6   *Haruai kin terms*

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1 Introduction

The Haruai language is spoken by about 100 people in the Schrader Ranges, in the south-west corner of Madang Province, Papua New Guinea. Haruai is genetically related to two neighbouring languages, Hagahai and Pinai; broader genetic relations are unclear (Comrie 1988).[1] My aim in this paper is to provide a linguistic account of kin terms in Haruai. There is already a study of the Haruai kinship system (Flanagan 1983, especially 331-346), so I should set out the ways in which my account differs from his. First, there are some additions to the empirical material, some of which apparently concern variation in the use of terms that has arisen as the Haruai have become more integrated into the life of their neighbours, especially the Kobon. Second, my approach is primarily linguistic instead of ethnographic; one outward sign of this is my use of a phonemic transcription instead of Flanagan's impressionistic transcription.

One might wonder initially whether the notion 'kin term', specifically with respect to the Haruai language, is indeed a valid linguistic, rather than an ethnographic, category. Certainly, the usual way to identify kin terms is by their social meaning. However, in Haruai there is at least one criterion that serves to identify some, but not all, kin terms, namely the use of possessed forms that are not found with other nouns. As will be seen in the detailed presentation below (§4), not all kin terms (in an intuitive or ethnographic sense) share this formal linguistic peculiarity, but the implication does work perfectly in the one direction: if a lexical item has such unusual possessed forms, then it is a kin term. Some kin terms, incidentally, occur only with possessive suffixes, but they are a small minority; in the body of the text, they are marked by a final = sign, indicating that the form given must be followed by a possessive suffix to give a well-formed word.

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The detailed presentation below, perhaps surprisingly given the linguistic bias, starts from content rather than from form. No theoretical significance should be attached to this. I have simply found this the most useful way in which to present information on Haruai kin terms to linguists; an audience of ethnographers might well react differently. One result of this is that different interpretations of one and the same lexical item will appear in different places; however, I have given relevant cross-references.

Two important general characteristics of Haruai kin terms can be identified at the outset. First, the treatment of siblings/cousins follows the Iroquoian system, with one set of terms for siblings and parallel cousins (father's brother's children and mother's sister's children), and another term for cross-cousins (father's sister's children and mother's brother's children). Second, there is widespread use of reciprocal terms, i.e. terms such that if X uses that term to refer to Y, then Y uses the same term to refer to X.

2 Kinship by blood

This section treats those terms that are called, for convenience, kinship by blood, though it should be noted that Haruai does not distinguish terms for kin related by blood, by half-blood, or by adoption; thus a half-brother is treated linguistically as a brother; a step-father is treated linguistically as a father; an adopted daughter is treated linguistically as a daughter.

2.1 Parents and children

The terms for one's parents are *acö* (or *böp*) 'father', *mam* 'mother'. The term *acö* is more common, though some speakers prefer *böp* for an adult speaking to or of his or her father; *böp* is probably a loan from Kobon *bap*.[2] For extended use of these terms (classificatory parents), see §3.2 and §3.5.

There are no special kin terms for children, the general terms *ha* 'child, boy', *halöw* 'girl' being used for 'son' and 'daughter' respectively, with possessive clitics where appropriate – but these are the possessive clitics used with nouns in general, not the special forms found with some kin terms (§4). *Ha* is in principle unspecified for sex, but its use is considered inappropriate in reference to an individual known to be female. For extended use of these terms as kinship terms (classificatory children), see §2.5, §3.2 and §3.5.

To specify that a 'parent' or 'child' is non-classificatory, one can use the adjective *yöb*, e.g. *acö yöb* 'true father', *halöw yöb* 'true daughter'.

2.2 Siblings and parallel cousins

Siblings (i.e. brothers and sisters) and parallel cousins (i.e. children of ego's father's brother or mother's sister) are treated alike, i.e. parallel cousins are classificatory siblings. The relevant parameters are the sex of the referent, the sex of ego, and the seniority of the referent relative to ego. For true siblings, seniority is determined by relative age; for parallel cousins, however, seniority is determined by the relative age of the parents that are siblings,

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[2]   Kobon terms are cited from Davies (1981, 1985). Note that it is not uncommon for Kobon *a* to appear as *ö* in loans into Haruai.

i.e. ego's father's older brother's son is a classificatory older brother, even if this parallel cousin is younger than ego.[3]

There are special terms for siblings/parallel cousins of the opposite sex from ego, and these do not distinguish seniority: *nölöw=* 'sister of male ego', requiring a following possessive suffix; *nmam* 'brother of female ego'. A group consisting of brother and sister is referred to as *nmmañ*; the second part of this seems to be from the Kobon word *añ* 'sister, parallel cousin'.[4]

The more general terms for siblings/parallel cousins are distinguished for seniority, but not necessarily for sex of the referent and never for sex of ego: *höd* 'older sibling; senior parallel cousin'; *pg* 'younger sibling; junior parallel cousin'. Both terms are used at least primarily for siblings/parallel cousins of the same sex as ego.[5] Sex can be specified by adding sex-specific terms as follows: *nöböhöd* 'older brother' (etymologically *nöbö* + *höd*), *möhöd* 'older sister' (etymologically *mö* + *höd*), *ha pg* 'younger brother', *halöw pg* 'younger sister' (cf. *nöbö* 'man', *mö* 'woman', *ha* 'boy', *halöw* 'girl'). A group consisting of an older and a younger sibling, or a senior and a junior parallel cousin, can be referred to as *hödpg* (etymologically clearly a compound of *höd* and *pg*).[6]

In speaking of the siblings in a family, *höd* and *pg* can also be used more specifically to indicate the oldest and youngest of the group respectively. The intervening siblings are *möybl-yöbö* (lit. 'middle-ADJECTIVE'), and the second oldest can also be referred to specifically as *röbñaŋ-yöbö*.

2.3 Cross-cousins

Cross-cousins, i.e. children of ego's father's sister or of ego's mother's brother, are all referred to by the term *nölpö*, irrespective of sex or seniority; this term is reciprocal by definition.

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[3] While this concept of seniority at first surprised me, it is of course no different from traditional primogeniture in European societies. Thus if King John has an older son Henry and a younger son Alfred, then Henry's oldest son William will inherit ahead of Alfred's oldest son Richard, even if William happens to be younger than Richard.

[4] Kobon is a major source of loans into Haruai. Some speakers, especially those living in closer contact with speakers of Kobon, make greater use of Kobon words, including for some kin terms; I have observed some Haruai speakers using Kobon *añ* as a general word for 'sister, female parallel cousin'. Note that Kobon *añ*, unlike the indigenous Haruai terms, does not distinguish the sex of ego.

[5] Flanagan (1983:332) treats such terms as restricted in reference to siblings and parallel cousins of the same sex. This is certainly their usual use. I did get speakers of Haruai to agree that these terms could be used for opposite-sex siblings and parallel cousins, but this may have been under pressure and in violation of good ethnographic method. However, Haruai speakers would not agree that *nölöw=* and *nmam* could be used of same-sex siblings or parallel cousins, so there is perhaps some element of markedness involved in the opposition.

[6] Although *nöböhöd* and *hödpg* are transparent etymological compounds, there is phonological evidence that they are no longer treated on a par with productive compounds. In *höd* and *pg*, the final consonant is prenasalised. In *nöböhöd* and *hödpg* they are not, as is usual for consonants so far from the beginning of a word. Note that in *ha pg* and *halöw pg*, the final *g* is prenasalised, suggesting that these are productive compounds. In *möhöd* the final *d* is prenasalised, but this is attributable to the fact that the preceding true consonant is the nasal *m*, and has nothing to do with structure as a productive compound.

2.4 Grandparents and grandchildren

For grandparents and grandchildren there are two terms, *nöso* (var. *nösöwö*) and *apso* (var. *apsöwö*), both of which define a reciprocal relation between grandparent and grandchild. The choice of term depends solely on the sex of the grandparent. Thus grandchildren of either sex call their grandfather *nöso* and are referred to by him as *nöso*; they call their grandmother *apso* and are referred to by her as *apso*.

For extended uses of the terms for grandparents and grandchildren as kin terms, see §3.2 and §3.5. The linguistic grandparent–grandchild relation is also used as a form of address across generations by people who are not related to one another and who do not have any more appropriate form of address; it is quite striking in traditional stories, when younger and older strangers meet.

2.5 Uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces

First, it may be noted that the relation between an older brother and a younger brother's children is assimilated to that between grandfather and grandchildren. Thus, an older brother calls his younger brother's children *nöso*, and is referred to by them as *nöso*.

Otherwise, Haruai has distinct terms for each of the sex combinations of parent and parent's sibling, in this respect departing from the canonical Iroquoian system (which would classificatorily identify father's brother with father, mother's sister with mother). For 'mother's brother' there is a special term *papwö*, the reciprocal of which is *ymhalw* 'male ego's sister's child', irrespective of the sex of the referent. For other uncles and aunts there are also specific terms: *wöwyö* 'father's younger brother', *nobyö* 'father's sister', *naymö* 'mother's sister'. For other nephews and nieces there are no special terms and they are treated as classificatory children, i.e. *ha* or *halöw*.

The relation between a child and its parent's (parallel and cross-) cousins is assimilated to that between a child and its parent's siblings, e.g. a girl calls her mother's female cousins *naymö* and is called *halöw* by them.

For extended uses of the terms for uncles and aunts, see §3.5.

3 Kinship by marriage

Haruai marriage is heterosexual and monoandrous (i.e. a woman can have at most one husband). Traditionally, polygyny was permitted (i.e. a man could have more than one wife), and in the mid-1980s there was at least one polygynous household.

3.1 Husband and wife

There are no special kin terms for 'husband' and 'wife', the words *nöbö* 'man, person' and *mö* 'woman' being used, with the appropriate possessive clitic. Interestingly, in the third person the appropriate possessive suffix comes from the set restricted to kin terms (see §4), i.e. *nöbö=nŋ* 'her husband' (not *'my husband'), *mö-nŋ* 'his wife' (not *'my wife'). (Although *nöbö* as a non-kin term is in principle unspecified for sex, it is considered inappropriate to use it in reference to an individual known to be female. As a kin term, it can only mean

'husband', not *'spouse' irrespective of sex.) In a polygynous household, the wives refer to one another as *adöw*, literally 'friend' (Tok Pisin *pren*); this same term is, incidentally, used by men who underwent initiation together.

3.2 Spouse's parents and child's spouse

The relation between a woman and her husband's parents is assimilated either to that between parents and daughter or to that between grandparents and granddaughter. Thus a father-in-law calls his daughter-in-law either *nöso* or *halöw* and is called by her either *nöso* or *acö* (or *böp*); she calls her mother-in-law *apso* or *mam* and is called either *apso* or *halöw* in return.

A man calls his wife's mother *mökj* (or *gamöy*), which, unlike the other in-law terms introduced below, is not reciprocal; she calls him *bönöy* (var. *banöy*), the most general in-law term.[7] For the relation between a man and his wife's father, there is a specific reciprocal term *ymök*; while speakers acknowledge that this is the most appropriate term to be used for this relationship, it is also possible to use *bönöy*.

3.3 Siblings-in-law (including parallel cousins-in-law)

For siblings-in-law (including parallel cousins-in-law), there is a set of reciprocal terms. The relation between a man and his wife's siblings (irrespective of sex) is covered by *bönöy* (var. *banöy*), a term with a wide range of referents, as noted in §3.2. The relation between a woman and her husband's brother is covered by *nobl*; the relation between a woman and her husband's sister is covered by *mönwös*.

3.4 Cross-cousins-in-law

There is a special term, *yödw=*, which occurs only with possessive suffixes, defining the reciprocal relation between ego and ego's cross-cousin's spouse.

3.5 Spouse's uncles, aunts, nephews and nieces

Different speakers have given me two different systems for referring to spouses of uncles and aunts. The one is to treat them as classificatory uncles/aunts, i.e. *nöso*'s wife is *apso*, *wöwyö*'s wife is *nobyö*, *papwö*'s wife is *naymö*, *nobyö*'s husband is *wöwyö*, *naymö*'s husband is *papwö*. The other is to treat them as classificatory parents (*acö*, *mam*), though *nöso*'s wife remains *apso*.

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7   *Bönöy/banöy* seems to be a loan from Kobon *bane*, which Davies (1985:39) translates as 'wife's brother, sister's husband, husband's sister, brother's wife'. It is possible that *bönöy* entered the Haruai system from Kobon and has been in the process of ousting indigenous in-law terms, in a way that goes well beyond the range of reference of the word in Kobon itself. The quite anomalous non-first person possessed form of *bönöy*, namely *m̄alö-* (§4) may be an indication of the Haruai form before Kobon *bane* was borrowed.

Where an uncle is referred to as *nöso* and his wife therefore as *apso*, she refers to her husband's nephews and nieces likewise as *apso*. In all other cases, spouse's nephews and nieces are treated as classificatory children (*ha*, *halöw*).

4 Possessed forms

In general, pronominal possession in Haruai is expressed by means of suffixed variants of the personal pronouns attached to the citation form of the noun phrase:[8] *=n*, *=nŋ* 'my', *=naŋ* 'your (singular)', *=nwŋ^w* 'his, her', *=an*, *=anŋ* 'our', *=ñŋ* 'your (plural), their'. However, some kin terms depart from this pattern in one of several ways.

First, some kin terms take the suffix *=nŋ* in the third person singular, which excludes the possibility of this variant being used for a first person possessor, i.e. the fact that *mö=nŋ* means 'his wife' has the effect that only *mö=n* can be used to mean 'my wife'. Kin terms to which this applies are: *nöbö* 'husband', *mö* 'wife', and all kin terms that obligatorily require a possessive suffix (indicated by final = in Table 1). Note that *nöbö-nŋ*, literally 'her husband', is also used for 'male' of an animal; for 'female', see below.

Second, some kin terms obligatorily require a possessive suffix. This applies to *yödw=* in all grammatical persons, e.g. *yödw-naŋ* 'your cross-cousin's spouse, etc.', *yödw-nŋ* 'his/her cross-cousin's spouse, etc.'; the form with a third person singular possessive suffix, *yödw=nŋ*, is also used as citation form. It also applies to the specifically non-first person kin terms listed in Table 1. Note that these items will require a possessive suffix even when the possessor is expressed as a noun, e.g. *nöbö dyb yödw-nŋ* 'the big man's cross-cousin's spouse, wife's cross-cousin'.

Third, and perhaps most strikingly, some kin terms have distinct stem forms according to the person of the possessor (ego). These forms are given in Table 1. Several comments on these forms are in order.

Table 1: Kin terms with irregular possessed forms

Ego: Citation form:	first person	second person	third person
acö	*acö*	*nawö*	*nwö*
mam	*mam*	*nam*	*nwöm*
nölöw=nŋ	*mölöw*	*nölöw=*	
nöso	*nöso*	*nhö=*	
apso	*apso*	*apk=*	
papwö	*papwö*	*npap*	
ymhalw	*ymhalw*	*ymhal=*	
wöwyö	*wöwyö*	*wöw=*	
nobyö	*nobyö*	*nob̃=*	
bönöy	*bönöy*	*m̄alö=*	

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8   These pronominal forms should perhaps be treated as clitics rather than as suffixes, but I have not been able to come up with decisive evidence one way or the other.

For the terms for 'mother' and 'father' in the third person, the special third person possessed forms are obligatory, and do not allow addition of a possessive suffix. Indeed, they are also required when the possessor is a noun, e.g. *swgᵂb nwö* 'Sungub's father'.[9] However, the special second person possessed forms *nawö* and *nam* are not obligatory, and indeed were even rejected by some speakers, the use of the citation form *acö* or *mam* with possessive suffixes being used instead.

Nearly all of the other kin terms that vary according to possessor have a distinct form for non-first person possessor which requires a possessive suffix; only *npap* does not have this last requirement. In the case of 'sister of male ego', the distinction is obligatory: *mölöw*, which does not require a possessive suffix, can only imply a first person possessor, while *nölöw=* implies a second or third person possessor; the form with third person singular possessive suffix is used as citation form. Note that the form *nölöw=nŋ*, literally 'his sister' also means 'female' of an animal (cf. *nöbö-nŋ* 'male' above). For nearly all the other items (including *npap*), the special non-first person possessed forms are optional, the citation form being used not only with a first person possessor but also with a second or third person possessor. Judgements were not always unequivocal, but it seems that *wöw=* is obligatory with a non-first person possessor, while all the others are optional, and not always accepted by all speakers.

References

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[9]   Adult Haruai are normally referred to as 'X's father/mother' after the birth of X, their first child (male or female), so such combinations are very frequent in daily usage. *nwö* and *nwöm* are also frequently used in naming kinds of animals and plants, e.g. *köp nwö* 'kind of bat' (cf. *köp* 'leaf'), *göy nwöm* 'kind of frog'.