

DA'A KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Sharon G. Barr

0. INTRODUCTION

This paper will discuss some aspects of the kinship system of the Da'a people of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia.¹ Four topics will be discussed: general social organisation, kinship terms, behaviour associated with these kinship relationships, and marriage.

1. GENERAL SOCIAL ORGANISATION

1.1 Demographic information

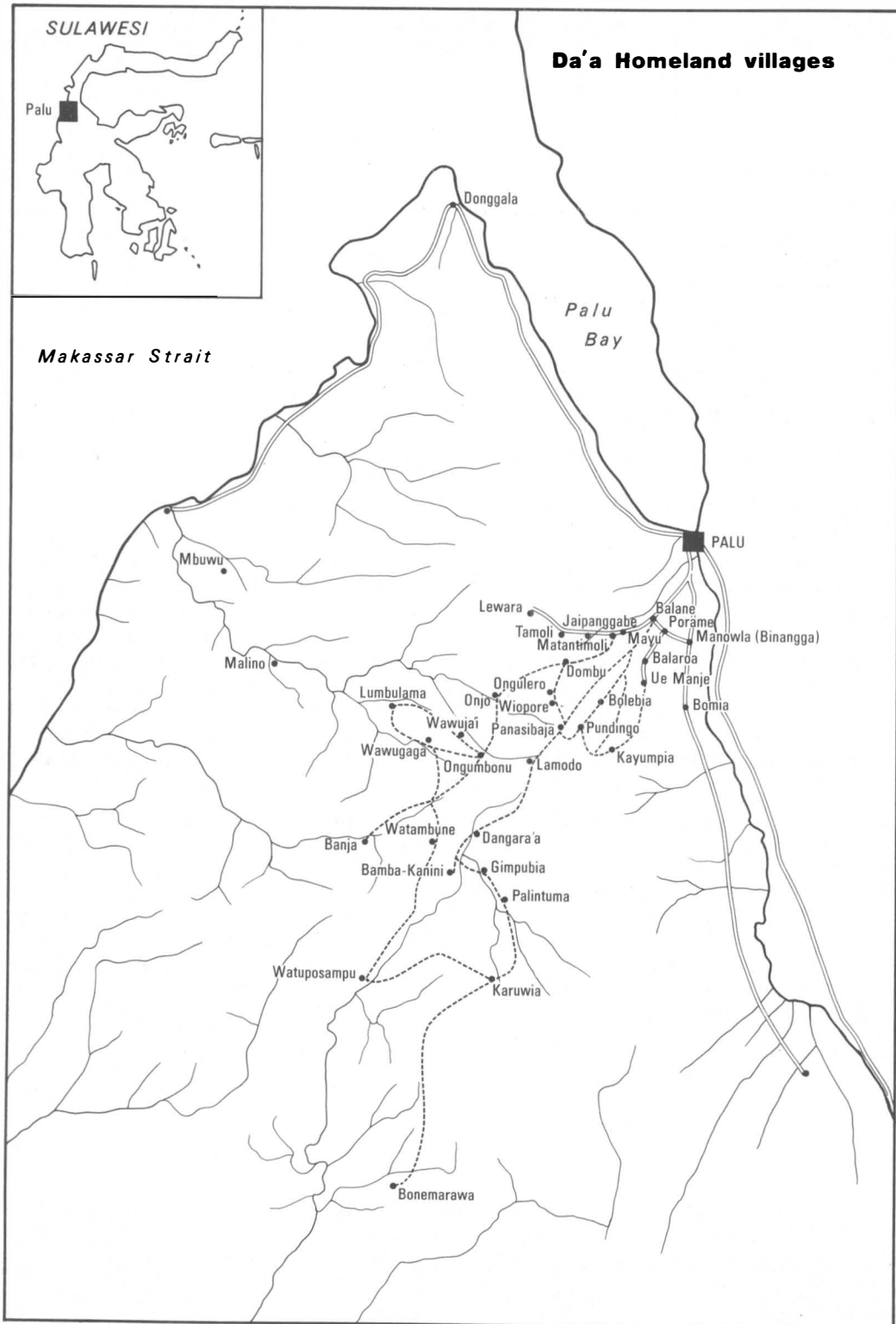
Some 30,000 Da'a people are located in three major areas in Central Sulawesi. Some Da'a also live in the province of South Sulawesi, Pasang Kayu District, not far from the town of Pasang Kayu, but the majority are located in Central Sulawesi.

The main homeland of the Da'a people lies in the mountains to the west and south-west of the provincial capital, Palu. This area extends as far west as the Strait of Makassar. Some Da'a have been resettled in government resettlement villages in two other areas. One area is Maranata village, Biromaru District, just south of Palu in the Palu River valley, and the other is the upland plain of Palolo (several villages) south-east of Palu. Da'a speakers to the west of Palu (i.e. in Marawola District) inhabit a triangular area approximately 50 kilometers from east to west at its southern base and about 40 kilometres from north to south. This paper will focus on this mountainous area, since this is the area where the author undertook her study.

The villages in this mountainous area west of Palu cluster around two main centres: Dombu, where the traditional ruler called *madika* resides and Gimpubia, further to the south (see map). The southern villages near the Pakawa River centre around Gimpubia. This area is often known as the Pakawa region. In the northern villages, relationships tend to centre around Dombu. People from the northern and north-western villages come through Dombu on the way to the weekly market in Marawola. People of the Pakawa region use another route to this market. People from the area around Lumbulama and sections to the west tend to use the market in Mbuwu as well.

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1.2 Religion and education

In the more than 60 Da'a villages, there is a mixture of Christianity, Islam and animistic beliefs. The majority of the churches in the mountainous area are run by the Salvation Army, but the Seventh Day Adventists have started work in three villages (Ongombonu, Wawuja'i, and Sadakanjai) and two local Protestant churches, Gereja Protestant Indonesia Donggala (GPID) and Gereja Toraja, each work in one village (GPID in Mbuwu and Gereja Toraja in Katewelu). In most of the villages where churches have been established, schools have also been begun, so that for the past fifteen to twenty years some of these villages have had schools.

1.3 Village political structure

The local level political structure of each village conforms to a hierarchy determined by the national government. The structure is illustrated below (terms are Indonesian).

- Camat - Head at the District level
- Kepala Kampung - Village Headman²
- Kepala Jaga - Assistant Headman
- Rukun Kampung - Head of a Village Association³
- Rukun Tetangga - Head of a Neighbourhood Association within the village³

The rukun tetangga and rukun kampung are groups of families formed within the village. In one village there may be more than one rukun tetangga, or neighbourhood association. The head of each rukun tetangga is under the authority of the head of the rukun kampung or village association. The rukun kampung head is in turn under the authority of the kepala jaga and he in turn is under the kepala kampung's authority.

The village of Dombu is divided into two associations, one rukun tetangga and one rukun kampung. Whenever a problem arises the people in the western half of Dombu relate to the rukun tetangga who lives there in the western half. Any problem relating to people in the eastern half of the village is referred to the rukun kampung who lives there in the eastern half. If these two men cannot handle a problem they may take it to the kepala jaga, who in turn may take the matter if still unsolved to the kepala kampung. The kepala kampung may consult the village elders at this point, but ultimately, the kepala kampung makes the final decision. While this is the political structure, in actual practice in Dombu (population approximately 350) and other small villages, many problems are taken directly to the kepala kampung.

At the village level the kepala kampung, kepala jaga, rukun kampung and rukun tetangga are chosen by consensus of the village men. Their choices must then be approved by the camat, the government head of the district. The camat is the one immediately responsible for implementing national programs and policies within the district. Then the kepala kampung is responsible for these programs and policies on the village level.

For working on village projects, the headman has divided the village of Dombu into several work groups, or kolompo (from Indonesian kelompok). If the road needs work or buildings such as a village meeting hall, bantaya, need to be built, one or more of the five kolompo of Dombu men (roughly 60 in all) may be called on for community labour. The men in the west half of the village are divided into two groups, as are the men in the east half. A fifth group consists

of the men who live in the approximate centre of Dombu. Each of the group leaders, chosen by the kepala kampung, lives in close proximity to the other ten or eleven men in his group. Each group then works on the part of the project that is assigned to it.

1.4 Madika, traditional ruler

Another aspect of local level political organisation at Dombu is the continuing influence of the madika, the indigenous sovereign or traditional ruler. For two or three hundred years, there has been a succession of madika in the Da'a area. Traditionally, the madika with sovereignty over the most Da'a villages has lived in the village of Dombu. During the time of Dutch rule in Indonesia, the general Dutch policy was to rule through the existing political structures. Thus, until Indonesia's independence in 1945, they administered through the madika at Dombu. Following independence and the establishment of Indonesia's national government, the madika began to function as the kepala kampung within the Indonesian government structure.

In addition to these government functions the madika serves as the traditional head of a substantial section of the Da'a people. The duties of the madika in this capacity are basically three: 1) settling any disputes in the Da'a area under his influence that could not be resolved on the village level by the kepala kampungs; 2) witnessing various ceremonies of villages in the area relating to marriage, exchange of bridewealth, death, and other traditional junctures; and 3) presiding as head of the traditional customs such as the potamba, fertility rite performed to ensure good crops.

The current madika, named Lagurante, still hears cases, performs ceremonies and in general fills the role of madika. However as he is now over 80 years old the next in line for succession to madika, Latu, is beginning to take over more and more of the duties of madika. Latu is Lagurante's nephew, his only sister's son. Normally the line of succession would be to the son of the madika. However Lagurante's oldest son died some years ago and his other sons are quite young. Hence the succession went to Latu, his nephew. The actual decision as to who will be the next madika is made at a gathering of the key elders of the villages that centre around Dombu. They agreed that Latu would be the next madika. He is now already beginning to carry out the functions of madika under the guidance and advice of Lagurante. In 1981 Lagurante retired as kepala kampung and Latu was chosen for that position. Thus one can see that the madika has been incorporated into the Indonesian government structure and continues to be a significant part of Da'a social organisation.

1.5 Livelihood

The Da'a people are farmers and grow a variety of crops, including sweet potatoes, taro, cassava, corn and rice as staples. Dry rice and some wet rice are grown in the Pakawa region and the areas west of Dombu. In the northern villages near Dombu although rice is often eaten it must be bought in Palu or from other Da'a villages where dry-field rice is more abundantly grown. In the far western and more lowland villages sago is also eaten. Vegetable supplements include tomatoes; squash; red kidney beans; ferns; bamboo shoots; leaves of taro, cassava, sweet potatoes and squash; and occasionally white potatoes, although most of these are taken to market and sold. Fruits that are seasonally

available are durian, lemons, jackfruit, pomelos, langsat, rose-apples, bananas, mangoes and sometimes pineapple. The main cash crops are coffee, cloves and fruit in season.

As for livestock the Da'a raise chickens, pigs, goats, some sheep, and cattle. Cattle are used for field work such as ploughing and are not primarily raised for beef. The Da'a also hunt birds, deer, monkeys, lizards and wild pigs when available.

1.6 Feasts

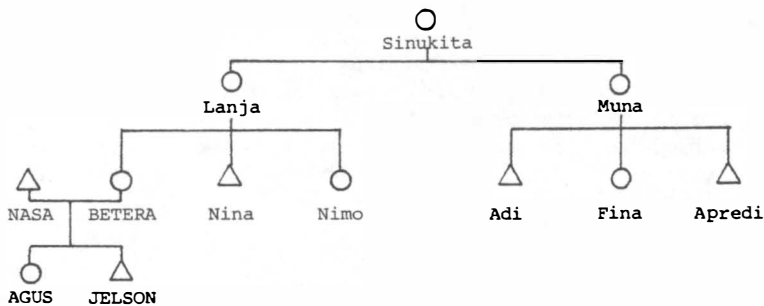
Most occasions of a major festive nature among the Da'a involve commensality, eating together. On such occasions rice and pork are the main foods, although sometimes chicken is also served. Feasts are held to celebrate: 1) the finishing of a new house; 2) birthday parties; 3) weddings; 4) three ceremonies associated with the remembrance of someone who has died (three days, forty days, and sometimes one hundred days following the death of someone in the Christian villages); 5) each of the four different occasions when the bridewealth is given; and 6) Christmas and New Year's Day - in those villages that are Christian.

1.7 Households and nuclear families

Da'a families usually have two houses. Beside the house they have within the village itself, most people also have a field hut near their gardens. If their gardens are situated far from the village, they may spend considerable time living there instead of returning to the village each night, hence the need for a field hut in addition to the village house.

Most Da'a households consist of nuclear families or modified nuclear families. The nuclear family includes only parents and their children. Modified nuclear families include others beside the nuclear family, such as a widowed parent and any unmarried siblings of the parents. It is quite common to find a modified nuclear family such as parents living with their children's family. One example of a large modified nuclear family observed at Dombu sheltered twelve individuals under one roof. The following diagram shows their kinship relationships:

Figure 1: Modified nuclear family



SYMBOLS: ▲ male; ○ female; — tie of marriage; — tie of siblingship

In this diagram, the names in capital letters represent the nuclear family: Nasa, his wife Betera, and their children Agus and Jelson. The head of this whole household is Nasa, since he is the only married man in this modified nuclear family. When he married Betera he assumed the responsibility for the three widows of Betera's family and their unmarried children. With Betera, her grandmother, her mother and aunt, and her children all part of this household, four generations are represented in this modified nuclear family.

Having discussed some of the basic features of Da'a social organisation, we turn now to examine in some detail the Da'a kinship terms.

2. KINSHIP TERMS

The Da'a kinship terminology is basically of the Hawaiian (or generational) system, which equates all cousins with siblings. It is also partially of the Eskimo system in that it distinguishes in the first ascending and descending generations between father, mother, uncle and aunt, and between child and nephew/niece (Schusky 1965:19).

2.1 Consanguineal (filial) kinship terms

Da'a consanguineal kinship terms are presented in Figure 2 (see also Acciaioli n.d.). These terms may be modified by the terms *langgai male*, and *besi female* to distinguish sex. The only exceptions are the four terms that already distinguish sex, that is father, mother, uncle and aunt.

2.1.1 Grandkinsmen terms

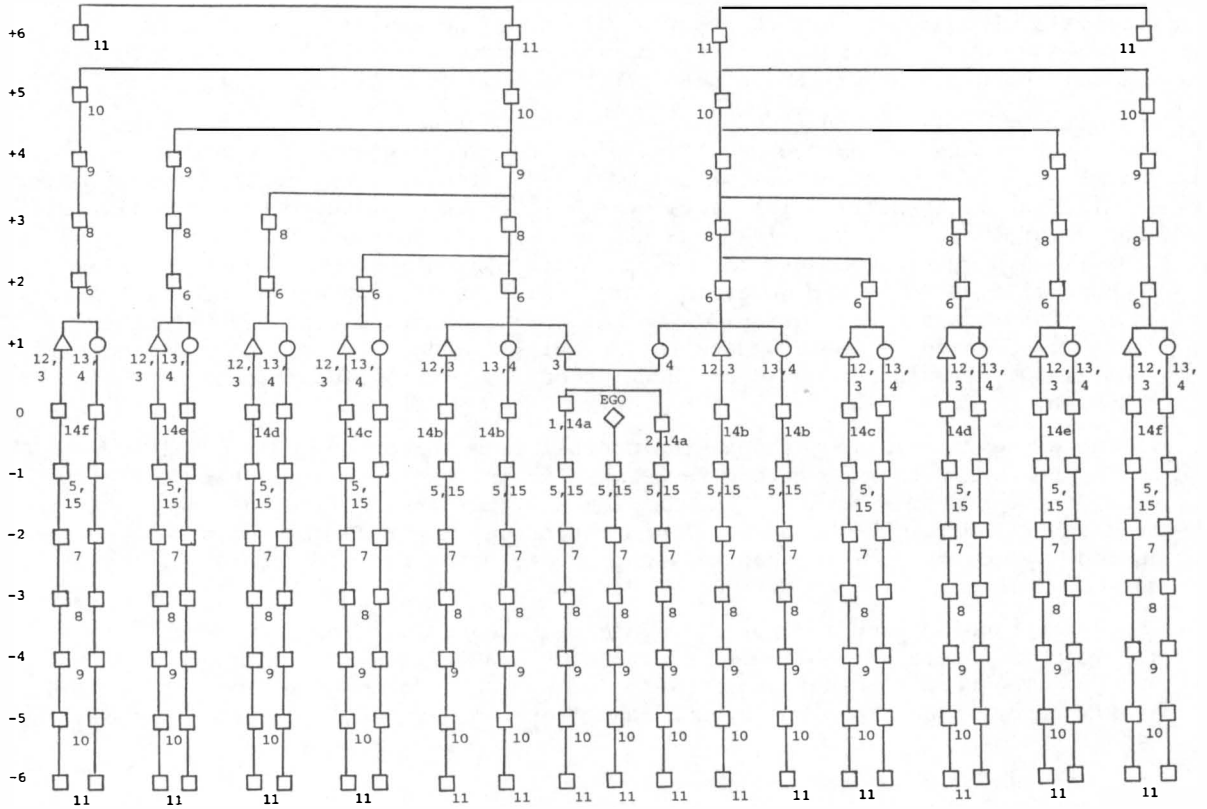
There are five reciprocal grandkinsman terms from the third generation (ascending and descending) to the sixth generation. For example, ego's great-grandparent and great-grandchild are both called *lembau*. *Lembau* is the term for third generation (ascending and descending). *Panjedo* is the term for all the fourth generation (ascending and descending), *tantoru* is the term for the fifth generation, and *eruna* the term for the sixth generation. Neither relative age nor sex are distinguished by these terms. Each of these terms extends to all collateral kinsmen of that respective generation and to corresponding affinals, namely, to the spouses of grandkinsmen and to the grandkinsmen of ego's spouse.

Only two of the grandkinsmen terms do not fit the above pattern of being self-reciprocal, the terms for the second generation ascending and descending from ego. The term *pue grandparent* is not interchangeable or self-reciprocal with *makumpu grandchild*. Some have said *makumpu* may be used like *pue* for grandparent, but in practice *makumpu* is not heard being used for grandparent, only grandchild. Thus, the second generation (ascending and descending) is not self-reciprocal. Only the third through the sixth generations are self-reciprocal. Beyond the sixth ascending generation the term *totu'a nggaolu ancestors* (literally *elders of the former time*) is used.

2.1.2 Familial terms

Eight terms form a set of kin terms designating kinsmen of the parent and child generations. These terms are referred to as familial terms.

Figure 2: Sketch of Da'a consanguineal terms



KEY

- 1 totuaka
- 2 totua'i
- 3 uma
- 4 indo
- 5 ana, ngana
- 6 pue
- 7 makumpu
- 8 lembau
- 9 panjedo
- 10 tantoru
- 11 eruna
- 12 mangge, rapouma
- 13 pinutina, rapoindo
- 14 sampesuvu
 - 14a sampesuvu kotopuse
 - 14b sampesuvu sangganl
 - 14c sampesuvu rongganl
 - 14d sampesuvu tolungganl
 - 14e sampesuvu patangganl
 - 14f sampesuvu llmangganl
- 15 pinuana

FOCAL DENOTATA

- eSi
- ySi
- F
- M
- Ch
- PaPa (Si)
- ChCh
- ChChCh, PaPaPa (Si)
- ChChChCh, PaPaPaPa (Si)
- ChChChChCh, PaPaPaPaPa (Si)
- ChChChChChCh, PaPaPaPaPaPa (Si)
- PaB
- PaZ
- Si,Co
- Si
- PaSiCh
- PaPaPaSiChChCh
- PaPaPaPaSiChChChCh
- PaPaPaPaPaSiChChChChCh
- SiCh

ABBREVIATIONS

- e elder
- y younger
- Si sibling
- F father
- M mother
- Pa parent
- Z sister
- Ch child
- B brother
- Co cousin

SYMBOLS

- ◇ ego
- △ male
- female
- individual of either sex

- tie of siblingship and common filiation
- tie of siblingship in which the individual higher on the page is older

2.1.2.1 First ascending generation

Four familial terms denote kinsmen of the first ascending generation above ego: *uma father*, *indo mother*, *mangge uncle*, and *pinutina aunt*. These four terms distinguish sex, but not relative age. Father's older or younger sister and mother's older or younger sister are all designated by *pinutina aunt*. Mother's brother's wife and father's brother's wife are also *pinutina*. Similarly, the term *mangge uncle* extends to all father's and mother's brothers and all mother's sister's husbands and father's sister's husbands, regardless of age.

The terms *uma father* and *indo mother* may also be used to refer to uncle and aunt, respectively. *Mangge uncle* and *pinutina aunt* may extend beyond their primary referent to refer to all collateral kinsmen of the parents' generation. So all four of these familial terms mentioned above may extend to all collateral kinsmen of the first ascending generation. This is an illustration of how the Da'a kinship system combines the Hawaiian and Eskimo systems. It is Hawaiian in that all males in this generation are called *uma father* and all females are called *indo mother*. It is Eskimo in that one's father, *uma* is distinguished from uncle, *mangge*. One's *uma* cannot be called *mangge*. Similarly one's mother, *indo*, is distinguished from one's aunt, *pinutina*. One's *indo* cannot be called *pinutina*.

If ego wishes to distinguish his real father from the other males of his parent's generation the term *ntoko real*, must modify *uma*. Thus the term *uma ntoko* signifies *ego's true father*. In the same way, to distinguish one's real mother from other females of the parental generation one may refer to one's real mother as *indo ntoko*, or as *indo mpeote*. *Indo mpeote* means *the mother who gave birth to ego*.

The terms *rapoindo* and *rapouma* also denote *aunt* and *uncle* respectively. *Rapoindo* is interchangeable with *pinutina* and *rapouma* is interchangeable with *mangge*. The term *rapoindo* is the word for *mother indo*, prefixed by *rapo-*. The prefix *rapo-* in Da'a morphology can mean 'for the purpose of' as seen in the example below:

Rapo-kuya wawu etu? Rapo-susa.
PURP.-*what pig that* PURP.-*feast*
What is that pig for? For a feast.

When affixed to kin terms *rapo-* has the meaning of 'has the relationship ...'.

Rapo-kuya nggomi ante ia? Rapo-indo.
Rela.-*what you with her* Rela.-*mother*
What is your relationship with her? She has the relationship of mother.

Rapo-kuya nggomi ante ia? Rapo-mangge.
Rela.-*what you with him* Rela.-*uncle*
What is your relationship with him? He has the relationship of uncle.

Thus *rapoindo* is one way of saying that a person is in a relationship comparable to one's mother. And since one can call all females of the parental generation *indo mother*, the term *rapoindo* extends to all aunts. Similarly, one can call all uncles *rapouma* since they are in a relationship comparable to one's father.

To summarise, then, 'uncle' or 'aunt' may each be referred to by one of four terms. One's uncle is *mangge*, *uma*, *rapomangge*, or *rapouma*. One's aunt is *pinutina*, *indo*, *rapopinutina*, or *rapoindo*.

The familial terms of the first ascending generation cannot be extended to all of ego's spouse's kinsmen of the same generation. They may be extended to some

kinsmen, but not to all. See Figure 3 (sketch of Da'a affinal terms) for an illustration of further uses of the terms mangge *uncle* and pinutina *aunt*.

2.1.2.2 First descending generation

The reciprocal term to 'father' and 'mother' is ana/ngana *child*. These terms for child denote ego's offspring of either sex and extend collaterally to any kinsmen of the child's generation (first descending generation). They cannot be extended to child's spouse or spouse of any other first descending generation kinsmen. Ana/ngana likewise does not extend to one's stepchildren. There is a separate distinct term for stepchild, kamana. Ego's kamana is any child of ego's spouse from another marriage. (This term is found in Figure 3.)

The term pinuana *niece/nephew* is the reciprocal of the terms for 'uncle' and 'aunt'. It denotes the children of ego's siblings and can further be extended collaterally to include children of ego's cousins.

As noted earlier, age or sex are not distinguished for kinsmen of this generation. The terms langgai *male* and besi *female* may be added to ana/ngana or pinuana to distinguish between son or daughter and between nephew and niece.

2.1.3 Sibling and cousin terms

Two sibling kinship terms distinguish relative seniority of ego and siblings: totuaka *elder sibling* and totua'i *younger sibling*. These terms extend collaterally to any kinsmen of ego's generation but do not extend to all spouse's siblings and cousins.

Another term, sampesuwu, denotes any *sibling, cousin* without distinction of sex or relative seniority. Like the two terms above, sampesuwu extends collaterally to any kinsmen of ego's generation, thus denoting *cousin* (1st, 2nd, 3rd, etc.). By modifying the term sampesuwu with terms like sanggani *one time*, ronggani *two times*, tolunggani *three times*, etc., first, second, third cousins and so on are distinguished. For example, sampesuwu ronggani denotes *second cousin*. A term for true sibling is sampesuwu kotopuse, which means *sibling of the same womb*.

The term sampesuwu does not extend to all of spouse's siblings or cousins but does extend to a few. See Figure 3 for illustration of these extended uses of sampesuwu.

2.2 Affinal kinship terms

Da'a affinal terms are presented in Figure 3. Neither age nor sex is distinguished by any of these affinal terms. All of these terms may be modified by the words langgai *male* and besi *female* to distinguish sex.

2.2.1 Familial affinal terms

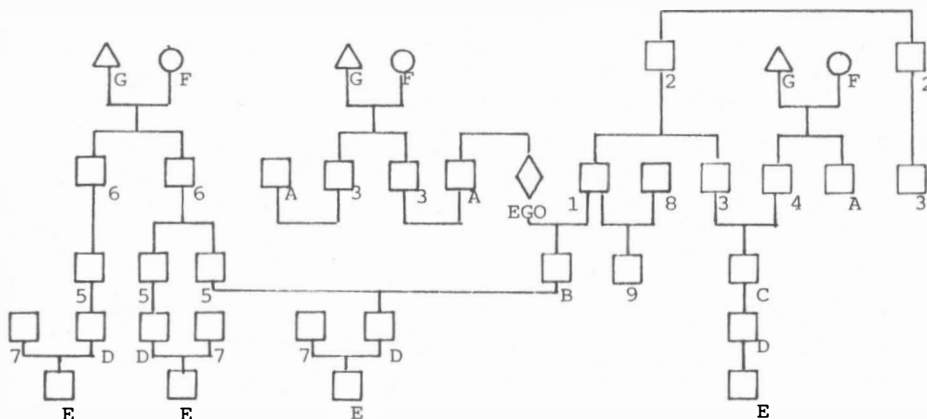
Three terms classify spouse's kinsmen or parent and child generation. Matu'a *parents-in-law* refers to parents of ego's spouse and their siblings and cousins.

The term sumbava refers to co-parents-in-law. The parents of ego's child-in-law are ego's sumbava. This term cannot be extended to all members of ego's child's

spouse's parent generation. Sumbava refers only to the relationship between the two sets of parents just mentioned.

Mania *child-in-law* denotes spouse of ego's child and is extended collaterally to siblings and cousins of ego's child's spouse (the child generation). A further usage of mania is seen in the following section.

Figure 3: Sketch of Da'a affinal terms



AFFINAL TERMS

- 1 rongo
- 2 matu'a
- 3 era
- 4 lago
- 5 mania
- 6 sumbava
- 7 mania leni
- 8 samarue
- 9 kamana

ABBREVIATIONS

- Sp spouse
- Pa parent
- Si sibling
- Ch child

FOCAL DENOTATA

- Sp
- SpPa(Si)
- SiSp(Si)
- SpSiSp
- ChSp(Si)
- ChSpPa
- ChChSp
- SpSp
- SpCh

SYMBOLS

- △ male
- female
- individual of either sex (but an individual tied to another by a tie of marriage must be of the opposite sex to that of the individual to whom he is tied)
- ┌ tie of marriage
- └ tie of siblingship

CONSANGUINEAL TERMS USED FOR RELATIVES CONNECTED BY MARRIAGE

- A sampesuwu
- B ana, ngana
- C pinuana
- D makumpu
- E lembau
- F pinutina, rapoindo
- G mangge, rapouma

2.2.2 Term for grandchild's spouse

Mania may also be modified by the term leni *cold*. Mania leni refers to the spouse of ego's grandchild, which is one generation removed from child-in-law. The two words taken together seem to mean one like a mania *child-in-law* but a bit 'colder' or farther removed, mania leni.

2.2.3 Sibling-in-law terms

Two terms, era and lago, refer to the affinal kinsmen of ego's spouse's generation.

All siblings and cousins of ego's spouse are era *sibling-in-law*. All spouses of ego's own siblings and cousins are also era. An extended use of the term era was found in the Pakawa region. There era also includes the siblings and cousins of the spouses of ego's own siblings and cousins. That is the siblings and cousins of the siblings-in-law ego has on ego's side of the family, not on ego's spouse's side (Acciaioli n.d.:7).

Lago *spouse of sibling-in-law* is one who marries spouse's siblings or cousins. This term refers to spouse's sibling's spouse, but not to sibling's spouse's sibling.

2.2.4 Spouse terms

The term of reference for spouse is rongo *husband/wife*. Samarue *co-wife* is used between two or more wives of the same man. In the Da'a area, no co-husbands ever occur. This is considered unacceptable, contrary to Da'a traditional law. Thus even though samarue may not have an innate sex distinction, the connotation is that of a relationship between two or more wives. One further term relating to spouse is tomale *ex-spouse*, which refers to a spouse from whom one has been divorced.

Having examined the Da'a kinship terminology, we will now discuss behaviour patterns connected with these terms.

3. KINSHIP BEHAVIOUR

Da'a kinship relationships involve a sharing of goods and services. We now examine some key relationships and the behaviour patterns implicit in these.

3.1 Parent-child relationship

Parents are expected to provide for their children's physical needs: food, clothing, and shelter. Parents also teach their children certain skills and respectable behaviour. The father and mother are both responsible for disciplining their children, equally sharing the task. If a parent is not obeyed, he does not usually force his children to do anything against their will, although shouts or threats may show the parent's anger. Threats are not usually carried out.

Sometimes parent's parents or siblings will care for the children in the parent's absence. During that time they become the authority figures, assuming the responsibilities of the parents.

One of the responsibilities of parents is in helping arrange their children's marriages. In times past parents actually arranged their children's marriages. Now, however, children may choose their own marriage partners. Parents are still very much involved with arranging the details of the marriage. Included in this is the bridewealth exchange. This will be further discussed in more detail in section 4.4 of this paper.

Children are expected to help their parents in their gardens and also at home. Children share in the work of hoeing in the gardens, carrying water, and daughters will help with cooking as well. Children are also responsible for caring for their parents in old age.

3.2 Sibling relationship

Older siblings will take responsibility for younger siblings when parents are working or when younger siblings are not in the proximity of their parents. It is very common to see an older brother or sister carrying the younger sibling on his or her back in a sarong.

As siblings grow older and have their own families, they often ask for assistance from each other. If one is going to have a party he may ask his other siblings to help with the food preparations, such as providing cooked rice.

After the parents are dead, the oldest brother becomes the head of the family in regard to the other siblings. If one of the brothers-in-law still has to finish giving part of the bridewealth, the oldest brother will receive it in the absence of his sister's parents.

3.3 Cousin relationship

Cousins do not have specific obligations to each other, but they are each other's helpers. In the case of one cousin having a feast, such as a birthday party, the other cousins, especially the first cousins, and the siblings (as noted above) will help. They are usually asked to prepare rice for the feast, but they are also asked to join in the fun by attending the feast.

The cousin relationship is a close one. As a result of the common uxorilocal residence, where the husband lives with the wife's family, cousins, especially female cousins, usually live near each other. (See section 3.5 on affinal relationships for more on residence patterns.) A cousin is often chosen as a marriage partner, too. In the village of Dombu, out of a total of approximately 60 marriages, there are six known instances of first-cousin marriages, and there are several more instances of second, third and fourth-cousin marriages. (See section 4.2 on possible marriage partners for a discussion of which cousins one may marry.)

3.4 Aunt-nephew/niece relationship

The aunt-nephew relationship is also a close one. It is so close that one may not marry one's aunt. If one unintentionally does this, a special ceremony called *karumpita* must be performed to cut the ties of this close relationship. *Karumpita* is the payment of one pig to the wife's family. This is in addition to the bridewealth. After the pig is given, it is cut in half. Half is given to the husband's family and half is kept by the wife's family. When the pig is eaten, the husband eats with his wife's family and partakes of their half. The wife eats with her husband's family partaking of their half. This signifies that the close family relationship has been cut. The marriage is then considered acceptable, and thus nobody will get sick from having committed this *silaka wrong, sin*, as marrying one's aunt or nephew/niece is considered.

A ceremony called *rapolabu* must also be observed if one marries one's aunt or one's nephew/niece. This ceremony involves the killing of a cat, a dog and sometimes a goat. These are sacrificed and thrown into a river, signifying that the *silaka sin, wrong* has been carried away. This ceremony is performed to ensure that the same *silaka* will not occur later in that family.

The *rapolabu* ceremony was noted by Albert C. Kruyt in his book *De West Toradja's op Midden Celebes* (1938). In this book he makes the following comments about *rapolabu* (approximate English translation from the Dutch):

An elder binds a little dog, a little pig, a cat and a little goat to a piece of banana stalk. Hair of the two guilty is added. He stands at the riverside and calls, 'This is the calamity (*silaka*, caused by incest) of A and B, for which we will kill the animals, that no evil may proceed from it.' He cuts the animals with one stroke and throws them in the river.

Ego's aunt is in a close relationship to him. The aunt that is ego's mother's sister is even closer to him than his other aunts. That aunt is so close that it is considered wrong to marry her children. Those children are in the same category as ego's siblings in that he may not marry them. If it does happen that ego marries the children of his mother's sister, the *karumpita* ceremony must be carried out.

In the case of orphans, mother's sister is the most likely relative to take over the responsibility for raising the child. One such relationship is shown by the example of a child named Piro being adopted by his mother's sister, Piro's parents died when he was still young so his mother's sister, Dena, took responsibility for him and adopted him as her own. Dena is known by the teknonym *indo Piro mother of Piro*. Another child, Rientoe, was also adopted by her mother's sister. Several other cases of nephews and nieces adopted by their aunts have been noted in the village of Dombu.

3.5 Affinal relationships

Three salient aspects of affinal relationships involve service to the bride's parents, uxorilocal residence patterns and name avoidance. These three will be discussed in turn.

3.5.1 Service to the bride's parents

After marriage a son-in-law has an obligation to offer his services to his new parents-in-law, in addition to the bridewealth he must give. For example, he is expected to help in his father-in-law's fields or help him with building when his father-in-law builds a new house. In whatever project his parents-in-law need help, he is expected to assist.

3.5.2 Uxorilocal residence

Closely associated with service to bride's parents is the pattern of uxorilocal residence, ego living with or near his wife's parents. The amount of time that a son-in-law must live near his wife's family is determined by his parents-in-law. The author observed in the village of Dombu that after the obligation of the son-in-law has been met, he may choose to move back near his own family. But the norm for a length of time immediately following marriage is that of uxorilocal residence.

The norm in the village of Dombu is for ego to begin his married life living with the bride's family. There are exceptions to this but they are definitely in the minority. We will first discuss one group of marriages in Dombu which exemplify the norm and then look at some of the exceptions.

Figure 4 shows the residence patterns in the village of Dombu. Figure 5 diagrams the relationships in one of the eight residence groups in the village. Each of these eight residence groups consists of siblings and/or first cousins living in close proximity to each other.

The families circled by the dashed line in Figure 4 make up one residence group which consists of two families that intermarried. Looking at the family tree in Figure 5 one can see that Taninono's daughter Sandikita, married Yunde's son, Jearante. With the exception of one daughter and her husband who moved down to a Da'a resettlement project, Jearante and Sandikita's daughters and their husbands live close to Jearante's house.

Jearante's brother, Laijama, married Yaradama and went to live with Yaradama's family. Three of Laijama's and Yaradama's four daughters and husbands began their married life living in close proximity to Laijama and Yaradama. One of those three families, that of Namapalu and Bombe, has just recently moved back to live near Namapalu's family. Their former and present homes are shown on the village map. Namapalu finished giving all the required bridewealth to Bombe's family this year. Now with Laijama dead and Yaradama often living with one of her other daughters, Siti or Beti, Namapalu is free to move. He is now living close to his own parents and sister. Thus we can see that Namapalu and Bombe followed the norm of an initial extended time residing in close proximity to Bombe's parents, even though they are now living in another part of the village.

Laijama's three sons are all living near their wives' families following the pattern of uxorilocal residence. Now, having seen examples of the normal patterns of residence, let us examine some cases of couples not living near the wife's family.

In the residence group mentioned above we see three exceptions to the normal pattern. Two of these exceptions are Atia and Nue, Jearante's daughter and son-in-law, and Henipia and Laigunu, Laijama's daughter and son-in-law. Atia and Nue are the couple mentioned earlier who have moved down to a resettlement

Figure 4: Residence groups in Dombu

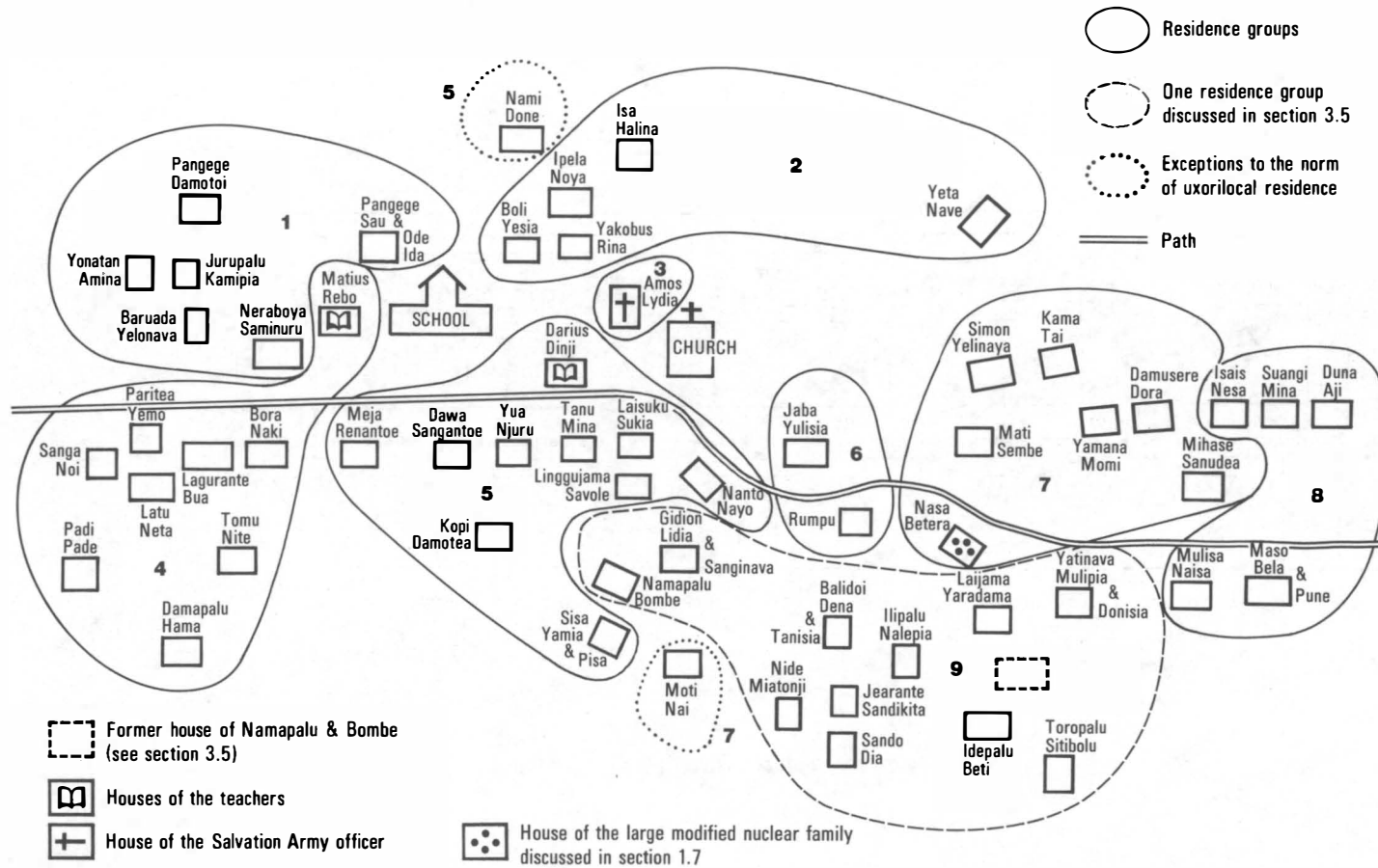
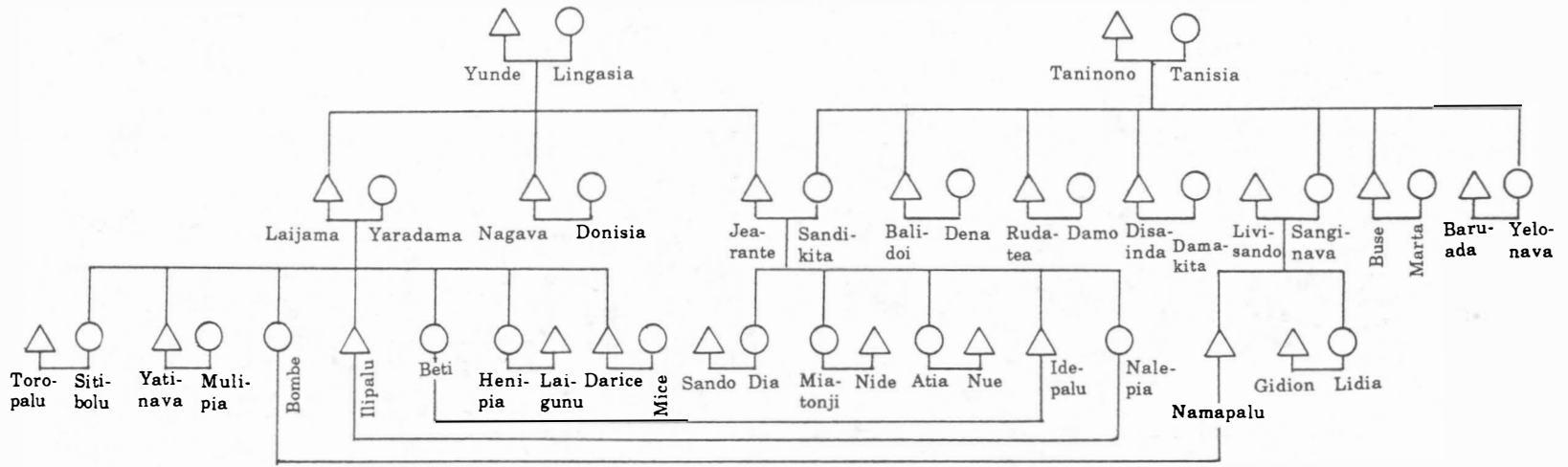


Figure 5: Family tree of one residence group



SYMBOLS: \triangle male; \circ female; --- tie of marriage; --- tie of siblingship

project. Henipia and Laigunu live near Laigunu's family in the village of Bolobia about three hours walk away. The reason why these couples are living in other villages is that the husbands had land there. The third exception to the normal pattern is Balidoi and his wife Dena. Balidoi, Sandikita's brother, married Dena who is from the village of Mbuwu, a two day walk from Dombu. If he had followed the norm they would be living in Mbuwu. The reason they are living here at Dombu is that Dena's immediate family, parents and siblings, are all dead. So she has come to live with her husband's family in Dombu.

Looking now at the rest of the village we notice that the same pattern of uxori-local residence is found. Of approximately 60 married men in Dombu, there are 13 men who originate from other villages in the Da'a area. These men have married women from Dombu and live near their wives' families. In addition to these instances, men originally from Dombu who married women from Dombu now live near their wives' families too.

Two exceptions to the norm involve school teachers. Matius, head of the school in Dombu, married the madika's daughter, Rebo. But instead of living near the madika, he lives right beside the school. Another teacher, Ode, married a girl from Panesibaja, two and one half hours' walk from Dombu. He is a teacher at the Junior High School (SMP) in Dombu and hence lives in Dombu near the school. A paying job seems to override the obligation to reside near one's wife's family. The bridewealth is still the same amount whether living near the parents-in-law or not.

3.5.3 Name avoidance

Involved with the relationship of matu'a *parent-in-law*, is a name taboo. Ego may not say his parents-in-law's names nor the name of anyone else in the matu'a relationship with ego, such as the siblings of ego's parents-in-law. Generally people use teknonyms (father of first child, mother of first child) in referring to their matu'a. Name avoidance is also practiced with the name of the madika and the names of certain other well-known ancestors. This practice of name avoidance among the Da'a as in other societies, is a behaviour showing respect (Shusky 1965:61).

4. MARRIAGE

In this section on marriage among the Da'a we will examine the following topics: arranging the marriage, possible marriage partners, the wedding ceremony, bride-wealth, elopement, multiple wives, extra-marital relations, and the ending of the marriage relationship.

4.1 Arranging the marriage

Before schools were established in the Da'a area and people began to learn to write, marriages were arranged by the parents. In more recent times the pattern has shifted to one in which the young people have more say in choosing a mate.

The former pattern was for the boy's mother to take betel nut (manggeni sambulu) to the prospective bride's parents. If the marriage was acceptable to the girl's family, they would receive the betel nut, signalling their agreement to the proposed marriage.

At present the pattern is for a young man to choose the bride he wants on the basis of personal attraction. He initiates the marriage process by writing the girl a letter indicating his intentions. If the girl does not like him or does not want to marry him, she just does not answer the letter. If on the other hand she decides she likes the young man and feels he is of good character, then she indicates her interest by writing a letter back. The couple may then take the letters to the girl's father and the boy's father. If the two fathers agree to the union, the couple is considered engaged and the wedding is announced. Then the parents, the leader of the church, the kepala kampung, and in some cases the madika get together to arrange the timing for the wedding. At this point discussions of the bridewealth to be exchanged take place. The two families, the kepala kampung and sometimes the madika discuss what the bridewealth will be. (See section 4.4 for a full discussion of bridewealth.)

4.2 Possible marriage partners

It is acceptable to marry anyone except a true sibling, an uncle or aunt, a nephew or niece, or a first cousin who is a child of one's mother's sister. All other first cousins may marry and there are many examples of this. There are also marriages to persons from outside a person's original village, but the majority of marriages are to people from one's own village. This means most marriages are to a relative, especially to a cousin, since most villages are made up of one's relatives.

Marrying one's uncle, aunt, nephew or niece results in having to pay the highest possible fine to the wife's father, since this is considered *silaka sin*, *wrong*. The fine is usually an extra seven pigs and 12 extra chickens in addition to what the parents want for bridewealth. If a person marries an uncle, aunt, nephew or niece without knowing about the closeness and it later is discovered, the rapolabu and karumpita ceremonies must be performed. (See section 3.4 for a discussion of these ceremonies.)

In the case of marrying the child of mother's sister the karumpita ceremony must be performed. While the karumpita and rapolabu ceremonies are still practiced in the Da'a area, there are more and more cases now where they have been ignored and were not performed.

It is also of interest to note that the children of noble line are expected to marry children of other madika. This results in many marriages between close relatives of the madika families. This is in part motivated by a desire to keep the wealth within the family. The Da'a have a phrase describing this pattern. Nipo'u mpotowu means *to be tied together like sugarcane*. Like sugarcane is tied up so it will not disperse in all directions, so madika marry madika in order that the family wealth will not dissipate.

4.3 The wedding ceremony

The wedding ceremony in the Da'a area is a relatively new phenomenon, as it has been introduced by the church in the area. There have been churches in some Da'a villages for more than a generation, while in others it has been only ten years or so, and in still other villages there are as yet no churches. In times past before the church was established in any villages, and even now in those villages where there is as yet no church a couple was considered formally married following the panggoni bau ceremony, the first of the bridewealth exchanges.

The panggoni bau *the eating of meat*, involves feasting together and the formal giving of the first instalment of the bridewealth. This eating together is felt to assure a strong marriage.

In villages where there have been schools and churches for some time most couples have a civil service as well as a church ceremony. The civil service, catatan sipil in Indonesian, is the official marriage ceremony recognised by the Indonesian government and which must be performed to obtain a marriage certificate (surat nikah in Indonesian). In the Da'a area there are three or four Salvation Army officers who have been given authority from the government to perform this civil service.

The wedding ceremony in the Salvation Army churches generally runs as follows: the singing of hymns, a short sermon on marriage and how husbands and wives should treat each other, and a short ceremony where the bride and groom join hands and promise to live faithfully together, honouring, helping and caring for each other. Then the couple is pronounced married and the service closed with prayer. It is not unusual for more than one couple to be married at the same time.

The general pattern is following the church ceremony to have the panggoni bau feast at which the male guests and the couple share a meal together. This finalises the wedding ceremony.

4.4 Bridewealth

The bridewealth consists of four parts, each given at a different occasion. The panggoni bau is given at the time of the wedding. The potapu is usually given when the wife is seven months pregnant with the first child. The potosu manu is given when the first child is about a year old, and the puki is given at a later date when the children are older. This last payment does not have a specific time for bestowal as do the other three.

The panggoni bau, literally *the eating of meat*, is usually the payment of 12 or 15 chickens and one pig. The potapu varies only slightly from family to family. It always involves the giving of a knife and a china plate, called pingga. Other items, such as necklaces may be added. For example, the potapu of the madika's daughter was one knife, one china plate and four necklaces. These necklaces can be quite expensive. The potosu manu, literally *the stabbing of a chicken*, varies from family to family. It always involves chickens, but various other items are also given. One example is the potosu manu given by a man named Gidion. His potosu manu payment was 12 chickens, one antique sword, two brass trays (one small and one large), seven bracelets and three necklaces. In another family the potosu manu was seven chickens, seven brass trays, one machete and one special cloth called a mesa. This is likely kain Rongkong originating from the northern part of South Sulawesi province. These mesa have been handed down from generation to generation in the Da'a area.

The potosu manu ceremony involves killing a chicken by stabbing it with a small knife made from bamboo. After the chicken is dead the heart and gall bladder are examined. If the heart and gall bladder are healthy and firm this is considered an omen that the child will be strong. If the heart and gall bladder are not firm, more chickens are stabbed and examined until a good heart and gall bladder are found.

The last bridewealth payment, the puki, includes pigs, brass trays, and often a variety of other items, such as a rooster, a hen and sometimes china plates,

pingga. One man indicated that if he did not have all of the brass trays needed, he could give a certain amount of white china plates instead of some of the trays. (Five china plates is the equivalent of one brass tray.) The number of children one has at the time he gives the puki can reduce the amount of puki given. For example, for each son a man has he can subtract one brass tray from the puki payment, and for each daughter he can subtract two trays. If he has a son and a daughter he subtracts three trays from the puki and so on. With many children, he may not give any brass trays at all.

The bridewealth payments are different for different families. The pattern followed is that the same bridewealth will be given for all the sisters in one family. And the bridewealth given for these sisters will be the same as what was given for their mother. So the amount of bridewealth given follows what was given for the women in the bride's family line. In Dombu, there are two patterns which govern the amount of bridewealth; one being a pattern of sevens, *ada papitu*, and the other a pattern of nines, *ada sasio*. If the bride has a pattern of sevens in her family line, the groom would pay in amounts of seven, such as seven brass trays, seven chickens, or seven bracelets. If there is a pattern of nines in the bride's family line, the groom would pay in amounts of nines; nine china plates or nine brass trays, etc. Thus the pattern of sevens or nines is passed down from one generation to another. (See appendix for specific examples of bridewealth exchanged.)

The bridewealth exchange can take place at a number of different places: in the village meeting hall, *bantaya*, the bride's family house or the groom's family house. The *panggoni bau* is often given at the village meeting hall with the *madika*, the couple's parents, the village leaders, and many other people present. The *potapu* is usually given with a feast at the man's house, while the *potosu manu* and *puki* are usually given with a feast at the woman's house. On these last three occasions usually just the couple's families are present. In the event that the woman's parents are no longer living, the woman's oldest brother will be the one to accept the bridewealth payment.

Much of the bridewealth consists of items available for sale at the market. Others are passed down from generation to generation in families. If the groom does not have sufficient money for these items, or cannot get certain needed articles, he can ask help from his parents, siblings, uncles and aunts.

4.5 Elopement

In many societies elopement is an acceptable way to begin marriage. In the Da'a area this is not considered an acceptable form of behaviour. If a couple should run off to get married, the parents would follow them and find them. In the end some payment would have to be made, perhaps in the form of a heavy fine, if not the full bridewealth. This illustrates that in Da'a society marriage does not just involve a couple, but both families.

4.6 Multiple wives

Among the Da'a it is acceptable to have more than one wife, though it is not very common now. In times past, two, three and even up to seven wives of one man have been noted. In the case of one man with seven wives, the wives were located in several different villages spread out over quite a distance. Having

more than one wife involves quite an expense since for each the full bridewealth has to be paid. In addition to that is the responsibility for providing food and shelter for the wives and their children. Nowadays those two factors are given as reasons for not having more than one wife. Another reason is that the church does not endorse having more than one wife, although technically this is possible under Indonesian law in unusual circumstances, such as the wife being unable to bear children or terminal illness. In cases of more than one wife only one wife is formally married with full civil service and, in areas where there are churches, also a church wedding. Successive wives would be married in the traditional way, with only the exchange of bridewealth making the marriage official.

4.7 Extra-marital relations

In the Da'a area not all extra-marital relationships are considered adultery. In the case of a married man having sexual relations with an unmarried woman, this is not considered adultery. Such relationships may result in a man taking a second wife. Similarly, if a married woman has sexual relations with an unmarried man this is not considered adultery.

What is considered adultery is for a married man or woman to have sexual relations with another person's spouse. This is considered by many Da'a to be one of the most heinous sins. Since this adulterous relationship violates the marriage relationship, those involved in it must pay restitution.

If a married man commits adultery with another man's wife, he must normally pay to the woman's husband three brass trays and one pig. If a woman commits adultery and wants to marry her paramour all the bridewealth must be returned to her husband. Then the woman's possessions become the property of her first husband. (See section 4.8 for further discussion on such restitution.)

4.8 Ending the marriage relationship

There are two basic ways in which a marriage relationship can come to an end: through death of either spouse and through divorce. Both of these involve a formal breaking of the marriage tie called sompo. Without this, remarriage is not permitted according to traditional Da'a law.

In the case of a spouse dying, the effect of the sompo is to ensure that one's obligations to one's spouse's family are fulfilled. Until this is done, the surviving spouse is not free to remarry. If the wife dies, the man must pay any remaining bridewealth payments and one extra pig. Then he may remarry.

If the husband dies, his family is responsible for completing payment of the remaining unpaid bridewealth to the widow's family. Then the woman is free to remarry.

Some common causes of divorce among Da'a are: 1) the wife or wife's father demanding more of the husband than he feels able to handle or is willing to give; 2) either or both partners feeling not able to handle the responsibility of being married (this is especially true of those marrying very young); 3) misunderstandings or arguments causing such a rift that the marriage falls apart; and 4) an adulterous relationship on the part of one's spouse.

If the woman initiates the divorce, no payment is made by the man. The woman must pay back any bridewealth that the man has paid her family. This is referred to as *rasupi bau returning the bridewealth* (literally *putting out of the meat*).

If the man initiates the divorce, he must pay off any remaining bridewealth payments. In addition, if his wife has a small child under one year old, two further payments are required. The first payment *loka tasa*, literally *ripe banana* is three brass trays and one pig. He must pay this fine because he is leaving a small child behind. The first solid food given a small child is ripe bananas, hence the name *loka tasa*.

The second payment is three brass trays and one pig. This payment is to *mompakaboya indo make fat the mother*. The effect of these extra payments is to provide support for the mother being left with small children to care for. If the children are over one year of age, these two extra payments are not required, only the paying off of any remaining bridewealth payments.

5. SUMMARY

In this study of Da'a kinship and marriage we have noted that the Da'a kinship system is a combination of the Hawaiian and Eskimo systems. Only in the first ascending and descending generations are kinsmen distinguished. In all other generations terms extend bilaterally.

In Da'a kinship behaviour ego's relationship with his cousins is particularly important. Ego will often marry a cousin, and female cousins normally live in close proximity to one another due to uxori-local residence. Another relationship of particular note is that of a son-in-law to his parents-in-law. He becomes a member of his wife's family.

The Da'a believe that the bridewealth exchange strengthens a marriage. Therefore, the traditional bridewealth exchange remains an integral part of every proper Da'a marriage.

APPENDIX: Examples of bridewealth exchanged

The following is a record of the actual bridewealth exchanged in eight marriages in the village of Dombu.

LAGURANTE (madika)-LARAKITA	BEN-YANA (madika's daughter)
panggoni 12 chickens	12 chickens
bau 2 pigs	1 pig
potapu 1 china plate	1 china plate
1 knife	1 knife
3 necklaces	4 necklaces
potosu 7 chickens	
manu 1 sword	
1 Rongkong cloth (mesa)	None given
1 spear	
7 bracelets	
7 tubumputi plates	

LAGURANTE-LARAKITA (cont'd)

puki 1 pig
 1 hen
 1 rooster
 7 brass trays (dula) (not
 paid, cancelled by three
 daughters and one son)

BEN-YANA (cont'd)

1 pig
 1 hen
 1 rooster
 7 brass trays

NOTE: Yana is the madika's daughter by his second wife, Bua. Hence, the bride-wealth that Ben gave to Yana's family is the same as Lagurante gave to Bua's family.

NAMAPALU-BOMBE

panggoni 12 chickens
 bau 2 pigs
 potapu 1 china plate
 1 knife
 potosu 7 chickens
 manu 7 china plates
 36 wukubau plates
 puki 1 pig
 1 hen
 1 rooster
 7 brass trays

TORUPALU-SITIBOLU (Bombe's sister)

12 chickens
 2 pigs
 1 china plate
 1 knife
 7 chickens
 7 china plates
 36 wukubau plates
 1 pig
 1 hen
 1 rooster
 7 brass trays

DESANDO-NENA

panggoni 15 chickens
 bau 1 pig
 potapu 1 china plate
 1 knife
 3 necklaces
 potosu 15 chickens
 manu 1 sword
 1 mesa
 1 spear
 7 bracelets
 1 large necklace
 7 china plates
 puki 3 pigs
 1 hen
 1 rooster
 7 brass trays
 7 china plates

NASA-BETERA

12 chickens
 1 pig
 2 china plates
 1 knife
 3 necklaces
 7 chickens
 1 machete
 1 mesa
 7 brass trays
 2 pigs
 1 hen
 1 rooster
 7 brass trays
 7 china plates

SISA-YAMIA		GIDION-LIDIA	
panggoni	15 chickens	12 chickens	
bau	1 pig	1 pig	
potapu	9 tubumputi plates	1 china plate	
	1 knife	1 knife	
	3 necklaces		
potosu	15 chickens	12 chickens	
manu	1 sword	1 sword	
	1 mesa	7 bracelets	
	1 spear	3 necklaces	
	9 bracelets	2 brass trays	
puki	1 pig	1 pig	
	1 hen	1 hen	
	1 rooster	1 rooster	
	9 brass trays	7 brass trays	
	90 china plates		

NOTES

¹The Da'a (Pakawa, Pekawa) people speak Da'a, one of at least seven dialects of Kaili, an Austronesian language spoken in Central Sulawesi by approximately 300,000 speakers (Wumbu 1973, Barr, Barr and Salombe 1979). Research for this paper was carried out under the auspices of the Cooperative Program between Hasanuddin University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dombu village, Marawola District from July 1979 to November 1981, and January 1983 to September 1983. The author wants to express thanks to Greg Acciaioli, Lloyd Peckham, Tim Friberg and Barbara Friberg for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

²Note that in Central Sulawesi we do not find the clear distinction of kepala desa and kepala kampung delineated elsewhere (e.g. South Sulawesi).

³Note that the name of the leader of this level is the same as the name of the level itself.

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