

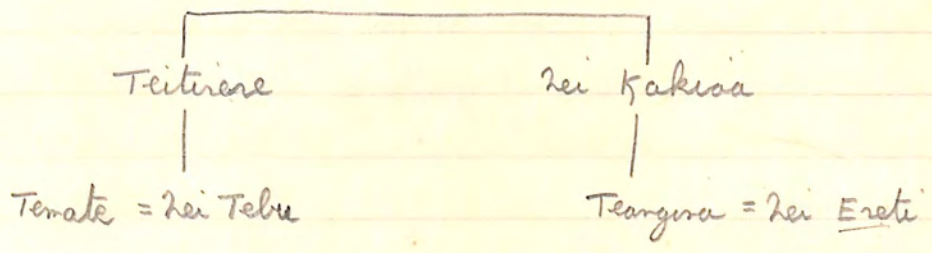
Book No. 2.

Relationship and Rites de Passage - Notes.

## Tnaba

It is clear that the practice of Tnaba of a girl with her mother-in-law's brothers can have no connection with a patrilineal organization of society. Under the patrilineal system, the father-in-law and his brothers, being of the same social group as the girl's husband would be her natural mates in the Tnaba relationship. But, as the evidence shows, these were not considered to be the fitting persons to take her as Tnaba, the brothers of the mother-in-law being preferred. We may conclude from this that the custom is part of a system that was not patrilineal but matrilineal in character.

Tnalo : karakei



① Rei Ereti became Tnalo of Teitirese, he husband's mother's brother

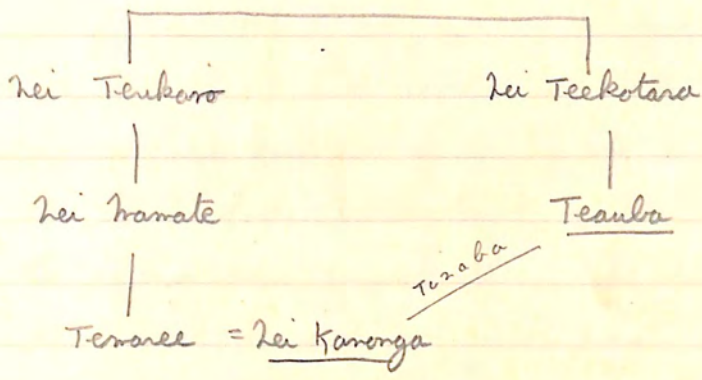
TINA { Teimate took as Tnalo both his father-in-law's wife and his  
 father-in-law's sister Rei Kakisa. (TE IRA)

① E aki katanaki iam Tarawa na e karaiaki u  
 kai tabei ma e ngareakina ke aba.



Tinala

Aborang



Kei Karonga was given in Tinala to Teaula by Temaree, the sister's child of Teaula.

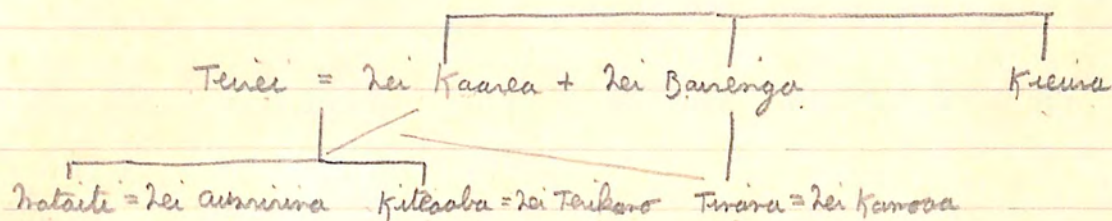
Triala

If a young man takes as triala the mother of his wife, and has a child by her, this child is treated as the child of his father-in-law in all matters pertaining to inheritance; and is treated by the real father as the sister of his wife.

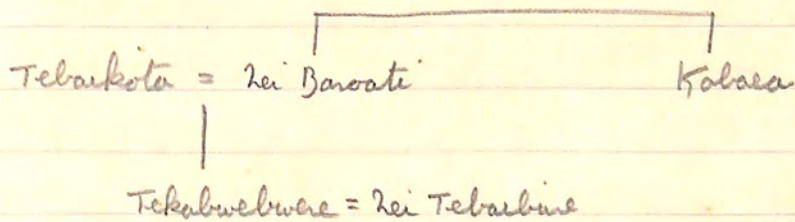
But the young man cannot then take the child as his Eriki, as he would do with any other sister of his wife.

Tnaba

Norokai



all the wives of the 3 children of Teiei (of his 2 wives) were taken in Tnaba by Kueina, their mother-in-law's brother.



Zei Tebarbine was tnaba of her mother-in-law's brother Kabaea.



Tiraba

Tarawa

There is a case, well-known on Tarawa, in which the actual father of a  
of a man entered the relation of tiraba with his own wife, or rather, bride-elect

Tairi

Kantu-n-Tarawa = Rei Maroua

Kamatie

In the above pedigree, the girl Maroua had not yet become the wife of  
Kantu-n-Tarawa, but had been taken into the home of his father, according  
to custom, after betrothal, to await the coming-of-age of her pledged  
husband. Before the boy was ripe for marriage, Tairi his father, contrary  
to the accepted standard of decency, took the girl and begot a child on her.  
This child was Kamatie. Later Kantu-n-Tarawa married his betrothed  
and had several children by her. For the sake of appearances, Kamatie  
has always been called the brother of these children, although in reality he is  
their father's half-brother, and therefore their classificatory father.

In ordinary cases of Tiraba, where the standard of decency had not been  
broken, the child of such a union was accepted by the uncle-at-law  
as his own, and was therefore a classificatory brother of his sister's son.

## Tinaba

In spite of degeneracy of custom obvious preference for the young wife to be taken a tinaba of her mother-in-law's brother in preference to her father-in-law's brother.

Mr Grubb asked not more than 100 old men which they considered more suitable tinaba for their wives. In every case the answer was the mother's brother.

∴ When men stood close and in an equal degree of relationship, the mother-in-law's brother will be chosen.

Although the contrary was often done the practice was considered against decency.

Several informants stated that daughter-in-law could be taken as tinaba of either a distant brother of the father-in-law or a uterine brother of the mother-in-law, as "both were distant".

∴ Tinaba an element foreign to the genealogical and tabular system which has not generalised to the extent of blurring the distinction between the mother-in-law's and father-in-law's brother.



## Troika

### 1<sup>st</sup> Stage.

- (1) During gerontocracy a young man went to his wife from his mother's brother.
- (2) M. B. granted 1 or 2 of his wives but retained sexual rights over them. Basis of Troika.

### 2<sup>nd</sup> Stage.

- (3) Gradually old men have passed & young men increased. The young men were in position to demand younger wives i.e. the daughters of their M. B.<sup>s</sup>.
- (4) Having taken daughters to wife, they were sufficiently in power to retain still their sexual rights over their mother-in-law. It is probable that a young man went to his M. B. and demanded one of his younger wives who had a girl child. He would remove mother & child to his own house and enjoy sexual relations with mother until the child was old enough to cohabit with him. His M. B.<sup>s</sup> still however retained sexual rights over the elder women.

### 3<sup>rd</sup> Stage.

- (5) At this stage, the race practicing this custom was overtaken by the invasion of a patrilineal race, having genealogical system of marriage organization. In the fusion of systems a young man no longer went to his M. B.<sup>s</sup> household for his wives, the idea of the cross-cousin marriage in particular being alien to the system of a genealogical people. He therefore sought his wives outside his circle of relations. But the other characteristics of the habit remained, as the unpaired wives & mother-in-law would then have no blood ties with their father's or mother's side of the young husband, there was no reason why the same scheme of sexual relations as had before existed should <sup>not</sup> continue. A young man continued to claim sexual relations from his mother-in-law & his M. B.<sup>s</sup> continued to enjoy relations with his wife or wives, being now no longer restricted by the presence of their own daughters among these women.

## Tribu

- (1) If a man adopted a boy as his Tribu, the wife of the adopted became the Tribu of the adopter's son.
- (2) If a man adopted a girl as his Tribu, the husband of the adopted took the adopter's daughter as his Tribu.
- (3) If a woman adopted a boy as Tribu, her son took wife of adopted as Tribu.
- (4) If a woman adopted a girl as Tribu, the husband of adopted took daughter of adopter as Tribu.

If this were evolved from a dual system with matrilineal descent, we should expect the relationship only to be permissible if a man adopted either:-

- (a) His sister's son's son or
- (b) His brother's daughter's son.

and in the case of a woman, she would have to adopt either:-

- (a) Her brother's son's son or
- (b) Her sister's daughter's son.

In the case of a girl being adopted, she would to fulfil conditions have to be, if men were adopter, his:-

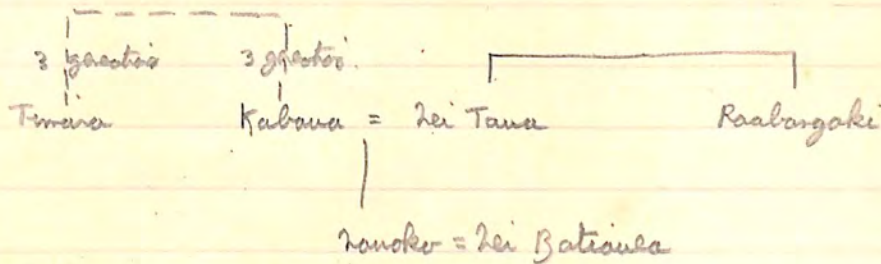
- (a) Brother's daughter's daughter or
- (b) Sister's son's daughter.

If a woman were the adopter, the girl must be either:-

- (a) Her brother's son's daughter or
- (b) Her sister's daughter's daughter.



## Tinaba



Hee own brother of mother-in-law was preferred to distant brother of father-in-law.

zei Batiana refused Batiana's favours to Timara on grounds that it would be Ramara i.e. filthy, with great share as native ones almost inflexible obedience to father's classificatory brothers. He would not have refused Raalangaki.  
It is, however, highly done.

2. Old man state tinaba easier on mother's side as man's side his inferior and will easily consent to procure her daughter-in-law for him.

3. Tinaba relationship between a girl and her husband's own father a "cause for vomiting" In old days a man suspected of having relations with his own daughter-in-law might be killed with impunity by one or more of his brothers, or his utu could float him away to sea without food.

But a boy could perfectly well have tinaba relations with his wife's mother. In late times was not held in great favour but could not be objected to - he could only talk to his wife in the matter.

Teraalwera = zei Tetoake

zei Bakaiti = Tukaa

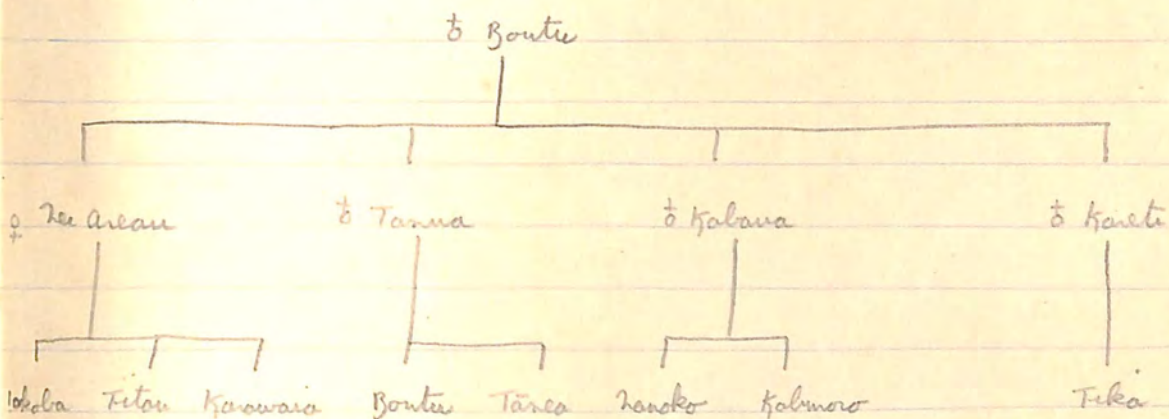
Tukaa took his mother-in-law, zei Tetoake, as his tinaba & Teraalwera stabbed him though old man mania in killing him a child for his action, as he had no grounds according to native custom for his jealousy.





Eink contd.

particularly his eldest brother.



eldest branch through a woman, others through men.

Iokola has rights over wives of Titau & Kanawara but not vice versa since at his father's death he became the Umanare of the branch & is a relative of quasi-foreblood to them while not called Tana, his mother's status prevents relatives a familiarity.

No prerogative between juniors. Kanawara may have relations with Titau's wife & even if Iokola died childless & Titau's Umanare relations would continue if established. But Titau would take Iokola's widow into his family & reside he for himself.

Since Iokola is descended through a woman he is of different clan to Boute & rest. Boute is therefore Umanare of whole group. Boute's wife is immune for all, including Iokola. Boute, however, may have any wife in the group.

Except for family Umanare others do as they please. Kanoko's wife is immune for Kaluoro but not from Tanea or Tika even though Tika is of a younger branch.



Eiriki contd.

Next old ma state that Takela & his brother should "follow their father" & of here relations with wives of brother's on the father's side, i.e. of clan-brothers & legitimate inculcations. It is stated that "a man's mother would speak angrily" if her son's wife were approached by the boy's cross-cousin. By mother's advice, as usual, the father is of course? Because of supposed division into 2 exogamous societies with matrilineal descent.

objection to relations with wife of cross-cousin suggests a dual organization.

Importance of mother's regulation of eiriki relations suggests matrilineal descent in the societies.

3. When Tawaka wanted Zei Kuelu he did not speak to Kalmaro as eldest would lose dignity & make such a direct request to junior. He spoke to his own wife who approached Zei Kuelu. She was not jealous & he was open & frank. Zei Kuelu refused as a matter of form. Tawaka then asked his mother to intercede. She spoke to Kalmaro, who said "Tell of wife; it lies with her" so she spoke to Kuelu, who accepted Kalmaro, to prevent his brother feeling rebuffed, pretended to know nothing & his brother's name was never mentioned before him to prevent him from feeling jealous.

4. Eiriki relations between wife's sisters and sister's husband

There is a relationship one & does not necessarily connote sexual relations. This Tawaka calls Eru eiriki but would have to pay land-forfeit for adultery if he took sexual advances to her. This class of sexual rights are over intimate sisters of his wife, Rima & Tene.





Marriage

Marakei.

When a marriage between persons descended from a common ancestor was proposed in Marakei, a more or less ceremonial visit was made by the old men of the Uta to the Bargota where the ancestral skulls of the respective branches concerned were buried. The skulls of the ancestors through whom descent was traced of each branch from the common source were then counted, and on the return to the house it was decided whether enough generations intervened to render the proposed union permissible.



marriage

on Tarewa and always the bride was carried by the bridegroom's relations from her father's house to that in which the ceremony of marriage was to take place. She must not set her foot on the ground between her old home and the new one.

Probably a reminiscence of marriage by capture.



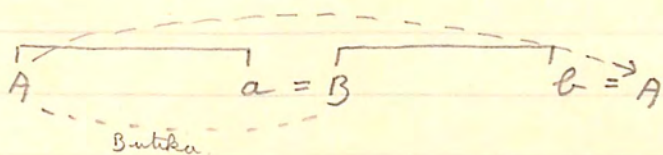
Relationship.

Butika.

The term Butika is used to denote the reciprocal relationship between two distinct sets of people :-

- ① between the husband and brother of a woman.
- ② Between the father-in-law of a married couple.

Remnant of dual system with matrilineal descent.

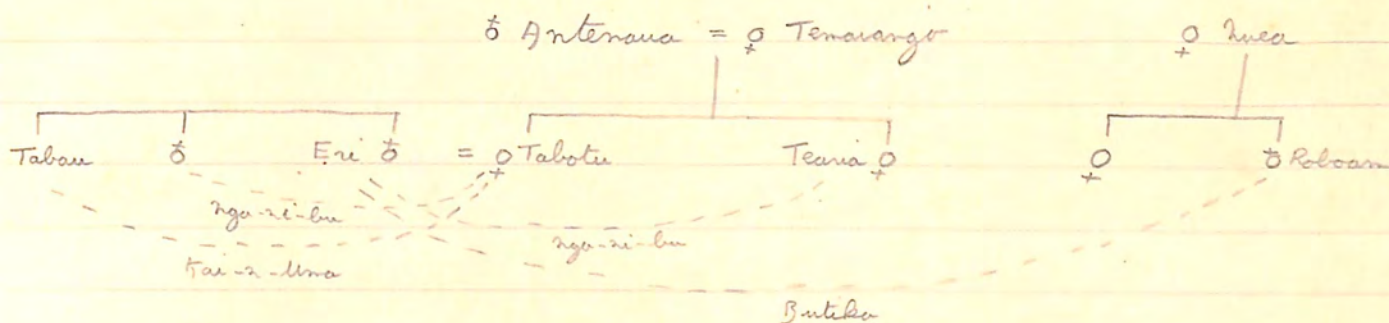


i.e. ① Wife's Brother and Sister's Husband.

②

Relationship

Banaba



The duty of the Kain-Uma (husband's sister) was to "be jealous for her brother". She watched over the conduct of her brother's wife and was considered to have specially the duty of preventing sexual relations between her Kain-Uma and her unmarried brothers.



Relationship

Duties

1. The Mother's Brother and the Father's sister were the object of much greater reverence than the mother and father.
2. An oath from one of these relations was considered absolute, whereas the father or mother could be disobeyed without great insult.
3. There was, however, no rule by which a man's sister's child or a woman's brother's child should inherit possessions.

Relatives: functions of Gilberto

Throughout the Gilberto, the sister's son of a man is held in particular regard. It is generally the sister's son whom a man adopts as his *hate* or *Tibu*: even if no special relationship of adoption has been contracted, a man considers it his particular duty to be kind in every way to his sister's son. If asked of the boy for a prized possession, or secret, such as a canoe or an incantation in magic, he is ashamed to refuse.

There is no special terminology of relationship to differentiate the sister's son and the mother's brother (m.s.) from the other classificatory fathers and sons of the *utu*, but the difference of personal relations between them is well marked in practice.



## Relationship.

It is a recognized fact all over the Galapagos that when a man and woman marry, their families are at once at variance. This is expressed in the proverb, "E aki toki te kaakauru ma te itera-a-ama," - "Cause of anger with the woman's side never ceases". The natives have no idea why this is - "It has always been so".

Begins as soon as the couple are betrothed - a deep seated convention. "You must not be rude to your Butika (i.e. wife's brother or sister's husband), but you must not be very friendly with him." - Another saying.

Such were pronounced in former times. Old men state it is due to the constant desire of wife's family to prey on the possessions of the husband, although an inherited latch-rod as no proof has ever been obtained.

Due to conquests arriving without women & marrying into the aborigines families. Husband class - the Conquerors. Wife class - the Conquered.

Cesumal

Butantani

In all cesumal connected with a man, the mother and her sisters and Brothers were the chief participants.

Due to Dual organisation with matrilineal descent.



Birth

Death

1. When the fragment of umbilical cord falls from child's navel it is carefully preserved in an olive leaf until the child is old enough to walk. The leaf is then put into the child's hand and it is told to throw it into the sea. If the child throws it far out, it will be a great voyager.

2. Child's stool is preserved in a leaf and buried in a hole far from any fire. The belief is that if it is burned the child will become a leper.

Birth

Butantari

The midwife cuts the cord.

The child was named by Mother and Father. This was a matter of mere arrangement. A name was chosen from among the ancestors of the man or woman.



Birth      Magie      Naakai      Ze Teekotana

Te Waura

a tikunee is caught from a coconut trunk and put alive into a binoline. a cork is made of midrib of the binoline stuffed with it. Hold in left & gently tap with right palm on cork, saying: " Tikunee, tikunee, e reke raa-a rati-a reenee? E reke bain rati-a reenee? E reke raa-a rati-a reenee? E reke nukun rati-a reenee? E reke raa-a rati-a reenee? E reke wae-a rati-a reenee? Tikunee, tikunee"

Repeated 3 times at point of dawn. 3 times at noon: 3 times after sunset. No orientation.

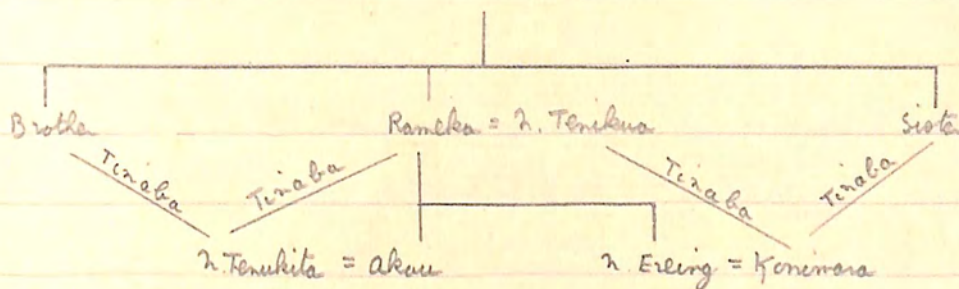
Repeated every day until the child dies

Bonotana

Te kara ae bukimangarua is tied round the bedside (double strand). "Taeka ni koriki, koraraba. E raiake rewea, ba kabuaia; a baka koroamano a ara bai arii a ki ticia te wawi te bura warawara. Tuinga, le a na. Tuingonga, bora-a, toanna-a, karate.

Put charm on before sleeping. You must not eat or smoke if you awake at night. The charm remains on until worn off, but the tabu is only done 3 times at first insertion.

Tinaba Relationship (collected by myself on Born).



all Rameka's relations of the same generation and sex would call his Tinaba then Tinaba and so on.

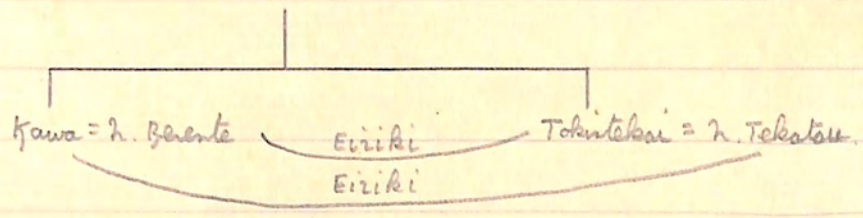
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The oiling in the menaba should be done by his Tinaba, Erling, and his brother's daughters, and the rest of his father's and mother's "utu" mats, clothes, tobacco & matches are also brought and presented. Food may be given to all participants who have asked by oiling their relation.

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Eiriki relationship. (collected by myself on Ben).



all Tokintebai's relations of the same sex and age will call  
ho eiriki then eiriki.

