The *ume* (= lit. 'house'), i.e. the territorially localized descent group, forms the basis for and nucleus of the entire social organization of the Atoni. As a limited lineage it is part of a clan (*kanaf*) which comprises all those who claim descent from one and the same ancestor and therefore all have the same name or *kanaf*. They all share the same settlement (*kuan*) of origin, which is the "sacred rock and the sacred source" with which their name is associated. The descent group and its territory are inseparably bound up with one another. The *kanaf*, moreover, has a totemistic aspect, its members being associated with one or more particular animal or plant which it is taboo for them to kill or eat. The reason why certain taboos (*nuni*) apply to certain *kanaf* is always explained by a myth.

The *ume* is exogamic. Little is known, however, as to the nature of affinal relationships between *ume*. In theory the *kanaf* is also supposedly exogamic, but although this may be the norm it is certainly not the practice. According to Van Wouden¹ there is some evidence for the existence of an asymmetric, circulating connubium connected with a double unilineal kinship system. Ethnographic material on Timor was then, and still is at present, too scanty to provide conclusive proof that this is in fact true for Timor. Middelkoop² has since offered some

¹ Van Wouden, 1968, pp. 85 ff. Cf. J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, 1935, p. 10. Rassers, 1959, p. 278. And according to a Terrain Study of MacArthur's Headquarters "It is very likely that the Timorese social organisation was originally characterised by a combination of the two clan systems, i.e. that each member of society belonged to a patrilineal clan, as well as to a matrilineal clan, in the same way as is found in the social organisation of the Australian aborigines". But it adds: "In west and central Dutch Timor, however, the patrilineal system became dominant to such a degree, that only a few symptoms of the matrilineal system are still to be found, particularly the important place of the mother's brother in the family life". (Allied Geographical Section, Terrain Study No. 70, Dutch Timor, p. 43).
² Middelkoop, among others 1929b, 1931, 1933 and 1958c.
valuable contributions to our knowledge of the way in which an affinal relationship is established. He did not touch on the network of clan relationships, "the web of kinship", however, although he did pass on detailed kinship terminology to Fischer, who concluded on the basis of this terminology that instead of there being a circulating connubium "kinship terminology even suggests a real marriage by exchange".\(^3\) Cunningham is also of the opinion that the kinship terms found here "indicate that there is a two-section system of marriage alliance, i.e. one based on direct exchange".\(^4\)

Locher,\(^5\) who conducted research in Central Timor in 1941, the material of which was lost during the war, however, tends to agree with Van Wouden as far as the main points of his hypothesis are concerned and suggests that the system does not exist (or no longer exists) in its original, pure form, and that actual relationships are much more complex.

As far as the social structure is concerned we shall deal first with descent and then with affinal relationship. A genealogical survey of a number of kanaf and of an entire village, which at present is inhabited by lineages of different kanaf, would provide the ideal point of departure for an analysis of affinal relationship; it alone could solve the controversy between Van Wouden and Cunningham. So far, this has never been attempted. (My own efforts to analyse a village in Tunbaba in 1947 were in vain for lack of time.) Yet on the whole the system is quite clear.

1. RELATIONSHIP WITHIN THE KANAF
a. Residential pattern

As we have seen, a clan comprises all persons who bear the same name and have the same place of origin. It has a territorial origin, therefore. In actual fact, however, a clan has various ramifications spread over different areas. There is no doubt that this is not a new development, as a number of old traditions relate of royal marriages to princesses from other princedoms. Such princesses were always accompanied by a number of "names" of their own, that is, people of their own clan, as well as people of others, who perhaps would settle

\(^3\) Fischer, 1957, p. 24.
\(^4\) Cunningham, 1962, p. 203.
\(^5\) Personal communication.
in the vicinity of the ruler's residence, thus resulting in considerably large communities. Groups of people might also flee to another area as a result of war and be given land in the territory of another ruler. There are numerous stories of these migrations, and there must have been such migrations in every period of history.

The residential pattern of such groups is certainly very different from what it used to be in Central Timor a hundred or even sixty years ago. Then a hamlet (kuan) was only inhabited by people of one "name" (kanaf). Such a kuan used to consist of not more than four to ten houses, each occupied by one family. This was the pattern generally found in most of Timor. With regard to Amarasi we find references to such a pattern as early as 1656 in Bor, and in respect of the part of Portuguese Timor which lies to the south-west of Dilly in the Tetun language area in Forbes. In fact, all references in old journals dealing with Central Timor point to the same pattern. It was not until the Colonial Government actually took over the administration of the interior and established an administrative centre there (i.e. from 1905 - 1915) that larger villages sprang up everywhere as a result of people being forced to move from their mountain villages near "the rock of renown, the source of renown" to lower lying areas. These offered more space and favoured the development of larger communities. And here groups belonging to different kanaf combined to form one community. Although the process actually set in several decades before this, as the presence of the Dutch in Kupang and Atapupu on the coast had led to increased security, later on coercion was sometimes used to make people move to lower lying areas. Nonetheless, the Timorese have never shown any inclination to return, though a few elders usually remained behind near the sacred place where people continued to sacrifice, as we have seen in the case of the agricultural ritual.

An excellent and very clear account of the way in which these groups live side by side with one another in a present-day village and its constituent hamlets is given in a chapter of Cunningham's dissertation on Soba, a village in Amarasi.

The Timorese has not forgotten, however, how formerly his people lived in small hamlets as described above — in 1940 there were even

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7 Bor, 1663, p. 355.
8 Forbes, 1884, p. 409.
some old men who remembered this from their own experience. Stories are often told of clusters of four such kuan forming a residential unit, each of these kuan being inhabited by a group from a different kanaf. This is how the Atoni represents the pattern which prevailed in the past, and it is confirmed by Dr. Middelkoop, the outstanding authority on Timor. But it is quite possible, of course, that such a tradition is the reflection of an ideal pattern which found no echo in real life. There are in fact few traces left of such a pattern in present-day Timor, although there is remarkable evidence for such a traditional structure in reports concerning refugees from Portuguese Timor during the insurrection of 1911. On two different occasions four villages fled together from Camenase, one of the former sub-territories of the old realm of South Belu. If, in order to save their lives, people had to leave everything behind — the land and the graves of the ancestors — the initiative was taken by the basic social unit, namely the cluster of four villages. The first group of four villages from Camenase numbered approximately 750 people and the second approximately 600, so that these villages must have been much larger than those in the Atoni area. This is quite plausible when we consider the fertility of the plain of South Belu, which favoured a different residential pattern.

Another example of the prevalence of this tendency towards quadrupartition is furnished by a cluster of four villages on the north coast of Belu asking the Colonial Government for asylum. Hence the same basic pattern is found in the Kemak-speaking area. No numbers are quoted in respect of this particular migration.

There is a third, more recent example. Some years ago the Indonesian government decided — in consultation with the village and district heads concerned — to turn the old villages into larger administrative units. In a number of cases four different villages were combined to form one unit.

We should bear in mind, however, that the number of villages which formed a cluster says nothing as to the number of the clans represented by the lineages inhabiting them. Although there used to be four-village clusters even in the isolated, practically independent district of Mutis, in the central mountains, these were inhabited by many more kanaf (lineages). Each of these villages consisted, in turn, of various hamlets, each of which was probably originally inhabited by one single ume.

Generally speaking kuan (hamlets) in the mountainous country of

10 Lalau, 1912, pp. 659-661. See also pp. 275, 276 below.
11 Personal communication in Timor in 1969.
the Atoni area remained small because the available farming land lay more widely scattered. Here there was probably a stronger tendency towards scission within lineages because of this. In that case a number of kanaf, possibly four, may have been grouped together, and inhabited more than four hamlets, which in turn were arranged so as to form four villages.

The reason why there was such close unity between four such villages was that they constituted the basic social unit within which most affinal relationships were confined.

Economically speaking, too, they acted as one unit, as they shared one custodian of the land (tobe) between them.

The inhabitants of a hamlet consisted of a man and his wife, his adult sons and their families, his brothers with their wives, and the latter's sons with their families. When the younger generation began to grow up there would be marriageable daughters as well, who would marry and be joined by their husbands in their natal hamlet until most or all of the bridewealth was paid. Then the marriage would become patrilocal and the wife would be admitted to the nono, the fertility circle, of the husband's kanaf, to which she would thenceforth belong. Such is the general norm, but needless to say it was a very flexible one. It is this group which forms the nucleus of Atoni society. It is the Atoni's ume (house). This, then, is the descent group or limited lineage which inhabited its own hamlet (kuan). Instead of the word kuan the expression ume mese, lopo mese (one "house", one communal house) may also be used with reference to this tiny nuclear community. (See photographs 22 and 23). The lopo is the village granary and meeting-place. It is a house without walls, with four pillars in addition to a maternal pillar (ni ainaf) in the centre. The latter is not inserted in the ground as is the case in ordinary dwellings, but rests on the ceiling. It has a conically shaped roof. (Cf. photographs 32 and 33). In the term ume mese, lopo mese the word ume tends to refer to the genealogical unity and lopo to the territorial unity of the group.

It is the Atoni's traditional conception that the original clan sprang forth from the earth near the rock of origin and the source of origin. There the first ume lived, being in this case identical with the kanaf. Later on this ramified, giving rise to a number of ume which went to live separately, each around its own lopo. A number of lopo or hamlets would then make up one kuan (village).

Such was the terminology used in Amanuban. In Molo, however, the concept of lopo as the name for a residential unit is unknown. In
Miomafo, where it is found, people do not use the word *lopo* for the residential units of one *kanaf*, but speak of the different *kuan* of a *kanaf*; here the word *kuan* is used both for a hamlet and for a village with its constituent hamlets.

Nowadays attempts are made to make the distinction clear by the introduction of Indonesian terms. Thus a number of *kuan* in combination make up a *kampung* (village) or *ketemukungan* (the area headed by a *temukung* or village head). But in Timorese the word *kuan* is still always used, even to denote the whole village.

Even at present each separate hamlet of the *kampung* is dominated by a particular *kanaf* in which case a number of lineages of this *kanaf* usually live together. Other lineages of the same *kanaf* may live scattered throughout the other hamlets of that *kampung*, where they do not usually occupy a dominant position.

One of the lineages, usually the senior one, supplies the *amaf* ( = father) for the entire clan. He is charged with the safekeeping of the clan's sacred objects (*le'u*) and is usually recognized as its leader. As a result of the political changes of the past fifty years his political authority has been partly supplanted by that of the village heads. But his moral authority has remained intact, and so has his religious authority inasmuch as people still cling to the traditional religion. As the ritual leader he is the link between the living and the dead and represents the *kanaf* (clan) as a whole when addressing the ancestors. He is supposed to live near the ancient "rock or renown, source of renown", the *kanaf's* place of origin, from which it usually derives its name. Even now he usually lives in the *kuan* nearest to this cliff.

Hence we may distinguish between: (a) the *kanaf* as a whole, or, in other words, the clan; (b) the *kanaf* as the lineage of a clan; and (c) the *kanaf* as a limited lineage or *ume*. Where it designates the clan as a whole it covers all persons who bear the same name; but it hardly ever functions as such, except at funerals of prominent clan members, where all groups are usually represented. However, the clan *amaf* always represents his clan as a whole in its external relations. There is no separate word in Timorese for the *kanaf* as a lineage. The latter is that part of a clan which can trace back its descent to the original *ume* without difficulty, and the *ume* of which live close together — usually in one village or district.

*Kanaf* in the sense of *ume* or limited lineage is therefore always territorially localized, while an extended lineage may be so localized, although it would be far from the truth to say that the *kanaf* as such has the disposal over a well defined territory, or ever had in the past.
In the chapter on agriculture we saw that land tenure rights were exercised by the *tobe* or custodian of the land. Not every *kanaf* has a *tobe*, however. There is reason to believe that originally the *kanaf* which lived together in four *kuan* and together formed the basic social unit shared one *tobe* between them. In this connection we would point to the prominence given to the number four in Atoni thinking. The planting of four grains of corn in one hole may derive its symbolism from the fact that four *kuan* tilled their garden plots in the territory of one *tobe* — it then becomes a symbol for the four *kuan* tilling the one field.

This residential pattern of four separate villages in one particular territory was probably prevalent until quite recently, but has at present disappeared altogether. Even before the advent of the Dutch Administration it had been absorbed by larger political affiliations, of which it nonetheless constituted the nucleus. For example, the villages of Camenase constituted part of the realm of the ruler of Camenase, which in turn was a constituent part of the realm of South Belu.¹²

When dealing with the political structures we shall see how the lord or *usif* constitutes the fifth in the centre in this system of four-fold division. As a result of the concentration of people and power around the *usif*, a large number of other clans settled near his palace or *sonaf*, each the bearer of a particular function. Members of clans from different political communities accompanying their royal mistress when she was married outside her natal community resulted in an even greater complexity of the original pattern.

In modern times, when *kuan* combined to form larger villages in the more open lowlands, the traditional pattern virtually disappeared except in a few isolated areas. But the principle of quadrupartition still asserts itself as a structurizing principle to this day, as we shall see in the case of Insana. In a modern village like *Soba* in Amarasi, a description of which is given by Cunningham, there are no traces left of the old pattern, although the *kuan* as hamlets or separate residential units have retained a large measure of social, economic and ritual independence, under the dominance of certain lineages which Cunningham calls "hamlet owner lineages".¹³

Leadership in the hamlet in its traditional form, i.e. comprising a single *ume*, was vested in the oldest male member until such time as he

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¹² Grijzen, 1904, p. 22. *Loro* is the Tetun word for sun and also a term designating the ruler. See also diagram no. 18, p. 391 below.

could no longer perform the sacrificial ritual. He was the *amaf* (father) of the community. He was always succeeded by his eldest son. A village (*kuan*) is inhabited by more than one lineage (*kanaf*) and by more than one *ume* of the dominant lineage or *kanaf*. As a rule the oldest male member of the senior *ume* of the latter is the leader and he is succeeded by the eldest son of the senior branch of his *ume*. He is also called *amaf*, but as there are more than one *amaf*, and even *amaf* of other lineages, he is also called *mnasi* or elder. So the fathers of a village form a council of elders. The latter has no form of official organization whatever.

b. **Blood-relations**

For convenience sake we give below a list of kinship terms used by the Atoni for the different kinds of relationship falling under this heading.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>na'if</em></td>
<td>grandfather, ancestor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>be'if</em></td>
<td>grandmother, ancestress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>amaf</em></td>
<td>father, father's brother, fa. fa. br. so., and further all male members of the same agnatic lineage who are of the preceding generation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ainaf</em></td>
<td>mother, mother's sister, father's brother's wife, and all female members of the same agnatic lineage who are of the preceding generation, including those who have been admitted as members of the lineage through marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anah</em></td>
<td>child, all members of the <em>ume</em> who belong to the next generation down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an mone</em></td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>an feto</em></td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>olif</em></td>
<td>younger brother, used only by elder brother; younger sister, used only by elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tataf</em></td>
<td>elder brother, younger brother speaking; elder sister, younger sister speaking. The same applies to all members of the <em>ume</em> who are of the same generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>naufl</em></td>
<td>brother, term used by sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>feto</em></td>
<td>sister, term used by brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>upu</em></td>
<td>grandchild.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All social ties within the *ume* are determined by kinship, which furnishes the categories in which the Atoni expresses all his social relationships. The same nomenclature is also used to designate political
relationships. Authority is vested in the amaf (father), in the first place in respect of his children (ana). He exacts obedience from his son(s) (an mone), who learns from his father how to tend the livestock and how to till the soil. Older sons are allowed to be present at ritual performances and to join in the communal recitation during sacrificing and repeat the key words of the parallel phrases. They also learn the myths of origin of the clan from their father. These are recited in set phrases chanted in a fixed rhythm. It is most important that all names featuring in these myths be learnt.

A son also learns from his father how to make and use tools. These tools, if fashioned by the Atoni themselves, are extremely crude. The digging stick (pali) and the planting stick (suna) are easily made by sharpening into a point one end of the branch of a tree with the aid of a matchet (benas), the Atoni's most important tool, which he always carries about with him although, as was said above, he has never learnt to manufacture it himself.

Sons learn all sorts of things from their amaf, who is not necessarily always their own father. The sacrificial ritual and its performance are taught them by the amaf of their ume. Furthermore, all the men of the preceding generation of a boy's ume are called amaf by him. They gradually learn everything that it is important for them to know, and in this way are the receiving party. In return, obedience and respect are expected of them. They have to listen quietly when stories are being related, and have to help not only their own father, but all the amaf of their community.

The relationship between father and son is marked by affection, but it is also characterized by distance. There is respect for old age on the one hand, and the young man's pride in his increasing strength as against the growing weakness of the older generation on the other. Especially high esteem is shown to the elder capable of reciting the numerous texts belonging to the ritual accompanying the various phases of the life-cycle — which culminate in the mortuary rites — the ritual of the agricultural cycle and, last but not least, the war ritual. There is even greater respect for the man who has the ability to welcome his guests in rhythmic language and to complete pantun, or who can make up such difficult pantun that no-one is able to add the missing lines. On the father's side there is admiration for the strength and ability of his sons and for their prowess in hunting, and he will praise

14 Cf. Middelkoop's splendid collection of texts with regard to the mortuary ritual (1949) and the headhunting ritual (1963).
them especially on their attainment of meoship (meo = warrior, champion, lit. cat), after they have taken their first head. This they have been taught by their amaf.

We shall encounter the term amaf again when dealing with the political organization, as an appellation for the heads of the clan and for all the heads who are collectively termed amfini (fathers). The relationship between political communities is sometimes also designated with the term ama-ana (= father-child).

The second relationship in which a boy is involved is that to his mother (aina), which is complementary to that to his father. She has less authority but more concern for the welfare of her children when they are small. The tie between a mother and her children is usually an intimate, more affectionate one than that between father and children and less marked by respect; the distance between them is smaller. Outside the family it is not a very significant relationship.

There are besides the mother her sisters, who are also addressed as aina. The relationship to them is more or less close, depending not only on the personality of the ainaf sm'u (= other mother) but also on where she is resident. If she has married into the same village the tie may be a strong one. The same applies if both sisters are resident in their own village during the first years of their marriage, before payment of the bridewealth has been completed. Sisters will look after each other's children and even nurse them if necessary and possible. The relationship between sisters is usually very good. They help each other and have no secrets from one another. Even if living in different areas they continue to visit each other, provided the distance is not too great (women do not as a rule travel large distances). However, affinal relationships used to be, and still are at present, confined within limited areas. Children never lose touch with their "other mothers" and will always continue to visit them, even when they have grown up.

The relationship between father and daughter is also characterized by affection and trust. I could think of no better illustration than that offered by the superb photograph by Father Beltjens (photograph 3) — words are superfluous here. Middelkoop gives an account of an extraordinary incident which also characterizes extremely well the close tie between father and daughter. The approximately fourteen years old

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10 It is difficult to define a relationship of this kind, be it even roughly. Suffice it for me to say that in my experience no legal case ever ensued from a quarrel between sisters.

daughter of an Oematan (the name of the princely family of Molo) danced an individual war dance (namso), as though she were a boy, at the final mortuary ritual held for her father four years after his death. She was attired in the array of a meo. Suddenly someone remarked in tones of delight: “Her posture (nosen) is like her father’s”, meaning that she was the image of her father, as nosen means both posture, gesture and character. She danced precisely as she had seen her father do, moving only when her father’s gongs were being beaten, and taking a rest whenever his gongs ceased to play and the borrowed set of gongs took over.

The upbringing of a girl is mainly her mother’s task. It is from her mother that a girl learns everything she needs to know; this she does with a matter-of-factness that is similar to that described by Margaret Mead for Samoa.

The relationship between brothers is more formal, with a higher conflict potential, as here there is a greater emphasis on a certain order of precedence, as reflected by the kinship terminology. The eldest son is the an mone = masculine child and an mone naek (naek = big). The second son is called an tana (middle child), and the ones younger than him an ikun (ikun = to follow). The relationship between them is expressed as olif-tataf (younger-elder brother), the elder being superior. There is no word to designate the relationship between two brothers as such in Timorese, so that in talking of brothers a certain inequality or a certain order of precedence is always expressed. There is a general word for brother (i.e. nauf), however, which is used only by sisters when speaking of their brothers. Sisters are also distinguished into olif and tataf, and only brothers use the general word fetof when speaking of their sisters. All of father’s elder brothers’ sons are referred to as elder brothers, even if they are chronologically younger than ego. Tataf exercise authority over their olif. But as there is less distance between them than between fathers and sons, there is more likelihood of tension between them.

The tataf has the custody of the property of the ume. If he dies before his sons reach adulthood (that is, before they are married) this custodianship will pass on to his olif. If the latter lives long, his sons will try to keep the articles themselves, even though they are olif in respect of their father’s elder brother’s sons. If the articles are traditional heirlooms belonging to the lineage’s nono or vital force, such as an old rifle or old coral beads used for paying bridewealth, or a herd of buffalo reserved for

17 Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa, 1963, especially pp. 115 ff.
the same use, it is a clear-cut case: the senior branch will receive them, if necessary through the mediation of the head of the clan or of the amafl
*nak*, the head of the most prominent *kanaf* (clan) of the district, or the
*usif*. The case becomes more complicated if a man has bought a rifle and
leaves it to his sons, upon which it passes into his elder son's custody. If
the latter dies when still young his *olif* will gain "custody" of the
article, and if the latter lives long his sons will claim possession. They
can depend on the support of their mother, who is bound to defend the
rights of her own children against those of the children of her husband's
tatef. This, too, is a potential conflict situation, especially as the issue is a
subtle one. Custodianship over a period of many years gradually confers
rights of tenure. If his sons actually do inherit it they will attain ownership
rights, as their grandfather did at the time of purchase.

Tensions such as those between *olif* and *tatef*, especially if they involve
a junior and a senior branch, often give rise to quarrels and estrange-
ment and may induce lineages to move away. The junior branch, con-
sisting of two or three brothers and their families, will move off to
found a new settlement. This will not usually take place without the
intervention of an *amafl*, usually the lineage head, as the new branch
will have to take with it some of the *le'u* or sacred objects of the lineage.
These are the repositories of special powers. The new *ume* will need
some of them to hang up on the main maternal pillar of the *amafl*'s
house in the new hamlet. The entire gamut of conflict situations is
found here, ranging from mild rivalry or reluctance to acknowledge
the senior branch's superiority (this is always present) at the one end
right through to feuds (which, as far as I know, are not permanent,
however) at the other end. Cunningham 18 says with some justification
that brothers "may fight a great deal". But he goes even further by
suggesting, partly on the basis of information from Atoni government
officials, that many cases of maltreatment and murder are to be inter-
preted in this light. My own experience does not corroborate this.
Most serious cases had their origin in the violation of ownership rights,
such as cattle theft, damage caused by cattle to garden plots, or quarrels
over a woman. Other quarrels that arise are practically always between
two branches of one clan which stand in an *olif-tatef* relationship to
each other, and not between the sons of one father, or even between
"brothers" of the same *ume*. And such quarrels, which were frequent
indeed, were not usually put before the Council of Chiefs for which
the Dutch government official used to act as advisor, but were settled
by the local chiefs. Only if these failed to reach a satisfactory settlement,
or in other words, if one of the parties refused to accept the verdict

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of the chiefs, or if a serious offence had been committed, the matter was referred to the Council. But really serious crimes, such as that of causing grievous bodily harm or worse, were not on the whole committed very often, let alone on these grounds.

The relationship between all lineages of a clan, even if resident in different political communities, is referred to with the term *olij-tataf* (younger - elder brother) which at the same time indicates their order of precedence. In the chapter on the political organization we shall see that the relationship between the leading clans of a principedom, and even that between princesdoms, is referred to with the same term.

Within the lineage the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also important. (Grandfather = *na'if*, grandmother = *be'if*, and there is only one word for grandchild, namely *upu*, which does not differentiate between male and female.) This is a warm, affectionate and intimate relationship, in accordance with what is probably a universal human pattern. If the grandparents happen to be still living in their own house the grandchildren will visit them often, especially during early childhood. Cunningham quotes a wonderful remark made by an Atoni in this connection, namely that the grandchildren are expected to rouse their grandparents from their nap when they doze off outside their house “to let the old people know that they are still alive and have people who love them”. As the children grow older the idea of respect due to old age becomes more dominant. After their death the grandparents become the ancestors (*au be'i*, *au na'i* = my female ancestors, my male ancestors) who are invoked in ritual prayers. Then fear of them begins to predominate. In Tunbaba and Insana the deceased grandparents are also called *am koko*, *ain koko*, the *koko* being a mythical animal by whose name the ruler is sometimes referred to. The best translation for *am koko* is probably “much dreaded father”. The usual form of address is *au be'i*, *au na'i*, however.

Finally there is the relationship between sisters and brothers (*fetofo-nau*) within the lineage, in which the brother is superior. He has authority over his sister, watches over her and gives her his help and protection. This is of the greatest importance for the brother himself, too, as he is also to some extent dependent for the marriage he makes on the bridewealth received for his sister. That is why she will not marry without her brother’s being consulted. This protection is given

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especially by the eldest brother, who will replace their father after his death. This is very important in view of the fact that the father is his daughter’s husband’s atoni amaf (masculine father). This brings us to the second category of relatives, namely affines. The relationship between husband and wife (mone-fe) belongs to this category until the wife is adopted into the nono of her husband’s lineage.

2. AFFINES

The terms used to designate relationships falling under this heading are:

- **mone - fe**: husband and wife
- **babaf**: all male members of the wife’s lineage who belong to the preceding generation
- **mone fe’u**: (= lit. new man), son-in-law, all men who have married a woman from the natal lineage, and who belong to a younger generation
- **nanef**: married-in-woman of a younger generation
- **ba’ef**: affine of the same generation
- **atoni amaf**: mother’s eldest brother, and after his death his eldest son, head of the bride-giving lineage
- **fe lalan**: mother’s brother’s daughter
- **mone lalan**: father’s sister’s son
- **am baba**: mother’s father, affinal father
- **ain baba**: mother’s mother, affinal mother.

Affines include all those with whom the lineage has affinal relationships of any kind whatever. If they belong to the preceding generation they are called babaf and if they belong to the younger generation they are ego’s mone fe’u (new man) or nanef in the case of women, whereas affines of the same generation are each other’s ba’ef: ba’ef monef or ba’ef fetof, depending on their sex. The sharp distinction drawn between agnatic and affinal groups explains the deviations in kinship terms for grandparents in Amfoan in Middelkoop’s list, which are confirmed by Cunningham, who also worked in Amfoan. In Amarasi, Amanuban and Molo mother’s father is called na’i (grandfather) and mother’s mother be’i (grandmother), like father’s father and father’s mother. But in the case of Amfoan we find am baba and ain baba = affinal father and mother. These terms are also found in Tunbaba, Insana and Beboki and are, in a sense, the correct ones. Mother’s father and
mother's mother are *am baba* and *ain baba* because they are affines; but they are generally called *na'i* and *be'i*, especially by the younger children, and certainly if they are resident in the same village. That they are not strictly speaking *na'i* and *be'i* becomes apparent after their death. The invocation *au be'i, au na'i* (my female ancestors, my male ancestors) refers exclusively to the ancestors of the *ume*, who are members of the same *kanaf* and *nono*. Middelkoop once presented me with a prayer — in a different context — which is said in cases of illness, beginning with *am baba* (= my male ancestor, i.e. maternal ancestor).

If the Atoni made no further distinctions it might follow from the fact that for a male ego both father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are *ba'ef fetof* and that a marriage with a *ba'ef fetof* is given preference, that the affinal system is based on direct exchange, as Fischer concludes. He could hardly have arrived at a different conclusion, as he restricts himself entirely to the terminology, which would even tend to support Cunningham's hypothesis of a reciprocal affinal alliance between two groups.

However, the Atoni distinguishes between two groups of affines, namely the *feto* or feminine affines, i.e. all those related to his lineage via marriages of its women, and those belonging to the groups of the *atoni amaf* (masculine father, i.e. the head of a lineage to which it is related via a marriage of one of its men).

This distinction determines the social classification into *feto* and *mone* groups. The bride-giving lineage is superior in respect of the bride-receiving one. The former is *mone* (masculine) and the latter is termed *feto* (feminine). The bride-giving group receives presents, services and respect from its bride-receiver.

Just as the term *olif-tataf* is used with reference to the relationship between clans, sub-territories of a political community or even between political communities — although strictly speaking this relationship exists only between men of the same generation within a particular lineage or *ume* — the term *feto-mone* has similar applications, though strictly speaking it designates a relationship between two *ume*.

This distinction between *feto* and *mone* has important implications for both the kinship system and the political organization. As far as the kinship system is concerned it means that once a *feto-mone* relationship exists between two *ume* it should be endeavoured to perpetuate this relationship, or, in other words, that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is preferential, though not prescriptive. This dis-
tinction which Needham 20 makes, but which Lévi-Strauss 21 ignores, has far-reaching implications, as we shall see later. If ego does in fact marry his mother's brother's daughter the bride is referred to as fe lalan, the wife of the (trodden) path, lalan being the word for the path connecting two ume. Her husband, who is her father's sister's son, is called mone lalan (the husband of the path, i.e. a man born of a woman of her own ume). They are each other's panu: the two halves of a coconut which fit together. In the diagram below a man (1) from ume (a) of clan A is married to a woman (2) from ume (b) of clan B. Their son, A 4, will preferably marry B 5, whose father, B 3, will be his atoni amaf or bab honit (= life-giving, life-generating affine), just as his own father is called am honit or ahonit (life-generating father, procreator). This way the ume of B will remain superior to that of A. Of course the agnatic composition of the lineage implies that A 4 may equally well marry his mother's father's brother's daughter, B 8, the daughter of B 3's parallel cousin. After the death of his mother's brother the latter's son, that is, ego's wife's brother, B 6, becomes A 4's atoni amaf in the stricter sense of the word, whilst the amaf of the latter's ume is the atoni amaf who will lead the negotiations preceding the marriage and who will perform the appropriate rites.

It is this atoni amaf whom the young bridegroom fears. Whereas he has respect for his father (amaf) he fears his atoni amaf.

If the "paved way" for a marriage is that from ume (a) to ume (b) it is to be expected that A 4's brother — either his own brother or, for example, his father's brother's son, A 9, who is his tataf, will also follow that path and marry B 7, for instance. This is not prescribed, however. He may equally well, or even preferably, marry a girl from a lineage of clan C or D. If this has happened before in previous generations marriage to a girl from C or D will also be a fe lalan.

He may also marry a woman from an ume of a clan with which no previous affinal ties exist, although this will present some difficulties. If the way has been paved not only will social relations between the two groups have been long-established, but the bride-receiving group will have some idea as to the extent of the bridewealth. In principle this will be the same as that paid to the mother's relatives when she was married. But personal qualities such as physical attractiveness, a good name or skill at particular tasks may raise the sum of the bridewealth, or conversely, if the bride has some defect or other, lower it.

If an alliance is established with a new clan, the sum of the bride-wealth will be higher and will be fixed only after protracted negotiations. But the possibility exists. The difficulties may be evaded by resorting to marriage by abduction — the bridegroom accompanied by a number of armed members of his lineage simply goes and takes the bride-to-be from her village by force. The number of helpers usually exceeds by far the number of people who belong to his *ume* and includes both men and women. The term "abduction" is not strictly speaking correct, therefore. The bride is merely taken away and the negotiations forced, and afterwards gifts are brought to the bride's *ume* to induce her relatives to attend the wedding.

Middelkoop furnishes an example of another form of "abduction", where only two women go to fetch the bride from her house. They are accompanied as far as her village by twenty or thirty men, so that the threat of violence is present; but in reality violence cannot be used.

Both types of marriage in which the bride is taken away from her village, so that the marriage is patrilocal from the beginning, are exceptions.

In the third place there is the possibility of marrying within the clan or *kanaf* (name). The *ume*, however, is strictly exogamic. Marriage

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22 Middelkoop, 1931, p. 262.
within the *ume* is out of the question and sexual intercourse between members of one *ume* amounts to incest and will bring on disaster for the entire *ume*. The clan, on the other hand, which has lineages in different villages and some even in other princedoms, is not strictly exogamic in practice. It is difficult to determine whether it ever was in the past. It is said that "formerly" the clan used to be strictly exogamic. Even at present people prefer to marry outside their own clan. But endogamous marriages do take place, be it chiefly between poor people — they are contracted chiefly by young men from *ume* which have no property. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that poor lineages have "always" existed. It is the least desirable, though not the least frequent form of marriage, and its unpopularity is not so much a matter of the Atoni's condemning marriage between blood relations as perhaps one of prestige and social status.

Hence marriage with a large number of *ume* is possible; even marriage between a girl from A and a man from another *ume* of B which is only distantly related to the *ume* from which her father obtained his wife. Only marriage between the sister of the bridegroom and the brother of the bride, A 10 and B 6, which would amount to a direct exchange of women, is against the rules and definitely disliked, as in that case A 1 (or A 4) and B 3 (or B 6) would become the *atoni amaf* of each other's children, which is an impossibility, as Middelkoop\(^\text{23}\) confirms emphatically. The *jeto-mone* relationship, that of socially subordinate and superordinate groups, would in that case become self-contradictory.

This does not exclude the possibility of its taking place in practice. But even then it will never take place between direct cross-cousins, that is, between A 4 and B 5 and between B 6 and A 10. Such marriages are probably more frequent in Amarasi, where Cunningham worked, than in Central Timor, where there have been fewer changes and where influences from Belu are sometimes stronger; this is certainly the case in Beboki and, in some respects, in Insana. In the case of political marriages, however, exchange of sisters may take place. It is customary for a ruler to endeavour to establish affinal relationships with princes of neighbouring princedoms. In this case an exchange of sisters may bring about a relationship in which both parties remain each other's equals. At the conclusion of peace the promise of an exchange of brides marks the climax of the negotiations. Although this may imply an exchange of sisters,\(^\text{24}\) the kinship system remains

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\(^{23}\) Personal communication.

\(^{24}\) Cf. p. 356 below.
unaffected in spite of such marriages, as the *amaf naek* of the clan which is the ruler's traditional bride-giver remains his *atoni amaf* — it is impossible for a ruler of a different princedom to become this. At any rate, such an exchange of sisters never takes place in the case of a first marriage.

It is customary to marry a woman from one of the groups which are *mone* in respect of the bridegroom's group, which will therefore remain *feto*. This *feto-mone* relationship between clans, between sub-territories of the princedom and between any large groups in general is a fixed one usually based on some affinal relationship established in the mythical past. But between lineages this need not in practice be a permanent relationship. A reversal of the *feto-mone* relationship is quite common and is to be expected in the first place if there has been no marriage between a man from (a) and a woman from (b) for one or two generations, either because the men from (a) have had a choice out of various other possibilities, or because (b) had very few women in a particular generation. Royal lineages usually endeavour to effect such a reversal; in any case they try to create the impression that reversals do occur. Us Taolin (the lineage of the present raja of Insana), for instance, is *feto* in respect of "Liurai", and will immediately admit this, but will not omit to add that such and such a woman from the house of Taolin was married to a Liurai. However, this in itself is not significant, "Liurai" being a collective name for all the royal lineages in the realm of Waiwiku-Wehale in South Belu, among whom the Meromak O'an (Son of Heaven) was the central figure. He was Sonba'i's *tataf* (elder brother) and was *mone* or bride-giver in respect of many royal lineages. Conversely these latter may at times have given a bride to one of the Liurai lineages who formed a unity together with the Meromak O'an. But this can have had no effect on the fundamental, original *feto-mone* relationship.

Now the entire web of kinship becomes clearer. In diagram 3, A 1 is married to B 2, so that *ume* (a) of clan A has a *feto-mone* relationship with *ume* (b) of clan B, as (b) has with (c). A 1's son, A 3, will preferably marry his mother's brother's daughter, B 4, while A 1's brother, A 5, could marry B 6, B 2's sister, and follow the path trodden by his brother. According to Middelkoop²⁵ the same bridewealth as that paid for their mother may in some cases be paid for both daughters.

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²⁵ Middelkoop, 1931, p. 282.
together. This is only possible if both follow the same path as their mother.

In this connection it is interesting to note Cunningham's remark in respect of mother's sister. She also is called aina (mother) because, according to the Atoni, her husband is amaf (father). Cunningham rightly infers from this that this woman must therefore be married to an agnate, that is, to one of her sister's husband's "brothers". In our example A 3 calls his mother's sister, B 6, mother, because her husband, A 16, is amaf, being his father's father's brother's son, hence a parallel cousin of his father's. So if A 3's mother's sister marries A 16, the statement that her husband is his amaf is correct. Cunningham proceeds to say: "On the other hand, whomever that woman married would he termed 'agnate' (i.e. amaf)". But this contradicts Middelkoop's data and my own experience. If B 7, A 3's mother's sister, is married to D 17, the latter is A 3's babaf, that is, an affine of the generation before his, and not his amaf. Two things are clear from the Atoni's statement according to which mother's sister is aina because her husband is amaf, namely that (1) she is not aina simply by virtue of the fact that she is mother's sister (just as father's brother is "father" simply because he is father's brother), for she belongs to a different clan and is her sister's husband's ba'ef fetof, the latter being her ba'ef

27 In Fischer, 1957, p. 25.
monef (= feminine and masculine affine respectively). Nevertheless, because the tie between two sisters is usually close she is normally addressed as aina by her sister’s children, even if she marries into a different clan. Forms of address used by children cannot be decisive in determining the relationship, however. It is furthermore clear that (2) a marriage between the husband’s classificatory brother (e.g. A 16) and the wife’s sister (B 6) is usually presupposed. This would point to the existence of a prescriptive unilateral connubium. But in practice this man may equally well marry a girl from clan E (as A 5 did), to which his father’s mother also belonged; then (e) like (b), will be one of (a)’s bride-giving ume. A 9, A 1’s and A 5’s sister, is not allowed to marry a man from (b) or (e) because these are (a)’s bride-giving ume, but she will marry someone from a different ume, e.g. F 10 from ume (f). And in that case A 3 will not be allowed to marry F 11, not only because A 1 and F 10 would then be each other’s atoni amaf but also because A 3 would be marrying his father’s sister’s daughter. Cunningham\textsuperscript{28} reports this too. He says: “Blood is transmitted through agnation, and they may justify their dislike for marriage with F.Z.D. on these grounds. Though F.Z. is an ‘affine’ (babaf) and her daughter is also an affine (ba’ef), they say that F.Z. (being a daughter of F.F.) is really na’ mese, one blood”.

This is correct. We need only add that father’s sister, A 9, will only become A 3’s babaf through her marriage to F 10, or rather, only after she has been admitted to the nono (life-circle) of ume (f).

Looking once more at the affinal kinship terminology it will now become clear that there is only one set of names applied to affines: babaf as against mone fe’u and nanef for members of different generations, and ba’ef used reciprocally by members of the same generation. If a distinction were made between maternal and paternal cross-cousins this might support the theory of a unilateral, circulating connubium. But in practice there is a choice out of many possibilities. There is, admittedly, a preference for maternal cross-cousins, but instead of marrying mother’s brother’s daughter ego may equally well marry father’s mother’s brother’s son’s daughter, as A 5 did in our example. There is also the possibility of creating a new affinal relationship. Marriages may take place in the opposite direction a few generations later, or in some cases earlier. Such a reversal of the feto-mono relationship may even be desirable in view of the payment of bride-

\textsuperscript{28} Cunningham, 1962, p. 211.
Performance of the likurai dance at a wedding feast. The dancers move in a line twisting in and out, resembling the way in which a snake moves along.
22. An Atoni hamlet, Manufui.
wealth. Apart from paternal parallel cousins, obviously because they are regarded as brothers and sisters and call each other brother and sister (naufeto), maternal parallel cousins and paternal cross-cousins from the same ume (limited lineage) are excluded from the range of possible marriage partners. This rule does not apply strictly, as the prohibition concerns only the daughters of a young man’s father’s full sisters and of his mother’s full sisters. Marriage with a daughter of mother’s or father’s classificatory sister, if resident within the ume, is not desirable either, but if they live in different villages the taboo hardly applies. All these relations — father’s sister’s daughter, mother’s sister’s daughter and mother’s brother’s daughter — are ba’ef, while father’s sister’s husband and mother’s brother are both babaf. In spite of the fact that these kinship terms are the same, behaviour towards each of the two groups of affines is markedly different, however. In our example F 10 is A 3’s babaf, bab mone, namely the husband of his father’s sister. And as Cunningham29 writes, “Babaf are in a super-ordinate age level, but ego’s relationship to them is familiar, in contrast to that with his amaf ainaf. He may joke with them, laugh freely, behave generally with less restraint, and he may touch them (as when jabbing during a joke)”. For after the death of A 12, the father of A 9 (F 10’s wife), A 5 (A 3’s father’s brother) will become F 10’s atoni amaf as A 9’s eldest brother. This is why A 3’s behaviour towards F 10 may be free, even though A 3 belongs to a younger generation, and why this babaf will usually help him and give him small presents — not simply because he is his babaf.

The respectful behaviour that is due from him towards an older generation is counterbalanced by his superiority as a member of a mone group in respect of a member of a fetó group. For F 10 is his fetó, having received a wife from (a). In the chapter on agriculture we came across an example of “a joking relationship’. When F 10 has been burning off a garden plot together with the members of his wife’s ume, A 3 will be one of those who throw dirty water all over him to “make him cool” (mainikin). He will not actually throw the water himself, as he belongs to a younger generation. This will probably be done by A 16, F 10’s wife’s (A 9) father’s brother’s son, who is his ba’ef or affine of the same generation without being an atoni amaf. The atoni amaf himself will not throw the water either, because there is too great

29 Cunningham, 1962, p. 212.
a distance between him and F 10. More likely F 13 will be the butt of a joke played on him by A 3, his maternal ba’ef, who will only become his atoni amaf after the death of the latter’s father.

On the other hand, A 3’s behaviour towards B 14 is altogether different. For although B 14 also is his babaf, he is at the same time his atoni amaf or his bab honit (life-generating affine) by virtue of the fact that he is his mother’s eldest brother as well as his father-in-law, and there is no trace of a joking relationship or even of the slightest familiarity in respect of this babaf. I have seen newly married men in Beboki talk of their atoni amaf with fear in their eyes. His respect is due first of all to the amaf mnasi, the eldest father of his wife’s ume, although his wife’s amaf and the amaf of his wife’s ume may be one and the same person. This babaf is the person who demands payment of the bridewealth and reprimands the bridegroom if he does not pay his instalments in time. He demands the bridegroom’s services during the period of bride-service. And even when the bridewealth has been paid and he is living with his wife and children in his own village and the relationship to this babaf has become less marked by tension, he is supposed to be prepared at all times to help with such things as the felling of trees or the building of a house; in return for this work he will receive the counter-gift of a mea!. He is also expected to be of assistance in less important situations. Even after the death of this babaf his wife’s eldest brother is at all times allowed to impose on him for sirih pinang or tobacco.

His behaviour towards his ba’ef or paternal cross-cousins, ba’e mone and ba’e feto, F 13 and F 11, is equally complex, though this is less pronounced. His behaviour here is relaxed and gay and clearly superior. He is allowed to play jokes on his ba’e mone, F 13, father’s sister’s son, and to tease F 11. This playful banter will sometimes develop into an erotic game, though marriage will not ensue, as we have seen. If he desires an adventure with this girl he will send her sirih leaves with a yellow thread tied around them, yellow being the colour of subordination. She will send back the sirih leaves without the thread if she consents.

Conversely, A 3 will treat his ba’e mone, B 15, with more respect. He can expect to be at the receiving end of any practical joke B 15 may wish to play. And when they grow up B 15 will keep a watchful eye on A 3’s behaviour towards his sister, B 4, a fact of which A 3 is well aware. A 3 will need his coöperation when he begins to court his ba’e feto, B 4, his mother’s brother’s daughter, who is ideally his potential...
bride. And he will therefore give him tobacco and other small presents, even when they are still young boys. Similarly he may direct his attention to any other girl from ume (b), all of them being his ba'e feto. Girls from other ume which have supplied brides in previous generations are also potential brides.

But in all these cases the social relationship in respect of his ba'e mone is the same — as their social subordinate (for he has to ask favours of them), his behaviour is cautious. And this similarly determines his relationship to his ba'e feto. She belongs to an ume which is socially superior to his. He has to treat her with deference and will send her presents as a sign of his intentions to court her. The first token of affection will be sirih leaves with a red and a green thread tied around them, to which she will respond, is she wishes, with a present of sirih leaves tied up with a green thread. Red is the colour of superiority. If she is not inclined to respond she will let him know that she is too strictly watched or that there is another man. She will send a bottle of palm-wine as a consolation gift. If both do become serious there will follow an elaborate ceremonial exchange of gifts and smaller counter-gifts up to the time when the bridewealth is determined and the marriage is finalized. This is accompanied by an exchange of manus luman or mnuke (i.e. the empty or young sirih pinang), the first bridewealth. Sirih pinang (areca nut with betel leaves and some lime) is always offered to guests. It is a tangible symbol of a valued relationship, the fundamental gesture of hospitality and the introduction to all relations with people outside the ume or lineage. In the case of marriage it symbolizes a series of exchanges of small gifts which accompanies the relationship between a boy and a girl from the first day of their acquaintance until their wedding day. It is largely a formality, hence the term luman (empty). The bridegroom’s ume presents a cylindrical container with a few coins, coconuts, bananas and sugar inside it. These are the bridegroom’s introductory gifts. The bride’s return gift to the bridegroom consists of a belt and a sirih purse (aluk). This belt is a symbol of both ume becoming linked to one another. Besides, one or two shoulder cloths, two sirih containers and headbands are presented to the bridegroom’s parents.30

The bridewealth which is to be paid later is the puah mnais-manus mnasi (lit. the old sirih pinang). This consists chiefly of cattle, strings of coral beads, silver ornaments or coins, and bride services. Each time

30 Middelkoop, 1931, p. 250.
an instalment is paid the atoni amaf gives a pig and a cloth in return.

When the marriage has been finalized the husband is mone and the wife fe (husband and wife respectively), with the implication that he is superior. This is strictly speaking true only when she formally ceases to belong to her father’s ume and joins her husband’s ume and its nono (lianas which encircle the clan and hence symbolize its fertility). This is not possible until the greater part of the bridewealth, the old sirih pinang (puah mnais-manus mnasi) has been paid, which in some cases is not until many years after marriage. By means of a formal ritual act the woman then leaves her own ume and is incorporated in the nono of the husband’s clan. This ritual is called kasu nono, kasu being the word for taking off a sarong by pulling it over one’s head: thus she symbolically casts off her own nono. Then she enters that of her husband, the ritual symbolizing this being called nanta (to enter). Henceforth she will be allowed to return to her natal ume only as a guest — she may come back to eat but not to sleep. She will be expected from then on to observe the totemic taboos of her husband’s clan. Theoretically she will be able to disregard those of her own clan, but in practice she will continue to exclude the totem animal or plant of her own clan from her diet.

In this connection we shall have to say a few words also about the problem of patrilinearity of descent and patrilocality of marriage. It is a problem because in Belu, the culture of which is very much akin to that of the Atoni area, there are two types: a chiefly patrilineal kinship organization in North Belu and a matrilineal organization coupled with uxorilocal marriage in South Belu. It is impossible to say anything about South Belu until the publication of the results of Francillon’s research. The Atoni area presents a similar variety. There is a remarkable series of differences which form a scale of gradations from a purely patrilineal and patrilocal to a chiefly matrilineal and purely matrilocal system. They vary from one political community to the next.

At one end of the scale we have Ambenu, a group from which princedom lives in Manamas in Miomafo. As everywhere else, first the payment of puah manus luman or mnuke, the empty or young sirih pinang, is made. Following this a very high puah manus mnasi (old sirih pinang) is decided upon. This is the substantial part of the bride-wealth, consisting of cattle, beads and silver coins. Here too, the bride-wealth varies with social status and wealth, but it is always a heavy

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31 G. Francillon conducted research in South Belu and finished working out his material at the Australian National University, Canberra.
burden on the paying party. The second characteristic of Manamas is that this bridewealth has to be paid as soon as possible. Marriage is first uxorilocal, the husband being required to render bride service during this time, but the norm here is that the couple go to live in the village of the husband’s father as soon as sufficient bridewealth has been paid. Hence marriage here is clearly patrilocal. The social and economic life is restricted to the ume, the territorially localized agnatic lineage. It should be added, however, that the atoni amaf, that is, mother’s eldest brother in the immediate sense of the word, and the head of the agnatic bride-giving ume in the general sense of the word, have an important social and ritual function. And this direct atoni amaf ideally speaking becomes ego’s father-in-law.

Amfoan is Ambenu’s immediate neighbour. In the political organization both princedoms are closely united in a mone-feto relationship — as Ambenu is Amfoan’s bride-giver — and in an olif-tataf relationship because their founders came to this area together, according to the myth. Amfoan is markedly patrilineal — all children are integrated into the father’s lineage — in contrast with all the other Atoni princedoms where according to Cunningham 32 usually one or more children are incorporated into the mother’s ume.

In Molo and Miomafo and in the entire area that was once under the sway of Sonba‘i, as in Amanuban, the bridewealth is not so high, even though it varies much with the social status of the ume concerned; it may reach considerable proportions in royal lineages and usif’s ume as well as in lineages of heads of prominent clans. And in the former realm of Sonba‘i there are many prominent ume. But in general the bridewealth is not considered to be high by the people themselves. This means that a considerable portion of it may be converted into bride service, a widespread practice. As a result the bride’s ume does not usually press for payment. Hence the marriage will remain uxorilocal much longer, so that the first children are born into the wife’s ume and thus bear her name (kanaf). Even the husband is temporarily admitted to the nono of his wife’s clan. Although he continues to be regarded as a member of his own clan he is temporarily adopted by the ume of the other clan. In some cases the bridewealth may not have been wholly paid at the husband’s death, so that the members of the husband’s ume will have to pay the remainder so as to be allowed to take a son born of the marriage and admit him to their own ume. It

32 Cunningham, 1962, p. 25.
is more difficult to have one of the daughters transferred, because she herself will secure bridewealth and services as soon as she reaches a marriageable age. Here we see a shift away from the agnatic system. Although it still operates as a structural principle, it is counter-balanced by the principle of bride service, which tips the balance in favour of uxorilocal marriage and partially matrilineal descent.

Hence in the entire area of the former realm of Sonba'i and in Amanuban — i.e. in the major part of the Atoni area — a corporate lineage comprises in the first place a number of limited lineages (ume), each in turn consisting of a number of nuclear families each occupying its own house. Descent is patrilineal, except in the case of children for whose mother bridewealth is not yet fully paid. These then belong to their mother's ume, or rather, to that of their mother's father. There are examples in many ume of children remaining in the mother's ume, while in others examples are quoted of this occurring in the past. Hence the system is extremely flexible, but is mainly patrilineal and patrilocal. It is important to note that the corporate unit of the ume is the fundamental, strictly exogamic unit. A boy who has been incorporated in his mother's father's ume will in that case call his mother's brother's daughter fetof (sister) and not ba'ef (affine of the same generation). If she were his ba'ef marriage with her would be desirable, but now it is out of the question. The husband residing with his wife's ume is admitted to the nono of his wife's clan, as we have seen, but lives among his ba'e mone and with his father-in-law — he lives with the group in respect of which he is feto (feminine, and hence inferior) because in a sense he remains a member of his own ume. In the course of time the distance will decrease. His son is wholly integrated into his wife's clan, even to the extent that he may obtain a leadership function and become amaf of his ume if his mother is the eldest member of the senior branch of her ume and there are no descendants in the male line.

We find the same pattern in Insana.33 (See photograph 24). When a boy and a girl decide to make public their relationship the young man has to give the girl's parents puah kolo, manus kolo (the hidden pinang). This gift consists of some silver coins, twenty at most, a sarong and,

33 My data regarding this were checked and supplemented in 1965 by Father J. Smit, S.V.D., who worked in Timor for a period of over 40 years and, moreover, had the assistance of the aged adat authority Silvester Taneo, a retired teacher.
in modern times, under Western and especially church influence, a ring. The meaning of this “hidden” first gift to the bride is that the relationship which has hitherto been kept secret is now made public. In the words of the Atoni: as a result of the presentation of puah kolo, manus kolo it becomes puah mtonan, manus mtonan, the announced sirih pinang.

The second gift is determined after this. Here it is called puah oenun, manus oenun. Oenun designates the confluence of several rivers; and so the idea of an alliance between two groups is apparent here. The meaning of the word in this context is that now the bridewealth to be paid to the whole ume of the bride is to be decided upon. It will amount to a hundred silver florins at most. Other objects may be and are given, and their worth is nowadays usually assessed in terms of monetary value. It usually consists of cattle, however, so that there is little deviation from the supposed basic pattern according to which the ume’s herds serve as payment of bridewealth.

In addition a silver bangle has to be presented. Its name is oe maputu, ai malala (= hot water, glowing fire). According to the Atoni this relates to the “heat” or danger of the first childbirth, when a fire is lit in the hearth and mother and child are washed with warm water. A female buffalo is included in the bridewealth. It is the symbol of the milk with which the mother will feed the child.

This bridewealth is not usually paid all at once, so that at the beginning a marriage is usually uxorilocal. The children born during this time belong to the mother’s ume. Although the husband will always endeavour to pay the bridewealth this does not necessarily mean that it is in fact always paid, even though the church insists on fulfilment of the payment. There are some marriages in which the second instalment of the bridewealth is never paid at all. This also used to occur formerly. In that case the children remain members of the mother’s clan. This is especially true if there are many sons and few daughters in a particular ume, for then the balance is unfavourable for that ume in respect of payment of bridewealth in that particular generation.

If a second bridewealth instalment is paid the Atoni say that it is for the tsea bife je’u (the drawing of the new wife, i.e. her removal to the husband’s village and admission to his clan). The young family is accompanied by the members of the wife’s lineage who are paid a sum of twenty florins for providing this escort, called tub nobij — the covering of the tracks. Hence there is no return for her, and she has left her own clan for good (see photograph 25).
Then, when the wife reaches the age at which she is no longer able to bear children the final installment of the bridewealth is paid. This is called sinab besi tofa — putting away the weeding hook. The woman is the field which has borne its fruits and now the final affairs relating to the harvest (i.e. the children) have to be settled. The husband brings five silver coins, a pig, rice and palmwine for a meal to the wife's ume. Then it is decided which of the children, a boy or a girl, will belong or continue to belong to the mother's ume, where it will replace her. Hence even if the bridewealth is paid completely, in accordance with the normal practice, the descent of one of the children is matrilineal.

Beboki presents a slightly different picture again. Here too a moderate bridewealth is required in theory, but many men continue to live with their wife's ume, so that marriage here remains uxorilocal longer, whereas in the Sonba'i area and in Insana it was chiefly patrilocal. This implies a gradual shift towards matrilineal descent, for if the husband remains with his wife's ume the children will belong to her clan. Yet people generally say that bridewealth ought to be paid, even if at the end of many years, and that the family is to become patrilocal from then on and has to be admitted to the father's clan. The actual practice is very different, however, and as a rule the young family will live uxorilocally for years; in every present-day village there are families which have remained uxorilocal, as a result of which the descent of the children is matrilineal. Here, too, one child is always assigned to the mother's clan when the rest of the family joins the father's. If in diagram no. 4 a man, B 1, marries A 1 uxorilocally and remains in her ume all his life, children born of the marriage will be integrated into clan A. In the next generation B 2 marries A 2 and the marriage is again permanently uxorilocal. Next C marries A 3 on the same terms. The children born of these marriages are then similarly integrated into clan A. If all future marriages remain consistently uxorilocal descent will become matrilineal. For instance, in our example A 4 and A 5 belong to the lineage of their mother's mother's mother's father.

Yet another variation is found in Noemuti, where the "old" gift (puah manus mnasi) does not exist. Notwithstanding, most of the marriages here are patrilocal. Descent is not uniformly patrilineal, however. Instead of bridewealth being paid an agreement is made that some of the children will belong to the mother's clan and ume. Noemuti is exceptional in any case because, together with Lifau on the north coast
of Oekusi, it was the centre of the dominion of the Topasses and of Dominican missionary activity for many centuries. (The Topasses were Portuguese-speaking mestizoes.) This may have had some influence on bridewealth customs as the Mission regarded this as a kind of purchase price for a bride, which was not in keeping with Christian doctrines concerning marriage. Nevertheless, this variation per se fits in quite well with the scale of variations presented by the Timorese kinship system. For in the district of Mutis, which is now part of Molo but used to be practically independent partly as a result of its isolated

position in the Mutis mountains, a second gift has never been the practice among common people, although the custom is found in the families of heads. This is usually explained as follows: “we are only poor people and have never had enough money for bridewealth”.

34 Middelkoop, 1931, p. 242. Cunningham, 1962, p. 33, writes, on the other hand, that Mutis, like Amfoan, has a high bridewealth. Mutis is in fact closely related to Amfoan. Cunningham’s information therefore probably applies more specifically to the norm, and Middelkoop’s probably more to the actual situation, as Middelkoop spent a considerable time there.
elevation of the Mutis area is too high for sandalwood, bees' wax and areca nuts so that it never had any export products. There are not many buffaloes here either. The usual form of marriage is that beginning with bride service and ending with the incorporation of the wife and children in the husband's clan. Especially because here it is not customary to pay a second bridewealth instalment — its payment is liable to postponement as a result of unforeseen difficulties — the family will as a rule live patrilocaly and descent become patrilineal. So it most resembles Amfoan, to which it is akin in other respects as well, and Ambenu, the two areas which are most markedly patrilineal.

In conclusion we have an example, in the Atoni-language area, of the opposite end of the scale. In Anas, the former Nenometan, which is now part of the principedom of Amanatun, marriage is permanently uxorilocal. This means that the men leave their own ume and women remain in theirs, so that marriage is matrilocal. Descent is patrilineal inasmuch as the husband and children remain in the wife's clan if she dies first. But if the husband dies first the wife and her children will have to move to the husband's ume. If there are no children when the husband dies the wife's ume will be required to give that of the husband a girl, a "sister" of the wife. Kruyt's information that inheritance is matrilineally transmitted is in agreement with the matrilineal system of descent. He writes that the eldest daughter receives the entire inheritance and distributes some of it among her sisters and brothers as gifts. This means that the inheritable property of an ume, i.e. cattle and valuable objects such as coral beads, jewellery and silver coins, remains undivided.

The system prevalent in South Belu more or less corresponds with this. Francillon writes in this context:

"What happens in Wehali is that the uma is a local exogamic extended matrilineage sometimes part of a fukun, sometimes coterminous to it. A fukun is only a ritual grouping and is neither an endo- nor an exogamic unit per se. Now the most important thing in my view here is that marriage is exclusively uxorilocal, and I have chosen the term with care. Men at marriage leave their natal house and move to their conjugal house. They do not in the exchange become any sort of significant members of their conjugal houses. And they lose much of their rights in their natal houses. What a married-out brother represents for his natal house (his mother and sisters) is that one of his daughters will be returned to

35 Middelkoop, 1931, p. 284, states, erroneously so, that the children bear the name of the father, whereas it is obvious from the context that it should be the mother. Confirmed by personal communication.

36 Kruyt, 1923, p. 366.

37 Personal letter.
them after his death. As younger daughters adapt themselves best to a new environment, it amounts for a man's sisters to wish him to go away and die early. Great difficulties arise from the fact that such a girl (called mata musan, pupil of the eye) whom one obtains in exchange of a dead man does not cease to be a daughter of her mother, i.e. a member of her mother's lineage, and never becomes one of her father's, even if she comes to reside with her patrilineal kinswomen. Endless complications follow when a man marries outside his fukun into another one which has a different set of ritual prohibitions (matrilineally transmitted). This may give some ground to the hypothesis that a fukun unit is normally endogamous, but it is not actually so at the present time. Fukun endogamous and exogamous marriages are found in equal proportion.

There is no circulating connubium in this south plain of Belu, both patrilateral and matrilateral cross cousins are marriageable and both types of parallel cousins are prohibited. Given the matrilineal and uxorilocal emphasis one is led to think, contrary to the opinion which you expressed for Atoni-Timor, that marriage takes normally the form of an exchange of brothers. If it were regularly done, there would be no necessity for mata musan child exchange (one man being at once replaced by another), but actual cases of brother exchange are rare, less than 2%, marriage with MBD or with FZD do not exceed 5% each. All other marriages are with women who fall in neither of the categories "mother", "sister" or "daughter", i.e. outside the uma.

The uma of the hill Belu is not completely patrilocal. On the other hand Wehali and Suai uma groups are completely matrilineal. Very little is transmitted from the father's side to his children (only his personal name which is only worn by his children after their own personal name, sometimes by his grandchildren as well, but not further down)."

With such a diversity of forms in the kinship system one may well ask what model to design with which to cover this diversity. Designing such a model is by no means an arbitrary task, for what we have to do is construct our model in such a way that it will furnish the key to an understanding of the social reality of the area under discussion. Van Wouden\(^38\) suggests as model a double unilineal system, but he arrives at this hypothesis in the supposition that in Timor too there is a unilaterally, circulating connubium among four agnatic groups as a result of which matrilinearity can in fact be distinguished genealogically speaking. We may question with Goody\(^39\) the use of supposing that there exists a double unilineal system if the local people do not have a term for it and recognize only one lineage — either the patrilineage or the matrilineage. P. E. de Josselin de Jong,\(^40\) on the other hand, suggests with good reason that if in adjoining areas both types of descent occur, the hypothesis of a double unilineal system may be useful in explaining the existence of these two systems side by side.

\(^{38}\) Van Wouden, 1935, p. 95.

\(^{39}\) Goody, 1961, p. 11.

in a related culture province. This is certainly true for West Africa, where in the closely related Akan-Ewe area the Akan were clearly formerly double unilineal, having separate terms for the mother's and the father's lineages,\textsuperscript{41} whereas the Ewe, Fon and Ga are patrilineal.\textsuperscript{42} And in Sumatra, for example, the Minangkabau are matrilineal although they have an implicitly patrilineal structure.\textsuperscript{43} Their neighbours the Batak are patrilineal,\textsuperscript{44} however, while in Atjeh descent is patrilineal and marriage matrilocal.\textsuperscript{45} Not only is the desire to find a key to furnish the explanation for the existence of these systems side by side reasonable, but it is one of the demands of science, which not only seeks knowledge through analysis but wishes to explain and clarify by discovering the structural principles determining the social reality.

We may dismiss the supposition of the evolutionists that here we have to do with phases of development, for their approach is only pseudo-historical. We may similarly do away with the cultural-historical idea that a society with matrilineal descent, inheritance, and so on, forms a more primitive stratum, as Vroklage\textsuperscript{46} still maintains. (He sees two different strata of culture in Timor.) P. E. de Josselin de Jong\textsuperscript{47} also favours "an historical reconstruction of a social system which shows a greater measure of integration than the system of today" in his study of the Minangkabau and Negri Sembilan. But he states most emphatically that this in no way amounts to a pseudo-historical reconstruction, "for we clearly recognize that perhaps at no time in the past did the actual facts completely agree with our reconstruction. This reconstruction may be compared with a word marked with an asterisk in a linguistic publication: it represents the most acceptable form that can be constructed from the available data, and the best suited to explain the present-day facts — but it is purely theoretical and has never been observed in actual existence". What we need, as Pouwer observes, is a "structural explanation", "the underlying integrative idea or model".\textsuperscript{48} This does involve, however, that the facts will have to point to a past that approached more closely the ideal pattern containing the structural principles which underlie the present-day situation as well.

\textsuperscript{41} Rattray, 1923, pp. 45 ff. and 77 ff.
\textsuperscript{42} Herskovitz, 1938, Field, 1940.
\textsuperscript{43} P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1951, p. 90.
\textsuperscript{44} Vergouwen, 1933, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{45} Snouck Hurgronje, 1893, I, pp. 46, 55.
\textsuperscript{46} Vroklage, 1952, I, p. 257.
\textsuperscript{47} P. E. de Josselin de Jong, 1951, pp. 5, 6.
\textsuperscript{48} Pouwer, 1960, p. 114.
This is how Van Wouden should have set to work, and doubtless would have been able to had he made use of official memoranda and records. As far as the Atoni area of Timor is concerned he referred to not more than about ten articles, the only good ones among which are those by Heijmering and Salomon Müller. Van Wouden's ingenious hypothesis is based on the pre-supposition of a unilateral, circulating connubium whereby men from clan A marry women from B, men from B marry women from C, men from C marry women from D, and men from D marry into A, the women therefore circulating in the opposite direction. But this kind of unilaterality is not, and as far as we know never was, in practice here. Yet people knew the precise details of affinal relationships extending many generations back. Middelkoop 49 gives a very eloquent example of the Atoni's knowledge in this respect in a text recorded from the mouths of some chiefs of Molo in 1930. This story tells how the house of Pa'i possessed a sacred stone, that is, an object which is charged with mystical force directed against the enemy. When these heads turned Christian they handed over their le'u musu objects and on this occasion related the story of how the Pa'i line had gained possession of this sacred stone as a result of a vision. Here the descent of the Pa'i line is traced as follows (see also diagram no. 5). Bi (= woman) Kon Neonsaban possessed mystical gifts. Her husband was Nai Naju Pa'i. She gave birth to Nai Tal Pa'i and Bi Kau Pa'i. The latter married Nai Tae Abakut. They begat Bi Ena Abakut, who married Nai Auken Tanono, Bi Sil Abakut, who married Nai Bul Pa'i, and Nai Keba Abakut, who married Bi Beto Pa'i and moved to the Pa'i lineage. Nai Tal Pa'i (Nai Naju Pa'i's son) 50 came to Molo and married Bi Esu Kune and begat Tal Pa'i, who married Bi En Pita'i. They gave birth to Nai Eli Pa'i, who married Bi Kol Niuflapu. They begat Nai Teok Pa'i, who married Bi Maul Taboen. They begat Nai Kol Pa'i, who married Bi Lauf Sanam and Bi Sain Abi. Of the first marriage were born: Nai Sain Pa'i, Bi El Pa'i in the village of Numenis 51 and Bi Eok Pa'i. Of the second marriage were born Nai Nos Pa'i in the village of Bisene, 51 Nai Tal Pa'i and six more children. The eldest son, Nai Sain Pa'i, married Maria Manu Lolomsa'it. They safeguarded the le'u and begat Nai Antoin Pa'i and Bi Kon Pa'i.

50 Op. cit., p. 74. Middelkoop's translation reads: "they (Nai Keba Abakut and Bi Beto Pa'i) begat Nai Tal Pa'i". This must be based on an error as the Timorese text does not state this — he is the son of Nai Naju Pa'i.
51 Hence these marriages were uxorilocal for the first few years.
DIAGRAM No. 5  Genealogy of the House of Pa'i
Nai Sain Pa'i fell ill, his body shrivelled up and he died. Then Nai Tal Pa'i weeded the field for the aged Maria Manu Lolomsa'it, and looked after her. She bore him Bi Tal Pa'i and five more children, the youngest of whom, Bi Sani Pa'i, “finished off the milk”.

Then follows Bi Maria Manu Lolomsa'it’s genealogy: “Nai Auken Tanono married Bi Ena Abakut and begat Bi Bait Tanono and Bi Kau Tanono. Nai Seba Feka married Bi Bait Tanono and begat Bi Manu Feka. Nai Oe Na'u married Bi Manu Feka.” They had ten children, the sixth of whom was Nai Fo’ Na’u and the seventh Nai En Na’u, the narrators of the story. The second was Bi Kol Na’u, who married Nai Sen Lolomsa’it. They begat Nai Sen Lolomsa’it and Bi Manu Lolomsa’it, that is, the aged Bi Maria. Diagram no. 4 represents the genealogy in table form. It offers positive confirmation of the above. Men from Pa’i do not marry women from one group, but from eight different groups (printed in italics in the diagram), a different group in each generation. While in the second generation Pa’i is Abakut’s bride-giver, the situation is reversed in the third generation. Here we have an example of a reversal of the *feto-mone* relationship in two successive generations. It may be the result of the payment of the bridewealth for Kau Pa’i by Tae Abakut not being fulfilled. The daughter, Sil Abakut, was probably married to a Pa’i by way of “payment”, as her mother’s replacement. Her brother also married a Pa’i, so that here we have, to all appearances, a direct exchange of sisters. However, formally speaking this is not so. In this generation Abakut is the bride-giver and therefore the *amaf* of Abakut is Pa’i’s *atoni amaf*. Now, in order to avoid Pa’i becoming at the same time Abakut’s *atoni amaf* as a result of Bi Berto Pa’i’s marriage to Nai Keba Abakut, that is, to avoid their becoming each other’s *atoni amaf* (an impossibility) Keba Abakut simply had to be admitted to the house of Pa’i. He paid no bridewealth for his wife, and his children were made members of the Pa’i clan. In the Atoni’s categories of thinking this does not constitute an exchange of sisters — one *ume*, Abakut, has simply given another *ume*, Pa’i, a brother and a sister.

The above is an example of the astounding amount of knowledge possessed by the narrators, Fo’ Na’u and En Na’u. They are familiar with the genealogies of their sister’s daughters’ husbands and know how they are related to these via their mother’s mother’s mother’s mother.

52 I.e., he had intercourse with her. This is an example of a leviratic marriage, therefore, Tal Pa’i replacing his deceased brother.

53 She was her last child.
The genealogy must be reliable, judging from the fact that every
detail fits in exactly, for Maria Manu Lolomsa'it marries a man who,
like herself, belongs to the seventh generation, counting down from
their common ancestor, Naju Pa'i.

This genealogy was enumerated in 1930 by Fo Na'u and his brother,
En Na'u, when their sister's daughter had eight children. Hence they
must have been at least 60, and the genealogy must go right back to
before 1800 or even before 1750. The numerous genealogies of royal
and chiefly lineages found in old memoranda confirm the picture
presented by this one, as well as the data of my own research in Mio-
mafo. We must draw the conclusion, therefore, that the data con-
cerning the Atoni area before the colonial period, which began here
in 1910, give insufficient evidence to support the theory of fixed,
unilateral, circulating affinal alliances in this area. The ancient prin-
ciple of quadrupartition which was in fact found by us to operate as a
structural principle sheds insufficient light on the matter of affinal
relationship. But, as we shall see later, it is important for the political
structure.

Van Wouden's conclusions are too speculative, therefore. The sup-
position that such a system may formerly have been in force, or may
at any rate have existed as an ideal pattern which operated as a struc-
tural principle, is in actual fact no more than a historical speculation
which, moreover, is far from capable of furnishing the key to an under-
standing of the social reality in Timor. This does not mean to say that
his model is not of use as a hypothesis in a wider context, however,
although it is not even workable for Timor as a whole.

In the Atoni area of Timor we find neither an exchange of women
via a unilateral, circulating system such as that proposed by Van
Wouden, nor a direct exchange of women between two groups as
Cunningham suggests. There is strong preference for an asymmetrical
connubium, however. If it is strictly prohibited for a male ego to marry
his father's brother's daughter and if marriage to father's sister's daugh-
ter and mother's sister's daughter is undesirable, then only mother's
brother's daughter remains. We have seen, however, that although
theoretically correct this conclusion is not supported by what happens
in practice, because there is nothing to deter ego from marrying a
daughter of one of father's or mother's classificatory sisters, there
being a greater social distance between them. The same applies to
father's classificatory brother's daughter, provided the social distance
is sufficiently large, which it may be as a result of her living in a dif-
23. An Atoli hamlet. On the left can be seen a huts, which serves both as a storage-hut for rice and corn and as a meeting-place. On the right is a traditional house, which is oval in shape and has a roof coming almost down to the ground. Cf. p. 429, photograph 32.
ferent village, for instance. Of course we could surmise that formerly this used to be different. But this would amount to mere historical speculation, there being little or no evidence for it in the present-day network of affinal relationships at any rate. Although preference is clearly given to marriage with mother's brother's daughter, ego's choice is never restricted to one particular, fixed group, at least not to the extent that we can speak of a closed, circulating connubium. At most we can say that there appears to be a preference for the perpetuation of existing affinal relationships with different groups, so that what we have here is primarily an open, asymmetrical system, using the distinction made by Salisbury.54 Thus we arrive at the diagram above.

Here *ume* (a) of clan A is the bride-giver of (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (a 1), and is therefore *mone* in respect of these *ume*. And (a) receives brides from (m), (n), (o), (b), (a 2) and (a 1), and is therefore their *feto*. *Ume* (a 1) and (a 2) belong to the same clan as (a), that is, clan A, so that marriages between them are endogamous as far as the clan is concerned. *Ume* (a 1) and (b) both receive brides from and give brides to (a), although this will happen in different generations. *Ume* (a) will endeavour to give brides to as varied a number of groups as possible, and to restrict the number of groups that supply it with brides. We find a similar practice in Sumba.55

It is important to note that it is not in the first place a number of

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54 Salisbury, 1956, p. 641, cited by Schoorl, 1957, p. 34
55 Onvlee, personal communication.
triads with which we are dealing here, but always a number of double pairs, as (a) is to (b), (c) and so on as mone is to feto and to (m), (n) and so on, as feto is to mone. They are not involved in a combination as, for example, (f)-(a)-(o), and (f) and (o) are not related via (a). The key relationships are those involving (a) with a number of bride-receiving ume and with a number of bride-giving ume. The relationship in question is therefore always one between two groups. Any affinal relationship that may exist between (f) and (o) does not concern (a). We do not presume to deny the existence of another form of tripartition, namely that involving (a) as an independent ume with a number of bride-giving and a number of bride-receiving ume. This triad has an important bearing on the Atoni's social life.56

The basic, predominating fact is that the Atoni belongs to a corporate lineage which he calls his ume (= lit. house). This ume is the nucleus of the social structure. He is also a member of a kanaf (clan) and from this he derives his name (kanaf). But the residential unit in which he lives is the locally defined ume which constitutes part of a village (kuan). Formerly it probably constituted a separate part of the village as a hamlet (kuan or lopo). Like a dwelling, the ume has its specific location. When the ume has outgrown its territory or if there have been quarrels, scission will result and a junior branch will settle elsewhere, usually in the immediate neighbourhood; in the case of war it may settle far from its ancient place of origin. The senior branch usually remains. An ume, even a recently established one, always has its fixed location, its kuan. Together with a number of other lopo or kuan it shares a specific, bounded territory, which is in the custodianship of a tobe. This gives rise to speculations concerning the possibility of a traditional division of a territory into four communities, as was mentioned above, and as we shall come across in the political system. However, as far as the kinship system is concerned we must restrict ourselves to taking as our point of departure the primary importance of the ume as a corporate unit. Those who marry into this group, this ume, are admitted to its nono, that is, the circle and the fertility power of the clan to which it belongs. They will henceforth observe the taboos (nuni) which are in force in that particular clan, of which they become members, while their children are members by virtue of their birth within it. This does not prevent their transfer, in some cases, to the clan of the married-in parent, as a consequence of which the child(ren) will

56 Cf. p. 106 above, p. 409 below.
have to move to a different locality. The members of an ume furthermore include strangers who have been admitted to it, these usually being slaves or a wanderer or refugee.

When we discover that the ume, as part of a clan, may be patrilineal as well as matrilineal, the question as to the line of descent becomes of secondary importance. Both patrilineal and matrilineal forms of descent are found in the Atoni area — both fit in with the system. The customs vary with virtually every different political community, and although the Atoni is quite capable of discerning these differences in adat he takes them for what they are: incidental differences which have no effect on the basic structure of his ume as a corporate lineage, nor substantially affect that of the clan. Land tenure, inheritance and hereditary succession are internal ume affairs. Leadership of the ume is vested in an amaf (father) also called mnasi (elder).

The question which now remains to be answered is whether this kinship system should be termed ambilocal and ambilineal, as Pouwer does in respect of the Mimika. These terms do not quite fit the situation in Timor, however. The term “ambilocality” presupposes a free choice. Any variety of marriage within the range encountered in Timor commences uxorilocally and is supposed eventually to become patrilocal. The question as to whether or not descent may be termed ambilineal is a more difficult one to settle. An ume which always adopts one of the children of its daughters, as happens in Insana, and sometimes adopts the entire family of one of its daughters can hardly be said to be unilineal. On the other hand, these children are integrated into the clan of the mother’s father, so that the accent remains on agnatic descent. This is also evident in the distinction made in the names for father’s father and mother (na’i and be’i) and mother’s father and mother (am baba and ain baba); the literal meaning of the latter two is: affinal mother and father respectively. The clan of the agnatic lineage is the most important one. The daughter’s children born while the marriage is uxorilocal observe the nuni (taboos) of their mother’s father’s clan. Even the man who resides in his wife’s ume for a long period of time is temporarily admitted to this ume in the sense that its nuni also apply to him.

We can therefore only describe the marriage organization as being first uxorilocal and then patrilocal and the system of descent as chiefly unilineal, namely patrilineal, although when uxorilocality is repeated

57 Pouwer, 1955.
for several generations descent becomes matrilineal. We have seen this
to be the case sometimes in Beboki. It is in this sense that Francillon
regards South Belu as purely matrilineal. Of North Belu he writes:
"the non unilineal (patrilineal) descent system is in fact matrilineal
with the possibility always open for men to purchase the rights of the
father by drawing their wives into their own natal houses".\textsuperscript{58} I
would say the reverse of adjoining Beboki: descent is traced through
the father's line, but as the husband's \textit{ume} may always remain in default
with regard to payment of the bridewealth, one or perhaps all of the
children will belong to the mother's lineage. But perhaps I view the
situation too much from the perspective of the patrilineal system pre­
valent in the western Atoni area, and Francillon too much from that
of the purely matrilineal system of South Belu. It occupies a typically
intermediate position, but the hypothesis of a double unilineal system
fails to explain it entirely. The model underlying diagram 4 is a much
simpler one. Depending on whether marriages in Timor are more or
less frequently and permanently uxorilocal or patrilocal descent will
be more or less matrilineal or patrilineal respectively. The advantage
of this model is that it corresponds directly with the social reality in
South Belu, which is matrilineal, and the western Atoni area, which
is patrilineal, as well as being capable of explaining all intermediate
forms in North Belu and the eastern Atoni area.

Thus, by taking as our point of departure the \textit{ume} as a locally defined
group of kin, all further grouping will branch out into two different
directions: the territorial and the genealogical one. Various \textit{ume}
of different clans live in a particular geographically defined area. They
share a \textit{tobe} between them. Although the function of the \textit{tobe} is there­
fore not restricted to a particular genealogical group, it is connected
with one of the \textit{ume} which have joint rights to a certain territory,
namely the territory of the village. Formerly each \textit{ume} lived apart
from the others, and the residential communities thus formed were
also called \textit{kuan} (or \textit{lopo}, as in Amanuban). The different \textit{ume}
sharing one common territory and one common \textit{tobe} form one group. That
is why, when later they began to live closer together, whether of their
own accord or under coercion on the part of the colonial adminis­
tration, this was not felt to be a drastic change in the traditional
structure. For this reason little resistance was offered to this measure,
and people continued to live in larger villages even when the pressure

\textsuperscript{58} Personal communication.
on them to do so eased. A major factor responsible for this was the greater measure of security enjoyed under colonial rule, moreover. During the Japanese occupation, when the population was heavily oppressed, people began to spread to isolated areas again, but nonetheless kept away from the ancient, lofty cliffs which did not offer protection against the Japanese anyway. The tendency was to occupy isolated garden huts so as to be able to suppress a small portion of the harvest, the whole of which was requisitioned by the Japanese. Thus the risk involved in moving it to the villages was avoided.

The growth of settlements around usif and kapitan was also a logical development and one which is consistent with the traditional structure. A large village like this always has only one tobe, however.

Hence the territorial and genealogical principles coincide in the ume. A number of ume make up a clan (kanaf) which is not a territorial unit. In between the ume in the sense of a limited lineage and the clan as a whole there are the lineages of varying sizes. When an ume outgrows its territory, or if there are quarrels inside it, scission takes place. But the amaf of the senior branch will remain the custodian of the le'u, the sacred objects of the lineage. The fathers (amaf or amfini) of the various ume are the lineage elders (mnasi). Similarly there is a "senior", leading branch and a leading ume in each clan. There are, however, no separate words in Timorese for any kind of intermediate genealogical grouping between the ume and the clan.

Analogous to this there are a number of elders (mnasi) in each village occupied by ume of different clans. Together these form a council of elders which wields considerable authority, in spite of the fact that it is not instituted by a higher political authority. The tobe, the amaf of one of the ume, is in charge of the ritual of the agricultural cycle. The amaf who is also atoni amaf, that is, the head of the bride-giving group, is in charge of the ritual of the life-cycle of his affines in the bride-receiving ume. Apart from that each amaf conducts the affairs of his own ume. The degree of authority with which he acts is very much dependent on his personality, but in accordance with the traditional institution he definitely has authority. He is expected to settle all matters with authority, though in consultation with the people concerned. For instance, the marriage of a girl of his ume is a matter that concerns her parents. It is her father, and, after his death, her brother who is her children's atoni amaf in the stricter sense of the word, though actually in a ritual sense it is the amaf of the bride's

Cf. p. 186 below.
ume who is atoni amaf. The latter will, in consultation with the girl's father, negotiate about the bridewealth. The amaf is also responsible for the behaviour of the members of his ume. If, for example, one of them has a fine imposed on him by the ruler or his representative the usif, the amaf is responsible for its payment. And it is he who has to see to it that the orders of the heads (nakaf) are carried out. Here we see the village acting as a united whole, however, nowadays under the leadership of the temukung as village head. But even in the remoter past a masi, who was one of the amaf of the ume inhabiting the village, was the primus inter pares to whom the usif's messenger always addressed himself. This brings us to the political structures of larger units. Each village was part of a district at the head of which stood an amaf naek, a "great father", of the leading clan of that district. He was a genealogical head (amaf) as well as a territorial head (nakaf) and as such was also tobe naek (major custodian of the land). We shall devote a later chapter to this political structure. Our present concern is solely to demonstrate how inextricably the kinship system is interwoven with the territorial organization.

It was a long time before this fact was recognized. McIver, thinking along the same lines as Maine,60 wrote as recently as 1947 in his book entitled The Web of Government: "Tribal government differs from all other political forms in that the territorial basis is not sharply defined. In its primary sense a tribe is a community organised on the basis of kinship".61 Of course the social anthropologists themselves were partly at fault in this respect. Some attention was given, it is true, to the geographically defined community, but then only to "the little community" as such, to the "band" or the village, and not to the geographically defined community as a genealogical group. The study of kinship organization developed into a separate specialization, as a result of which in present-day scientific terminology the use of the terms "corporate lineage" or "corporate clan" is emphatically called for to indicate that the genealogical group is territorially localized. A reversal of this method, that is, by taking the smallest geographical unit as the point of departure for the study of kinship organization, may lead to greater clarity. For this geographical unit is probably of universal importance in the progress of mankind. This is certainly true as regards the groups or "bands" which live as independent units in Bushman society. These bands roam the desolate Kalahari desert

60 Cf. Maine, 1861, p. 129; 1875, p. 68; 1861, p. 17.
61 McIver, cited by Schapera, 1956, p. 3.
and live by hunting and gathering food; each of these bands is made up chiefly, though not exclusively, of a genealogical group which claims a sharply defined territory as its own. In these chiefly agnatic groups we sometimes see husbands permanently living with their wives' kinsmen. The agrarian Tallensi, one of the West African Volta peoples, have "houses" (yir) which are almost identical with the ume of the Atoni, that is, in the sense of "the joint family as a coherent social unit residing in its own dwelling".

Territorially defined groups are found even among the semi-nomadic Somali. Lewis says of these that "in relation to their ecology, the Somali have developed a system of grazing where no firm titles attach to pasturage except those which depend on force". This is not altogether correct, however. A Somali who has experience in such matters by virtue of his function as government official once put it like this to me: "The Somali is so firmly insistent upon his rights to pasture-lands that he will fight for them at the slightest provocation". The result is the same — constant conflict over grazing-lands — but the method of approach is diametrically opposed. I personally favour the latter. Besides, Lewis himself also draws the conclusion that "although primary lineage-groups are not geographical units, people of the same lineage tend to camp side by side where they are temporarily gathered in a region of pasture". And "the same tendency for lineages to provide nuclei of settlement is found also in the villages and towns".

In ancient Israel too the social nucleus was the bēth-āḇ, i.e. the paternal house. Like the Timorese agnatic ume this comprised the family of the father or those of a number of brothers and those of their married sons, as well as their servants. A group of these "agnatic houses" made up a clan (mispāchāḥ) which usually, though not always, constituted a separate settlement. The actual unit was the bēth-āḇ as a territorial and, chiefly, genealogical unit. The head of a bēth-āḇ was a zaqēn or elder, and the combined elders of the mispāchāḥ were responsible for the welfare of their clan, for its ritual and for blood-revenge.

These are only four examples, drawn from four culturally totally different areas both as regards language and mode of existence.

62 Schapera, 1956, p. 11. 
64 M. Fortes, 1957 (1949), p. 44. 
65 Lewis, 1961, p. 89. 
66 Communication M. Abucar. 
67 Lewis, 1961, p. 90. 
Among the patrilineal Karo Batak in the Indonesian culture province itself we find the lineages of the *marga* (clan), called *rumah* (house), which have lands of their own. These lands are the *terpuk* (sections) or *kesan* (compounds) of a village. Each house has its own name.\(^69\)

Among the matrilineal Minangkabau all those who descend from the same mother and live in one large house (*rumah*) are members of a *parui*’ (= womb). If this becomes too large it may ramify into various “branches” (*djurai*), each with a dwelling of its own and thus forming a new “house”. Each “house” has its own possessions. Hence it is not the *parui*’ or the *djurai* per se that is the nucleus of Minangkabau society, but the *parui*’ or *djurai* as it is resident in one *rumah*.\(^70\)

Umar Junus,\(^71\) in his study of the genealogical structures of the Minangkabau, takes the locally defined land-owning *peruik* or *parui*’ as his point of departure.

In general it can be stated that even in a society in which genealogical ties are of prime significance the social nucleus of that society is to be found where the genealogical organization and that of the territorial units cross-cut. When once we recognize this fact a remark such as that made by Versluys,\(^72\) namely that in Timorese society the genealogical ties still exceed the territorial ties in importance, becomes meaningless. It would be beyond the Atoni’s own comprehension, and is quite incorrect structurally speaking. All it does is create more confusion. What Versluys means when he says this is that the function of district head is still hereditary in certain lineages.

And when Cunningham\(^73\) says: “Social life is primarily ordered in terms of agnation and affinity, but territorial ties (from hamlet to princedom) are important, with implications in economic, social and religious life, and in legal matters” he unjustifiably separates from each other the principles of genealogical and territorial organization.

In the past few decades the inseparability of the basic territorial and genealogical unit of an archaic society has been clearly recognized, as the examples listed testify. But in practice it has been insufficiently taken into account.

In conclusion a word about the principle of reciprocity. Reciprocity is of prime significance in the Atoni’s affinal relationships. Not, how-

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\(^69\) *Batak-spiegel*, 1910, p. 195; Vergouwen, 1964, p. 34, speaks of village ward and kinship ward for Mandailing.


\(^71\) Umar Junus, 1964, pp. 305 ff.

\(^72\) Versluys, 1949, p. 134.

\(^73\) Cunningham, 1962, p. 13.
ever, in the sense of an indirect exchange of women with the implication that the latter circulate in the one direction and the bridewealth in the other, a balance being achieved in both directions. Nor is there reciprocity in the sense of a system of a direct exchange of women between two groups. Here again we must take as our point of departure the locally defined ume. The ume contains a number of people, living souls (smanaf - the word is also translatable with “vital force”). Now, when a woman capable of reproducing life is married into another ume her own ume loses not only one smanaf, but future lives as well. It therefore exacts life in return: in the first place in the form of bridewealth, which is paid in instalments, each instalment being regarded as compensation for a part of the body of the woman in question. For example, one part of the bridewealth is given in return for her head, another for her hands and feet, and so on. The number of payments and their names vary from case to case, but they are always named after parts of the body. Originally the bridewealth consisted mainly of cattle, while later on silver was introduced, and later still silver in the form of coins. These latter are not actually money in the economic sense of currency but as objects with an intrinsic, fixed value, which may be used as ornaments and thus permanently retain their value in the exchange of life (smanaf) (see photographs 10 and 24). In the second place the ume exacts bride services. Through his labour the husband produces rice and corn, which are also smanaf, for his wife's ume. He works the soil, which brings forth life. Hence the husband's ume pays for what it will receive, namely smanaf, by means of bride services. That the Atoni himself sees it this way is apparent from the fact that the words for the implements which he uses, i.e. a matchet (benas) and a weeding-hook (tofa), which are often used in parallelism with each other and each of which denotes the kind of work for which it is used, are also used as a metaphor describing a husband's relationship with his wife, in which he also creates life. The tilling of the field and the relationship between husband and wife run parallel with each other.

In areas in which the husband is integrated into the wife's ume and remains there permanently there is of course no bridewealth, as in that case the husband's ume itself is giving a smanaf, which it has returned to it in the form of one or more children.

The method by which the balance between two ume is achieved and the principle of reciprocity is expressed may vary a great deal. It may vary from a substantial bridewealth and a short period of bride service, as in Ambenu, to an insignificant bridewealth, or none at all, and a
long period of bride service, or the definite obligation to return a "soul" brought forth by the wife to her ume.

When once we have established what the basic structural principle is, the different forms which are distinguished by institution in the different communities become easier for us to understand. Even inside a particular community there may be a considerable degree of flexibility. They are not to be seen as exceptions to the structural principle, as this principle may find expression in different ways. The principle of reciprocity does not furnish the answer to the question as to the backgrounds of an asymmetrical affinal relationship or a direct exchange. In this context that is a question of secondary importance only, although the rule of establishing asymmetrical affinal relationships with a number of ume is of primary importance for the social structure as a whole. For as a result of it a large number of ume of different kanaf are linked together in a lasting alliance. And, moreover, for the Atoni relationship, both agnatic and affinal, is the basis for nearly all social and political relationships, as we shall see when dealing with the political structures.

In accordance with the structural principle of reciprocity per se a direct exchange of women would lie within the range of possibilities, and this would not even be too much in contradiction with the other principle, according to which affinal relationships should be established in as many different directions as possible. Although a direct exchange is sometimes found, it is an exception. For there is a different objection to it — its practice would be in conflict with another structural principle, namely the one operating in the relationship between bride-receiver and bride-giver, i.e., the feto-mone relationship. Cunningham gives a very clear account of the nature of this relationship. Each ume has its an mone (masculine children), that is, the members of the ume into which its sons have married or those which have given it one or more of their daughters and whose anamaf are therefore its atoni anamaf. These are socially superior, then. Besides these there are the an feto or feminine children, that is, all members of the ume of its daughters' husbands, which are therefore socially its inferiors. When feasts are given, at the death of one of the members of the ume, for example, the an mone and an feto of the various ume with which it has, or in the preceding generation had affinal alliances, are invited. Cunningham says that the ume organizing the feast "refers to itself on such occasions as the uem tuaf (house master)" (uem = ume). Now, a host may

never refer to himself as house-master, for, as Cunningham brings out clearly, he plays the part of the subordinate. He is, in fact, inferior in respect of his mone affines. But although the ume of the deceased is responsible for issuing the invitations, it is the atoni amaf who is in charge of the actual feast. Only in respect of its feto affines is the ume superior, as becomes apparent during the feast itself.

This relationship involves not only a triad, namely feto-ume-mone, but also two pairs. The ume is feto in respect of all bride-giving ume and mone in respect of all bride-receiving ume. Generally speaking only a few groups will be represented on such occasions as the name-giving feast of a child. But at the death of the amaf of an ume all the amaf of the bride-giving ume will come, if possible, while the atoni amaf of the deceased person is in charge of the ritual. In addition, bride-receiving ume and those ume of the clan with which social relations are still maintained are invited. Especially the amaf who is the lineage head, and possibly the amaf naek of the parent clan will also be present on this occasion.

It is evident from the nature of this relationship that a direct exchange of women is almost impossible.

The situation is slightly different in the case of a marriage inside the clan. This is a very common occurrence, although people prefer not to talk of it. It is a sign of poverty, as within the clan bridewealth does not have to be paid, except for the small gifts before and during the wedding ceremony. Bride service is required, on the other hand, and possibly in most cases the return of a child. Marriage inside the clan is possible, as the social nucleus is the ume, which is strictly exogamic. Any form of sexual relationship between two members of one ume is tantamount to incest. The decisive factor is the structural distance between two ume of the same clan. If they have split only in the preceding generation, marriage between members of the two will not be possible. However, if the two lineages have been living apart for many years there is not such strong objection and it is prompted mainly by considerations of social status, as such marriages are looked upon as a sign of poverty. Yet such marriages take place even in lineages of distinguished families. There is an example of it in Taolin's genealogy: the grandfather of the Kahalasi Taolin who became raja in 1915 was married to a girl from his own clan.75 Marriage inside the clan is never considered ideal, neither from an economic nor from a social or political point of view. For each marriage to a fe lalan (woman of the trodden

75 Steinmetz, 1916. Appendices.
path) guarantees the perpetuation of a social relationship, or, in the
case of marriages of heads, a political one. Efforts will invariably be
made to increase the number of ume with which there are affinal alli-
cances, especially, of course, by marrying daughters into them so as to
become mone in respect of these ume. There is, however, another pos-
sibility of establishing alliances between ume. Cunningham has pointed
this out in an important article of his entitled: Atoni borrowing of
children, an aspect of mediation. The point in question is that ties
are established by lending children to families belonging to a different
clan. Apart from lending them to their grandparents, children are most
commonly lent to the father's sister's family.

Hence we can infer that the following structural principles which
control and shape the kinship system, operate.

1. The indissolubility of the ties of a particular group of kinsmen with
a particular territory.

2. The necessity to extend the ume as an exogamic, geographically
defined genealogical sub-group of a clan and to reinforce its smanaf
or vital force.

3. The principle of reciprocity by means of which it is endeavoured
to maintain the stability of the balance of life. The ume always
requires the same amount of smanaf it has given away to be given
in return, no matter by what means.

4. The superiority of the ume which gives away the source of life
(woman) in respect of the receiving ume. This principle requires
that affinal relationships be asymmetrical.

5. The superiority of the elder brother in respect of the younger.
There is no word for brother in general — the terms used always
denote some order of precedence. This way there is never any un-
certainty as to who is to be the head of the ume, lineage or clan.

6. The tendency to perpetuate existing affinal alliances, thereby in-
creasing the stability of existing groupings.

7. The tendency towards establishing and maintaining affinal rela-
tionships with a large number of clans, thereby strengthening the ties
between various genealogical groups and resulting in a closely knit
social fabric.

8. The preference, at least in the major part of the Atoni area, for
agnatic descent and hence patrilocality of marriage. This preference
is not general.

\footnote{Cunningham, 1965.}