Documenting kinship systems in Alor-Pantar, eastern Indonesia

Gary Holton

University of Alaska Fairbanks

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Some questions

- Why Alor-Pantar?
  - little-known group of languages
  - Papuan outlier of as-yet unknown origin

- Why Kinship?
  - important sub-domain of language
  - can inform linguistic prehistory

- Why Documentation?
  - highly susceptible to erosion
  - difficult for linguists
  - often neglected
Overview

- background on Alor-Pantar
- description of kinship system in one AP language (Western Pantar)
- comparison across four AP languages
  - ascending terminology
  - sibling/cousin terminology
- conclusions
  - implications for Alor-Pantar prehistory
  - implications for language documentation
Caveats

- This is not a definitive study of kinship in Alor-Pantar.
- Originally motivated by investigations into prehistory.
- Rather, this is a preliminary study based primarily on survey data from genealogies.
- Much ambiguity in existing data (published and unpublished)
  - “older relative, FBC, FZC, FMZCC, FMBCC, FFZCC, FFBCC, MMZCC, etc.”
  - “kakak laki-laki”
Alor-Pantar languages

Alor Island

Pantar Island

10 km
Linguistic prehistory

- Cultural distinctiveness (Anonymous 1914)
- Structural/lexical similarities (Stokhof 1975)
- Reconstruction (Holton et al. 2012)
- Possible link with Bomberai but little support for Trans-New Guinea (Robinson & Holton 2012b)
- Phylogenetic studies suggest radiation from Pantar Strait, but modern cultures agricultural and montane (Robinson & Holton 2012a)
- Significant variation in alignment properties across the family (Fedden et al. 2013)
Kinship, exchange, marriage

- marriage
  - patrilocal
  - patrilineal, though mother’s clan plays significant role in marriage negotiations
  - preference for cross-cousin marriage*

- exchange
  - bride-givers receive most
  - token payment to bride-receivers
  - bride payment must include *moko*
  - full payment rare, thus maintaining inter-generational debt between clans
Economy

- Primarily subsistence agriculture
- Swidden system requires large communal labor efforts three times per year (land clearing, planting, harvesting)
Comparative kinship systems

- Western Pantar (Holton 2008)
- Teiwa (Klamer 2010, Robinson 2011)
- Adang (Robinson 2011)
- Kamang (Stokhof 1977, Schapper 2011)
Western Pantar ascending/descending

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-iar</th>
<th>F, FB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-iu</td>
<td>M, MZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-irasi</td>
<td>MB, WF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-irasi manne</td>
<td>FZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wake</td>
<td>C, ♂BC, ♀ZC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-airas</td>
<td>♂ZC, ♀BC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

niar ‘my father’
hiar ‘your father’
jiar ‘her/his father’
Western Pantar ascending

△ = ○

niar = ○

niar = ○

niu

△ = ○

niu

nirasi

△ = ○
Western Pantar descending

$\triangle = \circ$

naipang / nikkar / niaku

nairas nairas nawake nawake nawake

nawake

nawake
Western Pantar descending

\[
\begin{align*}
\triangle & = \bigcirc \\
nawake & = \bigcirc \\
nawake & = \bigcirc \\
nawake & = \bigcirc \\
nawake & = \bigcirc \\
ni'e / niaku & = \bigcirc \\
naiyang & = \bigcirc \\
nairas & = \bigcirc \\
nairas & = \bigcirc
\end{align*}
\]
Western Pantar +0° siblings/cousins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ikkar</td>
<td>eB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i’e</td>
<td>eZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-iaku</td>
<td>yB,</td>
<td>yZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aipang</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aiyang</td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-’ar</td>
<td>FZS,</td>
<td>MBS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ingtamme</td>
<td>FZD,</td>
<td>MBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baddang</td>
<td>FZD,</td>
<td>MBD,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FZS,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MBD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Western Pantar +0° siblings/cousins

- Single “marriageable” term: -baddang
- Gender-specific terms for other cross-cousins: -ingtamme / -‘ar

Diagram:

- Single “marriageable” term -baddang
- Gender-specific terms for other cross-cousins -ingtamme / -‘ar
Western Pantar descending

ni’e / niaku
naiyang
nairas nairas
nawake
nawake
nawake

Western Pantar affines

ni’e/niaku

naiyang = ningtamme = nabaddang = naru

nabaddang
‘o.s. cross-cousin’
Western Pantar descending
Western Pantar

- more distant relationships
Western Pantar exchange

- *wallang* ‘opposite clan’ (*suku lawan*)
- synonym for *gabaddang* ‘opp. sex cross-cousin’, essentially, ‘marriageable’
- another synonym: *nai tane* ‘my one’s body’
- spouse treated “as if” *gabaddang*, but distinction is noted
  - *gabaddang haila*
    - true cross-cousins belonging to opposite clans (lit. ‘base’)
  - *gabaddang wang gamining*
    - assumed cross-cousins, not opposite clans (lit. ‘included’)
- extended to more distant siblings
  - *gaiyang haila / gaiyang wang gamining*
Western Pantar: summary

- standard average bifurcate merging system
- slight imbalance in that FZ derived from MB
- marriage rules tied closely to kinship
- similar systems common regionally
Ascending terms: comparison

Western Pantar

Teiwa
## Ascending terminology: lexicon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>F</th>
<th>FB</th>
<th>FZ</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>MZ</th>
<th>MB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>-iar</td>
<td>-iar</td>
<td>-irasi manne</td>
<td>-iu</td>
<td>-iu</td>
<td>-irasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teiwa</td>
<td>-oma</td>
<td>-oma (sam/uwaad)</td>
<td>-xaler</td>
<td>-xala’</td>
<td>xala’ (sam/uwaad)</td>
<td>-ian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adang</td>
<td>-iming</td>
<td>-iming</td>
<td>-wi sel</td>
<td>-iwi</td>
<td>-iwi</td>
<td>-iming sel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamang</td>
<td>-paa</td>
<td>-paa</td>
<td>-ouko</td>
<td>-ouko</td>
<td>-ouko ela</td>
<td>-paa ela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ascending terminology: summary

- WP
  - [F, FB] [M, MZ] [MB, (FZ)]
  - FZ = ‘female MB’

- Teiwa
  - [F, FB] [M, MZ] [MB] [FZ]

- Adang
  - [F, FB, (MB)] [M, MZ, (FZ)]
  - MB = ‘F sel’, FZ = ‘M sel’

- Kamang
  - [F, FB, (MB)] [M, FZ, (MZ)]
  - MZ = ‘maternal F’, MB = ‘maternal M’
Western Pantar +0° siblings/cousins

| -ikkar   | ♂eB       |
| -i’e    | ♀eZ       |
| -iaku    | ♂yB, ♀yZ  |
| -aipang  | ♂Z        |
| -aiyang  | ♀B        |
| ’ar      | ♂FZS, ♂MBS|
| -ingtamme | ♀FZD, ♀MBD |
| -baddang | ♂FZD, ♂MBD, ♀FZS, ♀MBD |
### Teiwa +0° siblings/cousins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>♂ Z, ♂ yZ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-gas qai</td>
<td>♂ Z, ♂ yZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ian qai</td>
<td>♂ B, ♂ yB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-qau</td>
<td>♂ eB, ♂ eZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ian</td>
<td>♂ MBD, ♂ FZS, ♂ MBS, (♂ FZS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dias</td>
<td>♂ MBS, ♂ FZS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bruman</td>
<td>♂ MBD, (♂ FZD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Teiwa +0° siblings/cousins

- gender-specific “marriageable” terms
- single term for other cross-cousins
Adang +0° siblings/cousins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>♂eB, ♀eZ</th>
<th>♂yB, ♀yZ</th>
<th>♂Z, ♀B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-matu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-di’i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-uding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*at least one speaker uses motu/di’i throughout
Adang +0° siblings/cousins

- no distinct cousin term

Diagram:

- No distinct cousin term

- uding-matu/-di’i

- uding-matu/-di’i

- uding

- matu/-di’i

- uding-matu/-di’i

- uding-matu/-di’i

- uding-matu/-di’i
### Kamang +0° siblings/cousins

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-naka</td>
<td>♂eB, ♀eZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kak</td>
<td>♂yB, ♀yZ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naut kang</td>
<td>♂Z, ♀B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-namuk</td>
<td>♂FBS/FZS, ♀FBD/FZD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naut</td>
<td>♂FBD/FZD, ♀FBS/FZS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-naut ela</td>
<td>♂MBS/FZS, ♀FBD/FZD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kamang +0° siblings/cousins

- distinguishes paternal side; no cross-cousins
- competition between age-based (-naka/-kak) and gender-based (-namuk/-naut)

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\[\triangle = \bigcirc \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \quad \triangle = \bigcirc \quad \triangle = \bigcirc\]

\[\triangle - \text{naut} \quad \triangle - \text{namuk} - \text{naut} \quad \triangle - \text{namuk} \quad \triangle - \text{naut} \quad \triangle - \text{naka kang/} - \text{kak kang} \quad \triangle - \text{naut} \quad \triangle - \text{naut ela/} - \text{naka ela/} - \text{kak ela}\]
```
Sibling terminology: lexicon

- **WP**
  - -ikkar, -i’e, -iaku, -aipang, -aiyang, -’ar, -ingtamme, -baddang

- **Teiwa**
  - -gas qai, -ian qai, -qau, -ian, -dias, -bruman

- **Adang**
  - -motu, -di’i, -uding

- **Kamang**
  - -naka, -kak, -naut kang, -namuk, -naut, -naut ela
## Sibling terminology: summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>age distinction</th>
<th>gender distinction</th>
<th>cross-cousins</th>
<th>marriageable</th>
<th>maternal/paternal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WP</td>
<td>same-sex siblings/parallel cousins</td>
<td>siblings, same-sex cross-cousins</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>single term</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teiwa</td>
<td>same-sex siblings/parallel cousins</td>
<td>siblings, opp.-sex cross-cousins</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>gender-based</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adang</td>
<td>same-sex siblings</td>
<td>siblings</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamang</td>
<td>maternal same-sex</td>
<td>sibling, maternal cousins</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Implications for Alor-Pantar prehistory

- very little reconstructable vocabulary
  - *-mam ‘father’ reflected in only 2 of 4 languages
  - Adang sibling terms likely innovated based on ‘eldest’ and ‘youngest’
  - qualifiers ‘left’, ‘right’, ‘child’

- robust cross-cousin systems found in 2 of the 4 languages, both on Pantar

- exchange system prevails across the islands in spite of radical differences in kinship
  - may indicate that cross-cousin system is a recent diffusion

- we need more data
Implications for language documentation

- Closely related languages can show significant variation in kinship systems
- Genealogies are necessary but not sufficient
- Kinship must be understood (and documented) within cultural contexts as functional systems
- Linguists need more training, more interdisciplinary collaboration
References

- Robinson, L.C. 2011. [Unpublished field notes on Alor-Pantar languages].
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