneri ϕ . 11/B; B591; W445; D437, 438; $\cancel{H}$ 663; D626; (F).
445. Papi ϕ . 11/C; H444; D437, 438; (yZ).
446. Sapike Δ . 12/D; F326; M327; B328, 447; (ZS; 7yr).
Aweruiye.
448. Separa C. 1/D; F465; M463; D463; (ZS; 8yr).

447. Pakira Δ. 12/D; F326; M327; B328, 446; (ZS; 11-12yr).
Weki.
448. Aso Δ. 12/C; W327; (F).
449. Kanaiyama φ. 12/B; W330; D327; (F).
450. Not allotted.
451. Asanri Δ. 7/C; F452; M540; Z356; W454; D456; (eB; 40yr).
Yankari.
452. Maripapa φ. 7/B; W540; S451; D356; (F).
453. Not allotted.
454. Eukiye O. 7/D; F455; M356; H451; D456; (ZD; 36yr).
Napekii.
455. Arankii φ. 7/B; W356; D454; (MB).
456. Patukimpi O. 7/D; F451; M454; H457; S460, 461; (BD; 22yr).
457. Seisei Δ. 7/C; F458; M459; W456; S460, 461; (yB; 28yr).
458. Pepeta φ. 8/B; M611; W459; S457; W522; D507; W560; S435; D604; (F).
Sawaki.
459. Sikuripen φ. 8/B; F605; M606; Z560; H458; S457; (M).
460. Araki Δ. 7/E; F457; M456; B461; (Y; 6yr).
461. Miko Δ. 7/E; F457; M456; B460; (Y; 2yr).
462. Arena O. 1/C; F463; M464; Z470; H465; S469; D468; (yZ; 32yr).
463. Simore φ. 1/B; F691; W464; D462, 470; W659; S658, 679, 684, 685; (F).
464. Irakina φ. 1/B; M505; B355, 386; H463; D462, 470; (M).
Aiyupe.
465. Marere φ. 1/C; F466; M467; B732; W462; S469; D468; (eB).
466. Sirai φ. 1/A; W467; S465, 732; (T).
467. Ewaruye φ. 1/B; H466; S465, 732; (M).
Awaruiye.
468. Sepera O. 1/D; F465; M462; B469; (ZD; 8yr).

469. Tampe Δ. 1/D; F465; M462; Z468; (ZS; 6yr).
Sanpe.
470. Sareyuna O. 1/C; F463; M464; Z462; H471; D475; (yZ; 37yr).
471. Surekore φ. 1/B; F472; M473; Z659; W470; D475; (P).
472. Sariku φ. 1/B; B308, 326, 258; W473; S471; D659; (MB).
473. Pisipe φ. 1/A; F474; H472; S471; D659; (N).
474. Amipī φ. 1/~~A~~; W7; D473; (T).
475. Ekewiyse O. 1/D; F471; M470; H476; S477; (ZD; 18yr).
Yamakī.
476. Anasi Δ. 1/C; F621; B344; W475; S477; (yB; 34yr).
477. infant Δ. 1/E; F476; M475; (Y; 2months).
478. Parokiwi φ. 7/C; W479; S720; D393; (eB).
479. Arikepi O. 7/C; H478; S720; D393;
480. Pinare Δ. 4/D; F97; M481; (ZS; 15yr).
481. Pansina φ. 4/C; H97; S480; W741; S740, 716; (eZ).
482. Temeta Δ. 6/C; F483; M484; W485; S488, 489; W360; (P; 42yr).
483. Atiyari φ. 6/A; W484; S482; (T).
484. Mansaru φ. 6/B; H483; S482; (N).
485. Kara O. 6/C; F192; M487; H482; S488, 489; (yZ; 24yr).
486. Mopepe φ. 3/B; H45; S563;
487. Reposi φ. 8/B; F550; M509; H192; D485; W601; D600; (M).
488. Musere Δ. 6/D; F482; M485; B489; (ZS; 7yr).
489. Yan Δ. 6/D; F482; M485; B488; (ZS; 2-3yr).
490. Sipe Δ. 6/D; F491; M492; Z493; W502; (BS; 22yr).
Pirermare.

491. Aruwate φ . 5/C; W492; S490; D493; (eB).
492. Awaintu φ . 6/B; F495; M497; Z594; H491; S490; D493; (M).
493. Apokinini O. 6/D; F491; M492; B490; H494; S500, 523; D501; (ED; 24yr).
494. Piti Δ . 6/D; F495; M496; W493; S500, 523; D501; (ZS; 30yr).
495. Matenro φ . 8/A; W496; S494; F497; D492, 594; (T).
496. Panaka φ . 8/C; F498; M499; H495; S494; W630; S599; (eZ).
497. Takiruta φ . 8/A; H495; D492, 594; (N).
498. Kiriwa φ . 8/B; W499; D496;
499. Piropi φ . 8/B; H498; D496; (M).
500. Imariu Δ . 6/E; F494; M493; B523; Z501; (Y; 5yr).
501. Repi O. 6/E; F494; M493; B500, 523; (Y; 2yr).
502. Takiru O. 6/D; F503; M504; H490;
503. Kasirimari φ . 6/C; W504; D502;
504. Apitawa φ . 6/C; H503; D502;
505. Wawita φ . 1/A; H?; S355, 386; D464; (N).
506. Kiririte φ . 11/B; F548; M549; W507; S376; D596; (MB).
507. Wepi φ . 11/C; F458; M522; H506; S376; D596; (eZ).
508. Yawiken φ . 11/C; F550; W509; D345; (eB).
509. Yawinapu φ . 11/C; F551; M552; H508; D345; W550; D487; (eZ).
510. Ikinupe O. 11/E; F344; M345; B343; (Y; 7yr).
511. Simuru Δ . 9/D; F512; M513; (BS; 16yr).
512. Tawakira φ . 9/C; F526; M527; B529; W513; S511; (eB).
513. Pekara φ . 9/B; F520; M521; Z150, 517; H512; S511; (M).
514. Supipi Δ . 10/D; F68; M515; W516; D518; (ZS; 30yr).

515. Sinuwite ø. 9/C; H68; S514; (eZ).
516. Rena O. 10/D; F382; M517; Z519; H514; D518; (BD; 22yr).
517. Patui ø. 10/B; F520; M521; Z150, 513; H382; D519, 516; (M).
518. Meriya O. 10/E; F514; M516; (Y; 2yr).
519. Tapiro O. 10/D; F382; M517; Z516; (BD; 20yr).
Porina, Taiyae.
520. Teteku ø. 10/A; W521; D150, 517, 513; (T).
521. Nuku ø. 10/C; H520; D150, 517, 513; W531; D530; (eZ).
522. Yentoripe ø. 8/B; H458; D507; W26; S125; (M).
523. Siperi Δ. 6/E; F494; M493; B500; Z501; (Y; 7yr).
524. Kapu ø. 8/D; M525; W596; D597, 598;
525. Iwarunape ø. 8/C; H7; S524; (eZ).
526. Mokoropi ø. 9/B; W527; S512, 529; W766; D760; (F).
527. Simaekaeru ø. 9/B; H526; S512, 529; (M).
528. Pesini Δ. 9/D; F529; M530; W532; D533; (BS; 28yr).
529. Turape ø. 9/C; F526; M527; B512; W530; S528; (eB).
530. Yakukuna ø. 9/B; F531; M521; H529; S528; (M).
531. Awaenki ø. 10/A; W521; D530; (T).
532. Ipesipen O. 9/D; H528; D533;
533. Anna O. 9/E; F528; M532; (Y; 6yr).
534. Natete O. 11/D; F535; M341; B553; H351; (BD; 20yr).
535. Musere ø. 11/C; F779; M780; Z635; W341; S553; D534; W774; S775,
776, 777; (eB).
536. Situa ø. 11/A; H342; S688, 738; D341, 640; (N).

537. Nasipe ϕ , 1/A; W538; S324; (T).
538. Eritutu ϕ , 1/A; H537; S324; (N).
539. Watompe ϕ , 11/B; W?; S340; (F).
540. Aminu ϕ , 7/B; H452; S451; D356; $\cancel{N}$ 359; (M).
541. Not allotted.
542. Panateri ϕ , 9/B; H421; S379; (N).
543. Weyute ϕ , 10/A; W544; D380; (T).
544. Tankaiya ϕ , 10/B; H543; D380; (M).
545. Arirupen ϕ , 7/A; H?; D387; (N).
546. Kumapen ϕ , 10/A; $\cancel{N}$ 547; S410, 627; D419; (N).
547. Wapuyari ϕ , 10/A; W546; S410, 627; D419; (T).
548. Sirirumai ϕ , 11/A; W549; S506; (T).
549. Yoyore ϕ , 11/A; H548; S506; (N).
550. Akowani ϕ , 11/A; W?; S508; $\cancel{N}$ 509; D487; (T).
551. Potoma ϕ , 11/B; W552; D509; (F).
552. Parawapen ϕ , 11/B; H551; D509; (N).
553. Kowerina Δ , 11/D; F535; M341; Z534; (BS; 10yr).
554. Pasopo ϕ , 2/D; F245; M18; H312; (BD).
555. Wisiwa Δ , 1/D; F308; M309; B310, 312; Z307, 653, 654; (ZS; 17yr).
Usiwa.
556. Pokii Δ , 8/D; F557; M558; W559; S561, 562; (ZS; 28yr).
557. Emuke ϕ , 8/C; F575; B694; W558; S556; $\cancel{N}$ 569; S576; (MB).
558. Minape ϕ , 8/C; H557; S556; (eZ).
559. Kuri O. 8/C; F607; M608; H556; S561, 562; $\cancel{N}$ 563; S564; D565; (yZ; 40yr).
Iyetipen.

560. Saripen O. 8/B; F605; M606; Z459; H458; S435; D604; ~~W~~603; S602;
(M; 51yr).
561. Sikese Δ. 8/E; F556; M559; B562; (Y; 8yr).
562. Matiu Δ. 8/E; F556; M559; B561; (Y; 6yr).
563. Irame ϕ . 8/C; F45; M486; W559; S564; D565; (P).
564. Akori Δ. 8/D; F563; M559; Z565; (ZS; 17yr).
565. Iriuna O. 8/D; F563; M559; B564; H602; S610; (ZD; 24yr).
566. Sini Δ. 8/D; F567; M568; W569; S573; D572; (ZS; 27yr).
567. Yinampi ϕ . 8/B; W568; S566; (MB).
568. Akarapio ϕ . 8/C; H567; S566; ~~W~~587; S595; (Z).
569. Ampani O. 8/C; F413; M571; H566; S573; D572; ~~W~~557; S576; (yZ; 27yr).
Konopo.
570. Not allotted.
571. Akeri ϕ . 10/B; H413; D569; ~~W~~627; S603; (N).
572. Omiri O. 8/E; F566; M569; B573; (Y; 10yr).
573. Rani Δ. 8/E; F566; M569; Z572; (Y; 2yr).
574. Sokope ϕ . 7/B; H?; S697;
575. Apisike ϕ . 8/A; W?; S557, 694; (T).
576. Itepu Δ. 8/D; F557; M569; (ZS; 11yr).
577. Maruwaike Δ. 12/C; F50; M51; B43; Z330; W427; (P; 36yr).
Akaiyake.
578. Kiyokiyo Δ. 9/D; F579; M580; W581; ~~W~~582; S585; (ZS; 24yr).
579. Iyaripen ϕ . 9/C; W580; S578; (P).
580. Mawa ϕ . 9/C; H579; S578; (eZ).
581. Tawi O. 9/E; F421; M583; H578; (Y; 22yr).

582. Napiyo O. 9/E; F584; M583; Y578; S585; (Y; 18yr).
583. Wenaru O. 9/D; F586; M383; 2287; H421; D581; Y584; D582; Y641;
(ZD; 37yr).
584. Aika A. 9/D; Y583; D582; 'Y704';
585. Yani A. 9/-; F578; M582; (Y; 3months).
586. Mapiyukuta O. 10/C; W383; D583; (P).
587. Yaruwanare A. 8/B; F588; M589; W590; D593; Y568; S595; Y594; (MB; 45yr)
Atipaiya.
588. Anakiriki O. 8/A; W589; S587; (T).
589. Wapute O. 8/A; H588; S587; (N).
590. Nouku O. 8/C; F591; M592; B616; H587; D593; (yZ; 28yr).
Tarerowa.
591. Somo O. 8/B; B444; W592; S616; D590; Y700; D704; (F).
592. Piraekimpi O. 8/B; F664; M663; H591; S616; D590; (M).
593. Seren O. 8/D; F587; M590; (ZD; 4yr).
594. Sipoti O. 8/B; F495; M497; Z492; H587; (M).
595. Sirosi A. 8/D; F587; M568; W596; (ZS; 25yr).
596. Asaeye O. 8/D; F506; M507; B376; H595; Y524; D597, 598; (ZD; 30yr).
Karasiri.
597. Anu O. 8/E; F524; M596; Z598; (Y; 13yr).
598. Apoiyo O. 8/E; F524; M596; Z597; H599; (Y; 18yr).
599. Tamiko A. 8/D; F630; M496; W598; (ZS; 26yr).
600. Asasape O. 8/C; F601; M487; Hwaiyana; (yZ; 17yr).
601. Koihompī O. 8/C; F742; M743; W487; D600; Y604; D613; (P).
602. Pesoro A. 8/D; F603; M560; W565; S610; (BS; 24yr).
603. Nikiratete O. 8/C; F627; M571; W560; S602; (yB).

604. Paiyemipe O. 8/C; F458; M560; B435; H636; D637; F740; D614; F601; D613; (yz; 32yr).
605. Kapu Ø. 8/A; W606; D560, 459; (T).
606. Pakaisita Ø. 8/A; F628; M629; H609; D608; F605; D560, 459; (N).
607. Tere Ø. 8/B; W608; D559; (F).
608. Takai Ø. 8/B; F609; M606; H607; D559; (N).
609. Aresi Ø. 8/A; W606; D608; (T).
610. Ruki Δ. 8/E; F602; M565; (Y; 2-3yr).
611. Penete Ø. 8/A; H?; S458; (N).
612. Reyama O. 11/D; F648; M649; Z651, 652; (BD; 4yr).
613. Kukuri O. 8/D; F601; M604; (ZD; 6yr).
614. Petu Δ. 8/E; F740; M604; (Y; 10yr).
615. Sinrape O. 4/D; F102; M103; Z99; (ZD; 17yr).
616. Kisi Δ. 8/C; F591; M592; Z590; W617; S618; D619; (yB).
617. Tunari O. 8/C; F319; M320; Z620, 318; H616; S618; D619;
618. Orowumpi Δ. 8/D; F616; M617; Z619; (BS; 7yr).
619. Taina O. 8/D; F616; M617; B618; (BD; 1yr).
620. Teme O. 10/D; F319; M320; Z318, 617; H624;
621. Kaiyeri Ø. 11/B; W?; S476; 344; (F).
622. Yemisi Δ. 10/E; F435; M434; Z623; (Y; 4yr).
623. Peti O. 10/E; F435; M434; B622; (Y; 2-3yr).
624. Kumaware Δ. 10/D; F625; M626; W620; (ZB; 20yr).
Waika.
625. Asira Ø. 10/C; F669; W626; S624; (P).

626. Iyawinaru O. 10/C; F444; M663; W625; S624; W660; (yz; 38yr).
627. Iyarike /4. 10/B; F547; M546; B410; Z419; W571; S603; (F).
628. Awia /4. 8/+; W629; D606; (T).
629. Orayipe /4. 8/+; H628; D606; (N).
630. Yarepe A. 8/C; F631; M632; W496; S599; W704; S706; (MB).
631. Saruku /4. 8/B; W632; S630; (T).
632. Maparipen /4. 8/B; F211; B210; H631; S630; (N).
633. Ikiri O. 10/D; F634; M635; H435; (ZD; 17yr).
634. Wiwiki /4. 10/C; W635; D633; (P).
635. Nantawi /4. 10/C; F779; M780; B535; H634; D633; (yz).
636. Asepe A. 8/C; F176; M174; W604; D637; (P; 23yr).
637. Erisa O. 8/D; F636; M604; (ZD; 3yr).
638. Kurura O. 9/D; F639; M640; H641; (BD; 20yr).
639. Aretai /4. 9/C; W640; D638; (B).
640. Htempe O. 9/B; F342; M536; B688, 738; Z341; H639; D638; (M).
641. Pera A. 9/C; F642; M643; W638; W583; (yB; 26yr).
642. Kewikewu /4. 9/B; W643; S641;
643. Tuwike O. 9/B; H642; S641; W748; D747; (M; 44yr).
644. Pawa O. 11/D; F340; M341; B339; H645; (BD; 20yr).
645. Murewesu A. 11/C; F646; M647; B648; W644; (yB; 20yr).
646. Sirai /4. 11/A; W647; S645, 648; (T).
647. Apopi /4. 11/B; H646; S645, 648; (M).
648. Asusuke /4. 11/C; F646; M647; B645; W649; D651, 652, 612; (eB).
Murire.

649. Sapakanana O. 11/D; D778; M650; H648; D651, 652, 612; (ZD; 33yr).
650. Nuwimpe Ø. 11/C; H778; D649; (eZ).
651. Papoti O. 11/D; F648; M649; Z652, 612; (BD; 10yr).
652. Ere O. 11/D; F648; M649; Z651, 612; (BD; 7yr).
Matukawara.
653. Napipen O. 2/D; F308; M309; B310, 312, 555; Z307, 654; H245; (ZD; 21yr).
Penu.
654. Kuramenaru O. 2/D; F308; M309; B310, 312, 555; Z307, 653; H655; Y656;
S657; (ZD; 23yr).
655. Ipanape Δ. 2/E; F245; M246; B215; W654; Y686; (BS; 19yr).
Anipen.
656. Pereresi Ø. 2/C; W654; S657; Y785; (eB).
657. Sinike Δ. 2/E; F656; M654; (Y; 6yr).
658. Taimu Δ. 1/C; F463; M659; B679, 684, 685; (yB; 7yr).
659. Mirire Ø. 1/B; F472; M473; B471; H463; S658, 679, 684, 685; (M).
660. Koyopi Δ. 10/C; F661; M662; W626; Y665; (P; 40yr).
661. Koita Ø. 10/B; B668; W662; S660; (MB).
662. Aranseye Ø. 10/B; H661; S660; Y668; D774; (N).
663. Iponu Ø. H664; D592; Y444; D626; (M).
664. Mekinti Ø. 11/A; W663; D592; (T).
665. Patutu Ø. 10/C; F666; M667; H660; (yZ).
666. Tutimpi Ø. W667; D665; (T).
667. Amikli Ø. 10/B; H666; D665; (N).
668. Yatuwari Ø. 10/B; B661; W662; D774; (MB).
669. Arapite Ø. 10/A; W7; S625; (T).
670. Koiye Δ. 9/D; F671; M672; W673; Y677; (ZS; 42yr).

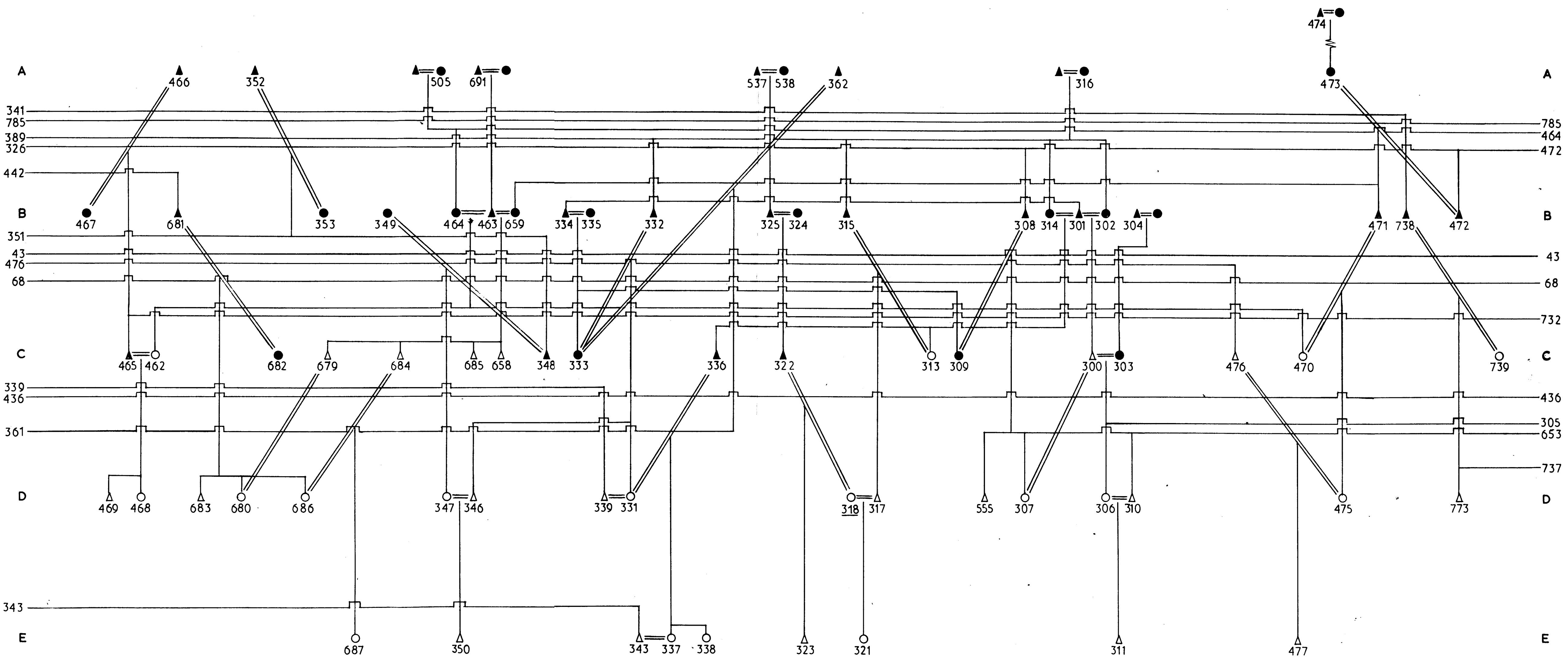
671. Pisure φ . 9/B; Z785; W672; S670; W760; S756; (MB).
Posiato.
672. Sasampe φ . 9/C; H671; S670; (eZ).
673. Koina O. 9/D; F674; M675; Z676; H670; (ZD; 38yr).
674. Rina φ . 9/B; W675; S676; D673; (MB).
675. Motu φ . 9/C; M759; H674; S676; D673; (eZ).
676. Napewaitukai O. 9/D; F674; M675; Z673; (ZD).
677. Mokoisai φ . 9/C; F678; B764, 778; H670; W705; (eZ).
678. Petete φ . 11/B; W7; S778, 764; D677; (F).
679. Tupiro Δ . 1/C; F463; M659; B684, 658, 685; W680; (yB; 20yr).
680. Sipiya O. 1/D; F681; M682; B683; Z686; H679; (ZD; 18yr).
681. Sone φ . 1/B; F442; M408; W682; S683; D680, 686; (P).
682. Siyankiri φ . 1/C; H681; S683; D680, 686; (yZ).
683. Pisai Δ . 1/D; F681; M682; Z680, 686; (ZS; 11yr).
684. Nupiyaranke Δ . 1/C; F463; M659; B679, 658, 685; W686; D687; (yB; 18yr).
685. Sipo Δ . 1/C; F463; M659; B658, 679, 684; (yB; 8yr).
686. Saere O. 1/D; F681; M682; B683; Z680; H684; D687; W655; (ZD; 24yr).
687. infant O. 1/E; F684; M686; (Y; 1yr).
688. Akui Δ . 12/B; F342; M536; B738; Z341, 640; W689; S690; (P; 28yr).
689. Siwituru O. 12/D; F326; M330; B329; H688; S690; (ZD; 24yr).
690. Siro Δ . 12/E; F688; M689; (Y; 6yr).
691. Tawanamae φ . 1/A; W7; S463; (T).
692. Kampe Δ . 7/E; F694; M695; Z693, 768; (Y; 16yr).
693. Sikuraipo O. 7/E; F694; M695; B692; Z768; (Y; 11yr).

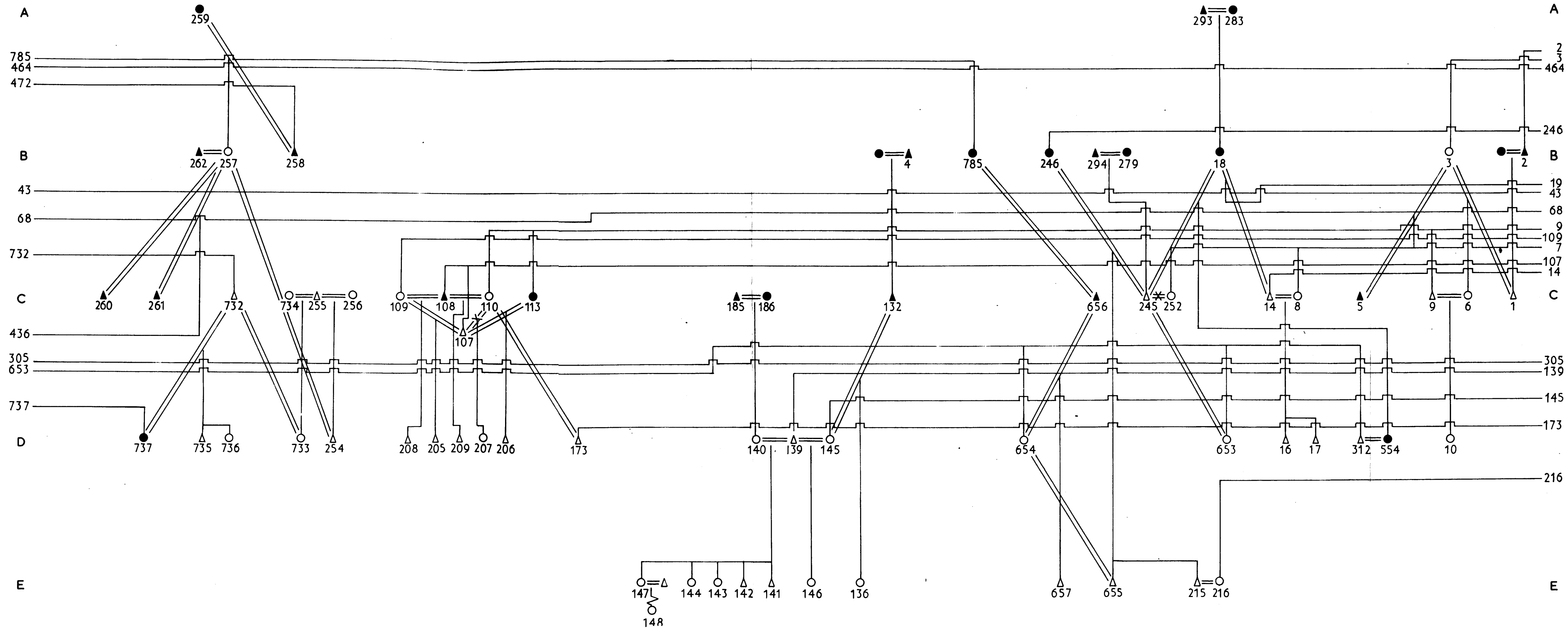
694. Miyevari ϕ . 7/C; F575; B557; W695; S692; D693, 768; (P).
695. Putuhke ϕ . 7/D; H694; S692; D693, 768; W770; D769; (BD).
696. Sapepaha O. 7/D; F697; M698; H699; S703; D701, 702; (ZD; 28yr).
697. Arere ϕ . 7/C; M574; W698; D696; W722; D721; (P).
698. Wakiya ϕ . 7/C; H697; D696; (eZ).
699. Siki Δ . 7/C; F710; M700; B712; W696; S703; D701, 702; (yB; 32yr).
700. Rekewa O. 8/B; F406; M767; W591; D704; W710; S712, 699; W708; S707; W771; S770; (M; 56yr).
701. Temere O. 7/D; F699; M696; B703; Z702; (BD; 7yr).
702. Ikuena O. 7/D; F699; M696; B703; Z701; (BD; 5yr).
703. Ratu Δ . 7/D; F699; M696; Z701, 702; (BD; 2yr).
704. Anoriya O. 8/C; F591; M700; 'H584'; W630; S706; (yZ; 28yr).
705. Saruma ϕ . 9/C; W677;
706. Tiwaimo Δ . 8/D; F630; M704; (ZS; 19yr).
707. Atipa Δ . 7/C; F708; M700; W709; (yB; 30-35yr).
708. Maiyori ϕ . 8/A; W700; S707; (T).
709. Paika O. 7/C; F714; M715; Z713; H707;
710. Makampe ϕ . 8/A; W700; S699, 712; (T).
711. Makuwana Δ . 7/D; F712; M713; (BS; 14yr).
712. Aramiso.
712. Eyuku Δ . 7/C; F710; M700; B699; W713; S711; (yB).
713. Masi ϕ . 7/C; F714; M715; Z709; H712; S711;
714. Tukanapo ϕ . 7/B; W715; D713, 709;
715. Sikaren ϕ . 7/B; H714; D713, 709;
716. Asiwape Δ . 6/D; F741; M481; B740; W717; (ZS; 20yr).

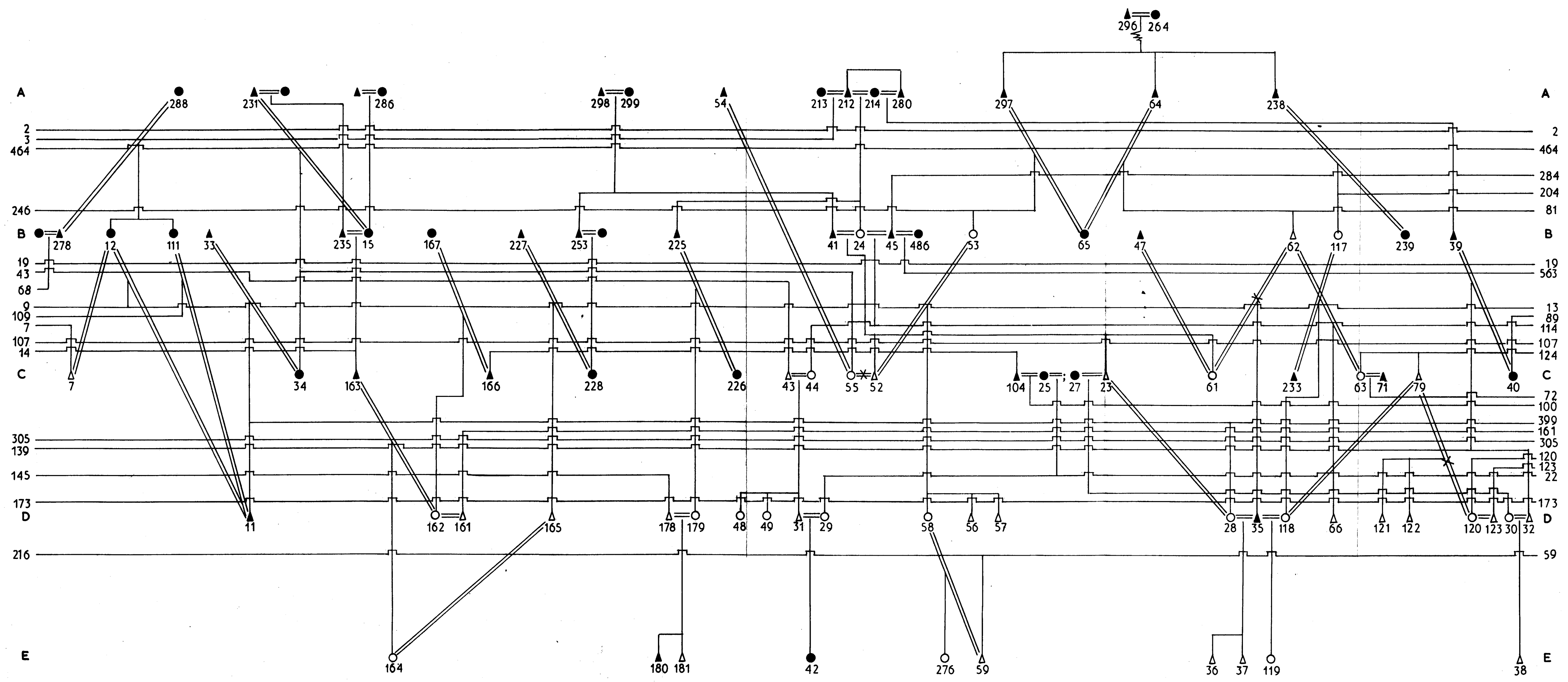
717. Wiyina O. 6/C; F718; M719; H716; (Z; 19yr).
718. Yamante /%. 6/B; W719; D717; (F).
719. Pareri %. 6/B; H718; D717; (M).
720. Iyetipe Δ. 7/D; F478; M479; Z393; W721; W724; D723; (BS; 32yr).
721. Urututu O. 7/D; F697; M722; H720; (ZD; 24yr).
722. Pei. %. 7/C; H697; D721; (eZ).
723. Kiini O. 7/E; F720; M724; (Y; 4yr).
724. Itamu %. 7/C; H720; D723; (yZ).
725. Ameniye O. 6/D; F726; M727; B781; H731; W728; S730; D729; (BD; 26yr).
726. Pakoti /%. 6/C; W727; S781; D725; (eB).
Yaitute, Apanke.
727. Misopa %. 6/E; F772; M407; H726; S781; D725; (M).
Panteya.
728. Tarukare /%. 6/D; W725; S730; D729;
729. Tipoma O. 6/E; F728; M725; B730; (Y; 6yr).
730. Kute Δ. 6/E; F728; M725; Z729; (Y; 8yr).
731. Tutu Δ. 6/D; W725;
732. Natara Δ. 2/C; F466; M467; B465; W733; W737; S735; D736; (yB; 33yr).
733. Anitiye O. 2/D; F255; M734; H732; (BD; 21yr).
734. Pukliya O. 2/C; H255; D733; (Z).
735. Piri Δ. 2/D; F732; M737; Z736; (BS; 10yr).
736. Pakoro O. 2/D; F732; M737; B735; (BD; 6yr).
737. Sinuku %. 2/D; F738; M739; B773; H732; S735; D736; (ZD).
738. Arinaike /%. 1/B; F342; M536; B688; Z341, 640; W739; S773; D737; (P).
739. Pirepumpe O. 1/C; H738; S773; D737; (Z).

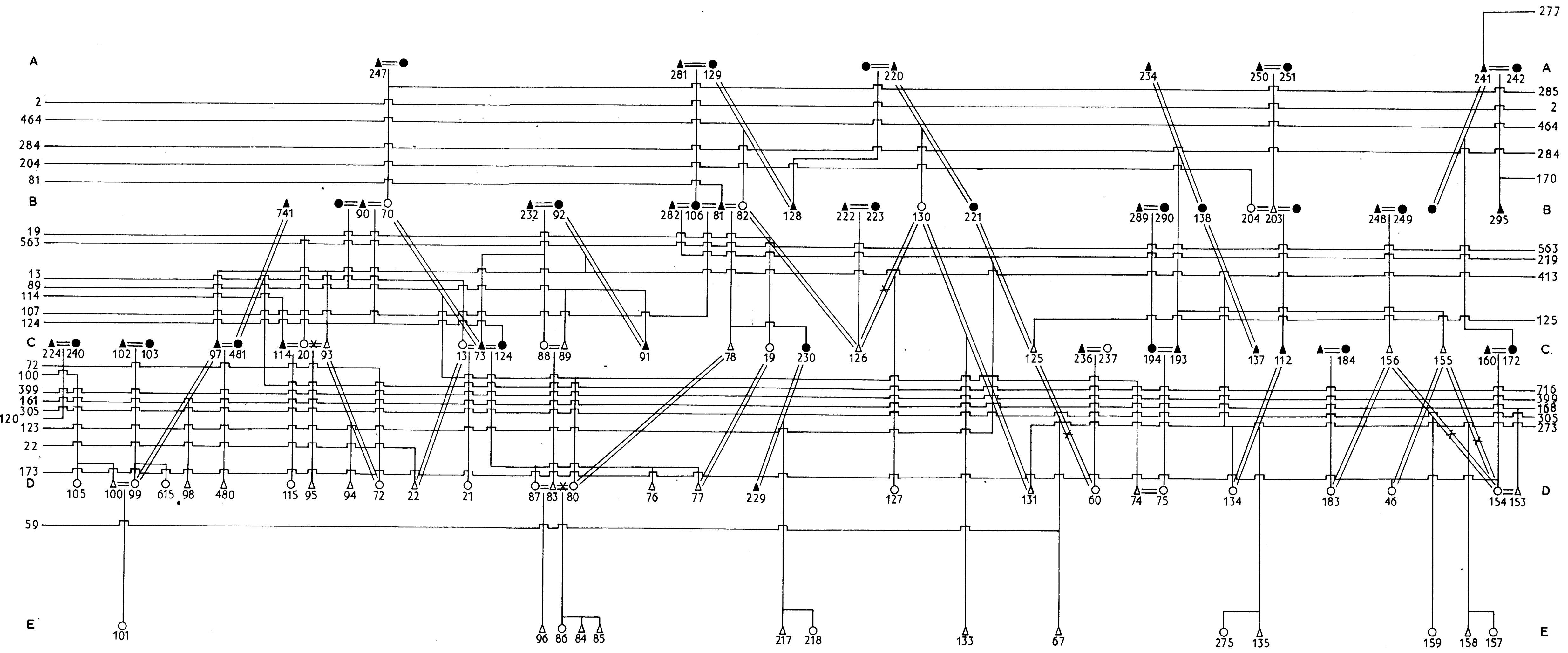
740. Koriyae ♀. 8/D; F741; M481; B716; W604; D614; (ZS).
741. Rikusae ♀. 4/B; W481; S740, 716; (MB).
742. Urapia ♀. 8/B; W743; S601; (MB).
743. Panameye ♀. 8/B; H742; S601; (M).
744. Surake Δ. 9/D; F745; M746; W747; D749, 750, 751; (BS; 36yr).
745. Sirimu ♀. 8/C; W746; S744; (eB).
746. Piriruye ♀. 8/B; H745; S744; (M).
747. Moni ♀. 9/D; F748; M643; H744; D749, 750, 751; (BD).
Samunukupe.
748. Manti ♀. 9/C; W643; D747; (eB).
749. Tepepiwa O. 9/E; F744; M747; Z750, 751; (Y; 6yr).
750. Aripe O. 9/E; F744; M747; Z749, 751; (Y; 4yr).
751. Foretane O. 9/E; F744; M747; Z749, 750; (Y; 3yr).
752. Kirimesa Δ. 9/D; F753; M754; W755; (BS; 20yr).
753. Pinkara ♀. 9/C; F786; W754; S752; (B).
754. Tintinu ♀. 9/D; H753; S752; W764; D761; (ZD).
755. Ponsikini O. 9/E; F756; M757; Z758; H752; (Y; 18yr).
756. Kusene Δ. 9/D; F671; M760; W757; D755, 758; W761; S762; W763; (ZS; 37yr).
757. Kiipaiye ♀. 9/C; H756; D755, 758; (Z).
Sokii.
758. Werepe O. 9/E; F756; M757; Z755; (Y; 12yr).
759. Koropimpe ♀. 9/B; H7; D675;
760. Busuremu O. 9/C; F526; M766; H671; S756; (eZ; 48yr).
761. Pirikiki ♀. 9/D; F764; M754; H756; S762; (BD).
762. Piyampisi Δ. 9/E; F756; M761; (Y; 4yr).

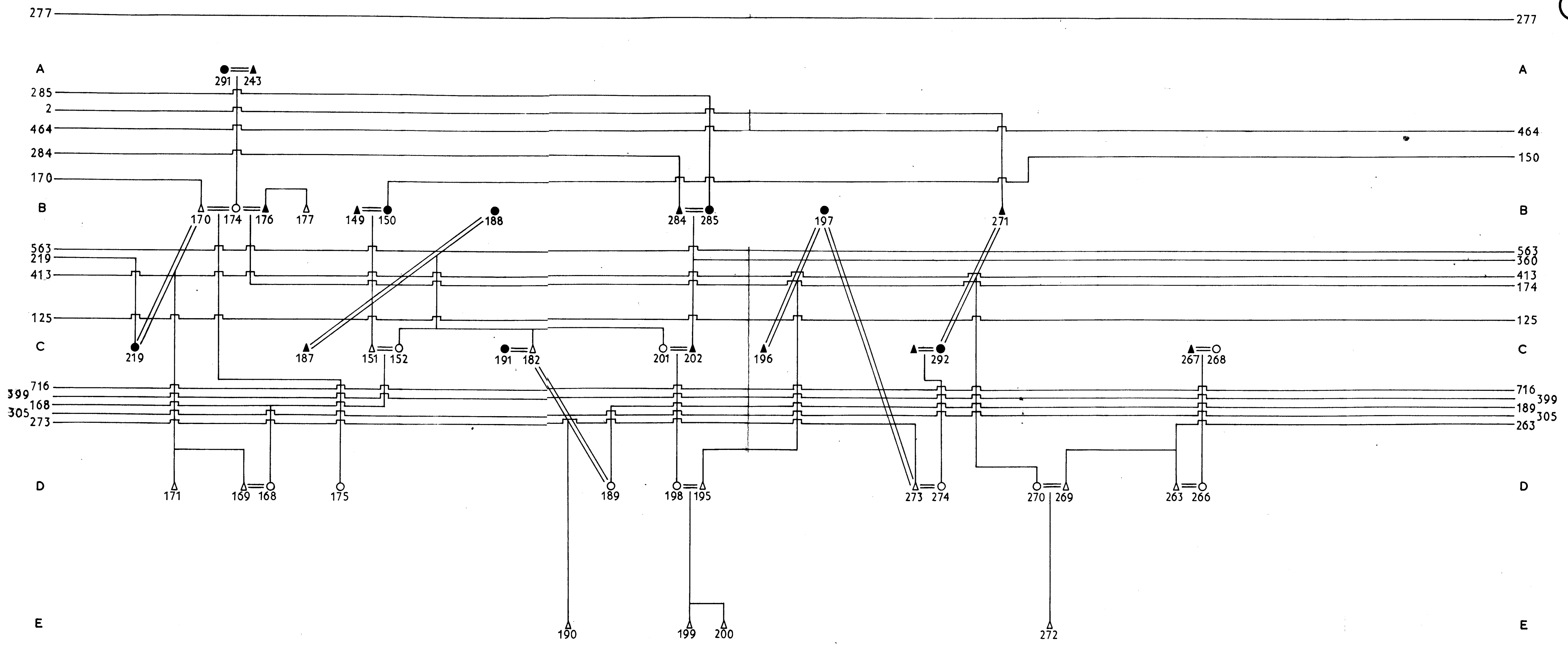
763. Wikomen O. 9/D; M765; H756; (ZD; 20yr).
764. Korotae ϕ . 9/C; F678; B778; Z677; W754; D761; (eB).
765. Peyo ϕ . 9/C; H?; D763; (eZ).
766. Ariwe ϕ . 9/B; H526; D760; (M).
767. Atiyani ϕ . 7/A; H406; D700; (N).
768. Ropi O. 7/E; F694; M695; B692; Z693; (Y; 4yr).
769. Imerupen O. 7/E; F770; M695; (Y; 3yr).
770. Sapontu ϕ . 7/C; F771; M700; W695; D769; (P).
771. Peti ϕ . 8/B; W700; S770; (MB).
772. Sante ϕ . 7/A; B406; W407; D727; (T).
773. Wamepen Δ . 1/D; F738; M739; Z737; (ZS; 18yr).
Rapaos.
774. Nayiwi O. 11/C; F668; M662; H535; S775, 776, 777; (ZD; 36yr).
775. Panasope Δ . 11/D; F535; M774; B776, 777; (BS; 17yr).
776. Tukii Δ . 11/D; F535; M774; B775, 777; (BS; 7yr).
777. Tepewaituke Δ . 11/D; F535; M774; B775, 776; (BS; 3yr).
778. Tompi Δ . 11/C; F678; B764; Z677; W650; D649; (MB).
779. Aramariro ϕ . 11/B; W780; S535; D635; (F).
780. Tunate ϕ . 11/B; H779; S535; D635; (M).
781. Sapiyaiya ϕ . 6/D; F726; M727; Z725; W782; (BS).
782. Makara ϕ . 6/D; F783; M784; H781;
783. Tapon ϕ . 6/C; W784; D782; (eB).
784. Ari ϕ . 6/C; H783; D782;
785. Wiripe ϕ . 2/B; B671; H656;
786. Sipoti ϕ . 9/B; W?; S753; (F).

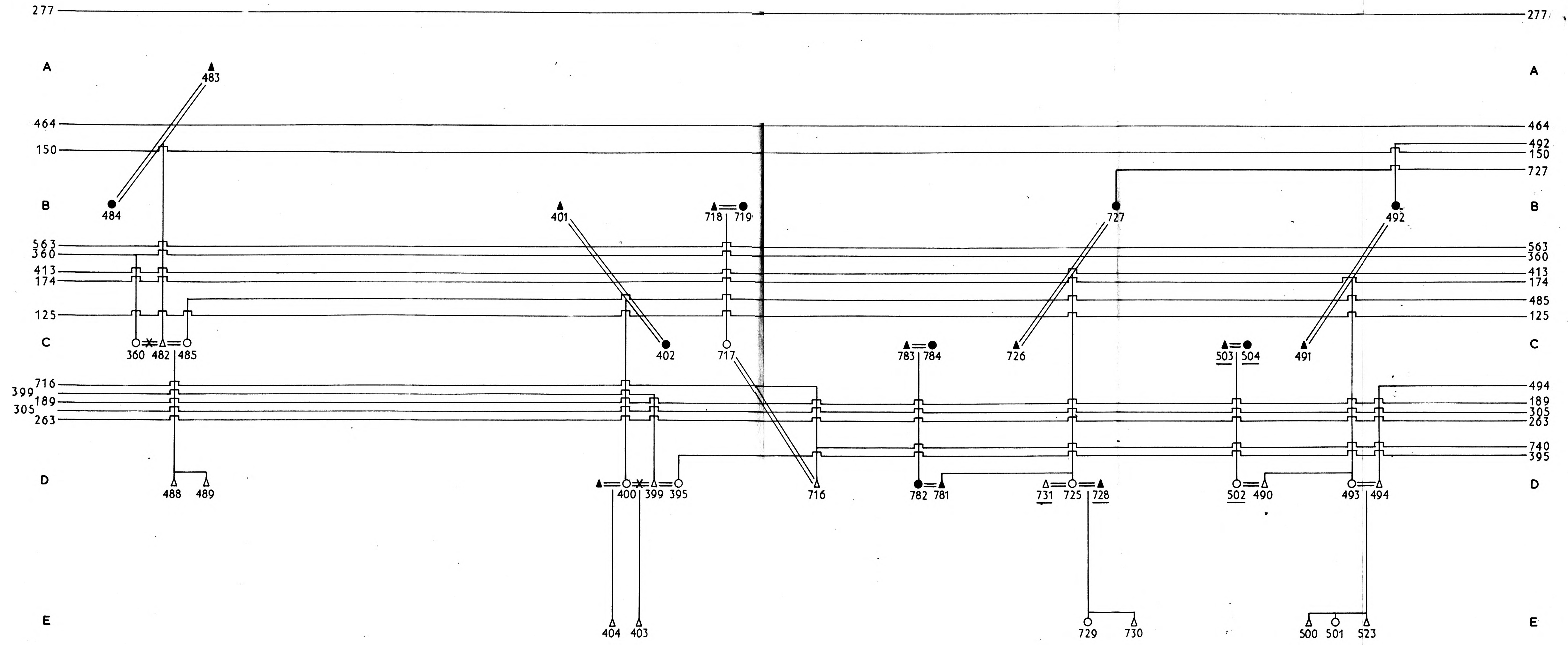












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