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ON NAMONUITO ATOLL, CAROLINE ISLANDS.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, PH.D., 1978

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ADOPTION, FILIATION, AND MATRILINEAL DESCENT ON NAMONUITO ATOLL, CAROLINE ISLANDS

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

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ANTHROPOLOGY

AUGUST 1978

By

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Finally, I thank the people of Namonuito and especially of Ulul Island. I came there wanting to learn and knowing that I would demand a great deal of their time and patience. But I had no idea there would be so many who would accommodate me with such enthusiastic grace. I offer this report in tribute to them and to the customs which they so often and justifiably said were important to record.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

Given the widespread occurrence of adoption in Oceania and its intimate association with kinship wherever it has been found, the suggestion has been made that the study of Oceanic adoption can add to the general body of knowledge about the nature of kinship (Carroll 1970b; Brady 1976). The purpose of the research reported here was to further such knowledge by studying adoption in the matrilineal society of Namonuito Atoll, Caroline Islands. Because adoption on Namonuito is only transacted between individuals who are already kin, my understanding of adoption required an understanding of its context, the kinship system. I conducted the research with a special emphasis on understanding adoption and its place in the kinship system as they are understood by the people of Namonuito. This emphasis on the Namonuito view was based on the assumption that if new knowledge about the nature of kinship was to be developed by the study, a most likely source of such knowledge would be the people of Namonuito themselves.

This assumption was supported by the results of the research. My study of Namonuito understandings of adoption

in kinship yielded three major findings that are relevant to kinship theory. (1) A child's relationship to his genitor on Namonuito is based on a concept of paternal biogenesis. This consanguineal or blood relationship has important ramifications for complementary filiation, potestality, and adoption patterns. But membership in the matrilineal descent group is based on something unassociated with consanguinity. It is based on a concept of "staying." In light of this Namonuito concept, consanguineal or blood relationships cannot be assumed to be the universal basis of descent group membership. (2) Some anthropologists (e.g., Richards 1950; Schneider 1961) have assumed that in a matrilineal society it must be the authority of males that makes the descent group a unit of primary social orientation and loyalty. The Namonuito situation is quite the converse. It is adult female authority over descent group land and responsibility for child care that make the descent group a unit of primary social orientation and loyalty. Thus, the Namonuito data challenge the assumption that the structural integrity of the matrilineal descent group must be the product of male authority and suggest instead that the eminence and function of male authority within a matrilineal descent group are matters for empirical determination. (3) The Namonuito adoptive relationship neither supplants nor diminishes an adoptee's relationship with his real parents.

A comparison of Namonuito adoption with Anglo-American adoption reveals the former to be an additive relationship and the latter to be a substitutive relationship. These differences are commentaries on fundamentally different notions of parenthood in the respective cultural settings. Namonuito adoption, rather than reflecting the Western concept of exclusive parenthood, affirms a notion of plural, nonexclusive parenthood.

Overview of the Dissertation

The kinship system is the subject of Chapter II where the more general characteristics of descent are considered. Chapter II also discusses the nature of relations between descent groups on the islands of Namonuito and certain other islands in the vicinity as well as the conditions giving rise to these relationships and examines the way in which descent groups on Namonuito are organized around the concepts of female stability and male mobility. The chapter concludes with a description of traditional marriage and contemporary modifications.

Filiation and the nature of cognatic relations are the topics of Chapter III. The chapter begins by detailing the specific bases of relatedness between a person and the respective descent groups of his genetrix and genitor. These fundamentally different bases of relatedness, Namonuito people point out, create certain differences in a

person's relations with members of his genetrix's and genitor's descent groups. A description of these differences as they are manifested between parents and children and between siblings is included in Chapter III.

Chapter IV describes the high frequency and patterns of adoption, the reasons for adopting, the circumstances surrounding the request and permission to adopt, and characteristics of satisfactory and unsatisfactory adoptions. The chapter ends with a consideration of the meaning of adoption for an adoptee, his adopter, and his real parents.

The final chapter (Chapter V) consists of a discussion of the three major findings of the research: (1) the significance of "staying" rather than consanguinity as the basis of membership in the descent group; (2) the preeminence of female authority and responsibility within the descent group; and (3) the contrasting nature of Namonuito and Anglo-American adoption and the manner in which they illustrate contrasting notions of parenthood.

The Field Research

My field research began in September, 1973 and was completed in October, 1974; it was carried out conjointly with that of my wife, Mary Durand Thomas, who was studying the transmission of culture to children. The first two months of this period were spent on Moen Island, the

administrative center of Truk District, where archival research was conducted and the study of the Namonuito language was begun. In November, having secured ship transportation to Namonuito Atoll, we arrived at Ulul Island where we were to live for the remainder of the research period.

The Ulul Island Magistrate, who approved our research plans when we met him on Moen, had designated as our sponsors on Ulul a family who had volunteered for the purpose. Sponsoring of this sort had been the practice on Namonuito since the time when Peace Corps Volunteers began coming to the islands and it was in this way that the house we were to rent for the next eleven months was provided. We were fortunate in the choice of our sponsors. From the time the ship anchored at Ulul and I was unexpectedly joined in the ship's hold by family members to help unload our gear until the time we left the island, our sponsors were unremitting helpmates, among the most candid of our informants, and constant companions. We participated with them as fully as possible in the exchanges of food, possessions, and assistance that characterize family life on Namonuito.

Our house, like nearly all others on the island, was a sixteen by twenty-four foot plywood structure with a corrugated steel roof. (These were government-supplied

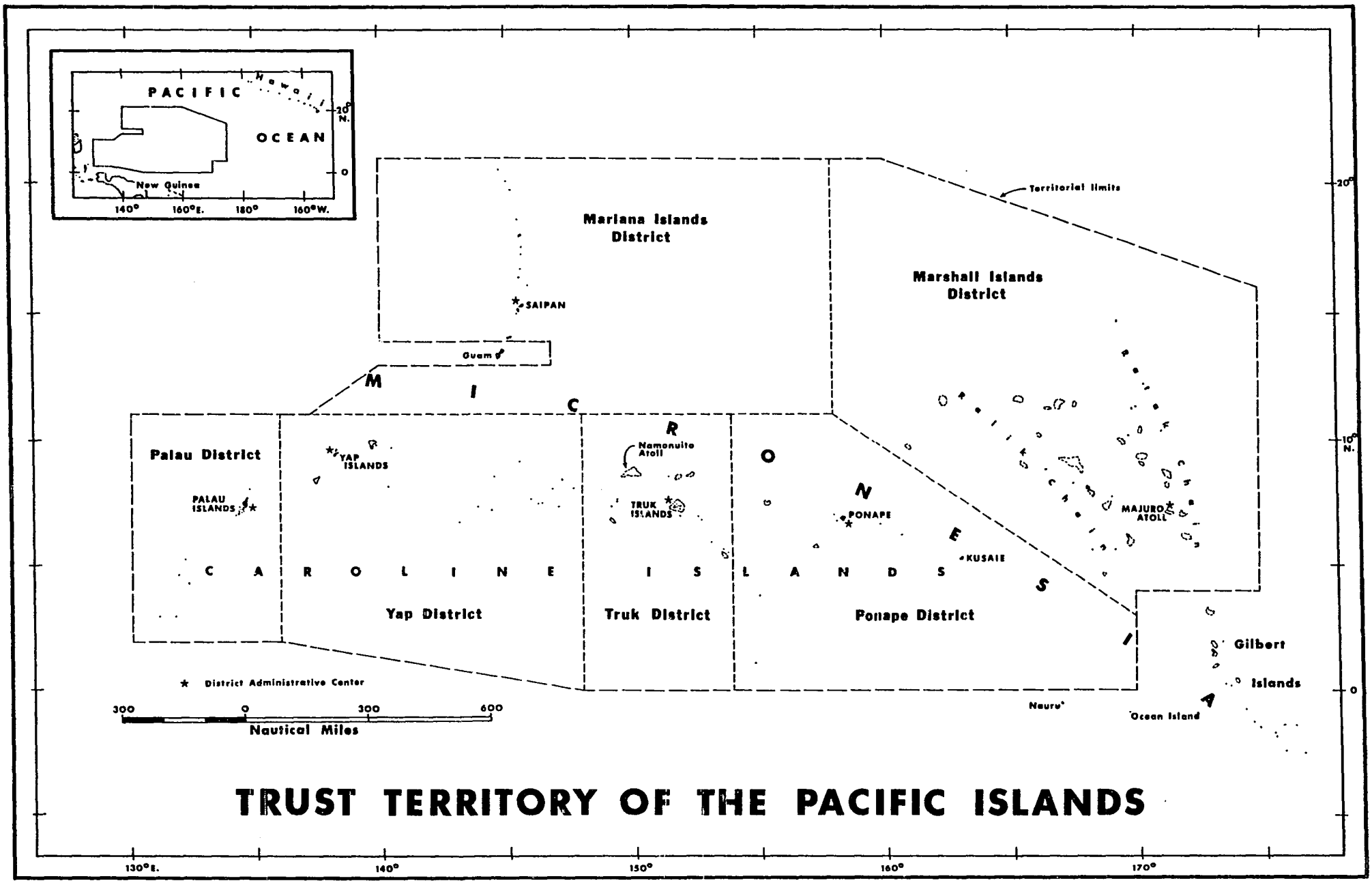
houses which replaced the traditional thatch houses destroyed by a typhoon in 1971.) A meteorological station consisting of a rain gauge and maximum and minimum thermometers loaned us by the U.S. Weather Bureau, was erected in an exposed location adjacent to our house. (See Map 4. All maps depict conditions as they were in 1974.)

Once settled, we arranged a meeting with the Traditional Chief of the island in order to explain our roles as student anthropologists interested in learning about island customs and to solicit his suggestions as to how we might best proceed with certain aspects of the research. Tentative conclusions were reached but he suggested that before they were fixed, he should introduce me to the community to assay their reactions. Following this community meeting, and acting on the Chief's suggestions, an informant fee schedule was set, a language informant was engaged with whom we met regularly over the next three months, and a residential map survey and household census were commenced.

My first informants were five males belonging to four matriclans whose ages ranged from twenty-nine to approximately seventy. Although I selected them for these variations, they were also chosen for their common interest in my desire to learn and their insistence that I attain a correct understanding. These men, along with a woman with whom I later became acquainted, became a nuclear group of

MAP 1

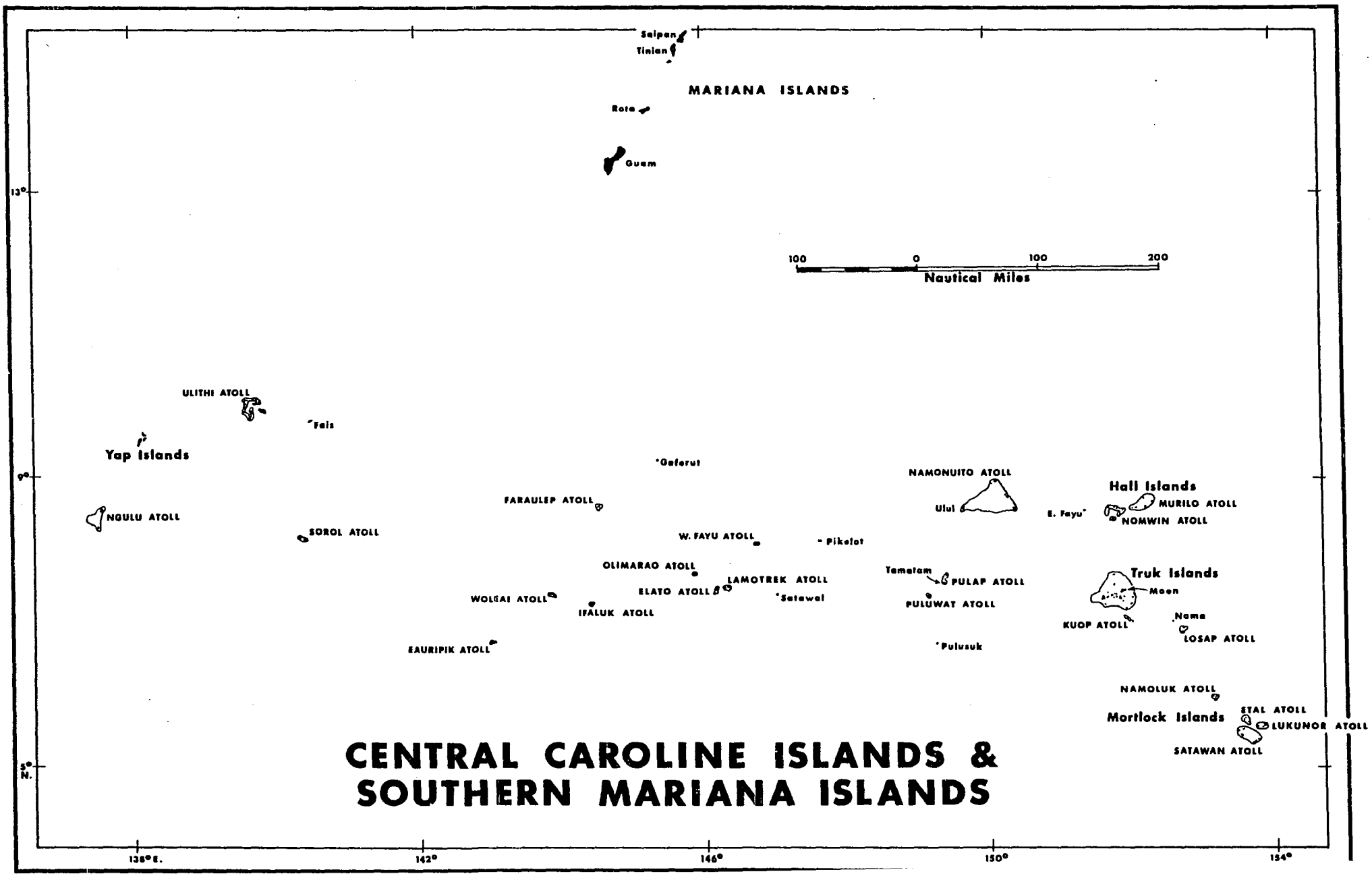
TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS



TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

MAP 2

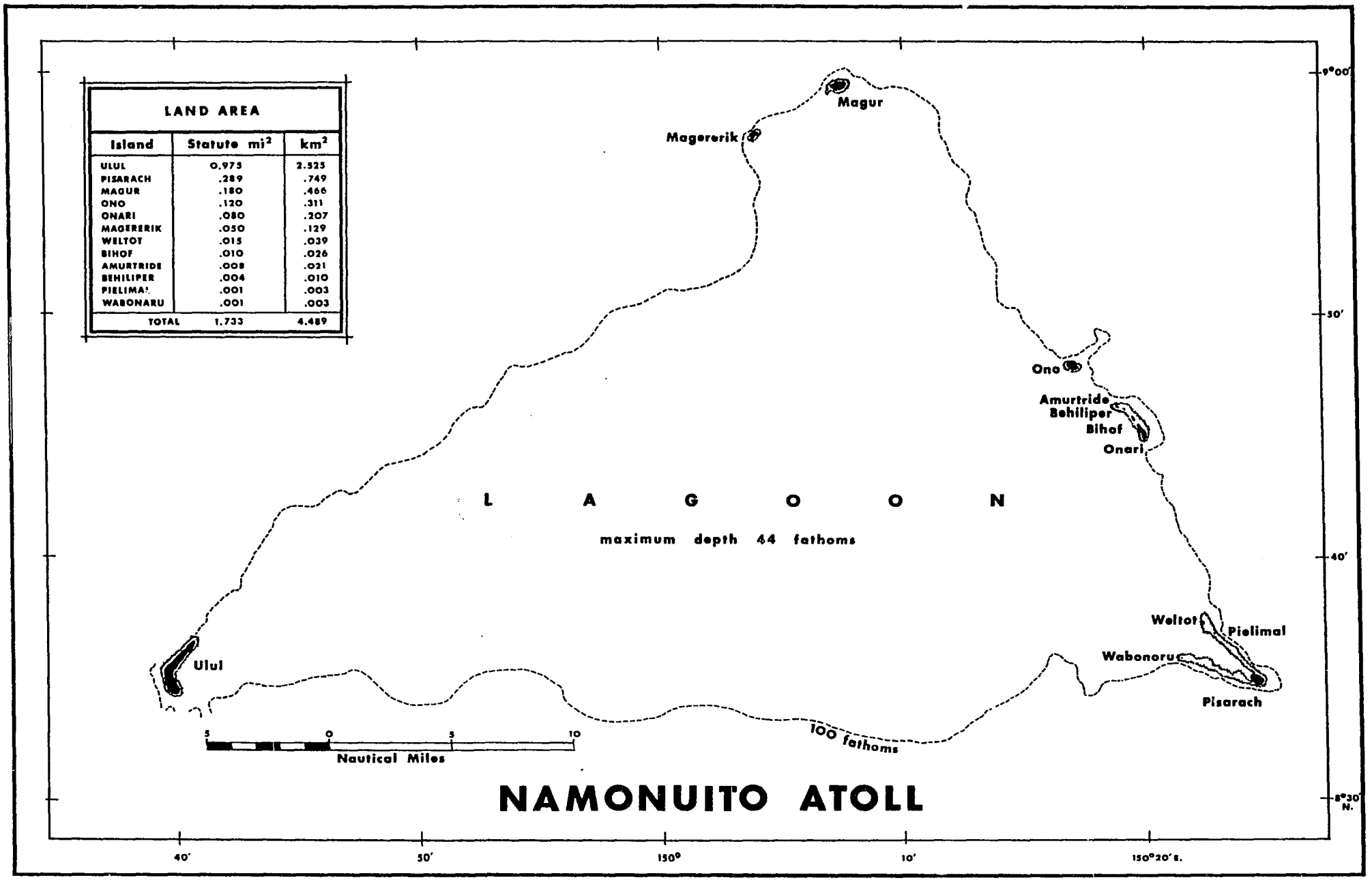
CENTRAL CAROLINE ISLANDS
AND SOUTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS



CENTRAL CAROLINE ISLANDS & SOUTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

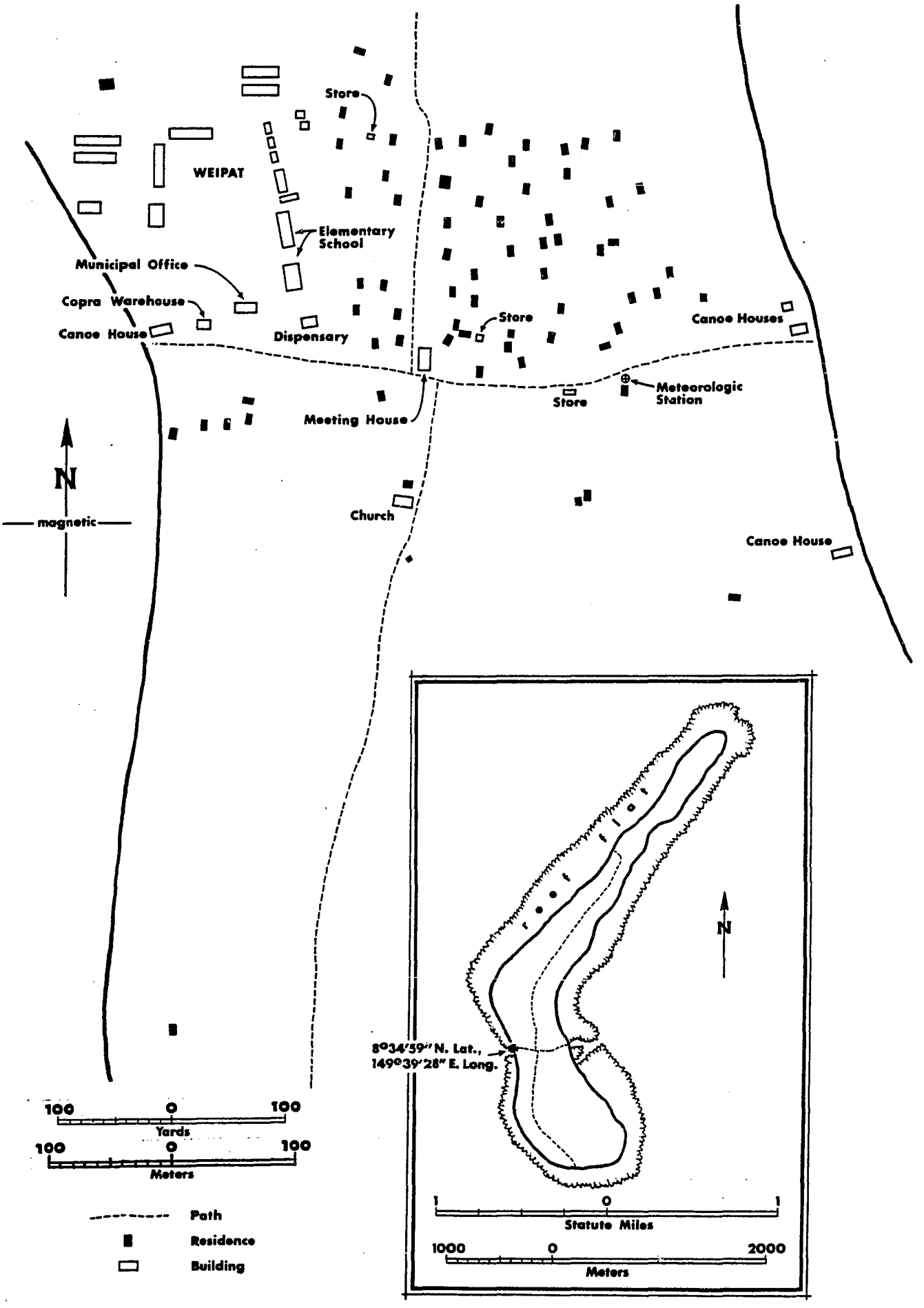
MAP 3

NAMONUITO ATOLL


LAND AREA
Island | Statute mi² | km²
ULUL | 0.975 | 2.525
PISARACH | .289 | .749
MAGUR | .180 | .466
ONO | .120 | .311
ONARI | .080 | .207
MAGERERIK | .050 | .129
WELTOT | .015 | .039
BIHOF | .010 | .026
AMURTRIDE | .008 | .021
BEHILIPER | .004 | .010
PIELIMAL | .001 | .003
WABONARU | .001 | .003
TOTAL | 1.733 | 4.489
Magur
Magererik
Ono
Amurtride
Behiliper
Bihof
Onari
L A G O O N
maximum depth 44 fathoms
Weltot
Pielimal
Wabonoru
Pisarach
Ulul
100 fathoms
5 0 5 10
Nautical Miles
NAMONUITO ATOLL
9°00'
50'
40'
8°30' N.
40'
50'
150°
10'
150°20' E.

MAP 4

ULUL ISLAND


Store
WEIPAT
Elementary School
Municipal Office
Copra Warehouse
Canoe House
Dispensary
Store
Canoe Houses
Meteorologic Station
Store
Meeting House
N
magnetic
Church
Canoe House
100 0 100
Yards
100 0 100
Meters
Path
Residence
Building
N
8°34'59" N. Lat.,
149°39'28" E. Long.
1 0 1
Statute Miles
1000 0 2000
Meters

HULL ISLAND

informants whose individual counsel I sought on various topics at different times throughout the research period.

Depending on the kind of information I was seeking, other informants were consulted. For example, the extent to which kinship and adoption on Ulul were representative of the eastern Namonuito islands required my conferring with several informants from the latter who lived on Ulul as well as contacting visitors from eastern Namonuito. In addition, during the summer of 1974, I spent a week on two of the four inhabited eastern islands for a week and when the research period on Ulul ended, I was ashore for several hours on each of the four islands during ship stopovers. Clan histories and genealogies on Ulul were recorded with the assistance of Clan Chiefs and the senior women of the clans. Women were often a crucial source of information. In some cases, the data I obtained from female informants were supplemented by those obtained by my wife.

Information was provided by each person censused on Ulul regarding, among other things, his or her household affiliations, adoption history (both as an adoptee and as an adopter), and the clan affiliations of his or her real parents. (Long absences of some residents and a misunderstanding precluded direct contact with 70 of the 273 residents; information about these people was obtained indirectly.)

During the course of the census and conversations with people about the information being recorded, I began formulating a list of questions for informants which continued to expand and which was to preoccupy me throughout the period of research--questions such as why was the clan important, how was membership in it acquired, and how did clan mates interact; why was a genitor's clan important to his child and how did this differ from the importance of the genetrix's clan; why was adoption so common, why were certain children adopted rather than others, what was it like to be an adoptee, an adopter, the parent of an adoptee? Most adoptions were regarded by the principals as successful but some were not. Comparisons of each kind based on case histories were revealing both as to what an adoptive relationship should be and what it should not be--particularly when issues suggested by the comparisons were discussed with informants.

Finally, as an adjunct to informant interviews and case histories, I recorded my observations in a variety of social settings: households, cookhouses, fishing trips, gardens, canoe houses, work groups, island meetings, and men's drinking groups. (The latter was an old custom of consuming coconut toddy that was reinstituted after our arrival on the island.) Such observations were useful not only as they revealed interactional patterns, but also as concrete events

which could often be used later in discussions with informants.

As I have indicated, I sought the counsel of a nuclear group of informants on a variety of topics. In addition, I found their assistance useful in evaluating information acquired from other sources that was initially difficult for me to assess. I also found their counsel a valuable means of testing the validity of my emerging concepts of social pattern. I have included no inferences, generalizations, or purported regularities concerning Namonuito in this report that have not been screened by at least some of the members of this group.

In describing certain events in this report, I have deliberately altered minor facts so as to preserve the anonymity of the individuals involved.

The Namonuito orthography used here is based primarily on the decisions of two Truk District orthography conferences (Goodenough and Sugita 1972; Kimiuo 1975) but incorporates revisions suggested for Namonuito (Smith and others 1976). Namonuito phonemes listed in orthographic symbols are:

vowels: i (high front), e (mid front), á (low front), ɨ (high central), é (mid central), a (low central), u (high back), o (mid back), ó (low back)

consonants: p, pw, t, k, f, s, h, ch, m, mw, n, ng, l, r (a trill), ŗ (a retroflexed continuant)

glides: y, w

The same phoneme may be represented by either an upper case or lower case orthographic symbol. Length is phonemic and all sounds may occur either long or short. Length is indicated orthographically by doubling as in haam 'father' and ópwpwóro 'stooping, knee walking.' Conventional usage rather than the phonemic orthography is followed for place names. For example, the island name "Pisarach" is used rather than "Piheraf."

Namonuito Atoll

Namonuito Atoll is in a north-central position among the Caroline Islands at approximately 8°40' North latitude, 150° East longitude (See Maps 1 and 2). Comprising an area of approximately 1,876 square kilometers (724 square miles), Namonuito lagoon is the largest in the Caroline group (Bryan 1971:Car.17; Wiens 1962:28); its encircling reef, deeply submerged for the most part, affords ship entry into the lagoon at nearly any point around its periphery (Wiens 1962:21). The reef surfaces at the north, east, and west corners of the lagoon as well as along the northeast side to form twelve islands none of which is more than 3.7 meters (12 feet) above sea level (U.S. Navy 1944b). The five larger islands (Ulul, Pisarach, Magur, Ono, and Onari) are

inhabited and supported a de facto population of 636 in 1973 (TTPI 1975).

The climate is marine and tropical. During the eleven-month period of research, temperatures on Ulul ranged from 20.5°C to 35.0°C (69°F to 95°F); monthly rainfall from 137.7 mm to 396.5 mm (9.45 in to 15.61 in); and relative humidity from 66% to 100% (Thomas and Thomas in press). Meteorological conditions during the research period were considered typical by informants. Seasonal variations in climate are apparent primarily in wind patterns. The stronger northeast trade winds of winter become light and variable during the summer months. Wind velocities recorded periodically at a windward beach site on Ulul indicated that winter winds did not exceed approximately twenty knots per hour while summer wind velocities were no greater than about ten knots per hour. These appear to be the upper limits of normal wind velocities for this area (Wiens 1962:469).

The inhabited islands of Namonuito share certain topographic features. The circumference of the central portion of the island--the area of humic soils and vegetation--is skirted by a gently sloping, white sand beach about nine meters (thirty feet) wide broken in places by rock outcroppings. Beach topography, however, can vary abruptly as it does for example on the northeast and south sides of Ulul where narrow, steep, shingle beaches are found.

At the water's edge, the beach merges with a coral reef flat. Varying from about thirty to three hundred meters in width (on the larger islands) and submerged to a depth of about one to one and one-half meters at high tide, the reef flat in turn girds the circumference of the island. "Flat" is something of a misnomer for, although the surface of the reef is horizontal, it is roughened by depressions, coral heads, and reef detritus broken from its outer face and strewn about by heavy seas. There are at least two reef passes on each of the five larger islands. These are sand-bottom, circuitous channels leading from the beach through the reef flat to the sea. The reef flat is for the most part always submerged and there are low-drift tidal currents flowing over it parallel to the shore; the reef pass acts as a surge channel through which these tidal waters tend to be funneled. The extreme range of tides is only sixty centimeters (U.S. Navy 1944b) but tidal currents within passes, particularly with a falling tide, can be strong at times.

A certain minimal land area is only one of several conditions necessary before a subterranean freshwater reservoir or "lens" is created on an atoll island (Wiens 1962:317-326), but it is only the larger, inhabited islands of Namonuito that evidence what appear to be sizable lenses that can be tapped by shallow wells. It is primarily by the

presence or absence of adequate subterranean freshwater, rather than island size, that Namonuito people judge the inhabitability of their islands. By this standard, the only habitable islands of the atoll are those presently occupied. Evidence of lenses is revealed on each of the five islands by tracts of dense jungle growth interspersed with freshwater pools--areas of natural depression that intersect the upper surface of a lens. Typically, such tracts are found toward the center of an island and cover only a fraction of the total land area. But when one stands within them, the impression of being on a small island is muted: The luxuriant growth muffles surf sounds and stills the air on even the windiest day; the understory of swamp ferns, vines, shrubs, and low trees is deeply shaded by an overhead canopy of breadfruit trees which in some places rise to quite majestic heights of twenty-four to twenty-seven meters (eighty to ninety feet).

At increasing distances from such jungle areas, the transition from wetter to drier soils is accompanied by a change in floral types. Banana trees grow in scattered stands at the periphery of the jungle and in damp soil around wells. The coconut palm flourishes in all but the wettest area. Scattered among palm groves are breadfruit trees, pandanus, casuarina, papaya, hibiscus, and a variety of other tropical trees, shrubs, grasses, and sedges.

With the exception of Magererik, the most noticeable features of the uninhabited islands are their small area, low elevation (one to two meters above sea level), and the dominance of strand vegetation amid coconut palms. It is these islets that most closely approximate in miniature the image of the atoll island as "a reef, a strip of beach, and a coconut-palm skyline" (Stone 1959:88). Magererik is only slightly smaller than Onari but in contrast to the inhabited islands, Magererik's generally sparse and stunted vegetation give it a parched aspect.

This region of the Western Pacific is subject to typhoons, earthquakes, and, like nearly all littoral land areas in the Pacific Basin, tsunamis. The devastating effects of the latter on islands throughout the Pacific have been documented (Wiens 1962:206-207) but little is known of their occurrence on Namonuito. The area is also tectonically unstable (Wiens 1962:13) and although there were no earthquakes during the period of research, one was recorded in 1909 (Krämer 1935:217) and informants describe their occurrence as common. One such description reported the submergence of a portion of the reef flat at the extreme south end of Onari Island during an earthquake in the 1960s. Additional evidence that at least this particular area of Namonuito has been subject to substratum faulting emerges from comparing an aerial photograph taken in 1944 with the

U.S. Navy chart of Namonuito (1944b) which is apparently based on an earlier Japanese hydrographic survey. The chart shows the south end of Onari to have been well-rounded with the reef flat extending approximately 300 meters offshore and three-fathom shoals extending an equivalent distance beyond. In contrast, the later aerial photograph shows this end of the island to be noticeably truncated and reveals the disappearance of a considerable section of the reef flat (at least 4,000 square meters). Where the latter once was, there is now a large, crescent shaped indentation in the remaining reef the inner margin of which is appoximately 50 meters offshore; similarly, there now appears to be deep water in place of the former shoals.

In terms of their frequency, however, typhoons are the most serious natural hazard. The paths of typhoons in this latitude, rather than being randomly distributed among the Caroline Islands, tend to cluster in bands 200 to 300 nautical miles wide running in a southeast to northwest direction (Wiens 1962:179). Namonuito lies within one such band and is known to have been struck in 1905, twice in 1907, and again in 1923 and 1971 (Krämer 1935:192,217; Wiens 1962:475; Fleet Weather Central 1971). No lives were reported to have been lost on any of these occasions.

Depending on its intensity and track relative to an island, the damage caused by a typhoon varies but the

primary destructive forces are wind-generated waves and, of course, wind itself. Both typhoons of 1907 are reported to have inundated Ulul to a depth of one-half meter and on Pisarach, a whale and a shark are said to have been stranded in the interior of the island (Krämer 1935:217). As a result of massive chloride infusions of groundwater and soil attending such inundations, typhoons are extremely destructive of the less salt-tolerant food crops including breadfruit, banana, papaya, and particularly, taro (Wiens 1962:331). Some of these effects are reported to have been visible on Ulul three years after the 1907 typhoons (Krämer 1935:217).

Although the 1971 typhoon caused some damage on all the islands of Namonuito, it passed directly over Ulul and had the greatest effect there. Acting on advance warning of the storm, shallow pits were dug, overlaid with palm logs, and revetted with sand. All residents of Ulul took cover in these bunkers during the hours when the intensity of the typhoon was at its peak. The consequences for the people of Ulul can only be imagined had there been inundations of the sort accompanying the typhoons of 1907, but on this occasion there was only minor flooding of low-lying land immediately adjacent to beaches. The greatest destruction was caused by 135-knot winds which, because Ulul lay in the path of the storm center, alternately assailed the island from opposite

quarters. With the exception of a few cement structures, all homes, canoe houses, and canoes were swept away. A great number of trees were felled and the island was stripped of its ground cover and most food crops in all but the densest jungle area.

In 1973-74, the results of the typhoon could still be seen in windfallen trees, standing snags, and the extremely low yield of the remaining breadfruit trees, the latter not having recovered from the effects of sea spray. But by this time, a ground cover had been reestablished, banana and papaya trees seemed abundant, and although it was said that the former yield of coconuts would not be realized for several years, the first modest copra harvest since the typhoon was shipped.

Foreign Contact with Namonuito

Administratively, Namonuito is within Truk District, one of six districts which in 1974 comprised the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The latter, under the jurisdiction of the United States since the end of World War II, represents the fourth and most recent presence of a metropolitan power in the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands. The first began during the latter half of the sixteenth century when Spain established a colonial government on Guam which came to be the seat of a claimed sovereignty over virtually all the islands of the present

Trust Territory. Germany's encroachment on this claim, beginning in the Marshall Islands in the 1880s, culminated in her supplanting Spain in 1899 through her purchase of all remaining Spanish holdings in Micronesia with the exception of Guam. Fifteen years later during World War I, Germany's claim was effectively abolished when a Japanese Navy expeditionary force assumed control of the Marshall, Caroline, and Mariana Islands--a control which was accorded international sanction in 1920 under a League of Nations mandate. As a consequence of the outcome of World War II, Japan's mandate was voided and the United States established a military administration and, later, a civil government under the auspices of the United Nations Trusteeship system.

Early Contact

There is no evidence of official Spanish interest in Namonuito throughout the more than three-hundred-year Spanish era. The Truk Islands and Pulap Atoll were sighted by Alonso de Arellano in 1565 during a voyage from Mexico to the Philippines (Hezel 1973:52). The Spanish missionary Fathers Clain on Samar in 1696 and Cantova on Guam in 1721, from information supplied them by Carolinean castaways, compiled maps depicting the Caroline Islands as far east as Namonuito (Lessa 1975:78). But these events appear to have been inconsequential relative to Spain's larger commercial and missionizing interests, first in Mexico and later in the Philippines (Oliver 1961:48).

While there was no particular interest in Namonuito on the part of Spain, there may have been some interest in the Spaniards--or at least in certain of their goods--on the part of the people of Namonuito. Such was the conclusion of Frédéric Lutké who, as a commander of a scientific expedition sponsored by Nicholas I of Russia, reconnoitered the islands of Namonuito during a four-day circumnavigation of the atoll in 1827 (Lutké 1835:II,95-105). Lutké makes no mention of shore visits by himself or members of his expedition but he notes that during brief, shipboard trading sessions conducted off Pisarach, Onari, Ono, and Ulul, the islanders showed a keen interest in obtaining what Lutké says were referred to by the word laífe--the long belt-knife or short sword worn by members of his ship's company. Considering "laífe" to be a loanword from the English "knife,"[1] Lutké concluded that "these visitors clearly showed that they were neighbors of Guam: they turned up their noses at nails, counted trinkets for nothing, and only wanted laífes" (1835:II,98).

Although Lutké offers no further evidence to support his conclusions, there is no reason for doubting them. The earliest known foreign contact with Namonuito occurred in 1799 with Juan Ibargoitia's sighting of either Ulul or Pisarach and a stop at Ulul in the same year by the American ship Resource (Sharp 1960:183; Hezel 1972:2).[2] From this

time until Lutké's circumnavigation twenty-eight years later, at least four British and American whaling vessels had been in the vicinity of Namonuito (Hezel 1973:57). In addition, sailing canoe voyages from Woleai and Lamotrek to Guam are known to have been taking place since the 1780s (Riesenberg 1975:15). Given the seagoing expertise that Lutké admiringly describes as characteristic of Namonuito islanders (1835:II,98-99,104), it is possible that the latter were also involved in some degree of contact with Spaniards on Guam.

Foreign Entrepreneurs

The numbers of Chamorros on Saipan, Guam, Tinian, and Rota had been severely reduced during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by Spanish attempts at missionization and pacification (Oliver 1961:334-337). Between 1815 and 1907, these depopulated islands became the destinations of sporadic migrations of Caroline Islanders who are said to have requested resettlement there, often as a reaction to typhoon damage on their native islands (Spoehr 1954: 69-71,327). One J. H. G. Johnston, having acquired usufruct rights on some of the Mariana Islands, twice recruited a large number of laborers from Namonuito. He transported the first group to Saipan in 1867 and the second group to Tinian in 1869; these people did not return to Namonuito (Driver 1976:19,21; Spoehr 1954:71).

There is no documentary evidence known at the present time that clearly identifies the islands of Namonuito from which these people came or their reasons for leaving them.[3] But all historical narratives obtained on Namonuito, while allowing the possibility that more than one island was involved, leave little doubt that Ūlul was the primary origin of at least one migration. According to these accounts, all the inhabitants of Ulul left aboard a foreign ship because they feared the impending arrival of a fleet of war canoes from Pâttiw (the Namonuito term for the islands of Puluwat, Pulusuk, Pulap, and Tamatam). The evacuated island was then resettled by two groups: one from the eastern Namonuito islands led by a man from Pisarach, and another group from Tamatam Island.

The contemporary descendants of these two groups relate that from the outset of the resettlement, relations between the two groups were strained. The Tamatam settlers asserted the island was theirs as the spoils of war because it was their warning to Ulul that the people of Pâttiw were going to attack that induced the people of Ulul to flee on the next passing ship. The eastern Namonuito settlers, however, claimed the island was theirs because, knowing the planned attack would not take place, they had nevertheless led Ulul people to believe it was true and thus were entitled to an island they had deliberately caused to be vacated by hoax.

It was during the course of these strained relations that Dominique Etscheit, a German national, came to Ulul in the 1880s (MLSC 1974d) and, according to contemporary accounts, reached an agreement with the Chief of the eastern Namonuito settlers. In return for assisting the latter in forcing the Tamatam settlers to leave the island, Etscheit was granted usufruct to the north half of the island where he established a copra plantation.

Despite steadily increasing numbers of European--particularly, German--traders and trading companies in the Caroline Islands toward the end of the nineteenth century (Firth 1973), Etscheit's was the only known attempt at direct exploitation on Namonuito during the Spanish period. One reason why more attempts were not made may have been because the people of Namonuito and other islands in the vicinity had acquired a rather sinister reputation in the eyes of foreigners and tended to be avoided. Such was suggested by Evan Lewis, a Welsh trader of the era:

> There's something queer about those Pulawat [sic] folk. 'Tisn't safe to go in their lagoon. They've cut off several vessels, and about [1890] they did for a trader called Shortman, as well as a Portuguese and a Japanese. The Hall Islanders aren't what you might call safe either, and the people of Losap aren't easy to get on with. In 1882, at a place called Onon [Ulul], . . . the natives killed a native of Dublin called Edward Vowell, with the object of getting his native wife and going through his store [Christian 1899:245-246].*

But by the end of the century and the transfer of administrative authority in the Caroline Islands from Spain to Germany, approximately thirty-five traders were established on or about the Truk Islands (Hezel 1973:72) and contact between them and the people of Namonuito had probably increased.

During the comparatively brief German administration, a two-week ethnographic study was conducted on Namonuito and some people from Pisarach and Ulul were temporarily resettled by German authorities on the Truk Islands. The latter was a consequence of the typhoon of 1905 (Krämer 1935:192). The ethnographic study was conducted by Hambruch in 1909 in conjunction with the Hamburg Museum's Südsee-Expedition and consisted of a survey of material culture, a compilation of clan names and partial genealogies, a word list, and the recording of some folktales (Krämer 1935).

The Japanese Period

Namonuito was undoubtedly contacted by Japanese traders long before the inauguration of Japan's Pacific Islands Mandate. Japanese commercial activities in the Mariana and Caroline Islands, which began in earnest in the 1890s, had expanded so rapidly by 1905 that a virtual Japanese monopoly had been secured over imports and exports in the Mariana Islands. By 1914 and the seizure of the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands by the Japanese Navy, the South Seas

Trading Company (Nanyō Bōeki Kaisha), whose stores and agents were established on Ponape, the Truk Islands, Yap, and Palau, maintained a fleet of four steam-powered ships and five sailing vessels (Purcell 1973:57-61).

Under the provisions of Japan's Class "C" mandate from the League of Nations, the island territory was designated "an integral portion of the Empire of Japan" and islanders were accordingly subject to the full administrative and legislative powers of the Japanese government (Clyde 1935:37). Even before her mandate was awarded, however, Japan had set about establishing an administrative structure in the territory. As early as 1915, German nationals had been expelled from the islands; the phosphate mines on Angaur Island (Palau), which had been opened in 1909 by German interests, were being operated by a Japanese company; and the territory was partitioned into six administrative districts which created the boundaries of present-day Truk District (Clyde 1935:119; Purcell 1976:190; U.S. Navy 1944a:1). By the early 1920s and the vesting of administrative authority for the territory in the South Seas Bureau (Nanyōchō), six branch governments were each responsible for, among other things, meteorological observatories and public schools (U.S. Navy 1944a:1,22).

To varying degrees, these circumstances had an impact on Namonuito. The Etscheit plantation was purchased by the

South Seas Trading Company and all copra trade and other commercial activities throughout the islands were transacted exclusively by Japanese firms (MLSC 1974b, 1974e; Purcell 1976:209). As an administrative policy, the labor force in the Angaur mines was predominantly composed of islanders (Purcell 1976:191-194) and beginning in 1923, many Namonuito males beyond fifteen years of age were employed there. During the 1930s, some Namonuito boys attended public schools in the Truk Islands. Also at this time a permanent meteorological station was erected on Ulul consisting of an observation tower, radio station, diesel generators, an office, and a barracks housing about twenty Japanese. During the ensuing years, some station personnel married Ulul women and sired children. In the final years of World War II, the station was destroyed by bombs and four Japanese aircraft crashed on the island but no Ulul people were injured on these occasions. All Japanese living on the island departed sometime before the official surrender of the Truk Islands in September, 1945.

The American Period

Following the end of the war and a two-year U.S. Navy administration, the United States, through a Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations, instituted a civil government in the Mariana, Caroline, and Marshall Islands. Although many of the organizational features of the former

South Seas Bureau have their counterpart in the Trust Territory of the Pacfic Islands (e.g., courts, public works, communications, finance), changes have been introduced which have had their effects on Namonuito.

In 1948, an elective office of municipal Magistrate was instituted in all districts and was later augmented by an elected legislative council created under a municipal charter system (Hughes and Lingenfelter 1974:21). Under these provisions, each of the inhabited islands of Namonuito became a municipality with an elected Magistrate and council.

During the Japanese administration some residents of Tamatam Island--the descendants of the Tamatam settlers of Ulul who had been forced to return to their home island--had requested but were denied permission to return to Ulul. In 1949, a second petition to the American administration was successful and seventy-five people from Tamatam were relocated on Ulul. Initially, this provoked the old dispute as to which of the nineteenth-century settlers, the eastern Namonuito or the Tamatam people, had the more legitimate claim to Ulul (J. Fischer 1949; Mahony 1954). By the 1970s, however, intermarriage between the two groups on Ulul and the passage of time had reduced the dispute to a minor issue.

Under U.S. Navy administrators, some Namonuito men were given instruction in basic medical procedures. Later, under an expanded medical training program, there were local health aides on each of the larger islands of Namonuito capable of dispensing minor and emergency medical services.

It was also during the Naval administration that a universal, coeducational, elementary school system was inaugurated (Singleton 1974:79). After a training period, Namonuito instructors opened schools on each of the islands and taught a curriculum of English, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Later, the teacher-training program was expanded, six-year elementary schools became standard, and, in the late 1960s, WeiPat Intermediate School for grades seven through nine was founded on Ulul. The latter now provides instruction for approximately 130 ninth and tenth-grade students from Namonuito, Pāttiw, and the Hall Islands. (The final two years of high school instruction may be taken on Moen Island.) Since 1968, American Peace Corps Volunteers have resided on various of the Namonuito islands where they have served as school teachers or as assistants in government programs such as the construction of cement-block buildings for elementary schools and dispensaries.

In accord with a policy to decentralize district center governments, which was incorporated in the Trust Territory Master Plan of 1968 (Mason 1975:11,26), Ulul was designated

a subdistrict center in 1973. The intent of this was to allow the outer-island communities of Namonuito and Pâttiw greater access to government services by installing a resident District Administrator's Representative (DistAdRep) on Ulul. During the period of research, however, a permanent DistAdRep had not been appointed nor was the acting DistAdRep in residence on the island.

Christian missionaries first contacted Namonuito in the 1920s. Among these were a Catholic catechist from Saipan and a Protestant catechist from the Mortlock Islands. Spanish priests also visited the islands in the 1920s (Espinal 1934). None of these contacts, however, appear to have had any lasting effect and it was not until after World War II that Jesuit missionaries established Catholicism as the only Christian religion on Namonuito. Until about 1970, the islands of Namonuito and Pâttiw were within the ministry of a priest residing on Puluwat Island; since that time, a second priest living on Ulul has served the islands of Namonuito.

Ulul Island

With few exceptions, the houses of the 273 de jure residents of Ulul as well as other buildings are centrally located in the vicinity of a broad path which traverses the island from east to west and serves as the main cross-island thoroughfare. (See Map 4.) The cross-island path

demarcates two broadly distinguishable ecological zones. To the north is the comparatively elevated, dry portion of the island comprising the area of the former Etscheit copra plantation. With the exception of the residences, buildings, and a few gardens at its southern extremity, this northern half of the island is dominated by a palm forest and is mainly exploited for copra. During harvest times, the north-south path through the area is widened to allow the passage of the municipal pickup truck used to transport coconuts.

To the south of the cross-island path is the swampy, jungle area where taro gardens are located. Along the western margin of the jungle is a footpath providing access to the gardens and to the southernmost residence situated on the former site of the Japanese meteorological station. This path now ends at the south beach but it is the remnant of a loop road that once continued up the east side of the island where it rejoined the cross-island path. The road was constructed by Ulul people under the direction of South Seas Trading Company employees who used it as a truck route for transporting coconuts harvested from palms growing at the periphery of the southern jungle.

Residences and buildings are distributed among three contiguous villages each of which has a Village Chief (hõmwoolun hõõpw). Although there are occasions when

members of a village may act together as in singing groups or when a Village Chief declares a cleanup day, villages are an American innovation and appear to have little socio-political significance on Ulul.

The office of Traditional Chief (hõmwoolun ééreni) is customarily occupied by the senior male of Piik clan and involves dealing with matters of custom or tradition affecting the community. The Traditional Chief is accorded the privilege of making some unilateral decisions such as proclaiming an island-wide food taboo following the death of a respected island resident or declaring a community feast in honor of island visitors. But his role more often consists of enunciating the consensus opinions or decisions of the community as, for example, when he announced his assent to a petition from the adult males of the island asking that he reinstitute the former custom of men's drinking groups. The open-sided, roofed meeting house is regularly used as a forum for discussing such issues.

The Magistrate, assisted by the island council, administers civil affairs on Ulul and as such is responsible for implementing policies emanating from the Trust Territory government. He also represents the interests of his municipality to the administration as he did, for example, in reporting to Truk District officials the extent of typhoon damage in 1971. WeiPat Intermediate School and the

elementary school are supervised by resident principals but as government-sponsored institutions, their operation is a matter of interest to the Magistrate as are the medical services provided by the island health aide. The Magistrate is also responsible for the municipal pickup truck and for supervising the maintenance of government-owned buildings--the municipal office, copra warehouse, dispensary, classroom buildings, and WeiPat dormitories and storage buildings.

Teachers' salaries, copra sales, and rent monies received from resident Americans are the main sources of cash on the island. (Four Peace Corps teachers and one American contract teacher lived on the island between November, 1973 and June, 1974--the end of the WeiPat school term.) Three small stores owned by island men stock a limited variety of merchandise; cloth, cigarettes, rice, tea, and tinned sardines or meat are among the more popular items. But with the exception of cotton cloth now used for men's loincloths and women's skirts, which were once made of woven hibiscus and banana fibers, cash income and the goods purchased with it are supplementary to what is essentially a subsistence economy.

During the period of research the people of Ulul, with Micronesian Legal Services Corporation acting as their counsel, were contending that they were the rightful owners of the island. Their claim opposed that of the Trust

Territory government which had purchased Ulul from Dominique Etscheit's heirs in 1957 based on evidence purporting that Etscheit had received title to the entire island from the Spanish government in 1886 and that the sale of the island to the Japanese government was invalid (MLSC 1974a, 1974c). In 1975, acting on appeal from the people of Ulul, all Trust Territory claims to land ownership on Ulul were dismissed and the island was returned to the people of Ulul (TTPI High Court, Truk District, Trial Division 1975).

NOTES--CHAPTER I

[1]The contemporary Namonuito name for the machete is laayf; on Puluwat, it is laayif which Elbert considers an English loanword (1972).

[2]Krämer has suggested that Namonuito was discovered by Villalobos in 1512 and that Pisarach was the island on which a company of Spanish mutineers led by Lope Martin were marooned in 1566 (1935:197-198). Krämer's date of 1512 is in error since Villalobos' Pacific voyages did not begin until 1542 (Sharp 1960:26-32). Aside from this, Sharp has argued convincingly that the islands encountered by Villalobos in 1542 as well as Martin's island of exile, while they cannot be identified precisely, were most likely Wotje, Kwajalein, or Ujelang in the Marshall Islands (1960:26-29,40-42).

In noting that Ibargoitia sighted an island "north-north-east of Pulap" at 8°36' North latitude and named it Anonima, Sharp has concluded that Anonima was Ulul (1960:183). But he may be mistaken since these coordinates are as descriptive of Pisarach as they are of Ulul. Portions of both islands lie at that latitude; if "north-north-east" is a general direction, then both Ulul and Pisarach fall within this quadrant relative to Pulap, but if it is a mariner's compass bearing, it designates a point midway between Ulul and Pisarach. Lutké unquestioningly assumed Ibargoita's "Anonima" to be Pisarach (1835:95-97).

[3]The numbers of people reportedly recruited from Namonuito on these two occasions are surprisingly large in comparison to enumerations in all other available censuses for Namonuito. The Chronicle for the year 1867 notes the arrival at Guam of Johnston's schooner Ana enroute to Saipan with 604 people from Ulul Island (Driver 1976:19)--a number approximated in magnitude only by numbers in recent censuses of the entire atoll. Spoehr reports that in 1869 an additional 230 people were taken from unspecified Namonuito islands (1954:71). Further research is necessary in order to determine the accuracy of these numbers and whether only Namonuito Islanders were involved in the migrations.

[4]John Westwood, an English trader residing on Lukunor at the time of Vowell's death, relates the same story about Vowell but recalled the name of the latter as Powell or Powers. According to Westwood, Vowell (or Powell or Powers) was an agent for a German firm and had been accompanied to the area by a fellow agent who went to Puluwat at the same time Vowell went to Ulul; both were killed shortly after their arrival (1905:125-130).

CHAPTER II

INTERISLAND CLAN RELATIONS, THE ISLAND-LOCALIZED CLAN, AND MARRIAGE

The basic unit of kinship is the exogamous descent group. As a consequence of birth, typically pursuant to the marriage of his parents, a child acquires a set of named cognatic relationships with the respective members of both his genetrix's and genitor's descent groups. This chapter consists of a description of the descent group and marriage. Kinship terminology is described in the Appendix.

The Clan

Descent is reckoned matrilineally, named exogamous descent groups being composed of individuals who consider themselves descendants of the same ancestress. These groups are indigenously described by two terms, *ãynang*, 'clan'[1] and *tettel*, 'line.'

Members of a clan are often widely distributed among the Caroline Islands. Each of the landowning clans localized on the Namonuito islands, for example, recognize counterpart enclaves on various (but not all) islands within an area bounded by Ulithi Atoll to the west, and the Truk, Mortlock, and Hall Islands to the east and southeast. This wide distribution has been observed elsewhere (Lessa

1950:48) but the distribution is not even. That is, other islands on which the clans of Namonuito are found tend to be located within Truk District: Puluwat, Pulusuk, Pulap, and Tamatam Islands (i.e., Pāttiw), and the Truk, Mortlock, and Hall Islands. To the west of these islands, clans of Namonuito are less frequently found. For example, there is only one known Namonuito clan, Fānimey, having a counterpart on Ulithi, "Fal Le Mei" (Lessa 1950:36) and one, Pwēēl, having a counterpart on Ifaluk, "Pwel" (Burrows and Spiro 1957:127).

A descent group on Namonuito, whether what is referred to is a group localized on an island or an entire inter-island membership, is named <u>āynang</u>. This term in its uninflected form is the only known term totally restricted in meaning to the context of descent.[2]

Despite the singular terminology, there are structural and functional contrasts between the localized clan and the clan as it encompasses all localized enclaves found on several islands. The latter has been identified as "a group of people who share a common name" (Goodenough 1951:65) and this is an accurate description of the Namonuito clan in its most inclusive form. The clan name is not that of its founder (a human female typically exhibiting supernatural characteristics) but rather of some locale or object or substance associated with her. For example, the clan name

Uun can be glossed 'fishtrap of' and refers to the receptacle in which the clan founder is said to have been discovered at sea by the men of Onari Island; Fānimey (from fāān māāy, 'under the breadfruit tree') refers to the place where the nascent clan founder, a human infant born of a crab, is said to have been found.

At this highest level of clan inclusiveness, descent lines linking all members are imputed but cannot be traced. Common descent from a founder is acknowledged by all members and is based on the knowledge that each was born of a woman of the clan. Shared membership in the same clan is the only basis for group identity; that is, there are no economic, political, or religious relationships between members at this level. Based on the putative genealogical relationship between members, however, intraclan marriage is proscribed and an obligation to observe a relationship of amity between clan mates is expected. In pragmatic terms, the latter means that a person from one island can expect to be afforded food, housing, and companionship during a visit with his clan mates on another island. In the event an individual elects to assume permanent residence on another island (invariably associated with males deciding to marry on another island), he can expect his clan mates there to integrate him into localized clan relations to the fullest extent possible. (For reasons that are outlined later,

interisland travel is predominantly an adult male activity; it is unusual for females of Namonuito Atoll to reside anywhere other than on their natal island.) Integration is not a formalized process but rather a result effected over time and through the implicit understanding among clan mates that the immigrant will assume a generational position based on his age and will take up the relationships and activities commensurate with those of any other like member of the localized clan.

The Clan and Interisland Relations

The clan as it comprises all known localized enclaves thus represents a social category (Goodenough 1951:83). But interisland travel and residence engaged in by males are considerably facilitated by a network of kin relations expressed in a clan name.

It might be expected that relative to Ulul, a stage in the degree of social intercourse intermediate to that of the clan as social category and the island-localized clan would be the clan comprising respective enclaves on the islands of Namonuito Atoll. This is only partially true. That is, the intensity of social contact between localized clans on the islands of Namonuito is more marked than that between localized clans on Namonuito and, for example, any of the Truk and Hall Islands. But of nearly equal intensity is the contact maintained by travel between people of certain

localized clans of Namonuito and their counterparts on Puluwat and Tamatam Islands (islands included in Pāttiw). In other words, rather than Namonuito alone, localized clans on the islands of Namonuito and Pāttiw together represent an intermediate stage in the degree of social intercourse between island enclaves. This is largely because of geographic proximity, prevailing winds, and historical circumstances.

Canoe travel from Ulul to any of the other islands of Namonuito Atoll is somewhat difficult because of prevailing winds; destinations lie upwind of the northeast quadrant winds that prevail on an average from nine to eleven months of the year (Wiens 1962:141,142). Undertaking such a voyage is feasible but entails what is considered an onerous and time-consuming process of tacking and is therefore avoided if possible. The alternative is to await a favorable wind from the southwest or southeast quadrant and this is the most common procedure when sailing from Ulul to the eastern islands of Namonuito.

With a fair wind the passage to Pisarach (approximately 44 nautical miles from Ulul and the most distant island within the atoll) can be accomplished in approximately nine to fifteen hours. Although winds are generally light and variable during the summer season when most sea travel is undertaken, the duration of a westerly or southerly wind can

be expected to coincide with the time necessary to complete the passage.

Parenthetically, these conditions can be contrasted with those involved in travel to East Fayu Island (uninhabited but visited by Ulul men for the sea turtles to be found there.) In this case, the distance between islands is approximately 100 nautical miles. The nearly due east course (assuming a fair wind) follows the south reef of Namonuito for approximately one-half the total distance and continues beyond Pisarach across an ocean expanse devoid of most seamarks (e.g., banks, shoals) until East Fayu is reached. Not only can a favorable wind of sufficient duration not be relied upon for a nonstop voyage, it is usually considered imprudent to pass Pisarach without stopping for provisions before proceeding on the final segment of the passage. And since many of the seamen would likely have relatives on Pisarach, it is thought desirable and appropriate to stop for a visit. The result of these factors is that the time required for a round trip to East Fayu can range from two weeks to a month or more. (The distance between Ulul and the nearest of the Hall Islands is approximately 120 nautical miles and a circuit passage requires commensurately more time.)

Travel, then, between Ulul and the other islands of Namonuito is made more difficult by prevailing winds but

this disadvantage is offset by the short distances involved. The combined effect of these factors is that comparatively frequent travel and social interaction take place between people of localized clans within the atoll.

Although the distances between Ulul and Puluwat (80 nautical miles) and Ulul and Tamatam (62 nautical miles) are greater than those between Ulul and the other islands of Namonuito, the orientation of Ulul with respect to Puluwat and Tamatam means that restrictions on sailing imposed by prevailing winds are less stringent than those within Namonuito Atoll. The NNE-SSW course from Ulul to Puluwat-Tamatam is virtually ideal with regard to prevailing winds, allowing a broad reach (hence, maximum speed) uninterrupted by tacking. The return trip, however, would be problematic (somewhat comparable to the course from Ulul to Magur) if there were not currents favoring the course. Canoe characteristics prevent sailing closer to the wind than about 80° (Gladwin 1970:103). With an easterly wind, the best course for Ulul (approximately north by east) would therefore end forty or fifty nautical miles due west and downwind of Ulul. But currents in this particular latitude are notably irregular, generally of east and west set (Wiens 1962:194; U.S. Navy 1964:314-315). Knowledge of such local currents is utilized by navigators in arranging voyages to Ulul. By proper timing, the displacement of a canoe to the

west by an easterly wind can be offset by traveling coincident with an east-setting current. The result is that a passage between Ulul and Puluwat can be completed in one to one and one-half days. It is partly for this reason that travel and social interactions between members of clans localized on these islands are nearly as intensive as they are between localized clans within Namonuito Atoll.

Historical circumstances tending to reinforce socio-cultural relationships between Namonuito and Pāttiw have been indicated in Chapter I but certain of those details are relevant to interisland clan relations. Of the present nine localized clans on Ulul, representatives of five were the pioneer settlers of Ulul in the nineteenth century following the departure of the former inhabitants. At a later, indeterminate date, three additional localized clans from islands of Namonuito were established. Around 1920, members of a Puluwat clan established residence on Ulul to avert the extinction of their counterpart clan that had originally come from eastern Namonuito. The 1949 relocation of Tamatam Islanders localized the ninth clan on Ulul as well as adding members to previously localized clans.

In terms of the degree of interaction between descent groups, then, the stage intermediate to that of the clan as a social category on the one hand, and the localized clan on the other, is that involving certain localized clans of

Ulul, the other islands of Namonuito, and Puluwat and Tamatam Islands. Local geographic, meteorologic, and historical conditions as well as the existence of a well-developed mode of sea transportation are important elements explaining the intensity of this contact.

As the frequency of social contact between clans within this delimited geographic area is greater than at the most inclusive level of clan, there are or have been some contrasts in the nature of social contacts. According to elderly informants, two or more localized clans of the same name would sometimes form coalitions during times of war. It is said that the members of a localized clan involved in war against another clan (or clans) of the same island could request and expect to receive aid from their clan mates on nearby islands. This appears to have been the only context for political liaisons. Warfare no longer occurs and there are no other known contemporary bases for interisland political relationships between localized clans.

On one occasion, the members of a localized clan on one of the islands of Namonuito requested that their clan mates on Ulul send them food. The explanation for the request was that the food supply--including rice brought by the last field ship--was nearly depleted. Their clan mates on Ulul complied with the request by sending a supply of breadfruit, taro, and bananas. While no other transactions of this sort

were observed, informants indicated that such mutual economic aid is not unusual. No relational asymmetry accrues from such exchanges; rather, each group is obliged to comply with a request if they are able, and each has the right to make a request of the other should it be necessary. The act of giving food in such a situation is formalized to the extent that the donors, having transported and unloaded the gift food, are obliged to depart as soon as possible since it is considered improper for them to consume any of the donated food.

Former political liaisons and contemporary food exchanges are the only formalized activities uniting two or more localized clans within the Namonuito-Pāttiw area. Comparatively frequent interisland social contact by sailing canoes, which is the other distinguishing characteristic of clan relations at this stage, is informal and for this reason difficult to characterize. Some trips explicitly involve clan relations: the illness of a clan mate; the return of a married male to his natal island to participate in some aspect of clan affairs; fetching a clan mate for visiting purposes. But trips arranged for specifically nonsocial reasons as, for example, to East Fayu for turtles, to Moen for cigarettes, to the reef at Magur for ship salvage--invariably involve visiting with clan mates either enroute or at the destination. Canoe travel exhibits an

inextricable social element regardless of its ostensible purpose. On Ulul, as on the other islands of this area, the excitement evoked by sighting a canoe is in part induced by the distinct possibility of renewing clan relationships.

Clan relations at the most inclusive level thus contrast with intraclan relations within the delimited geographic area of Namonuito-Páttiw. While the former is essentially a social category in that social contact among its dispersed enclaves is infrequent, the latter may more properly be termed a group in the sense that it involves frequent social contact between enclaves, precontact warfare coalitions, contemporary food exchanges, and some degree of common history. The underlying commonalities at both levels are the clan name and its ramifications of descent and exogamy, and the shared identity of both category and group in the term áynang.

The Island-localized Clan

The referent for áynang has so far been described in two aspects: the clan at its most inclusive level comprising all members; and what has been labeled the "intermediate stage"--the clan encompassing members living within the Namonuito-Páttiw area. The third referent, the localized clan, will be examined but before doing so it is necessary to note that this tripartite division is in one sense arbitrary, and in another is in conformance with Ulul conceptualizations.

It is arbitrary because, as has been implied, áynang represents a continuum of meaning. At one extreme, sharing the same clan affiliation may be the only basis of relationship for two individuals living on widely separated islands. As geographic distance between them is reduced, social contact tends to increase along with the increased likelihood of a shared history. In other words, the presumption of shared descent is likely to become genealogical and historical fact as propinquity increases. In this sense it is arbitrary to divide the continuum.

But Ulul people recognize the continuum as well as the fact that geographic, cultural, and historical circumstances create nodes on the continuum making certain relational sets distinctive. It is this recognition that is being followed here.

Status ranking of localized clans is observed to the extent that the clan from whose membership males are entitled to succeed to the office of Traditional Chief is termed áynang hómwool, 'chief clan'; all other localized clans of the island are of equal status. Chief-clan entitlement is usually acquired by virtue of its members having been the first to settle an island. However, entitlement can pass from one clan to another when male heirs are not available at the time of succession.[3] Chief clan status is specifically limited to succession to chiefly

office and consists of no more than the recognition of that entitlement. That is, members of the chief clan are not endowed with distinctive privilege or status based on their clan identity.

Descent Lines

A localized clan is composed of two or more constituent elements, each of which is termed tettel. Unlike the term ăynang which only refers to a matrilineal descent group, tettel is polysemous. Its various referents, depending on context, can be glossed 'row,' 'file,' 'set,' 'category,' or 'line.' In the context of descent, tettel is a group of individuals of the same localized clan who can trace their descent through known female links for two or more generations from a female ancestor. In this context, tettel is a matrilineal descent line within an ăynang. An individual acquires automatic and permanent membership in a localized clan and in one of its constituent descent lines by virtue of being born of a female member of that clan and that line.

Table I displays the Ulul de jure population, i.e., individuals normally residing on Ulul, by localized clan and sex. Four localized clans have two descent lines each; three have three; one has four; and one has six. The number of generations represented by living members in each localized clan varies somewhat; two localized clans are comprised of three generations and seven clans are comprised

TABLE I

DE JURE* CENSUS OF ULUL
BY LOCALIZED CLAN AND SEX

Clan	Males	Females	Total
Álengeytaw	16	18	34
Fánimey	9	16	25
Hóponopi	17	15	32
Mwóóf	16	16	32
Piik	26	21	47
Pweraka	18	12	30
Pwéél	14	11	25
Uun	5	10	15
Wiité	20	9	29
Non-localized Clans	4	--	4
Total	145	128	273

*Individuals normally residing on Ulul.

of four. In general, most localized clans exhibit two or three descent lines the members of which span four generations. A descent line is thus typically composed of ten to fifteen individuals a few of whom are elderly while the majority are adults of child-bearing age and dependent children.

A localized clan, as a branch of the most inclusive level of clan, might be expected to display an ancestress in its genealogy common to all of its constituent descent lines. This is only true for six clans localized on Ulul. Of the remaining three, the descent lines of one are linked by two real sisters (whose genetrix is unknown), and those of the other two are unlinked. These structural differences occurred as a result of the historical circumstances previously noted; some localized clans are composed of discrete descent lines the founders of which came to Ulul from different islands at different times. But there are no discernible differences between localized clans in regard to their respective functions or internal relations that can be attributed to these structural contrasts. Localized clan members do not consider the presence or absence of a common ancestress in their genealogies to be of great significance. What is significant to members is that they share the same clan name and island of residence. This is a further comment on the fact that genealogical links (even putative

ones) and propinquity are significant factors contributing to the intensity of descent group relations.

The Clan Chief and the Work Organizer

Each localized clan has a hōmwoolun ảynang, 'Clan Chief' who is the eldest male. It is generally believed that advanced age correlates with advanced wisdom; experience, wisdom, and some degree of mobility are the desired qualities in a Clan Chief. His office is analogous to that of the Traditional Chief. As the sphere of concern and action for the Traditional Chief is restricted to affairs concerning the island community at large, so the localized Clan Chief's sphere is restricted to affairs concerning the membership at large of his localized clan. And as the role of the Traditional Chief has been described as consisting to a large extent of enunciating consensus opinions, so can the Clan Chief be described in his respective relationship with his localized clan mates.

Disputes between members of a localized clan may, however, involve the Clan Chief in the role of arbiter and judge. (But, as described later, disputes involving land are usually arbitrated by senior women.) Disputes are mainly infrequent, inconsequential, and resolved by the disputants. Occasionally, disputes between intoxicated males of the same localized clan can escalate to physical conflict. Such behavior is patently unacceptable and it is

the Clan Chief who establishes punishment for the offenders. (The usual penalty is to prohibit their consumption of alcohol for periods ranging from a few days to several months.) It is also the Clan Chief's prerogative to request a meeting of all localized clan members to decide a general issue as was once done, for example, to assay member opinions regarding the desirability of founding a cooperative store. Such meetings involve an open expression of views until a consensus develops and is enunciated by the Clan Chief.

In addition to managing internal affairs, the Clan Chief is the representative of his localized clan's interests and actions to the community at large. For example, before a localized clan genealogy could be compiled during the course of research, it was necessary to secure the permission of the appropriate Clan Chief. And disputes between individuals of different localized clans may be mediated by the respective Clan Chiefs of the disputants.

However, in all activities invclving the internal or external affairs of his localized clan, the person and authority of the Clan Chief are muted. He is respected as an elder and his authority is valued as a practical means of resolving what are viewed as practical problems. But circumstances requiring his authority are infrequent. When solutions are effected, he resumes his usual

activities--those of any other senior male--where he is virtually indistinguishable as a political figure.

All adult males of a localized clan capable of performing manual labor (those between approximately fifteen and sixty years of age) can occasionally be mobilized as a work gang by the most senior in age among them. The latter is referred to as aaf mwáán, 'our man' by the males under his supervision; they in turn are referred to as mwáániilúk (from mwáán lúkún, 'men around' or 'men outside'). Their activities are generally directed toward a project serving the localized clan such as cooperative fishing or the building or repairing of a canoe or canoe house; or a community need such as building a meeting house or church--the latter pursuant to the request of the island Chief.

Whereas the Clan Chief is generally an arbiter-spokesman, aaf mwáán is a work organizer-foreman. Depending on the physical fitness of the Clan Chief, his office may or may not be coterminous with that of aaf mwáán. But the role and status of aaf mwáán, like those of the Clan Chief, are circumscribed by the occasions requiring his leadership. Beyond the context of coordinated labor, the fact that a man holds the office of aaf mwáán is virtually indiscernible.

Clan Assets: Land, Members, and Secret Lore

Despite the existence of a well-developed cultural adaptation to a marine environment, land is of fundamental

importance as a resource. The sea as a resource is significant but it is believed that land as a place to live and as the source of food is, quite simply, necessary to life itself. The localized clan is seen as the means by which this vital relationship with land is maintained. Each localized clan is associated with specific land plots. The localized clan as a whole is the residual owner of such land and each descent line within it is the effective owner of a subdivision of that land. (In the context of ownership and use rights, soil and the plants growing in it are partible.) Descent line entitlement to subdivisions is theoretically unhindered. Members may use it, partition it, or dispose of it in any manner they deem appropriate. But at the same time, a descent line is recognized to be a constituent unit of the localized clan and the total membership is bound by certain fundamental common interests.

Of these interests, those most relevant to the present context are that land and food are coterminously basic to life and that the viability of the descent group is the collective responsibility of all its members. Thus, when situations arise in which it is perceived that the exercise of the rightful autonomy of a descent line toward its land holdings might jeopardize the well-being of the localized clan membership at large--by the loss of, or impairment to, land title--it is usual for the actions of the descent line

to be modified accordingly. Potential instances of the perceived threat to a localized clan involve the transfer of land title from a descent line through one of its males to his own children--particularly when the male is at the same time the terminal member of his descent line. Such a transfer can of course mean a loss of land for the man's localized clan since his children are members of his wife's localized clan. But at the same time, this is recognized to be characteristic of land ownership; localized clan land holdings are in a more or less constant state of flux--land is relinquished and land is acquired through title transfers. Therefore, when it becomes necessary for the people of a descent line to relinquish title to land, consultations are held between themselves and their localized clan mates to consider the effect of the land loss. Such consultations usually involve deciding how much land can comfortably be relinquished rather than whether or not title will be transferred. It is because entitlement to land is held by individual descent lines and because such lines are recognized by islanders as being autonomous in the exercise of their entitlement rights that they are being referred to here as the effective owners of land. But because there are occasions when descent line autonomy is subordinated to the larger interests of the localized clan, the latter is referred to as the residual land owner.

An adjunct of land as an asset necessary for the viability of the localized clan are clan mates. A commonly expressed sentiment is the desirability of having a large localized clan and, since recruitment to clan membership is singularly and permanently established by birth, children born of women of the localized clan are highly valued. This desirability is never expressed with the implication that localized clans view themselves as respective competitors for members. (In fact, as is described in Chapter III, children are also regarded as assets by their genitors' clan mates.) It is rather that the demographic vagaries of a small population are recognized to have marked implications for localized clan survival and a large population is correspondingly viewed as increased security against such risk. Accordingly, in this context, female children are more valued as potential genetrices. But partly because of characteristic divisions of labor by sex, males are also considered vital and their presence correspondingly desired.

In other words, islanders consider descent group viability to be ideally enhanced not only by the ownership of sufficient land but by the presence of a large population with the increased chance of survival through female descendants balanced by the presence of males and their vital sex-specific capabilities.

Adult male subsistence labor is typically oriented toward the sea: open-sea fishing, canoe maintenance and construction, and attending to the rather wide assortment of associated gear. (Interisland travel is generally a summer activity and may or may not be associated with subsistence.)

Depending on the requirements of specific tasks, males who engage in cooperative labor of these sorts are not necessarily members of the same localized clan. Regardless of the nature of clan representation on a work gang, however, the results of their labor are usually shared directly or indirectly by the respective laborers' clan mates. Large sailing canoes, for example, are sometimes used for deep-sea fishing and require a crew of at least five, but preferably eight, men. It is unusual for a crew to be totally comprised of members of the same localized clan because it is rare for this many males to be simultaneously free of other labor demands--even in the largest localized clans. Typical of all such cooperative fishing, the catch is divided among the participants. These portions are in turn shared by the respective fishermen with their fellow descent-line members and, if a man is married, his spouse and dependent children. A few descent lines of some localized clans are composed only of elderly members. They are routinely supplied with fish by men of other descent lines of the same localized clan.

Adult females, in addition to being the primary caretakers of children, are predominantly occupied in gardening and focd preparation. Gardening consists of weeding and maintaining taro beds, tending to coconut and breadfruit plantings, and trimming banana trees. Food preparation involves harvesting as well as the processing and cooking attendant to meals. The only seasonal variation in these activities are those connected with breadfruit harvest, the primary season usually being from April to September with secondary seasons of shorter duration (Barrau 1961:51).

In the context of female subsistence activites, informants commonly merge them all under the phrase fêêri mwéngé, 'making food.' The Products of this labor are shared by a woman's fellow descent-line members and, if she is married, her spouse and dependent children--a sharing pattern paralleling that of adult males including the provision by women of food for elderly clan mates who cannot otherwise obtain it.

While sea and land are dominant respective domains of male and female subsistence activities, there is overlap. Women occasionally conduct mollusk expeditions on the reef flat. This is a sporadic activity and a secondary source of protein (fish caught by males is primary). Because it requires being away from the residential compound and

children for extended periods, it is usually done by post-menopausal women. Since adult females are disallowed by norms of modesty from climbing trees, males harvest coconuts and breadfruit. (Breadfruit low enough to be reached by a pole may, however, be picked by women--the common technique for harvesting papaya.) Heavy land clearing involving the felling of trees and removal of dense jungle growth is also done by males as is the erection and maintenance of houses and buildings. A traditional thatch house was constructed during the research period. The required tree trunks and saplings were procured from the jungle, prepared and erected by males. The pandanus leaves used for roof thatching were gathered by females but were prepared and installed on the completed roof structure by males.

It is partly because the fruits of male and female subsistence labor are viewed as complementary necessities to descent group survival that a high value is placed on member children. In addition to being considered a source of pleasure and companionship, children are spoken of as a labor asset. Through a gradual enculturation process beginning at an early age, they are increasingly aligned with their sex-specific roles as well as their roles as sharing descent-group members. Children are considered to be of benefit during this process as well as embodying a potential as eventual adult contributors to descent-group

welfare. To the members of the localized clan, children and land are thus of superordinate importance as assets.

Furthermore, because of their inherent nature, it is said, the women of the descent line have primary authority over their land holdings and are the primary caretakers of children. This is not to deny the fact already noted that the males of a descent line are crucial and vitally interested participants in descent-line affairs. It is rather to emphasize a prominent ontological theme of Namonuito life: the spatial mobility of females is in general circumscribed by the limits of their natal island but the spatial mobility of males is limited only by the availability of transportation.

Males view sea travel with an unmistakable element of pleasure and excitement. At the same time it is considered to be an activity for which adult male strength, expertise, and endurance are requisites--an attitude further explaining why interisland travel is predominantly an adult male pursuit.

Women and children are occasionally transported between islands on sailing canoes as well as between Namonuito Atoll and Moen on the government field ship. Children traveling between islands are usually adoptees visiting their real or adoptive parents. Women are transported for various--but always serious--reasons, e.g., to visit a terminally ill

close kinsman, to fetch an adopted child, to be hospitalized on Moen, or to care for an ill relative there. In all such cases, a woman is required to secure permission to travel from a brother or father.

Serious purpose is commensurate with the fact that women generally consider themselves, and are considered by others, to be poor sea travelers (as are children). In addition, women represent an imposition on their male fellow travelers. On a sailing canoe, the selection of a crew is automatically limited by the prospect of a female passenger. Because of cramped accommodations and because of severe social restrictions placed on brother-sister interactions, real and classificatory brothers of the passenger are normally excluded as possible crewmen. And a crew member--either the spouse or a father of the female passenger--must be assigned the responsibility of ministering to her onboard needs. A child is thought to be particularly vulnerable to the effects of exposure attendant to sea voyaging, i.e., sun, dampness, and chill. As a consequence of these factors, sea travel by women and children is generally viewed as problematic and is only undertaken when necessary.

Given the indigenous view that it is the nature of women to stay on their natal island and the nature of men to travel, an indigenously expressed consequence follows: it

is fitting that the women of the descent line be the primary caretakers of the assets of the descent line, land and children--assets which also share the attribute of being island-localized.

Bearing the primary responsibility for child care means that a genetrix above all others is obliged to ensure that her child is properly fed and that childhood illnesses and traumas are avoided--whether she carries out these tasks personally or whether, as is often the case, they are also performed by members of the child's kindred. The fact that the care of a child is generally distributed among the older members of a child's kindred (i.e., real and classificatory siblings and classificatory parents) is one of the identifying features of cognates and will be described more fully later. It is relevant to note here, however, that the jural basis of the claim of a descent line to a child (as well as the claim of the localized clan) is only partially based on the genetrix's personal care of her child. The primary basis of the claim rests on the fact that she gave birth to the child. Because the birth of a child as well as the identity of the genetrix's clan are public knowlege and because, as has been indicated, descent-group recruitment by virtue of birth is irrevocable, the claim by a descent group to include the children of its women as members is unproblematic in the sense that it is not challenged nor

compromised by the fact that the care of a child is often distributed among members of other localized clans.

Because anyone desiring the company of a child does so with the knowledge of the genetrix and because during the day her child is either periodically returned to her or she determines his whereabouts and condition through information supplied by his siblings, the practical effects of being the primary caretaker are that a genetrix always knows the location and state of her child. As the ultimate responsible party, she is either personally caring for her child or monitoring the care of others and is able and expected, therefore, to intervene in any aspect of care she deems threatening to the child's welfare.

Being the primary caretakers of land means that the women of a descent line, in addition to their subsistence labor, act as the ultimate, authoritative repositories of knowledge necessary to validate their descent-line entitlement to land. Unlike the permanent affiliation between an individual and his descent group, land titles are in a state of flux since they are subject to transfer through the customary instruments of gift and inheritance between localized clans and, to some extent, between descent lines within a localized clan. When a man marries, he, along with the adults of his descent line, makes a <u>kiis</u>, 'gift' of land to his spouse with the implicit expectation

that it will be used as a subsistence base for his children during his lifetime and that the children and their descent line will eventually inherit title to it. (This patrimony may be reciprocated by a gift of land from a man's spouse and her descent line to his descent line--an exchange that is examined further when the practice of marriage is described.) A child, of course, is a participating heir of his descent-line land through his genetrix. But occasionally this inheritance is supplemented by land bequeathed by a classificatory mother of another descent line of his localized clan if there happens to be a shortage of land in his own descent line.

Associated with shifting land titles is the fact that disagreements can arise between descent lines within a localized clan as well as between descent lines of different localized clans concerning rightful title to land plots or the location of boundaries. Since the jural basis for a claim lies in whether entitlement was acquired either as a gift or bequest, validating a claim consists of the ability to satisfactorily recount the exact circumstances of acquisition. This kind of knowledge is of a type termed <u>wuruwo</u>, 'secret lore' and consists of knowing the history and boundaries of all land plots whose titles were acquired or relinquished by descent line members as gifts or bequests. Localized clan genealogies are a component part

of such knowledge but in themselves are not considered secret lore. Although each descent line has a special interest in its own genealogy and history, all descent lines of a localized clan, based on their common interests, have access to their clan wuruwo. This kind of wuruwo is, in other words, the proprietary knowledge of the members of the localized clan. For these reasons, disagreements between descent lines about land titles or boundaries are infrequent and are misunderstandings that can be, and usually are, settled amicably.

Land disputes between individuals of different localized clans usually begin as a result of garden labor perceived by an adjacent property owner to be either a boundary transgression or unlawful expropriation. The ensuing argument understandably involves the attempt of each party to convince the other of the legitimacy of his actions. Adults generally know some of the wuruwo of their localized clan and particularly of their descent line. Depending on the nature of this initial disagreement and the individuals involved, they may be able to resolve their differences.

If this is not possible, a senior woman known to be most familiar with the wuruwo of the property in question is sought to adjudge the issue. (Rarely, a senior male may act in this capacity.) She may or may not be a clan mate of one

of the disputants. Rather, her primary qualifications are that she can specify the locations of the pertinent boundaries, decribe how the land was acquired, and name the principals to the transaction. Each disputant, of course, hopes that his own position will be vindicated but the adjudicator is usually viewed as an impartial authority and her decisions are honored.

Some disputes are unequivocably settled in the favor of one party as in the case of a woman of clan X who discovered a palm sapling recently planted on her land by a young man of clan Y, the adjacent property owners. She uprooted the tree and threw it on clan Y's property. When a woman of clan Y asked why this had been done, the senior woman of clan X--the acknowledged authority on the origin of both land plots--informed her that the young man had indeed planted the tree on clan X land. The matter was ended; it was said that the woman of clan Y was <u>hâáw</u>, 'embarrassed' by her young clansman's mistake. Other disputes can result in compromise as in the case of two women of different localized clans who planted coconut trees slightly inside of what each thought was the boundary separating their abutting land plots. The effect of the plantings, however, was a meandering file of trees variously claimed by the two women thus creating a boundary dispute. The senior woman who was consulted determined that the trees had in fact been planted

on the boundary. The trees were removed, thereby reestablishing the boundary as a narrow clearing between the adjacent plots.

Not all land disputes are settled immediately. There were a few that had been moot for several years prior to my research. These appeared to either involve property that was considered of marginal utility or a principle that was thought to have little practical significance. They were therefore exceptions to the majority of disputes which are resolved by invoking the authority of a senior woman and her specialized knowledge.

Marriage

The problems attending the cross-cultural application of the term "marriage" are well-established (e.g., Leach 1955; Gough 1959). Without directly addressing these problems but at the same time recognizing them as well as the utility of succinctly referring to an unquestionably marriage-like practice in Namonuito society, the term "marriage" is used here to describe the practice of a post-pubescent male and female cohabiting with the implicit assumption by themselves and any interested parties that children will be born of the union. Such a practice is termed pwūpwpwūlū, 'to marry.'

Traditional Marriage

The traditional practice of marriage, while subject to a rule of clan exogamy, was not prescriptive nor elaborately marked by ceremony. Serial monogamy was the common form with occasional instances of fraternal polyandry and sororal polygyny. Although clan genealogies indicate both patrilateral and matrilateral cross-cousin marriages as well as patrilateral parallel-cousin marriages, these forms were infrequent.

While matriclan exogamy is said to be a rule, some senior informants report that in the indeterminate past, rare marriages between members of the same clan were arranged as a means of minimizing the loss of clan land through inheritance. Such marriages, it is said, usually involved individuals who were genealogically distant classificatory siblings. The fact that such reputed marriages do not appear on the genalogies I recorded does not necessarily contradict these reports since there are a number of recorded marriages for which the clan identity of one marriage partner is unknown. Some cross-cousin and parallel-cousin marriges appearing in clan genealogies are likewise thought by informants to have been arranged between genealogically distant kin for the same reason stated above.

Since many traditional marriage customs are extant, the following is phrased in the present tense. Contemporary modifications will be noted subsequently.

The selection of a spouse is often the discretionary option of the principals themselves but marriages are sometimes planned by the parents of two young people. An interim period of variable duration resembling a betrothal period transpires between the conclusion of spouse selection and the assumption of cohabitation. During this period, the couple are said to be kkófót, 'watching.' Each has been committed to the other and the intervening period is an opportunity for each to assess the seriousness of intent of the other.

Regardless of the manner of spouse selection, three criteria are generally considered important bases for marriage: some degree of mutual attraction, the willingness and capacity of both to engage in subsistence labor, and congenial personality traits. There is some difference of opinion regarding the relative importance of each criterion. Younger informants tend to stress attraction while older informants tend to emphasize labor potential; all seem to agree on the value of congeniality. But because the more binding authority in matters of spouse selection resides with the more senior in age, the value placed on subsistence labor as an important ingredient in marriage appears to be the more prominent consideration (along with that of personality). This is particularly so because customarily, a couple is expected to obtain an endorsement of their

marrige intentions from their respective genitor, genetrix, older clan siblings, and adoptive parents (if there are such). While these are the focal consultants for a couple, others among their cognates might also be involved. In fact, these consultations, like many aspects of marriage, are conducted informally. A couple is usually desirous of endorsement for their marriage plans but it is recognized that unanimous consent is sometimes difficult to effect.

However, there is some difference in the degree of independence allowed young males and females in determining who their spouses may be--males appearing to have more freedom, associated with the belief that it is the nature of males to be mobile and therefore to be in some degree independent. A male, in other words, is more inclined to inform his cognates about whom he intends to marry with the expectation that his decision will be supported.

A female, though, is more likely to indicate her inclinations to her cognates in the form of a request rather than as a declaration. This is said to be associated with the fact that post-marital residence is matrilocal (i.e., a woman and her spouse establishing residence on land owned by the woman's descent line) and that at least some of her clan mates are therefore likely to personally share the consequences of her choice of a mate with respect to his labor potential and personality. This can be especially

true for a woman's descent-line sisters and mothers since the families of a descent line often reside near one another, forming residential compounds.

The commencement of conjugal life is signalled by cohabitation in a house provided by the female's descent line and by a gift of land (kiis) made by the male (and his descent line) to his future children (and their descent line). If a man's natal island is the same as that of his spouse, the kiis is directly utilized by the couple for its intended purpose as a subsistence resource for their children.

A different situation pertains if an in-marrying male comes from another island. If he has clan mates on his spouse's island who consider him closely related, they may provide his kiis and thus act as substitute donors for his own descent line. What constitutes "close relationship" depends on genealogical and social factors. Generally, if there are some among his clan mates living on his spouse's island to whom he can trace relatedness and with whom he has maintained social contact (factors which tend to co-occur), it is more likely that they will offer kiis. If such arrangements cannot be made, kiis on the couple's island of residence cannot be offered. Regardless of such arrangements, an off-island male's descent line usually allocates land on his natal island for the future use of his children.

Kiis may or may not be reciprocated in kind by a man's spouse and her descent line. It is said to be optional but appears to occur only when both spouses share the same natal island. Once children are born to the couple, the land gift (kiis) to the children becomes the property of their descent line and the reciprocal land gift from the female's descent line to her spouse's descent line (if such has transpired) is retained by the latter. If the marriage is terminated prior to the birth of children, kiis, and its reciprocation are reclaimed by their respective donors. Kiis and its reciprocation are, in other words, provisional transactions that usually become irrevocable following the birth of a child. These transactional sequences are immutably ordered. The presentation of kiis is, in a manner of speaking, an assertion and its reciprocation is a response. Similarly, the reversion of kiis to its donors (under the circumstances indicated) is followed by a reciprocal reversion.

A marriage may, of course, be terminated at any time by death but it may also be terminated at the volition of either spouse, the female's parents, or her clan mates. The reasons for voluntary terminations vary. Generally, an excessive or blatant extramarital sexual liaison on the part of either spouse is intolerable to the other as is the overt failure to perform sex-specific labor tasks associated with marriage. The failure of a male in the latter respect is

one of the reasons why his spouse's parents or clan mates might terminate the marriage. An equally valid reason for them to terminate her marriage is said to be presented when her spouse manifests intolerably abrasive or disruptive behavior regardless of whom it is directed toward. In fact, their reponsibility to alleviate such a source of disruption for the community when it is created by an in-marrying male is said to be clear; public tranquility can be simply restored by their telling him to leave the island.

Although the foregoing examples represent terminations in extremis, amicable separations can also occur in which both spouses agree that incompatibility prevails. This appears to be the most frequent kind of termination; a couple simply ceases to cohabit with little or no rancor felt either by them or by their respective cognates.

In general, marriage is viewed as a merger of respective sex-specific capacities in a relationship of complementarity. Because each spouse is endowed with unique capacities considered vital to the merger, their relationship is generally one of equality. That is, outside specific contexts in which the expertise of one spouse is deferred to by the other, there is a noticeable absence of the domination of one spouse by the other. It is said that generalized equality and complementarity promote the mutual benefits that marriage can produce for the couple as well as

for their respective cognates. From the point of view of both spouses, their children are preeminently esteemed for their companionship, their labor potential, and the eventual care they will provide their parents during the latter's old age. For both spouses and their respective clan mates, children are regarded as assets; they are new members of their genetrix's clan and new recruits to a special relationship with their genitor's clan (which is described in the following chapter). And from the point of view of a woman and members of her descent line, her spouse's labor is by custom utilizable by them and thus is a productive adjunct to their own subsistence efforts.

Alterations to Traditional Marriage

The most noticeable contemporary alterations in the traditional practice of marriage have resulted from the acceptance of Catholicism by islanders and the permanent residence of a priest on or near Namonuito since approximately 1949. The period during which traditional marriage was extant cannot be specified beyond what informants refer to as the time "before religion," i.e., prior to the presence of resident missionaries. No patterns of change prior to that time could be recollected by informants. This is not to suggest that prior changes may not have occurred nor that alien cultural influences other than religion have not had some impact. It is rather to

reflect the islanders' general perception today of the primary source of change.

The selection of a spouse now involves--in addition to the couple and their respective cognates--the Church as an interested third party. The latter's concern involves, among other things, ascertaining whether a proposed marriage might be hindered by any of several ecclesiastical impediments (O'Mara 1967). Although any of these are potential reasons for either delaying, prohibiting, or nullifying a marriage, most appear to have minimal actual consequences. However, the purpose of one restriction, the ecclesiastical impediment of consanguinity, is to prevent certain specified consanguines from committing illicit sexual intercourse concomitant with marriage and the restriction parallels in principle certain Namonuito beliefs.

Within the context of Namonuito beliefs, sexual intercourse (and, therefore, marriage) between a person and his or her real parent, sibling, or clan mate is forbidden--with the reputed exceptions indicated previously. However, sexual relations between a person and distantly related members of his or her genitor's clan could occur and have resulted in occasional cousin marriages.

Canon Law, by way of the concept of the impediment of consanguinity, designates the conditions under which

consanguines may and may not marry, based on an explicit formulation of the degree of consanguinity believed to exist between two individuals (Henry 1967:192-193). According to this system of measure, consanguines who are related in "the first degree of the direct line," i.e., parent and child, or in "the first degree of the collateral line," i.e., siblings, are prohibited from marrying (Henry 1967:195). In these cases, there is of course no incongruence between ecclesiastical and indigenous proscriptions. By ecclesiastical reckoning, consanguines of the second or third canon degree, i.e., "first cousins" or "second cousins," however, are considered potentially eligible to marry but only following a successful petition for dispensation from the impediment (Henry 1967:194). The latter canon restriction would, of course, apply to the occasional cousin marriges which have occurred on Namonuito but the granting of dispensation appears to be relatively unproblematic providing that sufficiently good reasons for contracting such a marriage can be shown (Henry 1967:195). The restrictions would thus have the ultimate probable effect of delaying the marriage.[4]

Although spouse selection now involves the Church as a third party whose concerns generally do not conflict with traditional Namonuito concerns, the effect of Church involvement appears not to be regarded as problematic by

islanders. Similarly, the present manner of contracting marriage in conjunction with a nuptial mass is a new and acceptable ceremony. And the custom of kiis (and its reciprocation) and matrilocal residence, having no apparent relevance for the Church, continue to be practiced by islanders.

Although spouse selection and acceptance of ceremony is nonproblematic, it is a Catholic tenet that "the essential attributes of matrimony are unity and indissolubility" except under the circumstance of death (Schmidt 1967:272). And it is this tenet that informants of both sexes view as being the most difficult to accommodate of all changes in the traditional marriage practice. This is commonly expressed by way of direct contrast: Pre-Christian marriage was "easy" because it could be terminated and another marriage initiated; terminating a marriage other than by reason of death is now impossible and marriage now is said to be "very difficult."

Conclusions

Matrilocal residence is indigenously viewed as consistent with the nature of males, females, and matrilineal descent. It is thought appropriate that males--who are highly mobile--take up residence at the natal locale of their spouses. The labor of a married male is predominantly directed toward subsistence activities

beneficial to his spouse, his children, and their descent group. This is considered fair parity for the benefits he personally enjoys as a resident consumer on his spouse's land and for the desirable relationship established between his children, himself, and his own descent group.

The island-localized matriclan is viewed as comprising a set of fundamental, interdependent, and most solidary relationships. Females are recognized to be a focal core of these relationships as caretakers of land, children, and lore. Males are considered of equal importance in their complementary sex-specific capacities. As coparceners of assets, all share an abiding interest in ensuring that their mutual well-being is served by the management of these assets.

NOTES--CHAPTER II

[1]Cognates of the term áynang have been reported for other Caroline Islands and have been variously glossed: Romonum Island, Truk Islands: jejinag, 'sib' (Goodenough 1951:80); Wuuman Island, Truk Islands: eyinag, 'sib' (Caughey 1970:84); Puluwat Atoll: yáyināng, 'clan' (Elbert 1972:262); Namoluk and Etal Atolls: ainang, 'clan' (Marshall 1972:55; Nason 1970:59); Lamotrek Atoll: hailang, 'clan' (Alkire 1965:28); Ifaluk Atoll: kailang, 'clan' (Burrows and Spiro 1957:126).

[2]Possession for the term áynang, 'clan,' is usually indicated by use of the general possessive classifier, e.g., ááy áynang, 'my clan.' More rarely, possession is indicated by inflection, e.g., áynangey, 'my kinsman,' 'my clan.' While the inflected form may be glossed 'my kinsman,' the uninflected form may not.

[3]This occurred on Ulul. The Traditional Chief around the time of the nineteenth-century resettlement was a member of Uun clan. Before his death he designated as his successor the eldest son of one of his sisters--the usual procedure in chiefly succession. This second Chief, prior to his death, designated his own daughter's son as Chief, there being no adult males of Uun clan other than himself on Ulul at the time. Since regency in any form is not practiced and because this second Chief's wife, and hence his daughter and her son, were members of Piik clan, it was at this point that chief clan entitlement passed from Uun to Piik. From then until now the serial successors to the island chieftaincy have been males of Piik clan.

[4]One such case on Namonuito involved a proposed marriage between a male to whom the woman he planned to marry was related as his FaFaDaDaDa. By ecclesiastical reckoning, she was related to him as a third degree consanguine or, in the terminology of Canon Law, a consanguine of the third degree touching the second (Henry 1967:193). Ratification of the marriage was delayed until the impediment was dispensed.

CHAPTER III

FILIATION AND COGNATIC RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

Relationships between cognates are generally characterized by mutual trust and sharing with food, housing, labor, knowledge, and companionship being the common items of exchange. Conversely, the absence of these characteristics identify non-cognatic relationships. A cognate presumes that another will share and be trustworthy; non-cognates presume the converse.

Among cognates, the relative age, sex, or generational status of two persons are broad determinants of the nature of sharing between them. If they are of different generations, an asymmetric parent-child relation holds in which the needs of the junior, when he is young, are expected to be met by his senior. When children reach adulthood and parents advanced age, their respective roles are reversed whereby the needs of parents are met by their children. If two people are of the same generation, a sibling relationship of generalized symmetry is characteristic, but a symmetry modified by protocols based on relative age and sex.

These are broad characteristics of cognatic relations, some of which have been suggested in previous descriptions of descent. There are differences, however, between matrilateral and patrilateral relationships that are said to derive from differences between the respective bases of a genitor's and genetrix's relationship to their child. The focus of this chapter is on the bases and ramifications of complementary filiation and descent as principles underlying Namonuito kinship and the practice of adoption.

Included among a child's cognates are individuals who are neither his clan mates nor members of his genitor's clan. (The kin terminology system is generational or Hawaiian; see Appendix.) They are members of his kindred removed by one or more intervening links from his primary relations with members of his genetrix's and genitor's clans. His interactions with them can be quite variable with regard to intensity and content--a characteristic of extended kindred relations (e.g., Davenport 1971:206; Fortes 1969:123). A child's relationships with these more distant kin are in conformance with the broad characteristics of all cognatic relations but they are generally of secondary importance by comparison with the focal relations described in this chapter.

The Bases of Real Parent-child Relations

As has been indicated, a child at birth is permanently affiliated in a named relationship with the clan of his genitor--the afakŭr relationship. This relationship is said to be based on the fact that a child shares a physical affinity with his genitor originating in the latter's semen. A child is said to be of the genitor's semen and therefore of the blood of the genitor.

In addition to the common observation that a child resembles his genitor in personality and physical characteristics, certain social consequences are deemed to ensue from the biogenetic basis of the relationship. They are expressed in the fact that the genitor is said to have the greatest authority over his child. This authority consists of rights in and responsibilities toward a child which are held by the genitor and, by extension, those of his clan mates who are generationally senior to his child. The authority can be characterized as potestal.[1]

The responsibility of a genitor, although directly related to the welfare of his child, is not ordinarily exhibited in day-to-day affairs--a domain normally dominated by a man's spouse and other females in caretaking roles. It rather has substance in what are considered less frequent but larger issues having implications for a child's welfare. The earliest expression of this responsibility is a gift of

land (kiis) as a subsistence base for his future children. Another occurs following conception and is said to involve the genitor in feeding the fetus by providing the genetrix with food. Fish and coconuts are considered especially conducive to prenatal growth and to the production of milk for postnatal feeding.

In the case of the death of the genetrix, potestality is displayed in the genitor's right to decide the residential disposition of his child in order to ensure that the latter receives adequate care. Prior to missionization, this was also the genitor's right if his marriage was terminated or if he and his spouse were separated. In the latter case, however, the implicit understanding was that the purpose of the right is limited to serving the immediate caretaking needs of the child provided by females. It is said that under no circumstances could the right serve as a means of alienating a child from his descent group. Potestality is also displayed in a genitor's decisions regarding whether his child should be allowed to travel away from his natal island and whether an adoption request should be granted. Sea travel is not only thought to constitute a health risk for a child but, if a child is unaccompanied by either his genitor or genetrix, his welfare must be entrusted to caretakers whose adequacy is difficult to monitor. Adoption, while it may or may not necessitate a

residential transfer of a child from his natal island, at least involves him in a degree of separation from his genitor and is therefore thought to also represent a diminished capacity to oversee his welfare.

While bearing certain responsibilities toward his child, a genitor also enjoys the right of having first claim on his child's assistance either for his own needs or for those of his clan mates. The assistance rendered by a child is usually in the form of labor. But the potestal right is not necessarily limited to labor demands. A man may, for example, request that his son accompany him on a canoe voyage in which the son's labor may be of lesser importance than his companionship. In theory, this prerogative is unaffected by the sex of a child but in practice is usually directed toward male rather than female children when it is the genitor's clan mates who request assistance. This appears to correlate with the expectation that males (including children) are more mobile than females.

The kind of labor tasks vary but are commensurate with a boy's age. Pre- and early-teenage boys may engage in modest reef fishing, procure coconuts and breadfruit or materials required in a construction project. Adult males may be directed by their genitor's clan mates to assist in any of the sex-specific activities previously described as typical for men, including the participation in a genitor's work-gang (mwáániilűk).

In principle, a genitor's potestal authority is inalienable and exercised by him so long as he is capable. Should he die or become incapacitated before his child attains adulthood, his authority is automatically assumed by one of his clansmen who is generationally senior to his child. In practice, however, certain aspects of the potestate attenuate coincident with the maturation of a child. A request to adopt a child usually occurs either before the child is born or during his early infancy. The genitor's right to grant an adoption request correspondingly disappears or, more accurately, ceases to be relevant when his child is beyond infancy. For similar reasons, decisions regarding a son's off-island travel cease to be made by a genitor when the former reaches adulthood; in the case of an adult daughter, her desire to travel becomes subject to her elder male siblings' approval rather than that of her genitor.

In general, potestality is most evident at birth and is associated with the view that an infant is at a stage of greatest dependence. The maturation of a child is also a transition toward relatively greater independence and is attended by a gradual attenuation of the judgmental aspects of potestality until, when adulthood is reached, it virtually disappears. But a genitor's claim and that of his clan mates to the assistance of his child is an aspect of

complementary filiation that endures throughout a child's life.

The bases of the genetrix-child and genitor-child relationships are contrasts in kind. A genetrix is so by reason of having had a child stay in her womb and results in her distinctive status as wessan iin, 'real mother' and her equally distinctive role as primary caretaker for her child. A genitor, on the other hand, is so by reason of having placed a child in a woman's womb; a child is the genitor's semen and this is the postulated basis for the genitor's unique status and role as wessan haam, 'real father.' The contrast between the respective bases is a contrast between the explicitly biogenetic relationship between a genitor and his child and the nonbiogenetic relationship between a genetrix and her child. Where a genitor is said to share physical and psychic affinity with his child, it is said that a genetrix does not. Although the neeniyan hemiriit, 'place of the child,' i.e., uterus, is recognized to be a unique physical feature, its cruciality to conception lies in the belief that it is the place in which the fetus nõmw 'stays' and grows during gestation; it is regarded as a repository where, through nutritive processes, the substance of life, semen, gradually develops to the characteristic form of an infant.[2] Theories of bilateral biogenesis involving ideas of ova, spermatozoa, and of their

merging--of the mixing of any other genitor-genetrix physical substance--are alien to Namonuito beliefs. A genetrix is said not to imbue her child with physical substance; her uterus is a unique anatomical feature necessary as a place for the growth of the genitor's child.[3]

Descent and Complementary Filiation

By reason of having stayed in his genetrix's womb, however, a child does acquire membership in her clan--a status successively transmitted through genetrix-child links. This is to say that the principle underlying Namonuito descent is the transmission of clan membership through serial matrifilial episodes of intrauterine "staying," a principle connoted by the Namonuito expression that a child fiti 'goes with' his genetrix's clan. This is in contrast to complementary filiation--the afakūr relationship--where a child's relationships are with his genitor's living, not deceased, clan mates. While the affairs of a genitor and his clan mates that mutually engage them as members of a descent group do not include a genitor's child as a participant, they say of such a child that he is "of the blood of our clan" and therefore "belongs" to their clan. This is not intended to mean that a child's blood is literally the same as that of his genitor's clan mates, but rather that a genitor is also a clansman and by the canons of clan solidarity, any claims of

general value to persons or things produced or otherwise garnered by individual members are expected to be shared with their clan mates. The claim that a child is of the blood of a clan is an expression of clan members' claims on the creative capacity of a member genitor as it is manifested in his blood relationship with his child.

Thus, filiation establishes a child in different relationships with two matriclans. The link with his genetrix is one of a series through which membership in a matriclan is required. To be a clansman is to have inherited coequal status as a coparcener of clan assets--a status in which relationships with deceased as well as living members are important. But the link between a child and his genitor establishes the child in the afakûr relationship, a subject of the potestal authority of his genitor's living clan mates. Relationships between a child and his genitor's deceased clan mates are not significant because potestal rights do not originate in the matriclan. Rather, the source of potestality is believed to reside in the biogenetic capacity of the adult male to create a child. And having given literal substance to life, it is considered fitting that a genitor enjoy the privilege of invoking his child's assistance as well as bearing the primary responsibility for establishing policies promoting the welfare of his child. But even though potestal rights do

not originate in the genitor's matrician, the privileges and responsibilties of potestality are shared by the genitor's clan mates in accord with the norms of sharing inherent in his relationships with them.

The respective bases of a child's affiliation to the matriclans of his genetrix and genitor have necessarily been described in ontological and jural terms. While this reflects the manner in which informants describe the relationships, other aspects are recognized. Both genetrix and genitor have an avowed self-interest in their child's labor and the eventual care he will provide them in their old age. In fact, the responsibility of real parents to provide their child with food, housing, good health, and safety is regarded as an intensive commitment and is frequently described as an investment that will yield a return in their child's reciprocal care for them in later years. At the same time, however, their commitment is presumed to be motivated by affection which will also be reciprocated by their child. The latter is commonly the case and is displayed in a variety of contexts such as in mutual pride and enjoyment of a father and his young son on a fishing trip; the comfort of a mother and her small child together in a cookhouse; or the gaiety of a child having a shower-bath poured by a laughing parent. The real parent-child relationship is composed of a variety of

qualities--responsibility, self-interest, affection, and companionship--all of which are viewed as aspects of the relationship.

Classificatory Parents

In some ways the roles of a child's classificatory parents, i.e., a person's real parents' clan mates of ascendant generations, parallel those of a child's real parents. The attributes of classificatory parents as older, and therefore more knowledgable, skilled, and experienced cognates are available as resources. For example, should a classificatory parent find himself or herself in the presence of a classificatory child unattended by a real parent, he or she is expected to interact with the child as a real parent would by providing assistance or averting risks. In the course of a child's daily meandering about the residential area of the island, classificatory parents can be expected to offer him food whether it is requested or not. Or, he may occasionally find himself at a classificatory parent's home at dusk. His freedom to consider spending the night there is the counterpart of a classificatory parent's obligation and desire to afford him lodging. A classificatory parent who is also a medical specialist is considered an ideal practitioner in treating a child's illness which cannot otherwise be alleviated by his real parents. Such treatment is thought to be particularly

efficacious because the specialist is also the child's cognate. And should a person desire to become apprenticed to a master of a specialized knowledge or skill not held by one's real parents (e.g., medicine, divination, navigation, canoe building), a classificatory parent is considered the ideal instructor.

Thus, many aspects of the classificatory parent-child relationship parallel those of the real parent-child relationship. And it is within the context of this general point of view that informants speak of all parents as being "the same." All value their child even though the reasons for their respective evaluations differ as appropriate to the differences between the bases of membership in, or complementary filiation to, their matriclan.

Yet in certain contexts the differential bases of relatedness are recognized to create differences in the respective relations between various fathers--genitor, father's brother, mother's brother--and the child. There are situations, as when children are playing near a canoe house where men are gathered, in which a child, his genitor, and classificatory fathers are within sight and sound of one another. When a child's behavior in such a context is thought to require correction, classificatory fathers usually withhold action in favor of the genitor. The precedence of the genitor's paternal authority is displayed

in other ways as it was when a young boy was in the presence of a group of men among whom were the boy's mother's brother as well as the boy's genitor. The boy's foot displayed a festering sore which, judging from the boy's behavior and the glances of the men, appeared to have been noticed by many--particularly the boy's mother's brother. But the sight of the foot elicited no comments. Later, the boy's mother's brother, in response to my inquiries about the incident, confirmed his notice of the boy's foot and the fact that he was concerned about it. But, he explained, it would have been quite improper to have commented on it because this would have been regarded by the genitor as a derogation of his responsibility as a genitor.

There are also differences between classificatory fathers. Although a mother's brother is a father to a child, he does not share the potestal authority of the genitor whereas a genitor's clan brothers do. A mother's brother, for example, is expected to postpone his request for a child's assistance should a simultaneous demand be made by the genitor or the genitor's clan brother.

As these illustrations suggest, a basic difference between "fathers" centers on potestal authority and is most apparent in contexts where that authority is overtly exercised as in requests for labor assistance or where fathers are simultaneously available for ministering to the

welfare of their child. Since a mother's brother in fact possesses no potestal authority, the contrast is between the absence of potestality (the status of mother's brother) and differential access to it (genitor and genitor's brother). The primacy of the Namonuito genitor's authority is notable because it is in striking contrast to his otherwise subordinate status in relations with those exercising the greatest authority over him, his spouse's clan brothers. As an in-marrying male living on land belonging to his wife's descent group, he is expected to be deferential to their wishes and his behavior is subject to their scrutiny. But as a genitor, he is neither subordinate to nor deferential toward any of his affines.

A basic difference between "mothers," i.e., the genetrix, her clanswomen, and the genitor's clanswomen, centers on child care and residence. A genetrix, by reason of having given birth, is the primary caretaker of her child. But caretaking tasks are shared and since residence is matrilocal, a genetrix's clanswomen are either residing with her or nearby and it is they who assume the most prominent supporting role in caretaking.

Although caretaking activities attenuate as a child matures, the relationship between a child and women of his clan remains intense and intimate. Prior to weaning at about two years of age, a child is rarely outside the

company of his genetrix for more than short periods of time. After weaning and throughout childhood the genetrix and at least some of her clanswomen continue to be centrally involved in the care and feeding of her child. During adolescence a child begins reciprocating the care he has received by contributing the results of his subsistence labor--a contribution that becomes substantial during early adulthood. While marriage represents the assumption of additional relationships and responsibilities for a young adult, the close bonds of mutual affection and succor established between himself and his clan mothers during the previous years usually continue to be solidary, mutually valued, and enduring.

Females other than the child's clanswomen can and do participate in his caretaking but those who do, share the prerequisite of being his cognates. Prominent among these are a child's genitor's clanswomen who are centrally involved in the practice of adoption described in the following chapter. However, the circumstances of birth, primary caretaking, and residence are unique to the relationship between a child and his senior clanswomen. These factors as well as the solidarity with which they are intimately associated are unequalled in their entirety by any other caretaking relationship experienced by a child.

Siblings

Relationships between real and classificatory siblings are expected to comply with the cancns of trust, harmony, and cooperation expected of all cognates. But unlike parent and child in which one member is older, more experienced, and therefore ostensibly capable of stabilizing the relationship in the desired manner, young siblings are viewed by adults as unknowledgeable and therefore unappreciative of what is considered to be one of the most important of all ccgnatic relationships.

Correspondingly, the parental guidance of children toward what are considered proper sibling relations begins at an early age. Squabbles and fights are discouraged as is the coveting of focd or goods of any kind in the face of a fellow sibling's desire or need. Children also begin associating interdependence and companionship in their relations with siblings while they are still quite young. One of the first things learned by a child is that he should seek the company of siblings in order to both receive and render assistance if it is needed. Wading at the seashore, tree-climbing, wandering in the jungle, or other play activities are said to represent varying risks and a child is encouraged to initiate an active concern for the safety of his siblings, particularly those who are younger. The effect of introducing these duties into childhood play

activities is to integrate responsibility and comradeship in the sibling relationship. Through years of such experience, children come to learn the truth of what their parents recall, that the easygoing pleasures of childhood are inextricably associated with the reliable company of their siblings.

During childhood, a gradually increasing emphasis is placed on the relative birth order between siblings with the status of the younger becoming subordinate to that of the elder. Prior to puberty, relative birth order is unqualified by sex; an elder sister and brother are equally entitled to respect from a younger. After puberty, however, sex becomes a second principle ordering sibling relations in that a female is expected to be deferential toward her male siblings. An adult male, however, is subordinate to a clan sister (or clan mother if she is living) in all matters pertaining to their clan land. In addition to deferring to her judgment regarding the disposition and use of their land, a man is expected to seek her permission before working on or harvesting from their clan land.

After puberty, this system of relative birth order, sex, and associated deferential behaviors is superimposed on the informal comradery of early childhood. This is explained as the means by which siblings can maintain cooperative and harmonious relations. Conversely, quarrels,

fights, or disaffection between siblings--any of which are strongly disapproved--are said to result from a younger sibling's disregard for the status of his elder, ignoring opposite-sex sibling protocols, or from the overweaning exercise of superior status. Failing to respect higher status or wielding higher status unreasonably are considered arrogant acts, and arrogance between siblings is tantamount to a repudiation of their relationship.

Respect behavior between siblings of the same sex obliges the younger to accede to the directives of the older and to employ a deferential speech pattern termed kkapha mŏchŏchchŏr, 'soft talk' characterized by polite terms and a muted voice tone. There are additional obligations between opposite-sex siblings.[4] A woman walking past the island meeting house or a canoe house in which her brother is seated is expected to assume a stooped posture. Upon entering such a place or a residence in which her brother is seated, her moving about should be done on her knees.[5]

Moreover, virtually all interpersonal relations between post-pubescent siblings of the opposite sex are subject to restrictions. Not only are they expected not to touch one another, they are not supposed to sleep in the same house, sit on a mat used by the other, or use the same article of clothing. Discourse between them, in addition to the lexical and tonal constraints of kkapha mŏchŏchchŏr, is

expected to be devoid of topics relating in any way to conflict, unhappiness, or sexuality. Unanimity, mutual regard, and asexuality are the exemplars of the adult opposite-sex sibling relationship.

While the foregoing characteristics apply to all sibling relations, they are particularly marked among same-clan siblings. That is, solidarity as it is expressed in trust, harmony, respect, and interdependence is more intense between an individual and his same-clan siblings than it is between himself and any other of his siblings. This is the consequence of a solidarity based on "staying" and matrilocal residence. Given a child-care pattern which centrally involves the genetrix, her clan sisters, and clan mothers, same-clan siblings are raised together in an environment of intimate familiarity and companionship. Since siblings other than those of a child's clan do not necessarily reside near him, his relations with them are often not developed until later in childhood when age and mobility are sufficiently advanced to permit such contact. Even in instances where a child lives in proximity to siblings of other clans and associates with them, the degree of social contact is less intense. The caretakers of different clans are primarily oriented toward relations and activities with their own clan mates and this tendency is reflected in their children's tendency to do likewise. The

result is that social contact between same-clan siblings is considerably more pervasive than it is between siblings of different clans.

Close bonds of mutual "staying" among same-clan siblings are also reinforced by their co-ownership of clan assets as well as the interdependency of sex-specific labor efforts considered necessary for the viability of the descent group. As was indicated in Chapter II, the realization of these common interests is thought to be effected by a large number of clan members with approximately equal numbers of males and females and it is recognized that this proportion is more likely to found in the localized clan as a whole rather than in any of its constituent units. Localized-clan sibling solidarity accordingly allows a more balanced interdependency among siblings and tends to offset the suffering that is said would occur if sibling solidarity were circumscribed by the limits of smaller, less balanced descent units.

The concern of the senior generation to avert the suffering of their junior clan mates by ensuring the mutual reliance of the latter is a widely expressed sentiment. Of equally broad currency is the belief that the same-clan, opposite-sex sibling relationship is the ne plus ultra of interdependency and therefore the consummate means of averting suffering. Descriptions by male and female

informants of the same-clan, opposite-sex sibling relationship, unlike descriptions of other cognatic relations, were frequently marked by an almost lyrical intensity. Profound value is placed on the relationship because it embodies fundamental tenets about the nature of male and female bound by clan amity and the implications these are felt to have for life itself. Here, the role of the stable female as chief caretaker of clan assets is balanced by the necessary role of the mobile male's labor efforts. Many of the basic affairs of life that each might otherwise be forced to face individually are merged in a corporate effort believed to be more mutually productive and satisfying.

Members of the junior generation are viewed by their senior clan mates as heirs not only to clan assets but to a customary system of relationships founded on the concept of "staying"--relationships which, in addition to their utility and satisfaction, are believed to have proven suitable to perpetuating the localized clan. Inculcating in their children an abiding interest in clan welfare and the necessity of cooperatively preserving it represents a preeminent concern of parents and is one of the most dominant themes of child-raising. Correspondingly, recognizing that their children eventually share this concern is a source of considerable comfort to parents.

NOTES--CHAPTER III

[1]The classic model of the potestate, the Roman legal institution patria potestas, once vested a male family head with absolute discretionary power over the lives and property of all members of his household (Morgan 1974:475). The focus of Namonuito potestality, in contrast, is limited to a genitor's children, is not an instrument for expropriating property, and is not construed as to condone the commission of filicide. The latter is utterly antithetical to one of the expressed fundamental aspects of Namonuito potestality, the promotion of life. Despite statutory and customary alterations to patria potestas during a period of several hundred years, it has been characterized as essentially involving the endowment of a male with rights and obligations coterminous with his status as pater (Maine 1963:130-40). It is in reference to this characteristic that the relationship between the Namonuito genitor (who is also pater) and his child is being described as potestal.

[2]These beliefs regarding the respective reproductive roles of genitor and genetrix may parallel those briefly reported for two other matrilineal societies of the Caroline Islands: "The people of Romonum believe that the father is the origin of the child. 'The water of the man goes into the woman and creates the child.' . . . Woman is only the vessel of children for man, the family, and society" (A. Fischer 1963:531). And Lessa reports that on Ulithi Atoll "patrilateral relatives are more important than matrilateral ones, allegedly because the baby 'belongs' to the father's family" (1966:97). But Namonuito beliefs contrast with those reported for another Carolinean matrilineal society, Namoluk: "Actual and mythologically shared physical substance with both matrilineal and patrilateral kin is the basis for everyone's kinship universe" (Marshall 1976:38).

[3]It is of interest to note that Namonuito medical practices directed to the treatment of infertility are based on beliefs corollary to those described regarding conception. Since semen per se is a child, male sterility is a virtual impossibility. Infertility is said to be the result of a malfunctioning uterus commonly caused either by excessive or promiscuous sexual intercourse which creates uterine misalignment or "confusion," or by intercourse during the menstrual period which is said to block the cervix.

[4]Certain words are identified as being inappropriate for use between, or in the presence of individuals of the opposite sex. A few of these are obscene but most are not;

all are considered "strong" words and have "soft" synonyms. Other "strong words," most of which refer to body parts or functions, are considered inappropriate for use by a subordinate when conversing with someone to whom he should show deference. "Soft" synonyms or euphemisms also exist for these. In both contexts, i.e., discourse in the presence of both sexes or between individuals of different status, a muted tone of voice is considered proper.

By way of contrast, discourse between unrelated same-sex peers is unhindered by lexical or tonal restrictions and to the extent that a harsh tone of voice and restricted words occur, they are said to engage in kkapha maamaw, 'strong talk.' "Soft" and "strong" talk are also distinguished on Puluwat Island and norms relevant to the two kinds of speech there appear to closely parallel those on Namonuito (Elbert 1972:viii; 1974:133-135).

[5]The practice of ópwpwóro, 'stooping' or 'knee-walking,' is said to be an old custom. It was prohibited on Ulul by the Japanese, however, during World War II when the latter were garrisoned on the island. Following the war, ópwpwóro was reinstituted by the islanders because, it is said, brothers and sisters had become arrogant toward one another as a result of the Japanese interdiction.

CHAPTER IV

ADOPTION

Introduction

The relationship between a child and his real parents has been described as a set of reciprocal responsibilities and affections. Providing a child with food and housing and ensuring his health and safety are considered the primary responsibilities of real parents. It is expected that if these obligations are pursued with diligence and affection, they will be affectionately reciprocated by a child in a manner appropriate to the needs of his real parents as their age advances. This aspect of the real parent-child relationship has been compared to equivalent responsibilities and affections characterizing the relationship between a child and his classificatory parents and shown to be a contrast of degree. That is, the responsibility and affection of real parents are primary by comparison with those between classificatory parents and a child.

The sharing by real parents of these primary relational characteristics with a classificatory parent of their child is termed mwéyti 'to adopt' and the subject child of such a transaction is referred to by the adopter as neyi mwéyimwéy 'my adoptee.'

Adoption is common on Ulul. Seventy-four percent of the censused de jure population of the island (151/203) have been adopted at least once. Although adoption statistics are not available for the other islands of Namonuito, informants there as well as on Ulul indicated that the frequency and characteristics of adoption on Ulul are representative of the atoll as a whole.

As described in the previous chapter, classificatory parents as well as real and adoptive parents tūmwūnū 'care for' children. However, fosterage as a named or distinguishable practice does not occur on Namonuito.

Reasons for Adopting

Children are sought for adoption for many of the same reasons that real parents value their children. People speak of a child as a labor resource, a companion, a responsive source of affection. And labor, companionship, and affection are expected to be increasingly manifested by a maturing child and eventually to reach their full expression in his role as a guardian of his aged parents' welfare.

Thus, in terms of self-interest as a motive for adoption, the adoptive parent-child relationship is virtually indistinguishable from that of the real parent and child. But an additional and equally stressed reason for adopting is said to be the desire to assert the close

relationship existing between the adopter and the child's real parent. (Although childlessness was occasionally reported as a reason for adopting, most adopters were themselves real parents before they became adopters.) Conversely, the impulse to assert close relationship by sharing a child is said to be the primary reason why a parent wants his child to be adopted. Children are valued assets and the sharing of assets is a marked identifying feature of intrakin relations.[1]

The Parties to an Adoption

Adopting is a transaction between kin. An adopter is always a cognate of one of the adoptee's real parents and therefore a classificatory parent of the adoptee. A child adopted by one marriage partner (referred to here as a "primary" adopter) is usually adopted by the other (a "secondary" adopter) but since adopting is an individual option, there are instances of children having been adopted by only one spouse. Yet an adoption by one marriage partner is considered to necessarily involve the other--regardless of secondary adopting--since marriage has established the latter as a classificatory parent of the adoptee and as a co-resident of the primary adopter. Unless the spouse of a primary adopter is also a cognate of one of the real parents, he or she tends to be regarded with circumspection by real parents--a characteristic of non-cognatic

interpersonal relations. (Except when otherwise noted, the term "adopter" is used to mean "primary adopter.")

While conducting a field census, adoption histories were obtained for each censused de jure resident of Ulul who was, or had ever been, either an adoptee or adopter. From this, 210 adoption transactions were recorded but data on six were insufficient to allow their inclusion in Tables II and III.

An adoption is usually of greatest significance to the individuals directly involved in the transaction. This was reflected in the noticeable difficulty experienced by many informants in recalling whether or not their deceased cognates had been involved in an adoption. Instances of adoption among the deceased that were obtained are therefore unreliable in that they are more likely to reflect differential memories among the living than to reveal adoption patterns among the deceased. For this reason, all adoption statistics presented here are restricted to instances in which either the adopter or adoptee in a given transaction was alive at the time of the field census. (Senior informants, however, do not consider the practice of contemporary adoption to differ from that of their ancestors.)

Table II displays the distribution by sex of adoptees and adopters. Each of the 204 adoption transactions

TABLE II

SEX OF ADOPTEE BY SEX OF ADOPTER
IN ADOPTION TRANSACTIONS

Adoptee	Adopter				Total	
	Male		Female			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	11	5.4	103	50.5	114	55.9
Female	6	2.9	84	41.2	90	44.1
Total	17	8.3	187	91.7	204	100.0

included in Table II involved at least one censused, living, de jure resident of Ulul who was either an adoptee or adopter. This total number of transactions (204) is larger than the number of Ulul adoptees (151) because the larger number includes: 1) instances in which an Ulul adoptee had been adopted more than once; and 2) transactions between Ulul adopters and adoptees one of whom was either deceased or a de jure resident of another island.

The percentage of male and female adoptees relative to the total number of adoptions (55.9% and 44.1% respectively) closely approximates the percentage of males and females

within the total population (53.1% and 46.9% respectively); neither males nor females clearly predominate among adoptees.[2]

This distribution of adoptees by sex reflects several characteristics of adopting, the first being that approximately one-half of all adoption requests were made prior to the birth of the desired child. Of the remaining cases in which requests were made after the birth of a child, the numbers of male and female adoptees tend to be approximately equal either because sex preference was unimportant to some adopters or because the preference among other adopters for children of a particular sex were nearly equally divided. A prominent ideal expressed by parents (real and adoptive) is to have a balanced number of male and female children. Correspondingly, the most common reason for preferring an adoptee of a particular sex by adopters who already had children was their desire to offset a majority of either males or females among their children.

Although neither males nor females predominate among adoptees, Table II indicates that adopters in nearly ninety-two percent of all adoption transactions were female.[3] This preponderance is said to be appropriate to the early age at which most children are adopted--a time of greatest dependency--and the role of females as caretakers. Even in those few instances in which children were adopted by males,

actual caretaking was assumed by women (e.g., an adopter's spouse or cognate). In fact, either being a female or having a female caretaker available is a tacitly understood prerequisite for being permitted tc adopt.

When speaking of adoption in general, informants state that within the confines of cognatic relations, there are no lateral restrictions on whom one may adopt. That is, although children are not adopted by noncognates, they may be adopted by either matrilateral or patrilateral kin as revealed in Table III. But, as described in the previous chapter, there are degrees of solidarity among cognates. And sharing, as an expression of solidarity, is more pronounced among clan mates--particularly those who are residing or who have resided on the same island--than it is among other categories of cognates. Correspondingly, approximately seventy-seven percent (46/60) of all matrilateral adopters were members of the genetrix's (and adoptee's) clan; and nearly eighty-five percent (122/144) of all patrilateral adopters were members of the genitor's clan.

The data in Table III also indicate that over seventy percent (144/204) of all adoptions are by patrilateral kin. The prominence of patrilateral adoption is a product of potestality and the nature of intrakin relations. Because it is the exclusive prerogative of the genitor to grant or

TABLE III

ADOPTER'S CLAN AND RELATIONSHIP TO ADOPTEE
IN ADOPTION TRANSACTIONS

Adopter's Relationship to Adoptee	Adopter's Clan			Total	
	Same as		Other	n	%
	Genitor	Adoptee			
FaSi*	75	--	12	87	42.6
FaMo*	35	--	5	40	19.6
Other Patrilateral	12	--	5	17	8.3
Total Patrilateral	122	--	22	144	70.5
MoSi*	--	37	8	45	22.1
MoMo*	--	4	2	6	2.9
Other Matrilateral	--	5	4	9	4.4
Total Matrilateral	--	46	14	60	29.4
Total	122	46	36	204	99.9†

*Real and classificatory.

†Total is not 100% because of rounding.

deny an adoption request and because he is bound by kinship obligations to honor requests from his own cognates if he is able, the latter are recognized to hold a decidedly advantageous position as petitioners compared to a genetrix's cognates making identical requests.

The Request and Permission to Adopt

It is clearly recognized that having one's interests served by a child is the result of having first served a child's interests by caring for him. Because effective caretaking of this sort is considered to be only within the capacity of a mature, experienced person, adoption is an adult undertaking. And because the most intensive demands of child care are said to commence with a child's birth, it is thought that the best assurance of ultimately enjoying the rewards of adoptive parenthood is to initiate the relationship at the earliest possible time. This explains why nearly all adoption requests are made either when the genetrix is pregnant, when she bears her child, or shortly thereafter. Only one request is known to have been made prior to pregnancy, and it is rare for children older than about one year of age to be adopted. An instance was recorded of a twelve-year-old boy being adopted, but this was his second adoption and was precipitated by the unusual circumstance of the deaths, within a short period of time, of both his genitor and his first adopter.

When a potential adopter is a cognate of the genitor, she usually informs him of her desire to adopt. But if the petitioner is a cognate of the genetrix, it is the latter who usually informs the genitor of the adoption request. Such indirection is typical when collaboration of any kind is sought from a nonkinsman. Because there is usually no basis for expecting cooperation between unrelated individuals, a direct proposal is estimated to have a low probability of acceptance and to be a likely source of embarrassment. To reduce these risks, a petitioner customarily solicits an intermediary whose relationship to the genitor is somehow more intimate than that of the petitioner.

For these reasons, the spouse of the genitor commonly represents adoption requests from her cognates. Although it is not possible for her to grant or deny a request, her role as a representative of her cognates' requests allows her a degree of latitude in evaluating them before they are presented to the genitor. This moderate screening role arises from the fact that only one adoption request will be granted and from the common expectation that a genitor will favor a request from one of his own cognates. The genetrix is usually aware of requests initiated by the genitor's cognates and can accordingly act as a consultant to any of her petitioning cognates in terms of the relative merits of

their requests (if more than one have been extended) as well as a judge of the feasibility of presenting them to the genitor. It may happen, for example, that her cognates might decide not to pursue their requests when they learn from her that a request from a cognate of the genitor has been well-received.

A genetrix's role in deciding who will ultimately be the adopter of her child is not only depreciated by genitors but by genetrices themselves. Statements to the effect that "whomever he (the genitor) thinks is the best adopter, I also think is best," are common responses from genetrices when the extent of their personal involvement in the process of deciding among petitioning adopters is discussed with them. Their interest in having the most qualified petitioner adopt their children is unquestionable and informants of both sexes consider it best when the genitor's selection of an adopter has been informed by his spouse's opinion. But they also insist that a genitor's consultation with his spouse is gratuitous and that the ultimate decision is solely his.

An intermediary does not stand between the genitor and his petitioning cognates. Although a genitor whose post-marital residence is at a place other than his island of birth might learn through a traveling kinsman (e.g., a brother) of an adoption request from a kinswoman living on

his natal island, the traveling kinsman in this case would be acting as a messenger, not as an intermediary in the sense described for the genetrix.

The possible difficulty faced by a genitor in having to honor only one among several requests from his kinswomen is usually alleviated by the informal and generally continuous exchange of information typical of intrakin, particularly intraclan, relations. That is, any significant event involving one member of a localized clan is usually of interest to the others. The pregnancy of a clan mate's spouse is such an event and tends to create an interest in whether his child will be adopted and if so, by whom. In this speculative atmosphere, potential adopters who are kinswomen of the genitor may tentatively discuss their intentions, assay one another's relative status and respective reasons for wanting to adopt, and decide whether or not to make a request.

Informal discussions among prospective adopters who are kinswomen of the genitor and consultations between the genetrix and those of her cognates who want to adopt can effect the same result of reducing the number of potential adoption requests presented to the genitor. Furthermore, even one request from among the genitor's cognates tends to either inhibit requests from the genetrix's cognates or represent an easily understood reason for a genitor's

rejection of the latter. Consequently, despite the desirability of children and the potentially large number of eligible adopters, the genitor's state as he approaches the granting of an adoption request is not usually one of perplexity in the face of an excessive number of demands.

A potential difficulty for the genitor, however, does exist in the fact that he must ultimately favor one request while possibly denying another (or others) submitted by his kinswomen. Denying the requests of these women is said to be difficult for him because of his concern that his rejection might appear to imply a disconfirmation of the proffered close relationship conveyed by the request to adopt. This concern, recognized by female as well as male informants, is not dominant to the point of interfering with his choice of an adopter. It is rather a motivation for his ensuring that all interested parties recognize the fairness of his decision. In other words, it is generally recognized that rejecting requests can be an unavoidable aspect of adoption. Rejected adopters and interested parties to a transaction are usually satisfied with his decision so long as they feel it is reasoned.

As indicated, a genitor's ability to form acceptable decisions is substantially aided by the pre-request discussions between his kinswomen. Their deliberations can at least reduce the number of requests and possibly, through

consensus, produce a single request. Their ability to confer is, of course, least hindered when they are congregated on one island--the circumstance when a genitor marries on his natal island.

A different situation prevails when a genitor resides away from his natal island but where some of his kinswomen also reside--the situation of most married males living on Ulul who come from other islands of Namonuito or the islands to the south of Namonuito (Páttiw). Such a condition can constitute a separation of his kinswomen, among whom is the most likely adopter, and can correspondingly impede their ability to confer among themselves. Their means of communicating under this circumstance is based on the frequency of interisland travel and the use of their male cognates as messengers. Or, as a variant of this, a genitor may personally receive adoption requests should he visit his natal island.

Indirect communication between a genitor's kinswomen can nevertheless inhibit their discourse and can occasionally lead to misapprehensions about adoption plans. Such an incident involved a young genitor living on Ulul, his classificatory clan sister also residing there, and his clan mother living on his natal island. Some time after he was married but before his spouse was pregnant, the young man's classificatory sister requested and was given permission to

adopt his first child should one be born. But later, when his wife was known to be pregnant and the genitor was visiting his natal island, he was asked by his mother if she could adopt his child. He responded affirmatively.

Neither woman was aware of the other as an adopter until, sometime after the birth of the child and the initiation of caretaking by the genitor's sister, the genitor consented to his mother's request to bring "her" adoptee to her for a visit. The reaction of his sister upon discovering another, favored adopter was angry acquiescence: "Take her (the adoptee) away. My care of her is finished." Later, when the genitor's sister and mother were able to confer, the mother explained that her purpose in adopting her son's first child was for the comfort she would provide in the absence of her son and suggested that the genitor's sister ask to adopt her son's newborn daughter. The sister made this request, the genitor gave his permission, and her subsequent adoption--unhindered as the first had been--resolved the incident to everyone's satisfaction.

In analyzing this affair, a senior female cognate of the genetrix noted that the satisfactory conclusion resulting from the meeting of sister and mother was, in effect, a response to the genitor's failure to arbitrate their initial, inconsonant adoption requests. According to this analysis, the genitor's error, after having granted his

sister's request, was neglecting to inform her of the second adoption request from his mother, and the sister and the mother each presumed herself to be the only adopter.

As implied by the fact that the genitor's mother was allowed to adopt despite the precedence of his sister's request to adopt the same child, the sequence of adoption requests by a genitor's kinswomen is relatively unimportant as a determinant of which petitioner will emerge as the adopter. The primary criteria are rather the potential adopter's reason(s) for wanting to adopt, her status relative to the genitor, caretaking capacity, and island of residence. These factors may be given differential emphases as situations and individuals weighing them vary, but all are usually given some consideration both in the speculative discussions among a genitor's kinswomen and in the genitor's own deliberations prior to granting permission to adopt.

Wanting to assert close relationship with the genitor is one of the most compelling reasons for adopting but because this is regarded as a motivation common to all petitioners, it is not ordinarily used to distinguish among them. The pertinent reasons are rather those typically involving the self interest of the adopter: wanting a worker, a companion, a source of affection. Greater favor is usually accorded the petitioner who, in expressing any of these reasons, is judged to have the greater need.

But among those whose needs may be nearly equivalent, the petitioner whose relative kinship status is closer to the genitor is more likely to be favored. Table III reflects the usual priorities among adopting kinswomen of the genitor; his clan sisters are favored over his clan mothers and both of these statuses assume priority over any other of his kinswomen. While this ranking indicates who usually adopts and reflects the high regard accorded opposite-sex sibling relations by genitors, it tends to obscure the close bonds that also exist between a genitor and his clan mothers and the corresponding desirability of the latter as adopters so far as he is concerned. The reasons such women do not comprise a larger category of adopters is explained as due to their usually advanced age and reduced capacity for caretaking. Women are of course aware that complying with the intensive labor demands of child care is largely dependent on their vitality. A genitor's genetrix or clan mother is particularly qualified to know this and is said to be disinclined to ask to adopt if she judges herself deficient in this respect. However, the fact that a genitor's clan sister is the usual adopter and also typically resides with or in close proximity to a genitor's mother, tends to allow the latter to indirectly enjoy some of the benefits of adoptive parenthood while relieving her of the more demanding tasks of caretaking.

As a general principle, a genitor prefers that his child reside on the same island as he, especially when the child is young. The desire is consistent with the tenor of potestality since his capacity to oversee his child's welfare is facilitated when both are situated on the same island. The preference is usually satisfied for a genitor who has married on his natal island (the most common circumstance) because the most likely adopter also resides there. It is the genitor not living on his natal island who must modify his desire in accord with the likelihood that the most qualified adopter (i.e., a clan sister or mother) lives on his natal island. Such an adoption does not entail the unconditional separation of genitor and child since interisland travel allows their contact. However, a genitor must accommodate himself to a comparatively reduced degree of contact when an off-island adopter occupies a preferred status. But an adoption request from a petitioner who is an affine or a distantly related kinswoman of the genitor and who does not live on the same island is most likely to be rejected by reason of her residence. Because most males marry on their natal island and prefer that their children also reside there, off-island adoption is comparatively infrequent.

It should be noted that as a woman's request to adopt the child of a male of her clan, especially the child of a

clan brother, is one of the strongest assertions of solidarity she can proffer, so is her request one of the most significant events attending the practice of adoption so far as a genitor is concerned. In fact, if the practice of adoption were being described only in terms of the significance it holds for this relationship, the description could end with the adoption request. In terms of this relationship, no subsequent event or circumstance associated with adoption normally transcends or diminishes the importance of the request itself. (The preeminent significance of the adoption request is also characteristic of Nukuoro adoption [Carroll 1970a:145].) Of course, adoption entails other relationships, not the least of which is that between adopter and adoptee.

The Development of a Satisfactory Adoptive Relationship

The following is a description of the more common form of adoption in which adopter and genitor are co-residents of the same island. The manner in which off-island adoption varies from this pattern will be described later.

An adoption is considered to have commenced when a genitor agrees to an adoption request. (Or, in the case of an unborn child, an adoption begins at the time of the infant's birth.) The use of the phrase nεyi mwέyimwέy 'my adoptee' originates at this time and, within certain limits, the adoption is expected to be permanent. The commencement

of an adoption is unmarked by ceremony although an adopter may give modest gifts of soap, cloth, or food to the real parents to be used by them for the adoptee. Gift-giving is not mandatory, however, and many instances of what were regarded as satisfactory adoptive relationships were not initiated with gifts. (Later, as a young adult, an adoptee usually receives a land bequest from his adopter.) While an adoption is expected to be permanent, it is terminated by the death of the adoptee, the death of the adopter, or the misconduct of the adopter. A child whose adoption is terminated for either of the latter two reasons may subsequently be adopted by another person and serial adoption can occur in this manner. A few individuals had been adopted twice and a much smaller number had been adopted three times (the greatest number of known serial adoptions). But serial adoption is uncommon because the duration of most initial adoptions extends beyond the minimum age at which a child is most likely to be adopted (i.e., approximately one year following birth).

Since a child is adopted by an individual to whom he is already related, adoption does not entail a modification of the terms of reference that would be used by him had he not been adopted. Nor does adoption alter a child's clan membership or afakûr status. An adoptee may, however, address his female adopter as "maama"--the same term used by

a child to address his genetrix and sometimes her clan sisters; or a male adopter may be addressed "paapa"--the same term of address for a child's genitor (But both terms are alternatives tc proper names as terms of address.)

The success of an adoptive relationship is said to be evaluated by the extent to which an adoptee wants to be with his adopter. By this measure, a satisfactory adoptive relationship is one in which an adoptee is as contented in the company of his adopter as he is in the company of his real parents. An adoptee's satisfaction is thus regarded as a summary indicatiсn that his interests are being adequately served by his adopter and that he will in turn want to serve his adopter's interests. As a result, a satisfactory adoption qualitatively alters the status of an adopter so that she, like the adoptee's real parents, is a recipient of specially emphasized affection and solicitude. But this is the effect of a relationship that begins when the adopter's behavior toward her adoptee is nearly indistinguishable from that she would presumably manifest were she the adoptee's real mother; that is, the behavioral standards she is expected to emulate are those of the real parent. It is believed that if an adopter, by her own initiative and undaunted by any of the vicissitudes of child care adheres to these standards, her adoptee will be contented and spontaneously respond in kind tc her needs.

Real parents, however, maintain a continuing interest in their child's welfare. That is, the transfer from real parents to an adopter of rights in and obligations toward a child is partial. Specifically, an adopter acquires a role equivalent to that of the genetrix as primary caretaker, including the right to render decisions pursuant to the role. But potestal authority is wholly retained by the genitor and it is a tacit understanding that an adopter will seek the genitor's decision on any large issue affecting the welfare of the adoptee. Furthermore, it is understood that the quality of an adopter's care is itself a matter of interest to the genitor as well as the genetrix. In other words, adoption is not intended to supplant the real parent-child relationship as it involves mutual affection and responsibility. The course of an adoption is characterized by the continued, vital interest of real parents in the well-being of their child--an interest they share with the adopter.

Although an adoption commences with the genitor's approval of an adoption request (or with the birth of an adoptee), developing a satisfactory adoptive relationship is a gradual process. It is understood that until an infant is weaned at approximately two years of age, his mobility is constrained by the necessity of his being nursed by his genetrix and that this condition detains an adopter from

assuming caretaking tasks comparable to those of the genetrix. During this period the adopter may visit her adoptee at his real parents' residence or take him to her own home for brief periods with the frequency and duration of these events increasing as the adoptee matures. As weaning begins, an increasing amount of food is provided the adoptee by his adopter.

After weaning, it is expected that an adoptee will eat and sleep at his adopter's home about as often as he does at the residence of his real parents and that his association with these households will be more pronounced than it is with those of most of his other classificatory parents. This is a general tendency, however, that only becomes apparent over a period of months. That is, young children commonly visit their classificatory parents' homes and properly so, it is said, since this is one of the ways they become accustomed to them (ẽreniir). Adoption is not expected to displace a child's inclination to do this. Although the residence at which a child may be taking meals, sleeping, or being cared for on any particular day is therefore an unreliable indication of his adoptive status, his long-term tendency, if his adoptive relationship is developing satisfactorily, is to be more closely associated with the homes of his adopter and real parents.

As has been indicated, this tendency accrues in part from the adopter's effort to interact with her adoptee as though he were her own child. In this way an adoptive relationship, which at its outset is not considered more intimate than any other of a child's relationships with his classificatory parents, will become closer--an adoptee will become accustomed to his adopter as a special kind of classificatory parent and want to be with her more than with most others. But the tendency is also promoted by the nature of the real parents' respective relations with their child and with the classificatory parents of their child. It is said that by reason of the extended period a child is with his real parents prior to his weaning, an intimate relationship between them is established that is not weakened by other relationships a child may later form. Real parents are expected, therefore, to allow their child the freedom necessary for him to develop close relations with his classificatory parents (as well as with others of his kindred) as exemplified by the freedom permitted him in visiting the households of the latter. Correct real-parent behavior in this regard consists of actively forbearing any inclination to curb their child's desire to associate with his kin. The effect of this behavior--of real parents' obligations toward members of their child's kindred--is regarded by informants as not only conducive to developing

the plural relations characteristic of Namonuito kinship, but as crucial in allowing an adopter the opportunity to distinguish herself as one whose relationship with her adoptee is comparable in terms of intimacy to that between the child and his real parents.

Yet, as a result of the concerted non-interference of real parents in allowing familiar relationships to develop between their child and members of his kindred, close bonds of mutual affection normally, and not unexpectedly, develop between an adoptee and one or two of his non-adoptive classificatory parents. These are usually his genetrix's clan sisters or mothers who live with or near the genetrix and who assist her in caring for her child. But such intimate, non-adoptive relationships are neither precluded by, nor themselves preclude an intimate adoptive relationship.

What is occurring here is the initial phase of the learning of kin statuses and roles considered an integral and necessary aspect of growing up. By reason of their behavior, certain parents (real, adoptive, and perhaps one or two other classificatory parents) become important to a child as individuals with whom he prefers to associate. During early childhood, jural attributes which distinguish real, adoptive, and other classificatory parents are considered beyond a child's comprehension and therefore to

be matters of indifference to him. The latter is one reason why concealing the fact from a child that he has been adopted is not characteristic of Namonuito adoption and therefore is not a responsibility of an adoptee's real parents--or of anyone else.* Although a few adopters prefer a degree of concealment, most do not. It is expected that even if his adoptive or real parents do not tell him of his adoptive status, an adoptee will learn of it from older playmates--knowledge which he may, at his volition, amplify through queries directed to his real and adoptive parents. The unstructured nature of this learning process combined with varying degrees of curiosity among adoptees results in different estimates of the age at which an adoptee might clearly understand the differences between his real and adoptive parents. Informants generally agree that a child's understanding is reached no later than about the age of puberty.

But for a period of approximately four years after an adoptee has been weaned, it is said that to him, the behavioral distinctions between his real and adoptive parents are virtually non-existent if the adoptive relationship has proceeded satisfactorily. By this time, as a result of the adopter's initiative, the responsibility of the real parents to allow it to take effect, and the adoptee's unconcern about the differences between "real" and

"adoptive" parents, the adoptive relationship has had sufficient opportunity to flourish. The approximately four-year period following weaning appears to be to the adoptive relationship what the pericd between birth and weaning is to the real parent-child relationship. Informants do not speak of it in this way but the analogy fits what is said to occur in terms of the parent-child intimacy created within these respective periods. An adoptee will later come to understand that his real and adoptive parents are not the same; that the bases of his relationships with them are correspondingly different; and that other relationships are equally important additions to his set of kin relations and involve him in equally important but different obligations. None of these eventual developments, however, are expected to countervail the early bond established between himself and his adopter.

In terms of the factors promoting a satisfactory adoptive relationship, the foregoing description is also applicable to off-island adoption. However, off-island adoption necessitates arrangements allowing an adoptee the opportunity to be with his real parents (and his natal-island kindred) as well as to spend time with his adopter despite their residence on different islands. For this, sailing canoes and, to a lesser extent, the government field ship are used. In either case, the rigors of sea travel and

their consequence for a child's health must be taken into account.

Sailing canoe travel offers the advantage of being comparatively simple to arrange and is usually the more rapid means of travel within Namonuito Atoll and between Namonuito and Pāttiw. Its chief disadvantage relative to transporting a child is the risk of prolonged exposure to inclement weather and for this reason the travel of children is invariably restricted to the milder summer months. Even so, difficulties can occur as they did on a summer canoe voyage originating from Ulul which was initiated in part by a genitor accompanying his three-year-old child who was being taken to visit his adopter for the first time. After traversing about one-half the total distance to their destination (over thirty nautical miles from Ulul), the voyagers encountered light head winds and rain squalls. These are expectable summer weather conditions which might ordinarily delay a voyage but certainly are not sufficient cause for terminating it. The genitor, however, decided that his child had become excessively chilled and that the condition would be aggravated by further delay. Following the genitor's suggestion that they discontinue their trip, the crew put the canoe about and returned to Ulul with the expectation that another attempt would be made in the future.

While the movements of the government field ship are normally unaffected by weather conditions and deck travel affords somewhat better shelter than a sailing canoe, route schedules are of course designed to serve administrative purposes and consequently often pose difficulties in taking an adoptee from one island to another. At times during the period of research, for example, ship service to Ulul, the other islands of Namonuito, and Páttiw were scheduled as separate routes. A passage from Ulul to any of these other islands therefore required traveling first to Moen before returning to Namcnuito or proceeding to Páttiw. Such a trip would take at least a week and, since the field ship was subject to emergency diversions to any locale within Truk District, a stopover at Moen (generally regarded by Namonuito people as an unhealthy place) of a month or more might be entailed before the ultimate destination was reached.

Regardless of the mode of transport, interisland travel is uncertain and, with respect to transporting children, involves a degree of risk. It is these factors that give rise to the most noticeable differences between same-island and off-island adoption. An adopter is afforded virtually unlimited contact with her adoptee before he is weaned if she is living on the same island as he and his real parents. But for an off-island adopter, such contact is infrequent

when an adoptee is very young and nearly always results from the adopter's visits to the adoptee's island since it is unusual for a child to be taken from his natal island before he is weaned. Visits of this kind are not particularly expected by an adoptee's real parents because women are not normally involved in sea travel. For this reason, however, a visit by an off-island adopter is likely to be a significant event for real parents as evidence of the kind of initiative they value.

An unusual alternative means of allowing an off-island adopter and her adoptee to be together before the latter was weaned was effected in one instance based on the somewhat unusual set of relationships between the adopter, the adoptee's genetrix and genitor, and other individuals residing on the natal island of the genitor and the adopter. The adopter was a clan sister of the genitor who had married on Ulul, and both shared the same natal island. This is of course not uncommon but in addition, the genetrix had cognates living on her husband's natal island.

Capitalizing on these associations, the adopter, who had requested and been given permission to adopt before her adoptee's birth, suggested that her brother bring his wife to her (the adopter's) island to give birth to the child. Ordinarily, a woman would not leave her home island to give birth nor would such a plan be proposed. But in this case,

and based on the nature of the relationships among the principals, the genitor as well as his spouse and her clan mates on Ulul judged the suggestion feasible and, as it turned out, a satisfactory means of allowing the adopter and her infant adoptee the chance to be together. After the genetrix delivered her child on the adopter's island and resided there for several months during which time the adopter assisted in the care of her adoptee, the adoptee and his real parents returned to Ulul.

Once an adoptee is weaned and taken to his adopter's island, he usually remains there for a period ranging from a few weeks to as long as a year before returning to his home island for a like period of residence. It is this pattern of extended periods of alternating residence by an adoptee on his own and his adopter's island that is typical of off-island adoption and contrasts with same-island adoption where spontaneous and comparatively continuous contact can take place between a child, his real parents, and his adopter. Despite the contrasting residential pattern, informants do not consider off-island adoption to differ in any significant manner from same-island adoption with regard to the strength of the adoptive relationship or the opportunity for an adoptee to develop close relations with members of his natal-island kindred.

Unsatisfactory Adoptions

Most adoptive relationships proceed satisfactorily--that is, most conform to the developmental pattern thus far described. But some do not. There is agreement that an unsatisfactory adopter-adoptee relationship is usually signified by the hesitancy of an adoptee to be with his adopter. If an adoptee is young and his adopter lives on the same island as he, his reluctance is said to be most often indicated nonverbally. As a genitor explained in reference to one of his own children who had been adopted, "If he's unhappy with his adopter, it's not necessary to talk to him (the adoptee) about it--I can see because he's at my house most of the time." A young off-island adoptee might seem hesitant in wanting to go to his adopter's island; once there, he might appear to want to return to his home island. Among older adoptees the indication may be more overt as in the case of an off-island teenage adoptee who had traveled by ship to his adopter's island for a visit. Shortly after arriving but before the ship departed, he sent a message to his home island by way of a shipboard friend requesting a canoe be sent to return him to his natal island. Behaviors such as the foregoing do not invariably indicate a faulty adoptive relationship; the adoptees in the first and second instances might be lonesome for an older real sibling; or the off-island adoptee may have suddenly

remembered a girl friend on his home island. But if an adoptee is in some way dissatisfied with his adoptive relationship, he is expected to indicate it by signs such as these.

The outcome of an unsatisfactory adopter-adoptee relationship is largely dependent on its cause. As causes range from intolerable behavior to simple dissaffection, outcomes can range from an abruptly terminated adoption to an adopter-adoptee relationship virtually indistinguishable from that between the non-adoptive classificatory parent and child. In principle, an adoption can be terminated at any time by an adoptee's genitor, or if the latter is deceased, a senior clansman of the genitor's descent line (i.e., the heir of the genitor's potestal authority), as a response to behavior on the part of an adopter or adopter's spouse that he deems threatening to the adoptee's welfare. In practice, however, the occurrence of the respective polar types in this range of outcomes is noticeably disproportionate. Overtly terminated adoptions are exceedingly rare and only known to have been effected in two instances by clansmen of deceased genitors, while attenuated adopter-adoptee relationships are the usual outcome of unsatisfactory adoptions.

Severely negligent caretaking, such as an adopter's disregard for her adoptee's safety, is one reason for

terminating an adoption. This was reported in the case of a young child adopted on his natal island by a clan mother of his subsequently deceased genitor. The adoptee's genetrix, having noticed her child's decreasing inclination to be with his adopter, observed on several occasions that her child's whereabouts were unknown to his adopter during periods when he was presumably in her care. These lapses would in themselves be justifiable reasons for the genetrix's unease, it is said, since one of the fundamental responsibilities of a caretaker is to know such things. But when she further discovered that on more than one of those occasions her child had been playing at the seashore without supervision by any member of his kindred, which is again the responsibility of a caretaker to ensure, the genetrix became alarmed and expressed her concern to her deceased spouse's nearest living clansman. After weighing the evidence he not only agreed that the adoptee had been exposed to the risk of drowning but decided there was no reason to assume that such risks would not occur in the future if the adoption were allowed to continue. He therefore declared the adoption ended.

Informants say that negligent child care of any sort can be a basis for terminating an adoption. However, an adoptee who might not be getting enough food from his adopter, for example, or who is generally discomfited by his

adopter's care, is likely to resolve his dissatisfaction by seeking the company of his real parents or other of his classificatory parents. (This is of course the sort of behavior that informants say is plain for all to see and which summarily signifies how an adoptee fares under the care of his adopter.) On the other hand, a child's concern for his own safety is considered deficient and the concern is said to be rather the primary responsibility of his caretaker. Thus, although the above case is the only known instance of a caretaker provcking the termination of her adoption, a caretaker's disregard for her adoptee's safety appears to be one of the most important aspects of child care so far as the risk of terminating an adoption is concerned.

Given the centrality of female caretaking as a feature of adoption, the extent to which a married male is directly involved in an adoption regardless of his relationship to the adoptee is, by comparison with that of a female, negligible and not expected to consist of much more than assisting his spouse by procuring food and generally being as concerned as she to ensure the adoptee's comfort, safety, and well-being. While informants concede the possibility that a man might fail to adhere to these standards and hence cause an adoption to be terminated, they also consider that his neglect of such minimal standards would be extra-

ordinary. In other words, the demands placed on a married male who is associated with an adoption are slight, fulfilling them is apparently not difficult, and there are no known instances of an adoption having been terminated for a man's failure to comply with them--before an adoptee reached the age of puberty.

The latter qualification is necessary because there is one circumstance that is said will abruptly end an adoption: the discovery that sexual advances toward a post-pubescent female adoptee have been initiated by the spouse of a female adopter. Again, since a man married to an adopter is a classificatory father of the adoptee, sexual relations of any kind between him and her (which, if they occur, are assumed to have been instigated by him) are regarded as incestuous. Because behavior of this kind is severely disapproved and usually the source of profound embarrassment for those associated with the adoption, knowledge of the event tends to be suppressed by the real parents, adoptee, adopter, and her guilty spouse. One informant, the real parent of several children who had been adopted, considered such behavior not uncommon or at least not unexpectable when a man's marriage is the only basis of his relationship with the adoptee (i.e., a man who had neither adopted the girl nor had been related to her before his marriage). This appears an extreme judgment, however, when compared with the

views of other equally reliable informants. They consider that while incestuous relations between a man and his spouse's adoptee are more likely if he is not an adopter, they rarely occur. This suggests, however, that situations can arise in which an adopter's spouse can precipitate the termination of an adoption despite what may be a satisfactory relationship between the adopter and the adoptee.

The only verified instance of such behavior which resulted in a termination involved an off-island adoptee in her mid-teens who had been adopted by her now deceased genitor's clan sister and her spouse. During a period when she was living with her adopter and was visited by her deceased genitor's clan brother (who lived on the adoptee's home island), the girl informed the latter that she wanted to return to her natal island. Initially unwilling to specify why she wanted to return, the girl eventually admitted to him that living with her adopter had been made increasingly unpleasant by her adoptive father's advances. The assertion was grave and the problem now confronting her genitor's brother, so it was said, was to determine whether the girl's allegation was accurate, exaggerated, or merely fancied, and to decide the disposition of her adoption.

He extended his stay on the adopter's island in order to conduct a somewhat circuitous inquiry. By potestal

right, he was not obliged to seek anyone's counsel regarding either the truth of the girl's charge or the future status of her adoption. As the senior male of his deceased brother's descent line, he was the inheritor of his brother's paternal authority and obliged to act in the latter's interests. However, the possibility of his broaching the subject with the adoptive parents was precluded for quite different reasons. He could not raise the subject with his sister because opposite-sex sibling proscriptions disallowed their discussing unpleasantries or sexual matters. He could not discuss it with her spouse, it was said, because the latter could be expected to deny the girl's allegation (whether true or not) and proclaim his indignation (real or feigned) to his kinsmen which could shift the affair from an appropriately private to an embarrassingly public domain. There were no constraints, however, on his discussing the matter in detail with the girl in order to evaluate the evidence. In addition to this, and over a period of several days in which he engaged in the ordinary activities of a visitor, his investigation consisted of observing the adoptive father for any signs that might inform his judgment and on opportune occasions, casually asking a kinsman or kinswoman how he or she thought the girl was faring during her residence there. His investigation was guided throughout by his long-term familiarity with the central figures in the adoption.

After about a week, he concluded that the situation as the girl had described it was true and that her adoption should be terminated. While preparing to leave the island, he informed his sister that the girl was returning to her natal island because that was what the girl wanted and also what he wanted--she had been away from her natal-island kin long enough and should be with them again. In effect, this constituted the end of the adoption; he and the girl returned to her natal island.

As an outcome of unsatisfactory adoptions, terminations are rare. Unsatisfactory adoptive relationships are more commonly of a form in which contact between adoptee and adopter is slight and where the attitude of each toward the other is indistinguishable from that they would manifest had no adoption taken place. Here, the cause of disaffection is invariably minor. Sometimes it may be attributed to an irritating personality trait as was the case with an adopter whose irascible nature and repeated scoldings were said to have successively estranged two of her young adoptees. In other cases, mere indifference might be imputed as a cause. An adopter who, for example, said she was unsure whether her adoption was still in effect because her young adoptee had for a long time appeared uninterested in seeing her, was voicing a point of view expressed in other cases of adopter-adoptee alienation. In any given instance of disaffection,

opinions may also vary as to the cause. For example, an adopter assumed her adoptee (now a teenage girl) had ceased staying with her because the adoptee's genetrix had unfairly persuaded the girl to return to her. Unfair, said the adopter, because she had adopted the girl in infancy and invested years of care in raising her, yet now the girl's genetrix was monopolizing the assistance and solicitude which she, the adopter, had a rightful claim to share. The adoptee, however, had a different view of the matter. Of her own volition, she had ceased going to her adopter because she had felt excessively burdened by her adopter's labor demands.

Neither in these nor in similar cases of adopter-adoptee alienation is the alienation itself or its possible cause a normal topic of discussion or a point of contention between an adopter and the adoptee's real parents. The latter of course want their child's relationship with the adopter to be harmonious and if their child seems not to be seeking the company of his adopter, they might suggest he do so. But it is expected that the resolution of a relational difficulty between adopter and adoptee is, like the management of nearly all their interpersonal affairs, both the right and the responsibility of the adopter. After all, it is said, an adopter's vested interest in equable relations with her adoptee can be assumed, and if a

reconciliation is possible, it is she who would most likely be able to effect it. If this is not possible, it is considered unfortunate but a misfortune confined to the adopter-adoptee relationship and which therefore need not, and usually does not have undesirable ramifications for the relationship between adopter and real parents.

Summary and Conclusions

The outcome of most adoptive relationships is for the most part satisfying to the principals; most adopters are successful in establishing close relationships with their adoptees, and most adoptees are solicitous of their adopters as their age advances. It is not expected, of course, that the solicitude reciprocated by an adoptee will be as intense or pervasive as the care he received as a child from his adopter. Their relationship as adults is rather one in which the adopter derives considerable satisfaction in knowing that her adoptee will spontaneously maintain contact with her--bring her food, visit her, perhaps stay with her on occasions, be someone whom she can trust will be responsive to a request for assistance. Adult adoptees speak warmly of an adopter as a classificatory parent who cared more about them as an individual than most others and who was willing to devote special effort toward promoting their personal well-being. Most adoptees can expect to receive a land parcel from their adopter. The land will

become the property of the adoptee's descent line and the event will be added to the lore preserved by the senior women of both the adoptee's and adopter's localized clans. What is unlikely to be remembered or at least fully appreciated by anyone other than the adopter and the adoptee, however, is the significance their relationship held for them personally and of which a land bequest is only a part. In short, an adoptive relationship is reckoned by the adopter and adoptee as an interpersonal achievement--the successful outcome of a deliberate effort to fashion an emphatic quality of mutual regard for one another.

But even the closest adoptive relationship does not displace the close bonds between an adoptee and his real parents nor does it preclude intimate realtionships between him and other of his classificatory parents. As has been indicated, relationships of the latter sort commonly evolve between an adoptee and one or more of his genetrix's clan sisters or mothers at a very early point in his life as a result of the circumstances of birth, matrilocal residence, and shared caretaking prior to his weaning. With these as focal relationships, an orientation toward relations with clan mates is strengthened as an adoptee's peer associations develop which, during the period of restricted mobility prior to his weaning, are primarily with members of his clan. After an adoptee is weaned, the adoptive relationship

can extend his range of social contacts beyond the bounds of his own clan mates but does not replace them. Even during periods when he stays with his adopter, there are many occasions when his playmates are predominantly or exclusively siblings of his clan.

This orientation is further strengthened by his gradual introduction into the affairs of his clan. Initially, it consists of the casual acquisition of bits of clan lore as indicated by a genetrix's comment that her child's growing interest in his clan ancestors is reflected by his more frequent questions about them; or a mother relating how, in the course of garden work, she showed the boundaries of a clan land plot to her daughter in response to the latter's queries. As this suggests, the pace of a child's expanding interest is largely determined by his curiosity but a curiosity that is encouraged when it surfaces and stimulated by a social setting in which frequent discussions by his clanswomen of their clan affairs implicitly stress their significance. At around the age of puberty, an adoptee's clan identity is further sharpened by the institution of sibling behavioral protocols whose explicit purpose is to ensure harmony and cooperation--particularly between siblings of the same clan who, in nearing adulthood, must prepare to assume the vital responsibilities for their clan affairs passed on to them by their clan elders. Given this

emphasis on localized clan solidarity centered on "staying," adoption as an expression of it, and the assignments of caretaking to females and potestality to males, an adult adoptee who asks to adopt is likely to be a woman seeking her clansman's child as an adoptee.

With this request, a cycle in the pattern of adoption is completed. The prevailing Namonuito view is that the adoption request is one of the most significant events attending the practice of adoption so far as the relationship between adopter and real parent is concerned; it is a prized expression of antecedent solidarity, a culminating rather than an initiating sign of their relationship.

NOTES--CHAPTER IV

[1]On Namonuito, adoption does not serve as a means of forming intergroup alliances. Brady has noted (1976: 277-287) the wide variation among Oceanic societies with regard to the extent to which the practice of adoption figures as an alliance mechanism. For example, on Upolu, Western Samoa, "explicitly political adoptions create alliances between descent groups and maximize options for political mobility" (Shore 1976:164-165) whereas Silverman has found that among the Gilbertese of Rambi Island, "adoption is not a structural principle relating groups in the society" (1970:231). If the above examples were taken as polar types in the range of Oceanic adoption practices as they involve alliance, Namonuito adoption would fall at the Gilbertese end of such a spectrum.

[2]Based on the proportion of males and females within the total population, it would be expected that of 204 adoptees, 108 would be males and 96 would be females. The observed frequency of 114 male adoptees and 90 female adoptees can be attributed to chance:

$$x^2 = .7083 \text{ for } df = 1$$
$$.50>p>.30$$

[3]It would be expected, on the basis of the proportion of males and females within the total population, that 108 adopters would be males and 96 would be females. The observed frequency of 17 male adopters and 187 female adopters is unlikely to have occurred by chance:

$$x^2 = 163 \text{ for } df = 1$$
$$p<.001$$

[4]The Namonuito data do not, therefore, confirm Marshall's suggestion that secrecy is characteristic of adoption throughout Truk District (Marshall 1976:49). His suggestion is based on his own study of adoption on Namoluk (1976) and R. Goodenough's study of adoption on Romonum Island (1970). Both societies are noticeably alike in their attempt to prevent a child from learning that he has been adopted (at least while he is young and in some cases, until he reaches adolescence) the purpose of which is said to enhance the firmness of the adoptive tie. Goodenough's characterization of such secrecy on Romonum Island as a "conspiracy of silence" is also used by Marshall to describe the phenomenon on Namoluk Atoll (R. Goodenough 1970:325-326; Marshall 1976:36).

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Three major findings of the Namonuito research are the subjects of this chapter. The first finding concerns the basis of membership in the matrilineal descent group. On Namonuito, descent group membership is based on a concept of "staying." This suggests that the bases of relatedness in kin groups need not be restricted to concepts involving blood or consanguinity. The second finding is that it is adult females on Namonuito who, as a result of their sex-specific identities, make the descent group a unit of primary social orientation and loyalty. The Namonuito data therefore contradict the position advanced by some that it must be the males of a matrilineal descent group who serve these ends. The third finding is that the Namonuito adoptive relationship, no matter how successful, does not compromise an adoptee's continuing relationship with his real parents. A comparison of Namonuito adoption with Anglo-American adoption shows the former to be an additive relationship and the latter to be a substitutive relationship. These differences in turn suggest fundamentally different views of parenthood in the two cultural settings.

"Staying" and Consanguinity

The consanguineal or blood relationship between a Namonuito genitor and his child has signficiant ramifications for complementary filiation, potestality, and adoption patterns. A child is said to be of his genitor's semen and therefore of the blood of his genitor. This blood link is the basis of complementary filiation as it establishes the child as afakūran 'child of' the genitor's matrilineal descent group. Furthermore, the genitor, having given literal substance to life, holds potestal authority over his child. Potestal authority is displayed in a variety of contexts not the least of which is adoption where the potestal prerogative is exercised most often in favor of the genitor's kinswomen. These are significant features of Namonuito social life. Yet the blood relationship is entirely circumscribed by the persons of the genitor and child and is the basis of a person's association with, not membership in, a descent group.

Being a member of a descent group is of the utmost importance on Namonuito but it is membership based on a concept of intrauterine "staying." A genetrix is so by reason of having had a child stay in her womb, not because she imbues her child with any of her physical substance. A child, by reason of having stayed in his genetrix's womb, acquires membership in her descent group.

In other words, Namonuito beliefs regarding the basis of membership in a descent group do not support the assumption that blood relatedness or consanguinity is the universal or, to use a phrase of Maine (1963:146) and Morgan (1871:10,11), "natural" basis of enduring human relationships. To assume that a notion of consanguinity underlies parent-child relations everywhere would obscure an understanding of the nature of kin relations and the distinction between descent group membership and complementary filiation on Namonuito.

This is not to say that consanguinity cannot be the basis of membership in kin groups elsewhere or that blood ties are not without significance in such societies. As Schneider has observed, "it is difficult at times to convince an American that blood as a fluid has nothing in it which causes ties to be deep and strong" (1972:48). It is rather to say that things other than blood can also serve these ends as they do on Namonuito. In this regard, the Namonuito data augment recent studies in the New Guinea Highlands where an extended range of principles have been suggested as the bases of membership in kin groups. Barnes considers that ritual exchange and feasting, raiding, and residence all figure as principles in the formation of kin groups (1962:6); Brown has found that adoption among the Chimbu can effect a complete transfer of membership from one

agnatic descent group to another (1962:66); and, according to Strathern, the Siane see food and its association with a locale as a symbol of clan identity (1973:30-31). In the face of such evidence, it appears that the formulations of Maine and Morgan too narrowly construe the human potential for creating bases of relatedness.

"Staying" and the Matrilineal Puzzle

The Namonuito concept of "staying" as a basis of solidarity and its strong association with females is of additional theoretical importance because it figures in a different solution to what has been regarded as an inherent problem in matrilineal societies. Richards' analysis of several such societies among the Central Bantu (1950) led her to judge that the problem results when a rule of exogamy is combined with the principle of matrilineal descent. By this descent principle a woman and her children are members of one descent group but by a rule of exogamy her spouse--the children's genitor--is a member of another. The locus of the problem, Richards concluded, is therefore the domestic group where the authority held by males representing two descent groups (a woman's husband's and her brothers') must somehow be balanced against one another. That is, a woman and her children as members of a family are subject to the authority of the husband and genitor but as descent group members, they are subject to the authority of

her brothers. The problem therefore consists of the potential conflict between the authority of these respective males, which may be aggravated by the separation of a married woman and her brothers entailed by post-marital residence rules, and was termed by Richards the "matrilineal puzzle." Utilizing ethnographic materials from Africa as well as other geographic areas, Richards found that solutions to the matrilineal puzzle can be effected whatever the form of residence rule (1950:246-248).

The essential premise upon which the matrilineal puzzle rests, that the integrity of the descent group is associated with male authority, was made a central point of Schneider's analysis of the distinctive features of matrilineal descent groups (1961). He reasoned that since a unilineal descent group is by definition a unit of primary social orientation as well as a group periodically engaging in decisive and coordinated activity, one of the necessary structural "constants" giving rise to the identity of the group in these terms is that at least some of its adult males must be vested with unhindered authority over member women and children despite the potentially competing authority of in-marrying males (1961:5-9,21-23,27). This theoretical position has been subsequently advocated by others. Fox, for example, considers the exclusivity of male authority a "fact of life" the grasp of which is necessary to an

understanding of kinship and marriage (1967:31,120). And Schlegel's typology of matrilineal societies unequivocally rests on the premise: "We can take it for granted that authority in the descent group sphere is of necessity in the hands of the men of the matrilineage, the brothers and mothers' brothers of the women" (1972:6).

On Namonuito, a woman and her spouse are obliged to respect the woman's clan brothers in a variety of social contexts and there are occasions when they are expected to yield to the decisions of the latter. But the domestic unit is not one of these contexts. (As indicated by the fact that prior to missionization on Namonuito a marriage could be terminated by the wife's parents or clan brothers, the domestic unit was not impervious to external interventions. Terminations of this sort, however, are said to have been provoked by unusual circumstances.) Within the domestic unit, a genitor is endowed with potestal authority over his young children and a genetrix is granted primary responsibility for their care

although there are specific contexts in which the expertise of one spouse is deferred to by the other, the marital relationship is generally one of equality. Neither of these domestic roles is subject to the purview of the genetrix's clan brothers even though they often reside nearby. Nor are the genetrix's clan brothers disposed to

contest either role since the purpose of potestality and caretaking is the welfare of the children--an interest the genetrix's clan brothers share with her and the genitor. In short, the affairs of the domestic unit are normally the exclusive domain of the real parents.

According to Richards' delineation of the matrilineal puzzle and Schneider's analysis of the descent group, potestal authority is in opposition to the male authority of the children's descent group and hence threatens to weaken the primary orientation and loyalties of the children toward their own descent group. But in two respects, this is not the case on Namonuito.

In the first respect, since descent-group solidarity is intimately associated with the primary caretaking responsibility for children and the authority over land which is exclusively vested in females, it is the responsibility and authority of the females of the descent group, not the males, against which potestality is juxtaposed. In other words, arising from a fundamental identity between the female and "staying" and the things posited to be in logical, jural association with this identity--residence, land, children, and the origin of clan membership--it is women who make the descent group a unit of primary social orientation and loyalties. Males are valued members of the descent group and male authority is

institutionalized in the offices of Clan Chief and labor foreman. Both offices are important but the authority of the Clan Chief is confined to arbitrating intraclan disputes and representing consensus decisions; that of the labor foreman is circumscribed by the context of occasional work projects. That is, while males are valued members of the descent group, their authority, by comparison with that of females, is less centrally associated with the fundamental elements around which the descent group is organized.

In the second respect, potestality does not threaten the descent-group responsibility and authority represented by the genetrix in the domestic unit because, by definition, female "staying" is the basis for solidarity and cannot be supplanted by either the paternal consanguineal relationship or potestality which is based on it.

The Namonuito solution of the matrilineal puzzle therefore consists of the allocation of different kinds of parental responsibilities and authorities which, because of the limits on each imposed by their respective sex-specific origins, are conjoined in the domestic unit in a relationship of complementarity, not opposition. Females figure prominently in this solution since in their status and roles as primary caretakers of descent-group children and authorities over descent-group land they are not subordinate to male authority within either the descent group or the

domestic unit. The novelty of the Namonuito solution is of course an artifact of the exclusivity accorded male authority by Richards and Schneider in their respective formulations. The importance of the Namonuito solution lies in its challenge to the presumption that the structural integrity of the matrilineal descent group must be the product of male authority; it suggests that both the specific function and relative eminence of male authority within the matrilineal descent group are matters for empirical determination.

Adoption and Parenthood

The term "adoption" has been used to designate a kind of parent-child relationship and its practice on Namonuito. In general, the term suggests a voluntary transfer of parental rights and responsibilities, and no other English word more closely approximates a description of the Namonuito situation. Yet "adoption" remains an Anglo-American term connoting certain culture-specific characteristics that are alien to Namonuito. That the term poses this problem for Oceanic ethnography in general has been observed (Carroll 1970b:8-11). However, a direct examination of the culture-specific meanings of Anglo-American adoption is highly informative as a means of clarifying both what Namonuito adoption is and what it is not.

Anglo-American adoption is a comparatively modern institution which by definition is placed within a legal context:

> . . . to take by free choice into a close relationship previously not existing esp. by a formal legal act; *specif*: to take voluntarily (a child of other parents) to be in the place of or as one's own child [Webster's: s.v. "adopt"].

Adoption was first sanctioned by statutes enacted in the United States in 1850 and in England in 1926 in response to an increasing number of *de facto* adoptions in the years immediately preceding their enactment (Bromley 1971:246; Witmer and others 1963:24-32).[1]

Modernity and statutory sanction are significant characteristics not only because adoption was never recognized in the common law (Vernier 1936:355; Madden 1931:279), but also because it was antithetical to the principle established in common law from at least the tenth century ensuring that an inheritance rightfully belonged to the consanguines of the deceased (Pollack and Maitland 1898:249-253). Since adoption could incorporate a non-consanguine into a family only to the prejudice of the expectant heirs, it was precluded throughout a period when the twelfth-century dictum of Glanvill prevailed, "Only God can make an heir, not man" (Glanvill 1604:vii,1, cited in Pollock and Maitland 1898:324; Witmer and others 1963:22-23). Furthermore, the permanence of the adoption of

a child whose parents were living would clearly have been jeopardized by more ancient propositions concerning blood relatedness as the basis of inalienable parental rights, particularly paternal rights to the custody, earnings, and services of a dependent child (Pollack and Maitland 1898:436-37; Vernier 1936:17-18; Madden 1931:369-370). In the complete absence of any countervailing custom, the unassailable parental right to reclaim an adoptee hovered as a potential nullification of any advantages that might have otherwise accrued to an adopter.

Against this cultural tradition of inalienable parental rights and beginning in the nineteenth century, individuals desiring to adopt children sought sanctions furnished by statutes; what was unavailable in custom was created in law. Given the traditional incompatibility between adoption and blood relatedness, adoption in law was a radical innovation. In both jural and practical terms, the effect of Anglo-American adoption is to terminate the relationship between a child and his real parents and re-establish the child in a similar relationship with adopters to whom he need not have been previously affiliated (Bromley 1971:246-247; Madden 1931:354,361).

This characteristic--terminating one parental relationship in order to re-establish a child in another--comprises an essential point of difference between

Anglo-American adoption and Namonuito adoption. In both jural and practical terms, it is not intended that an Anglo-American adoptee maintain simultaneous relationships with both his adoptive and real parents. But, in both jural and practical terms, a Namonuito adoptee emphatically does maintain such simultaneous relationships. In Anglo-American adoption there need be no previous affiliation between adopter and adoptee. But on Namonuito, adopter and adoptee are in the prior relationship of parent and child. In short, the Anglo-American adoptive relationship is substitutive and not bound by kinship relations whereas the Namonuito adoptive relationship is additive and entirely circumscribed by kinship relations.[2]

It has been suggested that an analysis of adoption can be instructive regarding the nature of parenthood (W. Goodenough 1970:391-392). This is indeed the case with Namonuito adoption and the foregoing comparative analysis can be advanced to this end.

Although the creation of Anglo-American adoption was a revolutionary development relative to the cultural tradition preceding it, it nevertheless preserved a traditional Anglo-American notion of the nature of parenthood. That is, adoption in law, by stipulating that the real parent-child relationship be voided in favor of the adoptive, retains and makes explicit the tacit premise that parenthood is

exclusive and unitary--that a child can be involved in a relationship with only one set of parents. This is not the case on Namonuito. While there are substantive differences between parents on Namonuito, particularly those distinguishing real parents from other categories of parents, the fact remains that plural parenthood is a systemic feature of Namonuito kinship, a given condition of birth. The practice of adoption on Namonuito stresses this condition by ensuring that the adoptive relationship is not established at the expense of a child's birthright to multiple parental relationships.

These are important considerations in light of a hypothesis proposed by Levy (1970,1973) to explain the meaning of Polynesian and Micronesian adoption. He considers the high frequency and "casualness" of Polynesian and Micronesian adoption to represent a denial of the "natural, given order of things"--that is, a denial of the primary commitment which he deems inherent in biological parenthood. He further considers that these adoption characteristics stand in contrast to the infrequency and formality typical of Western adoption (1970:81-84; 1973:482-485). This leads him to conclude that:

> The message in the Polynesian and Micronesian adoption is that relationships between all parents and children are fragile and conditional. The form of Western adoption mutes from community awareness the impact of the breaking of the biological relationship and thus protects the essential Western orientation that relationships between all parents and children are categorical [1970:84; original emphasis].

While a consideration of the conditionality of Polynesian and Micronesian adoption in general is beyond the scope of analysis here, it can be said that there is an unquestionably conditional aspect to adoptive and classificatory parent-child relationships on Namonuito. In these relationships the degree of mutual affection between adoptive or other classificatory parents and a child can vary as the initiative of each in maintaining the relationship varies. Yet even in adoptions where affection has been poorly developed or has been allowed to languish or, in extreme cases, where an adoption has been terminated, the jural basis of relatedness between parent and child remains unaltered.

In the case of the real parent-child relationship, which is the central issue of Levy's generalization, there is no evidence that this relationship on Namonuito is more conditional, more fragile, or less categorical than its Western counterpart.[3] Conditionality and fragility are not suggested by the facts that, even in the most resoundingly successful adoption, the real parent-child relationship endures and the adoptee continues to be a member of the clan of his genetrix and to be in the afakūr relationship to the clan of his genitor. In other words, the Namonuito data affirm the categorically plural and non-exclusive nature of parenthood there and are inconsonant with the Western

concept of biological parenthood which Levy regards as the "natural, given order of things."

Conclusions

The purpose of my research on Namonuito was to study adoption and kinship as they are understood by people there in order to contribute to a knowledge of the nature of kinship. The study produced three major findings which have been discussed in terms of their relevance to kinship theory. It was found that the relationship between the Namonuito genitor and his child is conceptualized in terms of blood and physical affinity and that this has important consequences for complementary filiation, potestality, and adoption patterns. But another kind of relationship, intrauterine "staying," constitutes the basis of descent group membership on Namonuito. From this, it has been suggested that the theoretical range of principles upon which descent groups can be founded need not be restricted to consanguinity per se. A second finding was that because of the manner in which adult females are identified on Namonuito, their status is of greater significance than that of males in establishing the matrilineal descent group as a unit of primary social orientation and loyalty. I have pointed out that in light of this evidence, it can no longer be assumed as a theoretical tenet that males must occupy such positions in matrilineal societies. Finally, it was

found that the coexistence of an adoptee's relationships with his adoptive and real parents reflects a view of parenthood on Namonuito as being nonexclusive and that this differs fundamentally from an Anglo-American view of parenthood as being exclusive. I have suggested that neglecting to recognize this fundamental difference and proceeding with a comparative analysis which rests on the assumption that an Anglo-American notion of parenthood is somehow universal can lead to erronecus generalizations about the nature of parenthood on Namonuito. These findings support the assumption underlying the research on Namonuito that new knowledge about the nature of kinship would most likely come from the people of Namonuito themselves.

NOTES--CHAPTER V

[1]The adoption of a particular child by particular adults was provided for in some cases in the United States by special acts of state legislatures during the first half, particularly the second quarter, of the nineteenth century. These special statutes are distinct from general adoption statutes first enacted in Texas and Vermont in 1850 (Witmer and others 1963:28,29). A rather narrowly construed form of adoption was incorporated in the Louisiana Civil Code of 1808 (patterned after provisions in the Code Napoleon of 1804) but was later abolished by the Civil Code of 1825 (Witmer and others 1963:20).

[2]Carroll has suggested that this point of contrast may be a general characteristic of Oceanic adoption (1970b:14).

[3]In an analysis of Maori adoption, Webster (1973:15-16) has also questioned the validity of Levy's conclusion.

APPENDIX

NAMONUITO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The kinship terminology system exhibits categorizing terms of greater and lesser degrees of inclusiveness. All ego's cognates and affines are termed pefeeriey, 'my relatives.' This is the most inclusive of all kinship terms.

Among a rather wide range of matrilateral and patrilateral cognates are some whom ego considers to be particularly closely related. These are persons to whom ego can trace genealogical connection; ego would say of the relationship between himself and such an individual, ããm eew futuk, we are one flesh.' This use of the term futuk, 'flesh' in reference to such a relationship is for the purpose of emphasizing cognation; such individuals are, in a manner of speaking, more "cognatic" because their genealogical relatedness can be plotted. But there are no social groups based on the concept of "flesh."

The referents for faamili are usually either a married couple or a married couple and their children. Occasionally, the term may include other individuals who reside with a married couple, e.g., WiMo, WiFa.

The term afakūr means 'person born of a man of a group,' and either this term or its relational form is used in reference to complementary filiation. Thus, one might say, "Ngaang afakūran Uun," 'I was born of a man of Uun Clan.' While the term is most often used in the context of complementary filiation, it may also be used to refer to a patrifilial relationship with a place as in "Ngaang afakūran Piheraf," 'I was born of a Pisarach man.'

With the exception of two terms of address, all kinship terms are referential; cognates usually address one another by their proper names. The two terms of address in common use--primarily by children--are paapa and maama. The first is applied by ego to his genitor or male adopter; the second to ego's genetrix, or female adopter, or uterine sisters of ego's genetrix. (Paapa and Maama are exceptional only in the sense that they are alternative forms of address for the individuals they designate; a child may also address them by their proper names.)

There are six primary terms of address. Lineal and collateral cognates are merged by the six terms in a manner suggesting a Hawaiian or generational terminology system comprised of three generational classes: cognates of ego's own generation; those senior to ego; and those junior to ego. The referents of the six terms include members of ego's matriclan and ego's genitor's matriclan; the children

and children's children of males of both clans; sometimes the members of ego's genetrix's genitor's clan; rarely, members of ego's genitor's genitor's clan. The primary terms are:

1. pwiiy 'my same-sex sibling'
2. mwengiyey 'my opposite-sex sibling,' female speaking
3. fóópwutey 'my opposite-sex sibling,' male speaking
4. hemey 'my father'
5. iney 'my mother'
6. neyi 'my child'

A singular exception to the generational terminology occurs when an individual, in reference to the collective membership of his genitor's clan, says, "ipwe hemeniir," 'I have them as fathers.' The Namonuito terminology system, however, does not display any other of the Crow-like characteristics reported for some matrilineal societies within Truk District (Goodenough 1951:96; 1974:86-92; Marshall 1972:50; Elbert 1974:57).

The term iney is occasionally used by a male to refer to his opposite-sex sibling. The context in which it was observed to occur involved reference by a male to his female sibling's role as a caretaker of land or as a provider of food. In fact, it is said that this is why this form of reference is sometimes used: "A sister is sometimes like a mother." This usage is recognized as being secondary; fóópwutey is the primary term of reference.

There is some variation among informants as to whether members of ego's genetrix's genitor's clan and members of ego's genitor's genitor's clan are kin. (But relative to these two categories of potential kin, there is agreement that the latter group is less likely to be included as kin than the former.) The variation depends on the circumstances of adoption, death, and residence. If ego's genitor and genetrix were adopted by members of their respective genitor's clans, if these adopters resided on ego's natal island, and if they lived long enough to establish close relationship with ego, it is likely that ego would consider them and their clan mates as kin. To the extent that these conditions are not met, these people are less likely to be regarded as kin.

Despite the classificatory nature of the terminological system, specifying alter in a given relationship to ego can be clarified either by the use of proper names or descriptive terminology. For example, pwiiy, 'my same-sex sibling,' can be further identified as Peter or as naŋn pwiin iney, 'my mother's sister's child.'

Affinal terms include éhey, 'my spouse's opposite-sex sibling,' or 'my opposite-sex sibling's spouse' and pwŋlŋey, 'my spouse.' Prior to Christianization, pwŋlŋey also meant 'my spouse's same-sex sibling' and 'my same-sex sibling's spouse.' The latter are now referred to either as pwiin

pwûlûey, 'same-sex sibling of my spouse' or pwûlûan pwiiy, 'spouse of my same-sex sibling.' Completing the set of affinal terms are extensions of three primary terms, hemey, iney, and neyi. The latter may be used by ego's spouse to refer to those of ego's cognates to whom ego applies the terms.

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1974b Exhibit 4: Original Claim of People of Ulul under Land Management Regulation No. 1, August 26, 1954. Submitted in support of brief for appellants Raimundo and Leon on behalf of the People of Ulul v. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. High Court, Truk District, Trial Division.

1974c Exhibit 7: Memorandum of Understanding between Trust Territory Government and Carlos Etscheit, September 14, 1956. Submitted in support of brief for appellants Raimundo and Leon on behalf of the People of Ulul v. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. High Court, Truk District, Trial Division.

1974d Exhibit 11: Alleged German Confirmation of Spanish Grant. Submitted in support of brief for appellants Raimundo and Leon on behalf of the People of Ulul v. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. High Court, Truk District, Trial Division.

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