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1. Introduction

Until the 1950's, Dutch structural anthropologists studying Indonesia generally supported the hypothesis that double descent and asymmetric connubium were 'inextricably related to each other in a single structure' (P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1984:243).¹ Subsequent studies on eastern Indonesia

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¹ With regard to 'the structural relationship between the three original basic elements of comparison or core elements (double descent, asymmetric connubium and socio-cosmic dualism)' within Indonesia as a 'field of anthropological study', P.E. de Josselin de Jong proposes a distinction between a 'weak' and a 'strong' model, saying that 'Van Wouden [...] demonstrated that, at the level of the *model*, the three elements are compatible with one another, i.e. fit together as constituents of a single structure [...], we might call this the "weak" model. On the other hand, the Rassers variant of Van Wouden's model – the "strong" model – implies an unbreakable tie between the elements: if there is asymmetric connubium, this directly entails double descent and dualism' (P.E. de Josselin de Jong 1984:243). However, it is not possible to contrast Van Wouden's 'model' sharply with Rassers' 'model' (Rassers 1982:277-81; J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong 1952:55; 1977:171-2), as the former 'formulated the relationship between asymmetric connubium and double descent in terms that go much farther than mere compatibility' (Schefold 1986:71); according to Van Wouden, 'it is a

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have, however, made this hypothesis questionable. Van Wouden's research report on Kodi in west Sumba, which is one of the earliest empirical assessments of the hypothesis (Van Wouden 1977), has been of lasting significance for studies on eastern Indonesia. He 'chose Kodi as the site for his research precisely because it offered a prime example of a system of double descent' (Fox 1980:5). Nevertheless, the fieldwork revealed to him that Kodi, unlike east Sumba, does not have a system of asymmetric connubium. Hence, he could only reach a conclusion that was almost the reverse of the aforementioned hypothesis. In east Sumba,

'a system of unilateral circulating connubium underwent a remarkable development, but at the cost of double descent. In Kodi, exactly the opposite happened. There are no fixed marriage arrangements, but the bilineal principle has been developed to an unusual extent, at least in Indonesia' (Van Wouden 1977:218-9).

It is by no means ruled out, however, that double descent and asymmetric alliance coexist in one society. Needham postulates that 'asymmetric prescriptive alliance' and 'non-prescriptive bilineal descent' are the 'polar types' in the structure of Sumbanese society, and suggests that some domains of west Sumba have 'ambiguous systems' located in between these 'polar types' (Needham 1980:43-5; cf. Needham 1967:44-5). In fact, in Laboya (or Lamboya) in west Sumba, a domain with such an 'ambiguous system', there are two kinds of kin groups: matrilineal *duwu* and patrilineal *kabihu*, while asymmetric prescriptive alliance is practised (Geirnaert 1989:446-7, 1992:193-227; Needham 1980:26). Furthermore, the case of the Lionese (Ata Lio) of central Flores clearly shows that double descent and asymmetric prescriptive alliance can coexist in a society. For they have a system of asymmetric alliance combined with a prescriptive terminology, and every Lionese belongs to both a localized patrilineage (*wewa* or *sa'o*) and a non-localized matrilineage (*tebu* or *kunu*).

The Lionese kinship terminology is a prescriptive one with asymmetric features²; the use of a relative age category term, as among the Tana 'Ai of eastern Flores and the Endenese of central Flores (Fox 1988:xiii; Lewis 1988:196-200; Nakagawa 1989:50-4; cf. Gordon 1980:51-3), gives an

consequence of the unilateral system that both patrilineal and matrilineal principles of grouping co-exist and are entirely equivalent' (Van Wouden 1968:92). Furthermore, he suggested that double descent was the essential basis of asymmetric connubium, saying, 'this asymmetric connubium appears to be based essentially on a double-unilateral system in which both patrilineal and matrilineal clans operate side by side in the organization of the tribe' (Van Wouden 1968:163).

² The kinship terms listed here are those of Tana Lisé, one of the traditional domains of the Lionese (cf. Needham 1984; Prior 1988:84-7; Yamaguchi 1989:479), where I did my research. The Lionese kinship terminology will be discussed more fully in a future paper.

asymmetric cast to the relationship terms of ego's generation. For a male ego, his *aji-ka'é* (younger-elder) include y/eB, FBS, FFBSS, MZS, MMZDS; this category term is also used for his female relatives, such as MBD, FMBSD, FBWBD, FFBWBSD.³ On the other hand, his *weta* include Z, ZHZ, MZD, MMZDD, FZD, FFZSD. Marriage to his female *aji-ka'é* is regarded as the 'right marriage' (*pai molo*; *pai*: 'to call', 'to refer'; *molo*: 'right', 'logical', 'to match'), whereas marriage (or sexual relations) with female relatives of all other categories is prohibited and referred to as the 'wrong marriage' (*pai sala*). Given this categorical prescription for a man to marry his female *aji-ka'é*, as among the Kédang on Lembata (Barnes 1980:76), there is a subsidiary preference for a man to marry his *aji-ka'é pu'u* (the *aji-ka'é* of the trunk), who are the 'daughters' of his genealogical mother's brothers.⁴

The purpose of this paper is to elucidate some central aspects of the Lionese system of double descent and asymmetric alliance. I shall focus on the botanical metaphors embedded in this system, because the Lionese conceptualize those social relationships that may be translated as 'affinal alliance', 'descent', and 'filiation' by means of these metaphors.⁵ As in many other eastern Indonesian societies (Fox 1971, 1980, 1988), such botanical metaphors are 'metaphorical concepts' (Lakoff 1987:380-415; Lakoff and Johnson 1980) by which these social relationships are structured, rather than representing rhetorical techniques for talking about them figuratively. In the case of the Lionese, however, it is of crucial importance to distinguish between two mutually exclusive sets of metaphors: wild plant metaphors and cultivated plant metaphors. We shall observe how matrilineal descent, conceptualized by means of wild plant metaphors, is transformed into affinal

³ In Tana Lisé, a man and his potential spouse refer to each other as *aji-ka'é*, but a relation of asymmetric alliance itself is not explicitly compared to a brother-sister relationship. The brother-sister relationship, as in many other eastern Indonesian societies, is of crucial importance in some aspects of Lionese culture, however, particularly in the cosmogonic myth (see footnote 22), which I am not able to discuss in this paper. Barraud comments on siblingship in Kei as follows: 'The brother-sister relationship is only one aspect of the concept of siblingship, which also includes the same sex sibling relationship' (Barraud 1990:223-4). This viewpoint should be taken into consideration when Lionese cosmogonic myths and also some Lionese agricultural rituals involving 'sexual orgies' are analysed.

⁴ This preferential marriage has been proscribed by the Roman Catholic Church (cf. Aoki 1986a:188; Howell 1989:425; Prior 1988:100, 104; Misa Wasa 1983:2). Officially, almost the whole population of Tana Lisé is Roman Catholic.

⁵ These technical terms, as well as terms like 'wild' and 'cultivated', which I shall often use in this paper, are only 'interpretive terms' as defined by Sperber. 'Even without explicit indication, interpretive terms should be understood as if standing between inverted commas. Their standard meaning [...] at best serves to evoke another meaning, that of the category that the term is used to interpret' (Sperber 1985:24).

alliance and patrilineal descent, which are inseparably conceptualized by means of the cultivated plant metaphors.

2. Village and patrilineage

The Lionese are an ethno-linguistic group numbering approximately 150,000 people⁶ who inhabit the central part of Flores. Their economy is still at the subsistence level, and is dependent on the slash-and-burn cultivation of rice, maize, cassava, and various kinds of vegetables. Recently, however, cash crops such as coffee, cloves and cacao have been introduced in the mountainous areas, and irrigated paddy cultivation in the flatlands near the coasts and between the mountains.

The region inhabited by the Lionese is divided into numerous traditional domains (*tana*). These domains were formerly autonomous political units, until, early in the 20th century, the Dutch colonial government established control over the region. For this reason, among others, the characteristics of Lionese culture, although basically uniform, show many local variations. Furthermore, as Aoki points out, 'significant dialectal variation is found, especially between western Lio and eastern Lio' (Aoki 1988:203). As it is not feasible to summarize these local variations within the scope of the present paper, I will confine myself to the data collected in Tana Lisé, where I did most of my fieldwork.

Tana Lisé (or Lisé Tana Telu) is the largest Lionese domain; approximately 15,000 people live there.⁷ Its territory is divided into a number of villages (*maki*). In many cases, the village territory is 'magico-religiously owned' (Sugishima 1987; cf. Mabuchi 1974) by a chief (*teké ria, fai ngga'é*), who represents a localized patrilineage (*wewa*) of usually seven generations in depth. The term *wewa* ('door') seems to refer to the 'door' of the ceremonial house (*oné ria*), which is located in one of the hamlets (*nua*) in the village territory, since affiliation to a particular *wewa* is usually expressed by reference to the ceremonial house of that *wewa*. Besides the *wewa*, there are in each village some smaller patrilineal groups whose ancestors were immigrants from other villages or from other domains. The *wewa* dominates these immigrant patrilineal groups, however, not only numerically but also in the sense described in what follows.

All plants cultivated by means of slash-and-burn agriculture are said to have originated from the bodies of a pair of sisters (Bobi Nombi), who were

⁶ I calculated this figure on the basis of the statistical data of the Indonesian local government (Kantor Statistik DATI II Sikka 1983; Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Ende 1984; cf. Aoki 1988:202; Wurm and Hattori 1981). It is almost impossible to find exact data on the size of the Lionese population of central Flores.

⁷ Because the borders of a domain and those of a *desa* do not always coincide, it is difficult to establish the exact size of the population of Tana Lisé (cf. Kantor Statistik Kabupaten Ende 1984).

killed and whose bodies were cut into pieces on top of Mt. Ndoti (Kéli Ndoti, in Kabupaten Ende) (cf. Aoki 1986b:200; Van Suchtelen 1921:161; Yamaguchi 1983:21-2, 1989:485-6). In the myths about the origin of cultivated plants, the correspondences between cultigens and the parts of the body of Bobi Nombi are indicated in detail. To cite a few examples: rice originated from their flesh, maize from their teeth, cassava from their bones, sorghum from their blood, bananas from their tongues, foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*) from their hair, goa beans (*Psophocarpus tetragonolobus*) from their eyes, cucumbers from their breasts, ginger from their fingers, hoary basil (*Ocimum canum*) from their excrements, and so forth. Among these cultivated plants, rice (*paré*) has a special ritual status and is endowed with several female attributes: rice with a swelling panicle in the stalk is said to be 'pregnant' (*paré bhétu*); the uppermost leaf covering a panicle is referred to as 'clothing for a newborn baby' (*lopa*); milky starch accumulated in the husks is compared to 'milk' (*aé susu*) given to the panicle as 'child' of the rice. Furthermore, the rice plant itself is believed to have the same kind of 'soul' (*maé*) as a human being.

Agricultural rituals (*nggua tana watu*) performed for cultivated plants share many elements with the life-cycle rituals performed for human beings. In the agricultural rituals, the cultivated plants are treated as 'wives' who are given to the *wewa* by the pair of supreme beings (god of heaven and god of the earth) referred to as 'moon sun' (*wula leja*) and 'earth stone' (*tana watu*), or 'du'a above the moon' (*du'a ghéta lulu wula*) and 'ngga'é beneath the earth' (*ngga'é ghalé wena tana*).⁸ Thus the *wewa* is contrasted with the immigrant patrilineal groups by the fact that it is the only group in the village to have an 'affinal alliance' with the supreme beings.

Ideally the *wewa* is exogamous. But, if it is divided into named subsidiary segments known as *tuka* ('abdomen/womb'), the *tuka* is more strictly exogamous than the *wewa*. The immigrant patrilineal groups are as strictly exogamous as the *tuka*, and are, in many cases, reckoned as subsidiary segments of a *wewa* localized in other villages or domains. Furthermore, they play the same role as the *tuka* in the context of affinal alliance. Consequently, in this paper, I will treat these immigrant patrilineal groups as equivalents of the *tuka* except where I have explicitly stated otherwise.

3. Matriclan

Matriclans (*tebu*) are non-localized groups which have neither ceremonial centres nor corporative functions. Members of one and the same matriclan

⁸ *Du'a* and *ngga'é* are frequently used to denote 'owner'. In addition, as we will see, the god of heaven and the god of the earth are also referred to by a couplet containing the idiomatic *pu'u*, meaning 'trunk', 'base', and 'origin'. 'Ownership' and 'origin' thus seem to be inseparable, as in the concept of *ma dutu* of the Tobelo and other north Halmahera societies (Platenkamp 1988, 1990).

live dispersed all over the Lionesse area. Nevertheless, they are reckoned among the same-sex siblings (*aji-ka'é*) or brothers/sisters (*nara weta*), irrespective of whether their actual genealogical relation can be traced. This siblingship is cemented by a code of ethics dictating that matriclan members must treat each other as if they were close relatives. They must give each other financial support and hospitality, and protect each other even if they are not mutually acquainted, and they are forbidden to kill each other even on the battlefield. Furthermore, as in Kodi in west Sumba (Van Wouden 1977:200; Hoskins 1990:290), matriclan exogamy is said to be far stricter than patrilineal exogamy. In the exceptional event that members of the same matriclan were to marry, the marriage would remain childless (*tuka iwa ngé*: '[the wife's] abdomen/womb does not grow'; *dari nia iwa*: '[the husband has] no successor').

The members of a matriclan recognize certain plants and (or) animals as their totems (*tebu*), which they may not harm, kill or eat. If they were to do so, they would suffer serious wounds (*neka ra*; *neka*: 'wound'; *ra*: 'blood'), which it would only be possible to heal by making a sacrifice and asking the totem forgiveness.

Each matriclan has its own myth telling how the totem taboo came about as a result of the association of the clan's founding ancestress with the totem. In the myth of the clan Ndopo (Tebu Ndopo), for example, the clan's ancestress 'appeared' (*geju*) from the 'body' (*lo* or *tebo*) of an Indian laburnum (*ndopo*, *Cassia fistula*) and was suckled by a water buffalo (*kamba* or *kamba metu*). Therefore the members of this matriclan may not harm Indian laburnums and water buffaloes. Likewise, the myth of the clan Tara (Tebu Tara) recounts how its ancestress appeared from a taro (*tara*) and was nurtured by a red falcon (*mbira méra*).

The founding ancestress of a matriclan does not always originate from a plant, however. For instance, in the myth of the clan Lako (Tebu Lako) a bitch (*lako metu*; *lako*: 'dog'; *metu*: 'female') gave birth to and raised the ancestress. In the myth of the clan Roja (Tebu Roja), the ancestress was an orphan and was suckled by a mare (*jara metu*; *jara*: 'horse'; *metu*: 'female').

The said myths in any case indicate that the totem and the founding ancestress are related to each other as 'parent' and 'child', whether or not the former nurtured the latter. In the myth of the clan Uwi (Tebu Uwi), however, the founding ancestress treated yams (*uwi*) as her 'husband', since she happened by coincidence to copulate with a yam. Similarly, the myth of the clan Mori (Tebu Mori) relates how its ancestress married a crocodile (*mori*), which metamorphosed into a handsome young man.⁹

⁹ There are many other matriclans in Tana Lisé. To mention a few: Clan Léké (totem: *léké*, *Entada phaseoloides*); Clan Lélé (totem: *lélé*, *Ficus benghalensis*); Clan Wawi (totem: *wawi*, pig); Clan Jata (totem: *jata*, falcon); Clan Sora (totem: *naké aé*, eel). Although I do not know the total number, I assume that there are several dozens of matriclans in Tana Lisé.

This shows that the relations between the totem and the founding ancestress may vary. The members of one and the same matriclan, however, are regarded as '[sharing] an identical *tebu*' (*tebu sama*).¹⁰ As was stated above, the word *tebu* refers to both a matriclan and its totem. The *tebu* in this particular expression ('[sharing] an identical *tebu*'), however, seems to designate a particular 'attribute' transmitted from the totem through the matrilineal line of descent (*ngé wa'u*¹¹; *ngé*: 'to grow'; *wa'u*: 'to go down', 'to go out', 'to descend'). It is said that those who 'share an identical *tebu*' show a distinctive '[pattern of] behaviour similar to that of their totem' (*ola méko sama ngéré tebu kai*); to eat one's totem is to eat oneself. Furthermore, it is believed that in the bodies of the members of a particular matriclan dwell the evil souls (*ana wera*; *ana*: 'child'; *wera*: 'little?', 'deep in the body?') of witches (*polo* or *ata polo*), which are transmitted matrilineally and are qualitatively different from normal human souls (*maé*).

What can be noted here is that the attribute transmitted through the matrilineal line of descent has a wild, animal-like character. To my knowledge, cultivated plants believed to have originated from the bodies of Bobi Nombi are not recognized as totems by any matriclan in Tana Lisé. The animals (*binata*) that are recognized as totems include water buffaloes, red falcons, crocodiles, horses, pigs, and dogs. Even though the two last-mentioned species appear to have become fully domesticated, they are still regarded as being totally different from human beings (*manusia*). So the expression 'pig dog' (*wawi lako*) is used as a term of abuse for men who are regarded as the dregs of society. Furthermore, the souls of witches are said to be capable not only of metamorphosing into snakes, scorpions, centipedes, mice, grasshoppers but also of entering into the bodies of pigs, dogs and cats.

4. Affinal alliance and the cultivated plant metaphor

Marriage establishes an affinal alliance (*wuru mana*) between a wife-giving *tuka* and a wife-taking *tuka*; they are designated 'mother father' (*iné amé*) and 'child grandchild' (*ana embu*) respectively. In other words, the *tuka* serves as an 'alliance group', but small localized patrilineages (*wewa*) which are not divided into *tuka* play the same role as the *tuka* in the context of affinal alliance.

¹⁰ This idiom is also used in the couplet '[sharing] an identical *tebu*, [sharing] the same blood' (*tebu sama, ra bela*), which denotes a close relationship between those who are both matrilineal parallel cousins and patrilineal parallel cousins. The term 'blood' in this couplet refers to the 'blood' which was deposited by the founding ancestor of the patrilineage and has been transmitted patrilineally to his descendants (see Section 4).

¹¹ The expression *ngé wa'u* is used to designate not only the matrilineal line of descent but also various kinds of genealogical connection between a given ego and a particular ancestor, for instance, his patrilineal descent and his matrilineal tie with the founding ancestor of the wife-giving group.

The payment of bridewealth (*weli ngawu*) is essential to the contracting of any marriage. If a man has sexual relations with his female *aji-ka'é* without having first paid bridewealth, this is regarded as the start of a 'proper marriage' (*pai molo*) rather than as an illicit sexual affair. It will trigger the subsequent social act of paying bridewealth. On the other hand, it is strictly prohibited for a man to have sexual relations with a woman who is not his female *aji-ka'é* without first making this payment; the village chief (*teké ria, fai ngga'é*) will punish a man who has had such illicit relations (*péla pani*) by imposing various kinds of fines. Although the offspring of such relations remain members (*kunu*) of their mother's patrilineal group, they are socially stigmatized as not sharing the 'blood' (*ra*) of its founding ancestor. If they are male children, their stigma is transmitted to their patrilineal descendants and will be remembered locally for a number of generations.

Bridewealth is paid in gold ornaments, animals (water buffaloes, horses and pigs) and cash (used as a substitute for gold), all of which belong to the category of goods known as *liwu éko* (*liwu*: 'two pairs', 'four', 'measuring unit for gold'; *éko*: 'tail', 'counting unit for animals'). Members of a wife-taking group will cooperate to raise the bridewealth. It usually consists of many 'portions' (*majo*), which are given to the bride's mother's brother, her mother, her father, her eldest brother, and so on, respectively.¹² The wife-giver and wife-taker 'talk/negotiate about [the content of] each portion' (*garé majo hagé*), and the wife-taker must promise to pay all the 'portions'. However, they are rarely all paid at once; it usually takes a few months or years for all of them to be paid.

The 'portion' which must be paid first is that to the bride's mother's brother, while the most valuable 'portion' is that paid to the bride's mother. After these two payments have been made, the groom is permitted to come and live with his bride in his father-in-law's house. According to the *adat* (*sara*) of Tana Lisé, residence must remain uxorilocal (*dengé*) until all the 'portions' have been paid. When all the bridewealth payments have been made, the wife-giver performs a ritual called *joka tu* ('driving away-bringing') to enable residence to become virilocal. After this ritual, the bride is gradually incorporated into the wife-taking group.

Members of two allied *tuka* are not allowed to reverse the unidirectional flow of women. Transgression of this rule is described as the 'return of the rice seed' (*walo wini paré*). It is forbidden to eat rice seed, special rituals (*pesa uta* and *mi aré*) being required to convert this into edible rice. Thus reversing the flow of women is compared to 'taking the rice which may not be eaten'. This expression is one of a large number of metaphors for wives as 'cultivated plants'. Below follow some more.

¹² In Tana Lisé, matrilineal cross-cousin marriage (marriage between a man and his *aji-ka'é pu'u*) does not seem to have made for a reduction in the number of 'portions' and the total amount of the bridewealth.

Although there is a preference for sisters to marry in order of age, it is quite common for younger sisters to marry or become engaged first. This is then described as 'bananas (younger sisters) which ripen [earlier] anticipating [their elder sisters]' (*muku té'a ndoré*).¹³

While sons are conceived of as 'children to become successors' (*ana dari nia*), daughters are regarded as 'children to depart [for marriage]' (*ana wa' u*). Nevertheless, a few cases are known in which a man of property who had no sons made his daughter's husband his successor. Such cases are considered quite exceptional in Tana Lisé, and the contempt for a man who succeeds his father-in-law is expressed in the metaphor 'child above the rice plant' (*ana wawo paré*), in which the daughter of the man of property concerned is likened to a rice plant and her husband to a sparrow-like bird (*ana hé*) picking at it.

In Tana Lisé, the names of cultivated plants such as *paré* (rice), *jawa* (maize), *muku* (banana), *uta* (vegetable), *lolo* (sorghum), *faté* (hoary basil), and *péga* (a kind of millet) are also bestowed on female children as personal names. This practice seems to be connected with the metaphors comparing wives to 'cultivated plants', since, unlike sons, who are conceived of as 'children to become successors', daughters are regarded as 'children to depart [for marriage]'. Correspondingly, various euphemisms in Tana Lisé liken men's sexual relations with women to the eating of cultivated plants.

The 'mother father' (wife-giving group) provides the 'child grandchild' (wife-taking group) with cultivated plants not only metaphorically but also literally, however. When the wife-taker gives the wife-giver *liwu éko*, the 'mother father' reciprocates by providing the 'child grandchild' with rice and *ikat* cloths, which belong to the category of goods called *regu pata* (*regu*: 'to carry a basket [filled with rice and covered with *ikat* cloths] on the head'; *pata*: 'counting unit for *ikat* cloths'). Even more impressive is the aforementioned ritual (*joka tu*) whereby residence becomes virilocal. In this ritual, the 'mother father' brings *regu pata* adorned with ripe bananas (*muku té'a*) and gives these bananas to the children of the 'child grandchild'.

The raising of children by their parents (*iné no'o ema*) is described by the verb *paga*, the essential meaning of which is 'to nurture children by giving them cultivated plants as food'. This is explicitly expressed in the term for the 'portion' of the bridewealth which is given to a man (a 'foster-father', *ema paga*) when his foster-daughter marries. This 'portion' is called 'rice [which has been] eaten [by her]' (*aré ka*), as if it were the payment for the rice with which he has nurtured her. Equally significant is the belief that the earth god provides human beings with cultivated plant crops. This belief is expressed in the couplet 'earth nurtures the bodies [of human beings], stone

¹³ Nakagawa, in his analysis of the text recited during bridewealth negotiations among the Endenese of central Flores, points out that the bride is compared to bananas/sugar-cane (*muku/tewu*) and the bridegroom to the owner of the plant (Nakagawa 1988:235).

nourishes the frame [of human beings]' (*tana paga saga, watu mo tondo*). Correspondingly, the supreme beings are sometimes referred to as 'mother as primeval trunk, father as primordial root' (*iné pu'u pu, amé hamu olo*). Given this close connection between 'parents' and their role as nurturer, it is not by mere chance that the group which gives 'cultivated plants' metaphorically as well as literally is designated 'mother father' (cf. Barnes 1974:250-1; Forth 1981:286).

The folk-theory of conception as well as the various rituals connected with birth also employ metaphors that compare wives to cultivated plants. A man making a woman pregnant is described as 'sprinkling blood' (*réki ra*). This 'blood' (semen), which is referred to as 'good blood' (*ra ji'é*), in contrast with menstrual blood (*ra ré'é*: 'bad blood'), is believed to generate a shapeless lump of blood (*ra sa fodha*: 'a handful of blood') in a woman's womb, which in the course of time will change into a foetus (*ana ghalé oné tuka*: 'child in the abdomen/womb'). This transformation is designated by the verb *mbalé*, meaning 'to bear fruit'. Correspondingly, a ritual designed to prevent miscarriage (*bewa lega*) is referred to as 'supporting heavily borne fruits' (*tuké gi*). Furthermore, when a woman's waters break, this is described as the 'astringent banana bursting' (*muku bela pesi*), and water used to wash a newborn baby with is taken to a 'cluster of bananas' (*lisa muku*), where it is poured out.

These idioms and ritual acts clearly indicate that children are compared to the 'fruits' (*esa* or *heju*) borne by 'cultivated plants'. This metaphor is connected with the 'abdomen/womb' (*tuka*) metaphor. The members of a *tuka* (or *wewa*) are described as 'same-sex siblings from the same abdomen/womb' (*tuka bela aji-ka'é*), while the close relationship between them is described by the couplet 'joined together like a hand of bananas, packed together like a bunch of bananas' (*dhembi ngéré muku sepi, doa ngéré muku poka*). Thus the members of a *tuka* (or *wewa*) are viewed as 'fruits' borne by a mother as a 'cultivated plant'.

This fruit metaphor is associated with the 'consanguineal' metaphor by which patrilineal descent is conceptualized. A genitor refers to his children, 'made' by 'sprinkling blood', as 'my blood' (*ra neku*). Patrilineal members of a *wewa* who 'share the same blood' (*ra bela*) with the founding ancestor of the *wewa* through a link of 'sprinkling blood' are referred to as 'blood of X (their founding ancestor's name)' (*ra X*). As was mentioned before, the child as a 'fruit' is generated by the transformation of a shapeless lump of blood (*ra sa fodha*). Thus the metaphor which compares the members of a *tuka* (or *wewa*) to the fruits borne by a mother as a 'cultivated plant' involves 'sharing the same blood'.

In this conceptualization of patrilineal descent and affinal alliance by means of a set of cultivated plant metaphors, matrilineal descent does not seem to have any part. If this is indeed the case, then in what way could matrilineal descent be related to patrilineal descent and affinal alliance?

5. Matrilineal descent and the wild plant metaphor

In a number of eastern Indonesian societies,

'a kinship relationship between a mother's brother and his sister's son [...] is the crux of alliance [...]. A significant characteristic of this relationship is that throughout the area it is linguistically marked by cognates of a single Austronesian term meaning "trunk", "base", "root", or "origin"' (Fox 1980:13-4).

This is the case also in Tana Lisé, where a mother's brother (*eda*) is recognized as the 'trunk root' (*pu'u hamu*) of his sister's children (*eda* or *ana wuru*).¹⁴ The use of the couplet 'mother as primeval trunk, father as primordial root' (*iné pu'u pu, amé hamu olo*) as the full phrase for 'trunk root' shows clearly that the mother's brother is part of 'mother father' (the wife-giving group); he is referred to more frequently as 'mother father of the trunk' (*iné amé pu'u*) than as 'trunk root'. However, because there are matrilineal societies among the Lio, a mother's brother and his sister's children are related to each other not only by affinal alliance but also through matrilineal descent.

In Tana Lisé, only the genealogical mother's brother (*eda doa*) is regarded as the 'trunk root' of his sister's children. Furthermore, he continues to be the 'trunk root' of his sister's children even after his death, and is said to transmit his intentions and demands to them in their dreams. His ritual role as 'trunk root' then is performed by one of his brothers or sons. But this person is regarded as only a substitute (*dari nia*) for the actual 'trunk root'.

When a woman marries, her 'trunk root' and her genealogical eldest brother are entitled to their respective 'portions' (*majo*) of bridewealth, labelled 'trampling down the trunk, pressing down the root' (*pido pu'u, reté hamu*) and 'rifle sword, horse saddle' (*mbendi sau, jara saka*) respectively. After her 'trunk root' and her eldest brother have received their 'portion', the latter will be regarded as her 'trunk root'. Correspondingly, when a married sister has a child, this is referred to as 'shooting a branch' (*pa'a ngga'a*), and her child, in contrast with its 'trunk root', is compared to a 'bough twig' (*ngga'a rada*). The 'trunk root' therefore is a member of a 'mother father' (wife-giving group) affiliated to a matrilineal society to which his 'bough twig' also belongs.

These tree metaphors differ from the botanical metaphors discussed in the previous section in that they refer to wild rather than cultivated plants. This is explicitly indicated by the couplet 'emerged from the body of a *denu* (*Melochia umbellata*)¹⁵, sprung from the body of a *jita* (*Alstonia scholaris*)'

¹⁴ The term *eda* is used reciprocally by a mother's brother and his sister's children to refer to each other. In Tana Lisé, however, a mother's brother in formal social contexts refers to his sister's children as *ana wuru*.

¹⁵ With regard to the *Melochia umbellata* among the Manggarai of west Flores,

(*geju leka lo denu, bira leka lo jita*), which is used to underline the fact that a 'bough twig' has sprung from its 'trunk root'. Furthermore, it is exceptional for myths about the origins of cultivated plants to recount that tree plants with boughs and twigs originated from the bodies of Bobi Nombi. This corresponds with the idea that the attribute that is transmitted through the matrilineal line of descent has a wild, animal-like character. Accordingly, it can be said that matrilineal descent, in contrast with patrilineal descent and affinal alliance, is conceptualized by means of wild plant metaphors.

These wild plant metaphors are not used often in everyday life; their use is restricted to some clearly demarcated social contexts, such as funeral ceremonies, making the obligatory payments of *liwu éko* to a 'trunk root', and the pronouncement of a curse (*bomi*) by a 'trunk root'. There may be many reasons for a 'trunk root' to curse his 'bough twig', but the most common one is that his 'bough twig' or the wife-taking group to which the 'bough twig' belongs has not paid the *liwu éko*, even after repeated requests for this by the 'trunk root'. The *liwu éko* payments to which the 'trunk root' is entitled are: (1) bridewealth; (2) the payment of *liwu éko* during the ceremony of the first cutting of the hair (*hongga holo*) of his sister's eldest son; (3) the *liwu éko* payment on the death of his 'bough twig'; and (4) the occasional payments of *liwu éko* as financial support for the 'trunk root'.

The presentation of these *liwu éko* to the 'trunk root' is designated 'sprinkling water on the trunk, wetting the root' (*réki pu'u, waé hamu*). This way, it is believed, the 'bough twig' will receive 'prosperity' (*rezeki*, Indonesian) from the 'trunk root'. This 'prosperity' is described not by means of the wild plant metaphor, however, but through a series of couplets which are used in prayers for a good harvest:

If new lands be opened up, may the harvest be satisfactory,	<i>Gaga bo'o,</i>
if sugar palms be tapped, may the juice be abundant;	<i>kéwi aé;</i>
if chickens be fed, may they breed,	<i>peni ngé,</i>
if pigs be given food, may they be prolific;	<i>wesi nuwa;</i>
if seeds be sown, may they grow,	<i>tedo tembu,</i>
if seeds be scattered, may they sprout.	<i>wésa wela.</i>

When a 'bough twig' or the wife-taking group to which the 'bough twig' belongs fails to pay *liwu éko*, the 'trunk root' imposes such payment on it, citing the above-quoted couplet, 'emerged from the body of a *denu*, sprung from the body of a *jita*'. If payment still is not made, the 'trunk root' will pronounce a 'curse' (*bomi*) on his 'bough twig' by uttering the couplet 'may you have a headache, may your temple throb' (*holo ro, ilé nggedhu*), so that the 'bough twig' may fall ill. If the 'trunk root' hesitates to 'cause

Verheijen makes the following interesting comment: 'This fast growing tree is regarded as a carrier and symbol of fertility' (Verheijen 1984:61).

[illness]' (*tau*) to the 'body' (*tebo*) of his 'bough twig', however, he will curse his 'bough twig' by uttering a negation of the couplets used in prayers for an abundant harvest, such as: 'even if seeds be sown, may they not grow; even if seeds be scattered, may they not sprout' (*tedo ma'é tembu, wésa ma'é wela*). But even then it is generally believed that the curse of the 'trunk root' will cause his 'bough twig' to suffer not only a bad harvest but also various other misfortunes, including illness and, in the worst case, death. The wasting away of the 'bough twig' as a result of the curse is described as 'breaking-decreasing' (*bu'i bora*). Because a 'trunk root' has this terrifying power to impose curses, he is sometimes referred to as 'a man [holding] the handle' (*ata pepa seki*), namely of a machete that might harm his 'bough twig'.

If a 'bough twig' suffering various misfortunes suspects or knows that these are the result of a curse of the 'trunk root', the 'bough twig' and some other members of the wife-taking group to which the 'bough twig' belongs will visit the 'trunk root', hand over the required *liwu éko*, and sacrifice an animal (in many cases, a pig) for the 'trunk root', so that the 'bough twig' may recover and be blessed. This sacrifice is referred to as 'exchanging bodies [between the 'bough twig' and the sacrificial animal]' (*soré tebo*). When the required *liwu éko* has been paid, the 'trunk root' will give expression to the fact that the relations between the 'mother father' and 'child grandchild' have been restored by reciprocating with *regu pata* (rice and *ikat* cloths). This situation is described by means of the couplet 'the bough is not drying out any longer, the leaf is not withering away any more' (*ngga'a iwa dowa tu'u, wunu iwa dowa mélu*).

Affinal alliance and patrilineal descent are conceptually inseparably linked through a set of cultivated plant metaphors. According to these metaphors, the relationship between a mother's brother and his sister's children is like that between the giver and taker of 'life', which is then compared to cultivated plants. To sustain this relationship, however, the 'bough twig' must submit to the demands of the 'trunk root' for the payment of *liwu éko*. If it does so, the 'bough twig' will receive 'prosperity' from the 'trunk root'. As was stated above, this 'prosperity' is described by means of the same series of couplets that are used also in prayers for a good harvest. Thus the matrilineal relation to the 'trunk root' is temporarily transformed, through the payment of *liwu éko*, into a relation of affinal alliance which will enable the patrilineal line of descent of the 'child grandchild' (wife-taking group) to perpetuate itself. And the members of the 'child grandchild' will mutually cooperate to transform this matrilineal relation of its members into a relation of affinal alliance by participating in the payments of *liwu éko*.¹⁶

¹⁶ Howell proposes the following interpretation with respect to gold belonging to the category of *liwu éko*: 'Gold is [...] not inanimate, it is imbued with life-force – a life-force which is as necessary for the recreation of life-force as rice

It is believed that the souls of witches (*ana wera*) are transmitted through the matrilineal line of descent, and so that genuine witches, called 'witches of succession' (*polo éo no'o ola welu*), are always women from other patrilineal groups who have married in. It is alleged that a man who unfortunately chances to marry a witch will contract an incurable disease and often die, since the witches' souls (*ana wera*) of his wife are transmitted to him via sexual relations and other forms of intimate interaction with her. By the same token, all of his children die prematurely except for those few who will inherit his wife's witches' souls. Witches are also feared as the providers of 'extraordinarily large harvests' (*kesu*), since their souls (*ana wera*) are contained in these. Those who eat of such crops will become incurably ill and die. All such deaths are generally referred to as '[that which] witches have caused' (*ata polo tau*), and, unless appropriate countermeasures are taken, the corpses of those whose death has been 'caused' (*tau*) by witches will be carried off and devoured by the witches at their nocturnal cannibalistic feasts. The witches thus demand the bodies of those 'nurtured' (*paga*) by witches instead of payment of *liwu éko*. The matrilineal relation to witches therefore contrasts sharply with the ordinary matrilineal relation to the 'trunk root' in that it cannot be transformed into a relation of affinal alliance through payment of *liwu éko*.¹⁷

If a problem which is impossible to solve arises among the members of a particular patrilineage, it will be possible for them to become 'others' (*kunu ngata*) by 'severing the blood [tie]' (*ra geto*). The tie resulting from matrilineal descent cannot be 'severed', however, presumably because 'severing' the tie with the source of 'life' will lead to a wasting away and death. The 'dead person' (*ata mata*) is referred to by the term *fata*, meaning 'fallen, cut, withered' (Arndt 1933:105) or 'decayed wood', as though he were the 'bough twig' cut off from his 'trunk'.

6. Botanical metaphors in funeral ceremonies

In the various funeral ceremonies of his 'bough twig', a 'trunk root' is referred to as '[the man] grasping an axe, holding a digging stick' (*déo taka, teké alu*). At the burial he will dig a grave with a digging stick of *au* bamboo (*alu au*). A similar though shorter type of digging stick of *au* bamboo (*su'a au*) serves as a dibble in planting rituals. It is equally significant that the thick-sided, hard variety of bamboo called *au*

and woman' (Howell 1989:430). This interpretation is remarkable in light of the data presented here, as well as other information.

¹⁷ Witchcraft in Tana Lisé bears a striking resemblance to that among the Endenese of central Flores. Nakagawa proposes a remarkable interpretation with respect to the Endenese sociology of witchcraft, namely: 'There, conflict between agnates, or the relation between the witch and the victim, is a negative image of the relation between affines. A witch is, so to speak, a mother's brother upside down' (Nakagawa 1986:488).

(*Dendrocalamus strictus*?) is regarded as a representative of the god of heaven in various ritual contexts.

Although the axe (*taka*) is not necessarily used in funeral ceremonies, the uses listed below are very suggestive. The axe is used nowadays not as an agricultural implement to clear the fields, but as part of the ritual paraphernalia. In the ancestral corner (*wisu lulu*) of the ceremonial house (*oné ria*) is kept a ceremonial axe which is used in the *mbama* ritual, conducted a few days before the ritual harvesting of rice takes place in the 'ceremonial garden' (*uma nggua bapu*) cultivated by the village chief (*teké ria, fai ngga' é*). The rice harvest in the 'ritual garden' (*uma nggua*) tilled by each head (*déo wisu lulu*) of a *tuka* (subsidiary segment of a patrilineage localized in a village) finishes, like the rice harvest in the '[secular] gardens' (*uma*), before the end of May or June. But the rice harvest ritual in the 'ceremonial garden' is conducted at the end of August, when the clearing of the fields begins, as the last rice harvest in the village. In *mbama*, a ritual functionary (*holo kuwi, éko roé*)¹⁸ goes with the ceremonial axe to the 'ceremonial garden' and scatters various kinds of chopped wild plants there. A few days later, the rice harvest ritual is performed in the 'ceremonial garden', and the harvested ears are ritually threshed in front of the village chief's granary. Once the threshing is completed, the ritual functionary scoops up some threshed rice with a winnow, and shakes it vertically so as to produce a rustling sound, while calling out to the rice soul:

Come here, [souls of] rice!	<i>Keri paré!</i>
It makes a sound like a water buffalo;	<i>Dega kamba;</i>
it makes a sound like a horse;	<i>dega jara;</i>
it makes a sound like gold;	<i>dega wéa;</i>
it makes a sound like a human being.	<i>dega manusia.</i>

In front of the granary an *au* bamboo is planted, which is referred to as 'the body/altar of the god of heaven' (*saga wula leja*). In the harvest ritual in the 'ceremonial garden', a branch of freshly cut *denu* (*Melochia umbellata*) is suspended from this bamboo, and the threshed rice is ritually identified with this *denu* branch. The threshed rice is then stored in the granary as seeds to be sown in the 'ceremonial garden' the next season. The *denu* branch must remain suspended on the *au* bamboo for four nights. After this harvest ritual is completed, each *tuka* head performs a similar ritual to transform a portion of the ears harvested from his 'ritual garden' into rice seeds to be sown in his own 'ritual garden'.

A person who is on the point of death is regarded as 'being in the strong embrace of the god of heaven' (*du'a gao negi*). In the past (and sometimes

¹⁸ The ritual functionary in many villages is a member of the *wewa*. In some villages, however, he is recognized as a substitute or as a descendant of an originally autochthonous people who, although they were the wife-giver of the *wewa*, were driven away from the region by the *wewa*'s founding ancestor.

even today) a ritual known as 'untying the hands of the god of heaven' (*toa lima du'a*) or 'offering the head' (*tu holo*) used to be performed (or its performance was promised) in order for the dying person to be released. In this ritual, a number of animals (a water buffalo, a horse or a goat, and some pigs and chickens) were sacrificed in order to 'exchange the bodies [of the animals and the dying person]' (*soré tebo*), and the biggest sacrificial animal's head was placed just beside the *mata ria* (the altar for the god of heaven, made of *au* bamboo and located on the roof ridge) of the dying person's house. If such an 'exchange' was impossible, however, the dying person could not escape 'death' (*mata*).

The deceased (*ata mata*) are referred to as 'decayed wood' (*fata*) until a ritual 'driving away the decayed wood' (*joka fata*) has been performed. When a person has died, it is forbidden to enter the gardens and conduct marriage ceremonies in the territory of the village. These prohibitions are designated as 'the decayed wood demarcates/closes' (*fata so*), and it is believed that transgression will result in the crops in the transgressor's garden 'dying out' (*mou*) and the bride 'dying' (*mata*) in childbirth.

In the past, the corpse of a person with a son who was already married had to be laid out on the bamboo floor directly below the *mata ria* of his house for at least four nights.¹⁹ A flat altar stone for the earth god was placed on the earth below the corpse, and the space under the house, which was built on stilts, was closed off with numerous porcupine orange (*mudé mbannga*, *Citrus hystrix*) branches, so that the 'fluids from the corpse' (*nga*) dripping through the bamboo floor onto the altar stone could not be licked up by dogs and pigs.

At the burial (*raté*), the corpse is put in a foetal position (*kuru kudhu*) and buried in the ground, referred to as the 'abdomen of the earth' (*tuka tana*), where the earth god dwells. The next day, a ritual to 'drive away the decayed wood' (*joka fata*) is performed. Depending on the gender of the deceased, a branch of a 'female tree' (*kaju fai*, *Albizia chinensis*) or of a 'male tree' (*kaju lanu*, *Albizia procera*) is prepared during this ritual, and a traditional healer (*ata nipi*: 'dreaming man') whispers an incantation (*ngao joka fata*) to it. An example of such an incantation is:

Lying decayed wood,
its 'mother'²⁰ is a crocodile lying at
the mouth of a river;
standing decayed wood,
its 'mother' is a ship's mast;
[if it is] dragged to the mountain,
[it will] hobble to the sea;

Fata mapa,
iné kai mori mapa nanga;

fata todho,
iné kai mangu rajo;
séru da ghélé,
jéndé da lau;

¹⁹ Now this period has been reduced by one night on the instructions of the Roman Catholic Church and the Indonesian Government.

²⁰ 'Mother' (*iné*) here is the general term for 'key words' which endow incantations with mystic power (*bhisa*).

decayed wood, decayed wood,
its 'mother' is a decayed banana.

fata, fata,
iné kai muku moso.

The branch is dragged from the place where the corpse has been laid out to the outer periphery of the hamlet, and is cast away in the direction of the mountain (*ghélé*). With this ritual the prohibitions against performing marriage ceremonies and entering the gardens are lifted, and the 'soul of the dead person' (*maé ata mata*) proceeds to the 'trunk of the banana' (*ghawa pu'u muku*) near the village in order to dwell there. As was previously stated, the banana is identified with the 'abdomen/womb' (*tuka*), which is consistent with the metaphor comparing death to 'entering the mother's abdomen/womb' (*nai leka tuka iné kai*).

The last funeral ceremony, called *kélé*, is usually performed a few months later. In this ceremony the deceased's 'trunk root' throws away the digging stick used at the burial in the direction of Mt. Mutu (Kéli Mutu in Kabupaten Ende) and publicly proclaims that all his tasks in a series of funeral rites are at an end. Depending on the gender of the deceased, a hen or a cock is then caught in the hamlet in which the *kélé* is performed, and a traditional healer whispers an incantation (*ngao kélé*) to it. This goes:

Kélé, its 'mother' is going and coming;
kélé by the cock,
its 'mother' is a *manu rano* bird;
kélé by the hen,
its 'mother' is a *manu soko* bird.

Kélé, iné kai ki'o ka'o;
kélé no'o manu lanu,
iné kai manu rano;
kélé no'o manu metu,
iné kai manu soko.

The bereaved dispatch the soul of the deceased to the 'big village' (*nua ria*) on top of Mt. Mutu by 'driving away the hen or cock' (*hoé manu*). The departure of the deceased's soul is described as 'entering the big village' (*tama nua ria*) or 'climbing up to Mt. Mutu' (*nuka ghélé Kéli Mutu*), but is more formally described by the couplet 'buried by the moon, sunk by the sun' (*kolu no'o wula, molu no'o leja*). Thus, going to the 'big village' is compared to 'being buried by the god of heaven' (*wula leja*: 'moon sun').

As we have seen, the funeral ceremonies can be divided into two parts, each with a different purpose. Similarly, the aforementioned rice seeds are used in two different rituals. When the clearing of the fields is completed, an agricultural ritual called *po'o* (bamboo used as a water container) is performed. In this ritual, a part of the rice seeds is husked and taken to a particular forest adjacent to a river, and the rice is cooked in a number of bamboo containers. The cooked rice is referred to as 'rain-water rice' (*aré aé uja*) and is offered to the earth god, while prayers for large harvests in the next year are said to the supreme beings. In the rituals in connection with the planting of the 'ceremonial garden' and the 'ritual garden', performed after completion of the *po'o*, the rice souls, invoked by means of an incantation (*ngao iné paré*), are mixed with the seeds of the rice and other cultigens. The seeds are 'buried' (*kolu*) in the 'abdomen/womb of the earth'

(*tuka tana*) with the aid of a dibble made of *au* bamboo, which represents the god of heaven.

The supreme beings are conceived of as a 'mother father' providing human beings with cultivated plants, compared to in-marrying women. At the same time, they seem to be regarded as the 'trunk root', as they are sometimes referred to as such in the couplet 'mother as primeval trunk, father as primordial root', in the same way as a matrilineal relative is compared to the 'trunk root'. In the latter case, human beings and the 'cultivated plants' themselves 'sprinkle water on the trunk, wet the root' (*réki pu'u, waé hamu*) at the end of their life. In the *po'o* ritual, the rice seeds, which are identified with a *denu* branch suspended from the 'altar/body of the god of heaven', are offered as 'rain-water rice' to the earth god; and in the funeral ceremony, the fluids of the deceased as 'decayed wood' embraced by the god of heaven drip onto the altar stone of the earth god. It is only from this point of view that the aforementioned ritual comparison of the rice seeds to the *liwu éko* (water buffalo, horse, gold) and the belief that many deaths make for a large harvest can be properly understood.

Thus, the supreme beings as 'trunk root' finally demand the 'bough twig' (human beings and 'cultivated plants') as '*liwu éko*', and it is this terrifying, dark aspect of them that is conceptualized as 'witches' (*polo*). The earth god, said to be the 'witch of the trunk' (*polo pu'u*), has a power that far exceeds that of common witches. The latter are regarded as the unruly subjects of the earth god, because they 'cause [human beings to die]' (*tau*), whether or not on the orders of the earth god, to satisfy their desire for human flesh. But it is said that whenever they 'cause [human beings to die]', they must offer the most valuable part (*pusu lema*: 'heart tongue') of the victim's body to the earth god at their nocturnal cannibalistic feast (Sugishima 1986). Furthermore, there are some data suggesting that the god of heaven is referred to as the 'great witch' (*polo ria*).

The supreme beings and the matrilineal relative who is compared to the 'trunk root' sharply contrast with witches in the following respects, however. The souls of victims devoured by witches are believed to be incorporated into wild spirits (*nitu*) which harm human beings and cultivated plants. On the other hand, the supreme beings and the 'trunk root' make 'reincarnation' (*bhalé walo leka la'é kai*: 'return to one's former state') possible if the '*liwu éko*' is paid. When the *po'o* and the planting ritual are completed, the seeds mixed with the rice soul sprout and grow as 'cultivated plants' to be given to human beings. By the same token, immediately after the 'trunk root' has been paid the *liwu éko* at the *kélé* ceremony, he throws away the *au* bamboo digging stick and announces that all his tasks at the funeral ceremonies of his 'bough twig' have come to an end. The designation for his role – '[the man] gripping the axe, holding the digging stick [of *au* bamboo]' – suggests that his tasks correspond to a series of agricultural rituals like *mbama*, the ritual for preparing the rice seeds, *po'o*, and planting. In Tana Lisé, the ideas concerning the 'reincarnation' of the

souls of the dead are not so clear, although the above incantation (*ngao kélé*) indicates that the purpose of *kélé* is to ensure the return of the souls to this world; and, as was previously stated, human beings are brought into existence as the 'fruits' which are borne by 'cultivated plants'.

Nevertheless, in the ritual planting of the 'ceremonial garden' and the 'ritual garden', seven kinds of wild plants, including the 'body of *denu*' (*tebo denu*), are planted in the ritual centre (*kao wini*) of the gardens, while the seeds of various cultivated plants are mixed, not only with the rice souls, but also with the leaves of these wild plants. The *denu* is recognized as a wild plant which tastes 'bitter' (*ba'i*), while the crops are said to be 'bitter' before the performance of the harvest rituals (*pesa uta* and *mi aré*) with a view to 'making [what is] bitter sweet, [what is] astringent tasty' (*ba'i tau mi, bela tau ngesa*). Eating 'bitter' crops is strictly forbidden and is compared to having illicit sexual relations (*péla pani*) with a woman without payment of bridewealth. Consequently, the main purpose of the bridewealth payment is to establish (or re-establish) affinal relations²¹ by transforming 'wild plants' into 'cultivated plants'. This is probably why payment of bridewealth 'portions' destined for the matrilineal relatives must be given precedence. The 'right marriage' (*pai molo*) for a man is that to his female *aji-ka'é*. If such a couple have sexual relations without payment of bridewealth, this is not considered illegal. The relationship between a man and his female *aji-ka'é* as potential spouses seems to derive from the affinal relations which have already been established as a relationship between the giver and taker of 'life', compared to cultivated plants.

7. Conclusion

As we have seen, double descent and affinal alliance in Tana Lisé are inseparably bound up with the agricultural cycle and the various rituals connected with this cycle. In this system, botanical metaphors and the anthropomorphism of plants are of crucial importance (Sugishima 1990). Although I have only been able to elucidate some aspects of the system in

²¹ Aoki points out that the payment of bridewealth not only is essential in order to establish affinal relations enabling patriline to perpetuate themselves, but in some parts of western Lio is also closely connected with the establishment of a patrilineal principle in the historical consciousness (Aoki 1986a). Aoki summarizes the myths about descent and the origin of bridewealth as follows: 'In the first phase, the first man and his sister have sexual intercourse, and then the number of people increases. The patriline is identical with the matriline. In the second phase, the brothers come down here from Mt. Lépe Mbusu and disperse to different areas, where they marry autochthonous women. The brothers bring the patrilineal principle to all the territories, where there has previously been only [the] matrilineal principle. In the third phase, a man called Séko Léngo and his brothers come here from abroad. They marry autochthonous women, giving bridewealth, and establish their hegemony over the whole of the territory. Séko Léngo establishes the predominance of patrilineal inheritance over matrilineal inheritance' (Aoki 1986a:169).

this paper, I would like to make some observations that are pertinent to the content of the previous sections from a comparative viewpoint.

As Fox has pointed out, in many eastern Indonesian societies, 'alliance [...] is concerned with the transmission of life. [...] This "flow of life" is synonymous with the transmission of a woman's blood, the vital fluid that, united with semen, produces the human person' (Fox 1980:12). However, this vital fluid provided by the wife-(or husband-)giver is not necessarily different from what is transmitted through the patrilineal (or matrilineal) line of descent. For instance, in Tana 'Ai, where – unlike among the surrounding peoples – matrilineage has developed strongly, 'both parents are viewed as contributing blood to the child, but the distinctions made in most conversation with regard to the discrimination of paternal and maternal bloods are a matter of social classification and not physiology' (Lewis 1988:258). Furthermore, Barnes clarifies patrilineal descent among the Kédang as follows: 'What lies behind the Kédang conception of patrilineal descent is the common tie to some woman. Agnatic ties are based on shared blood originally acquired from another group' (Barnes 1980:79; cf. Barnes 1974:248). Similarly, in Tana Lisé, 'cultivated plants' provided by the wife-giver are identified vaguely with the 'blood' transmitted through the patrilineal line of descent. Considering that, as among the Kédang, a system of asymmetric prescriptive alliance exists in Tana Lisé, this system does not require a qualitative differentiation between what is provided by the wife-(or husband-)giver and what is transmitted through the patrilineal (or matrilineal) line of descent. However, in Tana Lisé, what is passed on through the matrilineal line of descent contrasts sharply with what is transmitted through the patrilineal line of descent, and this complementary contrast between the two types of descent bears a striking resemblance to the complementarity of matrilineal and patrilineal descent in Kodi.

Hoskins formulates the functional difference between the localized patrilan and the non-localized matrilineal as follows:

'Patrilans or *parona* are formal corporate groups that convene at marriages, funerals, and prestige feasts to discuss transfers of women, livestock, and objects within their sacred patrimony. But matrilineal (*walla*) are linked to the transmission of witchcraft, magical skills, and secret arts of weaving and dyeing cloth' (Hoskins 1990:289-90).

Moreover, the patrilan and matrilineal articulate the Kodi spiritual world, in which connection Hoskins says:

'There is a series of gradations between the inside deities of the enclosed lofts of the high-peaked cult houses, the deities of the clan altar and ancestral village, and those of outlying hamlets and cultivated land. Those spirits which lie outside all these cultural boundaries are the wild inhabitants of the forests and fields, the seashore and the ocean, who are

associated with witchcraft, fertility, and the matriclan' (Hoskins 1990:276-7).

These wild spirits 'are seen as the autochthonous inhabitants of the region, original owners of the land, rivers and caves' (Hoskins 1988a:32). Hoskins also refers to the 'original inhabitants' as 'the ancestors of present-day witches' (Hoskins 1988b:38) or 'the first *walla* women' (Hoskins 1990:291).

Accordingly, the matriclans belong to the realm of the 'wild' (or 'natural') surrounding the realm of the 'tame' (or 'cultural') constructed around the patrilineal clans. The latter cannot, however, perpetuate themselves without the former, since 'the matriclans are based on a unity of blood, symbolized by the substance formed within the mother's womb' (Hoskins 1990:290), and women 'provide the flow of life-blood which allows' the patrilineal clan 'to reproduce itself' (Hoskins 1987:197). It is precisely for this reason that the child is formed within the mother's womb in a 'wild, animal-like existence' (Hoskins 1990:295) and is born as such. The child's first hairs are referred to not as 'hair' but as 'animal fur' (Hoskins 1990:296), and, 'at the naming ceremony, the child's first hairs are cut off [...]. The removal of these hairs thus removes the animal character of the child and allows it to be integrated into the human world' (Hoskins 1990:296).

'If the child is not named promptly enough, it can be "saddled with a spirit name, a name from the forests and the long grass". A wild spirit could creep in at this initial, unprotected stage, recruiting the unwitting child to the forces of witchcraft and the wild' (Hoskins 1990:295).

Thus 'the rites of the life cycle are concerned with establishing the child's membership in its paternal descent line and protecting it from various wild, outside influences that may come from its maternal descent line' (Hoskins 1990:294).

The 'wild' realm is also of crucial importance for the practice of agriculture, since the fertility that wild spirits (or witches) provide in return for sacrificial offerings from human beings and which is conceptualized as 'bitterness' (*padu*), is essential to obtaining large harvests (Hoskins 1988b:38-9). According to the myths about the origin of cultivated plants, including rice, these plants originated from the body of a woman who was killed by her husband or father (Hoskins 1989:434). Rice plants are said to have *ndewa* (eternal, renewable soul essences), and 'each year the *ndewa* of the crop is "reborn" in new sprouts' (Hoskins 1989:437), just as the *ndewa* belonging to a patrilineal group 'can be recycled and reincarnated in alternating generations' (Hoskins 1989:437). However, since the reborn rice is 'charged with the fertile energies of the original inhabitants of the land' before the ritual to make it 'bland' (*kaba*) and edible is performed by the

priests of the patriclan, 'it is still bitter (*padu*)' (Hoskins 1988a:59).

Thus, the systems of double descent in Kodi and Tana Lisé are almost identical in that they are based on the complementary opposition between the 'wild' (or 'natural') as 'origin' and the 'tame' (or 'cultural') as its transformed 'derivative'. Furthermore, both in Kodi and Tana Lisé, the 'life' provided by the 'wild' realm is conceptualized through the metaphor of 'bitterness', and the matrilineal line of descent is conceived of as the original source of the 'life' enabling the patrilineal line of descent to perpetuate itself. However, in spite of these similarities in their systems of double descent, Tana Lisé has a system of asymmetric prescriptive alliance, whereas Kodi does not. This suggests that double descent and asymmetric prescriptive alliance are mutually independent social facts. As was previously stated, Van Wouden reached a conclusion which is almost the reverse of the hypothesis that double descent and asymmetric connubium are inextricably bound up with each other on the basis of his research in Kodi. However, the inextricability of the relationship between double descent and asymmetric connubium was still presupposed also in his conclusion, in that he postulated that the development of double descent took place at the cost of asymmetric connubium, and vice versa. I would like to suggest that double descent in eastern Indonesia should be studied without presupposing a relationship with asymmetric alliance, since it appears that among the various types of system, whereby social organization is linked to the complementary opposition between the 'wild' and the 'tame' that is so widespread in eastern Indonesian societies (see, for instance, Aoki 1988:222; Lewis 1988:163-70; Geirnaert 1987, 1990:139-41; Schefold 1988), the systems of double descent in Tana Lisé and Kodi are of the same type.

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