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Unity and disunity - Cottica Djuka as a kinship system

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MAP OF SURINAM (eastern part)
SHOWING AREAS OCCUPIED BY BUSH NEGROES

UNITY AND DISUNITY

COTTICA DJUKA SOCIETY AS A KINSHIP SYSTEM

1. *Introduction.* The Djuka, one of the bushnegro tribes of Surinam, live in the interior of this vast country along the Tapanahony, Marowijne and Cottica rivers (see map p. 10). Their precise number is not known, but it probably amounts to about 15.000. They live in villages averaging some hundreds of inhabitants; they practise shifting cultivation in addition to which they have of old earned money through rendering transport services on the rivers. Nowadays many young Djuka leave their homeland temporarily to work as migrant labourers in the capital (Paramaribo) or elsewhere. The tribe has a Paramount Chief (*Gaman*) who lives in the village of Dritabiki on the Tapanahony river. There his power is preponderant (Thoden van Velzen, 1966: ch. 6-9, 12, 13), but in the Cottica region, which will be the subject of this paper, his influence is negligible, although his name is held in high esteem. For all practical purposes, therefore, in this region there is no tribal political power that exceeds the village-level.

We know more about the history of the bushnegroes than about that of most other tribal groups. From the last quarter of the seventeenth century onwards, large numbers of negro-slaves were brought to Surinam from West Africa to work in the sugar plantations. Their life was extremely hard and in spite of the great risks involved, many of them ran away to hide in the immense forests of the interior. These runaway slaves carried out raids on the plantations to procure necessary tools and implements and thus were a menace to the colony. Time and again the colony organized expeditions in an attempt to wipe them out, which, however, proved unsuccessful. Ultimately, a solution was sought by means of a treaty involving the acceptance of the *status quo* if the bushnegroes would cease their raids on the plantations and hand over new escapees. Such a treaty was concluded in 1760. From that time onwards the bushnegroes could build up their society practically without interference, although their relations with the whites continued to be strained. In doing so, they made full use of their African heritage,

pikin), descendants of men of the matrilineage, who are, therefore, not themselves members of the lineage, yet live in the village. This is by no means an insignificant group, neither in position nor in numbers: 46 adult inhabitants of the village belong to this category, as opposed to 85 adult "belly-people".

The third and last category in the village is formed by the affines, the *konlibi*, literally "those who have come to live", most of them men but also some women.⁴ Their total number in Langa Uku is 45.

The Djuka themselves clearly distinguish these three categories. Whenever the village crier (*basia*) goes around to announce a ritual or a court-session he loudly summons each of these groups separately. They do, in fact, each have their own rights and obligations. We shall be discussing each of these groups in turn. (The matrilineage on p. 13—p. 39; the "father-made-them-children" on p. 39—p. 43; the affines on p. 44—p. 47).

3. *The matrilineage.* Matrilineal kin form a corporate group and have a name. The kingroup of Langa Uku is called "*Pata*". Langa Uku, however, is not the only *Pata* village. Those descendants of Afo Tesa who are shown in dotted symbols on diagram 1 live in the village of Loabi on the Tapanahony river (see map). The *Pata* people, with their two villages, are a relatively small kinship group. Other such groups consist of 5, 6 or even 10 villages. In those cases it is no longer possible to trace actual kinship lines: such matrilineal groups consist of several "bellies" (matrilineages), together forming one *lo* (matriclan).

So far the picture does not differ materially from that of matrilineal societies in West-Africa. In one respect, however, these matriclans are unique: each one originated (roughly during the first half of the eighteenth century) from a particular group of runaway slaves of a particular plantation or group of plantations, from which they also derive their names.

Thus the *Dju-lo* (literally the Jew-*lo*) goes back to a group of runaways from plantations owned by Portuguese Jews. The ancestors of the *Pinasi-lo* were the slaves of a planter called l'Espinasse; those of the *Ansu-lo* belonged to a mister Amsingh, the owner of the plantation called "Meerzorg" (near Paramaribo).⁵

According to Wong (1939, p. 313), the *Pata* group derive from the Maagdenburg plantation on the Tempati river (a tributary of the Surinam river), which belonged to a mister Pater. This statement, meanwhile, is not in agreement with the map of de Lavaux (1731). This shows all the existing plantations with their

⁴ In diagram 1 these affines have been omitted lest the diagram become illegible.

⁵ Wong (1939): 310-316.

names and those of their owners. According to this map the plantations on the Tempati (or Tamapati) were already deserted at this time and none of them ever belonged to Pater. The latter did however own a plantation on the Commewijne river as well as one on the upper Cottica. If the ancestors of our *Pata* people really came from this Cottica plantation, this would lend a certain piquancy to the situation, since in that case they settled as free people, after many wanderings, almost exactly on the same spot where their ancestors formerly lived as slaves.

It is unlikely that the runaways from any one plantation were all related, let alone matrilineally related to one another. Still, that is how the Djuka represent the situation. If a *lo* consists of, for instance, five "bellies" (matrilineages), they say that the ancestresses were five sisters. This is a phenomenon known from many other societies: when people live in close proximity to one another like kinsmen, they tend to address and treat one another as kinsmen and to end up regarding each other as such. Social ties, in short, are more important than ties of the blood.

I do not claim hereby to have shown how these kinship groups were actually formed. Unfortunately this process is definitely lost in the past. The anthropologist would be interested to know how these people came to choose a consistent matrilinear system. Undoubtedly their West-African heritage played a part, but this cannot be considered a sufficient explanation since the runaways did not all originate from matrilinear societies. The influence of the matrilinear Akan-tribes is unmistakable, but so is that of patrilinear tribes. Were there discussions about how to reckon descent? Did the one group impose its will on the other? If they imitated what they remembered from Africa, how are we to explain the significant differences between the Akan and Djuka matrilinear systems? Do these differences date right from the beginning or did they develop later? We shall never know the answers to these questions.

History of the Pata lineage. During the second half of the 18th century the *Pata* people probably migrated to the Tapanahony river together with the main body of the Djuka. According to informants, they built their first village in the upper Tapanahony district near Godoholo, on the Sliba creek. This information agrees with a report by post-holder Schachtruppe dating from 1830, which mentions a *Pata* village on that spot, a certain Andries being its head.⁶ Later, probably during the second half of the last century, the *Pata* people migrated in little groups to the Cottica region, which offered better economic possibilities. The original village fell into decay. Eventually only Ma 7 Komfo (diagram 1 no. 3) remained on the Sliba creek with a granddaughter, Ma Neni (no. 11), the latter's husband and their five children. Around 1900 Ma Lena (no. 15) came from the

⁶ Wong (1939): 310-311.

⁷ *Ma* (lit. mother) is the term for elderly woman.

Cottica district to visit the Sliba creek village. Ma Komfo asked her to stay and settle there: "I don't want to stay on here by myself just with my granddaughter, and it would be a bad thing if all the Pata people left the Tapanahony region where the ancestors lie buried". Ma Lena responded to the appeal. Even so the village was too small in the end to be viable, so the inhabitants decided to move to nearby Loabi, a small village of the *Pinasi-lo* on the Tapanahony.

And such is still the situation at the present time, *Pata-* and *Pinasi-*people living together in Loabi, although in separate quarters and each with their own headman. The village has only one ancestral shrine (*fagatikiki*) and one mortuary house (*ké-osu* or *gáwan-osu*), built by the *Pinasi* lineage, but also used by the *Pata* people. The latter are not satisfied with their dependent position and have recently requested the Chief (*Gáman*) of the tribe to be allowed to found a village of their own again.

Other clans similarly have their original village on the Tapanahony with in addition one or more villages on the Cottica.

Although it takes ten days to reach Loabi from Langa Uku by canoe, travellers having to negotiate the formidable Marowijne and Tapanahony falls, there is regular contact and a feeling of solidarity between the two villages. Whenever people from Langa Uku have to go to Dritabiki to see the Paramount Chief, they go to nearby Loabi to stay for a while in the village of their kinsmen. A few years ago they came in great numbers to attend the mortuary feast (*bókó dé*) for the captain of Loabi, Da ⁸ Agi (diagram 1 no. 30).

Da Nosu (no. 77) was appointed as Da Agi's successor, although he had been living in Langa Uku for years. Vice versa Langa Uku is regularly visited by people from Loabi who may come for a brief stay but may also remain there for as long as they wish, or even settle there permanently. The people of both villages know one another well enough for plenty of gossip both ways.

The Djuka have a good memory, since, if children are counted in, the genealogy includes no less than nine generations (see diagram 1). Like elsewhere, social structure determines what and how much of the past is remembered. Of the first generation only two persons are known, and it is no accident that these two are remembered: Da Abuta (no. 1) was a village head, Afo Tesa (no. 2) is the link between the people of Langa Uku and those of Loabi. If her name had been forgotten, it would no longer be possible to show the relationship between the two villages.

Who came before them? Their names have been lost, for they are not needed to account for present-day kinship ties. According to some

⁸ *Da* (lit. father) is the term for elderly man.

informants the two persons named were the first ancestors, meaning that they were the leaders of the runaways (*lowè sama*) from the plantation and the founders of the *Pata* lineage. Considering, however, that the group must have been formed at least 225 years ago, this cannot be true. Oral tradition tends to draw the moment of liberation (running away) closer in time: this act is simply attributed to the oldest generation of which names are remembered. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that circa 35 years ago, when Wong (1939:313) asked the then captain of Langa Uku for the name of the *Pata* ancestress, the name given was not the same one that is given by the villagers today.

History, to these people, serves to account for and to justify the present and as such it interests them — or at least some of them — greatly. But they feel no urge to establish “wie es wirklich gewesen ist”, to use Von Ranke’s famous expression. This is evident from what has just been said and is also illustrated by the following incident. In the genealogy, Alali (no. 4) and Fisama (no. 5) are shown as brother and sister. My informant on this point asserted at first that Fisama was Alali’s *mother*. I remarked that this made Alali, the second captain, and Aki (no. 7), the third captain, brothers with one and the same mother. But that is contrary to Djuka rule (see p. 23). Therefore the reaction was prompt: “that won’t do, so he must have been her brother, not her son”.

A lineage is a unit, but not an undivided one. It is subdivided into *segments*, each having their own quarter (*pisi*) in the village. In Langa Uku there are five such segments, the respective ancestresses of which are indicated in diagram 1 by the numbers 16, 17, 18, 19 and 21. In matters of inheritance and succession the segment as a group plays an important part as we shall see below.

Solidarity is greater among the members of a segment than among those of the matrilineage as a whole.

After a nocturnal séance two young men quarrel about some trivial matter and come to blows. In no time the whole crowd is fighting, each of the youths receiving assistance from the members of his own segment, who take sides without even knowing the reason for the fight. A *basia* (village headman’s assistant, village crier) tries to calm people down by saying: “stop it, go and sleep, tomorrow we’ll sort things out”. But the following day the matter is quickly dismissed. Everyone agrees it was only child’s play, and allowance is made for the fact that both parties had had a few drinks.

Usually there is no obvious division between the various quarters

and for an outsider they are hard to distinguish. But the village people know precisely where the territory of each segment ends and if a member of segment A wishes to live in that of segment B he must ask for permission to do so.

In the village of Ajumakonde a man wanted to build a hut on a particular spot. A woman took exception to this: he had no business there, she said, for he belonged to a different segment and, besides, she herself was planning to build a hut just there. During the ensuing quarrel she struck the man in the face. This led to a general fight, both parties being assisted by their own closest relatives. Bystanders put an end to it but during the next few days they exchanged blows again on two occasions. The man's group lost and after much discussion they left and built a settlement of their own not far from the village.

Vis à vis the outside world, however, the matri-lineage does act as a unit. This unity is manifested in religion. The lineage has a deity of its own as well as its own ancestors (*gán-jóka*) and, in addition, one or more avenging spirits (*kunu*).

The lineage deity. The deity of Langu Uku, Majombe, may serve as an example. He possesses powers enabling him to locate persons who get lost in the forest.

7th October. Some young men from Agitiondo arrive in Langu Uku with the news that a boy went out hunting yesterday and did not return in the evening; they have come to ask Majombe for help. An offering is made to the deity and a bundle of medicine (*obia*) is tied to a man's wrist after which an attempt is made to work him into a state of trance with drums and chanting. *8th October.* An official delegation arrives from Agitiondo. A palaver (*kutu*) is held to discuss the matter. This takes several hours. In the evening there is a séance: six men dance until they go into a trance. They fall down and *obia*-water is spat over them. Early the next day they go out to search. *13th October.* The boy still hasn't been found, "but Majombe says he isn't dead yet". The search is continued. *14th October.* Shouts of exultation: he has been found. The village crier goes around to make the good news known. A messenger is sent to Agitiondo. The news has already reached that village, but the official message should come from Langu Uku, as if from Majombe himself, "for he is the one who found him". *15th December.* The Great Deity (*Sweli Gadu*) — the most powerful of Djuka deities — who dwells in Agitiondo has sent some of his priests to Langu Uku with 6 bottles of beer to thank his "colleague" Majombe for the latter's assistance. *4th January.* The boy who was lost comes to Langu Uku with his father to be ritually washed in Majombe's little temple.

The village people say: "when we ran away from the plantations we carried the knowledge of Majombe with us in our hearts. In the forest we built a small temple for him. Later we took him with us when we moved from Sliba Creek to this place". Loabi (the other Pata village) only has an unimportant subsidiary shrine (*bakaman*) to Majombe.

The ancestors. Each village has a shrine to the ancestors (*faga-tiki*) where libations are made on occasions of illness or misfortune, or before starting on some important undertaking, such as leaving the village for some length of time. The ancestors make no distinctions: they will help a stranger who lives in the village and makes them an offering, even a member of another tribe or a white man.

They are believed to be generally well disposed towards their descendants, but once their anger is roused by some improper action they can bring illness or death to a member of the lineage, not necessarily always the person against whom their anger is directed.

In the village of Pikin Santi a woman is seriously ill. What is the cause? The oracle is consulted and intimates that the ancestors have made her ill. The people of her deceased husband's village did not treat her well when she stayed there as a widow. Her younger brother, instead of siding with her and avoiding the village in question, married a woman from that very village and went to live there. To show their displeasure at this action the ancestors caused the illness in the woman.

The avenging spirits. The fear inspired by the avenging spirit (*kunu*) is far greater than that felt for the ancestors. The *kunu* concept is reminiscent of the Furies of classical Greece: it is the doom a lineage brings on itself by killing someone unjustly. The dead person's spirit enters the head of a member of his own or his murderer's lineage, manifesting itself at irregular intervals. When the "bearer" of the *kunu* dies, the spirit is inherited by another member of his matri-group. The *kunu* tries to take revenge for the injustice suffered, causing the illness or death of members of the guilty lineage.

Not every person who is murdered by the lineage actually becomes a *kunu*. A few years ago two women beat an old woman to death in a quarrel. "The old woman's spirit plays nasty tricks on the two women who killed her, for instance by frightening them when they are alone in the forest to relieve nature. But it is not a real *kunu* yet, for it has not manifested itself in anyone so far. The two women are being treated by the priests of the Great Deity to prevent it from turning into a real *kunu*."

Not only a murdered Djuka but a Creole, a white man, a Javanese — anyone who falls by a murderer's hand can become a *kunu*.

The *kunu* is not possessed by blind vengeance, however, he only takes action when provoked. He is an upholder, be it a very strict one, of the moral order. He deals out punishment when someone speaks ill of his lineage in front of strangers; or when there is jealousy or rancour between members of the matri-group (*fio-fio*, *buja*); or when a person

does something against the express wish of his lineage; or, finally, in cases of incest.⁹ The Djuka do believe, though, that living persons can defend themselves against the *kunu*, at least to some degree. They may mollify it by regular offerings and supplications and by showing their gratitude as long as all goes well. After a mortuary feast that has passed without dissonance the Djuka never fail to thank the *kunu* for keeping aloof. As such the belief is an example of the "do ut abeas" idea. It is significant to note, however, that there also is evidence at times of a "do ut des" attitude: a feeling that this hostile *kunu* may be profitable to the lineage — though reluctantly and as it were contrary to its real nature — if only it is properly served.

Like the ancestors, the *kunu* does not necessarily punish the actual offender but rather just any members of the lineage. An informant commented: "We people of today (*baka kio sama*) can't approve of that any longer. The *kunu* should not kill innocent people! For what will their spirits do? They will be filled with vengeance in their turn to kill still other members of the matrigrpoup. In that way there's no end to it". These words show that the younger generation no longer views the lineage as a homogeneous unit. Collective responsibility is no longer a matter of course for them.

The *kunu* is greatly feared, even by those who have been influenced by Western religious ideas. One such informant told me: "I have become a Christian, so I need not be afraid of anything any longer, except of course the *kunu*". Actually the person in question was also afraid of witchcraft and of the Great Deity. Nevertheless his remark illustrates the central position of the *kunu* belief.

Kunu is not just associated with danger. If a member of lineage A is killed by lineage B and becomes B's *kunu*, he simultaneously becomes a good genius for lineage A. In addition, the situation gives lineage A a certain amount of power over lineage B.

The *Pinasi* lineage once murdered a *Pata* man. His spirit became a *kunu* for the *Pinasi*. It first manifested itself in a *Pinasi* man and later entered the head of a *Pata* woman ("he returned to his own lineage"). The *Pinasi* people now must treat this woman in particular and the *Pata* lineage in general with deference.

A *Pinasi* man was married to a *Pata* woman. He suspected her, with good reason, of being unfaithful, but she would not admit her guilt. He dared not insist too strongly on a confession for fear of the *kunu* in question.

It is not permitted for a man of a third lineage to be married to a *Pata* woman

⁹ Van Lier (1940): 179 emphasizes this last aspect of the *kunu*-belief stronger than my informants do.

and a Pinasi woman at the same time. If such co-wives were to quarrel it might, again, arouse the *kunu*'s anger, resulting in illness or death.

The Pata woman in whose head this *kunu* dwells acts as his priestess. She has his shrine in her hut and it is one of the most sacred places in the village. At times of illness or other misfortune the Pata people come here to ask for aid. The priestess derives prestige from her position. Once when some young men had stolen the crops she had harvested she went into a trance and the *kunu* spoke threatening words through her lips. The elders reproached the miscreants and warned them of the danger they incurred.

4. *Exogamy*. Unilineal groups of the type outlined are exogamous in most societies, in fact so frequently so that most theorists include exogamy as an element in their definition of "clan" and "lineage". Does this apply also for the Djuka? In former times their society was strictly exogamous, marriage to even the farthest removed clan sister being forbidden.

According to Van Lier (1919: 76): "if a man has sexual relations with his own sister the *kunu* will punish, but it does not take action in less serious cases (sexual contact with a distant clan sister); it will never, however, condone a marriage between such persons and they may not live together". This is in accordance with what my informants tell me of 'former times'.

Recently, however, things have changed. In most Cottica villages intra-lineage marriages (*bé anga bé*, lit. "belly with belly") are permitted now, on condition that the partners must not belong to the same *matri-segment*. At present there are seven such marriages in Langa Uku, including those of the captain and his two *basia* (see diagram 1).

Nevertheless such marriages are not yet a matter of course. No one in this village really opposes them but they are still a subject of lively discussion. Some still don't think it quite right: "formerly the gods would have punished such persons but nowadays people just do as they like and the gods are more easy-going". Significant is the fact that the village captain at first kept his own intra-lineage marriage concealed from me, apparently believing I would think it blameworthy or indecent. Others, however, express enthusiasm at the change and advance good arguments in defence of it: "if you marry someone of another lineage the children are not for yourself, but if your wife is of your own 'belly' the children are too". A man who has two wives, one a lineage sister and the other a stranger, said: "that first one lives with me here in the village, both of us can continue to live at home. My things also stay in my own village. But look at my other wife: I have a hut in her village, everything I possess there is lost, for I am

only a stranger in that place. In the past you were not allowed to marry a 'sister'; if you tried, people would beat you. But nowadays it is permitted, thank goodness!"

With respect to this matter there is no clear difference between the generations. Young people are heard to defend such marriages, but so, too, is the oldest man in the village. It's a question of personal interests. This village eldest wished to marry a lineage sister himself some years ago and therefore he takes the 'progressive' point of view.

The former headman, who died six years ago, vehemently opposed such marriages for many years. The people of the village still give colourful descriptions of the way he used to rail at those who had the impudence to start an affair with a lineage sister. It is interesting to note that his arguments, according to his son (who is now some sixty years old himself), were based not only on tradition or the gods, but also on practical grounds. "If everyone married inside the village, we wouldn't have any more affines (*konlibi*) coming to live in the village. *And then who would mediate in conflicts?* Suppose a Pata man quarreled with another Pata man and there was no outsider to mediate between them. The mediator then would *have* to be a third Pata man. If he decides in favour of the first man against the second, what will people say? They won't say that the first one was really right but they'll say that he has a preference for that first man!" As we shall see, affines do mediate in conflicts between members of a lineage. The headman's argument testifies, therefore, to a considerable amount of insight into his own society.

Towards the end of his life, when he realized that there was no way to prevent such marriages the headman surrendered: "a few men may marry lineage sisters, but not all. That way there will still be affines". Even today most people agree with this. As one informant commented in an almost Lévi-Straussian mood: "Suppose everyone married within the 'belly', we wouldn't have any contact with other villages and there would only be a few people present on such occasions as mortuary feasts, only people from our own village and that wouldn't be right".

We should like to know where and when and in what circumstances such intra-lineage marriages first took place. Probably the change came about gradually and without spectacular conflicts, for the present-day Djuka, or at least my informants, couldn't tell me anything about it. And we must allow for the fact that the process is not yet completed. The Djuka of the Tapanahony river, for instance, are still not permitted

to contract such marriages.¹⁰ Oddly enough, the Cottica people quote the authority of the *Gaman* (Paramount chief), who lives on the Tapanahony, to sanction these marriages. When I asked what the *Gaman* thought of the matter an elder replied: "It was actually a former *Gaman* who instituted these marriages. He said there was no objection to them, not even in the case of children of full sisters". Needless to say this is an apocryphal statement.

On the Cottica river too we find 'progressive' and 'conservative' villages. In the big village of Agitiondo, a few hours by canoe from Langa Uku, there are only two instances of intra-lineage marriage, and even those are scarcely thought decent. This conservatism is due to the fact that Agitiondo is the residence of the Great Deity (*Sweli Gadu*), the deity whose priests are the most important power group in the society. They are suspicious of this sort of innovations which they usually manage to check in a effective manner, at least in their own village.

The village headman of *Langa Uku* is married to a clan sister, as we saw above, and this is in no way detrimental to his position. Compare what happened to Da Atonsé in the village of *Agitiondo*. This man is an important elder. Since the death of the village headman, which occurred some years before, he was acting headman, meanwhile carrying on intrigues to ensure his definite appointment. At the same time he had a clandestine affair with a distant clan sister and made her pregnant. In Langa Uku the matter would quickly have been settled with the sanction of the normal marriage ritual. Here, however, it was treated as a case of incest. The (priests of the) Great Deity imposed on Da Atonsé a heavy fine, namely a demijohn of *tafia* (an inferior type of rum), 12 bottles of beer and one sheet. In the past the man himself had several times whipped others who had affairs with clan sisters. "That is why it is necessary for the Great Deity to humiliate him now in this way".

It should be noted that this punishment by the priests was also a political manoeuvre. They did not want the man in question to become village headman and this affair gave them an opportunity to campaign against him. As a matter of fact the affair did obliterate his chances of obtaining the office. Interestingly enough the people of Langa Uku, where he was also disliked, displayed great moral indignation when they heard of the affair. "It is true we also marry lineage sisters" they said, "but he does so in Agitiondo and that's a different thing. That is very bad".

One *result* of intra-lineage marriage is increased disunity between the various matri-segments within the village. The solidarity of the segments is stressed at the expense of that of the village as a whole.

Ba Mansooi (diagram 1 no. 206) recently married his lineage sister Sa Meina

¹⁰ Cf. Thoden van Velzen (1966): 33-34.

(no. 180), his momomomositadadada. He decides to build a new hut in the quarter of his own lineage-segment. This is not to the liking of Sa Meina's grandmother and foster-mother Ma Fandi (no. 46). She demands that the hut be built in her quarter. The result is a violent quarrel which finally involves all the members of the two lineage-segments concerned. The cause of the quarrel is less futile than it might seem. If the hut is built in the man's quarter it counts as his property, if in the woman's, as hers. If the young couple were to divorce — and divorce is common in this society — then the location of the hut decides to whom it will go, to the man or to the woman.

To settle the dispute a palaver (*kutu*) is finally held which produces a verdict intended more or less to humour both parties and which is an example of the kind of compromises the Djuka are so fond of. Ba Mansooi is allowed to finish his hut, but later, at some unspecified date, he must also build one in Sa Meina's quarter.

These intra-lineage marriages are an example of recent change. Are they also an instance of acculturation? In other words, did this change come about as the result of (direct or indirect) external influences? This seems a plausible enough supposition, but we cannot be sure. Note that the matrilineal Ashanti of West Africa, although their society is infinitely more westernized, still adhere to the rule of exogamy.¹¹

5. *Succession.* For the principal political offices, those of the paramount chief (*Gaman*) and the village headman (captain), succession is strictly matrilineal. In the following exposition we shall limit ourselves to the village headman.¹² When such a functionary dies, which member of the lineage succeeds him? According to Djuka rules the new headman must belong to the next generation and preferably not to the dead man's matri-segment. The explanation the Djuka themselves offer for the latter requirement is that in this way the various segments of the lineage in turn may reap the profits (*njan*, lit. "eat") of captainship: a sort of spoils system. As West-Europeans, we know from dynastic history the rule that the successor must be the closest relative of the defunct ruler, regardless of whether or not he happens to be capable. Here we have a system where the successor must, on the contrary, be a *distant* relative.

There are considerable differences between this matrilineal system of succession and that of the West African Akan peoples. There the successor should preferably belong to the same generation as the dead man, if possible be a (real or classificatory) brother. There is no circulation of the office among the segments. For the inheritance of goods too, we may already note at this stage, the rules differ.

¹¹ Cf. Fortes (1950): 259.

¹² As to the succession of the Paramount Chief cf. Thoden van Velzen (1966): 64-68 and ch. XV.

Among the Akan, in principle, one person is the inheritor. Among the Djuka the inheritance is divided among as many individuals as possible (see p. 29). I mention this to illustrate my pronouncement (p. 12) that Djuka-culture is no copy of any West African example.

Even taking into account the two limitations mentioned, a large number of lineage-members are eligible for the office. By what means does the final choice come about? A headman who feels that his death is near usually indicates who is his favourite. He prepares the latter for the office by transmitting to him the esoteric knowledge of the group's history.

But only what happens after his death is decisive. The Djuka believe that the dead man's spirit definitely appoints his successor. The spirit is consulted in the following way. The dead man's hair is shaved off and tied together in a bundle on a paddle. During the burial rites two bearers walk around with it, each carrying one end of the paddle on his head. The belief is that the dead man's spirit has gone into his hair, which thus becomes a sort of oracle. It is asked a number of questions, the answer being contained in the movements of the bearers carrying the paddle with the bundle of hair. They either nod affirmatively or shake their heads.

Burial of the captain of Ricanaumofa. 4 p.m.: The men carrying the paddle approach the circle of elders. These show respect, those wearing a cap or hat take it off. The spirit is greeted by a clapping of hands and is addressed as 'Da' (father). The atmosphere carries no trace of 'mysterium tremendum'. People around are talking and joking and show no particular interest in what is happening. The spirit is asked questions: Is the feast to his liking? Are the offerings big enough? Such a person has come with such a gift, does that please him? The bearers nod yes but show some uneasiness. This is interpreted as meaning: "I am content, but a bottle of *tafia* should be offered to the ancestors or else they will be angry". The request is immediately complied with. A little later the bearers are wildly running about: the spirit is showing his annoyance. The reason is that an important affine (*konlibi*) has not yet given anything for the burial. In a palaver arranged on the spot the man is sharply criticized.

In a similar way the spirit is asked to appoint his successor, but this takes place a year or more after the burial, at the great three-day feast that concludes the period of mourning (*pu na blaka*). The elders ask him: "Who is it to be? This man . . . or this one . . . or this one . . .", until the spirit nods.

Not every official is chosen in this way. Deputy headmen and *basia* (headman's assistants, village criers) are appointed by living persons. Priests of some deities are chosen by their predecessors. The appointment may receive extra confirmation by the deity manifesting itself through "calling in his head" (possession).

The reader is acquainted with Durkheim's theory, according to which religious beliefs are symbolic representations of society itself.¹³ As a general theory this has been repeatedly and rightly rejected,¹⁴ but in this case it is applicable. *The will of the deity* (the dead man) *represents public opinion*. Or at least the part of public opinion that predominates in the group. This last addition is essential, for only rarely is there complete agreement about the person of the new headman. Often there are endless intrigues by the various candidates and their supporters.

Where does this public opinion come in when the dead man is questioned? At first I thought of the bearers who carry the paddle around. It is not on them however, that the decision depends; they are picked more or less at random and at the various séances of one mortuary feast they are not the same individuals.

In actual fact it is the interrogators who make the decision, a handful of elders, virtuosos in the art of suggestive questioning. "Is this man to be the new headman?" ... "no". "Or that one?" ... "no". "*Or what about him?*" ... "yes".¹⁵ Is this prompting recognized as such, might it even be a case of conscious deception? Yes and no. Oddly enough, people deny this on their own part but quite readily ascribe it to their opponents.

Many years before his death Da Baja, the formidable captain of Agitiondo who lived to a great age, had promised the headman's office to Folikè. He taught him all about the lineage and the tribe and even advised him to send a few sisters' children to school so that they might be able to help him later in writing letters. Many, however, grudged him the office. One of Folikè's sisters' sons told me: "After Da Baja's death, when his spirit was questioned about his succession, the people involved were all enemies of Folikè. It was a perfidious business. That's how someone else came to be designated". This criticism was expressed in private, but in the following case it was done more openly. Six years ago when Da Mankilo, village headman of Ricanau died, there were many candidates for his succession. During his lifetime Mankilo himself had chosen a comparatively young man because the older men had behaved disloyally towards him. But to everyone's surprise and even amusement, the spirit when questioned initially designated Da Sokoda. Now he is held in very low esteem by his fellow-villagers: "he can't do anything, not even beget a child". True enough, even to an outsider the person in question seems quite unfit for any leading position. His designation was explained as the work of Da Lankoi, headman of the neighboring village of Lantiwé, who had recently married Da Sokoda's mother and wished to do the old woman a favor. "*He* arranged for Sokoda to be appointed". After much bickering and several days of palavering the captain

¹³ Durkheim (1912): 97-121, 293-334.

¹⁴ e.g. Lowie (1924): ch. VII; Norbeck (1961): 22.

¹⁵ Cf. also Thoden van Velzen (1966): 66-67. On the other hand, Van Lier (1919: 59) is of the opinion that it is the bearers who play the decisive role.

of yet another village declared the designation invalid. The dead man's hair was carried around once more and this time the choice did fall on the man Mankilo had chosen during his lifetime.

But, as I said before, people deny any cheating on their own part, and they do so in good faith. A few days before a new headman was to be designated by his predecessor's spirit, the most influential elder of the village told me that he had already decided who it was to be. With seeming artlessness I asked him whether he had informed the bearers, so that they would not nod "yes" at the wrong moment. His reaction was peevish and indignant: "no, that would be cheating. It is not the bearers who move the hair, it's the hair that moves the bearers". Didn't I know that by now? Didn't I believe it? Then I should have a go at carrying the paddle myself!

This elder does not see anything contradictory in what he says. He believes if an important person like himself wants something and asks it on behalf of the whole village (or at least on behalf of the most powerful faction in the village) the deity himself will want that too.

In certain cases, therefore, the dead man's decisions may be repudiated, but only if this is known to be in accordance with the communis opinio, not if the action would incur the opposition of a majority or a powerful faction.

Tabigi is convinced that his failure to be appointed was the work of his enemies: "that was the work of human beings, a treacherous business". Couldn't he try to have the decision cancelled, I ask him. "No, the dead man has spoken. They have forced the decision on him against his will but if I were to contest it now he would cause my illness or death. Even if *Gáman* (the paramount chief) said that I ought to be headman I still wouldn't accept".

Thus we see that what is regarded as the will of the deity is in fact public opinion, or at least a part of public opinion. But at the same time it is more. The supernatural sanction accompanying the appointment will, if not prevent, at least discourage dispute. Nor does this function remain unperceived by all the Djuka, judging by a remark made by one of them: "Voting might be a better way of appointing a headman than letting the ancestors decide . . . but there would certainly be more quarrels then".

On p. 23 I mentioned the two principles that have to be observed in matters of succession. The successor must belong to the next generation and be a member of the same lineage as the dead man but of a

different lineage-*segment*. These rules, however, are not always strictly followed. People will try to deviate from them especially if they are in conflict with their personal interests.

Napang opposes Abinte's candidacy for the headmanship of Agitiondo, basing his objections on the second principle: "Abinte is too closely related to the late captain". At the same time he is concerning himself with the succession in Lantiwé, where his own father was headman. For this position he is recommending a man ... who is very closely related to his late father: "how proud my father ('s spirit) will be". His attention having been called to this inconsistency, he says: "those other segments have been asking for it, they've always obstructed him. Anyhow they haven't anyone suitable".

Although sickness and death are thought to be the possible result, occasionally someone is appointed who does not fulfil the requirements mentioned. The Djuka are incorrigible pragmatists: they always try to find out how far they can go. If no-one falls ill and no-one dies, the gods have evidently acquiesced! All the same they will never omit to 'ask the gods' pardon'. In the village of Pinatjaimi a man who was the previous headman's mother's sister's son was appointed to the office. When he died, after only a few years, the villagers interpreted this as a sign that they had overstepped the mark. In *his* succession the rules were once more strictly observed.

The successor must be a man of a younger generation, but this by no means implies, with such a large kinship group, that he will be a young man. A very old man will not easily be appointed, nor will a very young one. Actually the opinions are divided on this subject. The appointment of a man of about 35 or 40 in one village gave rise to some discussion. Some considered him too young: "a captain ought to be gray-haired and know about the things of the past. He must be old enough to dare put people in the wrong". But others opposed this. As one of them said: "They should take young men, who can hold the office for many years and learn to do the job well". The same man, on being shown a photo of John F. Kennedy and learning what function he held, showed the photo to a lot of people to lend force to his arguments: "look how young that man is!"

Although the system of succession outlined above is still very much alive for the Djuka, some people do criticize it. As someone remarked: "We Djuka are stupid. We shouldn't carry around this hair, we should be doing the choosing ourselves. We shouldn't take a man from a particular segment but simply elect whoever's best". I tried to comfort

this man by telling him about our hereditary kingship, in which, after all, even the smallest element of choice is lacking.

An implicit assumption in what has been said so far is that the office of headman is a much coveted one. And so it is. It provides some small income, a certain, though small, amount of power and, especially, status. All this amply outweighs any drawbacks.

But this is something never expressed in public. On the contrary, the elders in particular will often emphatically state that nothing in the world would induce them to take on the job of headman. "Imagine the trouble, the loss of time, the gossiping and the evil things (witchcraft) you'd be exposed to!" When a person is designated as headman he will lament and protest: "Oh, why me, there are so many others both older and wiser". Sometimes the headman-to-be will hide in a forest camp and will only allow himself to be persuaded to return to the village after endless *pourparlers*. During the period intervening between appointment and installation (which may be many months again) nobody is permitted in his presence to allude to his future office on pains of incurring his grave indignation.

This behaviour is highly institutionalised and contains histrionic elements. The prospective holder of the office should not appear too eager. "If he did he would fall ill and perhaps die before long". Yet the Djuka are well aware this is no more than make-believe. On one occasion, when someone rejected the headmanship in categorical terms, one of the bystanders whispered: "Just wait, in the end he'll bite. Actually there's no-one who wouldn't want to be headman".

We have seen that a period of one year at least — but this may become three or four — passes between the death of one headman and the debut of his successor. During this interregnum the office is filled by a deputy who is preferably not a member of the matrilineal group himself, though closely connected with it, i.e. a "father-made-him"-child, a son of a male member of the group. The guiding motive here is the consideration that such a person can have no claim to becoming the "real" captain, and thus will not be able to exploit his position as acting headman in canvassing for his own election. This is not only the anthropologist's interpretation but the one given by the people themselves. In Agitiondo a man who was appointed acting headman did, contrary to the custom, belong to the matrilineage of the village. When he started intriguing for his own appointment, the prompt reaction was: "Their own fault, they should have taken a father-made-him-child".

6. *Inheritance of goods.* While the inheritance of offices is strictly matrilineal, as we have seen, this is not true of the inheritance of goods. These are divided among a large number of persons. The ideal is that "everyone" should share in the inheritance, the dead man's matrilineal kin but his children too and sometimes others as well. Before his death a man may give instructions: "My hut is for this man, my gun for that one", and these wishes will mostly be taken into account when the inheritance is divided.

When a person dies his hut, containing all his possessions, is closed under supervision of a matrilineal relative, for instance a brother. Division does not take place until the end of the mourning period, after at least twelve months. How much goes to the deceased's children and how much to the matrilineal kin depends on the situation. Sons who live in their father's village and have worked with him, as happens in a minority of cases, will receive the largest portion, but in other cases the sons get less or even nothing at all.

In the numerous cases in which the deceased after his death proves to have been a witch the procedure is different. His possessions are confiscated and fall to the Great Deity and his priests. The latter take whatever they fancy and graciously return the remainder to the family.

My informants all agree that "formerly" the inheritance went exclusively to the matrilineal kin, and that it is only recently that a man's own children have been getting a share. The strange thing is, though, that this is pictured as an accomplished fact, as a change completed without any conflict. And what is "formerly"? The old men say: "that was when we were children", but such a statement is hard to check. This brings us face to face with the difficulty of all research into the processes of change in tribal societies, namely the fact that we are insufficiently informed about the zero-point. It is quite possible that no change took place at all, or nothing much to speak of, and that formerly too the children of the deceased shared in the inheritance. Matrilineal inheritance is the ideal and perhaps they merely impute this ideal situation to the good old times.

Even stranger is the fact that the Djuka, who will quarrel about almost anything and who are very acquisitive rarely quarrel about the division of the inheritance among matrilineal and non-matrilineal relatives. It hardly ever figures as a subject of conversation. If it did, it would not have escaped me, since I more or less expected to find conflicts of this sort and even asked some impudently suggestive questions in this direction. This on account of my previous experiences

with the matrilineal Agni (West Africa), where jealousy and disputes between a man, his sons and his sister's sons are the order of the day.¹⁶ This type of conflicts, as a matter of fact, are found in many other matrilineal societies as well.¹⁷

How is it that the Djuka are an exception? The explanation may perhaps be found in the principle of division by which each individual receives only a trifle. The West African Agni, as well as other Akan tribes, have a family treasure which is considered sacred and which is left as much as possible intact to pass on to the next generation. In such a society, therefore, the matrilineal group is more apt to feel wronged if some part of the inheritance goes to the sons.

A confirmation, to some extent, of this explanation is provided by one of the rare cases that did give rise to dispute about an inheritance. Two brothers, older men, had put all their money into a tractor. They announced that they wished their sons (the only men who could handle the tractor) to be sole inheritors. In this case the inheritance, consisting as it did of one piece only, could not be split up and the matrilineal group felt wronged. Maybe the comparative wealth of these men is also a factor. They were the only Djuka to have purchased such an expensive machine. From the literature we know that conflicts of the type outlined tend to grow more virulent in matrilineal societies as the differences in income increase. Among the Djuka, differences in income are, on the whole, still very slight.

Apart from material goods spiritual goods, too, may be inherited, especially the "ownership" of a lesser deity. The inheritor receives the shrine and cult objects of the deity, together with the esoteric knowledge. He becomes its priest and often the deity will manifest itself in him (possession). Such a heir may be a matrilineal kinsman, but equally well the deceased's son. The latter possibility is definitely no recent development, for van Lier (1940:204), whose data derive largely from the early twenties of this century, already mentions it. Such a deity does not only serve the interests of his priest, in principle he is there for the whole matri-group. Suppose no. 2 in diagram 2 inherits a deity from his father. The deity has thus moved outside no. 1's lineage. On account of his special connection with his father's matrilineage no. 2 may still act as a priest on behalf of this lineage. The

¹⁶ Cf. Köbben (1956): 28-36.

¹⁷ Cf. Köbben (1964): 25-37.

ties between no. 2 and his father's lineage are of a personal nature, however, which means that, if after no. 2's death the priesthood were to devolve on (4) or (5), the deity would be considered lost to the original matri-lineage. In such a case there may be two heirs, for instance (4) or (5) *and* (3). An additional shrine is built, a sort of branch of the existing one, and is inaugurated with suitable ritual.

Diagram 2:
Inheritance of deity.

In most matrilineal societies there is a special relationship between ego and his mother's brother, the locus of authority being with the mother's brother. With the Djuka, however, a young man should show a certain deference before *all* fellow-villagers of the ascendant generation, including for instance a father's brother. While it is true that he will often have more dealings with his mother's brother than with other members of his lineage, this kinsman is not a special category. I assume that this is connected with the fact that ego is not specifically his mother's brother's heir — neither of his dignities nor of his goods.

7. *Residence.* The Djuka have no hard and fast rule or custom prescribing the individual's residence in a certain place or in a particular village. In this respect there is ample room for choice and manipulation, even though there are limits to this choice and regularities may be detected in the way it comes about. Table 1 gives a picture of the residence of all the marriages of one lineage (in this case the *Pata* lineage).

uxorilocal	20
ambilocal	19
virilocal	8
autolocal	15
endolocal	30
neolocal	3
	—
	95

Table 1:
Residence of 95 marriages.

Uxorical are those marriages in which the married couple reside in the wife's village. *Ambilocal*: the couple reside alternately in the man's and in the woman's village. *Virilocal*: the couple reside in his village. *Autolocal*: husband and wife each remain in their own village, now and again one going to stay with the other (the husband usually visiting the wife). *Endolocal*: these are intra-village marriages, husband and wife living together, both in their own village. *Neolocal*: the couple settle permanently in a locality that is new for both husband and wife.

A system may be detected in these figures only if we take the time factor into account, that is, if we look at the life histories of individuals. Let us take as our starting-point a young man who marries a girl from another village. He is expected to build a hut for her in her own village and to settle there, at least for the time being (*uxorilocality*). He must clear a plot of land for her and in addition perform services for his parents-in-law, as a way of showing his appreciation for having acquired rights on the woman.

Murdock (1949: 213-14) argues that in a tribal society it is practically impossible for an adult man to settle in a new community since this would oblige him to master an entirely new environment. "All the knowledge he has gained... concerning the location of trails and landmarks, of superior stands of timber, of the haunts of game... becomes largely useless, and must be painfully accumulated afresh". Uxorilocality could, therefore, occur only with local endogamy.

In the case of the Djuka, however, many young men settle uxorilocally in a new village without any great problems. This is simply explained by the fact that the physical environment into which they move is of the same nature as at home. Asosié is a young man from Agitiondo who has been given a girl from Langa Uku in marriage. He hasn't so far built a hut in Langa Uku, nor does he live with her yet. He has now come for the first time to stay for a while in Langa Uku and he is going to build a cooking hut for his mother-in-law. He asks a man from the village: "Where in the forest do I find *pina*-leaves (for thatch)? And where such and such sorts of lianas?" The other man tells him in a few sentences and that's that.¹⁸

All this does not mean that such an uxorilocally married young man loses touch with his village of origin. On the contrary, he will often stay there for longer or shorter periods of time, for instance to attend a mortuary feast. As he grows older he is more and more drawn towards his own village where his position is growing in importance. That is why at a certain moment he builds a hut of his own in his own village.

¹⁸ Cf. Kloos (1963): 854-862 for an adequate explanation why uxorilocality and local endogamy are correlated.

The ties linking husband and wife are not as close as in western society, so a man may without difficulty go and stay in his own village by himself for a week or so. If these periods grow longer, however, his wife begins to accompany him: the marriage has become *ambilocal*.

The 19 cases of ambilocality in table 1 are not all identical. Some of these couples move back and forth frequently, others (when the two villages are a long distance apart) change residences at longer intervals. Some couples spend about the same amount of time in both villages, others live predominantly in one. There is a smooth transition from uxori-local to ambilocal, so much so that in some cases the investigator finds it hard to decide whether *still* to class the marriage as uxori-local or *already* as ambilocal.

If a man obtains some high position in his village, for instance if he is appointed headman, or assistant headman, or if he becomes a priest of some important deity, he will settle permanently in the village and his wife will come to live with him there: the marriage becomes *virilocal*. The husband's position, though, is not the only decisive factor in the choice of residence. It is no coincidence that all five sisters of the headman of Langa Uku are living in their own village (four with their husbands, one divorced), although they, as well as their husbands, are middle-aged by now. They share in the prestige of headmanship and that is what keeps them in the village. There may be other reasons, too, that cause an older couple to decide on uxori-locality.

Ma Jeje (no. 91) has lived most of her life in Pikin Santi, to which village she is attached by a twofold bond: it is the village of her father and she herself married a man from this village. When one of her children died she was accused — not openly, but plainly enough — of having bewitched him. She on her part accused those of Pikin Santi of the same crime. After a quarrel she left the village and went with her husband and all her descendants back to her own matri-village where they now form a separate matri-segment.

Autolocality has as its main cause polygyny, which occurs frequently among the Djuka. Of 78 married men, 20 have two and 3 even three wives (which means that 28 % are polygynously married). Of the group of middle-aged and older men half have more than one wife. Co-wives never live in the same village. If they did, it would only give rise to conflicts as the Djuka rightly say. Thus a man with two wives has two households in different villages, staying alternately at one or the other. A village notable will have one wife living with him in his own village and now and again visit the other. The first marriage is virilocal, the second *autolocal*.

The headman of Langa Uku is married to a lineage-sister who lives with him in the village and is always near him. Only after I had been in the village for a month did I learn that he has a second wife as well, who lives in Petondo, about 8 hours by canoe from Langa Uku. From August 1961 to August 1962 he visited her only twice, each time staying about a week. Both times the reason for his visit had nothing to do with her. The first time it was a mortuary feast in her village, the second time a divorce case in which, as a headman, he was involved. During these same twelve months the wife in question visited Langa Uku only once, staying there a few days on her way to Agitiondo to consult the oracle of the Great Deity. The position and way of life of such a woman do not differ much from those of a widow or a divorced woman.

A second type of autolocal marriage is that of an older man marrying an older woman (often a widower marrying a widow) from a neighboring village. Both remain in their own village, visiting one another at intervals. Four of the fifteen autolocal marriages in table 1 are of this type.

In the cases of virilocality the couple concerned are nearly always older people, the husband being an elder in his own village. If such a man has high status and prestige his children will often stay in their father's village and continue to live there once they are grown up, when they will build their huts close to their father's. Such groups, of a father and his children living close to him, are perhaps the closest-knit units existing in Djuka society. These "father-made-them"-children, moreover, greatly strengthen their father's position. Examples are the deputy headman, Daose (no. 45 in diagram 1) with two grown-up sons, the village eldest (no. 20) with five adult children, and nos. 92 and 56 with seven and five children respectively.

When such a prominent man dies his widow will usually return to the village of her own lineage. His children, who have grown up in the village and feel at home there (have *gweniti*) will often continue to live there. They may marry and have children of their own and *these* too may stay in the village!

In other cases, however, the children of a prominent man leave the village one after the other after their father's death. Take, for example, Da Songe (no. 55) who died a few years ago. His five children all still have a hut in Langa Uku and one of them still lives there permanently. The others, however, have built huts in their own lineage-village and spend part of their time there. The eldest had a quarrel in Langa Uku and scarcely shows his face there any more. The roof of his hut is leaking and the rain comes in but he won't be fixing it.

Settling in a "strange" village, especially one far removed from one's own, is thought of as disagreeable. Through special marriages the Djuka try to prevent such situations. In the first place there are quite a number of marriages with mates from the two villages closest to Langa Uku, respectively 5 minutes and 15 minutes by canoe. Even if he settles in his wife's village a man can in these cases fully take part in the activities of his own lineage-village.

Da Daianen is an elder of Langa Uku. He is one of the mortuary priests¹⁹ there and in addition priest to Majombe (see p. 17). He regularly takes part in the palavers of his "belly"-village. Yet he does not live in Langa Uku and even has no hut there. He is married to a woman from the neighboring village, where he resides. If he is needed in Langa Uku, he is fetched.

There are no technical difficulties, still he is annoyed at having no hut in his own village; he feels it detracts from his prestige. For this reason he is preparing to build a hut in Langa Uku.

The only perfect solution is offered by *endolocal* marriage, in which case both husband and wife stay "home". The easiest way to achieve this is by marrying a member of one's own lineage. As we saw (p. 20) this is permitted nowadays. In Langa Uku there are seven such marriages (see table 2).

	male lineage members	sons of male lineage members	strangers (men)
female lineage members	7	13	28
daughters of male lineage members	4	6	3
strangers (women)	23	11	—

Table 2: Marriages of residents of Langa Uku to kinsmen and strangers.

An elegant further possibility is the marriage of a "father-made-him"-son living in his father's village with a girl of his father's lineage. Marriage to an actual father's sister's daughter is not permitted. The Djuka regard this as a form of incest, it is, as they say, "too close". Marriage to a classificatory father's sister's daughter, however, is

¹⁹ About mortuary priests see Thoden van Velzen (1966): 239-244.

regarded with favor. This is clearly a preferential marriage rule. Although the Djuka generally leave the choice of a mate to the persons concerned, parents or other kinsmen not infrequently take the initiative to force a marriage of this type (*kisi gi ju*). There are 13 instances of such a combination in Langa Uku (see table 2 and diagram 3a).

Diagram 3a:
classific. patrilat.
cross-cousin
marriage.

Diagram 3b:
classific. matrilat.
cross-cousin
marriage.

Diagram 3c:
classific.
parallel-cousin
marriage.

"It is a good marriage", the Djuka say, for such a man has been begotten by the lineage and now he, in turn, begets children for the lineage, "he plants back". In this way, furthermore, the lineage establishes a close bond with its "child". The opposite, the marriage of a woman with a man of her father's lineage — classificatory matrilineal cross-cousin marriage — also occurs, but less frequently. (four times; see table 2 and diagram 3b). The last possibility, finally, is a marriage between two "father-made-them-children", that is, a classificatory parallel-cousin marriage (see diagram 3c). This is found six times in Langa Uku. All these marriages are shown in diagram 1.

Some marriages are, we might say, doubly endolocal. For example, a couple has two huts, one in village A and one in village B, and they live alternately in one or the other. In village A *she* is a member of the lineage and *he* a "father-made-him-child", in village B it is the other way round (see diagram 4). The Djuka consider this a most recommendable type of marriage.

The last category in our table 1 are the *neolocal* marriages. I use this term for those cases where the couple settle permanently in a place that is new to both of them, i.e. outside the tribal villages, for instance in a camp near the mining-town of Mungo. This is the situation of

Diagram 4: Double endolocal marriage.

three members of the Pata lineage. A more usual situation, however, is for a couple to live temporarily outside the tribal area. This temporariness is indicated by the fact that they continue to have a hut in the village and are considered to fall under its jurisdiction.

Sa Lomina, a woman from Langa Uku, is married to Ti Valisi. For over three years they have been living on the Commewijne-river where the husband is working on a timber concession. All this time they haven't been back to the village, although in the meantime her father has died and the woman herself has had a child.

Now Ti Valisi comes to the village for a visit, having left his wife behind since she is pregnant again. His arrival, in his boat with a brand-new outboard motor, is a glorious one, but early next morning there is a palaver of elders in which he is the accused party. He is sharply rebuked for his conduct and he is required to fetch his wife at once. "If she has to have her baby on the way, no worry! That can take place in any village she happens to be passing. Or hasn't Ti Valisi brought her because he thinks there are witches here who may hurt her? There is no question of that. Every possible suspect has been ritually cleaned and the village is free of all blemish. In fact the contrary is true: if Sa Lomina is not here during her pregnancy and confinement it will be bad for her".

Responding to this exhortation the man fetches Sa Lomina to the village where she has her child a few days later.

The picture of residence as presented above is still too simple. For in many cases the choice is determined not by one or two but by a whole series of motives. Take for example Ba Fanaili (diagram 1 no. 81). Why is he living in Langa Uku, although it is not his lineage-village (he isn't even a direct "father-made-him-child")? In the first place he is the great-grandson of a former village headman, Da Aki. His father, Da Frouwa, who also lives in the village is a rich man according to Djuka standards: he buys timber on behalf of a factory in town. Fanaili works with him.

Diagram 5a: Ties connecting Ba Fanaili with Langa Uku.

Through his mother, too, he is connected with the village. The mother herself left the village years ago to settle in her own lineage-village after her divorce from Da Frouwa. But she is a daughter of the previous headman of Langa Uku. The latter's son, Da Juku, is still living in the village where he is a man of great prestige on account of this connection. Note that this Da Juku is at the same time Fanaili's mother's brother, an important relative in this matrilineal society. Something of his prestige reflects on Fanaili. In the fourth place Fanaili has married Sa Jugimi, the sister's daughter of the present village headman. It is a whole network of relations that binds this man to Langa Uku.

Even so he has his interests in other villages as well. In the first place there is his lineage-village, Agitiondo. It so happens that his wife's father, Da Abioni, is the senior headman here and that his mother's brother, Da Sotong, became second headman in 1964. That same year Fanaili proceeded to build a hut for himself in Agitiondo, where, however, he spends little time. (See diagram 5b).

In still another village, Pinatjaimi, lives his second wife. Although he has three children by her he only goes to see her on rare occasions and then only for short visits (at an earlier stage of his life he paid more attention to her). He has no clear relations with any elders in this village although there are some distant kin from his father's side.

Diagram 5b: Fanaili's ties with Agitiondo.

It is obvious, from the above analysis, that the individual in this society does not need to choose between one place of residence and another but that he may have two, or even three or four places of residence. To use a term introduced by Thoden van Velzen (1966: 44), many Djuka live *polylocally*, (see table 3 and note that in this table, unlike in table 1, the figures refer to individuals, not marriages).

	men	women
polylocal	38	30
monolocal	43	61

Table 3: mono/polylocality of Langa Uku adults.

Table 3 shows that polylocality of residence occurs more frequently with men than with women. The difference is slightly significant ($\chi^2 = 3.49$) and may be explained by polygyny. Very few Djuka live in one village all their lives. Most of those who live monolocally now, formerly had more than one residence or will have more in the future: Polylocality is thus one of the factors that make Djuka residence such a complicated subject.

8. *Children of male lineage-members* ("father-made-them-children" or "father's children"). In monographs about matrilineal societies there never fails to be a paragraph devoted to the relationship between "the"

father and "the" children, appearing to suggest that in such a society this relationship is more or less the same in all individual cases. For the Djuka, however, no such statement is possible. The bond between father and child(ren) may be very weak or even nonexistent while in other cases it may be the most important one in the lives of the individuals concerned.

Ba Mansooi is a comparatively young man with two wives by each of whom he has a son. One of these wives lives with him in the village and in the baby from this marriage he takes an active interest. It is touching, the way he carries it with him around the village, more even than the mother does, and he has great plans for its future ("he is going to be a doctor"). As for the other child, months may pass without him seeing it, so that the emotional bond is much weaker.

A few days after I had taken down his data for my census he came, a little embarrassed, to tell me that he had forgotten to mention one child! This was a son from a short-lived previous marriage. The child is growing up with his mother and her new husband. Mansooi did not know exactly in which village and he even has some difficulty recollecting the child's name. In this case, obviously, there is no emotional bond at all.

It is chiefly due to polygyny and divorce that many men see their children, or at least some of them, only at long intervals and thus play practically no part in bringing them up. This is not regarded as neglect of duty; their role is simply taken over by others, usually by the children's matrilineal kinsmen.

But for his sons who do grow up in his village the father is an important personage and has authority. When adult they often settle in the immediate vicinity of their father's hut and, as we saw (p. 34), such a group consisting of a father and his sons is a solidary unit in this society. Even after he is grown up and married a son will often ask his father to act on his behalf if he gets involved in a law-suit; to do so is almost a moral obligation. A man's son will defend his father's honor, even after his death, more so than the latter's own matrilineal kinsmen.

The mortuary feast for captain Saleng. The mortuary priests are making the customary offering of food and drink. The ritual includes the killing of a white chicken, but they have omitted to secure a suitable bird in advance. "Basia", they call out, "go and find us a white chicken". While the basia is away (all of 15 minutes), priests and elders pleasantly pass the time chatting. The basia returns and announces that he has not succeeded in finding a white chicken, not even for a good price. The matrilineal kinsmen are prepared to leave it at that, but captain Saleng's son takes strong objection to this: his father's honor requires that a chicken be sacrificed so he goes on a private search and discovers a white chicken, but the woman who owns it wants Sf. 15.— (\$ 8.50!) for it. The man flies into a rage, takes his bow and arrow and threatens to kill the chicken illicitly. — A quarrel ensues and only after a lot of bickering can the ritual offering be continued.

A man is not only concerned with his real father, but also with the members of the latter's matrilineal group, his classificatory fathers, whom he calls, by extension, "the people who have made me". He owes them respect, though in a mild form, and he must not tolerate others mocking them. They, on the other hand, are supposed to protect him, if necessary even against his own matrilineal kin. This situation is transposed on the supernatural plane; the *kunu* (avenging spirit) of one's father's matrilineage is thought to protect one against the *kunu* of one's own lineage. The position of the "fathers" also finds expression in some institutions. A young girl should be given her first *pagne* by a relative of her father's, for instance a father's sister, and ideally this should take place in her father's village (even if her father has long been dead). Conversely ego is supposed, on the death of one of his father's matrilineal kinsfolk to pay a certain fixed mortuary gift. (Actually, however, this payment is made only by those "father's children", who personally attend the feast.)

All this is particularly important for those who live in their father's village. Their position there is not unfavorable. A "father's child" may occupy the position of elder, or even of acting headman, as we have seen (p. 28). There is one drawback, though, for in case of conflict he stands alone against the whole of his father's matri-lineage (the children of male members of the matri-lineage do not form a corporate or solidary group). He may even be banished. As the dictum goes: "you can't expel belly-people, but you can expel father-made-them-children". That is why men who have lived in their father's village all their lives may, when asked where they belong, reply that their real home is in their mother's village, "where stands the shrine (*faga-tiki*) of my ancestors".

A few years ago two sons of Da Penge, a former headman (see diagram 1, no. 65), were still living in Langa Uku. One of them suspected a man in the village of having an affair with his wife. When he complained of this a fight started, in which a large group of "belly-people" turned against the two brothers. The latter fled to their own matrilineal village where they collected some kinsmen, and returned to Langa Uku to fight again. The other party, however, was still far superior in numbers and once more the brothers were beaten.

Nevertheless the parties settled their differences and the brothers stayed in the village for the time being. One of them, however, molested wives of fellow-villagers. For this he was given some sound beatings by a group of "belly-people" until finally he took refuge in his own village.

His brother is still living in Langa Uku, where he enjoys great prestige. Yet he said to me once, when he had got involved in a minor conflict, that he had given in, even though he was right, "because I am only a father's child here and in this village they have a way of driving father's children out".

"Father's children" should be scrupulous about showing their solidarity with their fellow-villagers, more scrupulous even than the matrilineal kinsfolk themselves. In the village wars that used to take place formerly they were expected to fight on the side of their father's group, *unless* the lineage (village) against which the war was fought happened to be their own matri-lineage. In that case as individuals having conflicting loyalties, they were the obvious mediators.

This demand for solidarity vis-à-vis the outside world is still found at the present time.

A man pronounced a curse on his wife and for this reason he was expelled from Langa Uku. Now he has sent a delegation to the village to plead his cause and get the divorce annulled. There are only a few men in the delegation, so there is a great disparity in numbers between the two groups. As is customary in such cases, a few men of Langa Uku join the opposing party and start pleading its cause.

The deputy captain takes exception to this: the individuals in question are "father's children" and as such they should, particularly in public, defend the standpoint of their fathers' lineage. If someone has to speak for the accused party, let it be "belly-people".

The men in question apologize and one of them, to show his good will, declares at great length that the man should not be permitted to return to the village; exactly the opposite of what he was saying a moment ago in his other role!

In special cases a group of "father's children" may attempt fission to form a separate group.

Diagram 6: Inhabitants of Malokokonde.

A number of years ago two inhabitants of Langa Uku, Da Jonga and Da Talea (see diagram 6) settled in a camp of their own, Malokokonde, not far from Langa Uku, because the village itself offered no further possibilities of expansion (it is surrounded by marshes). Both these men are married to a wife from the *Pika*

lineage and both, too, happen to have a large number of children (all of them *Pika!*) who lived and had children themselves. Thus the camp grew into a sizeable settlement. In 1961-'62 it was still fully considered a part of Langa Uku, but even then it was easy to predict it would not stay that way. The inhabitants of Malokokonde wanted to make it into a full-fledged village with its own *Pika* captain. Not that this wish was openly expressed, they only exchanged pin-pricks with Langa Uku. At the New Year feast (*jali*) of 1961, for instance, Da Talea happened to drop the remark that the visitors from Langa Uku had brought little but consumed much. This promptly led to a quarrel. At the *jali* feast of 1962, therefore, the people of Langa Uku did not go visiting at all: "let those of Malokokonde make the first move and come here, they have too many pretensions". And they did come, only not on the first or second day of the feast as they should have, but on the fourth day... etc.

In 1964 the people of Malokokonde got a headman of their own, but the captain of Langa Uku refused them permission to build their own mortuary house (*ké osu*) and ancestor shrine (*jaga-tiki*). Thus they continue to depend on him for important ritual matters, so that they are not yet accepted as a "real" village.²⁰

9. *Elements of double descent.* Djuka society is distinctly matrilineal. In addition, however, it contains some slight patrilineal elements. Each individual has a food taboo which, when broken, is thought to cause leprosy (*gwasi kina*). This taboo is inherited *patrilineally*. Another patrilineal touch: the individual may protect himself against theft by hanging some object on property to be protected, for instance a broken bowl on a fruit-tree (*kandu*). Whoever transgresses the *kandu* will fall ill. Only patrilineal kin can transgress with impunity (matrilineal kin cannot!) ²¹

The special relationship that may exist between a man and his children, let alone that between a man's matrilineage and his children, is of course no indication of double descent. I want to stress this particularly because in some cases it is, wrongly, claimed to be so.²² One thing that may *look like* an indication of patrilinearity (but is not) is the fact that not only a man may live in his father's village, but so may his son and even his son's sons again (see diagram 1 nos. 12, 31 and 81). They reside there, however, according to the Djuka model, not as members of a patri-group but as "father-made-them-children", so that their presence is regarded as a consequence of matrilinearity, not patrilinearity. Unless the individuals, as in the case noted above, live in the same village, relationships in the patrilineal sense cannot be traced further than two generations back.

²⁰ Data from 1964 are derived from correspondence with one of my informants.

²¹ See Van Lier (1940): 177 and 218-219 on *gwasi-kina* and *kandu* resp.

²² e.g. Junus (1964): 318-319 and cf. Köbben (1967): *reply*.

10. *Affines (konlibi)*. The third large group in the Djuka village is formed by the affines. The younger males, especially, among these are expected to be humble and submissive and they have fewer rights than obligations in the village. At palavers they do not join in the discussion, nor do they take part in the ritual meals at mortuary feasts ("they would feel selfconscious"). The highest possible praise for such an affine is when people say that "he is living the right way, he tries to make himself small".

An affine has obligations in the first place towards his parents-in-law. If an older man is seen clearing a patch of ground together with a younger man they are either father and son or father-in-law and son-in-law. A son-in-law will assist in building a hut or making a boat. After a hunting or fishing expedition he will hand over part of his catch to his parents-in-law. They may even order him to go out hunting. At the burial of a parent-in-law a fixed contribution is expected from him; in principle, even for classificatory parents-in-law. His conduct towards his *mother-in-law*, in particular, should be respectful, he must not shout or stamp his feet in front of her and especially not use obscene language — of which the Djuka on the whole are very fond.²³

a. Fanaili is employed full-time by the anthropologist. He is given four days off to clear a plot of ground but doesn't get very far. On his way he happens to meet one of his fathers-in-law, who demands his assistance for moving some timber. This takes three days. The fourth day he loses more time yet by another father-in-law claiming his help (this is his second wife's mother's second husband, whom she has divorced). Only after a lot of talking does he succeed in putting him off.

b. At dawn on the day of Da Saleng's mortuary feast the village crier goes through the village calling the affines (*konlibi*): "*konlibi-ooo!* get up, get up. Bring the *konlibi* drink! get up, get up!" About twenty bottles of liquor are brought in, obviously far too little, many classificatory affines, especially, failing to meet their obligations. Some notables fulminate against the (absent) defaulters: "What sort of men are these, they bring disgrace on us, let us give our daughters to other men, they'll be sorry...". Not that this helped one bit, though.

As is already evident from what we have seen, a man does not have just one set of parents-in-law but he may have many, particularly as a result of polygyny and divorce.

More important from the structural point of view is the fact that

²³ With real and classificatory *sisters-in-law*, however, a man has a joking relationship, in which very obscene language may be exchanged. Joking may also occur between a man and his *wimomo*.

all members of the ascendant generation in the wife's village count as classificatory parents-in-law to the husband, for instance, ego's wimobr. is a "father-in-law" and his wife is a "mother-in-law"! With respect to distant classificatory parents-in-law, of course, the relationship outlined above exists only in a rudimentary form. It is only on special occasions that such persons prove to belong to the category of ego's parents-in-law.

a. Sa Bobi has been unfaithful to her husband, Ba Anaki, at least there are strong indications that she has. While the matter is still pending Ba Anaki comes into the village one day and catches two brothers, Ba Asapoti and Ba Aleki speaking disparagingly of him and of his lineage: "What he says about Sa Bobi is probably all lies; anyway his whole family is no good, his grandmother was a witch and his mother very likely has an evil heart too". Ba Anaki is furious and gives them the rough side of his tongue. When the two brothers attempt to go off in their boat Ba Anaki takes his machete and hews at the boat for all he is worth to stop them. Others arrive on the scene and take the infuriated man away. Two days later there is a palaver about the case. From an objective point of view Anaki was right. Such gossip about another man's lineage (*kosi mama pima*) is a serious offence. All the same, Anaki is put in the wrong; he has to beg forgiveness and pay a fine of one bottle of liquor. Asapoti and Aleki go scot-free. They are lineage brothers of Anaki's father-in-law and so his classificatory fathers-in-law, whom he should treat with respect. As "fathers-in-law" they may, on the other hand, take all sorts of liberties towards him. After the court-session a few men, including Anaki, are talking about the affair. Anaki gives vent to his annoyance: "In actual fact I was right, nevertheless I have to pay, only because they are my 'fathers-in-law'. Perhaps that was thought proper in former times but we, people of these times, don't want this anymore!" But Ba Anaki's father consoles him: "You'll get your bottle of liquor back soon; think of Ba Buli! They have planted bananas!" The banana is an annual plant, but after the first year new shoots come up in unexpected places; so the expression means: "they did not realize the consequences of their action." Ba Buli (a brother of Asapoti and Aleki) wants to marry a woman, *who is a* (classificatory) *sister of Ba Anaki's*. When Ba Buli comes to ask for her hand in marriage, Anaki will make sure he is present and the roles will be reversed, *he* will be one of the bride-givers and can have his revenge.

b. During a mortuary feast Ba Mongi retires with Sa Jolina in the latter's hut. Although she is no older than he, she is a classificatory mother-in-law, being his wimobrowi. They are caught by Ba Mongi's cross cousin who does raise the alarm but without disclosing the culprit's name, on account of the special relationship. Ba Mongi gets away by a bold leap through the roof, which is made of leaves. He mingles with the dancers again and even joins in the search for Sa Jolina's assailant. He also helps to repair the roof. Nevertheless, his secret leaks out, or at least rumour points more and more in his direction. He hides a few days near the river by the landing-stage of the boat to Paramaribo (the capital) and when the boat calls he climbs aboard at the last moment when it is too late for other people to stop him. "He'll be staying in town one or two years; after that the affair is dead and he can come back". If anyone runs into him in town they won't make trouble, for in town the law is different. Mongi's

wife and Jolina's husband both declare they won't have anything more to do with their respective mates. Sa Jolina has left and gone to her father's village. Ordinarily, people are not ashamed of sexual adventures. But in this case, because of the special relationship between the persons in question, everyone denounces them.

Affines who misbehave may be expelled from the village. Actually, though, expulsion is often threatened but rarely carried out and even then it is usually only temporary. Ostensibly it is "the village" that decides to expel a person, the wife in question seemingly having no say in the matter. In actual fact, however, her opinion is decisive. If she doesn't wish to lose her husband the divorce does not go through and conversely, if she wants to get rid of him she gets her divorce even if the man's presence is appreciated by "the village".

Sa Posu is seriously ill. The people of her lineage attribute her illness to machinations on her husband's part (the couple recently had a serious quarrel). In a palaver he is upbraided by the elders while some matrilineal kinsmen of his who similarly live in the village as affines also get their share of abuse. The man returns to his own village. Sa Posu is pregnant, however, and at such a time a woman should preferably not be without a husband. What is more, she does not really want to lose him. Quite soon efforts at reconciliation are being made. The man says (to save his face): "all right, I will come back and stay until the child is born but then I will go away for good". But he does not really want the divorce either and after the child is born he stays on in the village. "We're keeping a good eye on him now", say the villagers. The other affines whisper that the man's conscience is clear: "the elders accused him so loudly only to conceal the evil done by the wife herself". They hint that the woman herself is a witch ("her grandmother and her aunts were both witches") and that it was the great deity (*sweli gadu*), persecutor of witches, who made her ill.

As far as their relations with the "belly-people" are concerned, the affines are more or less a solidary group. If an affine is the defendant in a palaver he is represented by other affines, even if these are not his kinsmen. An affine will also try to avoid having to give evidence against another affine. There are even proverbs referring to this.

The affine's position changes as he grows older. He becomes a *gankonlibi* (lit. a great affine), an elder. Such a man may make offerings to the ancestors on behalf of the village, he may even represent the village vis-à-vis the outside world. These older affines, in particular, are the mediators referred to above (p. 21). In a fight between lineage-members it is their job "to pull them apart; to separate them; to put an end to the fight" (*pu den, pati, tapu*). But in regular palavers, too, especially in those between members of one matri-segment, they act as mediators. They are closely involved with this matri-segment but

they do not belong to it, hence are pre-eminently fitted for this task. The presence of this element in the social structure is important, since the village headman cannot use physical force and thus has no means of imposing peace. Structural position alone, of course, does not make a man a good mediator. Some *konlibi* are more prominent in this respect than others simply because their personality makes them more suitable.

The reader will perhaps remark that there are few such "great" *konlibi* in the village since influential older men usually live in their own village. True, but they too will on occasion spend one or more weeks in the bride-giving village, for instance to attend a mortuary feast. During these periods they have ample opportunity to exercise their mediating function, for especially at such feasts all sorts of conflicts may arise.

In conclusion a few words about *female affines*. It is regarded as a special favor on the part of the bride-giving village if the wife is permitted to live with her husband in the latter's village. Her position, therefore, is a sheltered one. Referring to her, people say "We must look after her, help her, and meet her wishes. We cannot expel her unless she does something very wrong such as having an affair with her husband's brother or practising witchcraft". All the same she feels a stranger in her husband's village, as is evident from the fact that she associates preferably with other female members of her lineage also living as affines in the village.

11. *Kinship terminology.*

On several points the kinship terminology of this society differs from what one would expect. The system is remarkable for its symmetry, kinsmen on the father's side being called by the same terms as those on the mother's side, matrilinearity notwithstanding. In a unilineal system such as this one would, as a matter of fact, sooner expect bifurcate merging than a lineal terminology as is found here in the ascendant generation. Nor would one expect generation terminology in ego's own generation, since this means that ego uses one and the same term ("sister") both for a classificatory *mobrda* and for a lineage sister. Yet the former is a preferential marriage partner while marriage with the latter is, or at least used to be, prohibited. Once more it may be observed that the correlations between kinship system and kinship terminology as established by Murdock (1949: ch. 7) are no more than statistically significant correlations and are not true for every individual

Diagram 7: Kinship terminology.

1: ganda	10: tia	19: bala	28: metí
2: ganma	11: (gan)pai	20: sisa	29: sisapikin
3: ganda	12: mai	21: bala	30: sisapikin
4: ganma	13: (gan)pai	22: sisa	31: (man)pikin
5: tiu	14: mai	23: bala	32: mai
6: tia	15: bala	24: sisa	33: (pikin)pai
7: da(pápa)	16: sisa	25: uman; mujé	34: (uman)pikin
8: ma(máma)	17: bala	26: swagi	35: ganpikin
9: tiu	18: sisa	27: swagi	36: ganpikin

case. I am unable, meanwhile, to provide an explanation for these unexpected terminological features.²⁴

The term for co-wife is *meti* which is, remarkably enough, also the term used by a male ego to refer to his *wisihu*. Note, finally, that father-in-law and son-in-law use polar terms vis à vis one another as do mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.

12. *Unity and disunity.* The Djuka village, as a composite of kinsmen, would seem to be pre-eminently a community or a *Gemeinschaft*-

²⁴ The Djuka language is a so-called creolized language, its vocabulary being of African, Portuguese, English and Dutch provenance, although many of its syntactic features are West-African. The reader will recognize several words in diagram 6 and might suppose that the terminology of lineal type derived from European kinship terminology. This seems, however, improbable as the kinship structure itself is not at all modeled on a European example.

like group. One may ask if the characteristics which some anthropologists attribute to the community are present in the Djuka village. Murdock (1949: 38), for instance, describes these as follows:

"United by reciprocal relationships and bound by a common culture, the members of a community form an ingroup, characterized by internal peace, law, order and co-operative effort. Since they assist one another in the activities which gratify basic drives... there develops among them a collective sentiment of group solidarity and loyalty."

In the same spirit Sahlins (1965: 147, 149, 151) writes:

"Kindred goes with kindness... It is in regard to people of the household, camp, hamlet, or village that compassion is required... Close kin tend to share, to enter into generalized exchange, [whereby] the expectation of a direct material return is unseemly. At best it is implicit."

And Hurault (1962: 134-135) says about the Boni, which is also a bushnegro tribe:

"Ce n'est pas en vain qu'à l'intérieur du lignage les hommes se disent frères; les obligations qu'ils ont les uns vis-à-vis des autres sont acceptées par tous avec joie, et chacun met à remplir le meilleur de lui-même."

On the face of it Djuka society seems in many ways to confirm to this image. Ideologically, for instance: "Together we are one big family", people say, "we should do everything together". Expressions and exhortations to this effect are often heard, for example at palavers. There is a proverb that says: "belly-members shouldn't quarrel two mornings", in other words, a quarrel with a lineage-member should be made up within twenty-four hours. Outwardly the reputation of the village must be upheld, no washing of dirty linen in public and no behavior that might damage its reputation. These rules of conduct have a religious foundation, too, as we have seen (p. 18-19): at any breach of them the *kunu* and the ancestors will take action. Nor is all of this mere ideology. Something of the "generalized exchange" mentioned by Sahlins is to be seen for instance in the division of a large hunting catch, when all the elders and the older women of the hunter's lineage receive their share. Similarly in the building of a hut.

11th March. This morning Ba Mansooi starts building his new hut. Yesterday he asked only one man to come and help him though he needs five or six for the job. But no worry: every man who passes gives a hand, for a few hours or half the day. Da Amoksi (the village elder) sits and watches, offering a bit

of advice here and there, though no one pays any attention to him. *11 o' clock*: Da Pé comes by, stops and watches for a moment and wants to go off again. Da Amoksi rebukes him for leaving. The man apologizes: he has hurt his hand. Even so he hasn't the courage to leave and hangs around for at least another hour. The village headman also arrives to lend a hand. *5.30 p.m.* Ba Mansooi fetches a bottle of tafia and everyone present is rewarded with a good swig of the liquor. He whispers some derisive remarks about old Da Saité who always arrives to "help" at the very moment drinks are being handed around.

But it is not true that the device of all for one and one for all is an absolute rule in this society. In some respects, as a matter of fact, individual interests come to the fore more than in Western society and certain transactions which would be non-commercial with us have a commercial side for the Djuka. A woman uses a sewing-machine belonging to her (full) brother for one day and owes him Sf 0.50 (\$ 0.28) for this. A man asks his (full) sister for a few miserable fish or some oranges and she makes him pay for them. A man sells some timber to his brother-in-law and they ask an impartial third person to inspect and value it. In short, the Djuka are acquisitive. Theirs is a nought-for-nought culture.

What I want to demonstrate is not just that there is a discrepancy between ideal and reality, that almost goes without saying, and Sahlins (1965: 157-158) too points this out. More significant is the fact that this acquisitiveness is *a theme*²⁵ in Djuka culture side by side with, and opposed to, the theme that stresses the solidarity of the group. It is considered understandable and wise for a person to put something aside and to keep it for himself.

These two themes combined cause people to conceal with great care whatever goods they may acquire. They pretend to be even poorer than they are. Conspicuous consumption and conspicuous giving are alien to Djuka culture.²⁶ There are sayings in support of this attitude, such as: "not everything is for the public eye" (*ala sani na de fu gānda*) and: "a wise man conceals himself".

According to Van der Veen (forthcoming) every society has institutions promoting cooperation side by side with other institutions that allow individual interests to be expressed. Whether this is a universal rule I cannot say, but for Djuka society the theory certainly holds good.

a. Late one evening, when everyone has left my hut, old Ma Dow surreptitiously enters. "Uncle, have you got a piece of tobacco for me, without tobacco I can't

²⁵ I use the term in Opler's (1962) sense.

²⁶ At least until recently.

sleep. And please have you also got a piece of paper to wrap it in, or someone will see it and I'll have to share it with them".

b. Old Da Amoksi is sitting near his hut with a dozen men of the village. In passing I remember having bought a stool from him for which I haven't paid yet. With my purse in my hands I approach him to settle my debt. General horror, almost as if I had made some improper noise. I am tactfully but firmly reprimanded: what I have offered him for the stool is nobody else's business and by making it publicly known I am embarrassing and insulting the old man.

Concomitant phenomena of this situation are gossip, suspicion and jealousy, which often give rise to accusations of witchcraft.²⁷

a. Ti Valisi has returned to the village after an absence of three years, the proud owner of a boat with an 18 horsepower outboard motor. He derives more trouble than pleasure from it however. People who have to go somewhere, for instance to Mungo (two hours with an outboard motor, eight hours paddling) ask to go with him, or will even say: "take me there, will you?" Valisi proposes starting a daily service to Mungo for a modest fixed price. General indignation! He should at least have kept up an outward pretence of rendering his services free of charge whilst privately demanding some payment.

b. Da Tengi has been buying timber in various villages for a number of years. He is an intelligent man with a commercial talent and when he starts supplying a big factory his transactions grow to a comparatively great volume. He is careful not to change anything in his way of life. His hut remains just as sober as everyone else's. He discharges his kinship obligations more than generously. All the same people are jealous, for they can see that he is rising considerably above them financially and they somehow feel it is at their expense. Tengi feels the hostile sentiments and thinks himself threatened by witchcraft. When one of his grandchildren dies and another takes ill soon afterwards, he stops his timber transactions for a few years.

Thus Djuka society is a combination of loyalty and disloyalty, of unity and disunity, of solidarity and dissension, and as such it is very human.²⁸

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²⁷ For other causes of witchcraft in Djuka society see Van Wetering (forthcoming).

²⁸ For obvious reasons pseudonyms have been used for some individuals.

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I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX

DIAGRAM 1: INHABITANTS OF LANGA UKU AND LOABI (except affines)

LEGENDA

△ ○ LINEAGE MEMBERS (LANGA UKU) △ ○ LINEAGE MEMBERS (LOABI) △ ● CHILDREN OF MALE LINEAGE MEMBERS

DOTTED LINES: ENDOLOCAL MARRIAGES