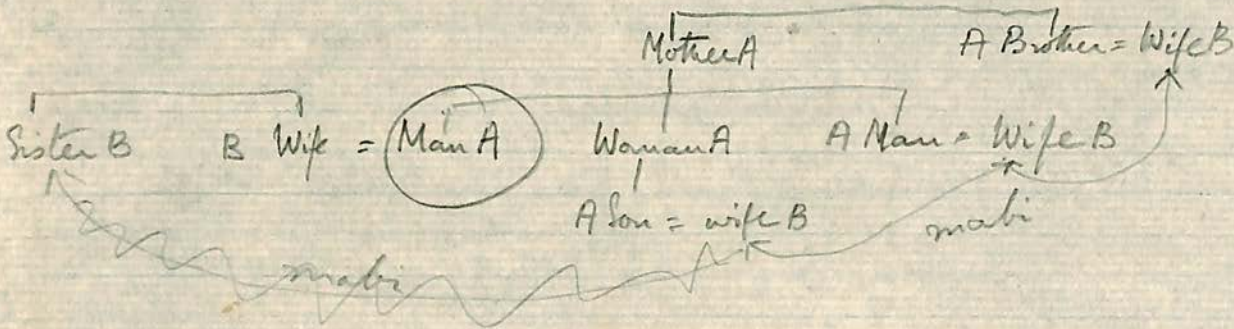


Relationship. Tuiaba.

In Pentecost the wife of the sister's son is distinguished from other persons called classede with mabi, and classed with the brother's wife (m.s.), the mother's brother's wife (m.s.) and the wife's sister, by the term lalagi.

- Gilberts:
- brother's wife = iriki
 - m. b. wife tuiaba
 - wife's sister = iriki
 - sister's son's wife = tenaba.
 - bro's son's wife = tuiaba.
 - sister's son's husb. = tuiaba.
 - bro's sons husb. = tuiaba.



Relationship

In Part 1 of the wife of the sister's son is distinguished from other persons with whom she is connected, and is distinguished from the brother's wife (and) the sister's brother's wife (and) and the wife's sister of the brother's wife.

Gifts: brother's wife = sister
 m. s. wife = sister's wife
 sister's wife = brother's wife
 brother's wife = sister's wife
 sister's wife = brother's wife
 brother's wife = sister's wife

$$\begin{array}{r} 2d) 6700d \\ \underline{3350} \\ 7005 \\ \underline{0500} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 2d) 1950d \\ \underline{975} \\ 29250 \end{array}$$

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$$\begin{array}{r} 2) 245.41 \\ \underline{12270.5} \\ 368.11 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 5) 67000 \\ \underline{11400} \\ 78400 \end{array}$$

From

O. H. M. S.

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To

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one of his younger wives who had a girl child. He would remove mother & child to his own house, and enjoy sexual relations with mother until the child was old enough to cohabit with him. His mother's brother still, however retained sexual rights over this ^{elder} ~~younger~~ woman.

3rd stage

⑤ At this stage, the race practicing this custom was overtaken by the invasion of a patrilineal race, having genealogical system of marriage organisation. In the fusion of systems, it was ~~repulsive~~ ^{repulsive} to ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~idea~~ ^{idea} that a young man no longer went to his m.b.'s household for his wives, the idea

From

O. H. M. S.

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of the cross-cousin marriage in particular being alien to the system of a genealogical people. He therefore sought his wives outside his circle of relations. But the other characteristics of the habit remained. As the imported wives and mothers-in-law would then have no blood ties with their ~~father's~~ father's or mother's side of the young husband, ^{there was no reason why} the same scheme of sexual relations as had before existed ~~was still~~ ^{should still} ~~permissible~~ ^{continue}. A young man continued to claim sexual relations from his mother-in-law and his mother's brothers continued to enjoy relations with his wife or wives, being now no longer restricted by the ~~but that~~ presence of their own daughters among these women.

Tinaba.

There is no doubt that the custom of tinaba as practiced in the later stages of Gilbertese social development has undergone a process of generalization, in which the essential difference between the relatives of a girl's father-in-law and those of her mother-in-law has become less and less clear. Nevertheless, it is obvious from the concrete ^{examples} ~~cases~~ collected that still in the vast majority of cases a young wife was taken as tinaba by her mother-in-law's brothers in preference to her father-in-law's brothers. My cases were necessarily ^{obtained} ~~collected~~ entirely at random, ^{their collection depending} ~~and independent of~~ ^{the informant's} upon the willingness of the informant to speak ^{in concrete terms} of a relation which is now prohibited under the penal code. Thus they are the more valuable as evidence, because they cannot be suspected of having been given me as the material for any ex parte argument. Assuming the spontaneity with which my examples were given by the various informants, it is possible, without weakening their value, to admit that for each case given, in which the girl became the tinaba of her mother-in-law's brother, there may have been a case hidden in which she was involved with her father-in-law's brother. In fact such an admission would tend only to enhance the value of my illustrations, because that which the native admits in sexual matters is that which causes him no shame, and that which he hides is that which, for some reason or another, is shameful to him. Generally speaking, he will be unashamed of a relation which is established

upon popular consent, and he is ashamed of that which is contrary to generally accepted practices. I assume therefore that my concrete cases of tinaba, collected from nearly every island of the Gilberts, are a true reflection of the open practice of the custom as permitted by public opinion.

When I noticed in my examples the increasing majority of cases in which a girl became the tinaba ~~brother~~ ^{of her} mother-in-law's brother, I determined to make ~~an~~ ^{my} ~~inquiries~~ ^{inquiries} by some method whereby, without informing the natives of my intent, I might find out whether they were guided in the practice by some prejudice in favour of the mother-in-law's relations. My method was first to get into conversation with an old man about some subject, such as a land-claim or a matter of inheritance, during the discussion of which it was possible to get the names of his father's and mother's brothers, both distant and nearby related. These I would write down in my note-book. A few days later, I would open the general subject of tinaba with the same old man, and at a favourable moment would name one of his father's brothers and one of his mother's brother's, both related to him in an equal degree, and ask him which of the two he considered the more suitable tinaba of his wife. I applied this test to more than one hundred old men: in every case the answer was in favour of the mother's brother. We may therefore say with absolute certainty that when the choice

is to be made between men who stand close, and in an equal degree of relationships, the one to the girl's father-in-law the other to her mother-in-law, it is the mother-in-law's brother who will be chosen. It is important to note that this opinion was adhered to even by old men who in actual experience had seen it overridden. For example, more than one of my witnesses admitted that his own wife had been taken as a tinaba by his father's ^{own} brother; but all were nevertheless definite in the opinion that such a practice was against decency. None, on the other hand, had any objection in principle to the submission of his wife as the tinaba of his mother's own brother.

In cases where a distant brother of the father-in-law was mentioned together with a uterine brother of the mother-in-law there was less certainty. Many old men said that there was little or nothing to choose between the two, and they invariably gave as an answer that "both were distant." The majority of these made the distance referable to the daughter-in-law. This is a very remarkable thing. We are studying a marriage-system of which the salient feature is its regulation by means of genealogy. And the essence of such a system is that the uter of the wife is separate and distinct from the uter of the husband. Consistently then with such ideas, there never could come into being a standard of measuring the nearness or the distance of a young wife from the brothers either of her father-in-law or her mother-in-law, since she should be utterly unconnected

with both groups of people. If we wish to find the origin of so inconsistent an idea, we shall have to look for it outside the genealogical system. In other words, we shall have to regard the ideas connected with tinaba as foreign to the leading principles of the marriage organisation we are studying, and to explain their presence.

Several of my informants, however, in stating that the daughter-in-law might be taken as a tinaba by either a distant brother of the father-in-law or a uterine brother of the mother-in-law, "because both were distant," definitely made this distance referable to the young husband. From this point of view it seems that a boy's wife must not become the tinaba of the nearly related brothers of his father: the relation is only permissible with distant brothers of the father, while no impediment is set in the way of mother's brothers. The prohibition of sexual intercourse between a daughter-in-law and her husband's father-in-law's closer brothers might be a result of the essential intimacy deemed to exist between father and son; while the absence of restriction in connection with the mother-in-law's brothers might be the outcome of the small consequence in which relatives on the female side were held. But such an explanation is far too indefinite; it offers no solution to the question as to how the practice of tinaba was originated; and in suggesting that it was an internal development of the patrilineal idea, it is open to the grave objection that the

practice of tinaba is utterly foreign to the spirit in which patrilineal societies in Polynesia, possessing a genealogical system of regulating marriage, regarded the institution of marriage.

I think there can be little doubt indeed that patrilineal ideas played a part in the more recent development of the custom, and to such ideas I attribute the process of generalisation, to which I have referred, whereby the distinction between mother-in-law's and father-in-law's brothers began in practice if not in theory to break down. But as to the actual origin of tinaba, we must regard it as an element foreign to the genealogical and patrilineal system in which it is embedded; and we must, on the evidence before us, look ^{outside this system for a} ~~mechanism~~ mechanism whereby the brothers of a girl's mother-in-law were able to acquire sexual rights over her. Such a mechanism will also have to explain the attitude of mind of the majority of my informants who, in discussing the persons with whom a girl might fitly enter into the relation of tinaba, adopted a standard

of measuring her nearness or distance from
an utru with which, under a logical and
consistent application of the genealogical
system, she could have no possible connection
either near or distant.

Tinaba.

If a young man take as tinaba the mother of his wife, and have a child by her, this child is treated as the child of his father-in-law in all matters pertaining to inheritance; and is treated by the real father as the sister of his wife. But the young man cannot then take the child as his iriki, as he would do with any other sister of his wife.

Tinaba

(1) In general support of the inference that tinaba was originally practised only between a girl and her husband's mother's brother is the following. A man who either (a) is already engaged in an affair with a girl, or (b) wishes to do so, will approach any one of his (classificatory) sisters who has a son, and arrange with her that her son shall take the desired girl as his wife. When the union has been accomplished, the young wife of course becomes the tinaba of her lover.

The strong connection of tinaba with the brother of the mother-in-law (w.s.) is here evident. If the relationship could originally be established by the brother of the father-in-law, it is difficult to understand why a lover in the situation above described should not be able to approach his brother's son with a view to arranging the desired marriage.

Tinaba.

(2) It is clear that the practice of tinaba by a girl with her mother-in-law's brothers can have no connection with a patrilineal organisation of society. Under the patrilineal system, the father-in-law and his brothers, being of the same social group as the girl's husband would be her natural mates in the tinaba relationship. But, as the evidence shows, these were not considered to be the fitting persons to take her as tinaba, the brothers of the mother-in-law being preferred. We may conclude from this that the custom is part of a system that was not patrilineal but matrilineal in character.

Tinaba Tarawa.

There is a case, well-known on Tarawa, in which the actual father of a man entered into ^{the} relation of tinaba with his son's wife, or rather, bride-elect.

Tae
|
Kautu-n-Tarawa = Nei Manoua
|
Kamatie

In the above pedigree, the girl Manoua had not yet become the wife of Kautu-n-Tarawa, but had been taken into the house of his father, according to custom, after betrothal, to await the coming-of-age of her pledged husband. Before the boy was ripe for marriage, Tae his father, contrary to the accepted standard of decency, took the girl and begot a child on her. This child was Kamatie. Later, Kautu-n-Tarawa married his betrothed and had several children by her. For the sake of appearances, Kamatie has always been called the brother of these children, although in reality he is their father's half-brother, and therefore their classificatory father.

In ordinary cases of tinaba, where the standard of decency had not been broken, the child of such a union was accepted by the uncle-at-law as his own, and was therefore a classificatory brother of his sister's son.

Tiniaba.

(1) If a man adopted a boy as his tibu, the wife of the adopted became the tiniaba of the adopter's son.

(2) If a man adopted a girl as his tibu, the husband of the adopted took the adopter's daughter as his tiniaba.

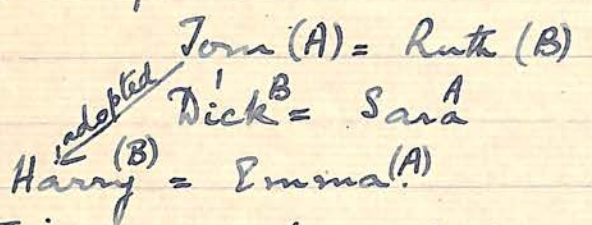
(3) If a woman adopted boy as tibu, her son took wife of adopted as tiniaba.

(4) If a woman adopted girl as tibu, the husband of adopted took daughter of adopter as tiniaba.

If this were evolved from dual systems with matrilinial descent, we should expect the relationship only to be permissible if a man adopted either (a) His sister's son's son or (b) his brother's daughter's son. And in the case of a woman, she would have to adopt either (a) Her brother's son's son, or (b) Her sister's daughter's son.

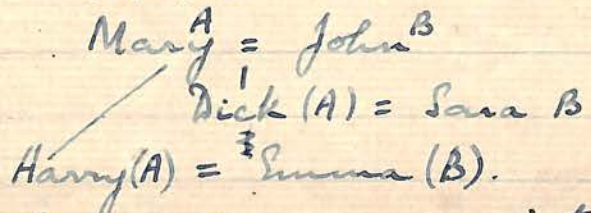
In the case of a girl being adopted, she would to fulfil conditions have to be, if man were adopter, his (a) Brother's daughter's daughter or (b) his sister's son's daughter. If a woman were the adopter, the girl must be either (a) her brother's son's daughter or (b) her sister's daughter's daughter.

(1) Man adopts a boy, whose wife becomes tinaba of adopter's son: -



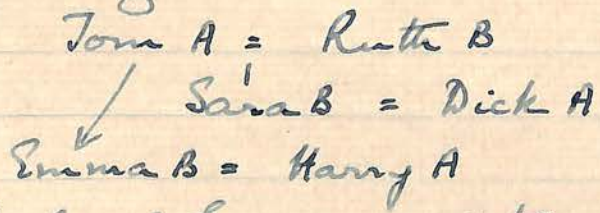
If this were founded on dual system Harry the adopted would have to be of same moiety as Dick, so that his wife should be of other moiety and thus capable of sex. intercourse with Dick. We should expect Harry to have sex. right with Sara the wife of Dick.

(2) Woman adopts boy, whose wife becomes tinaba of adopter's son: -



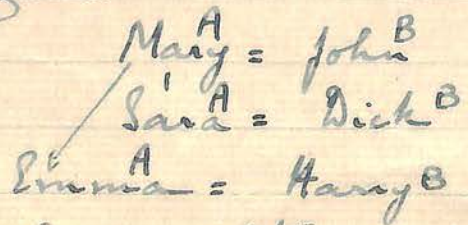
Harry must be of same moiety as Dick, and therefore as above ought to have sex. rights over Sara.

(3) Man adopts girl whose husband becomes tinaba of adopter's daughter: -



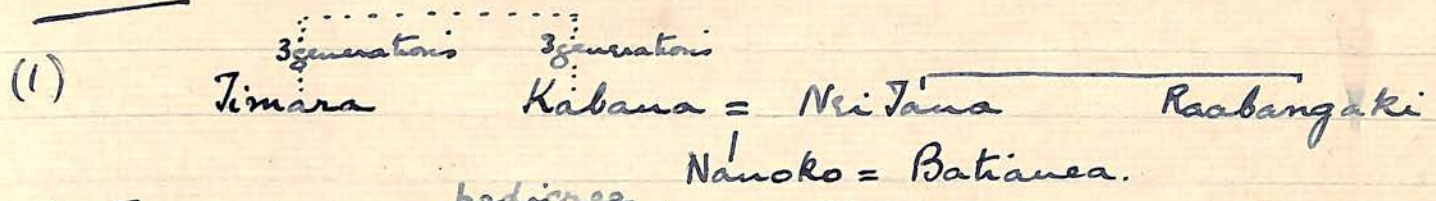
Emma must be of Sara's moiety in order that Harry may have intercourse with Sara. Harry should also have right of intercourse with Ruth; and Emma with Dick and Tom.

(4) Woman adopts girl whose husband becomes tinaba of adopter's daughter: -



Harry should have rights over Mary as well as Sara, and Emma should be subject to tinaba with Dick and John.

Tiaba.



The above ^{pedigree} ~~illustration~~ illustrates a concrete case in which the own brother of the mother-in-law was preferred to a distant brother of the father-in-law, as the tiaba of a young wife.

Timara, a third cousin of Nauoko's father, approached Nauoko with the request that he should supply his wife Batianea as a tiaba. In actual practice, such a ^{connection} ~~relationship~~ is very general between persons standing to each other in the relation of Timara and Batianea, especially on Tarawa. But Nauoko refused to supply his wife to Timara on the ground that he was a father's brother and therefore the union would be Ramara, i.e., filthy. Nauoko refused this request of Timara with great shame, because a native owes almost implicit obedience to his father's classificatory brothers. The fact that his sentiment against the act of tiaba proposed was stronger than even his sense of filial piety shows how powerful is still the aversion against tiaba ^{between} ~~with~~ a girl and her father-in-law's brothers. On the other hand Nauoko, although a Christian, informed me that if Raabangaki, his mother's own brother, made a similar request, he would be unable to refuse to give Batianea as his tiaba. It need hardly be pointed out how valuable is such a concrete instance as proof that before the generalisation of tiaba, a young

wife could only enter into this relation with the brothers of her mother-in-law.

(2) There is an opinion among the old men that tinaba is "easier" on the part of the mother's brother than the father's brother. Their explanation is that the sister of a man is his inferior and will ~~much more easily~~ ^{easily consent to} procure her daughter-in-law for him; ~~than~~ ~~with her brother procure his~~; whereas a man's brother will not, on account of his equality of sex; be so complaisant. This may not be the fundamental explanation of the origin of tinaba, but it is valuable in that it denotes the recognition by the native of the greater ease with which a tinaba may be arranged between a ~~man~~ girl and her mother-in-law's brother.

(3) The existence of the tinaba relationship between a girl and her husband's own father is described by the natives as "a cause for vomiting." It is regarded with the greatest contempt and loathing. In past times a man suspected of sexual relations with his own daughter-in-law might be killed with impunity by one or more of his brothers; or he might be taken by his utu and floated away to sea without food. It is a very remarkable fact, therefore, that a boy could perfectly well enter into relations of tinaba with his wife's own mother. This was of quite frequent occurrence. Public opinion was not in great favour of the practice in

later times, but this element of disfavour cannot be regarded as fundamental, because if a boy took his mother-in-law as tinaba her husband was bound neither by demeanour nor word to show his son-in-law that he objected. The most he might do was to talk to his wife in the matter, but even thus, if she insisted on pursuing the relationship, he might not lift a finger to prevent her.

During 1922 this duty of the father-in-law towards his daughter's husband was well illustrated in its breach. The following pedigree will explain the situation:—

Teraabwena = Nri Tetaake

Nri Bakaiti = Tika.

Tika took his mother-in-law, Nri Tetaake, as his tinaba, and Teraabwena the father-in-law objected. His remedy was to report to the Government, which has prohibited this relationship; he did not, however, take the obvious means of prevention, but brooded on the matter for a long time, and after trying to persuade his wife to break off the connection, determined to kill his son-in-law. On a suitable occasion he stabbed the boy, though not mortally, and the whole affair became public. I discussed the incident with many old men, who were unanimous in their opinion that Teraabwena was a churl, and that he had absolutely no grounds according to native custom for his jealousy.

It becomes clear, therefore, that though it was a heinous offence for a father-in-law to take as tinaba his son's wife, yet

there was no corresponding objection to the establishment of such a relationship between a boy and his wife's mother. In tracing the origin of tinaba we shall have to remember this important distinction, and in seeking for some mechanism through which the custom was embedded in a patrilineal and genealogical system of organizing marriage, we shall also have to bear in mind the other peculiarities of the practice: first, that tinaba is a relationship contracted essentially between a woman and her mother-in-law's brothers to the exclusion of her father-in-law's brothers; and secondly that in connection with the regulation of the custom a standard of measurement, foreign to the ideas of the genealogical system, is used to measure the nearness or the distance of a girl from the utu into which she marries.

The mechanism sought will have to explain all these peculiarities and inconsistencies, and in so far as it is able to associate them all as the logical consequences of a single system, in just so far will it appeal to us as the true explanation of the facts.

Tinaba: Marakei

①

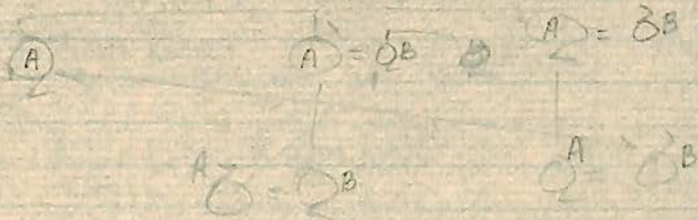
Teirei = (1) Ni Kaere (2) Ni Baireina Kieura
 Matairi = Ni Amirina Tinana = Ni Kamooa
 Kiteaaba = ^{nee}Teirikano

All the wives of the three children of Teirei (by his two wives) were taken in tinaba by Kieura, their mother-in-law's brother.

②

TebaiKota = Ni Baroata Kabaea
 TeKabwewere = Ni Tebairure

Ni Tebairure was tinaba of ^{nee}mother-in-law's brother Kabaea.



Man ① Always m. in l. or sister, never f. in l. or sister.

Woman ① Always husband of sister's daughter, never of brother's daughter.

From Tuaba O. H. M. S.

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To

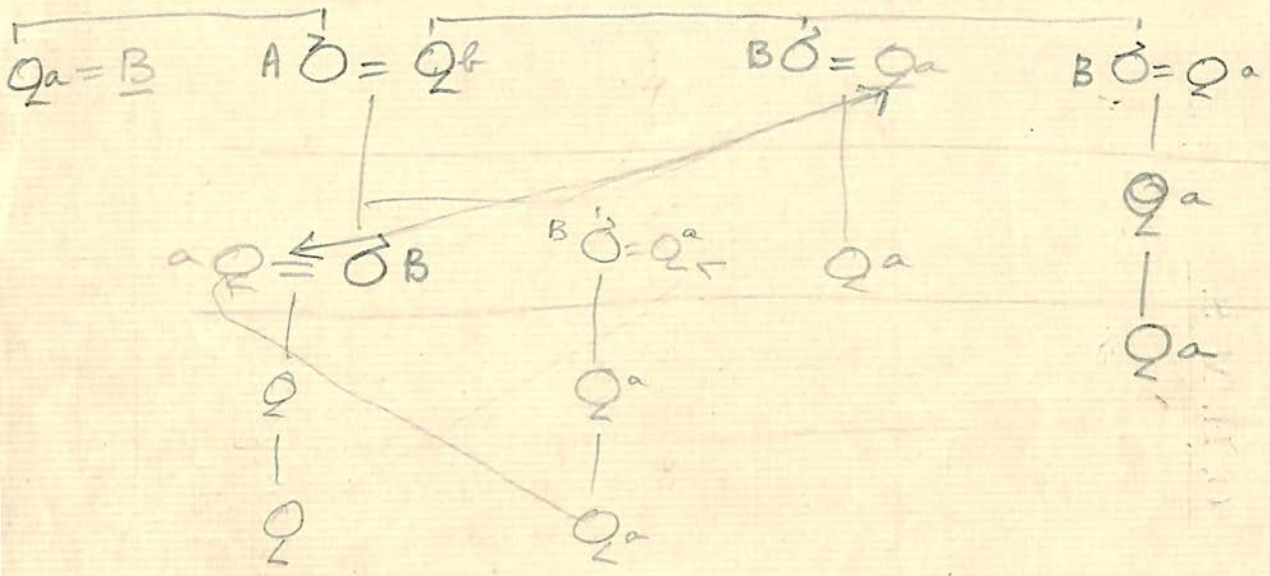
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1st stage

- ① During gerontocracy a young man went to beg wife from his mother's brother.
- ② M.b. granted one ^{or two} of his wives, but retained sexual rights over them. Basis of Tuaba.

2nd stage

- ③ Gradually old men's power waned + young men's increased. The young men were in position to demand younger wives, i.e. the daughters of their mother's brothers.
- ④ Having taken daughters to wife, they were sufficiently in power to retain still their sexual rights over their mothers-in-law. It is highly probable that a young man went to his m.b. and demanded



- ① Took m.b. wife: m.b. retained sexual rights
- ② Began to take m.b. child but retained sexual rights over wife's mother;
- ③ No longer took m.b.'s womenfolk, but went elsewhere; by analogy retained sexual rights over wife's mother;
- ④ Ban of consanguinity being lifted, m.b. acquired sexual rights over young wife.

Tinaba. Butaritari.

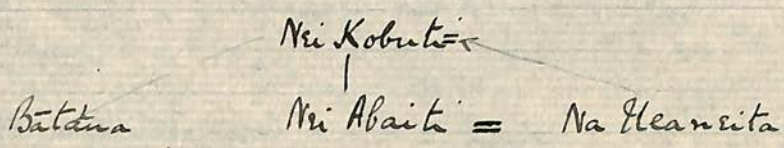
1. In Butaritari, two distinct classes of persons were called tinaba.

(a) If a woman's brother married, his wife became that woman's tinaba. (Called Kainaba south of Butaritari).

(b) If the daughter of a woman's ~~brother~~ (or sister) married, her husband became the woman's tinaba.

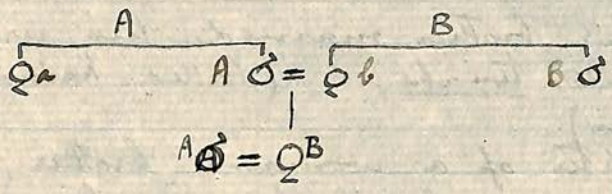
(c) A woman's own son-in-law sometimes became her tinaba.

2. Some strange relationships arose out of the custom of tinaba ^(c) above.

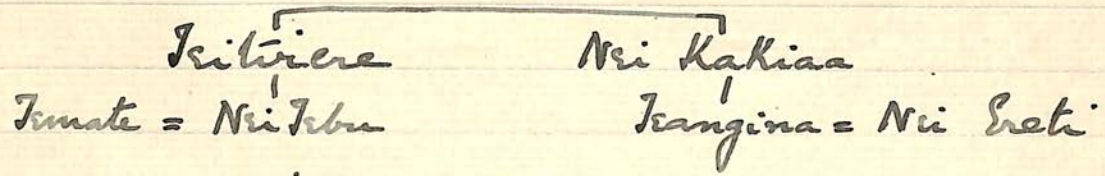


Na Heaneita was Nii Kobuti's son-in-law. He entered into the tinaba alliance with her; she bore him a son, Bātana. Bātana was then the son of Nii Abaiti, in respect of her husband, and the daughter of Nii Abaiti in respect of her mother.

③ If we imagine an exogamous tribe of two moieties, it is clear how the name of tinaba can be applied to both a man and a woman.



Tinaba : Marakei.



Nri Ereti became tinaba of Tikitire, her husband's mother's brother.

Timate took as tinaba both his father in law's wife and his father-in-law's sister Nri Kakiaa.

Tinaba. Abaiang.

Ni Jerikano

Ni Jerkotara

Ni Mamate

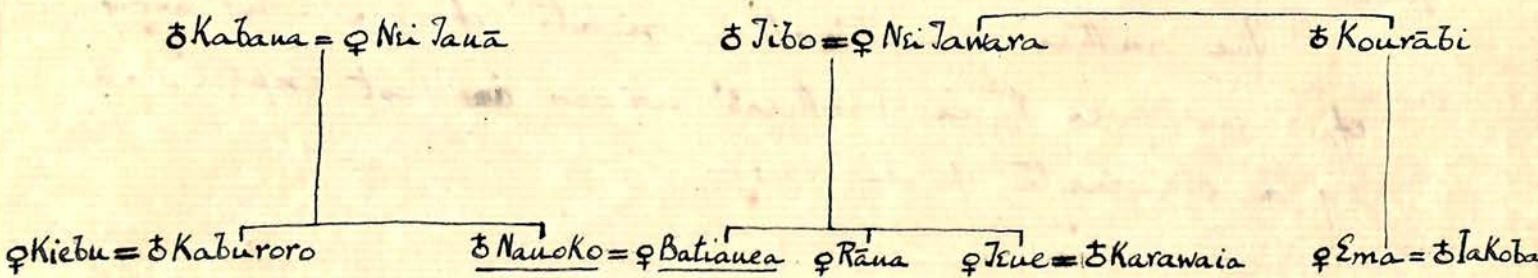
Trauba

Jemaree = Ni Kanonga

Ni Kanonga was given in tinaba to Trauba by Jemaree, the sister's child of Trauba.

Marriage. The relationship of iviriki.

- i. The iviriki of a man were (a) his brother's wives, and (b) his wife's sisters. Conversely, the iviriki of a woman were (a) her sister's husband, and (b) her husband's brothers. The relationship is illustrated in the following pedigree: -



Pedigree 1

In this pedigree, Nauoko and Batiauea are man and wife. The iviriki of Nauoko are (a) Nii Kiebu (brother's wife), and (b) Rāna, Teue and Ema (wife's sisters);* while the iviriki of Batiauea are (a) Kaburoro (husband's brother) and (b) Karawaia and Iakoba (sisters' husbands).

With certain restrictions to be recorded, sexual relations were (before Government intervention) permissible between persons who called each other iviriki, but the terms were, and still are, applied by men to women, or women to men, whether such relations have been established or not.

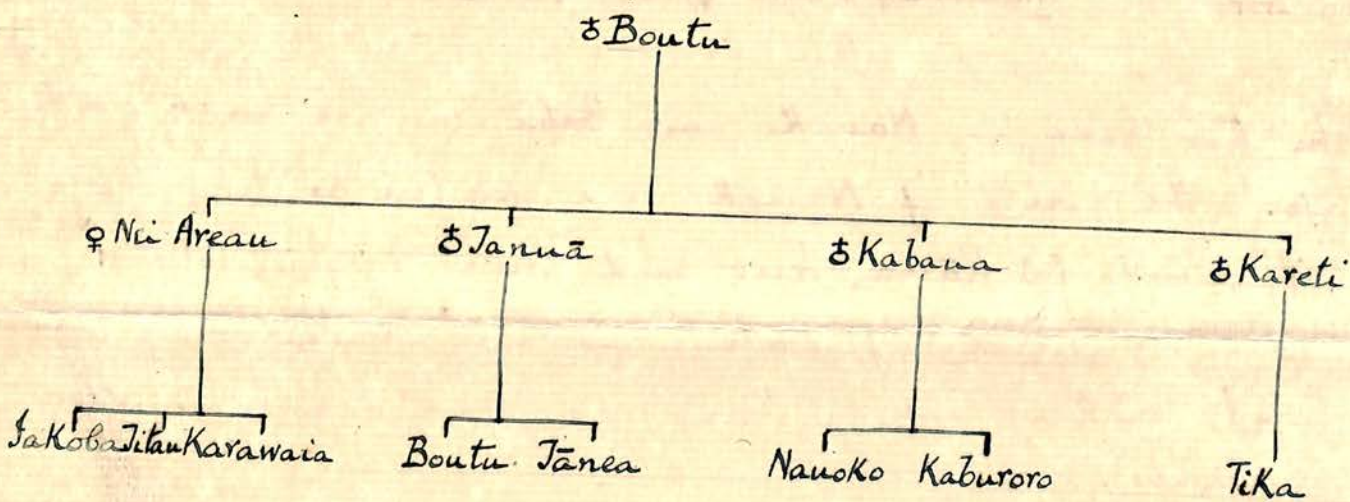
- ii. Iviriki relations between brother's wife (m.s.) and husband's brother (w.s.)

A man could only enter into sexual relations with the women actually domiciled as wives in the house of his brother. Thus Nauoko might approach his brother's wife Nii Kiebu, but not her sisters, because they never lived with Kaburoro. Until the

*Batiauea, Rāna and Ema ~~these three women~~ are also the wife's sisters, and therefore the iviriki, of Karawaia in the same pedigree, also ~~Batiauea~~.

fact of domicile was established, Kaburoro was entitled to sexual relations with his wife's sisters to the exclusion of all (even his eldest) brothers. But as soon as he might take one of them into his household as a companion to his ceremonial wife, she would become a potential concubitant of his brothers, particularly of his eldest brother.

The rather complicated rights of concubitancy owned by men over their brothers' wives are best explained by a concrete pedigree:—



Pedigree 2

In this pedigree, the names are arranged in descending order of seniority, from left to right. It is seen that the ~~senior~~^{right} men calling each other brothers in the third generation are descended from a common grandfather, the eldest branch being descended through a woman, Nui Areau, the rest through men. I shall deal first with a single branch as a separate entity.

While Jakoba, the eldest son of Nui Areau might, and in spite of all edicts still may, demand the right of concubitancy with the wives of Titau and Karawaia, his younger brothers may exact no such

privilege from him in return. As the eldest brother, he will at his father's death become the unimane (old man) of this branch, and will then stand in a relation of quasi-parenthood to the rest of his father's issue. This raises his wife to the position and esteem of a potential mother in respect of the younger brothers of Jakoba, and although she is never accorded the title of tina, her status immunizes her from sexual relations or any other kind of familiarity with her husband's juniors.

As between junior brothers, no importance is attached to primogeniture. Thus, Karawaia may without shame make advances to the wife of Titan, his elder. Even should Jakoba die ^(childless) and Titan thus become unimane in his stead, Karawaia would not break off the relations once established. But under these circumstances, Titan would infallibly in the old days have taken Jakoba's widow into his household, and she would be reserved for himself alone, thus maintaining the dignity of the unimane status.

Similar rights and obligations of eiriki would be observed between uterine brothers in the other branches of the pedigree exhibited. I have now to deal with the relations of branch to branch. The first observation to be made is that the eldest branch of Bontu's grandchildren traces descent through a woman. Its members therefore

cannot belong to the same clan as the male branches, since clan-descent is patrilineal. And this debars Jakoba from assuming the title and prestige of unimāne of the whole group, as he would have done had he been descended through the eldest male. This status belongs to Boutu, the eldest son of the firstborn male child of the common grandfather.

According to the custom of εirikī, Boutu's wife is immune not only from the advances of his uterine brother Tānea, but also from the solicitations of any other member of the group, including Jakoba. On the other hand, there is no ^{single} member whose wife he may not approach in sexual relations: none may deny him, on account of the filial respect that is due to the prospective head of the group.

Subject to this restriction, the junior members of the group may make whatever arrangements they please between themselves in the disposal of their wives. Asuianitau ~~branches~~ ^{of parents} ~~is~~ ^{is} not taken into account among ^{them} ~~junior~~ members. As a result of this it follows, that while Nauoko's wife is immune ^{within the branch of her husband} from the advances of Kaburoro, ^{his} ~~of~~ ^{younger} uterine brother ~~of her husband~~, she may yet be approached by Tika, a member of a junior branch, actually born some years after Kaburoro. The principle underlying this arrangement is very definite. It is, that the native, while willing to admit the seniority of a uterine brother, will

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not acknowledge any other master of his own generation within his group except the one man upon whom the mantle of family unimāne has fallen.

I have often heard it questioned whether the issue of a woman, such as Jakoba and his brothers in the pedigree before us, have any right at all to claim iriki rights over the wives of their cross-cousins (i.e., their mother's brothers' children). According to a good number of old men, on more than one island, he should strictly "follow his father"; that is to say, he should only enter into relations with the wives of brothers on his father's side. And this reduces itself to a rule that the wives of clan-brothers are the only legitimate concubitants under the iriki system. A very striking ~~remark~~^{thing} has more than once been said to me in discussing the point: it was that "a man's mother would speak angrily" if her son's wife were approached by the boy's cross-cousin. Thus, for example, Nanoko's mother would speak angrily if his wife were approached by Jakoba. Now a man's father, and not his mother, is usually the spokesman when quarrels are forward in the Gilbertese family group. It is therefore worth enquiring why, in this particular set of conditions, the mother should thus exceptionally be the disputant on her son's behalf. If we imagine a society organised into two exogamous moieties with matrilineal descent, we have

at once before us a set of circumstances in which the mother becomes of prime importance in the regulation of such relations as we are discussing. As her son is descended through her into the moiety to which they both belong, she is the best judge of the wife he should marry, and ^{the logical censor} of the other people, if any, with whom such a wife should have relations. On the other hand, whatever relations of domestic affection might exist between her husband and her son, the man, socially speaking, ^{will} ~~would~~ have no voice in such matters, since he ^{will} ~~would~~ be of the opposite moiety to the boy.

~~the picture of such a social organisation,~~

Thus the mother is the only natural ally of her son when his wife's social virtue is threatened.

Looking at the matter now from another angle, we seem to find circumstances that fit in well with the picture of a dual system of social organisation with matrilineal descent. Under such an organisation the mother of Jakoba and the father of, let us say, Nauoko would belong through their mother to the same moiety; in the next generation Jakoba would descend into his mother's moiety again, but Nauoko into the opposite one, through his mother. Thus, when Nauoko married, he would take a girl from Jakoba's moiety, who could consequently

never have sexual relations with Jakoba.

I suggest then that the widespread objection in the Group against the entry of a man into sexual relations with the wife of his cross-cousin ^{supports a reasonable conclusion} ~~is exactly what we should expect to find~~ ^{that} if the custom of iriki had its origin in a dual organisation of society; and that the important part played by the mother in the regulation of the iriki relation strongly indicates that descent in the ^{supposed} moiety was matrilineal.

iii. Procedure.

To illustrate the procedure of a man who wished to enter into relations with his brother's wife, I will quote from the actual course adopted by Nanoko. This man desired Nii Kiebu, the wife of his brother Kaburoro. He did not speak to his brother; such a course would have made them both ashamed, the theory being that the eldest would lose dignity in making a direct request to his junior. So Nanoko confessed his desire to his own wife, who carried a message to Nii Kiebu. His wife was not angry or jealous, because he spoke openly to her and did not hide his desire. Nii Kiebu refused the first request, as a matter of form; upon which Nanoko asked his mother to intercede. His mother spoke to Kaburoro himself, who said,

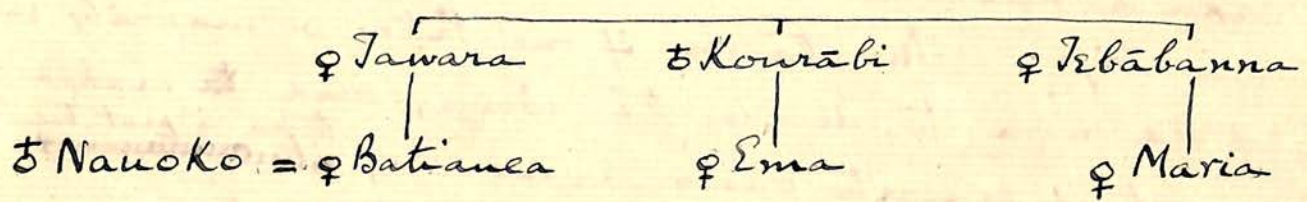
"Tell my wife; it lies with her." So the mother spoke to her daughter-in-law, who accepted. Upon the establishment of these relations, Kaburoro pretended to know nothing about it: it would have been considered unsocial in him to have given a sign that he knew, as it might tend to make his elder brother feel ashamed. Further, his brother's name was never mentioned before him; and this was not to spare his feelings, but to avoid for him the temptation of feeling jealous and thus incurring the reproach of undutifulness towards his unimāne.

IV. Eiriki relations between wife's sisters and sister's husband.

As I have indicated before, the word eiriki is primarily a term of relationship, as now used, and does not necessarily connote sexual relations. Thus, although Nanoko, in Pedigree 1, calls Ema, his ^{wife's first cousin,} eiriki and is so-called by her, he is not considered to possess rights of intercourse with her; under the old law he would have to pay the usual land-forfeit for adultery to her husband if he made advances of a sexual nature to her.

The only persons in the pedigree ~~one~~ (within the class which we are now discussing) over whom Nanoko can claim sexual rights are the uterine sisters of his wife, Rāna and Jene. If his wife

Batiamea had been the only child of her parents, he would, in the opinion of a few old men, have had nobody in this class of Eiviki over whom he could strictly enforce a right of concubitaney. But on this point, I have heard a great deal of discussion, which luckily may be illustrated by a slight extension of the pedigree that I am using:



It is agreed by all, as I have already said, that Nauoko has no rights of concubitaney over Ema, his ^{wife's first cousin through her mother's brother} ~~the brother's child of his wife's mother~~. I shall discuss the ^{alleged} reasons for this later.

The point at issue is, whether Nauoko ~~is~~ is equally debarred from sexual relations with Maria, his wife's first cousin through her mother's sister. The enormous majority of old men say at once that he is not so debarred. They assert that, having married Batiamea he has the entire disposal of ~~the daughters of her mother's sister~~ ^{all the daughters of her} mother's sister's ~~daughters of her mother's sister~~.

In the ordinary course of events, this would be perfectly natural, because Batiamea's mother and maternal aunt, being sisters by one father, would generally be the wives of a single man. Thus the children of the aunt would be Batiamea's half-sisters, and not her cousins. Under such conditions, Nauoko would without any doubt be entitled to hold them all as concubitants.

But as it happened ^{Tebābanna}, the sister of Batiamea's

mother married separately: ~~from her husband~~ ^{her husband + therefore her child} belonged ^(and children) to a different clan from that of Tawara's husband. And there can be no doubt that in cases like this, the patrilineal habit of thought associated with clan-organisation has influenced public opinion to the extent of creating ^{among the minority} a feeling of uncertainty, whether it is permissible ^{or not} for a man to have sexual relations with iviki outside the clan of his wife. Nevertheless, if one takes a majority vote of old men to decide the issue, and ~~to~~ makes a count of concrete cases available, ^{there is not the} ~~circumstances~~ ^{slightest doubt} ~~appears~~ ^{might and} that a man most frequently did claim concubitant rights with the daughters of his mother-in-law's sisters, even when they belonged to a different clan from that of his wife. And at the same time he refrained from sexual relations ^{with} ~~from~~ the daughters of his mother-in-law's brothers.

This brings us back to the matter which I reserved for discussion. If Nanoko (Pedigree 3) may have relations with Maria, his wife's cousin through a maternal aunt, why is he debarred from the same relations with Ema, his wife's cousin through a maternal uncle? The answer generally given by an old man is rather dubious — "because Ema follows her father." This seems to ^{have reference} ~~reference~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ again to the clan organisation. Ema is descended through her father into a certain clan: Nanoko's wife is descended into another through hers. Therefore let Nanoko seek his concubitants among his wife's clan-sisters. But this, as we have seen, is inconsistent; for Maria is ^{no more than} ~~is~~ ^{Ema} the clan-sister of Nanoko's wife, yet he may

Enforce his sexual rights upon her. Obviously, this again is a case in which a patrilineal mode of thought and an organisation of society into clans have supervened upon some other scheme, and caused a certain amount of incoherence. If the patrilineal clan-system alone were responsible for the custom of Eiriki, it is clear that there could be no confusion at all: Nanoko would be entitled neither to Ema nor to Maria; if Ema "follows her father", then equally Maria follows hers, and both are inaccessible.

Admittedly, the following is just possible. It may be that the marriage of two sisters, such as Jawara and Tebābanna, to a single husband was in earlier days an absolute rule; that public opinion then gradually changed so far as to permit them to marry different men, but that it still recognized a particularly close link of sisterhood between their daughters. But in such circumstances, it is difficult to understand why there is no special term to classify together the daughters of such sisters, and also why there is no corresponding link of intimacy between their sons.

I think that the fewest objections are encountered, and the clearest reconciliation of all inconsistencies is achieved, on the hypothesis that the custom of Eiriki owes its origin to a system foreign to the patrilineal clan-organisation. Consistently with former conjectures, I suggest again that it belongs to a dual organisation of society into

moieties with matrilineal descent. Under such a system, the three parents Tawara, Kowābi and Tebābanna, being brother and sisters, belong let us say to moiety A. The children of the two women, Batianea and Maria, will descend through their mothers into the same moiety. But the man must seek his wife in moiety B, to which will therefore belong Ema. Now Nanoko must also necessarily belong to B, otherwise he could not marry Batianea of A: thus he is absolutely debarred from sexual relations with Ema; while nothing prevents him from approaching Maria, since she is of the same moiety as his wife.

Thus inconsistencies, which appear illogical when examined from the standpoint of a patrilineal clan-organisation, cease to be inconsistencies at all in respect of a society having matrilineal moieties.

The full suggestion then, that I feel justified in making after an examination of the practices connected with viriki is, that a certain section of the Gilbertese ancestors once lived in a society which was divided into two exogamous moieties, in which descent was matrilineal. Insupering upon this order came a band of immigrants, whose social organisation was based upon the clan, into which descent

was patrilineal. The two races thus brought into contact by the immigration eventually fused, and during the fusion the social organisation of the conquerors suffered modification through the absorption of indigenous practices. Nominally, the clan organisation and patrilineal descent were still supreme, but, probably on account of the scarcity of women among the immigrants, many of the customs connected with marriage were adopted from the dual people. These, though long assimilated into the patrilineal system, have never been so well digested as to make a perfect mixture: thus inconsistencies are apparent still, which become only the more salient when attempts are made to explain them according to patrilineal modes of reasoning.

v. Tana-ni-Kai and Eiriki.

While the term Eiriki includes persons who can have no sexual relations with each other, the name Tana-ni-Kai is applied by a man to that class of Eiriki who are his potential wives. The Tana-ni-Kai of a man are the own sisters of his wife, and the daughters of her mother's sister
 (See J.R.A.I. 1921 for description).