XXV. Kinship System

Kinship Terminology

The referential terminology of the Saipan Carolinians conforms to a generation type system. There has been no assimilation of Chamorro kinship terms into the Carolinian system, though adult Carolinians know most of the Chamorro kinship terms. The only exception to this statement is that the terms associated with the compadrazgo relationship have been adopted by the Carolinians. Carolinian referential terms are given below (for the sibling term, a possessive suffix, first person, singular, is included):

- father: semei
- mother: ilei
- grandfather: samalapei
- grandmother: inelapei
- sibling: pai
- child: lei
- grandchild: lailei
- spouse: shalimweii
- brother-in-law: haushumweii
- sister-in-law: hörshweii

The application of these terms is shown in figures 31 and 32. Certain characteristics of the referential terminology are as follows:

1. Among the Tanapag Carolinians, a slight dialectical difference prevails, in that s changes to h, and l to n, in the terms themselves. Also, the initial consonant in the term for spouse shifts to r.

2. A sex distinction is made in the terms for the ascending generations, but not for sibling, child, or grandchild terms. For these latter, sex qualifiers are usually added to the kinship terms. These qualifiers are “mwual” for males and “shabot” for females.

3. The consanguine terms, particularly, do not indicate nearness or farness of a relative referred to. In speech, the Carolinians often follow mention of a kin term with a description of the genealogical relationship involved.
(4) For ascending generations above the grandparental level, terms applicable to a grandparent are used. For descending generations below that of a grandchild, the terms for a grandchild are used.

(5) Personal names rather than kinship terms are used extensively in a referential context, particularly for persons outside the elementary family.

(6) There is no reflection of maternal clan or lineage in the kinship terminology.

**VOCATIVE TERMS**

Kinship terminology is primarily used as a system of reference. In direct address, personal names rather than kinship terms are used for real or classificatory siblings, children, and grandchildren. However, for own parents the referential terms for “father” and “mother” are used vocatively. For parents’ siblings, the referential term is often prefixed to the personal name. For the grandfather, the referential term for “father” is used; for the grandmother, her referential term is used. For grandparents’ siblings, the referential term for “father” is prefixed to the personal name in the case of males; while the referential term for “grandmother” is prefixed to the personal name for females. The vocative terminology for spouse’s parents follows that for own parents. Husband and wife usually address each other by personal name. For classificatory relatives of ascending generations, there is a wide use of personal names rather than kinship terms.

**Kinship Behavior**

Formalized joking relationships are not characteristic of the Saipan Carolinian kinship system. Formalized respect relationships, on the other hand, are characteristic, and behavior among kinfolk can be described largely according to degrees of respect demanded in particular relationships.

Much of Carolinian behavior is oriented around two related concepts that permeate Carolinian thought: the concepts of “epil” and “esepil.” “Epil” refers to behavior in which familiarity toward a person or thing is proscribed and respect demanded. A brother must never joke with a sister, or a sister with a brother. Furthermore, epil behavior involves persons or things considered dangerous. It is epil for a menstruating woman to enter a taro field, for her state is believed dangerous to the taro plants. In the old days it
Fig. 31. Saipan Carolinian terminological structure, showing consanguine terms used in reference. Ego is male or female. Abbreviations on the chart are as follows: F = father; M = mother; GF = grandfather; GM = grandmother; Sib = sibling; CH = child; GC = grandchild. For the Saipan Carolinian terms, see page 343.
was *epil* for a woman to enter the community house (the *ut*), except on stated occasions. Certain forms of behavior, therefore, and, in particular, behavior considered familiar, are prohibited—they are *epil*. Hence there result from these prohibitions patterned forms of respect behavior toward things or persons. Much kinship behavior falls in this category. The similarity to Polynesian ideas of taboo is apparent. "*Esepil*" refers to the absence of the prohibitions that are effective in *epil* relationships. "*Esepil*" is the reverse of "*epil*" and concerns things, persons, and acts which carry no prohibitions. In a rough and ready sense, "*epil*" and "*esepil*" embody the dichotomy between the sacred and the profane. Projected into the realm of kinship behavior, "*epil*" refers to prohibitions on familiarity, "*esepil*" to the absence of such prohibitions. (For a discussion of *epil* behavior on Puluwat atoll in the Carolines, see Damm, Hambrüch, and Sarfert, 1935.)

Respect behavior takes a number of conventional forms. Among older adults, women still walk hunched over, or, inside the house, on their knees, if a real or classificatory brother is present. A whole series of prohibitions is involved in the brother-sister relationship. Respect forms of speech are demanded in conversation between certain relatives. The outward and heavily formalized respect patterns are less apparent among young adults than in the case of older persons, but they are still noticeably present.

**THE FAMILY**

Within the nuclear family, husband-wife relationships are informal and easy. Spouses call each other by their personal names and do not use respect forms of address. The women often hold the family purse strings. It is customary for a man to bring his fish catch to his wife, who will then distribute surplus fish to relatives. A wife never "crawls" in the presence of her husband.

Young children are primarily under the care of the mother, but the father may help in looking after them when he is in the household area. Although the idea of corporal punishment is not alien to Carolinian culture, and I recorded a number of instances in which boys were whipped, the Carolinians as a group do not punish their children nor deal with them as strictly as do the Chamorros. Children are treated in a more relaxed fashion, and, as they grow older, boys particularly are given much freedom to roam about the island. Largely due to church influences, an attempt is made to keep an eye on girls but they are certainly given more freedom than Cha-
Fig. 32. Saipan Carolinian terminological structure, showing affinal terms used in reference. In top chart, ego is male; in bottom chart, ego is female. Abbreviations are as follows: F = father; M = mother; Br-in-L = brother-in-law; Sis-in-L = sister-in-law; CH = child. For the Saipan Carolinian terms, see page 343.
morro girls. The set of familial pressures that keep Chamorro children in the home-school-church circuit is considerably relaxed by the Carolinians (cf. Joseph and Murray, 1951, pp. 77 ff.).

Carolinian parents do not give their children a great deal of formal instruction in skills, and a Carolinian child learns largely by watching and imitating others. Boys, for instance, start spear-fishing at about the age of ten, going out to the reefs and lagoons with an age mate, older boys, or occasionally adult men. By the time they are eighteen the boys are usually proficient swimmers and fishermen, able to spend hours in the lagoon. Girls spend much time around the house, learning household tasks from older women, caring for younger siblings, and making periodic trips to the sweet potato and taro plots to help with the garden work.

By the age of puberty, Carolinian boys and girls are expected to know what is epil and what is esepil, what relationships among kin demand respect, and what the forms of respect behavior are. This knowledge they acquire from their parents and elders. As a mark of respect, the Carolinians do not use the Chamorro ‘ninge, or kiss of the hand, characteristic of the relationship of Chamorro children to parents. Among the Carolinians, other facets of behavior are utilized. One of these is a series of polite forms of address associated with respect behavior. These are taught children by their parents, who use this form of speech in conversing with their sons and daughters. The parents continue to use the respect forms after their children have grown to adulthood. The children, on the other hand, do not use the respect speech to their parents, although they do not act familiarly toward their parents; the relationship is one of mutual respect. The non-reciprocal character of the speech pattern emphasizes the difference in generation between parents and children. Carolinians often said that parents use the respect forms because these are an essential part of the language of instruction. The use of these forms in turn dignifies the user.

Among siblings, patterns of respect and familiarity follow differences in age and sex. The oldest child is called “lap,” and whether male or female is traditionally in a position of respect with regard to younger siblings. The latter, at least after puberty, use polite speech to the oldest sibling. The oldest, if a boy, will use familiar speech to younger brothers; he should use polite speech to all sisters, although some men today do use familiar forms to younger sisters. If the eldest is a girl, she will use the familiar forms to younger sisters and polite speech to all brothers.
The respect patterns among siblings of the same sex are dependent on age differences. Theoretically the older sibling demands respect from younger siblings but treats them familiarly. As a matter of fact, the relationship between siblings of the same sex, particularly if there is no great age difference, is usually relaxed and casual. Jokes, often with a sexual reference, are not prohibited and the relationship is usually a familiar one. If there is a marked age difference, relations are more formal and there is a greater emphasis on the use of respect language of younger to older sibling.

Probably the most obvious respect relation in Carolinian life is that between brothers and sisters. This is not marked among children, but at about the age of puberty it becomes highly formalized. In olden days, when a boy reached adolescence he was sent out of the household to the men's house to sleep. Today, an attempt is still made to separate siblings of opposite sex after they have attained the age of puberty. A boy will sleep in a different room or on the veranda, or he will be sent to a friend's house for the night.

Excluding children, a brother must never joke with or tease his sister, and he should not address her in familiar language. Subjects with a sexual reference are carefully excluded from conversation. He should not touch his sister or her clothes. He should always be respectful and polite. The sister follows similar rules of behavior toward her brother. In addition, she must never use her brother's drinking cup. The cups of brothers and sisters are kept carefully separated in the household and should a sister by mistake use her brother's cup, he can not again use it. A sister is careful never to hang her clothes near the door, lest her brother touch them in passing. She never uses her brother's bed or his personal possessions. She does not use his betel or cigarettes.

These prohibitions on personal contact and on familiarity in speech and manner are emphasized even more by two old customs. According to the first, a sister passes her brother in a stooped and hunched-over position, so that she will not be above him. If she must pass him outside, and he is sitting down, she will ask him to rise, so that she can pass, if he does not happen to see her. This practice is still followed by older adults, though it is passing out among younger people. The second custom is more widespread and takes place within the house. In this case, a woman always walks on her knees in her brother's presence when he is sitting down. Formerly, if she wished to leave the room she asked her brother to rise, but this custom is seldom followed today.
Among most Saipan Carolinians, the brother-sister respect relationship is still taken very seriously, and infringements are believed to bring illness and death. An example of the violation of prohibitions on familiar conduct in the brother-sister relation occurred a few years ago on Saipan.

Manuel, a young man, did not take the brother-sister respect relation seriously. When his sister passed by, crouched over, he would mock her by stooping. He did not use the respect forms of speech to her and addressed her in familiar fashion. He even went so far as to try to joke with classificatory sisters. One day Manuel fell ill. His condition worsened and soon he died. Today the old people and many young adults, too, feel that his illness and death are to be attributed to his breaking the rules of behavior.

RELATIONSHIPS OUTSIDE THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

In contrast to that of the Chamorros, the Carolinian nuclear family is not so sharply marked off within the network of extended kinship relations. The extensions of kinship beyond the nuclear family among the Carolinians are characterized by a greater amount of sharing of food and labor without the sharpness of reciprocity characteristic of the Chamorros. The niceties of chenchuli, ika, and ajudo relationships are lacking among the Carolinians. The Chamorro custom of uñon in slaughtering cattle and selling agreed-upon quantities of meat to relatives is alien to the Carolinian custom. As one man said, "We do not like to sell things we should give." One abortive attempt by a Carolinian who decided to make money through uñon was recorded:

Ramon bought a cow for $150, but soon he needed money; so he decided to kill the cow and sell the meat, after the custom of Chamorro uñon; but after slaughtering the animal he gave away all except $50 worth of meat to his relatives. This left everyone with a full meal, but Ramon $100 poorer. The idea of sharing food with relatives is so strong that the Chamorro uñon does not work.

There is much visiting around of Carolinians among their kinfolk. Children roam between uncles, aunts, and grandparents. It is true that Chamorros are fond of visiting, but a Chamorro family generally returns to its own house at night. Carolinians may eat and sleep for a few days at a relative’s house, especially between laneco and village. This fact results in an easy life for the “sponger”—the lazy individual who does no work and lives on his relatives’ generosity. As one Carolinian remarked of the several examples of this sort of person to be found on Saipan:
We never say anything directly to such a person about mending his ways, though we continue to feed him. In time he may be ashamed, and come to help us. One never knows when one may need help, and even a lazy man may be a friend in time of need.

With this brief statement of the general orientation of the nuclear family in the larger network of kin relationships, we may next note the types of behavior involving relatives outside the nuclear family.

Between parents' siblings and siblings' children, behavior is an extension, in weaker form, of that obtaining in the parent-child relation. Whatever the custom may once have been, no special rights, obligations, and duties were found associated with the avunculate. Between grandparent and grandchild there is also a respect relationship, though it is not stiffly formal. A grandparent uses the respect forms of speech to his or her grandchildren. As with the parents, the grandchild need not reciprocate, but a grandchild does not really joke with a grandparent. One should always be respectful to all older people.

Toward cross and parallel cousins, sibling behavior is extended, with the same prohibitions on conduct that affect the brother-sister relationship.

Behavior toward parents-in-law is theoretically an extension of behavior toward parents and should be marked by helpfulness on the part of children-in-law toward their parents-in-law. In some cases this was not particularly noticeable. As one Carolinian man, who is markedly helpful to his parents-in-law, remarked:

When some Carolinian men marry they will take their wives away and say, "Let her parents look after themselves." This is not right and it is not Carolinian custom.

Towards siblings-in-law, behavior is conditioned by the sibling relationship. A woman maintains a respect relationship with her brother. Her husband is likewise respectful toward her brother and does not treat him familiarly, make jokes with him, or argue with him. Her husband also uses the polite forms of speech. On the other hand, a man may use familiar speech toward the husband of his younger sister. Toward his wife's older sister he uses polite speech, toward his wife's younger sister, familiar speech. His age with respect to his own brother determines whether or not he uses polite speech forms toward the brother's wife. These variations in speech usages, however, do not fully reflect respect and familiarity behavior. In none of these sibling-in-law relationships is there formalized joking or even pronounced familiarity.
Range of the System

The range of Carolinian kinship terminology is based on two principal factors: (1) the bilateral extension of kinship terms; and (2) the extension of kinship terms to the maternal clan. According to older informants, kin terms are extended to all members of one's own clan, and probably once were to all members of the father's clan. This extension, however, is actually not followed by most younger adults, for the clan is passing out as a fully functioning group and has lost much of its social importance. The extension of terms on a clan basis falls within the terminological range of the system, as assumed by older adults. The observed range of the terminological system, as this has been defined in the chapter on Chamorro kinship, is based essentially on the bilateral extension of terms, with clan affiliation of minor significance.

In the bilateral extension of terms there is some difference between assumed and observed range, but not a great deal. Third cousins roughly mark the outer limits of the assumed system. The observed range of the system for most people includes all second cousins and some but seldom all third cousins. The Carolinians as a group maintain a wider knowledge of actual genealogical relations than the Chamorros, though recourse is often had to such reckoning as "Juan's father was the second cousin of my mother; hence Juan and I are third cousins." This latter calculation does not rely on a complete knowledge of the genealogical relationship involved. Yet one man in his thirties in less than thirty minutes gave me his precise genealogical relationship to 174 relatives, which number does not include the deceased relatives included in the genealogy. This feat was not considered by the informant or any other Carolinian as in any way unusual.

The extension of behavior follows the bilateral extension of the terminology. Brother-sister respect behavior is extended to classificatory siblings. However, I did not personally observe that this conventional behavior ever went beyond second cousins. It is probable that for some individuals even second cousins may fall outside the obligations range of the system. The outer limits of the system, as far as observed obligations range is concerned, are not sharply delineated. The observed obligations range is also somewhat narrower than the assumed obligations range. Informants will say, for instance, that third cousins are included within the range of persons toward whom sibling terms, as well as the appropriate behavior, are extended, whereas this is often not the case.
The Chamorro kinship system is of a fluctuating type, whereby the obligatory range of the system is extended widely at the time of crisis rites but is retracted in day-to-day living. The Carolinian system offers a contrast. Its obligatory range is more constant, for co-operative labor in house-building and farming is practiced on a day-to-day basis. There is more sharing of food, more visiting, more adoption of children by relatives. Less emphasis relatively is placed on crisis rites, though they are still important. The system as a whole is not of the widely fluctuating Chamorro type.

Brother-Sister Respect Behavior and Exogamic Regulations

As previously noted, the brother-sister respect behavior is extended to classificatory siblings. The respect patterns are strongest between real brother and sister, weaker between first cousins, more of a formality between second cousins, and only theoretically extended to third cousins. I observed no instances involving third cousins. This extension of sibling behavior is related to marriage rules. Older informants stated that third cousins could not marry, a rule that was undoubtedly a result of former church influence. Actually there are a number of third cousin marriages today. It is not clear from my data whether bilateral exogamy is in process of retraction or whether it was never sharply marked. I suspect the latter to have been the case, with marriage prohibitions formerly more a matter of clan exogamy than of prohibitions attached to various degrees of cousinship. The Saipan Carolinians are a small group and could not have extended bilateral exogamy very far.

Among many Micronesian societies wide latitude was and often still is permitted in pre-marital sex relations. Marriage itself tends to be brittle. Although recently changed by church influence, the Saipan Carolinians shared this characteristic. It seems probable that there is a functional relationship between freedom in pre-marital sex relations and strongly marked brother-sister respect behavior. If incest rules are to be preserved in such societies, a mechanism must be developed to demarcate those with whom sex relations are not permitted from those with whom such relations are permitted. The formalized brother-sister respect relationship, extending to classificatory siblings, serves this purpose. This relationship is further buttressed when it is tied to clan exogamy. However, even when clan exogamy weakens, the brother-sister respect relationship may retain its basic strength. This is the situation among the Saipan Carolinians.
Kinship and the Life Crises

Among the Chamorros, the life crises are the focal points for a long-established set of usages involving both family and church. The religious aspects of crisis rites are Catholic; other aspects, associated with the secular celebration of crisis rites, may stem from pre-contact times. But regardless of their origin, the usages affecting the relations among kin at the times of the life crises are crystallized into well-defined patterns. This is not entirely the case with the Carolinians. They are abandoning their aboriginal crisis rites, but they have not completely adopted Chamorro forms, nor even all the religious features associated with Catholicism. As a result, kinship usages at these times are not so sharply patterned. The Carolinians are comparable to many tribal societies undergoing pronounced acculturation.

BIRTH

Carolinian women formerly gave birth to their children in special huts built near the main house. Here they were attended by elderly women midwives. Today Carolinian women are urged by the administration to use the facilities of the hospital, but the Carolinians are reluctant to do so. The birth hut has been abandoned, but some women still prefer to give birth to their children at home, attended by their own midwives.

From two to four days after the child is born, relatives of both husband and wife bring food to the house for the use of the family. On the fourth night, a burning palm branch is taken through the house and around the outside, while the bearer of the branch recites a spell. After this ritual the house is no longer considered dangerous, and thereafter medicine men may enter it without fear of losing their power. For about a month, women relatives of husband and wife, particularly the mothers of each, cook food, wash clothes, and keep house.

It is the Carolinian tradition that the parents of a newborn child should not engage in sexual intercourse for a year after the birth of the child, lest it become ill and sickly. Today this ban is modified, but, particularly after the birth of the first child, continence is observed by many Carolinians for at least six months. For the first few months after birth, it is customary for the wife’s mother to see that the husband does not approach his wife at night.

Carolinian children are now usually baptized in the church, but informants agreed that a generation ago many were not baptized.
After the baptism, some parents may hold a small baptismal party for close relatives, but this is not true of the Carolinian community as a whole.

Carolinians have three names. One is a Christian name, Spanish in form, decided on by the parents after the birth of the child. Formerly, if a child was not baptized, a Christian name was simply given him. The second name, a purely Carolinian one, is given by the parents or an older relative. This Carolinian name as well as the Christian name is used in the household and among friends and relatives. The third name is the surname, also of Carolinian origin. To Chamorros and Americans, Carolinians are known by their Christian names combined with the surnames, but both names are post-contact innovations. It is now customary for a child to take his father’s surname, but this is recent; only a few years ago the child took either parent’s surname. Brothers often bear quite different surnames. Informants stated that the taking of surnames from one of the parents does not antedate German times. As Carolinians are registered in the church baptismal records under a Christian name with a Carolinian surname as far back as the Spanish period, it is probable that in those days the surname was simply the child’s given Carolinian name. Finally, some men have a fourth name, a nickname. It is often a joking name, used between friends.

The Carolinians consider it disrespectful to utter a dead person’s name in the presence of relatives of the dead person.

With the adoption of Catholic baptism, the Carolinians have of course also adopted the institution of compadrazgo. Although time was lacking to make an intensive study of compadrazgo among the Carolinians, the institution is of modest social importance. It has not replaced the kinship system by substituting a widely ramifying set of ritual kin ties for the older, socially recognized genealogical ones. It is of little significance in economic activities. The godparents of baptism have little function aside from their formal ritual one. Compadrazgo is not in conflict with the existing generation type kinship system, for the relation between godparent and parent is easily assimilated to that between classificatory siblings; that between godparent and godchild is easily assimilated to the relation between parent and classificatory child. Godparents may be, in fact, siblings, real or classificatory, of the parents. As noted previously, there are a number of cases of compadrazgo that cut across Chamorro-Carolinian lines. In such cases, Carolinian godparents follow Chamorro custom at times of life crises.
ADOPTION

Adoption is not a life crisis through which all Carolinians pass, but it is a common feature of most Micronesian societies and is still prevalent on Saipan.

The Carolinians say that adoption was formerly more frequent than now. Their estimates of the number of adopted children at the present time range from 10 to 25 per cent of the total of the number born. My own estimate is from 10 to 15 per cent, though a more extensive survey is needed to determine the number with accuracy. Regardless of its incidence, however, adoption is recognized by the Carolinians as one of their own long-established institutions, and a point of contrast with the Chamorros, among whom it is much less common.

Children are adopted after they have been weaned, usually when they are from seven months to a year old. Only babies are adopted. No adoptions were recorded of older children or adults.

The motivations for adoption are various. If a man and his wife have no children, or if their children are nearly grown and they wish a young child in the family, or if they simply wish to have more children about, they may ask to adopt a child. Babies whose mothers have died, and illegitimate children may be adopted. On the giving side, if parents have many children and are hard put to feed them all, they will be only too willing to have a new youngster adopted.

With only one recorded exception, all adoptions take place between relatives. Adoptions are usually initiated by the women, though it is actually a married couple who together socially adopt an infant, and I learned of no cases where a single person undertook to adopt a child. The adopters are usually of the parents' generation, with respect to the adopted child, and most commonly are parents' siblings or parents' first cousins. Occasionally, however, they are farther removed. It may happen that grandparents, or grandparents' siblings, may adopt a grandchild. In any case, adoption takes place along lines of genealogical relationship. A relative of an older generation adopts one of a younger generation. At the same time, different households are involved. Whether this last was true in the days of extended domestic families is not certain.

For an adoption to be consummated, the prospective adopters and the parents must be on friendly terms. It is the former who ask to adopt a child; the latter do not request the adoption. An offer of adoption can always be refused and will be unless the parents...
feel certain that the child will be well cared for; if he is not, they may take him back.

At the time of adoption, an agreement is reached between parents and adopters as to the degree of severance of the child from its parents, and whether, as the child grows up, it can return to its parents' home. A number of Carolinians made a point of this feature, but the adopted children I knew apparently migrated back and forth between the households of their real and adopted parents and were quite at home in either.

At the present time, an adopted child usually changes his surname to that of his foster father. He uses father and mother kin terms for his foster parents and sibling terms for his foster brothers and sisters. The adopted child cannot marry a foster sibling. There is a Carolinian saying that adopted children are treated "even better" than own children. The adopted child may or may not share in the land rights of his foster parents. If a foster mother states that her adopted child will share in land rights with her own children, the latter are obligated to share these rights with the adopted child.

Adoption is also a form of old age insurance, for the adopted child is obligated to care for his adopters when they are old. This obligation is shared by the adopted child's spouse.

Bicente and Maria adopted Juana, who is now grown and married, with a family of her own. Juana and her husband periodically visit Bicente and Maria, bringing them food and even money. Juana's husband works for Bicente and Maria if a job needs to be done. Both Juana and her husband are respectful and considerate of Bicente and Maria.

In summary, adoption serves to seal a bond of friendship among relatives and is a strengthening agent in kinship relations; it serves to provide families with normal complements of children; it is a form of old age insurance; and it spreads out the resources of food, shelter, and parental care among the community's children.

**PUBERTY**

In former times, the Saipan Carolinians held puberty ceremonies for girls. The latter were isolated in a special house, where they remained for some eight days, secluded with older women. At the end of the period, a family party was held, and thereafter the girls assumed respect behavior towards appropriate relatives such as brothers, observed the forms demanded in polite speech, and followed the prohibitions prescribed at the time of menstruation. Although I
learned of no comparable ceremony for boys, at the time of puberty boys were sent to the _ut_ to sleep, and they also assumed the obligations associated with respect behavior.

The girls' puberty ceremony has now been abandoned, but puberty is still the age at which compliance with formalized behavior patterns is expected. Certain prohibitions are still attached to menstruating women and these are assumed by girls after puberty. They should stay out of the taro plots and should not visit a cemetery. Their condition is regarded as dangerous for medicine men, and in conservative families they still do not eat with the men or cook food for them, lest the latter become ill. Formerly, menstruating women retired to a menstrual hut for four days, but they may now sleep in a separate part of the house. The menstrual hut has been abandoned.

MARRIAGE

Young people select their own spouses. The man or girl will inform the latter's parents and they may give the man a month or two as a waiting period to see whether the engagement will be permanent. The man informs his own parents and makes arrangements with the padre who is to marry the couple. Formerly, marriages were entered into with little formality, but today Carolinians are with minor exceptions married in the church.

Among Carolinians there is a feeling that marriages should be within the same generation and the partners of approximately equal age. There is one case of a Chamorro who married his sister's daughter. This match was often pointed out to me by Carolinians as being very bad, for apart from uniting two who are by Carolinian kinship terminology father and child, and both in the same clan, it mixes the generations. However, it should be reported that one Carolinian man has married his deceased wife's sister's daughter.

The involved Chamorro customs preliminary to the wedding have been adopted only in part by the Carolinians. I was told that fifteen or twenty years ago they were not used at all, but today there are some Carolinian families who have presented an _aog_ to the bride's family and have held a _kumplimento_.

The Carolinians also hold a _fandango_ following the wedding. As with the Chamorros, two parties are held—one by the groom's family and one by the bride's. If one parent of either bride or groom is dead, however, there will be three parties, the third one given by the siblings of the deceased parent. The death of the parent splits
one side into two parts, each of which has a consanguineal relationship with the person to be married and hence a responsibility to provide a party.

The wedding parties are organized and the food is provided by the relatives of the bride and groom—parents, parents' siblings, and their elementary families. Gifts of food are given for the _fandango_, but _chenchuli_ in the form of money is seldom given by more distant relatives. There is not the elaborate organization of the Chamorros, no emphasis on presentation of _chenchuli_ by in-laws, no careful record kept of the donors—in other words, the strong feeling for the details of reciprocity exemplified by Chamorro custom is lacking. After the wedding in the church, bride and groom go to the houses of each and to those of old relatives to pay their respects, much in the manner of the Chamorros.

Although it is true that church-sanctioned marriages are now standard practice among the Carolinians, a feature of old marriage customs prevails in that separations occur with relative ease. These separations are essentially divorces, because sooner or later the separated spouses find new partners and establish a new union. Traditional marriage is relatively brittle in the Carolines until stabilized by the birth of children and the advancing age of the marriage partners. This old pattern tends to persist on Saipan. In case of divorce, children remain with the mother and the husband moves out of the household.

It was once obligatory that a man marry his deceased wife's sister, real or classificatory. Contrariwise, it was obligatory for a woman to marry her deceased husband's brother, real or classificatory. Polygamy, however, did not exist, according to the statements of informants, and no cases were recorded. Sororate and levirate were both enforced by a custom called "ho." This negative sanction was applied in case a widow or widower did not observe the sororate and levirate and married somebody else. Thereupon the relatives of the deceased spouse could raid the newly established couple's household and make off with their personal belongings. This custom was abandoned in Japanese times. Sororate and levirate are still looked upon with favor, but only three contemporary cases were found. In two of the three, a widow married her deceased husband's brother; in the third case, a widower married a classificatory sister—a second cousin—of his deceased wife.

Remarriages involving stepchildren are also a point of kin solidarity. If a mother dies, the mother's sister has the first obligation to
care for the mother's young children. If a father dies, the children remain with the mother and the chances are that the mother will remarried. In such a case, it is the obligation of the stepfather to treat his stepchildren with consideration and care. If he mistreats them, his wife's brothers will by custom force a separation as being in the best interests of the wife and her children. I learned of no contemporary cases, however, where this has occurred. Actually, Carolinian women are fond of children and usually quite able to discard an unsuitable husband.

A note should be made regarding illegitimate children. In contrast with the Chamorros, the Carolinians are more concerned with social than physiological paternity. Although a married woman's having an illegitimate child would generally result in a divorce, an unmarried girl's having a child would be regarded as regrettable but certainly not a calamity. The Carolinians have not absorbed western concepts of the disgrace attached to both mother and child in the case of illegitimacy. I recorded several instances of Carolinian women who bore illegitimate children and later married men other than the genitor. Their husbands treated these children as their own. One friend, an adult in his thirties, had discovered only a year past that he was an illegitimate child. This was not because his parents concealed the fact particularly, but rather that they regarded it as of slight importance. The Carolinians as a group are particularly concerned with fatherhood as a social role.

DEATH

In death rites, as at marriage, Carolinian usage is gradually moving toward Chamorro custom, largely because of the influence of the church. At the time of death, Carolinians seek the offices of the padre, the rites are those of the church, and the dead are buried in the Catholic cemetery.

In older days, when a man was about to die he was removed from his house to that of his mother or his sister. If this was impossible before death, the body was moved immediately after. The vigil was then held in the house of the mother or sister, and the funeral expenses were borne by them and their consanguinal relatives, not by the widow or her family. If the wife died, her body remained in her house, and her family bore the expense. This return of the dying man to the household of his mother or sister was an expression of the strength of the maternal lineage, combined with
matrilocal residence. At death, this act of removal symbolized the importance of lineal ties as opposed to those of marriage.

Today most Carolinians leave a dying man at his own house of residence, and relatives of both sides contribute labor, food for the vigil and wake, and a small amount of cash for the church rites, as well as taking part in the mourning. If a child dies, the parents mourn but take no part in the funeral arrangements. These are taken care of by the brothers and sisters of the parents or by the grandparents, if the latter are still living.

The Carolinians, as do the Chamorros, observe an all-night vigil prior to burial. Around the body gather the close women relatives of the deceased, joined periodically by other women. Formerly, the old women of the clan would gather by the corpse and would sing ancient chants dealing with traditional legends applying to the clan. The women take the dominant role in mourning during the vigil, and an Oceanic pattern of wailing is still followed. The men are less conspicuous. The remainder of the house is kept quiet, however, and there is not the matter-of-fact talking that goes on in a Chamorro house outside the room in which the deceased lies. During the vigil, Carolinian women give gifts of cloth and money to the close female relatives mourning by the dead person.

For four days after burial, the close relatives gather at the house of the deceased. Twice a day, early in the morning and at dusk, they go to the grave, spread it with sand, and sit quietly talking of the dead person and of other dead relatives. On the third day, the ghost of the deceased is expected to give a sign of his presence, often a mark on the sand of the grave. On the fourth day, a medicine man may cast a spell on a stone and gently tap it on the grave, to keep the ghost henceforth where he belongs.

Also on the fourth day the relatives of the deceased clean the house of the dead person and rake the yard. Formerly all the personal possessions of the deceased were burned or thrown into the sea but now only his clothing and bed clothes are destroyed. A plant medicine is also burned in the house to rid it of attraction for the ghost.

On the tenth day after death a wake is held. The male relatives of the deceased go fishing, a cow or pig is slaughtered, a sack of rice is bought, and vegetable food procured. These foodstuffs are provided by siblings and close consanguineal relatives, as well as by more distant and affinal relatives. Again, however, in contrast with the Chamorros, the reciprocity associated with ika and ajudo is lacking.
Today there is no well-defined shift in residence after the death of a spouse. If a woman dies, her husband and children may remain in the same house or go to live with his parents or sisters. If a man dies, a widow may remain where she is or combine forces with her mother or sisters. It is by custom the duty of the mother's kin to care for orphaned children if they have no older married sisters. In the four cases of orphaned children I recorded, two were cared for by older married sisters and two by the sister of the mother.