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MARRIAGE, DESCENT AND KINSHIP

On the differential primacy of institutions
in Luapula (Zambia) and Longana (New Hebrides)

Karla O. Poewe and Peter R. Lovell

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we examine the differential implications of kinship practices and, specifically, Crow kinship terminology for two societies, one African, the other Oceanic. The comparison is undertaken for the following reason. Keesing (1970:765) suggested that the gulf between the way he conceptualized the Kwaio system and the way Fortes (1969) and Goody (1973) conceptualized the African systems may well be far wider 'than the gulf between what the Kwaio and Africans *do*. And if the gulf is generated more by the models than by the facts, we had better look very carefully at the models.' The question arises, therefore, whether classic African descent models are different from Oceanic kinship models because the anthropologists are following different intellectual traditions, or whether these two sets of models are different because they reflect a very real difference in the institutional make-up of African and Oceanic societies?¹

We shall suggest that the differences in models of African and Oceanic societies reflect the differential importance of descent and marriage. In some of the New Guinea Highland societies, at least, marriage and kinship ideologies are the primary institutions on which the coherence of the social system and the continuation of the mode of production depend. By contrast, in African societies, descent groups and descent ideologies are the primary institutions on which social and economic coherence depend.

Since kinship and descent are part of an ideological dimension of social reality, a word about ideology is in order. Contrary to anthropologists who argue that descent alone is ideology (Keesing 1975:62, Sahlins 1965), or who imply that descent and its correlative normative structure are ideology (Schneider 1968), we shall argue that ideology consists analytically of three ideational phenomena: (1) kinship and descent principles, (2) specific terminological systems, and (3) associated norms and values. Kinship and descent principles represent group images or cultural units which are either ego or ancestor focused. Importantly, such cultural units constitute dominant or epitomizing symbols around which the ideology as a whole is woven. Terminological systems specify how cultural units or representations of collectives, and roles or representations of individuals, are logically interrelated. Finally, although they are represented by the dominant symbols of cultural units, normative structures are not logically implied by them. Rather, by way of *association*, norms bridge the gap between cultural units and specific human interests, purposes, ends, and means. Values and

norms make an ideology manipulative. In this sense, ideology has both an intellectual and emotive aspect, as have all symbols (Turner 1967).

Ideology is analysed in this manner in order to escape the fallacy of universalism (Schneider 1968; Karp 1978). The combination of Crow terminology, matrilineal descent, perpetual kinship, and associated values in Luapula make for a different ideology from that combined of Crow terminology, bilateral kinship, matrilineal descent categories, and associated values in Longana. Since ideologies are important determinants of action, intriguing behavioral and organizational differences between peoples of Luapula and Longana are realized.²

Both Luapula and Longana exhibit a Crow terminology (Lounsbury 1964).³ Analytically speaking, however, Luapula society is organized on an ancestor-focused principle of matrilineal descent and perpetual kinship, Longana on an ego-centered principle of kinship and matrilineal descent categories. From the perspective of the people, Luapula society is founded on the contradiction between womb mates (*befumu bemo*) and relatives by marriage to one another (*balupwa*), Longana on the contradiction between those of the same substance (*dai*) and those of the same womb (*duvigi*). The Luapula have a dual terminological system: one operates in descent contexts (funerals, for example), the other operates in kinship contexts (subsistence production, for example). Positional succession reinforces the descent organization, while perpetual kinship which also strengthens descent, importantly, reduces a complex political structure to the kinship idiom of *balupwa*.

In Longana the terminological system is more elaborate. Its complex aspect is a reflection of the fundamental separation of real, in the sense of biological, parent-child ties from the classificatory, in the sense of ideological, parent-child ties. Thus child as *dai* is not an extensible term; child as *netui* is. By contrast, in Luapula the real classificatory kin distinction is an aspect of descent. In the mother's descent group, primary terms of the M, MB, ZC (mother, mother's brother, sister's child) variety are extensible. Equally, in the father's descent group primary terms of the F, FZ, FZC (father, father's sister, father's sister's child) variety are extensible. Longana terminology also reflects the contradictory principles of sibling and filial succession. Sibling succession brings into focus a descent principle, only to have it undermined by filial succession which strengthens an Ego-centered kinship network. Of interest is the fact that both societies exhibit a form of bilateral kinship; in Luapula, however, the principle of perpetual kinship ensures that even the *ulupwa* is ancestor-centered, while all kinship is Ego-centered in Longana.

Finally, Luapula organization consists of descent groups which fuse into one another and which are called into action in various circumstances. Longana organization consists primarily of personal networks. While moiety or descent categories are present, people who are subsumed under these categories never act as groups.

WOMB, DESCENT, AND LUAPULA MATRILINITY

Even today, Luapula matrilineal descent springs into action at the time of a funeral. Whether a man or woman dies, representatives of four matrilineal clans assemble to settle past disputes, to choose a successor to the deceased, to establish the guilt or innocence in the death of the remaining spouse, to redistribute wealth, and to remind offspring of deceased men to remember their 'successor' father and his people. The four matrilineal

include the deceased's matriline, the deceased's father's matriline, the remaining spouse's matriline and the surviving spouse's father's matriline (Poewe 1978a). Elders of these four clans, who are said to be the embodiment of deceased ancestors, represent one of the aspects of each spouse's *balupwa* (loosely translated as family). *Balupwa* are 'living ancestors.'

While living ancestors form loose coalitions as *balupwa*, they remain staunch representatives of the interests of their respective matriline. For example, elders refer to clan mates as *ifwe mwifumo lyesu*, 'we from within the womb.' The primacy of womb (*ifumu*) and womb mates (*befumo bemo*) underlines both the secondary and ancestor-dependent status of *balupwa*.

Representatives of father's matriline of the deceased and survivor, although of secondary importance, are called to funerals owing to three activities involving in-law interests. First, offspring spend early childhood years with their father. This arrangement is ritualized by allowing representatives of the deceased's *father's* matriline to review the childhood history of the deceased. Second, a successor to the deceased must be chosen and an *ukupyana* (succession) marriage celebrated. Offspring belong to the clan of their mother, but these matriline, especially women, tend to oppose *ukupyana* marriages. Matriline representatives of a person's father attend funerals, therefore, in order to voice the general plight of male affines to women. Third, in present day Luapula, fathers generally find themselves neglected by their wives' offspring. Funerals are the appropriate occasion to remind a man's children of their duties to their father, usually to no avail.

The Luapula matrilineal descent system consists of the following cultural units: the *ifumo* (womb), the *mukowa* (clan), and the *cikota* (lineage). These units are extensions of one another because they are seen to emerge from a common ancestral womb. The dominant symbol, womb (*ifumu*), permits the conversion of distant matriline into close kin and of close kin into ancestors. Those of the same lineage, clan, and womb uniformly share the same substance, blood. All physical substance comes from the ancestral womb. Men are believed merely to activate and shape the fetus through repeated intercourse with their pregnant spouse.

This common blood, which is shared equally and in undiminished quantity by all matriline, no matter how distantly related, underpins the *descent* principle in Luapula. By contrast, among the Longana, whose offspring derive equal amounts of substance from each parent, the parental substance, which diminishes with each new marriage and generation, underpins the *kinship* principle. In other words, whether substance derives from one parent or from both, and whether it remains constant or diminishes, signals the differential primacy of descent and kinship phenomena.

Luapula ideology consists analytically of the three major cultural units mentioned above, each further associated with a set of structured norms which function as patterns for action (Schneider 1976).

The cultural unit of greatest inclusiveness, indeed, the 'epitomizing symbol' (Schneider 1976) of Luapula matriline is the womb (*ifumu*). Infused with spiritual and natural power (*amaka*), *ifumu* guarantees the reproduction of the Luapula social order. *Ifumu* here stands for the Luapula universe.

The next most inclusive cultural unit is the clan (*mukowa*). A *mukowa* represents at once an ancestral womb and the spatial origin and history of migration of its progeny.

The lineage (*cikota*, literally, big female) stands for a specific, remembered womb

and the history of settlement of its descendants in nearby village communities.

Finally, those responsible for replenishing and nourishing the *cikota* are organized as *balupwa* 'families.' While the other cultural categories connote units or groups, the term *balupwa* connotes merely a plurality of individuals temporarily associated with one another for the purpose of enabling the reproduction of the social universe (*ifumu*).

The Luapula *ulupwa* is not, however, a neatly discrete unit with a definitive number of incumbents or social roles. Rather the *ulupwa* may be any 'shape' and 'size' possible, a flexibility most appropriate when we consider its overriding norm which is that a male spouse replenish and nourish the wife's lineage (*cikota*). Although husbands have obligations to wives' lineages, each spouse is pressured to maintain his or her loyalty and meet his or her responsibilities to their own matrilineage. Not only is conflict inevitable, but ties of intimate dependency between spouses are discouraged in many more or less subtle ways. While sexual enjoyment is valued, it is not limited to one specific partner. Given both the individualism of *balupwa* and the separate vested interests of spouses in the well-being of their respective lineages, it comes as no surprise that economic activities follow a principle of productive individualism, and investment a principle of sexual parallelism. Distribution alone is communalistic among matriclan mates.

Families may be nuclear, polygynous, polyandrous, bilateral or matrilinear extended, and so on. The most common, *de facto* arrangement—usually a response to reproductive and economic pressures—is a polygynous-polyandrous, or better, a 'gynandrous' association.⁴ A man may have several 'wives' in different villages along the valley, while a woman will have several visiting 'husbands.'

Except for Christians, marriage does not create a separate legal institution. By contrast with Longana, the norms of Luapula marriage specify, if anything, how to keep a marriage short.

Just as lineage, clan, and *ifumu* are extensions of one another which expand and contract depending on distribution of wealth and personnel replacement activities, so domestic *balupwa* and political *balupwa* are more inclusive units of one another which expand and contract depending on local or kingdom-wide reproductive and productive activities.

Each cultural unit defines who is and who is not a member and how personnel are to be recruited. Personnel recruitment has a logic of its own, one embodied, that is, in the Crow-type terminology which characterizes Luapula matriliney.

Cultural System and Normative Structure

The matrilineal cultural system is represented by epitomizing symbols which are logically related to one another by terminological rules.

Normative structures too are represented by cultural units as dominant symbols which, however, are associated with specific human interests, purposes, ends, and means.

As part of the normative structure, in Luapula, *womb* stands for, or is associated with, the values of inclusiveness, a common identity and hence equality; and regeneration, a sense of abundance and hence unrestricted access to nature's resources.

By contrast, as one of the cultural units of a Crow-type classificatory system, *womb* logically implies recruitment of personnel from any number of generations whose members are lineage, clan, and womb mates.

Whether ego is male or female, once the centrality of woman is accepted, and once it is recognized that womb (*ifumu*) is the epitomizing symbol of a Crow-type matricentricity, then the major terminological features of this system, whether they occur in Luapula or Longana are easily explained (Poewe forthcoming).

First, a woman's son and her brother are equated (Figure 1). Indeed, the significance of the Crow-type pattern is its relationship to *positional succession*. In Luapula, because they share the same undiminished substance, male womb mates may assume one another's identity and being not merely following death but at all lineage events in one another's absence. This means that male Ego's mother's brother's offspring are equated with male Ego's offspring (MBC — BC — C). In other words, the Crow terminology for cross-cousins, and the cross-cousin relationship, is incidental and merely the logical consequence of the core relationship between a woman and her brother and son. All deceased adults are succeeded by a living descendant, and so Luapula men say 'We call mother's brother's children *abana* (children) because we can succeed to the position of *yama* (MB).' Luapula Crow Terminology is represented in Figure 2.

Second, symmetrical with the mother's side, and under circumstances where affinal ties play a significant role in matrilineal systems, male Ego's father's sister's son and daughter are equated with his father and father's sister (for male Ego, FZS — F, FZD — FZ). The Luapula say, 'We call father's sister's children *tata* and *mayosenge* because they succeed to the position of our *tata* (F) and *mayosenge* (FZ).' Here as above, the nucleus of the Crow terminology is the relationship between a woman and her brother and son. As womb mates of the same sex, the two men are equated. Keesing (1975:114-5) argues that the nucleus of the Crow terminology is the

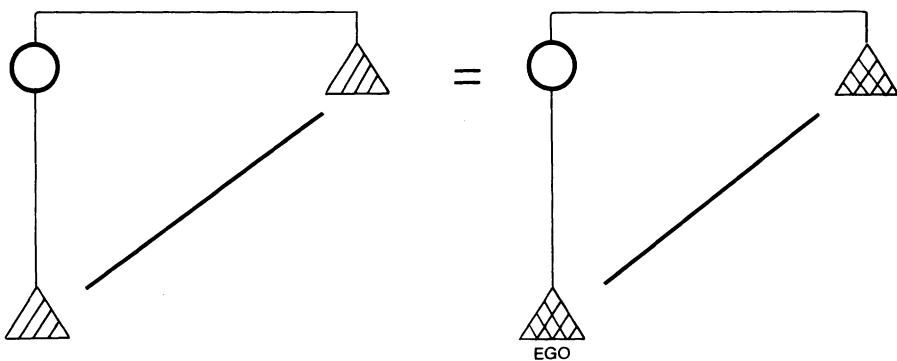


FIGURE 1 *Nucleus of Crow terminology.*

relationship between a woman's brother and her son. Androcentrically speaking he is right, although the significant relationship is the equation of all matrilineally related women with one another and hence of all matrilineally related men with one another. In short, the core relationship between a woman and her brother and son occurs equally on the father's side with the logical consequence, for the Crow system, that Ego calls his patrilineal cross-cousins father and father's sister (Figure 1 above).

Third, some kinsmen are given two kinship terms depending upon whether one discusses matters of descent or kinship (i.e., *mukowa* or *ulupwa*). Thus mother's brother's children are called *abafyala* (cousins) in the kinship context, but *abana* in the descent context. Correlatively, father's sister's children are called *abafyala* in the kinship context, but *tata* (F) and *mayosenge* (FZ) in the descent context. The latter two terms have largely fallen out of use because women, especially, are loath to use and maintain ties with husbands' kin (Poewe forthcoming).

Given the core relationship between a woman and her brother-son, and the succession rule that any woman's son may succeed to the position of her brother, we are able to generate a model of Luapula society which approximates the population's perception that everyone eventually derives from a *common* womb.

Logically implied are also, therefore, the following distinctive matrilineal features: (a) the virtual absence of fissioning and segmentation in matrilineal descent groups; (b) the tendency of merging lineal and collateral relations in matrilineal descent groups (Schneider 1961:24, 27); (c) the absence of precise pairing of male and female members of a matrilineal descent group (Schneider 1961:26); and finally, (d) the maximization of 'reproduction' and personnel 'recruitment' among matrilineal descent groups. This latter phenomenon is a result of the Crow terminology and occurs equally in Longana.

The normative associations of womb (*ifumu*), associations which call for action conforming to attitudes of inclusiveness, abundance, regeneration and unrestrictedness, affect all aspects of Luapula existence: family, personnel recruitment, and importantly production and distribution. Having described Luapula family arrangements, it is useful to look briefly at the problem of personnel recruitment.

Personnel Recruitment

Usually, kinship and marriage have to do with reproduction and personnel recruitment. In Luapula, personnel recruitment is a function of the Crow terminology, reproduction that of mating.

For example, assuming the centrality of marriage as a discrete jural institution, Douglas (1971) and Schneider (1961) hold the view opposite to that of easy recruitment maximization. Douglas argues that:

Matrilineal descent groups are at a disadvantage for recruiting by birth compared with patrilineal descent groups . . . (because) . . . a system in which descent is transmitted through males can offset the infertility of any particular woman by taking on more wives. (1971:127)

Douglas confuses *reproduction* with maximization of personnel recruitment. True, matriliney minimizes control (especially male spouse control) over reproduction. A man cannot control the number of his actual sisters born to his parents, and, therefore, he cannot control the number of offspring to which his biological sisters give birth. Lack

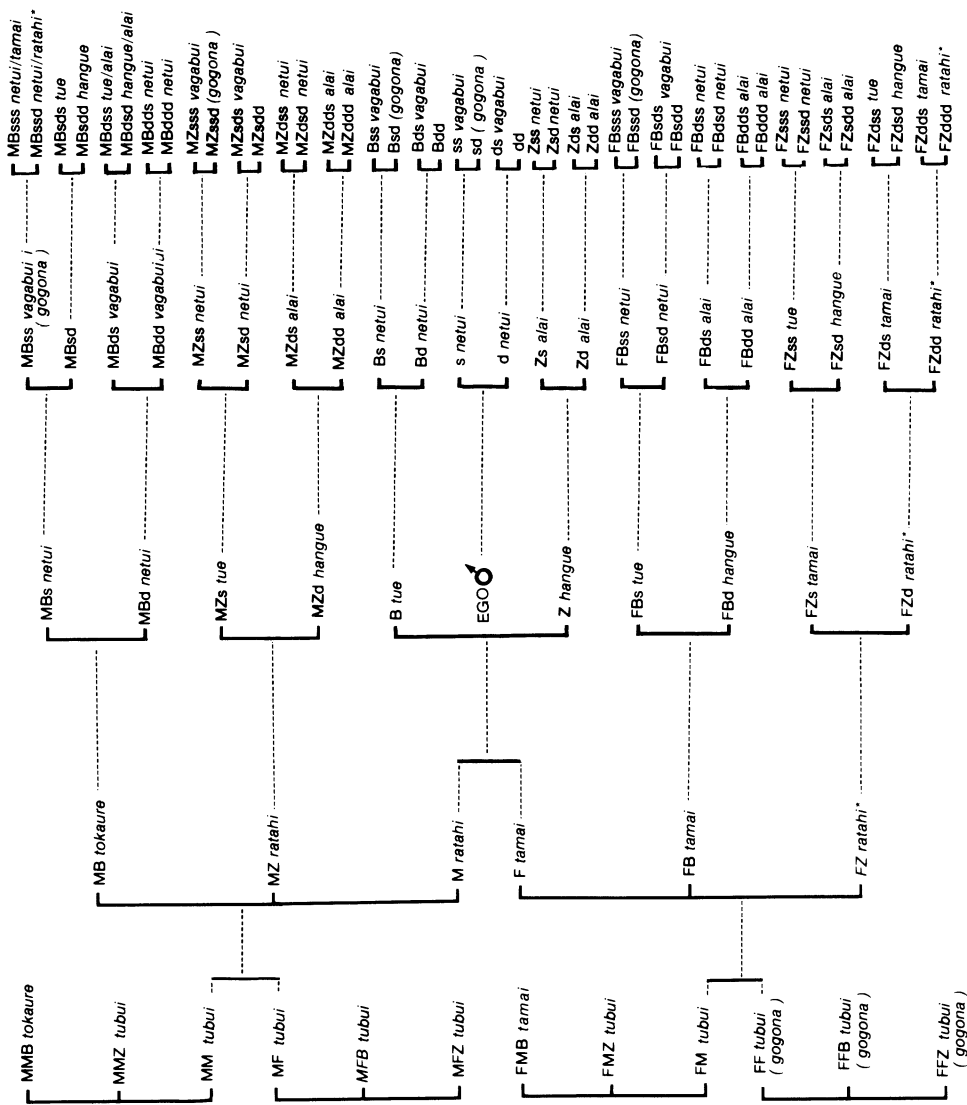


FIGURE 3 Longana Crow terminology (male Ego).

of control over reproduction, however, does not mean that personnel recruitment will be difficult. Crow terminology coupled with extensile descent and open marriages, ensure easy access to personnel and maximization of reproduction. First, in Luapula matriliney, infertility of any particular woman is offset, *not* by marrying another wife, but by objectifying the ideological fiction that a man always has (classificatory) sisters and hence offspring in his nephews and nieces. He has sisters because matriliney is about *inclusion*. The effect of inclusion is achieved by the logical device of skewing and merging kin within a Crow-type terminological system. Concomitantly, a woman always has children. If her husband does not impregnate her, she will choose another mate. If she is barren, she will claim and receive some of her sisters' offspring.

Keesing observed that 'in a Crow system a line of *matrilineally related men* are equated in reckoning kinship: usually it is the *children* of these men who are actually classed by a single term' (1975:114-15). More important than the fact that matrilineally related men are equated is the fact which Keesing does not mention, namely that matrilineally related women, even women of distantly related clans, are equated. This makes access to personnel easy because a matrilineal descent group consists of any number of generations whose members are not merely clan fellows of a larger unit (the *mukowa*); they are also womb mates of a more inclusive unit still (the *ifumu*). In other words, if there are no offspring from one womb, the Luapula automatically tap offspring by way of skewing descent and merging collaterals with lineals, from a womb which has them.

Matrilineal descent, combined with the notion of emerging from a common womb and sharing a *common* substance, gives rise to an egalitarian ideology—an equality, no less, between all men and women, between all womb mates (*befumu bemo*). Contrary to Longana conditions, in Luapula different fathers do not matter. The generic concept of *womb mates* authorizes the conversion of 'distant' kin relationships into 'close' ones (Marshall 1977).

All of the characteristics described in the preceding pages ensure the continuation of the matrilineage as a unit. They also enable it to adjust its personnel size, not because men control *reproduction* and therefore population size, but because distant kin can be converted into close kin should conditions demand it.

Last, but not least, the strength of the sense of equality, identity, and nurturance (*ukutemwa*) is further reinforced in Luapula by anticipatory positional succession. Adults take one another's place not merely following death (through positional succession) but already in one another's absence at any particular occasion (in *anticipation* of positional succession).

Perpetual Kinship and Balupwa as Political Category

A discussion of Luapula kinship and descent cannot be complete without mention of the phenomenon of perpetual kinship and the concept of *balupwa* as polity.

Perpetual kinship creates a web of kin ties that link elders and their clans, headmen and their villages, chiefs and their sub-chiefdoms into one kingdom based on the model of a bilateral 'family,' consisting of an association of individuals who represent different clans (*mukowa*) and ethnic groups (*mutundu*). Whoever the present paramount chief may be, he is in some form of ancestor-focused, perpetual kin relation with clan elders, lower level chiefs, and headmen. Together they are the direct embodiment of the original paramount and the original incumbents of these political

positions. The paramount is referred to as the husband of his people, quite appropriately, since he is the representative of a separate people, the Bena Lunda, whose succession principle is patrilineal. Just as a husband is supposed to replenish and nourish the wife's lineage, so the paramount chief must seek to replenish and nourish his people. The conflicts and separate loyalties of spouses are analogous to the conflicts between paramount chief as representative of the Lunda aristocracy and clan elders as representatives of the people.

As at the 'national' level, so at the village level, once a village headman is in a kin relation of brother, son, and so on, with a chief or another headman, all successors of these individuals will be in the same relationship of brother or son to one another. This condition continues especially following emigration of village members. 'The break-away of a group of kinsmen to form their own village is an event of sufficient significance to allow the kinship links between them to be perpetuated' (Cunnison 1959:143).

Likewise, marriage relationships between immigrant groups and 'owners of the land' (*bene ba mpanga*) or between immigrant groups and the Lunda aristocracy are perpetuated such that descendants of such a marriage may consider themselves 'sons,' 'nephews,' or 'daughters,' and so on, of the aristocracy or of the 'owners of the land.' While the initial marital tie may have occurred several hundred years ago, descendants speak and relate to one another as if the tie was created only yesterday and as if the past is today. In a sense, I am in agreement with McKinley (1971:424) when he argues that Crow terminology is an ideological device that overcomes the contradiction between the 'desire to retain old marriage alliances while at the same time creating as many new ones as possible.'

This symbolic device of metonymy, of recreating and living the past in the present, makes the Crow terminology psychologically real and part of a particular ideology. By comparison, equivalence rules, which are structurally separate of such 'secondary order' phenomena as sentiment (Radcliffe-Brown 1924) or connotation (Scheffler 1972:115), are analytically efficient but do not necessarily allow us to see any one ideology as a living reality among a people. Nor can equivalence rules which assume the primacy of the nuclear family and which are Ego-centered (Scheffler 1972:113), explain the loose association of *balupwa* and the symbolic device of metonymy both of which are ancestor-centered.

Finally, in Luapula descent is primary because all those who emerge from the same womb share, in undiminished quantity, the same substance. In Longana, as we are about to show, common descent is secondary because womb mates do not share the same substance. Fifty per cent of the substance of a sister's child (ZC) derives from that of the sister's husband (ZH), making marriage and kinship primary institutions.

SUBSTANCE, WOMB, AND LONGANA KINSHIP

According to Longana ideology, each parent contributes to the substance (*dai*) of his or her children. A genitor and genetrix contribute equally to the substance of their child. A child thus has 50% of the substance of his father and 50% of his mother. To a parent, a child is the unique product of the procreative relationship which exists between that parent and his or her spouse.

A man or a woman may refer to his or her children as 'my substance' (*daingu*) which distinguishes his or her own child (*netui*) from all others whom he or she may refer to

as *netui* (e.g., BC, male Ego; ZC, female Ego). Thus the offspring of a sibling are not *dai*, for 50% of a sibling's child's substance comes from the sibling's spouse. To refer to a child as *daingu*, then, is to refer to the fact that one's children possess the unique substance composed of one's own substance combined with the substance of one's spouse.

Longana claim that one's grandchildren are not, strictly speaking, *dai*, since children's children contain only $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *dai* of a grandparent. However, some informants state that grandchildren are like *dai* but 'not too much,' because of the dilution of the substance of grandchildren by a child's spouse. Grandchildren (*vagabui*), then, represent the boundary of *dai*. It is here that the strength of one's *dai* becomes so dilute that it is almost non-existent.

Siblings who share the same mother and father are not only true siblings (*retue sibongu*), they are also of identical substance. Half-siblings (*tuengu*) who share the substance of one father are not *retue sibongu*, for half their substance comes from different mothers. Lounsbury's (1964:360) half-siblings rule which reads 'let one's parent's child be considered to be one's sibling' is, therefore, not unconditionally applicable.

Although they are of identical substance, same-sex siblings of one mother and father do not call one another's offspring *daingu*. Male Ego's brother's child contains 50% of the substance of his brother's wife. Consequently, the total substance of brother's child is different from the total substance of Ego's child. The same holds true for female Ego's sister's children.

The fact that each child is first and foremost the unique product of a husband and wife places restraint on the second of Lounsbury's three Crow equivalent rules. The merging rule (Lounsbury 1964:360) is constrained not in its 'reading' but in its consequence. In Longana, one classifies one's BC as *netui* but not as *daingu*. On the other hand, resembling Lounsbury's merging rule, the generic term for father is *tamai*. One's own father (in the sense of genitor) is *tamai sibongu*, one's father's brother (in the sense of same sex sibling) is *tue tamai*. The primacy of the concept of shared parental substance (*dai*) at all times keeps real parents and offspring discrete from classificatory parents and offspring. This motion is quite different, therefore, from that in Luapula where the primary emphasis on emergence from a common womb makes clan mates real consanguines.

Since Longana terminology is a Crow system, it is important to discuss the relationship between a man and the children of his opposite-sex sibling. According to Scheffler (1972:126) 'Systems that feature what Lounsbury terms Crow-type skewing rules (g-3) establish a covert structural equivalence between a woman's brother and her son . . .' At a glance, Longana data appear to support this claim. As expected, a man classifies his ZC, ZDC, ZDDC (sister's child, sister's daughter's child, sister's daughter's daughter's child) as *alai* for which the reciprocal is *tokaure* (Figure 3). Informants are explicit that the terms *alai* and *tokaure* are a special subset of the sibling terms *hangue*, sister, and *tue*, brother. Significantly, spouses of *alai* are assigned to the same class as spouses of one's brothers and sisters. In Longana, therefore, a woman's brother and her offspring are terminologically equivalent. But here we part company with Lounsbury's skewing rule, for not only is the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son identified with the relationship between brothers, it is also identified with that of brother and sister. In other words, a Longana man's sister's son is partially identified

with his sister. Contrary to Lounsbury and Scheffler, an understanding of the Crow system requires not only the terminological centrality of woman, as already suggested by the Luapula data, but also in light of Longana evidence, it requires that the place of marriage and the role of affines be taken into account.

Certain qualities of the sister's husband-wife's brother tie further support the need to consider affines in the analysis of a terminology. Longana B-Z and ZH-WB ties are characterized by respect and avoidance. Actions or speech which have sexual connotations are *tabu* (forbidden). According to the Longana, the sister's husband is identified with the sister because together they create the substance of her children. So unitary is the relationship between them all that only the sister's husband is called *halai*, 'sister together with her husband.' A fascinating behavioral correlate of the ZH-WB tie is the distance maintained between them. Sister's husband, like sister, walks a respectful ten paces behind wife's brother.

Those who have access to the womb of a woman (*halai*), and those who emerge from her womb (*alai*), are partially identified with her. Longana males state that *alai* (sister's children) are like *hangue* (a sister) because they come from the womb of a sister. Not unexpectedly, many behavioral restraints that apply to the sister and her husband apply to her son. Finally, because the sister is the same substance as her brother, the bond of *dai* between the sister's son and the sister is given special import. As one Longana male put it: 'When my sister bears children it is as if the children came from my own belly.'

For males, the bond of *dai* between a sister and her offspring serves to equate her offspring with her. Ideologically, the relationship of MB-ZS resembles the relationship between siblings and, like the latter, is suffused with the values of solidarity and mutual aid. Ego recognizes that he, his sister, and sister's child are born of one mother. Consequently, successive ties of substance (*dai*), which link all uterine descendants to one woman, approximate a descent principle not unlike that in Luapula. For male Ego, all descendants of his sister are siblings. If, for a male Ego, ZD — Z, then ZDC — ZD — Z.

Just as shared parental substance, *dai*, serves to separate a real parent-child from a classificatory and brother's offspring from own offspring, so the bond of *dai* serves to separate a sister's child from a mother's brother, for, in reality, they are *not* the same substance. They are not real siblings to one another because 50% of the substance of the sister's child consists of the *dai* of the sister's husband. Consequently, the substance of Ego's mother is not the same as that of Ego and his sister, and the same is true for Ego's sister's children. Strictly speaking, then, the Longana theory of procreation (shared parental substance) results in the generation of sibling sets who are real siblings to one another, but who are not real siblings to those uterine kin of ascending and descending generations because they are born from different mother and father pairs. This fact serves to separate the sibling bond between MB and ZC. In addition, the partial identification of a sister's son with a sister results in a social relationship of avoidance and deference which is not characteristic of the brother to brother relationship. At the same time that the bond of *dai* between a woman and her children serves to separate a sister's son from his mother's brother as opposite-sex siblings, the actual recognition of sex identifies them as same-sex siblings. As a consequence, the MB-ZS relationship is characterized by ambiguity, particularly with regard to status.

Because of the ambiguity surrounding the relationship, the sister's son is not of the same social identity as the mother's brother. He has the right to lay claim to the widow, and to parcels of land when his mother's brother dies. But the right to lay claim is not the same as automatic succession to the mother's brother's property. When a man dies, the rights to his plots of land revert to his surviving siblings, and only if no brother survives, to his sister's son. But there may be little or nothing to which he may succeed. For one thing, a man may make arrangements with respect to his land without regard to his young, or even unborn, sister's children.

Coupled with a principle of sibling succession is a principle of patrilineal succession. Longana practice patrilineal residence. Filial succession reinforced by the bond of *dai* between a father and son means that the latter has a strong claim upon the parcels of land belonging to his father. Under ideal circumstances, this claim is recognized, provided that offspring present compensatory valuables of tusked boars and mats to their father's siblings at their father's funeral. If compensation cannot be made to father's siblings, the land remains with them. In the past, if father's siblings were 'greedy,' they and their *alai* could refuse to accept the offered compensation and forcibly remove their deceased brother's offspring from the land. Under these circumstances, a man would have to seek land by using the bond of *dai* through his mother. Consequently, much depends upon the quality of the relationship between Ego and his *tue tamai* (FB), *alai tamai* (FZS), and *tokaure* (MB). It would be a foolish man indeed who did not treat his father's brother and father's sister's son with the same deference and respect due a real father; and who did not cultivate the same-sex sibling aspect of the MB-ZS relationship. One frequently hears, as a consequence, that a father's brother and all male uterine descendants of a father's sister are *tamai* (father) and act toward Ego as father, and he toward them as son. It is easy from this to conclude that all those co-classified with a *tamai* (F) share the same status of father toward Ego. Potentially they do, but none of Ego's classificatory *tamai* call Ego *daingu*, and there is no guarantee that, when a man's father dies, his classificatory fathers (even FB) will want to succeed to the duties of a father toward a child who is not *dai* to them.

There are alternative terms of reference for the children of some grandchildren. Which of the alternative terms is applied is governed by a complex system for reclassifying the spouses of consanguineals at marriage. For purposes of reckoning offspring, Longana equate grandchildren of the same moiety (*vagabui gogona*) with siblings. For example, for male Ego, a son's son is *vagabui gogona* and a son's son's wife will usually be classed the same as Ego's wife (*vagabui*). Thus, a son's son's child will be *netui* (child). However, should a son's son's wife be a genealogically close father's sister to Ego, she will remain classified as FZ, and the son's son's children will be FZ and F.⁵ Note that intramoiety marriages can change the patterning of kin terms for the children of grandchildren. For example, should Ego marry a woman of his own moiety, and his descendants practice moiety exogamy, then Ego's *daughter's* children, not his son's children, will be of Ego's moiety, and DSC will be classified as C or F and FZ.⁶

Personnel Recruitment

In Longana, a man whose wife is infertile will take another wife. Alternatively, he may adopt a child from a real or classificatory brother of the same matrilineal descent

category (*duvigi*). Finally, his wife can adopt children from her real or classificatory sisters.

As in Luapula, a man always has siblings. The Crow terminology, coupled with nominally exogamous matrimoieties and descent categories (*duvigi*), which correspond to the traditional definition of matri-clan (but from which no matrilineages are formed), embraces the whole of the population of the district. Consequently, a man has many classificatory sisters and brothers. However, contrary to Luapula descent organization, beyond true siblings and half-siblings, the rights and duties associated with siblings attenuate markedly with increasing genealogical distance. Through processes of exchange, however, distant sibling ties may be converted into close ones.

A favorite commodity presented by men as gifts to their sisters is pork. Because a woman may not eat her brother's food, a child is used as an intermediary. This gift exchange occurs at a rank taking ceremony of a man's son (W. L. Rodman 1973). The latter, upon ceremonially killing the pig, declares that it be given to his father's sister. The chain of exchange is significant, for men who control pigs compensate their sisters who control mats. While sisters donate mats toward their brothers' brideprice, brothers do not directly nor immediately reciprocate. Making a child the intermediary ritually underpins the simultaneous recognition of two sets of ties and two sets of principles; sibling ties because the sister shares the same substance with her brother, and marital ties because the brother's son is the combined substance of brother and brother's wife. Consanguineal and affinal principles are given equal status.

The number of siblings may not only be increased by merging and skewing kin within a Crow framework. They may also be increased by manipulating the father-son *dai* bond within the context of the father's polygynous marriage to women of opposite moieties. Opposite moiety siblings who share the same father are referred to as *bababulu*, 'those inseparably intertwined.' According to the Longana, *bababulu* sibling relationships are even stronger than true sibling ties (*retue sibongu*). One's true siblings may squabble and even fail to live up to their obligations toward one another, but *bababulu* siblings are steadfastly loyal under any circumstances.

While the *bababulu* relationship is strongest when offspring of two or more opposite moiety mothers share one father, this relationship may also be activated if one of Ego's classificatory fathers is married to a woman of the opposite moiety to that of his own mother. While in the field the researcher witnessed a case where a man, because of his erratic behavior, was shunned and ridiculed by his *retue sibongu*. The man had created a *bababulu* brother relationship through a complex series of consanguineal, affinal, and adoption links, which would seem to make the *bababulu* relationship a fiction. Nevertheless, the man's *bababulu* brother and his family fed him, protected him, and gave him solace, at some inconvenience to themselves, until he was ready to return to the hamlet where he lived with his *retue sibongu*.

To sum up, what is intriguing about the Longana is the extent of social cohesion which flows not from the development of matrilineal descent groups with a strong corporate identity, but from the manipulation of Ego-centered principles of kinship generated by the theory of procreation. Longana society is unique because its ideology and social bilaterality is a function of the logical and actual restraint placed on those who emerge from one womb by those who share parental substance.

KINSHIP AND DESCENT AS MODES OF PRODUCTION

In his analysis of polyandry among the Pahari of northern India Berreman (1962) reviews several theories purporting to explain the occurrence and development of fraternal polyandry. He suggests that neither economic nor population factors are adequate determinants of the form of family organization. He finally suggests, following the *missionary* Stulpnagel that polyandry is 'nothing more than a mere custom of community of wives among brothers who have a community of other goods' (Berreman 1962:66). The idea behind this definition is that polyandry is a mode of production where the forces and relations of production correspond to one another. Brothers own the means of production in common and cooperate as a work force in the process of agricultural production. The fruits of their labor, too, are shared.

The system would appear to be a familial type of communalism. Women married to a group of brothers share in this communalism so long as the union lasts. Otherwise, women are propertyless, but are seemingly free to join or disjoin different communities of brothers.

The contrast between this system and that of Luapula matriliney is striking. In Luapula, marital ties are secondary and gynandrous in nature. Primary responsibilities of each spouse are directed toward their respective lineages. The Luapula are extremely individualistic as regards production. Both men and women start small commercial enterprises, and men especially hire strangers if additional labor is needed. Production by the sexes is best characterized as sexual parallelism: on the whole, Luapula men and women invest separately in economic ventures. Men participate in a single investment chain which leads consecutively from canoe fishing to the ownership of several nets and usually a banana boat with a five horsepower motor; from there to ownership of lorries for trade in dried or frozen fish and urban commodities; and finally to ownership of village stores, bars, distributorships of flour, soft drinks, or building materials, and occasionally to management of construction (Poewe 1979).

Women participate in two alternative investment chains, although each chain has its origin in cassava growing and the sale or rental of cassava ridges. With this basic capital, women who are staunch matrilinealists invest in beer brewing, proceed from there to building and renting village houses, to ownership of village brew houses, bottled beer bars, and resthouses. Alternatively, women who are married to Jehovah's Witnesses invest their initial capital in baking, trade in dried fish or flour, the ownership of bakeries, and occasionally stores.

Despite the fact that the Luapula are productively individualistic, matrilineal inheritance ensures that the fruits of one's labor are widely distributed among a potentially unlimited number of womb mates. Even businessmen who manage to accumulate wealth during the course of their productive years, will have their wealth redistributed among a number of matrikin following their death.

In Luapula matriliney the two structures, the forces and relations of production, contradict one another. The forces of production are private in nature, the relations of production are social in character. Indeed this contradiction signals the twilight of matriliney as people seek to bring about a functional correspondence between the private forces of production and Protestant ideologies which support private appropriation (Figure 4) (Poewe 1978b).

Luapula is part of the world capitalistic system. Capitalism, too, is suffering from a

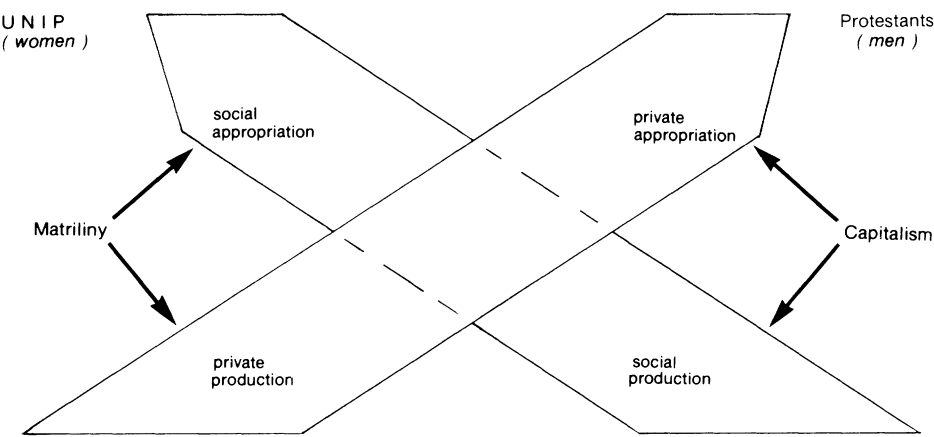


FIGURE 4 *Articulation of the matrilineal and capitalistic modes of production*

contradiction between the forces and relations of production. The situation is, however, the reverse of matriliney. While the forces of production are private and the relations of production are social in matriliney, in capitalism production is social and appropriation private. Given Protestant counterpoint ideologies, the articulation of the two modes of production in Luapula is such as to produce a trend toward rural capitalism.

Sexual parallelism does not only characterize the practice of men and women investing in separate economic ventures, it also characterizes their practice of favoring different politico-economic trends. Many matrilineal women, who gain little practical aid from UNIP, support them in their view that social appropriations require social production. By contrast economically successful men, especially those who follow the tenets of Protestantism, continue to produce privately, and favor private appropriations (Figure 4). In the final analysis, these contradictions are but a logical extension of men's and women's separate interests fostered initially by a matrilineal ideology.

What is fascinating about the Longana data is the further contrast with both Pahari and Luapula conditions. Among the Longana, both the forces and relations of production are private. Wide consumer sharing, which is enforced by matrilineal inheritance practices in Luapula, is absent in this system. Characteristically, Longana society is based on a network of kin ties, not descent groups. More importantly, as in Luapula, men and women participate in parallel spheres of production and exchange. Women produce and exchange mats, men produce and exchange pigs (M. Rodman 1976).

This arrangement contrasts with Feil's (1978) description of the Tombema Enga of the Western Highlands of Papua New Guinea, however, where women produce pigs and offspring, while men exchange and control them. Nevertheless, the conflict

between the sexes and between reproduction and control is acknowledged in Longana by intersecting, contrastive principles of 'womb' and 'shared parental substance.' Appropriately, a woman provides her brother with mats to acquire a wife; by way of delayed exchange, she later receives pigs from her brother through his and his spouse's offspring. A reciprocal dependency is therefore created between brothers and sisters and, indirectly, between spouses and the sexes generally. It is this reciprocal dependency with, however, some male control, which is justified by Longana kin ideology where the affinal principle has effectively disconnected potential descent groups into sets of siblings.

CONCLUSION

At first glance it would appear that Scheffler combines formal analysis with emic or 'folk' models of kinship. For example, he defines a 'system of kin classification' as 'folk-cultural classificatory systems wherein individuals are classified egocentrically and by reference to the culturally posited features of the genealogical connections they presume to exist among themselves' (Scheffler 1972:113). In actual fact, folk models of kin classification and procreation are ignored and, like Schneider, who arbitrarily separates a 'pure' cultural plane from a 'conglomerate' organizational plane, so Scheffler arbitrarily assumes the universality of the nuclear family and the entitlement of kin status through genealogical relationships only. According to Scheffler (1972), the category designation of kin terms alone is the concern of formal analysis. Status senses of kin terms and affective connotations are assigned to structurally secondary order. They are part of the normative sphere or what Schneider calls the 'conglomerate level.' By contrast, we saw that in both Luapula and Longana status and value connotations were central aspects of their folk models.

The most serious flaw in Scheffler's formal analysis is his claim that 'systems of affinal or in-law classification are logically dependent on systems of kin classification . . .' (1972:117), but that systems of kin classification are *not* logically dependent on systems of affines. The Longana material effectively disproves this claim, for only if all marriages in the parental, offspring, and grandchild generations are known can the classification of the children of grandchildren be predicted.

Importantly, affinal ties restrict the utility of Scheffler's and Lounsbury's extension rules. First, Scheffler argues that the sibling relation is a relative product of the two-parents-child relationship. Sibling is defined as 'kinsman, same generation, co-lineal' (Scheffler 1972:119). By contrast, Longana have four types of sibling relationships, and not all of them are co-lineal. Siblings of the same mother are called *retue sibongu* a non-extendable designation. Siblings, who are offspring of the same father but who have different mothers of the same moiety, are *retue*. Siblings who are offspring of the same father but who have different mothers not of the same moiety are *bababulu*. Finally, a woman's brother and her son are classified as part of the *hangue-tue* sibling relationship.

The fact that each child is first and foremost the unique product of a husband and wife constrains the utility of Lounsbury's three Crow rules.

Lounsbury's half-sibling rule reads 'let one's parent's child be considered to be one's sibling.' In the Longana system the children of a man and woman refer to one another as *retue sibongu* because they are *dai* to the parents. If the man takes another wife, the

half-sibling rule does not allow us to predict what that woman's offspring will be called. We must first establish whether the second wife belongs to the same or opposite moiety of the first wife in order to call the new offspring *tuengu* or *bababulu*.

Lounsbury's merging rule assumes the structural equivalence of brother's child with male Ego's own child. However, the fact that Ego may call his own children (*netui*) *daingu* does not automatically mean that he calls his brother's children *daingu*. The latter's children are *netui*; they are never called *daingu* because 50% of their substance derives from the brother's wife. Shared parental substance systematically separates mother-father-child units from all other classificatory kin. Longana kinship terminology is, therefore, a mixture of affinal and genealogical reckoning. By contrast, Luapula terminology, where primary emphasis is laid on emergence from a common womb, is based solely on genealogical reckoning. In Luapula, clan mates are consanguines with no affinal interference.

Lounsbury's skewing rule reflects not only the brother-brother relationship, it reflects also the brother-sister relationship. It reflects these sibling relationships only, however, because Crow rules assign terminological centrality to woman or womb. In Longana, affinal 'interference' (and male-centeredness) prevents the development of Luapula-like descent. The Longana notion of 'shared parental substance' generates siblings who are *real* siblings to one another (*retue sibongu*), but who are not real siblings to uterine kin of ascending and descending generation because they are born of different parental pairs.

Finally, while access to siblings may be increased in both Luapula and Longana by objectifying the Crow ideology, the Longana can also increase access to siblings by manipulating marital, in the sense of *bababulu*, ties.

In a recent paper Yanagisako (1978:16) identifies a major theoretical problem in Schneider's cultural analysis, namely, 'the construction of heuristic levels of analysis and the manner in which we construe their interrelationships.' She warns that 'the absence of explication tends to reify the merely heuristic isolation of symbolic, normative, and behavioral levels and to obfuscate the productive path of examining the dialectical process through which social experience shapes, and is shaped by, systems of meaning' (1978:27).

The same warning must apply to Scheffler's arbitrary division between category designations of kin terms and their status or affective connotations. Furthermore, his decision to assign affinal classifications a secondary status in formal analysis, and to make affinal terms logically dependent on kin classifications, is merely an heuristic separation of phenomena which should be given equal weight. Without simultaneously understanding positional succession, perpetual kinship, and the Crow terminology, in Luapula, extension rules convey nothing, even when they predict who gets called what in descent, if not kinship, contexts.

It seems, therefore, that a few methodological refinements of formal analysis would allow us not merely to predict who gets called what, it would also allow us to explain why people get called what and how kin classification is an integral part of diverse ideologies affecting, and affected by, social experience.

In his discussion of what constitutes theory, Sztompka (1974:9) raises the question whether the explanatory and predictive functions of theory are equally significant. Is it enough, he asks (1974:10-11), 'to predict successfully in order to understand the mechanism of events? Of course not. In everyday life we predict with certainty that the

sun will rise in the morning, and that milk on the stove will boil over, even if we have no idea of Kepler's laws or the principles of thermodynamics . . . Thus making predictions is not sufficient proof that there exists a suitable explanation'. He concludes, and we concur, that explanatory function must be considered as 'pragmatically primary to the predictive function'.

This, then, takes us back to the question with which we started the paper: why are African and Oceanic models different? We suggest that they are different because these models are first attempts at explaining significantly different African and Oceanic social experiences.

NOTES

¹ Poewe is grateful to the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada for financial support to conduct research in Luapula Province, Zambia. Lovell thanks the Canada Council and McMaster University for financial support of research in Longana District, Aoba, New Hebrides. Both authors appreciate the help of Carla Reid as typist. The research upon which this paper is based was carried out by Poewe in Luapula Province, Zambia from January 1973 through June 1974 and from June to September 1975. Lovell conducted research in Longana District, Aoba, New Hebrides, from April 1976 to May 1977.

² The terms Luapula society, the Luapula, or Luapulans are used to cover diverse peoples living along the Luapula River and Lake Mweru in Luapula Province, Zambia. The area is heavily involved in a cash economy with men fishing, women cultivating and both sexes trading, often independently of one another. While the area is ethnically mixed, all peoples, except the intrusive Lunda aristocracy, practice matrilineal inheritance and succession. Lunda aristocrats too adhere to a matrilineal ideology in all of its manifestations except succession to the office of paramount chief which is patrilineal (Cunnison 1959). Subchiefs are largely tied to the paramountcy on the basis of matrilineal principles. We refer to these people as the Luapula or Luapulans because they present themselves to the nation as one society with common political and economic interests. Many do not know to what tribe their spouse belongs. Some see themselves as being 'Lunda now'. Major remembered ethnic affiliations include Lunda, Chishinga, Shila, Tabwa, Lungu, Mukulo, Aushi, Bemba.

Aoba is a volcanic island 22 miles long and 10 miles wide at its broadest point and is situated in the northern New Hebrides Condominium. The District of Longana is located in the southeast quadrant of the island.

Although the inhabitants of the eastern section of the island share a common language, culture and social institutions, the residents of Longana conceive of themselves as a distinct cultural unit on the basis of geography, dialect and minor cultural differences. There is a preference for district endogamy. The inhabitants of the district refer to themselves as 'we the Longana' and are referred to as 'the Longana people' by those living outside the district. Consequently we shall refer to the residents of Longana as the Longana.

With the exception of the small SDA population, the Longana have managed to retain and are anxious to maintain East Aoba traditions while exploiting the opportunities afforded by modernization. The population is divided into two named exogamous matrimoieties each consisting of numerous matrilineal descent categories. Post-marital residence is patrilocal. Important customs associated with kinship, birth, weddings and funerals remain. In particular, the core political and economic institution, the rank association or graded society, flourishes.

The East Aoba graded society has been described as ' . . . a secular hierarchy of ranks achieved by the slaughter and exchange of progressively more valuable tusked boars' (W. L. Rodman 1973: 295). Achievement of high rank in the graded society makes a man eligible to be a political leader (*ratahigi*) in the district. Although a *ratahigi* can no longer enforce his decisions with violence, the influence of the *ratahigi* remains a potent and respected force in Longana politics.

Cash income from the production of copra has neither eliminated the traditional economy based on the exchange of pigs and mats (M. Rodman 1976) nor does it threaten to destroy the graded society.

³ The general feature of a Crow type system of kin classification is a covert equation of a woman's brother with her son. In some but not all Crow terminologies a man's mother's brother may be explicitly equated with a brother, and all the female uterine descendants of the father's sister are classed with the father's sister. These latter features, exhibited in the Longana and Luapula terminologies, are indicative of a common variant of Crow kin terminologies known as Type II systems (Lounsbury 1964: 351-93).

⁴ In an earlier paper (Poewe 1978a), *balupwa* was discussed as primarily a matrilineal and bilateral extended family. 'Gynandrous' family, is now felt to reflect more adequately the multiplicity of informal spouses with which both sexes are associated.

⁵ The father's sister is classed with the same root term as the mother (*ratahi*). In figure 3, the asterisk indicates that the root for FZ (*ratahi**) is qualified with an additional phrase (*bulengu toa*: which distinguishes her from M.

* This brief example must suffice. Lovell is currently preparing a full account of the Longana system of spouse classification for publication.

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Résumé

**Mariage, parenté et filiation:
importance relative de ces institutions au Longana
au Luapula (Zambia) et (Nouvelles Hébrides)**

Dans le présent article, on cherche essentiellement à savoir si les modèles traditionnels de filiation africains diffèrent des modèles de parenté océaniens parce que les anthropologues s'inspirent de modes de pensée différents ou parce que ces deux groupes de modèles reflètent effectivement une dissemblance fondamentale au niveau des institutions des sociétés d'Afrique ou d'Océanie.

On compare à cet effet la parenté et la filiation telles qu'elles apparaissent chez les Luapulas de Zambie et les Longana des Nouvelles Hébrides. On constate dans chacune d'elles l'existence d'une nomenclature Crow de type II. Toutefois, sur le plan analytique, la société Luapula est organisée sur la base de la filiation matrilineaire et la parenté perpétuelle axées sur un ancêtre. Au Longana, la structure est élaborée à partir d'un principe de parenté et de groupes de filiation matrilineaires, l'ensemble étant défini à partir d'ego. Au Longana, la cellule familiale demeure une institution si fondamentale que certains de ses termes de parenté ne sont applicables en aucun autre cas. Inversement, au Luapula, la famille est un élément secondaire, axé sur l'ancêtre comme les groupes de filiation.

Tout en affirmant que les modèles africains et océaniens sont différents parce qu'ils amorcent une explication approfondie de diverses expériences sociales, nous analysons et résumons nos objections aux analyses formelles de nomenclature Crow réalisées par Scheffler et Lounsbury.

Selon nous, l'idéologie se compose de trois éléments conceptuels reliés entre eux, à savoir: (1) des principes de filiation et de parenté (2) des systèmes de nomenclature bien définis et (3) les normes et les valeurs qui les accompagnent. Les principes de filiation représentent l'image d'un groupe ou une unité cultuelle qui sont axées sur ego ou sur un ancêtre. Ce sont les systèmes de nomenclature qui définissent les rapports logiques entre rôles et unités cultuelles. Les normes établissent le lien entre les unités culturelles et les intérêts particuliers des individus, leurs buts et leurs moyens. Ce sont les valeurs et les normes qui fondent la mise en application d'une idéologie.

Ainsi, et contrairement aux vues de Scheffler et de Lounsbury, on souligne que la nomenclature Crow ne peut être comprise que dans la mesure où elle ne représente qu'un aspect d'une idéologie dominante, la femme étant considérée comme un élément central sur le plan de la nomenclature et le rôle du mariage et des alliés étant également pris en compte.