

Presented at A SAO meeting at Stuart, Florida about 1977

KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

Terminology

The Ponapean kinship system is highly classificatory in the application of the denotative terms. The cousin terminology is a modified Crow type. In the following list of terms the primary meaning is given first, the extended meanings next.

1. stney. Father; father's brother; father's male parallel cousin of either type; spouse's father; spouse's father's brother; spouse's mother's brother; father's sister's husband; mother's sister's husband; spouse's father's sister's husband; spouse's mother's sister's husband; father's sister's son; spouse's father's sister's son; father's father's sister's son.

2. l:ney. M & F speaking: mother; mother's sister; father's sister; mother's female parallel cousins of either type; father's female parallel cousins of either type; mother's brother's wife; father's brother's wife; father's sister's daughter; father's sister's son's wife. F speaking: husband's mother; husband's mother's sister; husband's father's sister; husband's mother's brother's wife; husband's father's brother's wife.

3. stney ka:lap. Father's father; mother's father; spouse's father's father; spouse's mother's father; father's mother's brother.

9. part. Spouse; apparently any classmate of spouse of same sex as spouse except those included in term 6.

4. i:ney ká:lap. Father's mother; mother's mother; spouse's father's mother; spouse's mother's mother.

5. ney. M & F speaking: child; brother's child; child of maleparallel cousin of either type; grandchildren and great-grandchildren of all types; son's wife; mother's brother's child; mother's brother's child's spouse; spouse's mother's brother's child. husband of female parallel cousins of either type; women of M speaking: daughter's husband; sibling's daughter's husband; wife's sibling's daughter's husband; sister's son's child. *uncle's son unless he is included in term 6.*

6. sawlap. F speaking: sister's child; sister's child's child; child of female parallel cousin of either type.

7. ó:lap. M speaking: wife's mother; wife's mother's sister; wife's father's sister; wife's mother's brother's wife; wife's father's brother's wife; apparently all women called by wife i:ney (term 2) except those called so because of marriage to him. husband's female parallel cousins of either type; sister's F speaking: daughter's husband; sister's daughter's husband; brother's daughter's husband; husband's sister's daughter's husband; husband's brother's daughter's husband; apparently husband of all female relatives called by herself ney (term 5). *cousin of husband; possibly husband of any woman*

8. wá:wa. M speaking only: sister's child; sister's daughter's child; child of female parallel cousin of either type.

9. pawt. Spouse; apparently any clansmate of spouse of same sex as spouse except those included in term 6.

10. wa:liniyep. M speaking: brother's wife; brother's wife's sister; wife of male parallel cousins of either type; child of father's brother.

15. wa'alli:pi:pi:tych (fruit of female siblings).
of either type; sister's husband's sister; any female of wife's clan except those included in term 6. child.

F speaking: sister's husband; sister's husband's brother; husband of female parallel cousins of either type; brothers of these; husband's brother; husband's male parallel cousins of either type; brother's wife's brother; any male of husband's clan unless he is included in term 6. In first person possessive (the *cy* suffixes) since they do not occur uninflected; except that a form of term 1 (*pa:pa:pa:*) may be used in describing someone to be the father of someone else when neither of them is present. In alternative form for term 1 is *pa:pa:pa:*, and for term 2 *pa:pa:pa:*; these may also be used in the grandparental terms (3 and 4). *pa:pa:pa:* and *pa:pa:pa:* are more popular in address than terms 1 and 2. Terms 1 and 2 may be used in place of terms 3 and 4. Reciprocally to terms 3 and 4, grandchildren may be called *gari* (child) *gari:pa:*.

11. mwa. M speaking: sister's husband; sister's husband's brother; husband of female parallel cousin of either type; brothers of these; wife's brother; wife's male parallel cousins of either type; brother's wife's brother.
F speaking: brother's wife; brother's wife's sister; wife of male parallel cousin of either type; sisters of these; husband's sister; husband's female parallel cousins of either type; sister's husband's sister.

12. ri:cy wol. M & F speaking: brother; male parallel cousins of either type. Term 5 means simply "mine." It is often followed by *gari* (child), *gari:pa:* (daughter), *gari:pa:pa:* (son), or *gari:pa:pa:* (boy). Informants in V prefer *gari:pa:pa:* for a grown son, *gari:pa:* for a grown daughter, *gari* for a young child of

13. ri:cy li. M & F speaking: sister; female parallel cousins of either type. The Benken of Net, however, gives a theoretical explanation which is not verified by the actual father and the spouse's father in address; *pa:pa:pa:* of male parallel cousin of wife; possibly wife of any man called *mwa* (term 11). See term 2 and 11. The reciprocal form to *pa:pa:pa:* and *pa:pa:pa:* in place of *gari* (term 5) or *gari:pa:* is *gari:pa:pa:*. Although *gari:pa:pa:* looks suspiciously like a missionary introduction and informants express doubt as to whether it is native, it is listed in O'Donnell's vocabulary, collected 1870-33.

14. ri:cy li. M speaking: wife's brother's wife; wife of male parallel cousin of wife; possibly wife of any man called *mwa* (term 11). See term 2 and 11. The reciprocal form to *pa:pa:pa:* and *pa:pa:pa:* in place of *gari* (term 5) or *gari:pa:* is *gari:pa:pa:*. Although *gari:pa:pa:* looks suspiciously like a missionary introduction and informants express doubt as to whether it is native, it is listed in O'Donnell's vocabulary, collected 1870-33.

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14. wa'nolpi:ri:yən ("fruit of male siblings").
Child of father's brother.

15. wa'nli:pi:ri:yən ("fruit of female siblings").
Child of mother's sister; mother's mother's sister's daughter's child.

The terms as given are spelled according to the Net and U dialect. Where not otherwise indicated below, they serve for both reference and address. Terms 1-5, 12, and 13 are given in first person possessive (the cy suffixes) since they do not occur uninflected; except that a form of term 1 (sa:m) may be used in describing someone to be the father of someone else when neither of them is present.* An alternative form for term 1 is pa:pa:, and for term 2 no:no:; these may also be used in the grandparental terms (3 and 4). Pa:pa: and no:no: are more popular in address than terms 1 and 2.** Terms 1 and 2 may be used in place of terms 3 and 4. Reciprocally to terms 3 and 4, grandchildren may be called seri (child) ka:lap, using the grandparental suffix, though the usual form is term 5.

Term 5 means simply "mine." It is often followed by seri (child), seriptyn (daughter), serimá:n (son), or pú:tak (boy). Informants in U prefer ney pú:tak for a grown son, ney seriptyn for a grown daughter, ney seri for a young child of

*The Nanken of Net, however, gives a theoretical explanation which is not verified by the genealogies: term 1 is applied only to the actual father and the spouse's father in address; sa:m is used in address to the father's brother, father's parallel cousins of both types, and father's sister's son. The female counterparts are term 2 and i:n. The reciprocal form to sa:m and i:n, in place of ney (term 5) or ney seri, is ney. **Though pa:pa: looks suspiciously like a missionary introduction and informants express doubt as to whether it is native, it is listed in O'Connell's vocabulary, collected 1826-33.

either sex. These are terms of both reference and address, but if the child is not present, he or she may also be referred to as esóts. A term of address used affectionately for children is sá:ma.

Terms for classificatory sibling relationships (12 and 13) may be suffixed by lawtsániyey if the parent of the person addressed is older than the parent of the speaker: the two parents concerned being the persons through whom the sibling relationship is traced. Similarly, tikesániyey is the suffix if the age relationship is reversed. An actual sibling may also have the suffixes lap (big) or lawt (old) and tik or tiketik (small) added, depending on relative age. Equivalent suffixes are melap, mclawt, and melapsániyey for older siblings; and for younger, metik and metikesániyey. A youngest sibling may have the suffix mtikela added to term 12 or 13.

Some informants use ri:ey wol (term 12) only for a grown brother, using ri:ey pú:tak if he is a child; and for a sister, pételi if she is grown, ri:ey li (term 13) if she is a child.

Terms 7 and 8 may also be followed by suffixes. A person calls his or her mother's younger brother ú:laptik if he wishes, and the reciprocal term is wa:wa:lap; the mother's elder brother may be called ú:laplawt, and the reciprocal is wa:wa:tik.

Some U informants distinguish two forms of term 11; mwa is for address, mwaki for reference.

Often

In many cases term 9 may be substituted for term 10. This is true, for example, of one's parallel cousin's spouse of opposite sex to oneself. In place of term 10, nak may be used for those females who are in the same clan as the wife; the word means literally "remnant," "something not used" but left over to be used if the wife should die. Nak is used for both reference and address. Term 10 for the wife's sister is used in address only in joking, especially if she is married, for it has strong sexual connotations and often brought snickers to informants relating genealogies. In reference, term 10 is used only between good friends. The most polite form is kisen sy pawt (relative of my wife) for reference, the name or title for address; and for the brother's wife, the name or ri: sy a: pawt ("my-sibling his wife") for both reference and address. Women do not use term 10 at all in speech, but "use it in thought." The terms are also applied to a sibling's first-born. Term 10, according to one Net informant, should be restricted to persons of opposite sex who are members of a single clan; therefore, strictly speaking, a brother's wife, unless she is of the same clan as one's own wife, ought not to be included but should be called by term 9. Another Net informant, on the same grounds, denies that a woman's female wa'nolpi:ri:yen (term 14) may be called by term 10 by the woman's husband, or that a man's male wa'nolpi:ri:yen may be called by term 10 by the man's wife. Nevertheless, in the genealogies from U and Matolenim the term is so extended. For the spouse of a person of the same sex as the

Any number of additional descriptive terms may be used in compound form. For example, the father's mother's brother (i.e., the father's ú:lap, term 7) instead of being

called by term 3 may be called ú:lap en pa:pa: if it is desired

to make his exact relationship clear. A father's brother may be called ri:en sémey ol (literally, sibling-of my-father male)

instead of by term 1; and his wife may be called en ri:en sémey a: pawt (literally, of sibling-of father his wife) instead of by term 2.

A man and a woman whose respective spouses are siblings are referred to as mo:t pēna po:n á:lek ápot ("sitting together upon a Saccharum spontaneum"); this phrase can be used in reference as a kinship term.

A number of terms displace others when there is conflict in their use, though the compound descriptive terms may also be used in that event. Thus a man's wife's father is normally called by term 1, but in a case where he is also the mother's mother's sister's daughter's son, term 15 is used instead. In the reciprocal relationship term 15 displaces term 5.

Term 5 displaces term 6 and term 10. A man's wife's mother (term 6) who is also the wife of his mother's mother's sister's daughter's son (term 10) is called by term 5 as the daughter of a man who stands in the relationship of term 7. In the reciprocal relationship term 1 overrides terms 6 and 10.

Term 5 also displaces term 11. A man's wife's brother (term 11) is called by term 5 as the son of the woman just referred to, herself called by term 5. In the reciprocal relationship term 1 displaces term 11.

In other words, in every case when comparing, a formal term implies, the former precedes
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Term 7 may displace term 3. A man's wife's mother's father (term 3) is called by term 7 when he stands in that relationship also. In the reciprocal relationship term 8 pəl is not used for such a relationship, since there is no avoidance and few restrictions on conversational themes. This displaces term 5.

Kinship Behavior

Though incest is prohibited between people who call each other by parental-filial terms (except for cross-cousins) relationship also. In the reciprocal relationship term 8 pəl is not used for such a relationship, since there is no avoidance and few restrictions on conversational themes. This displaces term 5.
applied in lesser degree to father-in-law and daughter-in-law.
Respect attitudes and prohibited sexual relationships brother and sister practice mutual avoidance. Formerly are encompassed by the term pəl. The word is applied also to they could not even talk to one another; today the restriction sacred places and objects, as a ruin, a tabooed stone, or a is against talking in loud tones to each other, or in each other's large seine which is conceived to contain a powerful spirit. presence; a violation of this custom merits a rebuke from anyone pəl is in force between siblings and clansmates of opposite else present. Girls nowadays seldom get off the path or sit sex, between persons who call each other by term 6, and between do so when they see a brother coming, nor are they so careful a man and a woman who have married a sister and brother and are to cover their knees; this, however, may be due to the decline called mo:t pə:nə po:n á:lek ápot. The same term is applied of tattooing, since the "sacred tattoo" (lú:li: gə:ni), a square between mwa (term 11), even though these are of the same sex. decoration just above the knee on females, which was never Stronger than the pəl between a brother and sister is that supposed to be exposed before prohibited males, is no longer between wa'n li:pi:ri:yen (term 15) of opposite sex, especially made. But brothers and sisters still may not joke together those born between the same two high tides, hence reckoned to and they still avert their gaze when they meet. Siblings of be of the same age; for a brother and sister cannot be that opposite sex formerly could not sleep in the same house after close in age, hence cannot feel the same respect for each other. they reached puberty; today the prohibition applies to the

Incest is known as kilikilón su:wit (to gaze sinfully), same room, not house; but after both are married the custom is the phrase used when the prohibited relationship exists between relaxed. Before semi-castration was outlawed, under the Germans, clansmates. But between siblings or between wa'nli:pi:ri:yen if a recently castrated youth saw his sister approaching on the a stronger term is used, li:kónkən áni:mat (to eat stinking path and there was blood running down his leg he would give ghost). There is no pəl ordinarily between people of different himself a fresh gash on the thigh in order to pretend that this sub-clans of the same clan, only a prohibition to marry or commit was the source of the relationships incest. In any of these cases incest was formerly punished by Avoidance patterns include not coming near the house execution. where the sibling is, in order not to overhear profane language.

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Brother and sister practice mutual avoidance. Formerly they could not even talk to one another; today the restriction is against talking in loud tones to each other or in each other's presence; a violation of this custom merits a rebuke from anyone else present. Girls nowadays seldom get off the path or sit down when they see a brother coming, nor are they so careful to cover their knees; this, however, may be due to the decline of tattooing, since the "sacred tattoo" (intiy sarāwi), a square decoration just above the knee on females, which was never supposed to be exposed before prohibited males, is no longer made. But brothers and sisters still may not joke together and they still avert their gaze when they meet. Siblings of opposite sex formerly could not sleep in the same house after they reached puberty; today the prohibition applies to the same room, not house; but after both are married the custom is relaxed. Before semi-castration was outlawed, under the Germans, if a recently castrated youth saw his sister approaching on the path and there was blood running down his leg he would give himself a fresh gash on the thigh in order to pretend that this was the source of the bleeding.

Avoidance patterns include not coming near the house where the sibling is, in order not to overhear profane language.

Brother and sister are not supposed to meet on occasions of feasts or meetings, but hide from one another; they ask other people where their siblings are, so that they will not run into each other by error. An adopted sibling has the same pēl as a real sibling, hence the same attitudes are practiced.

When a woman dies early, while her children are young, there is no opportunity for pēl attitudes to become established and only a weak form of pēl ensues between brother and sister, or between wa'nli:pi:ri:yen of opposite sex. The sister or female cousin becomes as a mother to her younger brother or male cousin and is often called mother (term 2). Sibling avoidance begins at about the age of fifteen if the mother lives. There is no avoidance unless siblings of opposite sex are next to one another in order of birth. The following cases illustrate this point; F designates a girl, M a boy, and the numbers represent siblings in order of birth:

Family A: 1F, 2M, 3F, 4M. 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4 practice avoidance; 1 acts as a mother to 4.

Family B: 1F, 2M, 3M, 4F. 1 and 2, 3 and 4 practice avoidance; 1 acts as a mother to 3.

Family C: 1M, 2M, 3M, 4M, 5F. Only 4 and 5 practice avoidance; 1, 2, and 3 act as fathers to 5.

Swearing is by means of reference to a sibling of opposite sex. A man may swear by saying ri:ey li (term 13) or an alternative form, pēteli; a woman swears ri:ey wol (term 12) or pēteli. Or he may use his sister's name, followed by púkapuk (knot); conversation is conceived to be like a thread, and to assert the truth of something one has said this expression

is used, signifying the strong knot between brother and sister.

Another form is to swear by the bones of a long-dead sister.

pételi is the strongest oath, just as the tie between a man and the husband of his pételi is the strongest of any between men who call each other mwa (term 11). Similarly, among a woman's mwa the bond with the wife of the man she calls pételi is the strongest.

A man will usually have at least three pételi, one sister, one woman in relationship 14, one woman in relationship 15. His father and mother will designate to him in childhood which of his female relatives he is to regard as pételi. If he falls between two sisters in age, ^{kill him} it will normally be the younger one, unless she is very much younger, when it will be the next older sister. The wa'nli:pi:ri:ysn (term 15) will be chosen from the daughters of the mother's next older or next younger sister, depending on which of the daughters is closest to him in age; similarly for wa'nolpi:ri:ysn (term 14). The bond between siblings who are pételi is weaker than that between parallel cousins so designated.*

A man who swears pételi by a wa'nli:pi:ri:ysn is utterly sworn and cannot be released from an obligation he has undertaken in this manner, such as an oath to kill another man,

more intense than with siblings. Parallel cousins must speak

*A Net informant says that all of a man's mother's sisters' daughters who occupy the same position in birth sequence as he does will be his pételi; e.g., if he is a second son all female wa'nli:pi:ri:ysn who are second daughters will be pételi to him. But checking with genealogies shows this generally to be true only if they are close in age.

cannot take his children bathing with her lest they describe her nakedness to him.

As with siblings there are differences in attitudes

unless his mother or other near relative cuts a lock of hair from his head when she is unobserved or when he is sleeping. The oath is then erased and he cannot swear again until another occasion arises therefor.

If a designated pâtelî leads a loose sexual life, a man's parents may tell him not to observe pêl with her any longer but to take her next sister as pâtelî instead. But the converse state of affairs, when a man is dissolute, does not apply. There may be some Christian influence involved here.

When a man is ill, his pâtelî cannot come to attend him. Those parallel cousins of opposite sex not so near in age may come, bring food, sit awhile some distance from him, then take their leave. But cousins quite remote in age may come and massage him and handle him otherwise familiarly, since they are like mothers and daughters.

Not all people have pâtelî. The Nanken of Net has none, he says, because his mother died early and no pêl therefore developed with any of his sisters or parallel cousins.

All of the avoidance patterns described for siblings apply also to wa'nli:pi:ri:yen and to wa'nolpi:ri:yen (when these are of the same clan) of opposite sex, except that they are more intense than with siblings. Parallel cousins must speak in whispers even today; the woman must say mayl (sir) to the man, and he may use the same term if he wishes. She cannot enter his bedroom; she must sit with her knees covered; she cannot take his children bathing with her lest they describe her nakedness to him.

As with siblings there are differences in attitudes

among different parallel cousins. A man considers his mother's sister's eldest daughter, if she is older than he, to be somewhat like a mother to him, and a daughter who is younger than he is held to be somewhat like a child; but the daughter near his own age is the one whom he holds as pételi and swears by, more than his actual sister. His younger brother takes the next younger cousin as his pételi. If his mother has several sisters the daughter of each of them close in age to him is pételi to him. pél attitudes toward the other cousins diminish according to the difference in age. Second parallel cousins may also be pételi if of the proper age; and one case of a pair of pételi who were third parallel cousins was collected.

Between wa'nli:pi:ri:yən and wa'nolpi:ri:yən of the same sex treat each other somewhat less familiarly than siblings of the same sex. The son of a younger sister must obey the son of an older sister regardless of their own respective ages; and similarly between daughters of sisters, sons of brothers, and daughters of brothers. The pél that exists here is weaker than that between parallel cousins of opposite sex; nevertheless there are various restrictions on conduct. Conversation must not be in the common language, but a number of honorific forms are used. If a man is seated in the way of his male parallel cousin the latter must ask permission to pass by him. There must be no touching of each other's head or shoulders. Between females there is more familiarity than between males, but the same requirements of obedience and mutual help are in force. wa'nolpi:ri:yən and gives all sorts of advice. A father's wa'nolpi:ri:yən of the same sex may not scold or talk ill of each other. If a single quarrel should arise between them,

they must fight and never again be reconciled. A saying goes tipwenki:ye pi:ri:ysn (broken between siblings); this is used to express the idea. It does not apply to a younger brother or to a younger wa'nli:pi:ri:ysn; either of these relatives is subject to scolding and discipline. It does apply to female wa'nolpi:ri:ysn, but unlike males the family may succeed in bringing them together again after they quarrel; but even when reconciled there will be awkwardness between them and the old relationship can never be restored.

Informants differ concerning the two types of parallel cousin, some asserting that pəl is strongest between wa'nolpi:ri:ysn of opposite sex, some saying that it is strongest between wa'nli:pi:ri:ysn of opposite sex. The former seems to be the majority opinion, but only if they are of the same clan.

Though cross-cousins denote each other by parental-filial terms, cross-cousin marriage is the preferred form of marriage. Wa'nli:pi:ri:ysn are prohibited from marrying. Wa'nolpi:ri:ysn may marry when they are not in the same clan but the practice is frowned upon. When brother and sister marry sister and brother (referred to as pokesil), and one marriage breaks up the other marriage must do so also; hence each couple is expected to be more careful than other persons to avoid quarrels.

A father's sister's son, who is referred to by the same term (1) as father, takes some of the functions of a real father, even if he is younger than his classificatory son. He counsels against evil deeds and gives all sorts of advice. A father's sister's daughter is treated by a man like a mixture of mother and potential wife; the parental-filial terms are used

and gifts are given, but there is also joking and familiar behavior. "my Samarki." Just as to one may call to the Samarki, but must. Two men who as babies have been suckled at the same breast, or who have undergone a dangerous experience together, or one of whom has saved the other's life, become blood-brothers (sôwapwa:l) and undertake kinship ties closer than those of actual brothers. Each observes all the avoidance relationships that the other observes, and neither can marry women forbidden to the other.

Pôl attitudes between mwa (term 11) are also strong. Mwa may not converse at length, and when they must talk they speak in whispers. They must use the term mayn (sir) and address one another by their titles. They may not enter each other's rooms, nor take hold of each other's persons or belongings, nor wear each other's clothes. They help one another with any hard work. In a fight each must be the first to come to the assistance of the other, ahead of an actual brother, even though it means death. In Spanish times, during a war in Awak, a man was felled by a bullet; his mwa went to his body and stood there, determined to die beside him, and fired at the enemy until he too was killed. If a war should find one's mwa on one side, one's brother and other close relatives on the other side, there is no choice but to take the side of the mwa. (But if the choice came between mwa and wa'nolpi:ri:yen the latter would probably win out.)

Pôl between a man and his sister's husband (mwa) is less strong than that between him and the husband (also mwa) of his wa'nli:pi:ri:yen, which is surpassed only by that between

him and the wa'nli:pi:ri:yɛn herself. Such men refer to each other as "my Nammarki." Just as no one may call to the Nammarki but must go and seek him or send someone to seek, mwa may not call one another but must seek each other out. Like two wa'nli:pi:ri:yɛn of opposite sex, when a man visits his mwa and finds him sitting in a chair he must take his seat on the floor; if he finds him outside in the rain he must remain outside with him; if he finds him close to a fire he must stay close also, regardless of how uncomfortable he may become.

Though the foregoing is the ideal pattern, some cases of joking between mwa were observed. In one case when the B1 of U was acting as informant his mwa, the X1 of section 2 of U, kept joking that the B1 ought not to reveal everything he knew. In another case the A6 of Kiti swore in jest (but in English) at a rather remote mwa of his; but he explained that there was nothing improper, for the wife of the mwa, the clan sister of the A6, was absent. Such joking should, apparently, occur only when the relationship is not a close one, and the words must be carefully chosen; if someone protests at a joke as going too far the reply is, "It is only martakáy," the reference being to the concept of martakáy (solid rock) which exists between mwa. Between mwa who are less remote there should be no such joking, since speaking is so hedged about by restrictions.

Females who call each other mwa behave according to similar patterns and likewise refer to one another as "my Nammarki."

The u:lap (term 7) has definite functions with relation to his wa:wa: (term 8). A woman scolded or mistreated by her husband's sister looks closely after his wife; in this function the duty

band goes to live with her u:lap. In such case the husband's father's sister must go to the u:lap and make a feast of apology, (to:m), before the woman will return to her husband. Similarly if it is the wife who has done evil or been unfaithful her father's sister comes to make to:m to the husband's u:lap.

An u:lap will not permit his sister's husband to strike the latter's half-grown children before other people, and will prevent him from inflicting any punishment he considers too severe. If the u:lap was a Nanmarki or Nanken it would formerly have been considered a dishonor to him for his wa:wa: to be struck by their father.

A woman who is to bear her first child goes to live with her u:lap until the child is born; her u:lap would scold her if she failed to come. For four days after the birth the u:lap (or her sub-clan head, the mes'n xi:'n káynek) supplies the large quantities of food needed on such an occasion. The husband goes along with her and they stay sometimes as long as six months. The u:lap looks after his sister's children and brings them food when they are small. There can be no joking between wa:wa: and u:lap.

When a man is ill his father's sister comes to take care of him; she makes medicines herself or seeks out a good curer. When someone has an abundance of food, as after a good fishing expedition, the father's sister shares generously; and vice-versa. A man's wife's father's sister (classed by him as sawlap, term 6) conceives it her duty to see that he does not talk to other women than his wife, and reciprocally his father's sister looks closely after his wife; in this function the duty

lies also with his mother or his oldest or youngest sister.

A man's father's sister stays with his wife when he is absent, so that no one may come to lead her astray; she accompanies her to her bath or to fetch water or to gather shell-fish; someone must be with her day and night.

Between sáwlap (term 6) there must be no joking.

A third party may not talk on sexual themes when both are present; as with other women with whom there is pól the "sacred tattoo" on the knee must never be uncovered. The son-in-law's clothes must be well arranged at all times when the mother-in-law is near. Neither may touch the other's clothes. If they live in the same house they must stay in rooms distant from one another. In passing on the road the mother-in-law averts her glance, but does not sit down as a sister should do.

To a lesser degree this behavior is extended to all the women a wife calls by term 2, except those she calls thus in virtue of her marriage. A woman and her husband's father observe some avoidance patterns, but not to the same extent.

Persons to whom terms 9 and 10 are applied are sexually accessible. A man may sleep with his wife's unmarried sisters, though he should obtain his wife's permission. The wife may feel jealous but is ashamed to show it. If a man sleeps with a woman not in the wa:liniyep class his wife's sisters exhibit jealousy equally with her. If the wife dies her sisters and wa'nli:pi:ri:yan (term 15) try to hold him so that he will not marry outside their clan.

It is considered a shameful thing to be jealous of a

Ordinarily the chief of the dead wife's sub-clan is consulted by the widower in making a second marriage. If there is no eligible woman the chief may suggest a wa'nolpi:ri:yen (term 14) of the dead woman. If the widower makes his own choice from another clan without consulting the dead wife's sub-clan chief the latter may come and take the children away, for fear of their ill-treatment by the new wife. Permission from the chief may be obtained to marry a woman in another clan, but (formerly) the piece of land obtained from the dead wife's sub-clan when the first marriage occurred would have to be returned.

Besides a wife's sister a man may sleep with his brother's wife. Kiti and Net informants agree that the proper behavior is for a man to take only his younger brothers' wives, and that only occasionally does a man permit a younger brother to sleep with his wife. A Kiti woman alleges the reverse state of affairs and states that an older brother has sexual connection with a younger brother's wife only in secret; younger brothers are supposed to do all the fighting in war-time for their older brothers, hence the privilege. The Kiti and Net informants say that a man also has sexual rights over his wa'nli:pi:ri:yen's wife if his mother is the older sister of the wa'nli:pi:ri:yen's mother, regardless of their own respective ages; if the age relationship of the mothers is reversed his rights extend only to the wife of the younger son of the mother's sister, and his own younger brother has rights only over the wife of a third son.

It is considered a shameful thing to be jealous of a

younger brother. A saying goes, p̄rək so: l̄ipwa, "spread-mat without trace;" that is, a woman is like a mat, to be used by brothers without leaving any mark or spoiling them. A similar

saying applies to clansmates, "l̄ipw'en sila maw, "scar of axe

good;" that is, good axes make good canoes, a woman being

compared with a canoe which clansmates are supposed to help

a man make; but if a man of another clan comes the canoe will

be spoiled. A man who is jealous of his clansmates with his wife

is held to be a coward, for he thinks only of her, not of manly

things like war, and would not wish to die in battle. But

whoever slept with the wife of a man of another clan did so at

the risk of his life.