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ATONI KIN CATEGORIES AND CONVENTIONAL BEHAVIOR

Most discussions of kin term classification concern extensions of core term meanings to more distant relatives or, as others say, the relatives which are categorized under a single native term: *e.g.*, the Trobriand term *tabu* for FS as an extension from the primary referent FM, or FM and FS as members of the kin category *tabu* (Lounsbury 1966; Leach 1958). Explanations of extension or categorization may involve semantic or sociological analysis, or both. In either case, attention is devoted to the relatives identified by a particular term and the structural relationship between the various terms. Also, one society, one terminology seems axiomatic.

Another problem, however, concerns variations in the use of kin terms and combinations of native categories within the same society. Among the Atoni of Indonesian Timor, for example, "mother's brother" and "sister's son" — normally distinguished separately — may also call each other "grandfather" and "grandchild" in most territories. In some territories, "grandfather" and "mother's brother" are called by the same term, while in other territories they are distinguished by separate terms. The terms *na'if* and *babaf* are used for "grandfather" and "mother's brother" in some territories, but elsewhere they are reversed. In one Atoni territory, the paternal grandfather calls his grandchildren "children" while the maternal grandfather calls them "grandchildren".

In this paper I provide a simple explanation for these Atoni variations by describing the correlation between the structure of the terminology and (1) the opposition of generations, (2) the categories of marriage alliance, and (3) the conventional behavior between kin, what Lévi-Strauss calls the "system of attitudes". He writes:

... kinship is not expressed only in a terminology: the individuals, or the classes of individuals who use the terms, feel themselves (or do not feel themselves, according to the case) bound to a well-defined mode of conduct with regard to one another: respect or familiarity; right or duty; affection or familiarity. (1964 : 43)

The results of the analysis seem to justify a further statement by Lévi-Strauss, "The system of attitudes constitutes . . . a dynamic integration of the system of appellations" (1964:49), and the Atoni provide an interesting example of the systematic relationship which may exist between kin terminology and conventional behavior.

I

The Atoni (population about 250,000) * speak a Malayo-Polynesian language and subsist by swidden cultivation of maize and rice in Indonesian Timor. They are divided among ten self-governing territories which mainly correspond to traditional princedoms, the maximal indigenous political units (Cunningham 1966). Atoni reckon descent patrilineally, though ambilineal recruitment to descent groups is practiced in some territories (Cunningham 1967), and Atoni value marriage alliances between groups based upon direct exchange over time.

Atoni use sixteen basic kin terms and the terminological system is a Dravidian type (*cf.* Dumont 1953; Yalman 1962; Tambiah 1965). The following minimal genealogical specifications illustrate the characteristics of the system. (Z = sister)

1. <i>na'if</i>	FF, MF, WFF, WMF
2. <i>be'if</i>	FM, MM, WFM, WMM
3. <i>amaf</i>	F, FB, MZH
4. <i>ainaf</i>	M, MZ, FBW
5. <i>babaf</i>	
<i>bab mone</i> (male <i>babaf</i>)	MB, WF, FZH
<i>bab fetu</i> (female <i>babaf</i>)	FZ, WM, MBW
6. <i>ba'ef</i>	
<i>bae mone</i> (male <i>ba'ef</i>)	MBS, FZS, WB, ZH
<i>bae fetu</i> (female <i>ba'ef</i>)	MBD, FZD, BW

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7 & 8. <i>tataf/olif</i> (male to male)	B, FBS, MZS, WZH
(female to female)	Z, FBD, MZD, HBW
9. <i>fetof</i> (male to female)	Z, FBD, MZD, WBW
10. <i>nauf</i> (female to male)	B, FBS, MZS, HZH
11. <i>moen fe'u</i>	ZS, DH, WBS
12. <i>nanef</i>	ZD, SW, WBD
13. <i>anah</i>	
<i>an mone</i> (male <i>anah</i>)	S, BS, WZS
<i>an fetof</i> (female <i>anah</i>)	D, BD, WZD
14. <i>upuf</i>	SS, SD, DS, DD
15. <i>fe</i>	W, WZ
16. <i>mone</i>	H, HB

This list represents what I shall call standard Atoni kinship terminology found by me and/or reported by Middelkoop (Fischer 1957) for the territories of Amarasi, Amanubah, Amanatun, Miomafo, and Insana. These terms are used in reference, though the closing "f" (which indicates a generic term) is usually dropped in all but *fetof* and *nanef*. All terms may be used in address, though the use of personal names is more common except for *amaf* and *ainaf* whose names must be avoided.

The following equivalences (=) and distinctions ($\neq$), male speaking, indicate conventional unilineal descent:

F = FB	FB $\neq$ MB
M = MZ	FZ $\neq$ MZ
B = FBS, MZS	B $\neq$ MBS, FZS
Z = FBD, MZD	Z $\neq$ MBD, FZD
S = BS, WZS	S $\neq$ ZS
D = BD, WZD	

The rationale underlying these equivalences, in terms of direct marriage exchange, is shown in Figure 1 (from Needham 1956, using Atoni kin terms).

Figure 1

Atoni should marry a woman in the category *ba'ef* and should not marry woman in the category *fetof*, and these categories include women from several descent groups, particularly *ba'ef*. (Some descent groups are considered to be related agnatically as "brothers" though no genealogical tie is traceable between them; thus *fetof* may be found in different named groups.) Before marriage, boys and girls who should marry refer to each other as "husband way" (*mone lalan*) and "wife way" (*fe lalan*), and they may be spoken of as "half coconut shell" (*panu*), the marriage making them whole. Marriage between a "husband way" and "wife way" is said to be "indoor marriage" (*matsau ume nanan*), the symbolism of which I discuss elsewhere (Cunningham 1964), and, as Middelkoop (1958) points out, the linguistic connotation of the term *matsau* (marriage) involves reciprocity. Women of Ego's generation who are not related by traceable affinity, and are not "wife ways", are termed "other wife" (*fe buti*). They may be married with

permission of the mother's brother: the marriage establishes new ties between local descent groups and thus requires higher bridewealth. Only one territory, Amfoan, has no category of "other wife" since all descent groups there belong to marriage moieties termed *neo* (canopy). Women of Ego's generation in descent groups of the same moiety may be termed *fetof*; women of descent groups in the other moiety may be termed *ba'ef*.

The structure of the Atoni terminology is conveniently illustrated in the following diagram which corresponds to the one developed by Dumont (1953) for Sinhalese kin terms.

na'if/be'if			
(agnates)		(affines)	
(m)	(f)	(f)	(m)
amaf	ainaf	bab feto	bab mone
tataf/ olif nauf	fetof	bae fetofe	bae mone
anah	anah	nanef	moen fe'u
upuf			

Figure 2

Lévi-Strauss has urged anthropologists to study a kinship system by using an approach analogous to phonology which "passes from the study of *conscious* linguistic phenomena to that of their *unconscious* structures; it refuses to take *terms* as independent entities; on the contrary it takes *relations* between terms as the basis of its analysis"; (1964: 41). The Atoni kinship system is best viewed, I believe, as six pairs of reciprocal terms. (m = male; f = female)

(1)	<i>na'if/be'if</i> ↔ <i>upuf</i>
(m/f) (m & f)	between alternate generations; agnation and affinity not distinguished.
(2)	<i>amaf/ainaf</i> ↔ <i>anah</i>
(m/f) (m & f)	between proximate generations of agnates.
(3)	<i>tataf/olif</i> ↔ <i>olif/tataf</i>
(m) (m)
(f) (f)	between agnates of the same sex in the same generation; relative age distinguished.
(4)	<i>fetof</i> ↔ <i>nauuf</i>
(f) (m)	between agnates of the opposite sex in the same generation.
(5)	<i>babaf</i> ↔ <i>moen fe'u/nanef</i>
(m & f) (m/f)	between proximate generations of affines.
(6)	<i>ba'ef</i> ↔ <i>ba'ef</i>
(m & f) (m & f)	between affines of both sexes in the same generation.

I exclude the pair *mone* ↔ *feto* (between spouses and their own siblings) since the terms concern only specific married persons. If *ba'ef* marry, the use of this pair of terms is only a variation on the *ba'ef* relationship. If an "other wife" is married, her relatives enter the *babaf/ba'ef/moen fe'u* categories.

II

I shall now describe the terms in these pairs and the conventional behavior enjoined between kin in these relationships.

na'if/be'if ↔ *upuf*

Na'if and *be'if* designate Ego's agnates and affines in the ascending alternate generation. According to the linguist Middelkoop, the term *na'if* is cognate with *nai*, a title used for the original ancestor of a clan and the original ruler of a principedom. (I know of no words cognate with *be'if*.) An individual refers to "my ancestors" as *au na'i*, *au be'i* (my grandfathers, my grandmothers), and descent groups linked over time in affinal alliance inevitably share persons as ancestors. Such allied groups are called "one stem" (*uf mese*), and the title *uf* is also used for the founder of a descent group (e.g., the founder of the Tabelak clan of Amfoan is called *Nai Tabelak Uf*). The use of the

term *uf* in this affinal context (i.e., *uf mese*) is consistent with other Atoni usages in which affinal alliance is expressed in an agnatic idiom to denote an authoritarian relationship, a subject I discuss later.

Familiarity marks the conventional behavior between Atoni alternate generations. Grandparents, concerned for the welfare of grandchildren, may give them gifts which need not be reciprocated. If old people are sitting and dozing, grandchildren are expected to pester them, as one man said, "to let the old people know that they are still alive and someone cares about them." A child is often named for a deceased grandparent if the child is ill soon after birth, and there is no name avoidance between alternate generations. Alternate generations are expected to "joke" (*naroin*, a term referring to obligatory joking between kin) as an expression of familiarity, and grandchildren may touch or jab grandparents freely, even taking their possessions to hide. This behavior is improper between proximate generations (agnates in particular), but is also enjoined between persons of the same generation (affines in particular).¹

amaf/ainaf $\leftrightarrow$ *anah*

The term *amaf* designates Ego's male genealogical or categorical agnates of the proximate ascending generation. The word *honi* (life; to procreate) modifies this term (i.e., *am honi*) in referring to a genitor. The adjective *sm'u* or *sona'* (other or different) is added to distinguish others in the same category. This is done with all kin terms to distinguish what anthropologists would call "real" from "classificatory" kin.

The conventional behavior toward an *amaf* is marked by deference or respect, and I have discussed the use of the term to indicate political authority elsewhere (Cunningham 1966). It is improper to joke (particularly with sexual allusions), to carry any behavior to excess (anger, laughter, bodily movement), or to use crude or disrespectful language with an *amaf*, and personal names of an *amaf* should be avoided. (If a child is named for a grandparent, the parent will call the child by a nickname in order to avoid the name of his or her own parent.) A child

¹ Atoni, like many Southeast Asians, encourage public bodily contact between men and between women in conventionally familiar or equal status relationships, but eschew public contact between men and women even in such relationships. (Handholding between boys and girls in urban areas is a recent phenomenon and not yet fully accepted.) In relationships between unequals or those in respectful relationships, public bodily contact is avoided or done only with elaborate pardons.

should serve food to an *amaf*, not interrupt his talking or activity without permission, and not ask him direct questions. An *amaf* should not be struck or even touched (except by infants, of course). On the other hand, an *amaf* may strike an *anah*, discipline him (or her) publically, or disregard his (or her) comments in a conversation. I use the kin terms *amaf* and *anah* in this paragraph in their classificatory sense: the rules do not apply simply to parents and their own children. Though an *amaf* should not be asked direct questions, he may instruct an *anah* in anything from the use of a tool to descent group history. However, he is more often expected to do so by example or without announcement. Atoni boys told me, for example, how their own fathers would sit by the fire at night and suddenly recite tales or family history. The boys were expected to capture the information and remember it.

An *amaf* bequeaths property to an *anah*, and a father watches out carefully for his "own children" (*an honi*). They receive his personally acquired legacies though, in the absence of a son, a father's brother or other agnate may inherit. The latter have first claim to inherited lineage properties (*pusak*). (In the case of an "indoor marriage", the ZS/DH may also inherit.) I would describe the general relationship of an Atoni child to its father as close, though dependent, despite the respect and caution which mark conventional behavior. When a child is small, it receives almost as much attention and affection from the father as from the mother, but approaching puberty, the child becomes more formal with the father than with the mother. (If the father is deceased or not living with the mother and children, the mother assumes the authority of a father.)

To an adolescent boy, his own father represents the general authority of the proximate generation of agnates, mitigated by the affective ties of childhood and the closeness of the Atoni household group which is based on an elementary family. Atoni youths imitate, but do not emulate, their fathers. (Emulation is more the mark of the tie between brothers.) Youths demonstrate their manhood to their fathers — ability at handling a machet, clearing a field, managing animals, riding a horse, shooting, and hunting. Most fathers give children their first training in these matters, and give them their first field and animals to tend (though not to own). In the past, an "other father" normally trained a boy for warriorhood. Fathers do not provide continuing education or supervision, and the youth often learns much from others (particularly his *babaf* and *ba'ef*), but the youth proudly demonstrates his ability to the father, and the father acknowledges it, usually in a subtle way.

Conventional behavior of respect between an *ainaf* and her *anah* is similar to that between *amaf* and *anah*, and the name of an *ainaf* is avoided; however, affective ties remain close between children and their mother. Children of broken marriages are more inclined to follow the mother, even though they remain jurally associated with their father's descent group. This affective closeness is shared by other women whom Ego terms *aina* (e.g., mother's sister), and also by the conventionally familiar father's sister (*babaf*). If Atoni are asked to justify why the mother's sister is also termed *ainaf*, they normally say, "because her husband is an *amaf*", i.e., she also derives from a descent group which our agnates marry. Given Atoni marriage norms, these women should be married to Ego's agnates; on the other hand, any men these women marry are termed *amaf*. Such categorical *amaf* agnates (MZH) merit the same respect as genealogical agnates. The close relationship to a MZ is not justified in terms of "blood" (*naf*), since "blood" is transmitted through agnation, but Atoni frequently justify their dislike for marriage with the FZD on this ground. Though FZ is terminologically an "affine" (*babaf*) — and her daughter is a *ba'ef* and even a "wife way" — Atoni say that the FZ (being a daughter of FF) is really "one blood" (*naf mese*). However, native structuralists point out (*à la* Lévi-Strauss) that FZD marriage causes confusion as bridewealth returns in the direction along which it is already being paid; hence, they eschew the *cycle court*.

tataf ↔ *olif*, *fetof* ↔ *nauf*

These terms refer to agnates of Ego's generation. The terminological distinction of relative age between males and between females and sex between males and females indicates status difference. Conventional behavior requires deference and restraint between these categories of kin, and actual tension in their interpersonal relationships is quite common.

Older siblings are superordinate and may strike younger ones to discipline them, but they should not be struck in return. When a brother is married, his authority increases and he plays a prominent role with his father and other adult agnates in negotiating the marriages of younger brothers. Mutual aid between *tataf-olif* is obligatory and is reciprocated on a one-for-one basis. Among literate Atoni, a written record of debts and credits among agnates is kept: this replaces the former use of knotted strings. Mutual aid between *tataf-olif*, as between agnates generally, is considered an aspect of the "good name" (*kan*

naleko) of the group. The eldest in a group of siblings has major rights where the management of lineage properties and the private goods of a father are concerned, and he is not obligated to share the fruits of an "inheritance orchard" which he guards. In my experience, guardians usually took as much as possible for themselves, thereby encouraging jealousy over property between real or categorical siblings. Unfortunately I was not permitted to consult police records to verify an impression (supported by villagers and civil servants) that violent assault among Atoni, when not concerning border disputes or robbery of strangers, is very often between male *tataf-olif*.

Male siblings (*nauf*) are superordinate to female siblings (*fetof*) and are considered responsible for them into advanced age. Bad behavior by girls reflects upon the "good name" of the agnatic group, and males may strike their female siblings — "to instruct them" — but the females may not strike back. On the other hand, male siblings are expected to help a sister who is in trouble before or after marriage through no fault of her own. Her marriage makes her brothers the wife-giving affines toward her husband's agnates; thus they can more easily guard her interests. Conventional behavior between *nauf* and *fetof* is marked by respect. They should not touch, be alone together, or make sexual jokes. Atoni do not condone affairs with classificatory "sisters" as do Kachin (Leach 1954: 138-39). Kachin consider it spicy: Atoni do not, though liaisons happen occasionally, particularly in Amfoan where about half of the women are "sisters" due to the existence of marriage moieties.

mone ↔ *fe*

These terms are used in reference, but not usually in address, by wife and husband. (The term *mone* also means "male" in Atoni. The term *fe*, like *fetof*, is cognate with *feto*, female.) These terms may be used for husband's brothers and wife's sisters, but this does not imply sexual rights. These terms do not have wide extension. A wife may refer to her husband's own brothers as *mone*, but she would not use the term for other persons whom he classifies as *tataf-olif*. Before a boy marries, he calls his own MBD and FZD "wife may" (*fe lalan*), but they are part of the class of *bae fetof* (i.e., female *ba'ef*). After his marriage, he calls his MBD and FZD simply *ba'ef*. (A woman does the same in respect to her "husband way".)

An elementary family is normally the core of an Atoni household.

A husband and wife form a close affective unit throughout their lifetime, and there is little separation or divorce. All economic activity centers on the household; property acquired after marriage is held jointly; and the family budget should be handled by mutual consent. There is, however, a tendency for women to hold the pursestrings. Atoni look upon women as having more stable personalities generally, though they are not allowed to hold positions of political or religious authority.

A mother in a household normally is by origin a *ba'ef* (affine) to her husband and his agnates. Her behavior with them before marriage and after is conventionally a free and friendly one. After a husband's death, his brothers have first claim to inherit the widow. In such cases, the widow usually chooses to live alone with children or grandchildren rather than with the husband's brother who assumes the inheritance. If bridewealth has been completed, widow inheritance is perfunctory. If it is not completed, the husband's agnates must complete the bridewealth, and one of them is said to be married to the woman. Women usually accede to this claim. As long as they remain married (or inherited) in this way, they have the right to use the husband's property (even lineage property which the deceased husband held in guardianship.)

babaf ↔ *moen fe'u/nanef*

The term *babaf* designates males and females of the ascending proximate generation in affinally-related descent groups. Ego's own MB and FZ are considered *bab honi*, "own *babaf*". A boy should marry a daughter of a *babaf*; hence, he is called *moen fe'u* (new husband) by them. A girl should marry the sons of a *babaf*, though I know of no cognate (or literal meaning) to the term *nanef* which indicates this fact as specifically as the term *moen fe'u* (new husband). The sons of a *babaf* are *ba'ef* in respect to Ego, as are the daughters (though "wife way" distinguishes the latter).

The term *babaf*, according to Middelkoop (Fischer 1957), is cognate with the verb *baba*, "to help". This association (which no informant made explicitly to me) is apposite in terms of conventional behavior toward and from a *babaf*. *Babaf* (e.g., MB, MBW, FZ, FZH), though in the ascending proximate generation which normally merits respect, are familiar figures in contrast to *amaf/ainaf*. Ego may joke with them, make sexual allusions, touch them (as when jabbing in a joke), and

behave generally with less restraint than with *amaf/ainaf*, though a certain amount of respect should be maintained due to age difference.

Earlier I noted that companionable and frequent instruction does not come from an *amaf* or *ainaf*. It does come from a *babaf*, particularly (though not necessarily) the "own *babaf*" (MB and FZ). Young people often say that they prefer helping or working with their *babaf*: "They are more patient;" "I can have more fun;" "They will not strike me if I am stupid and cannot learn." Like grandparents (*naif/be'if*), *babaf* often give presents to *moen fe'u/nanef* which need not be reciprocated, though a MB is expected to help with such things as clothes or schooling. Atoni parents rarely give presents or allow their children to have personal possessions, a great irritant as market life expands. The things which a youth's work provides are placed in the household store, though they may be used for his bridewealth. When a girl charms gifts from suitors, her parents often keep them and only allow her to use them on special occasions.²

When young people are unhappy and run away from home, they usually seek consolation from a *babaf*, either an own MB or FZ or else a close acquaintance in the same category. Unhappiness may result from the strictness of parents and clashes over money or property, but it may also stem from pressure to marry individuals who are not acceptable to the young person concerned, usually a "wife way" (or "husband way"). Of course, the young person does not seek consolation from the *babaf* whose child is concerned in the marriage, but another individual of the same category. It is my impression, based upon conversations and observations in two villages, that young persons more often approach a FZ than a MB, consistent with the general attraction toward females for sympathy. Furthermore, since marriage to a FZD is eschewed by Atoni, the FZ is a safe refuge, so to speak, from persons who hold certain rights over Ego.³

ba'ef ↔ *ba'ef*

This term is used reciprocally in reference and address between

² The ruler of Amarasi believes this to be one cause of prostitution at markets where itinerant traders come. He urged parents to allow their daughters to plant vegetables for their own profit. In our village, however, parents urged the girls to plant and sell vegetables but still kept the profit for the household.

³ Given this propensity among Atoni, marriage to own FZD would seem the most "sentimentally appropriate," to use the phrase of Homans and Schneider (1955). However, such a marriage is eschewed for structural reasons, though it is implied in the kinship terminology.

affines of the same generation, male and female. It is the only bipolar term, not differentiating sex, generation, or relative age. The phrase *bae mone*, *bae feto*, which may be translated "male-in-law, female-in-law", refers to continuing marriage exchange between two lineages. Thus, a person may say, "Our group A is *bae mone*, *bae feto* with group B". This use of "male" and "female" indicates the complementary relationship in any marriage, with wife-givers superordinate to wife-takers, but neither group is specifically identified as the "male" or "female" one.

The term *ba'ef*, again according to Middelkoop (Fischer 1957), is cognate with the verb *bae*, "to play". As with *babaf* (from *baba*, "to help"), the meaning is appropriate to conventional behavior. *Ba'ef* are very familiar relatives and are enjoined to joke and make horseplay. Exchanges of jokes, frequently off-color, commonly marks the meeting of two male *ba'ef*. They visit each other often, discuss any subject, and frequently exchange gifts which need not be reciprocated. Only this kin relationship, say Atoni, is "equal" or "like friends".

III

Two major distinctions enter Atoni kin relationships, generation and agnation/affinity. The distinction in both cases is expressed by either deference or familiarity. Conventional behavior between agnates or proximate generations involves deference, restraint, avoidance, and caution; behavior between affines or same and alternate generations involves familiarity, joking, and ease. In the two categories where ambivalence exists — *babaf* (proximate generation, affine) and *tataf-olif* (same generation, agnate) — affinity and agnation set the mode of the relationship. The behavior with a *babaf* is predominantly familiar; with *tataf-olif*, deferential. The simple binary principle underlying this correlation between Atoni kin categorization and conventional behavior is illustrated in Figure 3, which is adapted from Lévi-Strauss (1964). (See Figure 3 p. 66.)

The variations in kin term usage in different Atoni princedoms relate to the above correlation. Where kin terms vary, they do so in respect to the *naif/beif* $\leftrightarrow$ *upuf* and *babaf* $\leftrightarrow$ *moen fe'u/nanef* pairs. Conventional behavior is, in effect, equivalent: thus, terms are interchangeable. In this sense, as I understand it, the system of attitudes "integrates" the system of appellations, to use the words of Lévi-Strauss.

Figure 3

In Mollo territory, the categories *babaf* and *na'if/be'if* of the standard terminology are merged. Thus,

na'if = FF, MF (as elsewhere) and MB, WF, FZH
be'if = FM, MM (as elsewhere) and FZ, WM, MBW

As in the standard terminology, the reciprocal terms used in Mollo by MB/WF/FZH and FZ/WM/MBW for ZS/DH/WBS and ZD/SW/WBD are usually *moen fe'u* and *nane*, while the reciprocal term used by FF/FM/MF/MM is *upuf*. However, *upuf* may also be used for ZS/ZD by MB/FZ in Mollo. *Significantly*, this alternative is also acceptable in Atoni territories with the standard terminology.

In Amfoan territory, the two categories *na'if/be'if* and *babaf* of the standard terminology are distinguished (unlike in Mollo); however, the terms are reversed. MB/FZ/MBW/FZH/WM/WF are termed *na'if* or *be'if*, depending upon their sex, with *moen fe'u* and *nane* as reciprocals (though *upuf* is also a recognized alternative, as elsewhere). The ascending alternate generation (FF, FM, MF, MM) is termed *babaf*, with a distinction of *am babaf* for males, *ain babaf* for females. In terms of conventional behavior, the word *babaf* (cognate with the verb "to help") is relevant in either usage.

The terminology of Amfoan varies from standard usage in another way which further illustrates the contrast between agnation and affinity and between proximate and alternate generations in terms of conventional behavior. In Amfoan, there is greater emphasis upon patrilineal descent group solidarity than in other Atoni territories. There is no practice of ambilineal descent (Cunningham 1967); bridewealth is costly and is paid over a long time; it involves contributions from many agnates; and it effects a complete transfer of a woman to her husband's descent group. This situation is reflected in the reciprocals used for certain kin terms. FF/FM refer to SS/SD/DS/DD as *an atoni* or *an bifel* (male child or female child)⁴ rather than *upuf* (grandchild). MF/MM reciprocate with the usual *upuf*. The relationship of a FF to a SS is expressed in terms of agnation and proximate generation (*i.e.*, *anah*, child), and a FF of Amfoan in using such a reciprocal to a SS, says in effect, "We are agnates, and our relationship should be respectful like father and son, not like grandfather and grandson or affine and affine."

IV

I noted that the position of the mother's brother is ambivalent in the sense that he is an affine in the proximate generation. Atoni resolve this by stressing the affinal character of the daily relationship in making the mother's brother a familiar relative. However, a more important problem of ambivalence results from the position of the mother's brother as chief representative of the wife-giving group since the relationship between wife-givers and wife-takers is formal or authoritarian. The ceremonial respect owed to wife-givers contrasts with the normal familiarity in relationships with affines.

The resolution of this ambivalence is expressed at ceremonies for the life-cycle of members of a lineage (including the ZS of any MB) when the chief representative of the wife-givers is termed *atoni-amaf* (man-father, or better "father-like man"). (The term *atoni* means both "man" and "people", and the term *atoni-amaf* may also refer to the group of wife-giving affines.) The *atoni-amaf* is responsible for conducting ritual: specifically, a MB is normally responsible for his ZS

⁴ In Amfoan, *atoni* and *bifel* are used more often than *mone* and *feto*. The former are elevated, more like English "man" and "woman" than "male" and "female".

in this respect. His permission must be asked for any marriage because of his claim upon Ego for his daughter.⁵ Since Atoni view marriage in terms of alliance, this claim relates to the marriage of Ego's mother to Ego's father (and the bridewealth for marriage to a MBD is usually the same as that for the mother). At a marriage or other life-cycle ritual, the chief wife-giver (the *atoni-amaf*) is a person with whom Ego would be familiar in daily conventional behavior.

The use of the title *atoni-amaf* (father-like man) is significant and, in a sense, predictable. In the context of wife-giving, where otherwise familiar affines (*babaf/ba'ef*) are in authority as wife-givers and must receive conventional respect, an agnatic idiom (*amaf*) is used. The unambivalent respect due to an *amaf*, who combines agnation and proximate generation, makes this a fitting idiom and explains why the term *amaf* is often used in political titles (see Cunningham 1966).

At all ceremonies, the wife-givers of wife-givers should also be present: they are termed *am uf* (stem father). I noted earlier that the term *uf* is used in respect to a clan or to groups linked in continuing marriage alliance. Thus, in using the terms *amaf* and *uf*, Atoni apply an agnatic idiom to the authoritarian relationship between allied wife-givers and wife-takers in contrast to conventional familiarity between affines. This usage parallels the one in Amfoan where a paternal grandfather calls his grandson "son" in order to stress the agnation in their otherwise familiar relationship as members of alternate generations. Appropriately, life-cycle ceremonies involve prestations between wife-givers and wife-takers. Agnates contribute on a one-for-one basis to their group's gift, and the exchange is made on a two-for-one basis in favor of the wife-givers. This definition of formal obligations between agnates and between wife-givers and wife-takers contrasts with the usual Atoni stress upon giving without obligation in conventionally familiar relationships.

This ambivalence or role reversal of the mother's brother in ceremonial contexts (from a familiar to deferential figure) suggests an interesting implication in terms of the relationship between F-S, Z-B, H-W and MB-ZS which Lévi-Strauss (1964:48) terms the "element of kinship": H-W : MB-ZS :: Z-B : F-S. Thus, F-S and Z-B are

⁵ When a girl other than the MBD/FZD is married, Ego's MB serves as the *atoni-amaf*. The WF, whom Ego also terms *babaf*, sits with the wife-givers but does not officiate. Bridewealth is divided between them: the superior portion, called the "man's price", goes to the MB; the inferior portion (the "woman's price") goes to the WF.

conventionally respectful when H-W and MB-ZS are familiar, and vice-versa. This equation is found among Atoni. (See Figure 3, which is adapted from his diagram of the "element"). I believe that it can be argued for Atoni that, on ceremonial occasions, the total equation becomes reversed, not just the conventional behavior between MB-ZS (or MBS-FZS).

On such occasions, father, sons, sisters, and brothers join together as the "house master" (*uem tuaf*) group to conduct the ritual. A daughter must bring her husband's group (the wife-takers) with her and they help in the house to serve the wife-givers of the host. Sisters and brothers work together to prepare the food and serve the guests; fathers and sons, or more generally *amaf* and *anah*, are responsible for over-seeing the preparations. Husbands and wives, on the other hand, are separated. A wife goes to join her natal group, leads them to the ceremony, and stays with them. On such occasions, a wife is not addressed by her husband's clan name as she normally would be (or would normally report on a census). Instead, she is addressed either by a special title for wives which is reserved by each clan for ceremonial occasions or else by the clan name of her natal descent group. (The particular usage varies by territory.) The MB and ZS are, of course, separated in terms of the respectful wife-giving and wife-taking relationship and the role of the MB as ritual officiant.

The conventional behavior of familiarity with affines is strikingly reversed on life-cycle occasions such as marriage and death. Competition and argument between the hosts and their wife-givers is enjoined and a martial air marks the reception of the affines. Warrior sword dances are held and, at large feasts, guns with blanks are fired at the wife-givers and other guests as they arrive. A coffin is carried to the grave with wife-givers at the front and agnates of the deceased to the rear, and they have a tug-of-war with the coffin.⁶ Each step in the exchange of prestations, like a payment of bridewealth, is marked by careful politeness. In the bridewealth payment, the wife-givers malign the groom and his relatives, seeking reasons to claim a higher payment or compensation, and they are quick to become "angry". However, the word for this "anger" is not the ordinary word for anger,

⁶ There is evidence that this tug-of-war symbolizes the struggle between life and death and a symbolic attempt by the agnates to keep the wife-givers from taking the deceased from them. During the cortage, the deceased is not referred to as "dead", only "sleeping". The *atoni-amaf* later performs a ceremony in which the deceased is declared "dead".

and is best called "ritual anger". The stress on "ritual anger" is a vivid demonstration of the reversal of normal familiar conventional behavior between affines on ceremonial occasions.

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