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# The Question of Paicî Matrimonial Dualism (Ponérihouen, New Caledonia)

Isabelle LEBLIC \*

The commune of Ponérihouen, situated on the east coast of Grande Terre is the center of my research on kinship and marriage in this part of the Paicî linguistic area since 1993. This region is characterized by a matrimonial dualism and a restricted exchange by marriage of crossed cousins, long known of, but never studied in detail. Owing to a most thorough genealogical investigation on the lineages of the two principle valleys, Tchamba and Ponérihouen (over one hundred genealogies including nearly six thousand persons) and a compilation of treatises on the subject, I was able to make a very precise study of the laws on marriage and on adoption in the Paicî zone. Here I will present a part of the research results. First of all, I will quickly resume what is already known concerning kinship and social organisation in New Caledonia<sup>1</sup>. I will then explain the modes of choice for the spouse, specifying whether it abides by the law of exogamy for the two matrimonial moieties. I will also examine how other criterion interpose toward a choice of spouse in a given lineage of the other moiety, rather than another. In this manner, we will see that negative dictates add further to the prohibition of incest, according to specific historical particularities of each lineage.

## **Some Facts on Kinship in New Caledonia**

Studies on kinship in New Caledonia are few and only rarely concern kinship as such<sup>2</sup>, often including kinship in politics. Despite this and thanks to my predecessors (mainly Leenhardt, Guiart, Bensa, and Rivierre...), I already have at hand, even before beginning with the fieldwork

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<sup>1</sup> I will later restore the entirety of this data into a greater comparative perspective, particularly on Melanesia and Oceania. The Paicî data gathered will improve when placed into the more general context of dualist organizations and restricted exchange by marriage of crossed cousins.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from several linguistic studies, in particular the DREA dissertation by François Plessis (1995) and the article by Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre (2000), the only ethnological study on kinship is the article by Béalo Wédoye (1989) who presents an inventory of kinship terminologies in Grande Terre and the New Caledonia islands

investigations, ethnological information on kinship and marriage in the Paicî zone, to which Ponérihouen belongs, as well as other regions in New Caledonia.

Each one speaks in his way of the social organization: a dualistic system for Maurice Leenhardt and Jean Guiart, then, for the latter, a network of solidarity which he compares with matrimonial dualism<sup>3</sup>... The first authors (Leenhardt, Lambert) often tend to generalize the characteristics of the communities they studied, based on localized observations, without taking regional differences into account. J. Guiart, however, after having partly taken up the dualistic system presented by M. Leenhardt (1930), proposes a carving up of the cultural space in networks and different subsystems. For Guiart the Paicî system is, according to the concerned regions, binary – dui and bai – or ternary – dui, bai, and Görötü (Guiart 1957: 33). Each individual is included in three relationship networks (Guiart 1983: 25-27), that of his father, this is to say, his birth group – his paternal lineage –, that of his mother, the uterine lineage, and that of his mother's mother, which is named by Christine Salomon-Nékiriai (1993: 30) « the second degree maternal », the uterine of uterines<sup>4</sup> and which are designated by the expression *mājoro pwētù*, literally « trunk, origin, grape/fern », which means that the foot of the fern sends its shoots afar.

From an anthropology of oral traditions of the Paicî-Cèmuhi zone, Alban Bensa and Jean-Claude Rivierre present the analysis of precisely demarcated socio-political entities, underlining the local particularisms of matrimonial and political structures. As they describe it (1982, 1988), the Paicî social system is characterized by strong matrimonial dualism, fluidity of social structures, with important east-west migrations, and a weak political hierarchy development which makes for a more egalitarian system:

« The Paicî organization is globally characterized by the integration of individuals in a frame made of genealogical-type relationships. One same description ties each person, family, and lineage to one of the some eleven Paicî clans, themselves issued from ancestral sons of the first man, united through ancestral filiation. These clans are moreover divided into two intermarrying moieties (Dui and Bai) founded by two ancestral brothers. [...] The Paicî zone includes few 'large chieftainships' and is distinguished by the rupture and migration of its social units » (Bensa and Rivierre 1988: 268-269).

They also link the rarity of the union theme<sup>5</sup> in Paicî oral tradition with the particularities of their matrimonial and political organization, while:

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3 « Note that the play of identifications appear formalized, foremost, by the development of quasi-genealogies defining the diachronic relationships inside a group of allied clans. More than a display, hierarchy thus established determines the direction for allegiance relationships, at least in principle, when the institution of the great dualistic chieftainship does not distort it to a certain measure » (Guiart 1963: 632). Further on: « It [this analysis] allows to glimpse two models of organization. One corresponds to the basic essentials of Grande Terre, with insistence on dualism, political, ritual, religious, and matrimonial, as if one could not exist without « the other guy ». [...] The other aspect of this situation is the dilution of authority, and of prestige, inside one or the other of the two networks of solidarity stretching to superimpose themselves over all New Caledonia. The play of identification then appears, at least as pertinent, for the understanding of things, as well as allegiances which rarely go beyond the scale of the greater family » (ibidem: 639).

4 We will see further that, theoretically, in the frame of marriage of crossed cousins and the exchange of sisters, the uterines of the uterines match with the paternals.

5 « Generally, the frequency of the alliance theme (in tales) can be related to the prevalence of restricted matrimonial exchange in this zone of South Melanania (C. Lévi-Strauss (1949: 531) hints the existence of an axis of restricted exchange oriented North-West and South-East stretching from south India to New Caledonia crossing through Australia). » (Bensa and Rivierre 1988: 266).

« In Cèmuhi country, the restricted exchange is established each and every time - and with much difficulty - between the social units in which identity and statute are roles in a complex apparatus of residential references. Simultaneously, the marriage union remains, metaphorically or not, each group's mode of integration into a same political unity binding several rural regions. Oral literature gathered in the pwèi chieftainship is the direct echo of these problems » (ibidem: 267).

The Paicî area is characterized by this matrimonial dualism, for the moment the only one concretely identified in New Caledonia. According to numerous informants in Ponérihouen, two exogamic moieties also exist in the Ajië zone, the Wêbwa (or Wêxuban) corresponding to the Dui, and the Wêmé (or Wêxumé) corresponding to the Bai.

### **Kinship and Marriages in Ponérihouen: Discourse and Representations**

While a dualistic organization society composed of an even number of exogamic groups apportions for an Ego, all persons as possible or forbidden conjoint (Levi-Strauss 1967: 80), we see that, in the Paicî region, the existence of these two exogamic moieties. Although sorting out matrimonial unions, at least on the discourse and representations<sup>6</sup> level, this is nevertheless completed by the presence of clans and lineages, they too exogamic, and which could be defined moreover as matrimonial classes<sup>7</sup> by the law of isogamy. Besides, the grouping of certain lineages, sometimes opposed moieties, in « brother lineages », that can be compared to phratries or as partners, seem to equally play a role in determining possible spouses, preferential or forbidden.

For that matter, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1958) asks, « Do dualistic organizations exist? »:

« Lévi-Strauss will later distinguish on one hand, between the conscious dualistic models and the underlying structure which can contradict them (1958), and on the other, between the dualistic diametrical, symmetrical, egalitarian, and static structures and the concentric, asymmetrical, hierarchical, and dynamic, animated by an implicit ternary system » (Dreyfus 1991: 527)<sup>8</sup>.

From oral tradition, A. Bensa and J.-C. Rivierre forward a hypothesis for the Paicî zone, according to which the changes in the matrimonial system occur in border zones. They have shown particularly how, in migrating from the east coast to the west coast where they settled in the high Koné valley, the lineages of the Nädù and Görötü, both Dui, have abandoned the dualistic organization for intermarriage, by placing some (the Nädù-Göröunâ), in the position of founders and of principle uterines in the Görötü-Pwajaa chieftainship of Poinda, and the others,

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<sup>6</sup> Actually, numerous matrimonial alliances are made inside a same moiety, Dui or Bai, despite the outbreeding of moieties advocated and claimed by all: « Noting that the moieties, far from always outbreeding, no longer play a role in the marriage alliance, and that the marriage of cousins often exists where the dualistic organization is unknown, Lévi-Strauss mainly sees in this the codification of a principle of reciprocity, that goes beyond the simple function of regulating matrimonial union: the dualism is also a system of representation » (Dreyfus 1991: 527).

<sup>7</sup> C. Lévi-Strauss (1967 : 84) differentiates the clan from the matrimonial class by the fact that the first corresponds « to unilateral groupings whose exogamic character consist of a purely negative definition » while the term matrimonial class designates « those who allow a positive determination in the modes of exchange ».

<sup>8</sup> Can this underlying compound of the dualistic organizations be compared with what J. Guiart (1975: 33) says about the Paicî Dui-Bai system?

in the position of chiefs (see A. Bensa and Rivierre 1988: 270-271). Thus the dualism of two exogamic matrimonial moieties is substituted for a matrimonial dualism between founding masters of the soil and the holders of the chieftainship.

J. Guiart (1957: 32-33) also considers that the clans claiming particularly the name « Wêkumè » in the south of the Paicî zone, are not easily assimilated by one or the other of the Dui or Bai<sup>9</sup> moieties and are to be considered as a third term. The research I myself made with members of the lineages called Wêkumè leads me to think that these lineages are actually Bai, even if in certain conditions which we will come to further, some of them can in fact be situated as Dui. We will also see that they are not the only case.

From a hundred genealogies of lineages collected, we can already note a strong local endogamy in three distinct zones: the Ponérihouen (Pwărăiriwâ) valley, the Tchamba (Cäba) valley, and the Monéo-Nêavââ (Mwêrêö-Nêavââ) region. The genealogies drawn up in Nêavââ allow for belief that many marriages are made with Ajië zone lineages, not counting the many lineages present today in Ponérihouen claiming to originate from them. In addition, the Paicî-Cêmuhi region can be divided into socio-political sub-zones: on the west coast, those of the Koné and of the Waté; on the east coast, that of the Bai(Nägèè)-Poindimié and the Cäba-Göiëta<sup>10</sup> region. At Ponérihouen, this last zone appears to form a unit meriting study as such, which is what I have done.

Some guiding directions for this research on kinship at Ponérihouen are: What really are the Dui and the Bai, until now presented as two exogamic matrimonial moieties forming this dualistic organization? What is the restricted exchange and marriage of crossed cousins? How are transfers of children made and do they work as a parallel system to that of marriages, which remains to be defined? (See Leblic 2000 about this). Only the two first questions are dealt with here.

From these hypotheses and questions I have carried out several assignments (between 1990 and 1996) devoted to collecting genealogies<sup>11</sup> and lineages<sup>12</sup> from Ponérihouen and from oral

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9 Ponérihouen, situated on the southeast of the Paicî region, has certain of its tribes (Monéo and Néavin) nearly in the Ajië zone. We can therefore see if, in the practice of alliances, the system is modified here from the influence of the Ajië matrimonial system - or the inverse. Actually, we have already noted that many Ponérihouen informants speak of the Ajië matrimonial system in terms of a system of two moieties.

10 Göiëta is situated in the Pwărăiriwâ valley: by extension, I will often use the expression Göiëta valley to designate the Pwărăiriwâ valley, in order to make a distinction between the valley and the entire rural district of Ponérihouen.

11 While gathering genealogies is a research method to study the phenomena of kinship and alliances, these become, from the social treatment of genealogical relationships, a study object permitting to define discreet groups, in this case the patrilinear classificatory lineages. As such and by their classificatory function, they also constitute a representation of the Paicî social universe, to a point where, during the genealogical research some were specially constructed for me in order to cover up incest, for example, although known to all. This reveals the fact that these genealogies, as representations, are also constructions to be made at a moment and according to the interlocutor. They also represent a historical vision of this society, linking each Kanak to a first human ancestor and to mythical ancestors. Therefore a genealogy of the lineage is incomplete without the historical-mythical tale, *jëmââ* (Bensa and Rivierre 1976; Bensa 1987).

12 I will use the term « lineage » rather than « clan », often used by earlier authors having spoken of Kanak kinship to designate groups of patrilinear and exogamic filiation, of patrilocal residence, tracing back to a common ancestor, real and defined in the genealogy or « implied » because of not being named in the genealogy, but having the same totem(s). As a general rule, members of lineages defined in this manner carry a same patronymic, although, because of the census in the fifties - which determined the registry for the Kanaks -, a same patronymic can group members of several lineages. A clan, however, by reference to a mythical ancestor and a common place of origin is made up of several hierarchized lineages, issued from this clan according to a system of « segmentation

tradition on the clans' and the « chieftainship »'s history. An important part of this fieldwork research has been consecrated to the Paicî kinship terminology as well as to the discourse on kinship, the attitudes of respect, and the joking behavior towards one or another type of relatives<sup>13</sup>.

All the genealogical data recorded in different files of the database system (SGBD) Généalogos<sup>14</sup> allowed me to undertake a systematic processing and classification according to different criterion. This particularly helped in identifying the equability of marriages between Dui and Bai in this dualistic system, the rate of model conformity, whether in these two moieties lineages exist which intermarry preferentially, a return of alliances either by other marriages, by adoptions<sup>15</sup>, or by local endogamy, etc. So many questions that processing by computer allows with much exactness and efficiency. The results obtained can be compared with the discourse on marriage laws presented by the Kanaks themselves.

Some of the principle results reached from this development will be exposed here. It must be specified that all numbers and percentages given concern the entire number of individuals recorded<sup>16</sup>, with no distinction of the genealogical level<sup>17</sup> or the generation. Generally the aged informants - from sixty to eighty years old - go back to a great grandfather, and we can safely say that the first ancestors mentioned, born around the beginning of the century, or their children, saw the arrival of colonization at Ponérihouen. Another way to date approximatively these genealogies, through oral tradition, is that some of these ancestors took part in inter-clan wars

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by derivation » (Fox 1972). Although some informants consider that there are only two clans, the Dui and the Bai, we will see that this is much more complex. When the Paicî informants speak in French, they generally use the term clan. Note that the only term in Paicî, wâão, covers these two notions, while also designating the « great hut ».

13 This information on kinship, alliance, and adoption at Ponérihouen is presented in a book being drafted at the moment.

14 The Généalogos program is a database system developed by J. Freyss, allowing to treat all genealogical information. This database system is composed of two files, one in which individuals are entered, and the other in which are entered couples and their children. In the « identity » file all the individuals contained in the genealogies are recorded, one by one, with thier name, first name, place of birth, and a heading for the matrimonial moiety, residence, etc. It is also possible to create different headings. I then added a heading for the matrimonial moieties, to assort according to Dui or Bai membership. I also reserved other criterion for deciding the importance of alliances with persons not in the Dui-Bai system, but who are Kanak outside of the Paicî region and those who are non-Kanak (Caldonians, metropole French, etc.). In the « kinship » file, each union corresponds to a sheet composed of the parent's and the children's identification; the adoptions are also noted; that is to say, whether the child has been given or, on the contrary, he has come from elsewhere. From this information, Généalogos can automatically construct biological or classificatory groups to take into account the transfers of children, in form of patrilinear lineages or groups of bilinear ascendance or descendance. Groups can be constituted according to the criterion chosen. Concretely, the base Ponérihouenf on Généalogos today holds 5 401 « identity » sheets, 1 755 « kinship » sheets, 113 « geographic units », and 227 « group » sheets. Taking into account of certain « artificial creations » (5 « identity » sheets and 3 « kinship » sheets) that I had to make, in particular to integrate two widows into the lineage of their deceased husband, this brings the « identity » sheets to 5 396 and the « kinship » sheets to 1 752.

15 It is current in New Caledonia to reinforce matrimonial alliance ties by giving a child in adoption to the following generation. There exists other forms of adoption; some inside the lineage, for example for someone with no descendants, etc. This systematic treatment allows to evaluate the importance of each form of adoption and the nature of ties uniting biological and classificatory relatives (Leblic 2000).

16 This development is partial, since all the genealogies could not be finished for the totality of Ponérihouen. However this genealogical cover is complete for the Göiëta and Cäba valleys.

17 In order to treat by generation, I must reintroduce the dates, which for the moment has only partially been done.

occurring just before colonization. Let us see now the Kanak treatise and representations on kinship and unions.

### *The Origin of the Matrimonial Moieties and Membership of a Lineage*

The lineages of Ponérihouen are patrilinear filiation units, exogamic, and of patrilocal residence which are divided into two matrimonial moieties, intermarrying, the Bai and the Dui.

Numerous versions<sup>18</sup> of the *jèmââ* – a historico-mythological tale – on the origin of the two moieties tell of the separation between the Bai and Dui, *au-tapoo wërë ê bai mā dui* « the beginning of the Bai and Dui ». While Claude Lévi-Strauss (1967: 80) notes among numerous common features of dualistic organizations, the presence of « two cultural heros, sometimes elder and younger brothers, other times twins » who « play an important role in mythology », here we find the presence, according to the versions, of two or three brothers, hierarchized from elder to youngest.

The first version summarized here comes from a land claim<sup>19</sup>: it gives the beginning of the two moieties in connection with the origin of the concerned lineage, by the apportionment at the mountain locality Cäba Cêrê Uéé, of the money head *âdi* in two, the head for the Dui and the tail for the Bai. The second version was told to me at Gôa<sup>20</sup> and also gives the origin of fire, of pottery, and the cooking of food, appearing successively after the deluge on the peak of Cëumââ (the heart of Wailu). After these three acquisitions the men move to the mountain of Göröwirijaa (the heart of Cäba) where, after an argument they separate into Dui and Bai.

These two first versions, which partially situate the story at the bottom of the Cäba valley, seem to blend the origin of the moieties and a subsequent episode of the division of lineages in this valley. The third version, told by the pastor P. Pwëidaa of Cäba, seems to me more complete<sup>21</sup> although few seem to know of it. Here it is greatly summarized<sup>22</sup>:

« After the deluge, on the peak of Cëumââ, five spirits [*duéé*] were talking among themselves. One of them caught sight of land and said to his four friends: ‘We can enter into the body of a lizard-snake [*âgöri*]’ to swim to the stone called Göiëta, where they came out of the lizard’s stomach. There they settled, constructing their homes... and the populating began. However, they were all spirits and wished for someone to be both spirit

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18 Too long to all cite here, I chose three, among those I judge the most significant, although some can seem contradictory. Moreover, there appears in some of them a mixture between portions of ancient history of the Paicî lineages, particularly concerning the separation of lineages in the Cäba valley.

19 « History of Creation of the Paicî Bai and Dui Clan in Ancient Times and History of the Năbai », text by E. Năbai (26.03.1980).

20 « History of the Separation of the Dui and Bai, the Origin of the Ceremonial Pot, and Fire », told by J. Mëédü, Gôa (20.03.1996) and translated by A. M. Mwâtéapöö.

21 . This particularly differs with the version by R. Pwârâpwéépwé-Mêrêatü who, like the one cited by J. Guiart (1957: 28-29), goes back to the origin of the moon and at Bumé: « We must not speak of clans, but of lineages. There are only two clans, the Dui and the Bai. Then there are lineages with great lines. After colonization upheavals occurred and some groups were found in other lineages. If we go back to the origin, it is not always the same clan. Bumé, son of the lizard who is born from the moon which made a tooth fall on a rock, had three sons, Dui Daulo, Bwëé Béalo, and Téâ Kanaké. Dui and Bwëé took their sisters as wife, giving the Dui and the Bai. Téâ Kanaké is the head with his descendants, sometimes Dui, sometimes Bai. » (R. Pwârâpwéépwé-Mêrêatü, Cäba, 22.12.1993).

22 « History of the Origin of the Peopling », told by the pastor P. Pwëidaa, Cäba (24.02.1995) and translated by A. M. Mwâtéapöö.

and human at the same time. They made invocations that one of them be both spirit and human, and this until the third generation when their wishes were granted. Dui Pwiridua was both spirit and human. Then Dui Pwiridua would travel the country night after night, from north to south and east to west and saw that this country was large enough to be shared among all his children. In the morning he then divided them into two groups. He took the *âdi* with two heads, one at each end, and divided it into two, although it was forbidden to cut an *âdi* in two, to signify that now there were two great clans, Dui and Bai, to facilitate marriage. Once he gave each one their part, Dui Pwiridua said, « From now on we will call ourselves Dui Daulo and you others are Bwëé Béalo, and he who is speaking to you represents Téâ Kanaké ».

» Once finished with the apportionment, he made water come down into the plain in order to have a taro plot. He accompanied the running water, which flowed towards a stand of *tééa* (an unidentified tree with white sap). He took his tamioç to cut the wood and let the water run through it when he heard a voice coming from in the wood say: 'Papa careful, you will cut me'. Dui Pwiridua answered saying: 'Oh, sorry, excuse me, my son' and a man came out of the wood; Dui Pwiridua said to him: 'From now on, my son, you will be Téâ Kanaké and you will be the chief of everyone here and the chief of this land' . »

After the separation on the rock of Göièta, the lineages between Dui – descendants of Dui Daulo – and Bai – descendants of Bwëé Béalo –<sup>23</sup>, dispersed to populate the different valleys, Cäba being the valley of the Dui and Göièta the valley of the Bai. Then Dui Pwiridua asked for twelve men and twelve women from each « clan », Dui and Bai – in other words the twelve ancestors of the twelve principle clans of each moiety – to divide them onto the east and west coasts and populate each valley. Afterwards the necessity for unions and moves due to conflicts made the lineages Dui and Bai shift between the two valleys, and now Dui and Bai live together everywhere, although Göièta is still considered as the Bai valley, and opposite at Cäba, the Dui valley.

Membership to different lineages of these two moieties is revealed in particular by the totems or « ancestral spirits » *tee*<sup>24</sup> the principle of which is said to be Dui – thunder, fire, grass, straw – or Bai – water, banana tree... In the totems mentioned during the genealogical research, some totems do not enter into classification by moieties. This could be due to several reasons, particularly to the fact that certain informants claim totems that, according to others, are not theirs... Another reason could be that some members of a lineage of one moiety are watchmen for their maternal lineage's totem, having no male descendants. It would be interesting to further research totems and their significations, for their adherence to the lineage, as well as for their socio-economic and political<sup>25</sup> offices. And also to closely examine this assumed hierarchy of totems in connection with the segmentation of lineages and their socio-political statuses. In conclusion, let us say simply that there is no incompatibility of totems or marriages:

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23 J. Guiart (1963: 148) also notes descendant lineages of Téâ Kanaké, although not confirmed by our research. According to some informants, no one can claim Téâ Kanaké, because he is above all; if some do this, it is an attempt to place themselves above others.

24 C. Lévi-Strauss (1967: 80) also saw in « the bipartition of beings and things of the universe » and in characteristic oppositions associated with the moieties, two other traits common to dualistic organizations. The accepted apportionment of totems between Dui and Bai enters into this; but is not all.

25 Sharing a same totem would signify to persons, in appearance from different lineages, a common origin and an identical socio-economic and political function.



« On the other hand, in narrations, tales, and all, for example in the case of matrimony, one would say the mussel is going to find a woman at the crab's, which symbolizes the clans whose totems are the mussel and the crab » (D. Görödé, Mwââgu, 22.02.1996).

### *Prohibitions and Preferential Marriages Between Böru*

Normally a Bai man must marry a Dui woman and a Bai woman marry a Dui man. In the representations, the Dui are uterine of the Bai and vice versa, each one, from one moiety to the other, therefore is automatically found in the position as classificatorily crossed cousins, or a perfect coupling between the system of moieties and the preferential marriage with a crossed cousin:

« Crossed cousins are not so much relatives who may marry between themselves, than the first of relatives between whom marriage is possible, at least when parallel cousins are assimilated as brothers and sisters » (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 56).

When the preferential union is with a crossed cousin<sup>26</sup>, the matrilineal – daughter (direct or classificatory) of the maternal uncle – is, we say, the most valued. The exchange of sisters generally juxtaposes this preferential marriage, often making a superposition between crossed cousin patri- and matri-lateral (cf. diagram 1).

This leads to the interversion of paternal and uterine groups for individuals of ulterior generations and the blood<sup>27</sup> passes from one group to another, from generation to generation. In this way, at each generation, the maternal uncles have wedded the paternal aunts of the children of the following generation. By marriage, the paternals transmit to the children to be born, their lineage name, land rights, and their totem(s); the maternals transmit the blood, life... and are responsible for the growth and strength of their nephews (nieces).

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26 « Marriage between crossed cousins has a common point with the dualistic system in that, although not universal, it is spread through almost all parts of the world. This first institution is however more frequent than that of exogamic moieties. As has been shown, a system of exogamic moieties inevitably authorizes marriage between crossed cousins. Moreover, this exists in numerous groups not divided into moieties. Rivers has even shown that in Melanania, it is precisely the tribes without a dualistic organization who practice this form of marriage » (Lévi-Strauss 1967: 117-118). Are the Paici's an exception in the Melanesian zone? Instead, should River's assertion, taken up again by C.Lévi-Strauss, be moderated? Bernard Vienne (pers. comm.) believes that dualism is constructed rather than chosen in these systems in which alliance strategies are so varied.

27 In the components of the person, blood is said to come from the mother, that is, from the uterine lineage.

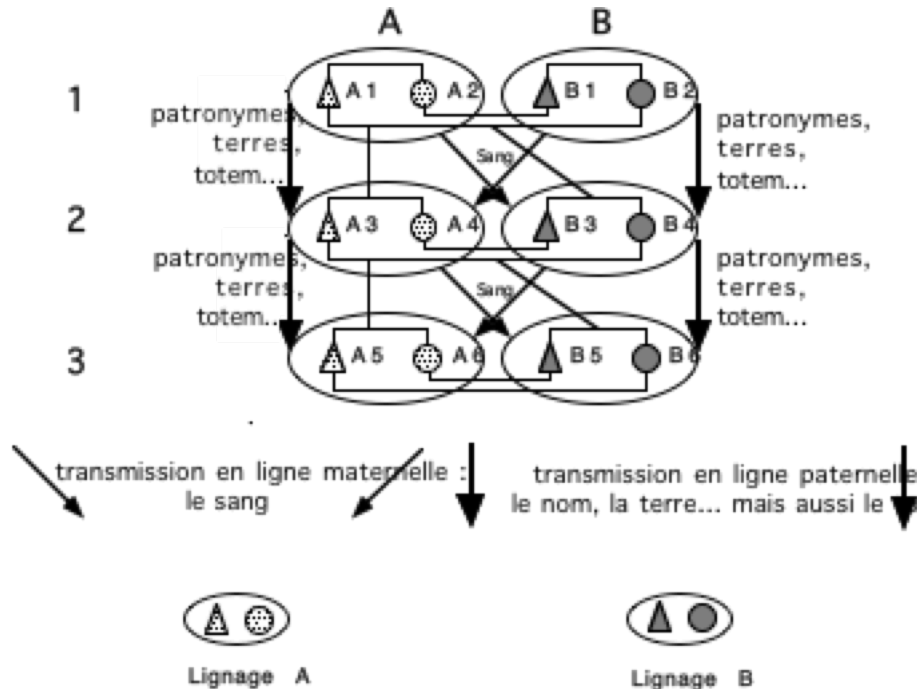


Diagram 1 : Mariages exogamiques de moitié par échange de sœurs sur trois générations

Generally, a woman is chosen from the lineage of one's mother. In this case, « one simply follows a little custom » because the bloodline is followed. Because the maternal uncles are not considered direct, but rather all the larger clan in which they are found, one takes wife in all the lineages which make up the larger clan including the lineage of the uncles. This does not go to say that any Bai can marry just any Dui. In fact, as soon as a boy is born, the father looks for a wife for him, first in the lineage of his maternal uncles. If they have girls about the same age, the boy's father will go see the uncles with a *âdi* coin to « reserve (*èèè*) » the girl. Often « the uncles accept and are happy that their girl has a guarantee », that is to say, is sure to be married. When the maternal uncles have no girls available the boy's father searches a bit farther, in the descendants of the classificatory uncles. « It is mainly when one doesn't find a girl at the uncle's, that a new alliance is made » (A. M. Mwâteapöo, Ponérihouen, 17.03.1995).

It is mainly the eldest girls who are « reserved ». The younger ones are rarely affected by it. There is a difference between reserving for one's son at birth an eldest girl as a customary gift, and the fact that all young girls learn that they are intended to marry into a direct or classificatory maternal uncle's clan. This is the marriage between *böru*:

« The marriage between *böru* is much broader than the immediate *böru*; the *böru* being those having the right [implying a real or classificatory 'crossed cousin'], but the others also, even if they are called « grandfather » or « papa »... [...] Generally you know what rights you have. This is true for marriages as well as a custom. [...] In fact, for marriages between *böru*, all the uterines of a clan are used. » (D. Görödé-Pûrûê, Mwââgu, 22.02.1996).

Moreover, each lineage has preferential unions with a certain number of other lineages, which means that not just any Dui (or Bai) may marry any Bai (or Dui). Each lineage, and I will add even each part of a lineage, will have specific *näigé* paths in connection with some primordial

alliances. For each couple's child, outside their uterine lineage, is given a certain number of possible paths. In no case may a man marry a woman of superior rank.

Also added to this dominating law of exogamy of the matrimonial moieties is the law of isogamy. One of the reasons referred to for following this law, is that when marrying a woman of superior rank, the *duéé* - « the supernatural spirits » belonging to the « ancestral spirits », *tee* - of the maternals are stronger than those of the paternals!

« Long ago, the chief's son married with a chief's daughter, never with a girl from the clan. That is the normal circuit. The chief does not intervene in the marriage; his subjects go to find a wife for his son. For this type of marriage, long ago, in choosing a future wife, one looked somewhere for a married aunt with a daughter for the son of her brother. If such was the case, the boy's family gives taros, called *buru* (which replaces maternal milk) and this is given to the child saying 'this girl will be our daughter'. This is the first step. When she has grown, she is taken without ceremony along with a *tara* oyster, *atē* basket, comb, bracelets, beauty objects, and all her finery. As for the chief, if this woman married elsewhere has no daughter, the second, then the third lineage in the hierarchy is looked into; hopefully there is no need to descend too low. At the first birth of this couple, there is a great ceremony, after having informed all of the new uncles. The same is done with the daughter of the maternal uncle. What we do for chiefs, and also generally, is to seek a person for marriage having the same situation or under, but never above. » (C. and A. Nâaucùwèè, Gôïèta, 01.02.1996).

Generally, for matrimonial unions, girls from the *apooro nâpô* « eldest in the region » clans<sup>28</sup> marry into clans having the same function, the same as chief's daughters marry chief's sons. For lack of another, they may marry an *apooro nâpô* son. In reality this rule is often overturned since a clan reinforces its power by marrying outside, opening new paths. According to D. Görödé, « woman represents the land », understandable in the sense that possible access to land is through a woman. Someone arriving in a new land is welcomed by the clans living there by placing him in a matrimonial relationship, otherwise said, giving him a wife, or by adopting him, making him a clan brother, which also implies the interdictions of marriage. Sometimes, no matter how he is accepted, he is named chief.

These preferential marriages are made in the general frame of prohibiting incest. Thus, in the Paicî area, what is called incest corresponds to an interdiction of marriage between *du âji du dua pēmā*, actual brothers and sisters, and classificatorily, between kinship brother and sister parallel « cousins » because if such unions came about there would be no *nāigé* paths nor maternal uncles. This is the forbidden marriage, *pwicîrî*, also indicated by the expression *wii tōōpia*, « to chew/ sugar cane inedible for magic growth of the crops ». Another expression qualifying incest is *(p)i pwa cowâ rî mûûrû*, which signifies « to do things backwards »<sup>29</sup>. A more precise saying is *tôô pwicîrî kôô*, designating what is forbidden to oneself, or *du duapēmā pwicîrî* for the brother and sister interdiction, that is to say, from the same mother and father – and by extension the kinship « brother and sister cousins » – which is the equivalent of *du âji du dua pēmā*, both real brother and sister.

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28 The *apooro nâpo* are very important lineages in the Kanak social hierarchy.

29 This expression also designates marriages contravening the outbreeding law of moieties which will be brought up later.

### *Cases of Interdictions Linked to Lineage History*

There also exists for each lineage, lineages of the other moiety that are matrimonially forbidden. This is so for the Mwâtéapöö Bai and the Nâwa Dui because of a communal history of these two lineages, the Nâwa considering the Mwâtéapöö as their real father. This type of interdiction runs over several generations until the day when it is decided that the « matrimonial route » can be reopened. In the case of the Nâbai and the Aramôtö lineages, one Bai and the other Dui, they could no longer intermarry since a time during a conflict between the two lineages at Cäba, a dead Nâbai was found atop the body of an Aramôtö warrior:

« After the battle, when each clan went to claim their dead, they were faced with a great problem. They found a Nâbai and an Aramôtö dead, one upon the other and whose blood had mixed. From then on they said: ‘The war is over and we are together *caa äboro* (one man). To seal this alliance, a Nâbai took a small bone from his forearm to give to the Aramôtö who did the same as a sign of their commitment, thus signifying that they were now of one body, the same sacred ceremonial pot. This type of alliance can last for generations. In this case it lasted until the father of Jérôme, Rock Nâbai, married an Aramôtö woman. The Nâbai-Aramôtö unions were reopened thereafter » (C. and A. Nâaucùuwèè, Göiëta, 8.O2.1995).

In this manner the Nâbai and the Aramôtö had become « brother » lineages and could no longer marry between them. Some years ago, this marriage allowed the cycle of unions to resume.

Not all lineages of the same moiety are inevitably closer to one another than some lineages of the other moiety. This depends on the origins of each. Thus the Nâaucùuwèè and the Mèêdù, although both Bai, are very far removed because they do not share origins. On the other hand the Nâaucùuwèè and the Nâbai are close with a common origin. Although the Nâbai are « brothers » with the Aramôtö as is said, this does not prevent the Nâaucùuwèè and the Aramôtö from marrying. Likewise, the Mwâtéapöö and the Gönârî lineages, although one is Bai and the other Dui, are « brothers », but this time because of shared origins: the Gönârî are descended from the Mwâtéapöö and by taking the name Gönârî they have changed moieties.

We have seen that the two lineages can become brothers, even if they are not of the same origins, by virtue of alliances. They can also become so on account of a rendered favor, such as being accepted somewhere. It is common to mark this act by adding the name of the welcoming clan to one’s own name at some time. What’s more, when a child has been brought up for a while with someone else, keeping his own name – which corresponds to fostering – at his death, a custom can be made in the same way that a custom can be made to a certain clan in memory of a good turn done. In this way some clans are considered brothers although they have no common origin, for example, the Mwâtéapöö Bai and the Görödé Dui... and in this manner form phratries which are added to the bipartition of matrimonial moieties in determining the interdiction or possibility of spouses.

For instance, certain Bai or Dui may marry between themselves if they are from distant lineages. A Nâbai-Nâaucùuwèè union could never be considered, they say, this being like incest:

« With the Mwâtéapöö, we are both Bai, but even so we may marry. When I married the sister of André, before the marriage, André’s father called to mind all of the Bai with whom the Mwâtéapöö could marry: the Katéko, the Nâpëërëwâ, the Märe Mä Aranyêgi, the Pigo mä Pwëolaa... but above all never with the Nâaucùuwèè because with them there

is a special relationship from a war alliance. From this alliance the Mwâtéapöö and the Nâaucùuwèè are considered brothers and cannot marry. This is from the time of war at Wailu when the Mwâtéapöö called upon the Nâaucùuwèè for help (the Mwâtéapöö say that the opposite occurred!). The interdiction of marriage dates from this moment. We say *caapwi âboro* ‘together, one man’, that is to say that it is like the same clan, or even *caapwi ârà pwa ilô* ‘one/container/cook in the sacred ceremonial pot’, which is to say those who eat together from the same sacred ceremonial pot. My marriage with André’s sister lifted this interdiction of marriage and reopened the path of matrimonial unions between the two clans. André’s father said that now was a good time. » (C. Nâaucùuwèè, Gôïèta, 26.01.1995).

The war alliance induces the interdiction of marriage. On the contrary, being enemies – apart from the precise case of the Nâbai and the Aramôtô because of the mixing of blood – leads to an alliance between two formerly opposed lineages because « woman is made to repair a disagreement, to seal a reconciliation ». It is also the way towards other alliances and this is why a brother speaks of his sister as *näigé kôô* « my path ». This is why marriages following traditional unions are designated as *tiwârî näigé* « exchange of paths ».

#### *When Outbreeding Transgressions of the Moieties are Accepted*

For other informants, these unions between lineages of the same moiety are explained by the fact that these lineages of the same moiety are both Bai and Dui at once:

« We others, we are Bai and Dui, which allows us to marry on both sides. This is because of what happened long ago. When there are disputes between clans... » (A. M. and K. Mwâtéapöö, Nâpwéwiimiîâ, 12.01.1994).

Being both Bai and Dui seems to have a particular signification, always linked to the history of the lineage<sup>30</sup> in question. The origin is generally interlineage conflict. When a lineage is hunted, pursued by an enemy wishing to eliminate it, the lineage hides on another’s territory who hides it. This can last a long time, sometimes years if the dispute continues. In order to hide better, the pursued clan can change names. Once the war over, the lineage, for example Bai, continues to live with the Dui lineage which saved it, even if it keeps its own name.

Residing together induces matrimonial prohibitions. This can also be due to the segmenting of lineages, a part of the lineage finding territory elsewhere and changing name and moieties. This is the case with the Gônârî Dui on their arrival near Gôïèta. There they found a Dui lineage which was moving for reasons of war. The Dui gave them their lands and name by installing them in their place before leaving for refuge further on. Some explain that one lineage, Göröwirijaa – now Bai – can be considered both at once because it was they who, according to the story, are at the origin of the separation between Dui and Bai.

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30 One wonders if the ability to call oneself both Dui and Bai is not on an individual basis which involves certain individuals from clearly defined lineages: « It’s true, there are clans which, in certain contexts, could be Bai even if they are Dui. In fact, the people from one clan; it depends on relationships and the people with whom they have relationships. For example, my elder brother has four children with a Nâaucùuwèè woman, one son of which is raised by his wife; he is therefore Nâaucùuwèè. Here he is considered Bai, but with the Görödé, he is considered Dui because of his father. Therefore alliances, blood, and adoptions influence all this. Just as for my brother’s children who will stay with us. They are Dui, but if they stay long with their uncle, they could have a Bai behaviour » (D. Görödé-Pûrûê, Mwââgu, 10.12.1993).

Another explanation given to unions between persons of the same moiety consists of:

« If we have only Dui-Bai marriages, we will always marry between ourselves and afterwards it's the end. This is why we have Dui-Dui and Bai-Bai marriages » (C. and A. Nâaucùwèè, Göièta, 8.02.1995).

In a system in which a person's wealth is calculated by the capacity to have numerous possible union relationships, to systematically marry one's maternal uncle's daughter constitutes, in the long run, a closing of the alliance system. For this reason new unions are opened up regularly « to renew the blood », as they say.

In any case, these unions Bai-Bai or Dui-Dui exist, but not in just any manner. Several explanations are given to justify them. One is related to the clan history, to its place of origin, the beginning founder, and the way it separated into several lineages and went to live in other places. According to another explanation, the lineages of one's own moiety with whom one can marry varies in relation with the membership of the uterine uncles. Sometimes the two are mixed:

« For example, my father had two wives, one a Göwémöu and the other a Pwârâpwééaa. This way the children who are Göwémöu nephews (Dui) can marry the Pwëolaa, but I who am a Pwârâpwééaa nephew (Dui) cannot. This alliance was made at Poo in the old times and that is why Matéo (the eldest moiety-brother) married into the Pwëolaa's. Later, his children can also marry with the Pwëolaa. Those who are Pwârâpwééaa nephews can marry with the Nâbwao, the Nâgopaé, the Göpwéa, the Pwâéé, or the Aramôtö (Dui) who are here at Pwârâpwééaa. My children, who are Göpwéa nephews, can marry with the Pûrûê, the Tûtügörö, and the Nâbai (all Bai), but not I. This changes with each generation, according to the uncles. However these alliances are rare cases. These unions between Bai are with regards to all the nephews; all the same it must be a faraway Bai, the second or third generation. The Göwémöu clan originates from the same mountain as we. Since they left, it has been a very long time that they have not gotten together. The Göwémöu nephews are new blood, Mwâtéapöö blood, pure blood that cannot be contaminated by Pwëolaa blood. These unions are linked to history. That is why the Mwâtéapöö are both Bai and Dui. There are others like us, but it's rare » (A. M. Mwâtéapöö, Cäba, 16.01.1995).

Let us recall that J. Guiart (1957:32) explains these endogamic unions by the fact that they concern lineages situated on the edge of the Paicî zone. If we use the hypothesis that the Paicî matrimonial system could find itself modified on the north and south borders of the zone, I do not think that as such, we can compare as he does, the term « Wêkumè » to the Dui and Bai. A. Bensa<sup>31</sup> remarks that the major alliances - between important lineages - contravene exogamic laws.

To resume, we can say that for each lineage there exists lineages of the other moiety which are matrimonially forbidden and that several factors can lead to prohibitions of this type: a shared part of history<sup>32</sup> – having travelled together or shared the same habitat for a given period, a war

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31 Work session of the Oceania department of LACITO (25.03.1994).

32 . « Circumstances happen that make us decide to be of one body, from which comes the prohibition of marriage. It is not an obligation to make this decision. On the contrary, we can decide to make more marriages to further unite the two clans. This is to say that because we already married with the « welcoming » clan, we will continue to do so, marry with those who aided or saved us. Giving the chieftainship to new arrivals also prohibits

alliance, a favor rendered... – which makes one of the lineages the father or brother of the other, or the rare case of two lineages' blood<sup>33</sup> mixing from warrior's corpses atop one another. These prohibitions run over several generations until the day it is decided that the « matrimonial route » can be reopened.

In these cases presented as rare cases of unions in the same moiety (although not as rare as claimed, making up 22% of marriages) – which are never considered as incest<sup>34</sup> unlike unions inside a lineage<sup>35</sup>, which is – there is not much ado – as when the contracted union is with the other moiety, or if it represents an opening of a new customary path. It is a simple ceremony with the exchange of several presents. With great alliances and customs it is always with the alternate moiety of the Paicî zone, especially when this marriage forms the beginning of a new alliance, a new path. Only in this last case are the coconut tree and colonial pine systematically<sup>36</sup> planted at the couple's residence, *i nê bau i waapwii*, symbolizing woman and man, and also the births to come, which are called « the fruit of the pine and coconut<sup>37</sup> tree that were planted long ago ». The mother or the bride's sister brings in a basket the coconut tree and colonial pine (see species) to be planted by the groom's family. This does not signify that the unions inside a same moiety do not have importance. At the customary level, it is viewed by some as a « great marriage ».

The woman brings nothing when she goes to marry elsewhere. Two customs are made by the woman's family, one to « let the woman go », that is shared by all the clans present on the husband's side, and the other « to buy lands » and all that grows there, also the pine and coconut, which is just for the husband's family and gives the woman the right of possession of the land. The first is « *nākake* », a sort of dowry, leading to recognition by the groom's clan, its allies, subjects, etc.; the second is *wârî nāpuu*. The groom's family gives something for the accepting of these presents, this is *u-tōpi*, the answer.

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marriage, because we become subjects and cannot marry with he who becomes our chief. Ceding the chieftainship often goes along with the decision of becoming one body, although this is not an obligation in the case of transfer of chieftainship. Especially when the chieftainship is linked to a name, when one gives the chieftainship, the name goes with it.(...) There can also be the new opening of a marriage path if it is with a clan with whom we are not allied. It must also be noted that travelling together for some time does not necessarily imply forbidding marriage. They can decide to become one body, but this is not an obligation. Ordinarily, two clans do not share the same habitation; if they share, there is already an agreement somewhere » (C. and A. Nāaucùuwèè, Gôïèta, 01.02.1996).

33 This case appears to be rather exceptional since it is always given with the same example, the Nābai and the Aramôtö.

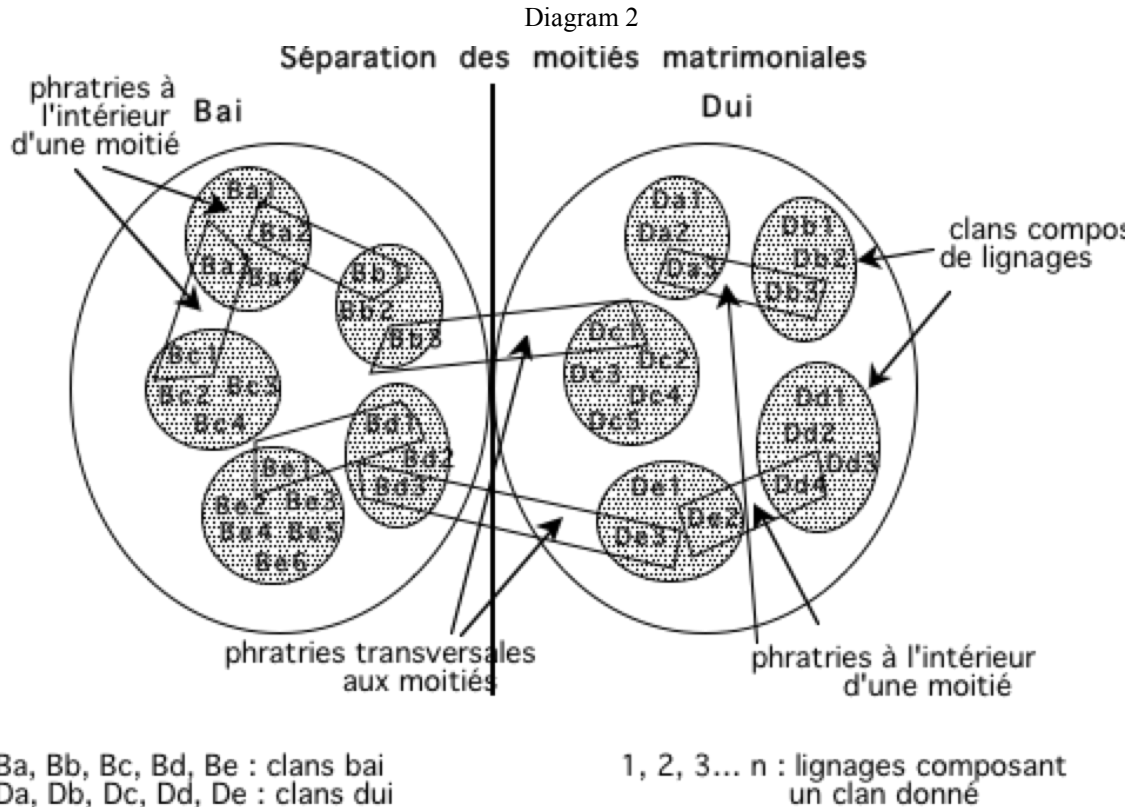
34 Some see a historical evolution of matrimonial practices in this remark. It is a fact to be taken into account. « It's true that a Bai (or Dui) marrying a Bai (or Dui) is at first incest; but later it is tolerated and becomes ordinary, as now we begin to tolerate marriages between close clans (having a same origin while having different names) or at the interior of a clan. In the future, this will surely continue, which will lead to the disappearance of clans as such. Excepting some clans such as the Mwâtéapöö, the Pèè... who are on horseback and are considered, according to the circumstances and the speaker, as Dui or as Bai and can therefore marry on both sides » (D. Görödé-Pûrûê, Mwââgu, 13.12.1996).

35 We have noted during the genealogical research several cases of incestuous unions and presented as such by the community, inside a lineage – between father and classificatory daughter, two parallel cousins... – and which provoked diverse explanations and comments, while this is never the case for endogamic matrimonial unions of one moiety. One incest gave rise to a genealogical reconstruction in order to further space out the degree of consanguinity.

36 It is a customary obligation to plant a pine and coconut tree as a sign of *cidöri* « welcome », and in the case of new alliance, *näigé tapoo*, each time a new household is made. This is not permitted when it is a marriage of old allies, so they say.

37 Woman is also indicated by the expression « The fire which you have brought to light up the house ».

To conclude on matrimonial dualism and preferential alliances of crossed cousins – to designate who is in position as a possible spouse –, I would say that certain other criterion interfere with the matrimonial exogamic moieties towards the decision of who are forbidden as spouses and to limit even more so the possible ones.



These are varied: war alliances, isogamy, also residence and locality<sup>38</sup> of which we have only slightly spoken. Each moiety, comprising different clans themselves regrouping several lineages,

38 According to D. Görödé: « It is always membership to a clan that holds precedence, never the locality, nor the matrimonial alliance, because what counts is the original relationship, the clan membership; they are the ones to look for when there is something to be done » (Mwââgu, 22.02.1996). For example, Déwé's grandfather « worked » regularly for all the customary occasions with the Curubiti of Göa. « Wherever you are, you come from a group; the alliances comes after; to each one his network », he points out. Regarding the extent of local exogamy, the farther the tribes are removed, the higher is the rate of outbreeding - approximately 50% for the Nêavââ, Göa, and Cäba. For the other tribes it varies between 7% and 36%. Although most tribes reciprocate in the exchange of women, some have no exchange between them; others take women but do not give in return. As of takers of women, only Cäba, Mâu, and Nâpwéépaâ reciprocate entirely in their exchange, while Görödù and Saint Yves abstain totally of exchange. As givers of women, Görödù and Mwêrêö reciprocate entirely and Cäba, Göa, Mâu, and Nâpwéépaâ abstain totally. Three socio-political groups are clearly perceived with a strong rate of outbreeding (45% to 58%), the Göièta valley, Cäba valley, and Mwêrêö-Poo-Nêavââ valley. The Göièta and Cäba valleys make preferential alliances, almost entirely balanced between givers and takers of women. Göièta allies more than Cäba with Mâu, but both are balanced. On the other hand, while Cäba gives a woman for the entire Mwêrêö-Poo-Nêavââ group, Göièta exchanges more with it, taking two times more women than it gives. The group Göièta-Cäba, whose rate of outbreeding is 66%, makes one fifth of its alliances outside of Ponérihouen. These alliances are for the most part with Poindimié, decidedly more in position as taker than giver of women. Across these two valleys, the Paicî west coast is more in position as givers than receivers of women. On the contrary, the



could be crossed again by other blends, variable in time and space, and without necessarily affecting all the lineages of a same clan and/or a same moiety in an identical way and causing many phratries. From the diagram above, members of the B/D lineage included in the same unit thus defined, according to the advocated norms, cannot marry. This is a new negative rule which is added to the prohibition of incest. Only the Vëkumé clan does not enter into this diagram because although Bai, it has a Dui lineage. On the other hand, isogamy is affixed as a positive rule, not taken into account in this diagram.

The Paicî region, because of its dualism and marriage with crossed cousins, lends itself to research on practiced kinship or application of kinship as such. Even though this phenomenon has been long known, either in other regions<sup>39</sup> or in the same linguistic zone<sup>40</sup>, this research leads to present the only explicit, formalized case in the region. Only systematic gathering and analysis of all the genealogies can allow to see in practice how dualism, like marriage with a crossed cousin, is at work.

Therefore this study allows us to note that one fifth of marriages are made with an inbreeding of one moiety. As a matter of fact, 50% of the unions registered in our genealogies respect the matrimonial exogamic moiety system, 22% do not respect it, and 16% are made outside the system, that is to say with someone not in the Paicî zone; and this being many more Bai's (61%) than Dui's (39%) – the other 12% being unions for which I have no information. This does not necessarily seem to signify a questioning of the dualist organization with two matrimonial exogamic moieties. It is rare that between the norm and actual practice there be 100% conformity. It appears more that these systems are much less formalized than was first thought (Bernard Vienne, pers. comm.).

Can the scale of 22% of endogamic moiety be considered normal? Whatever the answer, and without neglecting the ever-existing difference between the formal and real level, we must not forget that colonialism doubtlessly had consequences as far as the creation of alliances. More precisely, it is probable that the period of quartering and interdiction of tribal circulation – which was the law during all of the native legislation period – weighed strongly in the importance of local endogamy (cf. note 38) and as such could deviate matrimonial practices. For example, when found « locked » in a Dui dominant tribe, it would be difficult after a while to respect the laws of matrimonial dualism, for lack of possible candidates inside the tribe itself, not counting the pursuit of matrimonial paths thus established to maintain this endogamy.

Finally, we have shown that the Paicî matrimonial dualism is established by mythologies and is therefore formalized. Upon a closer look, owing to the genealogical cover, we see that the matrimonial choice is finer than simply a division of two intermarrying matrimonial moieties. When concretely facing marriage as it is conceived from the Dui and Bai point of view, we note the restrictions of dualism – having travelled together, the mixing of blood, war alliance – that at first appear as exceptions to the rule of exogamy of the moieties. In fact, these exceptions are

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non-Paicî west coast as a whole is in the opposite situation. On the average 20% of the alliances from the Cäba-Göiëta and Mâu valleys are made with the exterior, which represents a non-negligible potential of openings, taking into account the role of alliances in deciding customary paths.

39 See Leenhardt who generalized the data recorded for the Ajië region, or Lambert who notes marriage with crossed cousins in the North.

40 Guiart (1957) speaks of the Paicî region, but without studying genealogical facts, this leads to his dropping the question of dualism. Later, Bensa and Rivierre (1988, 1995) explain alliances in parallel with politics, stressing the transformation of the matrimonial systems, essentially based on representations, by a very detailed analysis of oral traditions, although lacking actual quantitative elements.

strongly formalized at the level of discourse and representation. One does not marry someone belonging to a « brother » lineage, even if it is in the other moiety! This does not mean that marriages not respecting the exogamy of moieties could be considered incest. Only unions between very close persons would be seen as incestuous and disapproved by all.

Translation from the French text by Janet Pawelko-Frouin

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## Abstract

The Question of Paicî Matrimonial Dualism (Ponérihouen, New Caledonia). On the subject of relationships and alliances, the Paicî region is distinguished by a matrimonial dualism (Bai and Dui) and preferential marriage of crossed cousins. Genealogical research and a treatise on kinship in the Ponérihouen region allow closer examination of these representations of kinship and alliances. This article brings up several questions. One is whether the intermarrying and exogamic moieties are truly so, or whether a certain number of them not respecting this rule, question or not matrimonial dualism. Also taken into account are other criterion in the choice of spouse and especially the importance history plays in giving some lineages negative dictates.

Key words : kinship - matrimonial dualism - marriage alliance rules - Kanaks - New Caledonia

## Diagram 1

Lineage A  
 LineageB  
 Name  
 Lands  
 Blood  
 Transmission in the maternal line: the bloodline  
 Transmission in the paternal line: the name, the land...also the totem

This is often what is meant by the blood coming from both sides. Not to mention that the direct uterines and the uterine of the uterines are taken into consideration, which in this case are superimposed with the paternals. Therefore, in the two lineages A and B, the blood is passed on from A to B for B3 and B4 in generation 2 and for B5 and B6 in generation 3; at the same time, it passes on from B to A for A3 and A4 in generation 2 and for A5 and A6 in generation3.

## Diagram 2

Separation line between matrimonial moieties  
 Phratries inside one moiety  
 Clans made up of lineages  
 Transversal phratries of the moieties

Phratries inside one moiety

Ba, Bb, Bc, Bd, Be: Bai clans

Da, Db, Dc, Dd, De: Dui clans

1, 2, 3...n: lineages made up of a given clan