

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE GILBERTESE.

There is no Gilbertese word which expresses the idea of family in its narrower sense of household. The fundamental word is utu (old Gilbertese baronga), which includes the blood-relations, on both male and female sides, of any man or woman. Thus, any son belongs to both his father's and his mother's utu, but his father does not belong to his mother's, nor his mother to his father's. Terms of relationship, except in one or two special cases, are only given by courtesy to those outside the utu.

Blood relations are known as te bu, which may be translated "the breed".

Courtesy relations are known as te koraki:="the circle".

1. Father Tama Real father (in South Gilberts also called Karo, which word in the Northern Gilberts is collective, and means Parents);
All those blood-relations whom the real father and mother would call brothers.

By courtesy -

Father's sister's husband; mother's sister's husband;
Husband's fathers; wife's fathers.

2. Mother Tina Real mother;
Mother's sisters; father's sisters.

By courtesy -

Mother's brother's wives; father's brother's wives;
Wife's mothers; husband's mothers.

Note. The special terms to indicate the real father and mother are oi-n+tama and oi-n+tina. The prefixed word oi means "the trunk of a tree". Parents' brothers and sisters are called, when clearness is necessary, ai+tama and ai+tina; a rarely used alternative for ai-tina is auma.

3. Child a. Nati Begotten son or daughter;
Sons or daughters of all those blood relatives whom a husband and wife would call brother or sister.

By courtesy -

Begotten son's wife; begotten daughter's husband.

- b. Tinaba The Tinaba of a man is his ^{son's or his} brother's son's wife; ~~that of a woman is her sister's daughter's husband.~~
The relationship is sexual. The Tinaba calls his or her partner in the relationship by the ordinary title Tama or Tina, as the case may be.

4. Eldest Child Karimoa
Middle Child Karinuka
5. Youngest Child Bina

These terms are merely descriptive, not terms of relationship.

There are no words denoting the relationship of elder and younger brothers and sisters.

6. Brother-brother Tari Begotten children of father and mother;
 Sister-sister Tari Begotten children of father's and mother's uterine
 brothers and sisters;
 Brother-sister Maane Grandchildren of grandparents' uterine brothers and
 sisters on both sides;
 Great-grandchildren correspondingly, and so on, as far
 as the line can be traced.

I have seen brotherhood established between two natives hailing from different islands, on the strength of a common ancestry so old that it was no longer possible to say whether the so-called "brothers" were in the same generation removed from the ancestor quoted.

Nevertheless, there is a distinction in the native mind between te utu ae kaan, "the blood kin which is near", and te utu ae raroa, "the blood kin which is distant". The near kin is included within the first three generations of descent from a common ancestor; its members may not intermarry. The fourth generation, for purposes of marriage, theoretically at least "goes free", but not until collaterals stand in the fifth generation of removal from the common ancestor do they call one another distant kinsmen.

Brothers and sisters by courtesy (i.e., not considered to belong to the same utu) are -
 Husbands of two sisters; wives of two brothers

7. Father's sister Tina See 2 above.
 8. Father's sister's husband Tama See 1 above.
 9. Father's sister's child Tari Maane See 6 above. To distinguish between uterine and other classes of brother and sister, the more distant are sometimes called ai-tari, ai-maane.
 10. Mother's brother Tama See 1 above.
 11. Mother's brother's wife Tina See 2 above.
 12. Mother's brother's child Tari Maane See 6 above. Ai-tari, ai-maane.
 13. Sister's son Nati See 3 above. For exactitude, ai-nati.
 14. Brother's son Nati See 3 above. Ditto.
 15. Grandfather Tibu Applied to all grandparents, on father's and mother's side, and to those whom they would call brother and sister. To denote sex, the words te maane, the man, or te aino, the woman, are added, thus: tibu-na te maane = his grandfather.
 16. Grandmother Tibu Adoptive grandfather; Adoptive grandmother. But the

adopter is usually a member of the utu, to whom the title of tibu is in any case due from the adopted.

The term tibu is reciprocal between grandparent and grandchild.

Other possible meanings of tibu are -
Ancestor to the nth degree, but baka-tibu more clearly expresses this;
Descendant to the nth degree.

The term is sometimes applied collectively to a whole branch of an utu, to denote its seniority. Thus, Tibu-ra the maanga aei, "this branch is (lit.) our grandparent", which is to say, "this branch of the utu is senior to ours".

17. Grandchild Tibu -

18. Father-in-law Tama

19. Mother-in-law Tina

See 1 and 2 above.

The parents of a man and his wife call one another

~~Butika~~ *Burunga Butika*

20. Son-in-law Nati -

21. Daughter-in-law Nati -

22. Husband
Bu
Kain-aba
Rao

In the Northern Gilberts, Bu is the term used. It is never without the possessive pronoun, which is suffixed, thus: Bu-na, Bu-m, her husband, thy husband. The word Bu also means kin, but does not take the possessive pronoun as a suffix; hence, ana bu = her kin, am bu = thy kin.

In the Southern Gilberts, the term for Husband is Kain-aba. This is also the word used throughout the Group for Husband's brother and Husband's sister.

The word Rao is sometimes heard, but I think it is only used in its everyday sense of "Companion". ~~Nevertheless, Rao is also used in a special sense to denote the Wife's brother.~~

23. Wife
Bu -
Rao-ni-kie This term means "Companion of the sleeping mat".
Kain-aba -

24. Wife's brother *Butika*
~~Rao~~ See 22 above, last paragraph.

25. Wife's sister (Taua-ni-kai) The wife's sister owed the duty of concubintancy to the husband, even when he elected to give her away in marriage to another.
Eiriki
(Banaba) Nga-ni-bu

26. Husband's brother ~~Kain-aba~~ See 22 above, second paragraph.
Eiriki

26. Husband's sister Kain-aba Ditto.

(Banaba) Kainuma

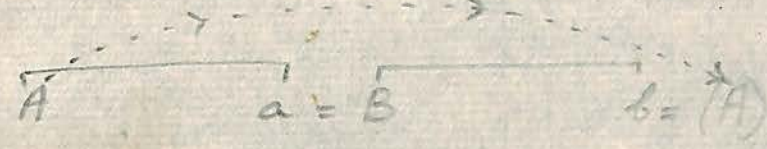
Relationships Butika.

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The term butika is used to describe the reciprocal relationships between two distinct sets of people: -

- ① Between the husband and the brothers of a woman,
- ② Between the fathers-in-law of a married couple.

The application of the same term to these two groups of persons becomes logical if it be considered as a remnant of the dual system of social organisation with matrilineal descent.



① In the above diagram, a, a woman of one moiety marries B, a man of the other moiety. Her brother A and her husband B then stand to each other in the reciprocal relationship of butika.

The reciprocity between two persons so different as a husband and the brother of a woman strikes one. It would not have been surprising, under different circumstances, to see these two people referring to each other by distinct and separate terms. But under the dual organisation of marriage, reduced to its simplest terms as in the above diagram,

A, the brother of B's wife naturally at marriage becomes the husband of B's sister. Hence, the relationship between A and B through A's sister is exactly balanced by their relationships through B's sister. Thus the reciprocity in terms of relationship

② In a matrilineal community it is obvious that the children of a and B will have to find their husbands and wives among the children of b and (A). A and B already stand in the relation of butika to each other, and they do not lose that relationship on the marriage of their children. It is therefore perfectly in accordance with the conditions of the dual system with matrilineal descent, which I suppose to have existed, that fathers-in-law as well as a

woman's husband and brother refer to each other as butaka, since under that system it is probable that was possible that the same group of persons might unite in themselves all these functions.

N.B. (For 'evang's sake improve this English when you're not in such a hurry).

N.Bis. Noted. It shall be done. ~~W.D.~~

Claim No

Names of Risputants

Village of Risputants

Land in Rispute

Old Register No

Settlement Reached

Relationship.

It is a recognized fact all over the Gilberts that when a man and a woman marry, their families are at once at variance. This is expressed in the proverb, "Saki toki te Karkaimu ma te itera-n aine"; "Cause of anger with the woman's side never ceases." The natives themselves have no idea why this animosity should exist between the respective utu; they simply say, "It is so. We are surprised, but it has always been so."

The unfriendly feeling seems to begin as soon as a young couple is betrothed. It does not show itself either in deeds or words; it is far rather a deep seated convention, which by force of ancestral custom the native feels himself obliged to obey. "You must not be rude to your butika (i.e. wife's brother or sister's husband), but you must not be very friendly with him," is another saying which expresses this evasive but very deep-seated feeling.

In old times the aversion to relations in law was very much more pronounced than it is now; one old man told me that it was caused by the constant desire of the wife's family to prey on the possessions of the husband's. I verified this opinion on several islands, but although it certainly exists in the minds of many old men, none was able to give me an actual illustration of how a woman's people could "prey upon" the husband's lands. The accusation is obviously an inherited catchword, and the conventional aversion a matter of long established custom. There seems to be little doubt that

it had its origin at a period when there was some cause of enmity between the class which we may call the husband-class and that which may be named the wife-class.

Such classes could only exist at a time of invasion, when the conquerors landed on the islands without women. They would be obliged to seek wives among the aborigines, and the aversion between the two groups would not fail to colour the attitude towards marriage. It is a memory of this aversion which has, I conceive, caused the conventional hatred of the present day.

Relationships. Butaritari

Mother's brother and Father's sister were the objects of much greater reverence than the mother and father.

An order from one of these relations was considered absolute, whereas the father or mother could be disobeyed without great insult.

There was however no rule by which a man's sister's child or a woman's brother's child should inherit possessions.

Ceremonial. Butantani.

In all ceremonial connected with a man, the mother and her sisters and brothers were the chief participants.

This lends distinct support to the supposition based on an examination of the Iniaba relationship that a dual system of social organisation with matrilineal descent was once practised in the Gilbert Islands.

Relatives, Ellice Is: Ponga of Nanomega.

1. No conversation that was not purely essential was allowed between Brother-Sister (classificatory sense), Ma, and Tuātina. If a man heard someone else entering into a casual conversation with his sister, his sister's son (Tuātina), or his wife's brother (Ma), he must only listen so far as to satisfy himself that it was not sexual or loose. If he considered it suggestive, it was his duty to stop it; if it was harmless he must either go away, or turn his attention to other things.

If a visitor made loose jokes with a man's wife, the husband would not prevent him, but join in.

If a man met his sister, sister's child or wife's brother on the path, it was the duty of both parties to turn aside and avoid one another.

However relatives calling one another Tuāngāne (Brother-sister), Ma, or Tuātina had strong obligations of kindness to each other. This was especially marked in the Tuātina relationship. If a man's sister's child made a request to him (which was generally conveyed by wife from her ma) he must not refuse: on the other hand, if he conveyed an order to his sister's child, it must be implicitly obeyed.

"I honour my Tuātina more than my Father."

Relatives (functions of: Ellice Is.) Puni of Nanomea

1. Father's sister + brother, also Mother's ditto, were called *Tuātina*, which was a reciprocal term.
2. In the marriage of a son or daughter it was the Father's sister who prepared the food and supervised ceremonial.
3. Mother's and Father's brother. There was strict avoidance between these and the sister's or brother's child. No conversation except that which was absolutely demanded.
If sister's or brother's son went and asked for his brother for his property, it could not be refused. On the other hand the duty of obedience from junior to senior relative was absolute. "I should obey my f. or m. b. more than my father."
4. Except for urgent matters there was avoidance between male relatives who called each other ma. The wife (or sister) was approached to convey messages between them.
"You treat your Ma the same as your *Tuātina*."
5. There was avoidance between *Tuāngane*, not being own brother + sister.
6. Husband's and wives of *Tuātinas* were called by courtesy "Father" + "mother".
7. Children were always adopted by father's cousins, not by his own brothers or sisters. Wife's relatives had no rights of adoption.

8. Land went to sons from mother and father. Daughters were only given one piece if sons were in existence; but if there were no sons the daughter might inherit everything. Own daughter would have prior claim over sister's or brother's son.
9. A man was allowed two or three wives, but they had to be drawn from different families. He avoided marriage with the sister of his wife

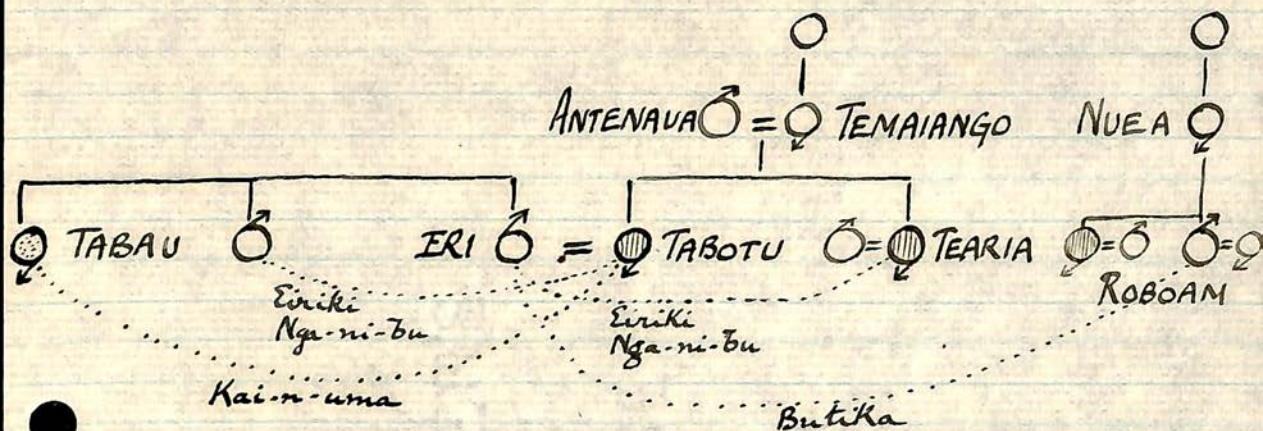
Relatives: functions of, Gilberts.

Throughout the Gilberts, the sister's son of a man was held in particular regard. It is generally the sister's son whom a man adopts as his nati or tibu; even if no special relationship of adoption has been contracted, a man considers it his particular duty to be kind in every way to his sister's son. If asked by the boy for a prized possession, or secret, such as a canoe or an incantation in magic, he is ashamed to refuse. Abraham

There is no special terminology of relationship to differentiate the sister's son and the mother's brother (m.s.) from the other classificatory fathers and sons of the utu, but the difference of personal relations between them is well marked in practice. I have myself applied the test in a practical and concrete manner, for if ever a piece of information was difficult to extract from a native, I have made a rule of approaching his sister's son, who, being a member of the modern generation, is usually easier to handle than his seniors. Once having made a friend of the youngster, one has only to persuade him to beg his mother's brother for the information needed, and it is almost immediately available.

Relationship (Banaba)

19.5



The duty of the Kain-uma (husband's sister) was to "be jealous for her brother". She watched over the conduct of her brother's wife and was considered especially to have the duty of preventing sexual relations between her Kain-uma and her unmarried brothers.