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## The Residential Groups of the Mbuti Pygmies

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The residential groups of the Mbuti Pygmies are described and analyzed, based on the data obtained during field research in the Ituri Forest, eastern Zaire, from 1974 to 1975. The main points discussed here are the composition of the band, and the mechanism of band integration.

There are two contrastive views about the band composition of the Mbuti people who live in the forest. According to Putnam [1948], the Mbuti band ideally consists of family groups descended through the male line from a common ancestor. On the other hand, Turnbull [1965b], who studied in the same area (Epulu) as Putnam, stated that the band was plainly a nonlinear entity and exhibited the largest complexity.

The view presented here agrees with that of Putnam in that among the Mbuti of the Tetri area, which lies 100 km southeast of Epulu village, a patrilineally related male group forms the core of the band composition, and going beyond Putnam's work, the Mbuti band of this area, while having a fairly stable membership in appearance, repeats fission and fusion over a long interval of several decades. The essential feature of the Mbuti band seems to lie in this dynamic aspect, in which a patrilineally related group splits into segments and/or joins similar groups of a different band, to merge into a new band. The fission and fusion of the band cause reorganization of neighboring groups and facilitate smooth intramarriage within neighboring groups, to which the Mbuti show a strong tendency.

The mechanism of integration of the Mbuti band is the second point discussed here. A strong tie between adult males is observed both in the socio-political and religious aspects of Mbuti life. It is this male bond that integrates a group of ego-centric families into a band as an integrated whole. This mechanism must be of the most elementary kind for integrating a small group, since it does not presuppose differentiation of status and centralization of authority.

### 1. ECOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The Ituri Forest is situated in the northeast of the Republic of Zaire, between 0-4°N and 26-31°E. Since Ituri is located on the eastern fringe of the Congo Basin tropical rain forest, at an altitude of 600-1,000 m, it offers a favorable environment for humans, compared to the other parts of the Congo Basin. The primary forest reaches an average height of 30-40 m, but the undergrowth is sparse, which makes walking easy, and the luxuriant growth of the trees overhead blocks the intense rays of the sun. During the main rainy season, which lasts approximately from August

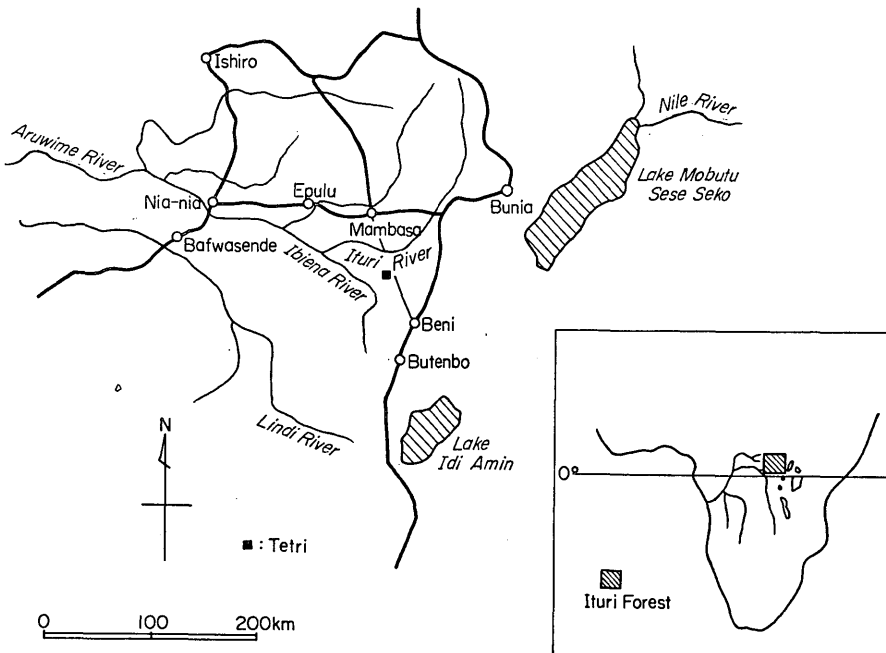


Figure 1. Approximate location of the Tetri area including the Ituri forest.

until November, Ituri is hit by daily squalls, but at the peak of the dry season (from January to February), there may commonly be no rain for an entire month. The forest then becomes dry, trees shed leaves, and dry leaves crackle underfoot.

The vegetation of the Ituri Forest has been classified as [ITANI 1974; HARAKO 1976]:

- 1) primary forest
  - (i) *Cynometra* forest
  - (ii) *Brachystegia* forest
  - (iii) *Gilbertiodendron* forest
- 2) swamp or marsh forest
- 3) secondary forest

Secondary forest surrounds the villages of the agriculturalists and the sites of former settlements or campsites for some 5–6 km, and scattered swamp forest occurs in marshy areas along the course of the larger rivers. Secondary forest and swamp forest together comprise somewhat less than 20 percent of the area of the Ituri Forest. The remaining 80 percent (about 80,000 km<sup>2</sup>) comprises the 3 types of climax or primary forests.

It has been estimated that about 60,000 slash-and-burn agriculturalists and 40,000 Mbuti hunters inhabit the Ituri Forest [TURNBULL 1972]. The range of daily activity of the farming people is generally confined to the secondary forest around the settlements, whereas the Mbuti hunters use the primary forest which lies

beyond. The Mbuti are said to go "everywhere," an indication of how much they use the forest. Of the 100,000 km<sup>2</sup> comprising the Ituri Forest, none is "impene-trable forest" for the Mbuti, nor can any of it be considered "untouched."

The present study was carried out in the Tetri region, where there are nine bands or 592 Mbuti, who utilize an area of some 1,200 km<sup>2</sup>. The population density of the region is 0.5 /km<sup>2</sup>, which is equal to the average population density of the Mbuti in the entire Ituri Forest. This roughly equals the 0.4–0.5 /km<sup>2</sup> which Tanno calculated using estimations of the size of a band and its territory [TANNO 1976].

The annual cycle of Mbuti subsistence activities can be divided into three periods [ICHIKAWA 1977a]. The first coincides with the main rainy season (August to November), at which time they stay in a camp (hereafter referred to as "base camp") close to the farming village and assist the villagers in agricultural activities, obtaining their food from the farmers. Little hunting is undertaken apart from occasional excursions, of a few days duration, into the forest. Monkeys are also shot near the village. The second period begins in December, with the start of the dry season, which lasts from January to March. This is the best hunting season. At this time, the Mbuti move to hunting camps in the forest and engage in net hunting almost every day. Since they subsist on the game caught in nets, or on the agricultural products for which it is exchanged, this period marks the Mbuti's most active season. The third period begins in the latter half of the hunting season and is called "the honey season." It lasts for a month or two between April and July, during the minor rainy season, when the three main tree species of the climax forest come into bloom. While many bands continue to engage in net hunting at this time, subsistence activities for the most part consist of honey collecting; honey is the major source of food during this period. This is the time of the year when the Mbuti are least dependent on agricultural products as a source of food.

As the subsistence activities change with the passage of the seasons, so the social lives of the Mbuti also undergo change. Change can be seen in the construction of the camps for each season. In daily activities, such as singing and dancing, the influence of the change of seasons is clearly reflected. When they are in their base camp near the village, for example, the Mbuti amuse themselves nearly every night by playing bamboo flutes (*luma*) and by performing the song and dance called *kaduma*. But when the hunting season begins, they go into the forest leaving their *luma* and drums behind in the base camp. At their hunting camps the Mbuti chiefly sing about *kuya* (net hunting) or *butuma* (spear hunting). During the honey season, using wooden clappers (*mbombo*) they sing the honey song, *boki*.

The Mbuti hunt with spears, bows and arrows, and nets. Spear hunting is carried on by several men or sometimes by lone hunters, for such big game as elephant, buffalo, and the giant forest hog. Ten to twenty men and women participate and collaborate in net hunting, the chief catch of which is the several species of forest duikers. Bow and arrow hunting is not widespread among the Mbuti in the Tetri region, who are primarily net hunters. During the main rainy season, bows and

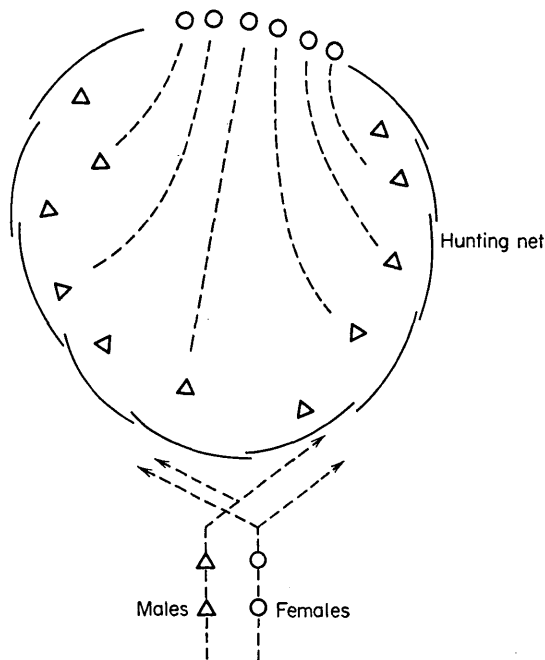
poisoned arrows are mostly used to shoot moonkeys inhabiting the secondary forest that surrounds the base camp.

The Ituri Pygmies are renowned big game hunters. But for them hunting is not simply a matter of just anyone going after game with spears. For an elephant hunt, there exist in each band at most two or three "specialists." From the viewpoint of subsistence, the high level of stability afforded by net hunting makes it of greater importance to the Mbuti than spear hunting [ICHIKAWA 1976].

It is difficult to estimate the population density of animals in the dense forest, but the following calculation was made from the several species of forest duikers that are the principal game taken by net hunting. Animals that have been encircled by nets are chased outwards and they run and become entangled in the nets (Figure 2). They are never driven toward the nets from any great distance. Also, hunting grounds are chosen randomly. Consequently, an observer who witness many instances of net hunting can estimate the average number of animals captured in a single attempt, and from this calculate an approximate overall population density.

In January 1975 the following calculation was made based on a total of 170 attempts at net hunting in 3 different hunting camps. The total gross weight of game taken was 805 kg, or an average of 4.7 kg per attempt. A total of 10 nets was used, with a full length of 550 m, which enclosed an area of 0.03 km<sup>2</sup>.

Encircled animals, in particular the larger ones, often easily tear through or slip out from under the nets, or they escape through the opening between the wing-end



**Figure 2.** Net hunting method.

nets (*mulu*). Only 30–40 percent of the animals trapped in the net enclosure are finally captured. Considering this complication, an estimated 300–500 kg/km<sup>2</sup> of game can be taken, or the equivalent of 70–120 head of blue duikers (*Cephalophus monticola*), the most sought after species. Apart from the game hunted in nets, there are birds, monkeys, and larger mammals—for example, elephants, buffaloes, okapis, giant forest hogs—that are sometimes taken in the area.

The Mbuti hunt a wide variety of species; for example, just of mammals, there are 14 species of Artiodactyla, 9 Carnivora, 14 Primates, 6 Rodentia, 2 Insectivora, 2 Pholidota, and also 1 species each of Tubulidentata, Hyracoidea, and Proboscidea, making a total of 50 species that have been observed as the objects of their hunting [HARAKO 1976; TANNO 1976; ICHIKAWA 1976]. The fauna of the Ituri Forest is generally thought to be quite abundant. Statistical data were collected on the number of animals caught in nets during the period of January to February 1975, according to which a day's catch averages 5 or 6 animals, together totaling about 35 kg. Thanks to the abundance of game in the forest, the Mbuti enjoy stable hunting, giving their subsistence a reasonably secure base.

Agricultural products make up most of the vegetable portion of the diet of the Mbuti, whereas wild plants are relatively unimportant. But, just the range of wild plants so far identified as included in the Mbuti's diet is quite extensive—10 species of roots, 15 nuts, 17 berries, and 18 mushrooms—suggesting that these wild plants were of greater importance in the past and that if necessary the Mbuti could survive on them.

## 2. THE MBUTI AND VILLAGERS

Agriculturalists' villages and Mbuti base camps in the area between Mambasa, the administrative center, and Laria, about 72 km distant, are shown in Figure 3. Mbuti base camps are set up near the villages with which they maintain a close relationship. The close relationship between the agriculturalists and the Mbuti is demonstrated by the fact that Mbuti base camps exist only where there are agricultural settlements.

The Mbuti depend on agricultural products for more than half of their diet, but only rarely do they plow their own fields and grow crops. Even when Mbuti engage in agriculture, they leave the fields unguarded and go into the forest for the hunting season. As a consequence animals freely enter the fields and destroy the standing crops. When in base camps, the Mbuti go to neighboring fields and help with cultivation, thus obtaining agricultural products for themselves. There is nothing they dislike more than a land without farmers; a "hungry land" (*kuma la nja*).

It is thought that the original connection between the Mbuti and the farming people was based on food. When the Mbuti who inhabited the Ituri Forest in former times saw the cultivated fields of the Bira and Lese peoples—groups came into the region later—they likely thought that it was a place where food existed everywhere and in abundance; a "forest of everlasting food." In exchange for supplying

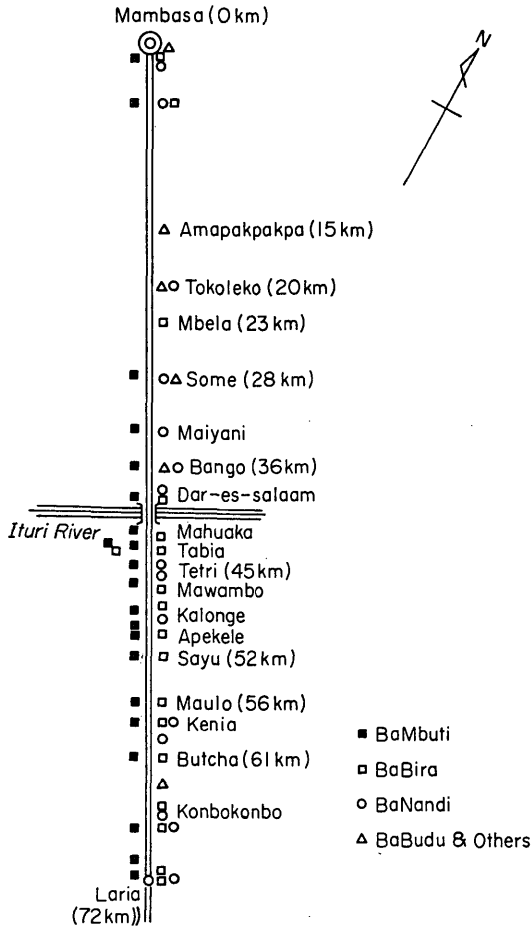


Figure 3. Distribution of the Mbuti bands and villagers' settlements.

the Mbuti with agricultural products, these farmers probably expected manpower, or meat from animals hunted in the forest. Metal and the art of making hunting nets, which these farmers brought in, must have improved the efficiency of the Mbuti's hunting. The Mbuti's dislike of areas where there are no farming people does not mean that they themselves are "villagers-like." They do not perform independent farm work or establish their own agricultural settlements because for centuries they have maintained a symbiotic relationship with the agriculturalists and have retained their hunting spirit.

This interdependent relationship between the Mbuti and the agriculturalists is also clearly seen in other aspects of social life, such as, in the influence of the villagers' social and ritual systems on the underdeveloped Mbuti, and in the knowledge which the villagers obtain from the Mbuti of the forest's flora and fauna. The import of this connection with neighboring agriculturalists over a period of several hundred

years cannot be ignored when considering Mbuti social life.

It is not intended, in discussing the Mbuti group's social structure and marriage system, to suggest that these are proper to the Mbuti or of Mbuti origin. Here they are only extracted, described and analyzed as obviously important social phenomena functioning at the present time. For the synchronic study of social phenomena, the question of "origin"—that is, whether an element was borrowed from another society or not—is of secondary importance. Rather, the issue is how that element is integrated and how it functions within a particular social system.

The Mbuti of the Tetri region have traditionally had a close relationship with the Bira farmers of Bantu stock and they themselves speak *Kibira* (the language of the Bira). Each Mbuti band is connected to a specific Bira settlement and a Mbuti band commonly takes the name of a Bira village, such as Bambuti<sup>1)</sup> Mawambo (Mbuti of Mawambo village), or the name of the most influential village elder, such as Bambuti Akabisenge (Mbuti of Akabisenge). The Mbuti themselves choose the names of their own bands (usually taken from the name of the place where their base camp is located) but these names are used only among several Mbuti groups in the neighborhood.

While this intergroup relation exists between a band and a village, relationships between individual Biras and Mbutis are formed within the intergroup relationship. Each Mbuti establishes an individual relationship with a specific villager called *kpara* or *kparamo* (my *kpara*), and, in the opinion of the Bira, this kind of individual relationship is handed down from generation to generation. The individual relationships between the Bira and the Mbuti in Mawambo village is shown in Figure 4. (Refer to Figure 6 for the composition of the Mbuti of Mawambo band.)

But in reality, as Turnbull [1965b] has stated, when the Mbuti's position becomes disadvantageous or when acute discord arises, they dissolve the established relationship and move to the place of another *kpara*. Especially now that a trade economy has spread among the Mbuti and the neighboring society, there has recently been an increase in the number of the Mbuti bringing meat to the Nandi (Banande tribe in Murdock [1959]), who have a highly developed economic sense and offer stable trade.

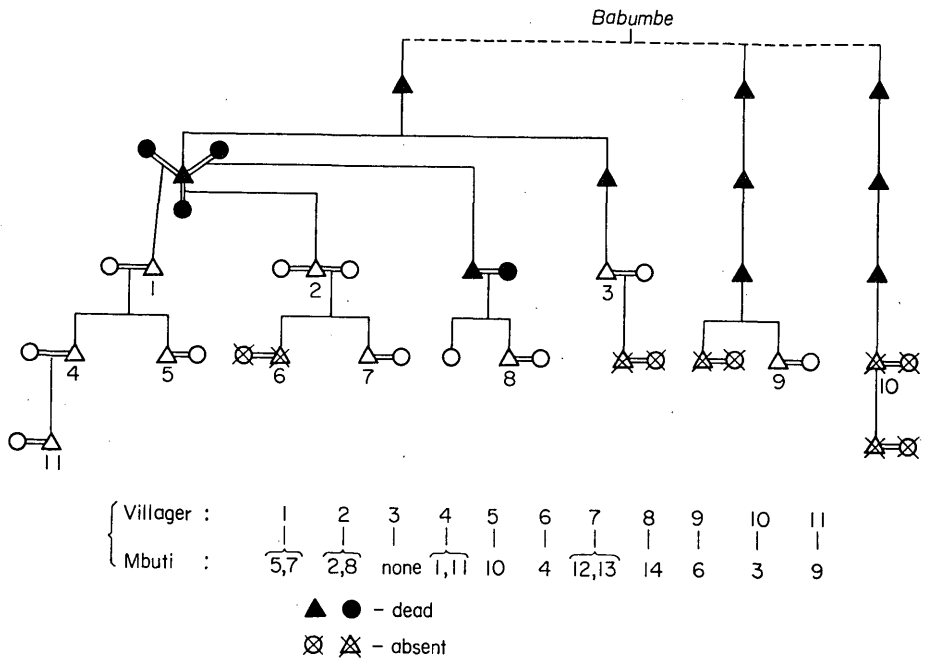
From 1974 to 1975, the exchange rate of meat for agricultural products and other items were as follows: (The "unit" of exchange is "one head" of blue duiker including the four limbs and the trunk, or one leg of a medium-sized duiker<sup>2)</sup>—former averaging 2.5–3 kg; the latter about 2 kg.)

(1) When brought to a villager for exchange, one unit of meat is exchanged for 15 kg of cassava, or 2 kg of rice or refined cassava flour, or 30 makuta in cash (approximately 150 yen), but a length (about 1.5 m) of women's loin cloth (*kikuenbe*) equals four units of meat (that is four blue duikers or one medium-sized duiker);

1) Bambuti is with the prefix (Ba-) to indicate plural.

2) Medium-sized duikers are *Cephalophus nigrifrons*, *C. dorsalis*, *C. leucogaster*, *C. callipygus* and *C. sylvicultor*.





**Figure 4.** Relationships between the Mbuti and the villagers, an example of Mawambo village (see also Figure 6e).

(2) When exchanged in the hunting camp, the same weight of meat was 20 makuta (100 yen), or 1-1.5 kg of rice or cassava flour, but a length of women's loin cloth equalled five units of meat. The greater the distance between the hunting camp and the village, the more disadvantageous becomes the exchange rate for the Mbuti.

### 3. SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE BANDS

#### 1) SIZE OF THE BANDS

The band size of the Mbuti in the Tetri region, as shown in Table 1, falls within the range of from 10 to 25 families, or from 47 to 94 people. In other areas, the Lolwa net hunting band is composed of 12 families [HARAKO 1976]. Other research shows that the Njiakia hunting group was composed of 9 families; the Biasiku of 9; and 12 families were active in the Laria hunting group. As is discussed in detail below, the size of a hunting group that is composed of a single band is generally slightly smaller than the mother band, and it is thought that the size of the mother band also ranges from 10 to 25 families.

For archer bands, Harako [1976] reports a band of 15 families in the Lolwa area. In May 1975, the huts in the base camps of the Mbuti living near Lese village at Andiri, 25 km northeast of Nduye, were studied. It was found that the Ativu's camp had

13 huts, the Asani's 14, the Mustafa's 10, the Likembe's 13, and the Ndelendele's 10. All were set up in the forest, only 5–10 minutes from the village of Andiri. From here, the Mbuti go forth, sometimes to engage in cooperative bow and arrow hunting, or sometimes to hunt individually with bows or spears.

If the number of huts is accepted as representing the number of families in the bow hunting band, then there is no great disparity between the size of the bow hunting band and that of the net hunting band in the Tetri area. Turnbull [1968] states that when the honey season begins, the Mbuti archers, previously in small groups, congregate and make a large camp. The present study of Andiri was done during the rest period in the honey collecting seasons, that is, between March–April, when *Cynometra* blooms, and June, when *Brachystegia* flowers. But it was found that those living together were roughly the same groups as those formed for collecting honey.

When Harako [1976] and Turnbull [1965b] compared the band sizes of archers and net hunters, they noted that the former was generally smaller. Since a small number of archers can hunt, a small band consisting of two or three families might subsist. But to lead a secure life, where hunting with bow and arrow is the principal method employed, a band of ten or so families, among which food distribution takes place, must be formed. Within that range, cooperative bow and arrow hunting (*mota*) can be performed effectively.

For the net hunters, a band size of from 10 to 25 families is closely connected with the hunting method employed. This corresponds roughly to the number of nets possessed by married men and some women. It is difficult for them to maintain their livelihood with fewer than six nets, and if there are too many, close cooperation, which is indispensable in net hunting, will suffer.

A band is the mother body for a hunting group as well as the base camp's residence group, which is their autonomous societal unit. It is important for a band to have a generally stable integration. As is discussed below, in the long run both

**Table 1.** Band size.

Band	Married		Unmarried		Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Mahuaka	14	18	25	22	79
Tabia	13	14	ca25	ca20	ca72
Tetri	17	18	24	18	77
Bujumbra	14	16	14	9	53
Mawambo	14	17	18	18	67
Kalonge	10	15	12	10	47
Apekele-1	13	16	14	12	55
Apekele-2	25	24	ca25	ca20	ca94
Sayu	12	12	14	10	48
Total	132	150	ca171	ca139	ca592
Average	14.7	16.7	19.0	15.4	65.8

fission and fusion can be seen in their bands, but unlike the reports of Tanaka [1971] and Lee [1969] on the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the phase of fission and fusion is not repeated many times within a short time.

From August 1974 to July 1975, a continuous investigation of nine bands was conducted, but during this period there was never a major change in the size of a band. During the hunting and honey seasons, several small camps were set up and then modified, but this was not a real change in the band's composition. As Service [1971] has pointed out, as long as the individual members have a sense of belonging to a particular band it is unnecessary for a band to be always formed into a fixed residential unit.

## 2) AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION, FAMILY AND EFFECTIVE POPULATION RATIOS

The Mbuti are classified by inferred age as well as social role into four age groups, as follows:

### (1) Infants and juveniles (0—about 12 years)

A nursing baby (*mikilimakalungo*), a young boy (*apaloko*), and a young girl (*amasika*) are called *miki* (child). This group depends on its parents for support, but when boys and girls reach the age of about 11 or 12, they begin to take part in net hunting, filling an auxiliary role. There are many food restrictions, particularly on the parents of a nursing child who are told that if they break the restrictions, the child will become gravely ill [ICHIKAWA 1977b.]

### (2) Youth (about 13–17 years)

Within this age group, a boy is called *kota* and a girl *sika*. When the rites of passage have been completed—for boys, *ganja* (circumcision), and for girls, *elima*—they are considered to have entered young adulthood. Although as yet they do not have their own huts or nets and they continue to live with their parents, youths perform active role during net hunting. Prior to marriage, youths neither possess their own nets nor go spear hunting and they are not recognized as full adults. For a year after having undergone rites of passage, youths are subject to many food restrictions, which are later gradually lifted.

### (3) Adults (about 18–40 years)

Married and living independently in their own huts, they possess their own nets and are recognized as full adults. They collect honey and those who are able take part in spear hunting. Almost all of the food restrictions have been eliminated. Adult males take part in the *molimo* ceremony, in which only full-grown males may participate.

### (4) Old age (about 40 years and over)

It is difficult to clearly establish the time when a person enters old age, but as grandchildren are born and the bodies begin to weaken, people are called *makpe* or *mangese* (old people), and tend to stay in the camp. Although still participants in net hunting, they hand over their nets to the youths and increasingly remain behind in camp, making nets and repairing spears. Old people are no longer subject to the

**Table 2.** Composition of band.

Band		Old	Adult	Young	Infant	Total	Family size	Effectives ratio*
Tetri	M.	3	14	7	17	41		
	F.	4	14	7	11	36		
	T.	7	28	14	28	77	4.3	54.5
Mawambo	M.	0	14	2	16	32		
	F.	2	15	4	14	35		
	T.	2	29	6	30	67	4.8	52.5
Kalonge	M.	3	7	6	6	22		
	F.	5	10	4	6	25		
	T.	8	17	10	12	47	4.7	57.4
Apekele-1	M.	5	8	7	7	27		
	F.	7	9	6	6	28		
	T.	12	17	13	13	55	4.2	54.4
Apekele-2	M.	4	21	7	ca18	50		
	F.	3	21	6	ca14	44		
	T.	7	42	13	32	94	3.8	58.5
Sayu	M.	1	11	2	12	26		
	F.	1	11	2	8	22		
	T.	2	22	4	20	48	4.0	54.2
Mahuaka	M.	3	11	8	17	39		
	F.	5	13	3	19	40		
	T.	8	24	11	36	79	5.6	44.3

$$* \text{ Effectives Ratio} = \frac{\text{Adult} + \text{Young}}{\text{Total population}} \times 100$$

[Lee 1969]

food restrictions of other age groups. Now they may eat *embulu* (flying squirrels), *amepulu* (otter shrews), and other animals considered “meat for the old”, which only old people are permitted to eat.

It is the adults and the youth (the “effective population”) who perform the active roles in hunting and collecting, which maintain their subsistence, and children and old (the “dependent population”) live a dependent existence. The age group composition of seven bands in the Tetri region is shown in Table 2. For each band, the average family and effective population ratio are given. In the seven bands, the average family consists of 4.5 people, and among the Mbuti the greatest number of families appear to have four or five individuals. The male/female sex ratio is 303 : 289 = 1.05 : 1.00—there being relatively more males than females.

#### 4. PRINCIPLES OF BAND RECRUITMENT

##### 1) MARRIAGE

The results of a survey of the marriage patterns of the 132 married males in the Tetri region were: 111 monogamous, 18 polygamous—16 had two wives and 2 had three or more wives, 2 widowers, and 1 divorced. Monogamy is the dominant pattern among the Mbuti of the Tetri region. Polygamy is approved as a rule, but it is only possible for those who can pay the necessary bride price for second or more wives, or for those who have sisters for the sister exchange marriage.

The Mbuti approve of levirate marriage (*esikili*), where a widow marries her dead husband's brother. When a man dies, his wife either returns to her natal band or marries one of her husband's brothers. If there is no one in her husband's band to look after her, she leaves her children in her husband's band and return to the natal band. Children remain in the husband's band because, as a rule, they are considered as belonging to the band of their father. In the 18 polygamous unions, five men acquired second wives by levirate marriage. But there are exceptions to this rule.

When a wife is too old, she commonly remains in her husband's band, and is looked after by her adult children. And where the children are still young, the wife sometimes returns with them to her own band. As a rule children are regarded as belonging to the father's band; nevertheless, within Mbuti society it is not rare for them to be made members of their mother's band.

Mbuti consider a proper marriage to be one accompanied by some kind of compensation. Nowadays, cash compensation is not unusual, but what is often preferred is for the person involved in the marriage to exchange sisters, in an exchange marriage (*kusono*). Before the development of a cash economy, it is said that among the Bira people also *kusono* was the general form.

The Mbuti bride price (*kasya*) is 5 zaire (or about 2,500 yen)<sup>3)</sup>. They obtain this money by selling meat, but for a people who quickly spend any money which falls into their hands, 5 zaire is a substantial sum. Only a very small minority of Mbuti pay the bride price in full. Generally they give the wife's relatives 1–2 zaire when they marry, and they fritter away the rest. Bride price is generally paid even in levirate marriage, but only to the extent of 0.5 zaire.

Sister exchange marriage (*kusono*) usually involves an exchange of the sisters of the parties concerned. When there is not suitable sister, a brother's daughter, a parallel cousin or some more distant female relative living in the same band will be chosen as the exchange bride instead. The range within which a female relative will become the object of an exchange marriage varies according to the strength of the kin group unity. Even the daughter of a fairly distant relative may become the object if the ties between members of the same band are strong.

There are also examples of taking brides by force to one's own band, with neither sister exchange nor payment of the bride price (*terya*). In the Tetri region the

3) A Bira bride price is 30–40 zaire.

couple involved in *terya* rarely escape beyond the reach of the woman's parents. *Terya* occurs when the parties do not first come to an agreement about the bride price or when the bride's father wishes for a *kusono*. In such a case relatives of the bride later go to the groom's band, and receive the bride price or at least a part of it. In this way the marriage is legitimized.

When Mbuti men reach the marriageable age of about 16 to 20, either individually or in a group they visit neighboring bands. They visit neighboring areas where they can take advantage of their relatives' connections. Some go as far as to Mambasa, 50 km away, or even to Koki and Bahaha which are further from home. When they find a suitable woman, the men immediately return home to begin discussions with their fathers. A formal marriage is arranged between the relatives of the man and the woman. The man chooses a marriage partner but realization of the marriage is the responsibility of the fathers and brothers of the two people involved. When the marriage has been decided upon, the groom's father and brothers pay part of the bride price.

## 2) RESIDENCE RULES

After marriage the couple establishes a virilocal residence. Most marriages in Tetri are virilocal. A survey of 132 married couples showed that 122 were virilocal, 9 were uxori-local, and one couple did not fit either pattern, being temporary visitors who returned to their band soon after the survey was completed.

However, where neither a bride price has been paid nor an exchange of sisters has taken place, the husband has to remain with his wife's band. Only when the wife's band has consented to allow the husband to pay the bride price, or a part of it, to his wife's parents, is he free to take his wife and children back to his own band.

Apart from this obligatory uxori-local marriage, some men choose to live in their wives' homes. Even intentionally uxori-local marriages, regardless of how clear the case is, a husband does not like to admit that he is living in his wife's band. Rather, the man takes the name of his own distant male relative living in the wife's band and usually says that he has come to live with the relative. The kinship terminology of the Mbuti in *Kibira* (the Bira language) has the peculiar characteristic of reduction rules, which apply kinship terminology over a wide range, so that often there is some man who will fall under the term *epa* (father) or *noko* (mother's brother) within that band (see appendix).

A special characteristic of Mbuti society with respect to these uxori-local marriages, which are exceptions to the rule, is that such a residence pattern is the result of a personal decision to which the other members of the band do not raise an objection. Although the rule is virilocal marriages, uxori-local marriages are possible. Mbuti men prefer virilocal marriages because they wish to continue living with the close ties that they have with their own male relatives, rather than living among outsiders.

## 3) BIRTH AND MEMBERSHIP IN THE DESCENT GROUP AND THE BAND

In Tetri, the eight women past menopause had given birth to an average of eight

children. But, because of the small sample size, it cannot be concluded that this is the average for the Mbuti as a whole. Since the Mbuti, in common with the Bira and the neighboring agricultural people, avoid sexual intercourse for a year or two after a child is born, it is thought that the actual average number of births is approximately ten. Infant mortality is high immediately after birth, or when the infants are nursing. Of the 54 births recorded in the Mawambo band, 18 of the children died before weaning. For Mbuti children, the nursing period is critical, which is reflected in the strict observance of food restrictions by the parents [ICHIKAWA 1977b].

In Mbuti society, as among the Bira, a patrilineal descent group (*banama*) exists. Full *banama* members can neither kill nor eat specific animals (*nginiso*), they take part in the ceremony (*molimo*) for the common spiritual animals, and as a group they possess a common sign (*ekonbi*). The *molimo* is a ceremony restricted to adult males, and it also means a spiritual animal (*baketi*) which is the object of the ceremony. *Ekonbi* is a sign used when they walk in the forest. It is worked on a leaf of the *bulu* plant (Marantaceae) and symbolizes an animal of their own *nginiso*. When a child is born, as a rule it follows its biological father to become a member of the *banama*. However, if when still nursing it is looked after by its mother's relatives, the child becomes a member of the maternal *banama*, and inherits the maternal *nginiso*.

The band to which a child belongs depends on the legitimacy of its parents' marriage. If the marriage is proper, with either a bride price paid, or an exchange of sisters, then the child belongs to the father's band. A father who has chosen to live in his wife's band can at any time return to his own band, taking the children with him. Should the father did not pay the bride price, or if his relatives abandoned their rights and duties towards the child, the mother's brothers take it to be brought up as a member of the mother's band. Among the Mbuti, it is not rare for a child to succeed the *nginiso* of a member of its father's *banama* while being brought up as a member of its mother's band. Given the possibility of this discrepancy between the descent group and the band to which one belongs, the composition of the Mbuti band is complicated.

The children of a proper marriage belong to the paternal kin, and either the father or others of the paternal line have both rights and obligations toward the child. But the mother remains a member of the maternal kin group even after marriage. Maternal kin, and particularly the mother's brothers (*banoko*) may take various claims through the mother. For example, when a mother gives birth to a child, her brothers may request compensation from the father for the bleeding at childbirth. If a child is injured or dies, the mother's brothers will probably make a fuss. When a child dies, the mother's brothers hurry to the scene, and, having closely inquired into the details of the situation, will receive compensation for the loss suffered. This can be regarded as a part of the emphasis the brothers place on their rights over their sisters' children. The relationship between mother's brothers and their sisters' children is full of love, contrary to that with their sisters' husbands. That is, the mother's brothers show a negative attitude towards their sisters' husbands but a positive one toward

their sisters' children, both of which emphasize the interrelationship between the two kin groups.

For the Bira, this show of pretense is more strictly formalized, but for the Mbuti it is more ambiguous and opportunistic. When a Bira dies, some maternal uncles immediately come and receive two chickens, then several days later, on the day of the funeral (*tanga*), another five chickens (*etisi*) as the rules prescribe. The Mbuti have no such rules prescribing the number of chickens. During the period of this research, one old person in the Kalonge band died, as did a child in the Mawambo band. When the old person died, a man calling himself the mother's brother of the deceased received one chicken, but when the child died, the mother's brothers received nothing.

#### 4) ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

Those Mbuti who can trace consanguinity, whether on the fathers' or mothers' side, are forbidden to marry. However, constraint for kinship on the mother's side being weaker, even when consanguinity exists, it is not uncommon for a couple to get married without being aware of the relationship. But on the father's side even distant relatives must avoid marriage if they can trace blood ties.

Because of the clarity of patrilineal consanguinity, intermarriage is avoided in principle among the members of the same *banama*. Yet it cannot be said that such marriages are strictly forbidden. When no other suitable marriage partner can be found, and therefore compelled by necessity, a person marries someone from the same *banama*, provided that they are not linked by concrete consanguinal ties. In Tetri, there are three married couples from the same band and the same *banama*, but these are exceptions to the rule.

Several *banama* exist among those belonging to a group with the same *nginiso*. Intermarriage is possible even if the members are thought to have approximately the same ancestors, as long as they can not concretely trace the same ancestry, because *banama* is different. Among people of the same *nginiso*, a passive tie exists around the preservation of common *nginiso* rules only, but other than that cooperative ritual practice and exogamous marriage are not found. Among the Epulu Mbuti, Turnbull [1965b] has called attention to the existence of 2 or 3 examples of patrilineal groups with the same name (what I call *banama*) within which there are different totems (what I call *nginiso*). A group with the same totem is considered a lineage; a patrilineal group which contains lineage Turnbull calls a "clan"<sup>4)</sup>. In Tetri the situation is

4) Turnbull says that there is a high probability that the Mbuti's totem and lineage are something borrowed from the villagers with whom they are closely connected [TURNBULL 1965b]. Furthermore, according to Winter [1956], the Pygmy (Batwa) who live in the Ruwenzori Mountains in Uganda have the same totem as the villagers (Bwamba) with whom they are closely connected. But the Mbuti totem (*nginiso*), even if taken to be something previously borrowed, has subsequently become something handed down through their society's paternal lines so that there is no difficulty in seeing it as a symbol of their own descent group. In Tetri, there is no more than one Mbuti band which shares the same *nginiso* with the group of Bira people with which it maintains a close relationship.

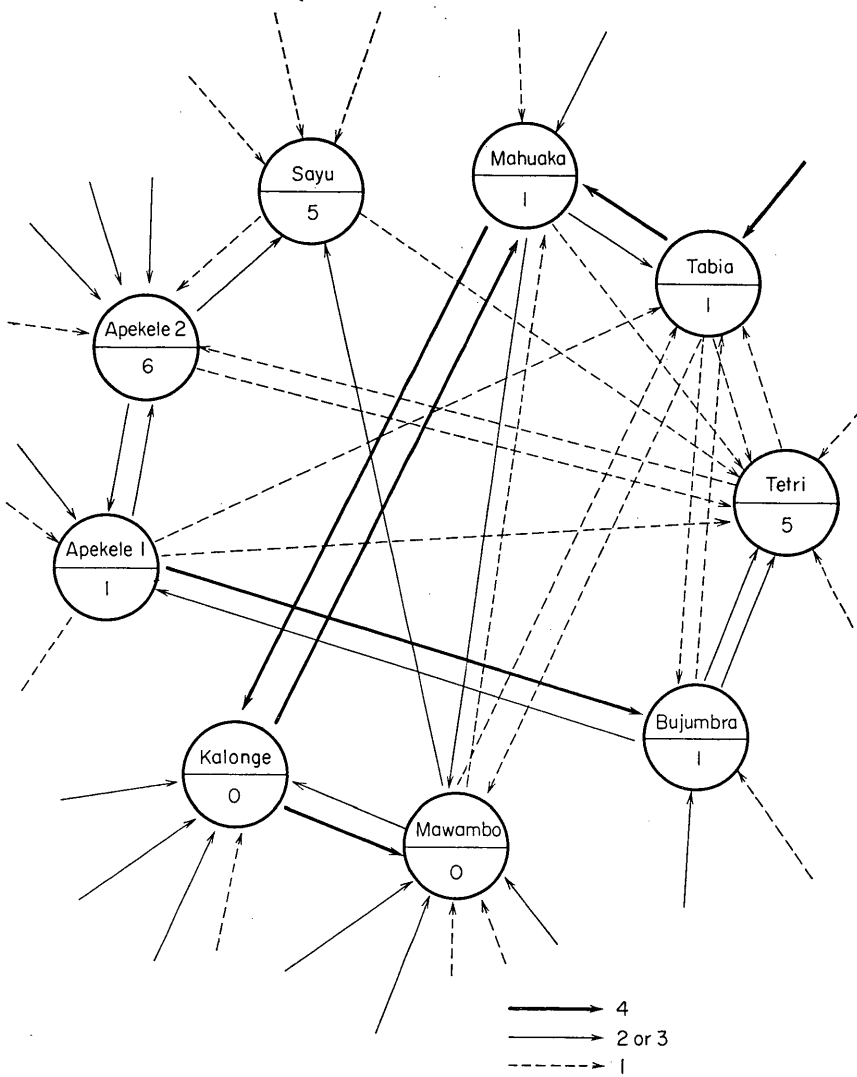


**Table 3.** *Nginiso* group and *banama*.

<i>Nginiso</i>	<i>Banama</i>	Band
<i>akoda</i> (Squirrel)	Bandimeepa (Bapo)	Mahuaka
	Bandikenbe	Mahuaka, Bahaha
	Bandisenne	Tetri
	Bandimakpa	Apekele-1
	Baputele	Apekele-2
<i>moli</i> (Leopard)	Bandipusu	Tabia
	Bandiboko	Buyuma
	Bapusungwe	Apekele-2, Sayu, Biakatu
	Basingale	Kalonge
	Bandibele	Katanga, Kenia
	Bandilokoto	Amalutu
	Bandimaba	Butcha
	Bakema	Laria-1
<i>anbai</i> (Monitor)	Bapuera	Tetri, Apekele-1
	Bandimanbenbe (Bapuera)	Mawambo
	Bandindele	Maulo, Laria-1
<i>siko</i> (Chimpanzee)	Bandikienge	Bujumbra
	Bapulenba	Dar-es-salaam
<i>njoka</i> (Snake)	Bapuma	Kenia, Sambuku, Sayu
	Bandikambwa	Mambasa
<i>njali</i> (Buffalo)	Bapukele	Some, Mambasa
	Bapama	Koki
<i>kadui</i> (Owl-faced monkey)	Bapusaba	Laria-2, Biasiku, Essere
<i>njiko</i> (Porcupine)	Bapusoki	Makonbo
<i>kulkoko</i> (Great blue turaco)	Baboti	Sambuku
<i>anbilo</i> (Pygmy antelope)	Banbifiana	Makonbo
<i>kohekohe</i> (A species of hornbill)	Bandingobo	Tabia
<i>mopie</i> (A species of bird)	Banbasimba	Biasiku
<i>Fifi</i> (A species of bird)	Babohi	Mahuaka

exactly reversed. It is customary that several *banama* are contained within group having the same *nginiso* (Table 3). This relationship is also seen between the Bira *nginiso* and the *banama*.

Figure 5 shows the intermarriage connections for the nine bands in the Tetri



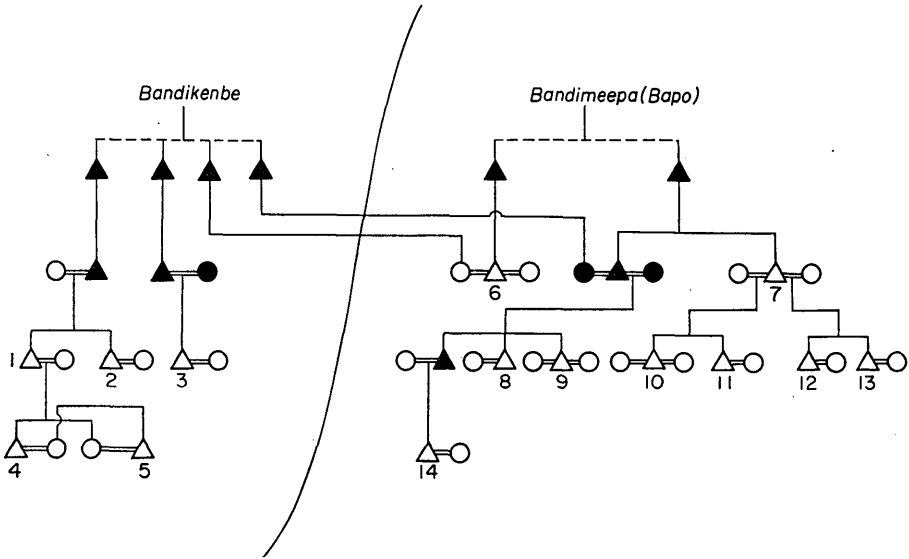
**Figure 5.** Sociogram of intermarriage (The numbers within the circles show intramarriage within the band).

region. Of the 125 women with virilocal marriages, 63 percent were born in the nine bands of Tetri treated here (20 had married within their own bands). Rather than saying, therefore, that a loose intermarriage tie is formed by people in the Tetri region, it seems that the Mbuti have a tendency to find a spouse among the groups in the region neighboring their own bands. Eighty-six percent of the sample are comprised of those who have found their spouses in a band with a base camp within 10 km of the base camps of their own bands. The bands with an especially high frequency of intermarriages are the Kalonge and Mahuaka, but such a tendency is also seen

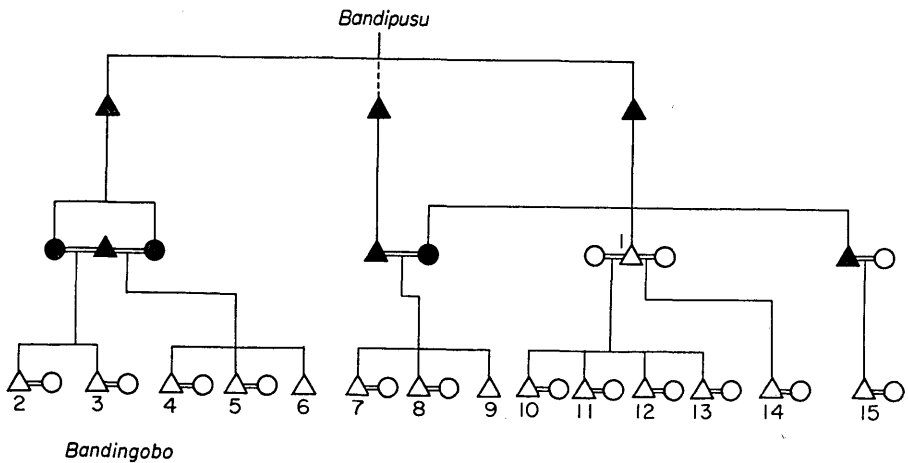
between Kalonge and Mawambo, between Mahuaka and Tabia, between Apekele-1 and Bujumbra, and between Tetri and Bujumbra. Of the five pairs of bands mentioned above, it is noteworthy that they are either now located adjacent to one another or were previously adjacent. This high frequency of intermarriages between a particular pair of bands is probably derived from their preference for sister exchange marriages.

**5. GENEALOGICAL COMPOSITION OF THE BANDS**

The general marriage rule among the Tetri Mbuti is virilocal marriage. Thus



**Figure 6a.** Genealogy of the Mahuaka band.



**Figure 6b.** Genealogy of the Tabia band.

the pattern is patrilocal from the viewpoint of children born to such unions. If this patrilocality has persisted for generations, the band is a typical patrilocal band composed of patrilineally related males and their children, and women from other bands who have entered by marriage.

But, the actual composition of the bands usually deviates somewhat from this model, because the Mbuti accept uxori-local marriage; or from the standpoint of the children, matrilocal residence. Even if there were only one example of uxori-local marriage in a band, after a generation or two there would be many cases of members succeeding to the husband's, that is outsiders' *banama* (see Figure 6b, the example of Tabia).

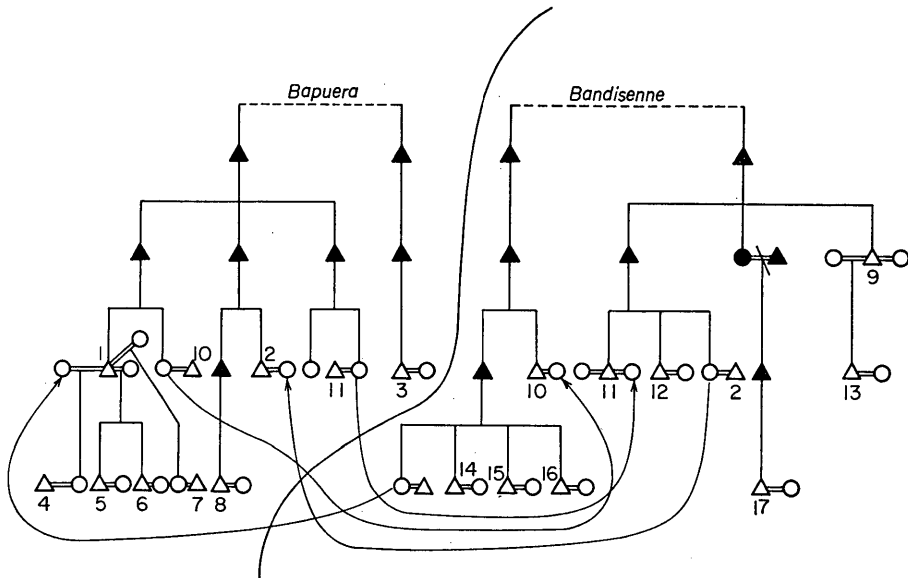


Figure 6c. Genealogy of the Tetri band.

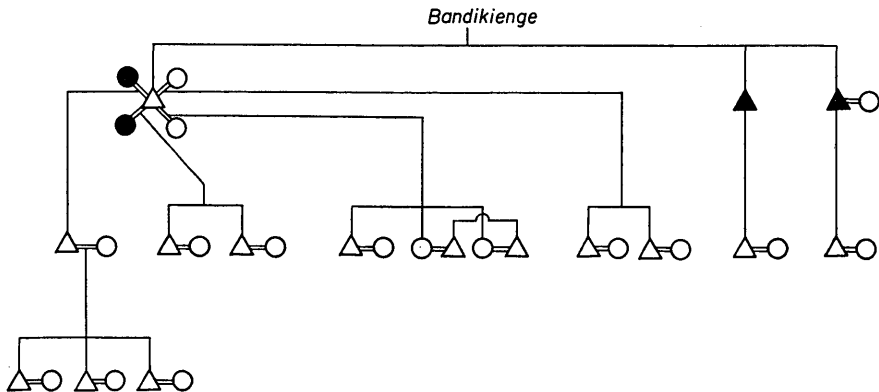


Figure 6d. Genealogy of the Bujumbra band.

For the nine bands of the Tetri region as well as for the Sambuku hunting groups, genealogical composition and *banama* composition are shown in Figure 6a-j and Table 4. There is no uxorilocal marriage in the Mawambo or Kalonge bands, and all the men are related consanguineously, but this is not because they are from a single *banama*.

Furthermore, it is necessary to look closely at the Tetri, Apekele-2 and Sambuku bands, all of which clearly divide into two groups with different genealogical compositions. Each of the two groups comprising a single band is composed of members

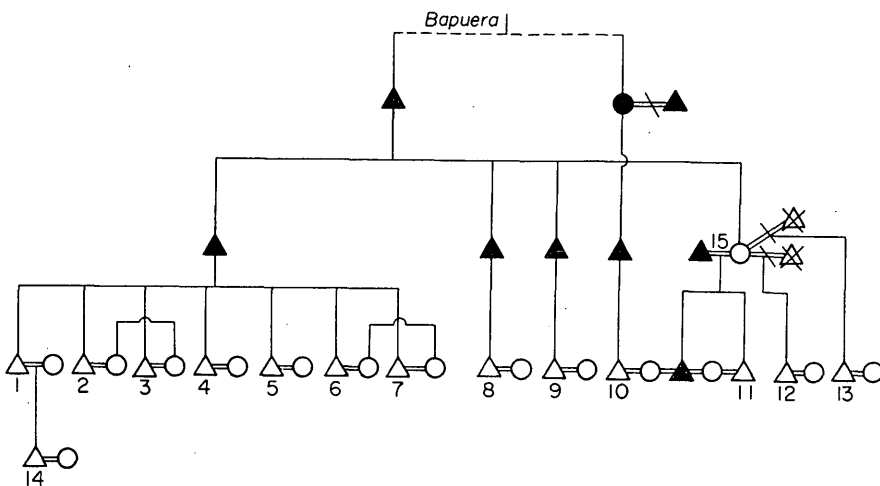


Figure 6e. Genealogy of the Mawambo band.

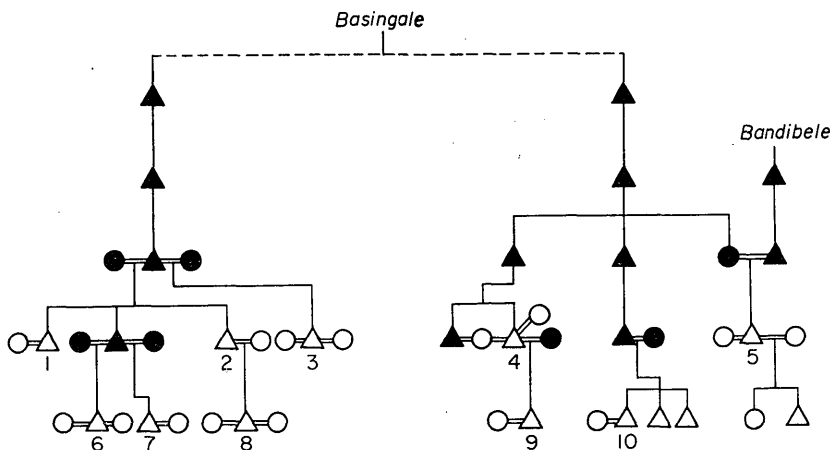


Figure 6f. Genealogy of the Kalonge band.

of the same *banama* and, in some cases, those who have become connected with the *banama* by uxori-local or avunculocal residence. This sort of composition is seen in the three bands above and also in the Mahuaka and Apekele-1 band. This suggests the occurrence of the fusion of two small bands like the Mawambo and Kalonge, which have a patrilineal composition. I would like to call this band, made up of two patrilineal groups, a dyadic band; and to designate as sub-bands the two

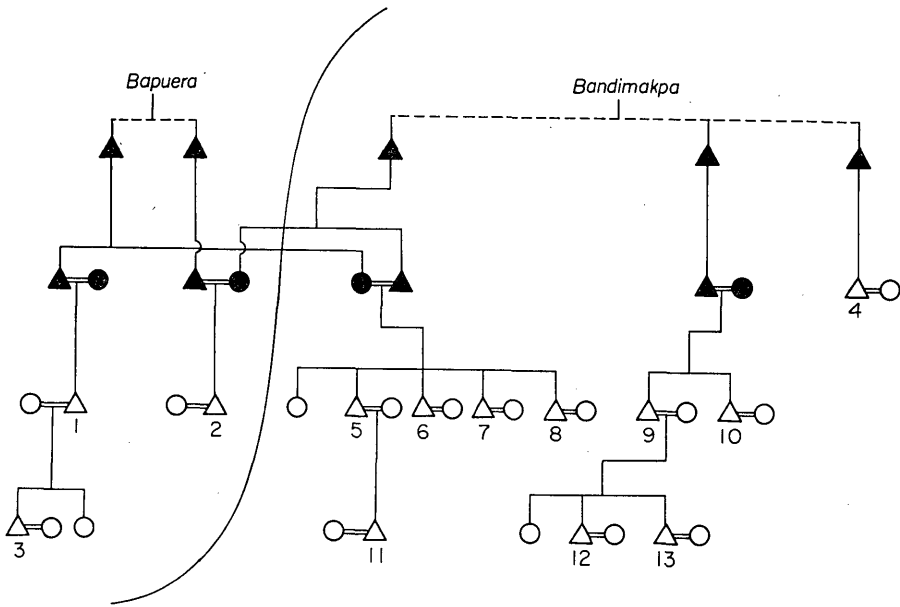


Figure 6g. Genealogy of the Apekele-1 band.

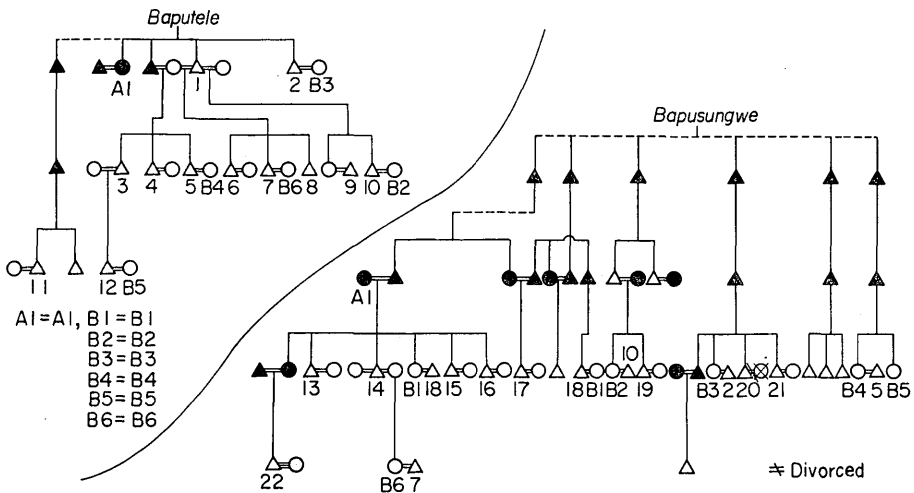


Figure 6h. Genealogy of the Apekele-2 band.

patrilineal groups of the dyadic band. Inter-marriage between members of the sub-bands is common.

In a dyadic band both ecological and sociological problems may be solved. Carrying on stable hunting activities, especially net hunting, presents an ecological problem of how to gather a sufficient population, and marriage exogamy presents a sociological problem of how to form intermarriages between patrilineal groups.

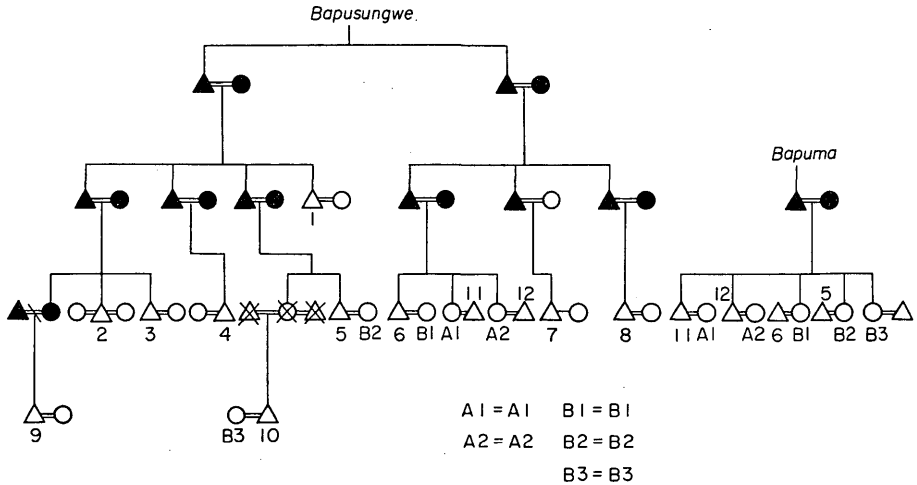


Figure 6i. Genealogy of the Sayu band.

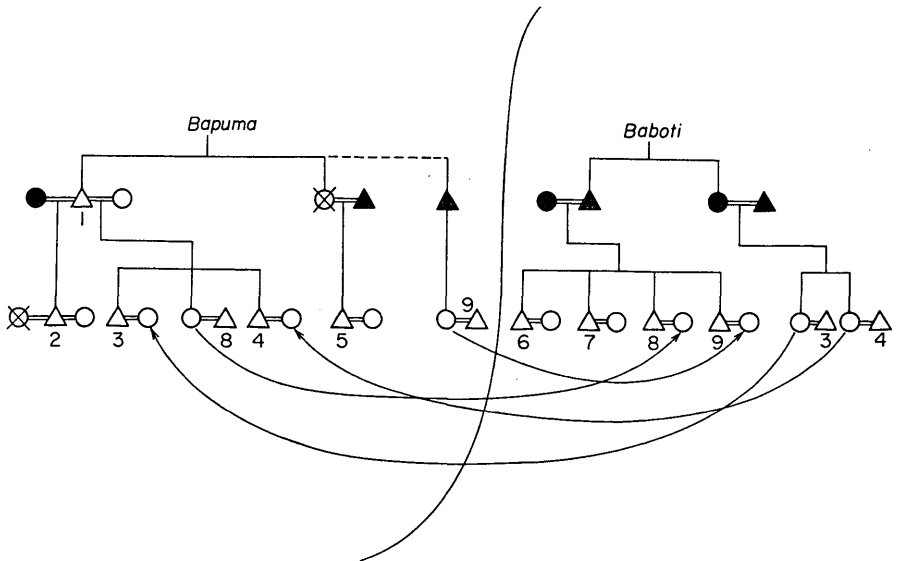


Figure 6j. Genealogy of the Sambuku hunting group.

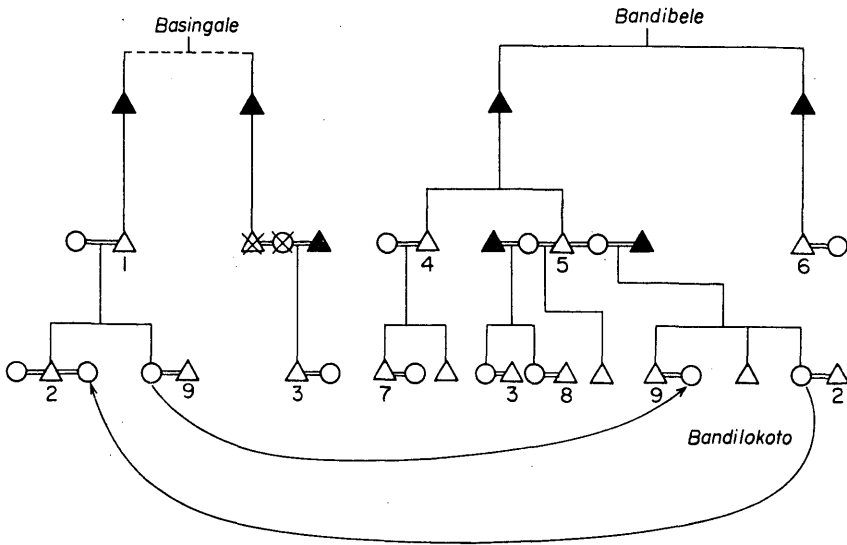


Figure 6k. Genealogy of the Njiakia hunting group.

The Mbuti's exogamous range, either matrilineally or patrilineally, depends on whether or not they can trace consanguinity. In this type of dyadic band, those who are free from the blood of either side of the patrilineal group can be taken as stock, so it should be possible to, for several generations, request a spouse from the other party's patrilineal group (see Figure 7).

Social tension often exists between the sub-bands of which the dyadic band is made up. This is clear from the spatial arrangement of the camp. The sub-bands, with their respective members gathered in groups, tend to build huts facing each other, and in extreme cases even build their huts back to back (Figure 8b, c, d, e, f). This tendency has clearly appeared in the Sambuku band, which fused comparatively

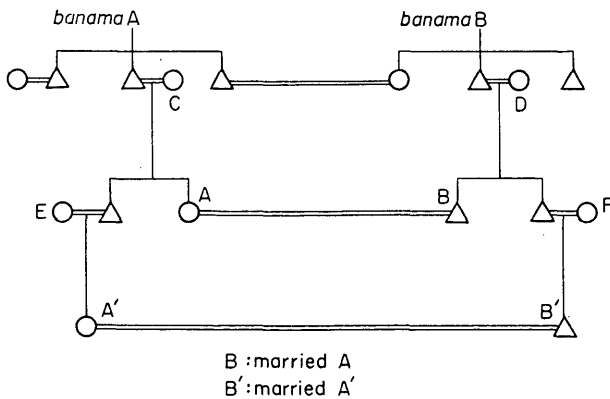


Figure 7. An example of intermarriage between two sub-bands.



Table 4. Band and *banama*.

Band	Banama	Nginiso	Numer of families	Note
Mahuaka	Bandimeepa	Squirrel	9	Dyadic Band
	Bandikenbe	Squirrel	4	
	Other		1	Uxorilocal
Tabia	Bandipusu	Leopard	9	Uxorilocal of their father
	Bandingobo	" <i>Kohekohe</i> "	4	
Tetri	Bandisenne	Squirrel	9	Dyadic Band
	Bapuera	Monitor	6	
	Bandiboko	Leopard	1	Uxorilocal
	Bapusungwe	Leopard	1	Uxorilocal
Bujumbra	Bandikienge	Chimpanzee	12	Uxorilocal
	Bandisenne	Squirrel	2	
Mawambo	Bapuera	Monitor	11	Uxorilocal of his father's father
	Bapuma	Snake	1	
	Bapusoki	Porcupine	1	
	Other		1	
Kalonge	Basingale	Leopard	9	Avanculocal
	Bandibele	Leopard	1	
Apekele-1	Bapuera	Monitor	3	Dyadic Band
	Bandimakpa	Squirrel	10	
Apekele-2	Bapusungwe	Leopard	10	Dyadic band
	Baputele	Squirrel	10	
	Bambasimba	" <i>Mopie</i> "	2	Uxorilocal, Uxorilocal of his father
	Bapulemba	Chimpanzee	1	Uxorilocal of his Father
	Others		2	Uxorilocal
Sayu	Bapusungwe	Leopard	8	Uxorilocal
	Bapuma	Snake	2	
	Others		2	
Sambuku	Bapuma	Snake	3	Dyadic band
	Baboti	Great blue turaco	4	
	Bandipusu	Leopard	1	Avanculocal

recently, several years ago. In November 1974, when I stayed at their camp, they had opened a new camp in the forest. At that time, both sub-bands had set up independent camps tens of meters apart in the forest, and for a while the forest between the two was left untouched (Figure 8f).

The example of the Apekele-2 band may be cited to illustrate the separation of sub-bands during net hunting. In this case the Baputele sub-band set nets covering the right wing (*njika na ekonga*, "the hand holding the spear"), and the Bapusungwe

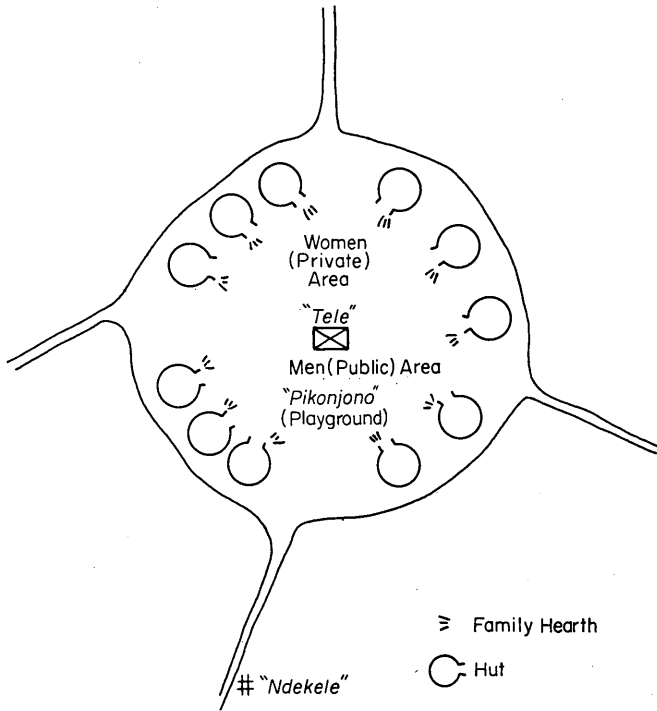
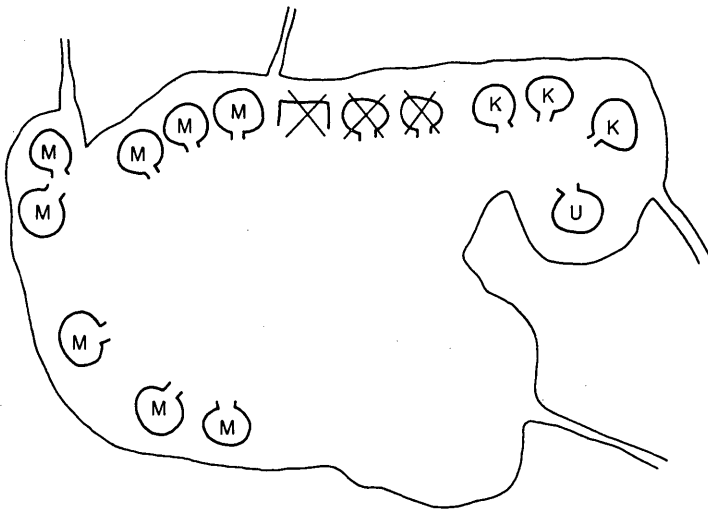


Figure 8a. Plan of a model camp.



- M : *Bandimeepa (Bapo)*
- K : *Bandikenbe*
- U : *Uxorilocal residence with Bandikenbe*

Figure 8b. The Pakele hunting camp (Mahuaka band).

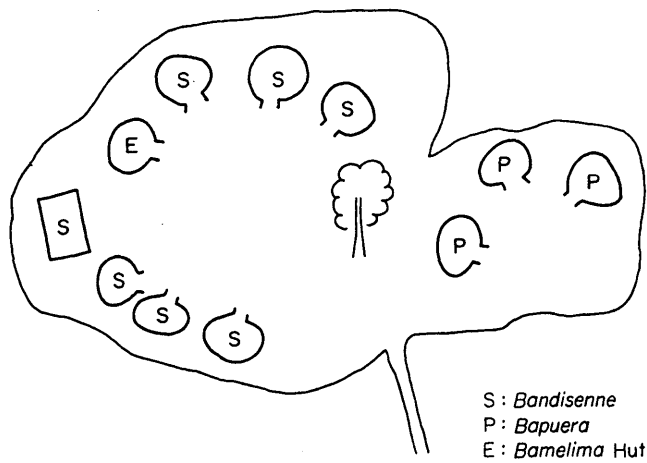


Figure 8c. The base camp of the Tetri band.

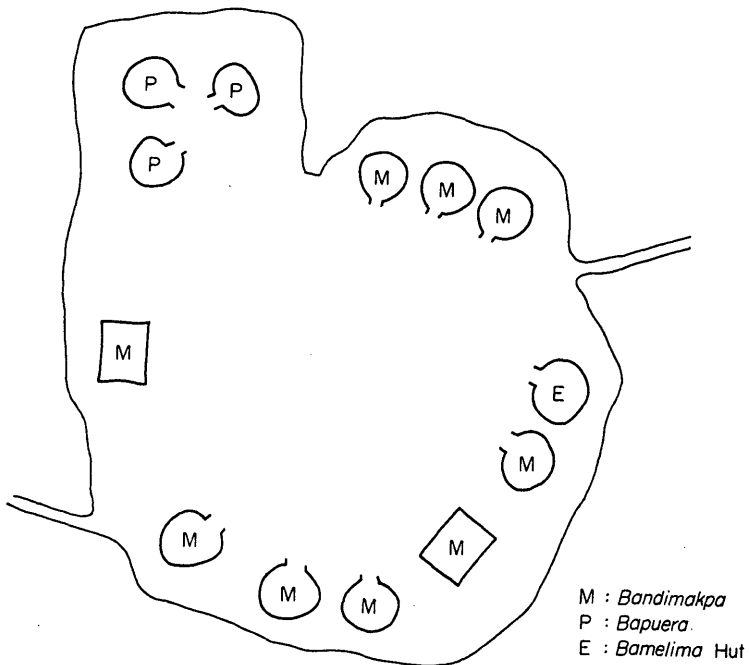


Figure 8d. The base camp of the Apekele-1 band.

sub-band the left wing (*njika na mange*, “the hand holding the bow”).

This separation comes from the unity of the members of each sub-band. At the same time, it symbolizes the distinction of each sub-band. However, in practice it derives from concrete and individual human relations, which arise from inter-marriages. An avoiding relationship, for example, exists in Mbuti society and

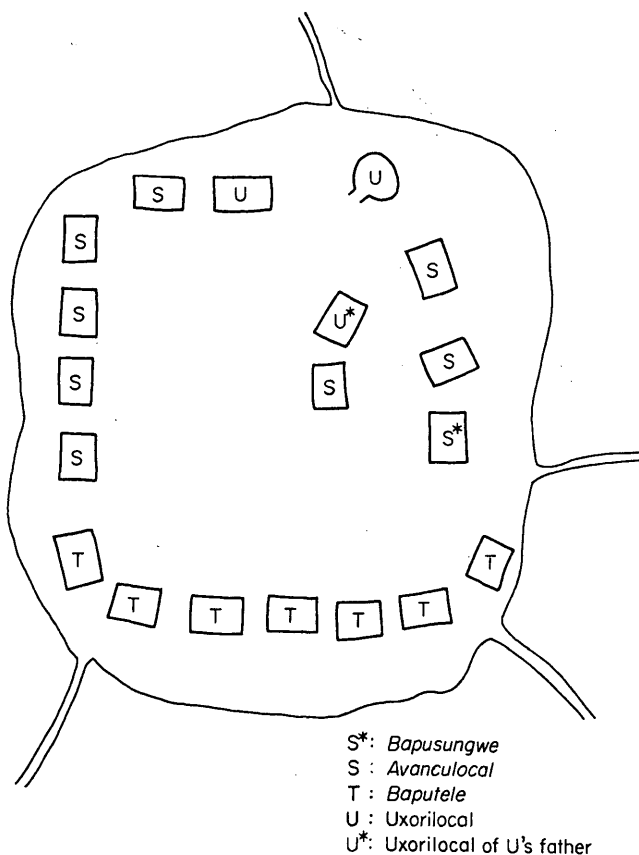
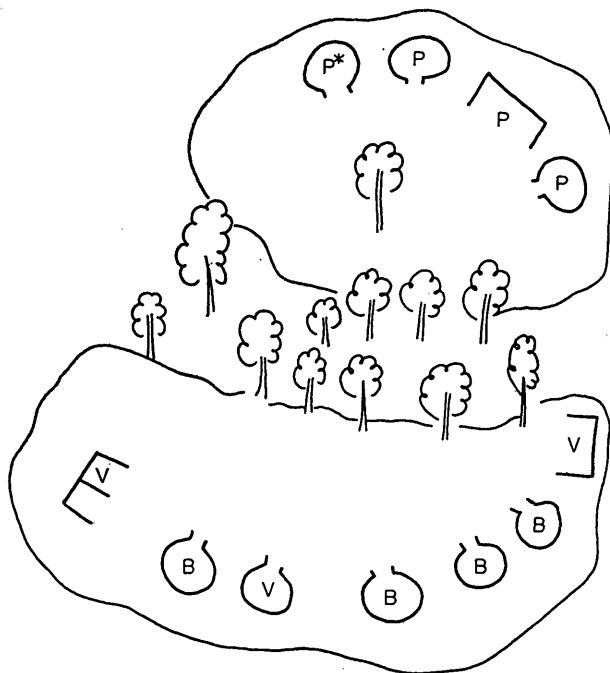


Figure 8e. The base camp of the Apekele-2 band.

in the neighboring villagers' society between a son-in-law (a daughter's husband) and his mother-in-law (the wife's mother). Moreover, it is common for the relatives on the bride's side, especially her brother (*kiyo*), to make claims on the husband and give him trouble on any pretext. Two sub-bands that intermarry build their huts somewhat apart, and as this occurs together with intermarriage, it serves the utilitarian purpose of reducing opportunities for friction. Notwithstanding this relationship, two patrilineal groups forming into a band does not simplify the problem of conveniently obtaining spouses. Through intermarriage the Mbuti produce not only opposition but also unity. This kind of unity between affines is felt to be especially strong in cases where two men marry sisters in an exchange (*kusono*). Two old men, Kibelenge (1) and Kisanbo (10) of the Tetri band had *kusono* (Figure 6c). Even now, twenty years later, every year during the honey collecting season, these two families together set up a separate camp for honey collection. Perhaps not infrequently intermarriage provides the opportunity for establishing a new band.



P : *Bapuma*  
 P\* : *Avanculocal*  
 B : *Babbti*  
 V : *Villagers*

Figure 8f. The Sambuku hunting camp.

## 6. FISSION AND FUSION OF BANDS

The course of migration of the Mawambo Bapuera (later called Bandimanbenbe) band up to the present can be traced from the birthplaces of a number of men in the band who have been members since birth. Of these men, Selanbongo (1)<sup>5)</sup>, Hemedi (8), and Manjoa (2) were born in Maheko: Anjina (3) in Apekele, Amisi (4) in Ashef, Mateasi (5) in Butcha, and the three, Besei (6), Kalenyama (7) and Pumba (14) in Mawambo. They came to the Mawambo village approximately twenty years ago, according to an old Bira living there.

According to Banyongelya (15) and Manjoa, of the Mawambo Bapuera, and from Ari (2) of Tetri, the course followed by the Mawambo Bapuera can be reconstructed as follows. In the Tetri region, other than the Mawambo Bapuera, there exist two *banama* called Bapuera, whose *nginiso* is *anbai* (monitor); one is in the Tetri band and the other in the Apekele-1 band. It is said that previously these two formed part of a single band, together with the Mawambo Bapuera.

5) Refer to Figure 6e.

Originally the Mawambo and the Tetri Bapuera lived together in a place known as Elenge, near the Ibienna River, when the present Manjoa's grandfather, Esahe, was still young. At that time, there was strife between the Mbuti living in Tabia (Bandipusu) on the one hand, and the Mawambo and the Tetri Bapuera on the other. Everyone was fighting. During this long dissension, infighting broke out among the Bapuera themselves, and it was decided that they would live apart. This explains the fission of the Bapuera. Later the Tetri Bapuera moved further down the Ibienna River, where they fused with the Bandisenne. The Mawambo Bapuera then came to be called Bandimanbenbe. Their course after that is unclear, but in any event they came to Maheko, where they fused with a group of Bapuma from Koki, and built a camp. It is said that at that time there was a trail leading directly southward from Koki, crossing the Ituri River, to Maheko. Selanbongo, Hemedi and Manjoa were born in Maheko. Banyongelya married a man from Bapuma. One day, while hunting, Hemedi (the present Hemedi was named after this man belonging to the same Bapuera of his father's generation) came to a wide road. In the area of what is now Apekele it is thought that there was then a road from Mambasa to Beni. The Bapuera living in Maheko moved together with Bapuma to Apekele. There Anjina and Shambrer (3) of the Bapuma were born. But in Apekele at that time there was no Bira village. Soon afterwards they moved to Ashef and there led a hunting life. At that time, there was a large Bira village in Butcha, and it is probable that they were closely connected with the Bira people here. Amisi was born in the Ashef camp, and Mateasi was born in Butcha. As Banyongelya was also born in Butcha, it is unlikely that this is their first visit.

The migration to Mawambo probably came during the middle of the 1950's. Besei, Kalenyama, Pumba and others were born after that. Shortly after arriving in Mawambo, as Selanbongo's brothers had grown up, the band grew quite large. The direct cause of fission is not clear. The Bapuma group separated from the Bapuera, and again moved in the direction of Ashef and Sambuku. Here they fused with the Baboti with whom they now encamp. The Baboti were formerly Makonbo (a village in the vicinity of Beni) Mbuti (Figure 9).

It is apparent that, taking a long-range view of the Mbuti bands, the process of fission and fusion is repeated time and again; their hunting grounds similarly change. In general, those Mbuti advanced in age are familiar with a wide area of the forest, which is now divided into several different territories.

A small group of Mbuti, after splitting off, will search for another group to pair up with. In the Tetri band, for example, the Bapuera is joined to the Bandisenne, and there was once a period during which the Mawambo Bapuera built a camp with the Bapuma. The Bapuma, which at one time formed a single band with the Mawambo Bapuera, has now become a partner of the Baboti. When this sort of fission and fusion occurs, the patrilineal groups which belong to the same *banama* become the basic unit. When it is understood that the sub-bands making up the new bands consist of the patrilineal groups, the process of the formation of a dyadic band becomes comprehensible by following the course illustrated above.

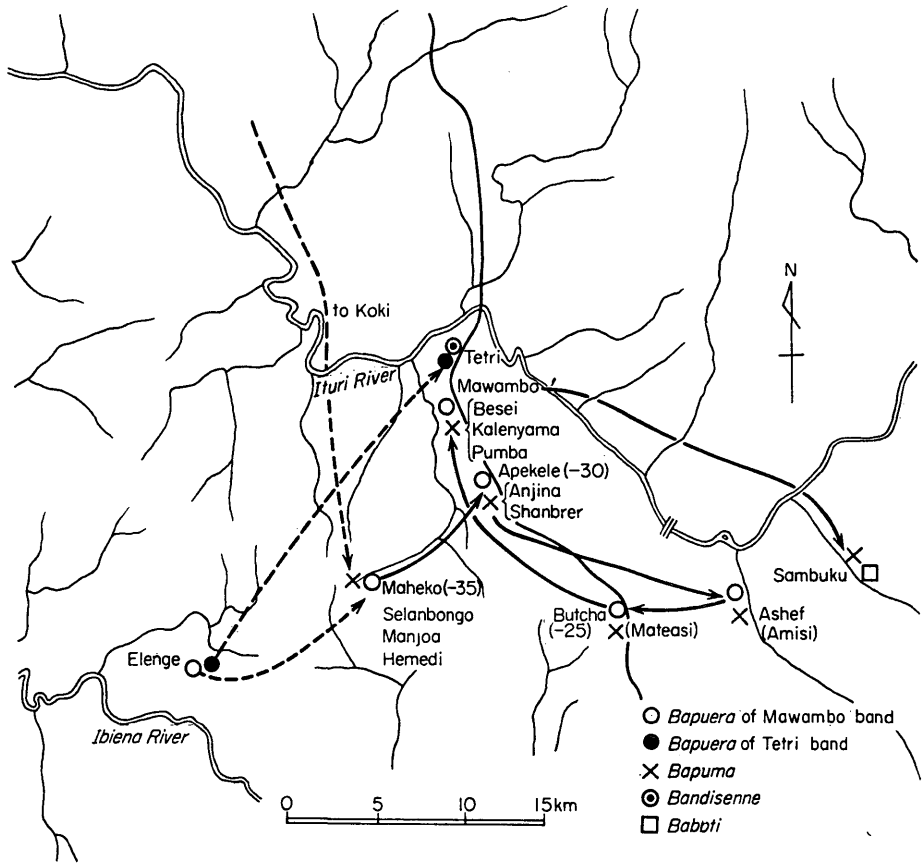


Figure 9. The Movement of the Bapuera group.

Other than the Bapuera, there are groups with the same *banama* name distributed in several bands (Figure 10). In all likelihood, a few generations ago, there was a time when these *banama* were part of the same band. So recently that it remains clear in people's minds, Bapusungwe of the Sayu (5) and Biakatu (10), Bapusaba of the Biasiku (12) and Laria (8), and Bandindele of the Maulo (6) and Laria (9) have all split up, and in the Mahuaka band, a majority of the Bandikenbe sub-band moved to Bahaha, in 1973. Even among the seemingly stable Mbuti bands, over a long period of time both fission and fusion are clearly not an unusual phenomena.

In March 1975, relations between the Mawambo Mbuti and the Bira worsened, and for this reason the Mbuti planned to move northward through the forest to Bahaha. At that time, Selanbongo, other sons of Amataba, and Mbuluku (9) wanted to move together to Bahaha, but Benjamin (11), Anjabeli (13), Hemedi (8), and Bangana (12) said that they had made up their minds to stay in Mawambo and to join the Kalonge later. Hemedi, Benjamin and Anjabeli got spouses from Kalonge, so they intended to fuse with the Kalonge band, and Bangana was to live with his

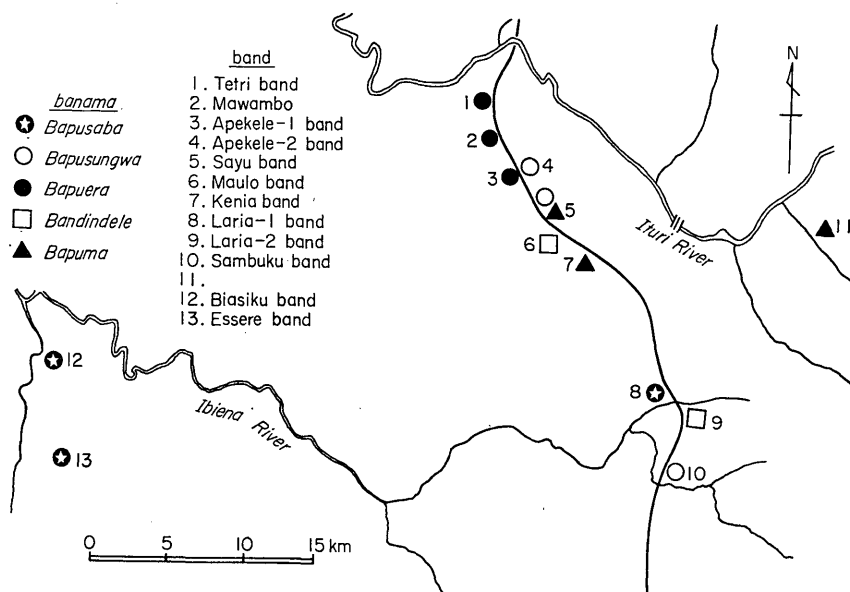


Figure 10. Distribution of the *banama* and bands.

brothers and mother. This plan was not actually carried out, but the disparity in their behavior reveals an interesting pattern: Core members act together. A new dyadic band is formed following affinal relationships.

### 7. COMPOSITION OF MBUTI SOCIETY

The family is the smallest social unit in Mbuti society. When the Mbuti marry, they set up independent huts and form nuclear families. Those who are polygamous or living with one parent form composite families. In the Bira language (*Kibira*) there is no word for “family.” (If one forces an answer, they commonly answer *banamasu* [our *banama*] or *bamikibasubendulamo* [“children who live in the same house with me”]. Maybe there are people who use the Kingwana word, *famili*, which has been borrowed from either English or French, but in most cases it carries the meaning of *banama* or *kabira* [the Kingwana equivalent]<sup>6)</sup>) Each family lives in its own hut (*ehumba*), which is dome-shaped with a diameter of 2–2.5 m. Composite families either build two of huts or build a separate hump-shaped room behind the usual *ehumba*. The *ehumba* is treated as private space within the camp. If one man is smoking, for example, others without tobacco may ask for some, based on the all-embracing Mbuti principle of egalitarianism. A man who wishes to smoke by himself will go into the forest to smoke or do so inside his own *ehumba*. “People pretend

6) Kingwana is a dialect of Swahili, representing a common language used among the several tribes which are intermingled in Ituri. *Banama* is translated in Kingwana as *kabira*.



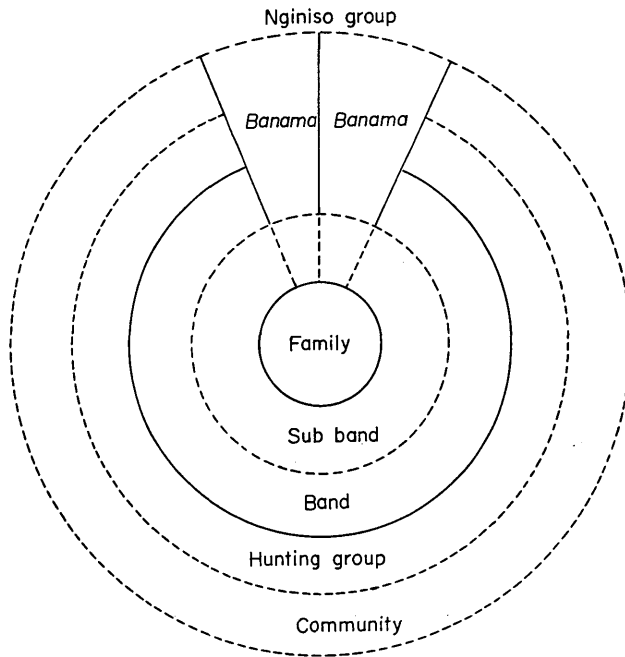


Figure 11a. Composition of the Mbuti Society 1.

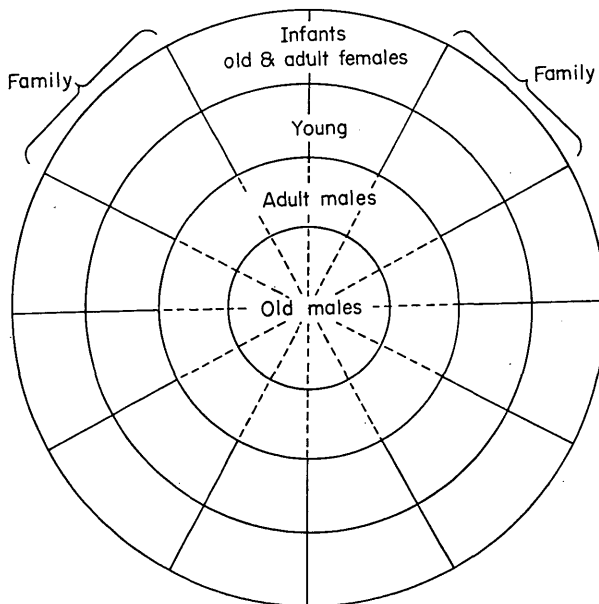


Figure 11b. Composition of the Mbuti Society 2.

not to have seen it," though this is not a frequent occurrence. Each family has its own hunting net and participates in hunting, each builds a fire in front of the *ehumba* for its own use in cooking, and when night falls each returns to its own *ehumba* to sleep. For the Mbuti, the family is the smallest social unit of production and consumption.

The next clearly defined social segment is the sub-band, with its core men linked by patrilineal ties. Each of the two sub-bands making up a dyadic band is, spatially and functionally, a coordinating social segment. In Mbuti social life, the band is the most important group. It controls the hunting territory, bringing families together for cooperative hunting; it forms a residence group at the base camp, and is politically and economically an autonomous group. Members of a band have a clear conception of the band to which they belong.

Often, neighboring bands build a hunting camp (*pakuya*) together and then cooperatively hunt. In 1974, for example, the Mawambo band and the Kalonge band joined for net hunting, as did the Apekele-1 band and the Apekele-2 band [TANNO 1976]. However, this sort of link between two bands is not thought to be constant. During the 1975 net hunting season, the Kalonge Mbuti joined for hunting with the Amalutu Mbuti, whose territory borders the other side of the Mawambo territory, whereas the Mawambo, Apekele-1, and Apekele-2 each built independent camps for net hunting. Nevertheless, even if fusion between bands is temporary, it still poses an interesting question. When the kinship relationship and the plan of a hunting camp of two bands which have fused to make this hunting group are examined closely, a magnified version of the two sub-bands which compose a dyadic band is recognizable. The formation of a dyadic relation in Mbuti society becomes unexpectedly broad.

Although administratively, the *notabre* (*shof*, the tribal chief's assistant) represents the Mbuti whose base camps are located in the area between the Ituri River and Laria, this is not because the bands have some kind of special connection or unity. In Mbuti society the largest social unit is the local community, including several neighboring groups. Most of the Mbuti obtain spouses from within these neighboring groups.

Apart from this socio-spatial unit, there exists the other social outlook: the common descent group, the *banama*. Members of the same *banama* inherit *nginiso* from their biological fathers, and make up the core of a sub-band or the band itself. Even when the band splits, the *banama* usually becomes the core unit of division. Several *banama* will generally share the same *nginiso*.

Within a band, there are groupings based on sex and age distinctions. Members of the same sex and age, either children or adults, participate together in daily activities. The children play or carry water, young people visit the neighboring bands, and adults go spear hunting or honey collecting, accompanied by members of the same age group.

Mbuti society, then, is composed of three kinds of units: social units whose outlooks have socio-spatial features, natal groups of common patrilineal descent, and groups based on age and sex distinctions (Figure 11a, b).

## 8. FORMATION OF HUNTING GROUPS

During the main rainy season, from August to November, the Mbuti occasionally take a few days to go spear hunting (*butuma*) or net hunting (*kuya*), but the time of long stays in the forest camps begins with the start of the dry season, in December. Net hunting reaches its peak at the height of dry season, from January to March. Then they go net hunting almost every day, as long as it does not rain. The trading of meat, prohibited during the main rainy season, is now authorized, for which purpose many farmers visit the forest camps, bringing food and cloth.

The behavior of the Mbuti living in the hunting camp is controlled by strict prohibitions, for they believe that life in the forest is of a different nature from that in the base camp close to the village. For example, in the forest they may not sit with their legs folded, nor may they throw stones. A person who spills water on the morning campfire is strictly admonished. Those who break the behavioral prohibitions (*nba*) greatly anger the father of the forest (*apakumandura*, also known as *kalisia*) and then, it is said, the hunting can not be successful. If someone inadvertently breaks *nba*, they must immediately dispel *apakumandura*'s anger by instantly beating a buttress root instead of a drum and dancing in time to the rhythm. By the same token, the *akobisi* tree (*Uvariopsis congolana*) and the mushroom-shaped termite hill called *pakira* are believed to symbolize *apakumandura* or to be *apakumandura* itself, and any injury to or destruction of them is severely reprimanded<sup>7)</sup>.

### 1) PLAN OF HUNTING CAMPS

Mbuti huts (*ehumba*) are easily built. First, thin, wooden poles about two or three meters long are stuck in the ground to form a circle. These are then bent to form the framework of a dome. Next the hut is roofed by layering leaves of a plant belonging to the Marantaceae family, by putting three or four pieces from the top down. Including the gathering of raw materials, it usually takes only two to four hours from the time of arrival in camp to complete the huts.

The general plan of a Mbuti camp is shown in Figure 8a. An open space is left in the middle, and huts are built around it. The center of the space is called *tele* (meeting place), and here the men meet, eat, chat, and hold discussions. The ground around the *tele* is called *pikonjono*, and it is here that children play, and at night this is where dancing takes place. In front of each of the huts, a family hearth is laid out, and it is here the women cook food for their family, as well as gather to chat with neighboring women. When the food has been prepared, the women bring it to the men at the *tele*, and the husbands share the food. They make narrow paths leading into the forest for use in hunting, and to reach other camps. Sometimes, a *ndekele* is constructed, in which *apakumandura* (*kalisia*) is enshrined, at the entrance to the camp along one of these paths.

In the Mbuti camp, space is divided into three areas for specific activities. The center *tele* where men gather is public; the outskirts are a private space for women and

7) Concerning *akobisi* and *pakira*, a similar taboo also applies to the archers who have close ties with the Lese.

children. The area in between (*pikonjono*) serves as a playground for the children in the daytime and for singing and dancing in the evening. The women living around the circumference tend to build their huts next to those of their sisters or those with whom they have close friendships; however, women never gather the way the men do.

## 2) FORMATION OF HUNTING GROUPS

The size of the net hunting band has a close correlation with the net hunting activities. In many cases, the band forms the fundamental body of the hunting group. In the Tetri region, however, there are relatively few instances of the band per se forming itself as the hunting group; usually the band is modified. Hunting groups are formed as illustrated by the following examples:

### (1) The Mahuaka band

In June 1975, ten families were hunting at the Pakele hunting camp. One family, belonging to the Bandikenbe sub-band, was hunting with the *Tabia affines*' hunting group, but the other three families remained at the base camp for the season. The composition of the Pakele camp is shown in Table 5.

### (2) The *Tabia* band

In February 1975, three or four families were at the base camp and the remainder had already gone to the hunting camp.

### (3) The Tetri band

Table 5 shows the composition of the hunting group at the Amata camp, in April 1975; the rest of the families and many children remained in the base camp.

**Table 5.** Composition of hunting groups.

Camp		Old	Adult	Young	Infant	Total	Effectives Ratio
Mahuaka (1975-6, Pakele)	M.	2	8	6	15	31	
	F.	3	10	3	14	30	
	T.	5	18	9	29	61	44.3
Mawambo (1975-1, Elaki)	M.	0	10	3	8	21	
	F.	1	11	4	8	24	
	T.	1	21	7	16	45	62.2
Tetri (1975-4, Amata)	M.	1	7	1	2	11	
	F.	1	5	3	3	12	
	T.	2	12	4	5	23	69.6
Apekele-2 (1975-2, Mesere)	M.	0	13	5	1	19	
	F.	0	9	4	1	14	
	T.	0	22	9	2	33	93.9
Sambuku 1974-11	M.	1	7	0	4	12	
	F.	1	7	0	5	13	
	T.	2	14	0	9	25	56.0

## (4) The Bujumbra band

When the hunting season began, everyone had gone into the forest as a hunting group and the base camp was empty. During their hunting season, they apparently obtained agricultural products from villagers who came to the camp from Koki, across the Ituri River.

## (5) The Mawambo band

The Elaki camp was studied in January 1975. The composition of the hunting group is shown in Table 5. The remaining members were staying at a camp in the forest, by the Ituri River, an hour away from the base camp. From this camp, they went to help the farmers or took their turns at hunting.

## (6) The Kalonge band

During the 1973–1974 hunting season, the Kalonge hunted together with the Mawambo [TANNO 1976] but in the 1975 season they fused with the Amalutu band and organized a hunting group. At first they hunted in the Kalonge territory, but in April 1975, this joint group crossed the Ituri River and moved to the Njiakia camp on the riverbank. Soon afterwards, three Kalonge Mbuti families and almost all of the Amalutu Mbuti left this camp, and the composition of the hunting group changed completely. The Kalonge Mbuti who returned from the Njiakia camp stayed at the base camp from then until the beginning of the honey collecting season.

## (7) The Apekele-1 band

Like the Bujumbra band, all of the Apekele members went to the hunting camp in the forest, leaving the base camp empty. In the 1973–1974 hunting season, they formed a joint hunting group with the Apekele-2 band [TANNO 1976].

## (8) The Apekele-2 band

The hunting group active at the Messere camp in February 1975 is shown in Table 5. The other members stayed at the base camp but they used the nets left behind to do some small-scale net hunting. As in the case of the Tetri band, almost all of the children stayed behind at the base camp.

## (9) The Sayu band

In the 1974–1975 hunting season, this band did not organize its own hunting group. Two families from among its members joined the Apekele-2 hunting group, one joined the Laria and four the Kenia. Thus they dispersed to hunt in the territory of other bands. The remainder stayed continuously in the base camp.

As can be seen, there are several types of hunting groups: (1) In the Tetri and the Apekele-2 hunting groups, the outstanding feature is the small number of dependents (Figure 12a, b; shadowed area shows the composition of hunting group); (2) The Mawambo, Mahuaka and Tabia bands, each left several families behind either in the base camp or in the old hunting camp nearby. Because these bands carry on their activities with the family as the unit, the population composition of their hunting group is unlike the patterns of the Tetri or the Apekele-2 (Figure 12c, d). With the exception of the Apekele-2, all the nets were collected and brought to the hunting ground. Those people left behind in the base camp were a surplus as far as net hunting was concerned; (3) Since all of the members of the Bujumbra and the

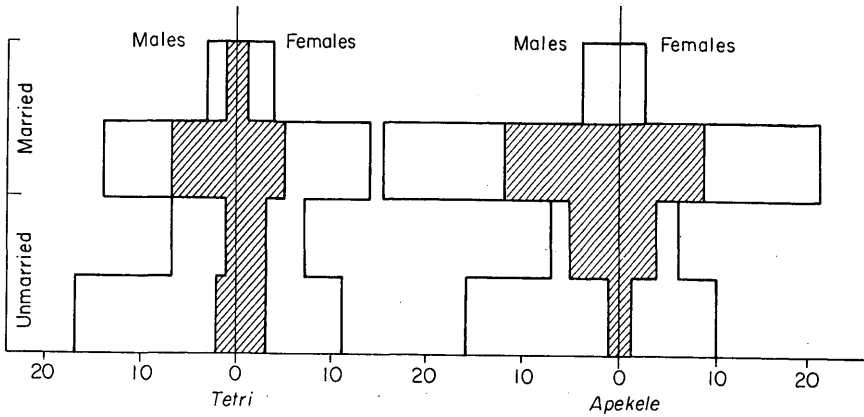


Figure 12a.

Figure 12b.

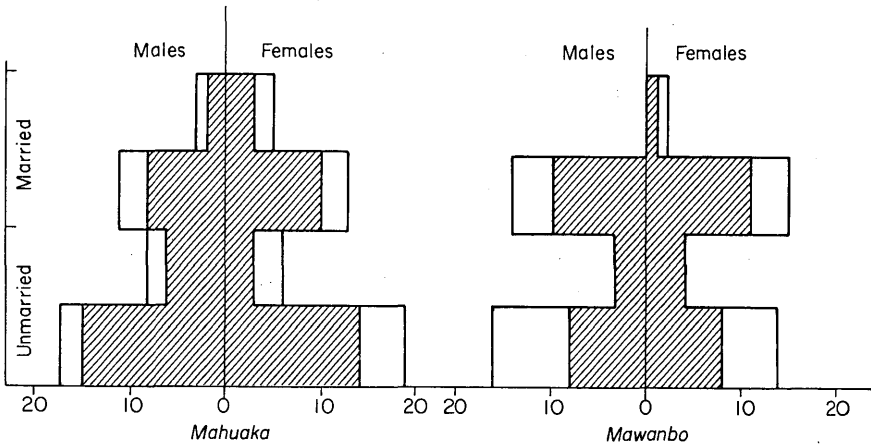


Figure 12c.

Figure 12d.

Apekele-1 bands participated in the hunting group, the composition of the band was identical to that of the hunting group; and (4) The Sayu band and the Kalonge band, in the latter half of the season, were no longer fundamental bodies making up hunting groups.

These patterns of fission and fusion are not consistent enough to assume that each example represents the permanent nature of the bands involved. The hunting patterns of the bands vary. For example, in the 1973-1974 hunting season, the Sayu band formed its own hunting group, and the Kalonge Mbuti formed a joint hunt, not with the Amalutu band but with the Mawambo Mbuti. In the same year the two Apekele bands jointly hunted in a single unit. Consequently, it is more useful to classify the Tetri region hunting groups as undergoing modifications at the beginning of the hunting season than according to their specific but temporary hunting patterns.

From these hunting group modifications, it appears that the hunting group is formed as a functional group for economic purposes. With this economic factor in

mind, it is wise to leave behind in the base camp those who would be a surplus in hunting. A clear example of this is seen in the Apekele-2 and Tetri hunting groups where dependents were few. It was explained that the children are left because in the forest camp hunger must on occasion be endured.

In contrast to the hunting camp with its participants, the base camp is everyone's place for social life. People gather there not for the purpose of organizing hunts, but on the basis of genuine social and kinship ties. In the Tetri region, hunting groups are composed more or less on two bases: forming the hunting group as an economically efficient unit and maintaining the band's essential nature as a social unit. In the case of the Bujumbra and Apekele-1 bands, the hunting group's essential character as an economic unit is hidden in the band, which functions as a social unit.

The special characteristics of the hunting group per se can be clearly seen in the Njiakia group, which formed in the latter half of the 1975 season. Hunting camps in this area frequently visited by meat traders from the villages along the main road that passes through the eastern edge of the Ituri Forest.

The kinship composition of the Njiakia hunting group is shown in Figure 6k. Although their ties of consanguinity and affinity were maintained, but barely, the principle of the Tetri region whereby each band is the fundamental body of the hunting group, entirely collapsed. This group as a whole resembles the composition of the band in Epulu which Turnbull [1965b] has described.

The most important person in the Njiakia hunting group was Benjamin (5). When this year's (1975) hunting season began, he was married to a widow from the Amalutu band, who already had grandchildren, and it is thought that he had initiated the fusion of the Amalutu band and his own Kalonge band. Afterwards, when this united hunting group moved to the Njiakia camp on the other bank, more than half of the Kalonge and Amalutu went away. Benjamin's relatives assembled from other regions as replacements, and thereafter the composition of the band became complex (Figure 6k). The native band and *banama* of each member is:

- (1) From the Kalonge band—Benjamin (Bandibele, 5), Asmani (Basingale, 1), Bafumoja (Basingale, 2);
- (2) From the Kenia band—Bulaya and his children (Bandibele, 4, 7), Shau (Bandisakada, 8);
- (3) From the Amalutu band—those remaining were the brothers Kalenyama and Shabani (Bandilokoto, 9); and
- (4) From the Katanga band—Michele (Bandibele, 6) and Polo (unknown, 3).

At the end of June 1975, with the approach of the end of a hunting season, the Njiakia hunting group dissolved. The assembling of a hunting group did not proceed to the formation of a new band, and most members returned to the bands to which they had belonged, but Michele and Polo from Katanga went to live in a village along the eastern side of the main road, as a result of having become friendly with a Nandi man who had come to trade.

## 9. FORMATION OF HONEY COLLECTING GROUPS

The dry season begins in December and ends in March, and when the rainy season begins again, the major species of trees begin to bloom. The *tembu* tree (*Cynometra alexandrii*) blooms from March to April, the *mbau* (*Gilbertiodendron dewevrei*) flowers from May to June, and the *eko* (*Brachystegia laurenti*) blooms a little later than the *mbau* and reaches a peak in late June. When these climax forest trees enter the flowering season, honeybees actively begin to store honey, and throughout the forest the buzzing of the bees is heard as they fly about the flowers.

Although the Mbuti collect honey from more than ten species of bees, only honeybees, which produce large amounts of honey, influence their social lives. From January, the honey of small, stingless bees is collected when hives are occasionally discovered, but the systematic search for honey does not begin until that of honeybees can be collected, when the forest trees bloom. In the Tetri region, full-scale honey collecting starts when the flowers of *eko* and *mbau* trees, which are especially abundant in the western part, come into bloom, and lasts from the end of May until July. Net hunting diminishes in importance when honey is being collected. For many camps, honey collecting comprises the bulk of daily subsistence activities, some depend on honey for as much as 70 percent of their total food intake [ICHIKAWA 1977a]. This is the time when the Mbuti depend least on agricultural products. Turnbull [1965b] has pointed out that this season is important for Mbuti society not only from the nutritional but also from the "structural" standpoint. According to him, when the honey season begins in the area around Epulu, the large camp formed during the net hunting season quickly disbands into small groups. Each group lives on honey. Turnbull [1965b] and Biccheri [1969] have pointed out that the social advantage of life in small groups is that it helps in the settlement of the various disputes which normally arise when many people live together during the hunting season.

Among the Tetri Mbuti, unlike those observed by Turnbull, there is not always a division into small groups for particular activities. Many bands continue net hunting after the honey collecting season has begun, and in some cases the net hunting groups do not disband, as illustrated by the following examples of group formation observed during the 1975 honey collecting season:

- (1) Even during the honey collecting season the hunting group in the Mahuaka band retained the same configuration and net hunting continued. In 1975 there were so few *mbau* flowers that until the end of May honey could not be obtained. Then in June, when the *eko* bloomed and honey could be collected, net hunting was suddenly reduced. Like the Apekele-2 band, the Mahuaka band did not change its group composition from the hunting group formation even during the honey collecting season, and the net hunting was continued.
- (2) In the Tabia band, the families who remained in the base camp during the hunting season joined the other members in the forest for honey collecting, and the base camp was left empty. However, at the beginning of June there was a trouble



over a woman, so the hunting group divided up into three groups for honey collecting. About twenty days later, traders came into the forest and began buying meat. The three groups then reunited and began to hunt with nets, with the exception of five families who left their nets at the camp and, separately, collected and lived on honey and wild plants only.

(3) In the Tetri band, as in the Tabia, when the honey season began, all the families and children who had previously remained in the base camp moved to the camp in the forest. At the end of May a woman sickened and died, and a quarrel arose among the members over the cause of death; so the father and son, after being censured by other members of the band, separated from the main camp and formed a small camp composed of their two families. Two other families also split off to engage in intensive honey collecting, as these two families do annually. Although the main camp thus became less active, net hunting still continued.

(4) Members of the Mawambo band all returned to the base camp at the end of April. At the end of May, when the honey season began, a family of seven and two married men formed a honey collecting camp together with the Kalonge Mbuti, and until the end of June they all lived in the forest and collected honey. Other families made daily trips from the base camp into the forest to collect honey. At the beginning of July, those who remained at the base camp made a plan to enter the forest to engage in net hunting.

(5) The Kalonge Mbuti went net hunting with the Amalutu Mbuti, but in April, when the camp moved to Amalutu territory, three families returned to the base camp. During the honey season, two families joined the Mawambo in setting up a honey collecting camp. The others continued hunting in Amalutu territory, or made daily trips to collect honey from the base camp.

(6) During the hunting season, everyone from the Apekele-1 band went into the forest, leaving the base camp empty. During the honey season, some continued net hunting at the main camp, but four families split off to collect honey, and subsisted almost entirely on honey and wild plants.

These examples show that in the Tetri net hunting continues when the honey season begins, though reduced in degree. In this respect, they are fundamentally different from the Epulu Mbuti studied by Turnbull.

Sociologically and ecologically, the important characteristic of the honey collecting activity is that it takes place in small groups, sometimes even individually. It is more efficient for small, decentralized groups to search for honey over a wide range than for a large group to form a camp and go searching around in the forest. Conversely, for net hunting, cooperation among a larger number of people is indispensable. For this reason, among the Tetri bands, they maintain the main camps without splitting completely into small groups, so that net hunting may be continued. At the same time, if it does not cause severe interference with net hunting, a few families in several groups go off from the main camp to subsist on the results of their own honey collecting efforts.

As Turnbull has pointed out, this separating into small groups has the result of

dispelling disputes which arise in the larger group. But the Tetri Mbuti do not have this fixed system of division into small groups. With group quarrels, they prefer to handle each situation individually. In the actual cases observed among the Tabia and Tetri bands, the situation was such that after trouble occurred the hunting groups that had functioned up until then broke up into small groups. The honey collecting season is very important for Mbuti social life, because at that time a division is possible, at any time, and life nonetheless goes on. The ambiguities in their group formation result from their dependencies on two subsistence activities which demand mutually contradictory group formations, and therefore the Mbuti must adopt a flexible attitude to meet the demand of each particular situation.

## 10. TERRITORY AND NOMADISM

In discussing the character of the Mbuti's territory and nomadism, it is first essential to examine the natural environment of the Ituri Forest.

In the Ituri Forest, there are no limiting environmental factors which have a crucial influence on the distribution of men and animals, such as water holes and the distribution of specific flora in the desert or savannah. Water is abundant, and the main game, the forest duikers, are uniformly distributed although by chance, they may occasionally be more abundant in a particular location. This kind of uniformity of animal distribution agrees with the fact that the sites for net hunting may be randomly selected, and that the hunting camps are uniformly distributed and spaced 3-6 km apart.

The pattern of animal distribution changes somewhat from the area of the secondary forest, where villages are spread out, to the interior of the forest. Several species of primates, especially *mbeke* (*Cercopithecus ascanius*), *asaba* (*Cercopithecus mitis*), and *apulu* (*Papio anubis*) are more abundant in the secondary forest; but in the interior of the forest there are generally many forest antelopes, and also particularly *mbongo* (*Loxodonta africana cyclotis*), *ekuma* (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*), *mboti* (*Okapi johnstoni*), and *njali* (*Syncerus caffer nanus*). The spear hunting of big game is carried out in the deepest recesses of Mbuti territory, a two-day trip from the base camp. The place most often used as ground for net hunting is about halfway between the spear hunting area and the base camp. There game is abundant, and it is convenient for them to visit the village to exchange meat for the villagers' farm products.

Figure 13 shows the distribution of hunting camps for the territory of each band in the Tetri region. Each band has a long narrow strip of hunting territory extending from the base camp near the agricultural settlement into the interior of the forest. None of these territories is markedly different in environment from those of neighboring bands. Some borders between adjacent territories are clear, whereas others are less so, but in general territory is characterized by narrow paths which connect several hunting camps. Each band has its own paths for hunting, and they distinguish between their own territory and that of others, saying "we use our own separate path."

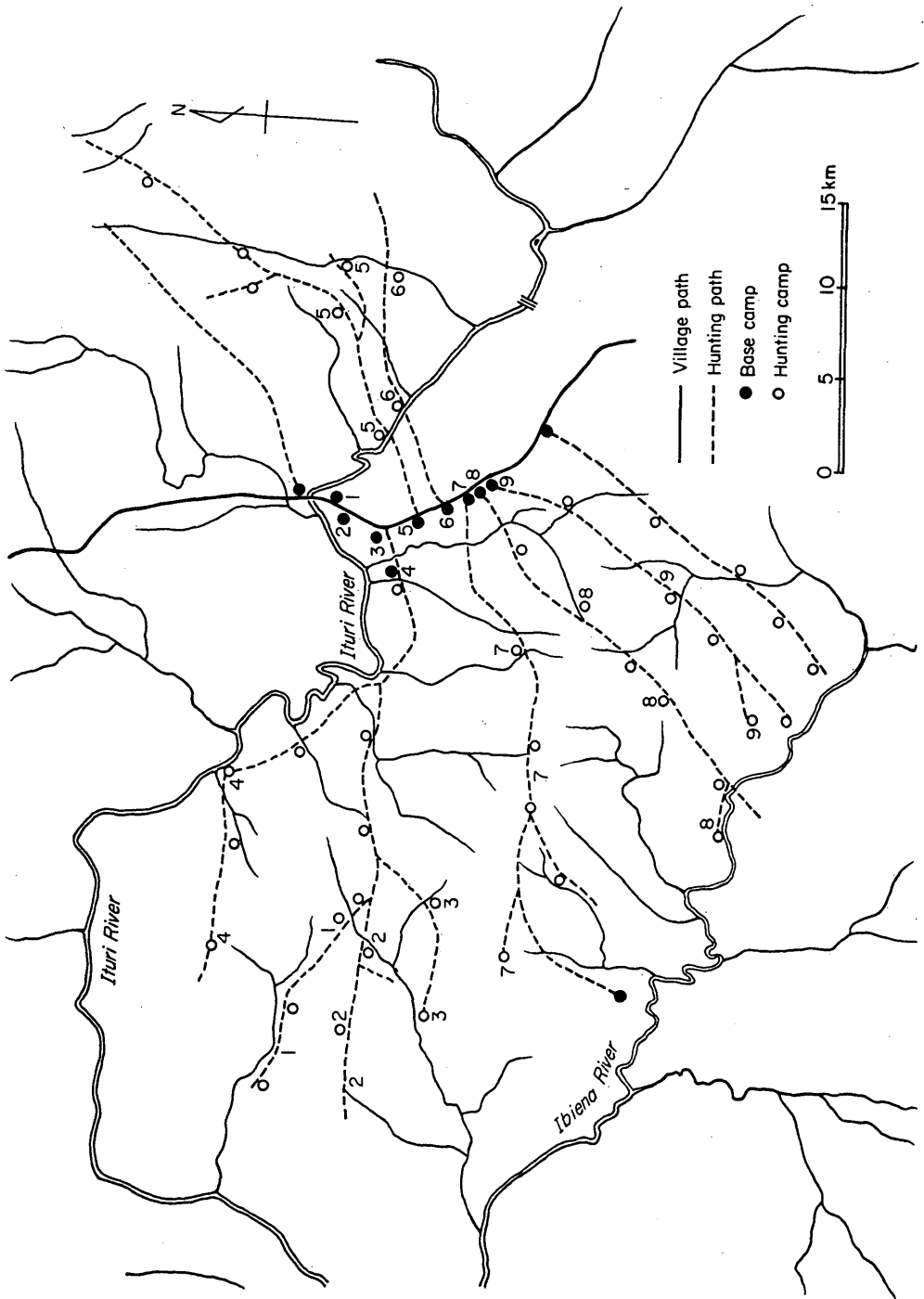


Figure 13. Distribution of hunting paths and camps in the Tetri area.

The territory which one band can cover, including the parts overlap those of adjacent bands, is about 150 to 300 km<sup>2</sup>. Within that area, at intervals of 3–6 km, there are 4–6 hunting camps. In some cases, a new camp is built in the primary forest and an old camp is abandoned. In the investigation of one band's territory nearly thirty abandoned campsites were verified, indicating that within the forest there are many suitable campsites, and the Mbuti are utilizing their own territory uniformly.

Hunting territory like that of the Mbuti does not exist for the Kalahari Bushmen. Lee [1969] reporting on the Dobe area Kung Bushmen found their nomadic range to be 2,600 km<sup>2</sup>. Tanaka [in press] investigated the Central Bushmen of the Kade region and found a range of 4,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Within this vast nomadic range, the Bushmen migrate in relation to such natural conditions as the location of water holes and the distribution of certain plant species, as well as social conditions such as internal group disputes; which leads to a frequently repeated pattern of fission and fusion. The mobility of the game they hunt is high, the spatial and temporal changes of food plants and water holes are remarkable in this arid region, and people must migrate over an extensive range in accordance with these changes, with groups joining and parting as necessary. The opposite is true in the Ituri Forest where the quarry, such as duikers, have low mobility, the environment is fairly constant, and it is possible for each band to have a divided hunting ground<sup>8)</sup>.

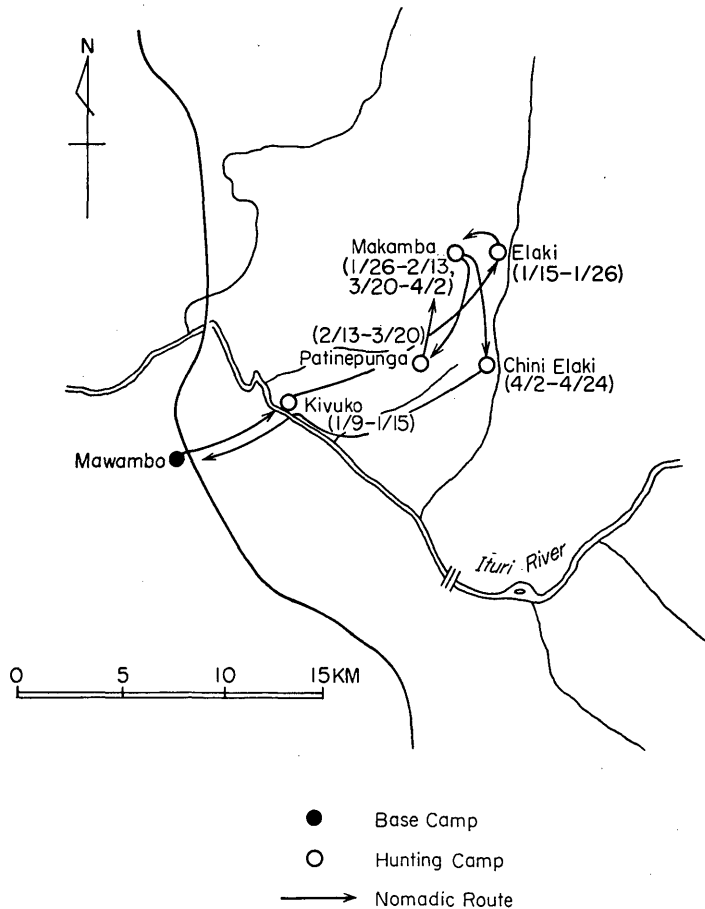
The period of stay in one camp ranges from 15 to 60 days, depending on the game taken. This is exemplified by the following observations on the nomadism of the Mawambo band, made during the period January 8 through April 24, 1975.

On the night of January 8, 1975, in the base camp of the Mawambo band, the Mbuti held a *molimo* ceremony (see below) and they made the arrangements to enter the forest. The next day, the head of the band, Selanbongo, became the *bulumusa*<sup>9)</sup> and led the band. The rest of the band, several hours to a half day later, entered the forest by twos and threes. At Kivuko, the first camp, they stopped for a few days in order to obtain food (agricultural products) to take with them into the interior, and to practice net hunting. At Kivuko, hunting continued for January 9–15. Then after a one-day rest the band proceeded to the Elaki camp, some 15 km distant, taken

8) Territory is more strictly protected by the Mbuti in the case of net hunting than for honey collecting, when it becomes more loosely defined. This is because the climax forest trees, *eko*, *mbau*, and *tembu*, sought by the honeybees, are unevenly distributed. *Mbau* and *eko* are commonly found in the area west of the villages to the Ibienna River basin. The *tembu* trees are found mostly along the right bank of the Ituri River. The territory of the Mawambo band stretches from the north and east of the village to the right bank of the Ituri River, but within this region there are no *mbau*. In March and April the *tembu* blossoms fall, and honey can be collected from the *mbau* and the *eko*, and the Mawambo Mbuti often leave their hunting territory on the opposite side of the river and enter the *mbau* and *eko* forest to collect honey.

9) The one who enters the forest first as a pilot. When the hunting season begins and the members of a band enter the forest in a body, an elder's family leads the way, and informs the father of the forest (*apakumandura* or *kalisia*) in advance that the other members of the band are following behind in a body. This, it is said, is the formal way.

the straight-line distance. Until that time Elaki had only infrequently been used as a net hunting camp. Many people insisted on going to the Makamba camp, 30 minutes from there, but Selanbongo, Manjoa and some of the elders said that they wanted to go fishing in the Elaki River and, their suggestion having been accepted, eventually it was decided that they would stay in Elaki. However, that was during the dry season, and the river was running low, so on January 26 they moved to the Makamba camp, according to their original schedule. Large portions of the hunting grounds of the Makamba and Elaki overlap. They stayed in Makamba until February 12, which, added to the time spent in Elaki, makes almost a month spent hunting in this area. On February 13, they moved from Makamba to Patinepunga, although in Makamba they still could have hunted more game. The reason given for moving was that Makamba was inconveniently far from the village. From then until about March 20, some 40 days, they stayed in the Patinepunga camp for net hunting. Afterwards, they returned again to Makamba, staying there to hunt for



**Figure 14.** An example of nomadism.

about another 2 weeks until April 2. On April 2 they cleared a new camp in the primary forest in the lower reaches of the Elaki River, where because the camp was new, animals were extremely plentiful, and they stayed there until April 24. Finally, on April 24 the entire band returned to the base camp.

The Mawambo band is one which migrated frequently. Apart from their stay at Kivuko, within a period of three and a half months, they circled an area including five hunting camps. Also in the Tetri region is the Apekele-2 band, which, in contrast, moved 10 km away from their base camp to the Maheko camp, staying there for the first 2 months, and then went on to the Messere camp for the next 2 months.

In honey collecting, shifting from camp to camp is based on an even shorter cycle. First they search for honey in the area near the camp. Then, when the distance to be covered is within a radius of about 3 to 4 km, and at the point of becoming bothersome, they move to a new campsite. In the case of the Mbuti who are dependent on honey for a large part of their food, they stay in one camp for a period of about two weeks.

In June 1975, I stayed at the camp which the Kalonge and Mawambo Mbuti had built jointly. This camp had been built at the end of May at Mambandoma, 6-7 km from their base camps. They stayed there for roughly two weeks until June 12; and then went on another 3 km to Mamokwali. They stayed at Mamokwali until June 26, when they moved to a camp in the interior in quest of honey.

## 11. INTEGRATION OF THE MBUTI BAND

### 1) MOLIMO AND TELE

*Molimo* is a secret ceremony in which only adult males, or those who enjoy full membership as hunters, may participate. It is performed when a member of the band dies, before they enter the forest at the beginning of the hunting season, when they go spear hunting, and at the hunting camps when hunting is going badly. *Molimo* is called *isumba* in Kingwana, but originally *isumba* is said to have been a ritual performed before elephant hunts undertaken to supply Arab traders [TURNBULL 1965b]. In hunting, *molimo* is no longer limited to elephant hunting. It is distinct from another hunting ritual, *surya*, that is especially performed for the father of the forest (*apakumandura* or *kalisia*) when hunts are going badly. In the *molimo* ceremony the Mbuti summon their *molimo* animals out of the forest. The *surya* ceremony is performed by men, but women and outsiders such as the villagers are allowed to watch. This is quite unlike the *molimo*, a secret ceremony whose central portion women are strictly prohibited from observing.

The *molimo* animals of each band, or more precisely each *banama*, differ. They are like the food restrictions of *nginiso* to which members of the *banama* are bound, which symbolize each patrilineal descent group. Actually, *nginiso* prohibitions are only individual food restrictions, but the *molimo* ceremony is carried out in the band as an entire group. In a band with several *banama*, the ceremony is held for the *molimo* animals of the *banama* with the greatest power. Some of the *molimo* animals

in the Tetri area are: for the Kalonge band (Basingale), *efisi*, said to live in water; for the Mawambo band (Bapuera), *kisyo*, *echime*, *palai*, *angala* (*Cercocebus galeritus*, Bapuma's *molimo*); for the Apekele-2 band, *ngwendei*, *ngima* (a species of snake); for the Tetri band (Bandisenne), *bulolo* (a species of bird, unidentified); and for the Mahuaka band, *amakilima* (a rainbow, rainbows are considered a kind of snake which comes out after the rains). Some of these animals actually exist and others are imaginary. It is taboo to kill or to eat those that exist. The important thing is that these animals possess unique "voices" to express their existence. Based on his experiences in the Epulu village, Turnbull wrote that the *molimo* were actually trumpets which make sounds like an elephant or a leopard [TURNBULL 1961]. However, depending on the case, a trumpet or a human voice is used for the sound of a *molimo*. The sound varies, depending on the *molimo* animal involved.

The important point concerning the *molimo* ceremony is not only that the animals which are its object differ from band (*banama*) to band, but that a *molimo* represents a cooperative ritual practice for the entire band, in which all adult males take part. That women and children are so completely excluded from this ceremony is not to say that their existence is unnecessary, but that when the important part of the ceremony is under way, they are required to hide themselves inside their huts.

The *molimo* ceremony, to summon *molimo* from the interior of the forest, begins with a quiet song in slow tempo<sup>10</sup>). Before and after this, when from the forest the *molimo* voices begin to be heard, all the women, grabbing their children, run to hide in their huts, as if something dreadful were about to happen. The women venture forth only after the *molimo* have departed. Meanwhile the men sing the song of *molimo* or *amabaketi* (mother of the spirits) welcoming the *molimo* who is "running about" in the camp. When the men change their song to *butuma* (the elephant hunting song), the women emerge, and from this point on, when the *molimo* occurs as a hunting ritual, the women begin to dance to the songs sung by the men. Sometimes *molimo* continues all night; the men are forbidden to sleep. As Turnbull [1961] reported, for Mbuti it is a crime to fall asleep in the midst of the *molimo*.

The *tele*, in the middle of the camp, serves as a meeting place. Mbuti men sit around the *tele* fire, talking, repairing nets, or eating. In fact, from the time they get up until they go to bed, unless they have something special to do, the men seldom stay in their huts. When male outsiders arrive, they first sit among the other men at the *tele*.

It is rare for women to be seen sitting at the *tele*. However, during the daytime, when all the men are away hunting, adult women and children can sometimes be seen there. These women are generally those born in that particular band, or those who

10) The song to summon *molimo* begins with the repetition of the words, "barua abi kasa e- e-, barua abi kasabulu e- e-" ("the letter was a leaf, the letter was a *bulu* leaf"). As previously discussed, when the Mbuti walk in the forest, they drop leaves of the *bulu* called *ekonbi* as a trail marker. This song refers to an occasion of finding such an *ekonbi* while walking in the forest.

have been divorced and who have returned home. Since these women and children are originally full members of the band, they are allowed to sit at the *tele*. The *tele* is basically a place for men; however, at the same time, it is also a place for other members of the band who share the ties of consanguinity.

When men return from hunting, they first go to relax at the *tele*, where they talk over the day's hunt. As each family's dinner is prepared, it is brought to the men assembled at the *tele*, who pass it around and eat. When dinner is over, the next day's hunting arrangements are made and plans for the time and place of the next camp transfer are discussed. If there is nothing important to discuss, for amusement one person (usually an elder) will gossip or tell the story of failure. Any serious problem having to do with the entire band is always discussed by the men gathered in the *tele*, who then decide on a solution. Elderly women speaking from in front of their own huts sometimes add their opinions. Thus, the important points about the nature of the *tele* are that, above all, it is a place for men as opposed to women; it is a public place as opposed to the private huts of each family; and it is a meeting place where the plans of the band are made. The *tele* is the symbol of the unity of the entire band. When the Mbuti want to express the unity of a band, comprising several patrilineal groups, they speak of "*tele kadi*" ("a single *tele*").

## 2) INTEGRATION OF THE BAND

In the Mbuti bands, as in the farming villages, there is a headman (*kapita*). Most of *kapita* are chosen from a class of adult males who form the core of their respective bands. But they do not necessarily always have a strong right to speak. The *kapita* system was established to fill a need for administration, hence such a person as a young man who had no power in his hand but was nevertheless chosen to be *kapita* because of his ability to speak the Kingwana language. The *kapita* is never a chief who controls the band.

As with many hunting-gathering peoples, the Mbuti are respectful of the opinions of the old, based on their rich experience. In some places the oldest among the "brothers" (in a classificatory term) who make up the band has an important influence because of rich experience and excellent hunting techniques, and is called "*epa* (father) by the members of the band. However, those senior in age or even the eldest members never control the band as its chief. They are the band's most powerful speakers and may sometimes be allowed to have their own way in certain matters, but they each represent only one member of the band. The policy of their representing the band's general will (*la volonté générale* in Rousseau [1762]) is a separate matter.

Since most of the families making up the band are prone to self-centered behavior, various individual disputes are bound to occur. Egalitarianism is one effective means of avoiding these internal disagreements, and it is on this principle that Mbuti social distribution is structured. Unless there is a general scarcity of meat, it was customary for meat to be distributed among all members of a band [CHIKAWA 1977a] and even when another family is not lacking honey, honey is distributed. This sort of distributing behavior has the effect of making social connections harmonious



[ICHIKAWA 1977a]. In a large number of hunting and agricultural societies this custom may be observed, which Sahlins [1965] called the principle of general reciprocity. It is taken for granted, as a rule, that when people have something, they will share it with those who do not. Distribution is carried out with the tacit understanding that as items are exchanged appropriately, there will be an overall balance between what is given and what is received. Given this principle of reciprocity, the social relations within a group remain smooth. As Kakeya [1976] has pointed out further, this functions to balance out societally the fortune that individual members have and to prevent an increase in the discontent and envy that are cause of strain between families. Even so, there is a tendency for families to behave in a self-centered way, and the principle of reciprocity is observed individually, depending on specific circumstances.

When disputes arise among the members of a Kalahari Bushmen camp, whose basic hunting technology is the bow and arrow, the camp is divided and re-formed [TANAKA in print]. The Bushmen seem to repeat quite easily the process of fission and fusion in accordance with the spatial distribution of food and water, and this is the manner in which intragroup disputes are solved.

By contrast, in the Tetri region the Mbuti bands have more stable membership. Although during the honey season they sometimes divide into small groups, for the greater part of the year they are assembled together in their base camp or hunting camps. Net hunting necessitates the close cooperation of a large number of people. Thus they could not possibly follow the Bushmen pattern of the repetition of dispersing and regrouping. In order for the Mbuti to preserve the life of a large group over a long period of time, they seem to need some stable mechanism to support the unity of the group, to maintain order, and to represent the group will. The mechanism integrating Mbuti families into a band can be described in terms of a "male bond" [TIGER 1969], for, as demonstrated in the ceremony of *molimo* and in the nature of *tele*, male bonds do exist; both *molimo*, in their religious life, and *tele*, in their political and social life, demonstrate the male bond.

### 3) THE PRINCIPLE OF THE BAND AND THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FAMILY

The distribution of game and of the agricultural products for which the game is exchanged raise questions of considerable importance concerning the features of the social life of the Mbuti society. Each married Mbuti man (and sometimes a woman) possesses a hunting net tens of meters long. When they go hunting, each person takes his or her net respectively; these are connected and the hunt begins (Figure 2). The men hide inside the nets, keeping a lookout for any game which approaches the nets. The women from the wing-end nets (*mulu*) drive the animals toward the center. At this time the women are well aware of the position of their own husbands' nets, and they attempt to drive the animals in that direction. Net hunting requires the cooperative effort of many people, and particularly among the men who handle the nets a united effort is indispensable. However, since the animals basically belong to those in whose nets they are caught<sup>11</sup>), the women aim to get them as far as possible

in a position to be easily caught within their own families' nets.

It is the women's duty to carry the animals back to camp. Sometimes one family catches more than three animals, but even then the woman will transport the animals by herself. If she asks a woman from another family to help carry the animals, in the case of a medium-sized duiker, for example, one of the front legs must be given the helper. But among the Mbuti, no matter how much game is caught, other women are almost never asked for help.

At camp the animals are immediately butchered. Those who have not had a good catch go to the site of the butchering and receive what is distributed. Duiker heads and internal organs (hearts, livers, lungs, etc.), which may be eaten only by men, are taken directly to the *tele* and cooked there, but the other parts are distributed among all the families, and the women cook them on their family hearths. When the food has been prepared, the women and children sit around the family hearth and eat, but the men's portion is brought to the *tele*. After receiving his own family's food, each of the men seated in the *tele* passes the food around and they eat. Just as the meat is divided up, the farm products received in exchange for meat are distributed. When one family is in need of farm products, the women from that family receive some from other families. After the women have cooked this on their fires, their husbands' portions are brought, together with the meat, to the *tele*. Whether meat or other kind of food, the flow of food involves its distribution among the families, and later the gathering of the men's portion at the *tele*.

When the Mbuti hunting methods and patterns of food sharing are examined, it is clear that individuality (motivation based on the principle of the family) and mutual cooperation (motivation based on the principle of the band) coexist. The principle of the family is embodied in the women and the principle of the band is embodied in the men gathered at *tele*. Before food is brought to the *tele*, that represents an embodiment of the band unity, the foods must be distributed to the families. If the hunting net represents a portion of a man's body, then in net hunting there is a large ring formed by the men hand-in-hand, and the family principle is seen when a woman tries to drive the animals into her husband's net. The fact that the Mbuti women carry home by themselves all the animals caught in their own nets seems to show that they symbolically display their families' ownership of the game.

This does not mean that this indicates that Mbuti women are egoistic, but rather that for Mbuti society, both in actuality and symbolically, there coexist conflicting motivations, one based on the principle of the family and the other based on the principle of the band. If the band principle is represented in one sex, it seems natural that the family principle is represented in the other.

That the male bond is the representation of the principle of the band is recalled by an affair which occurred in the Mawambo band. At the end of October 1974, a

11) Because the game belong to the person in whose net they are captured, in the Tetri region, to equalize each family's opportunity, the position of the nets is rotated after every three tries, especially since the net spread in the deepest part of the pocketing enclosure (*efito*) is the best place for capturing a large number of animals.

man of the Mawambo married a second wife, a woman from Kalonge, and consequently slept in her hut every night. His first wife repeatedly protested against this behavior, but he would not listen to her. Thus the relationship between the two wives became very serious. The first wife, finding herself neglected, became angry and slept with two of her husband's cousins, who live in the same band. After two or three days, when everything came out, the husband of the adulteress showed no outward sign of anger towards the two men, but beat his wife severely with a log. He failed to show anger toward his two cousins because he did not wish to create serious discord which would have brought about a grave crisis in the male bond, the cornerstone of band integration. Instead he placed the blame within his family, and his anger toward his wife thus became more violent.

Although family and band principles stand in contradiction to each other, they complement each other, and one can not exist without the other. If each family in a band goes alone, they can not pursue steady hunting life. On the other hand, the stability of the band which is integrated by the male bond rests upon the families, its lower social units. The man in the Mawambo band, by directing his anger against his first wife, protected the male bond from a crisis.

The North American Indians [STEWART 1938], the Eskimos [DAMAS 1969; BALICKI 1970], the Andaman Islanders [RADCLIFFE-BROWN 1922], and the Australian aborigines [HART and PILLING 1960; MEGGIT 1962], to name a few examples of hunting-gathering peoples, show seasonal patterns with the band members coming together and then separating. This also occurs among the Ituri Mbuti, at least during the honey season. This sort of band unification and dissolution is closely related to ecological conditions such as the distribution of food and the style of subsistence activities. However, the social meaning must be considered at the same time. The season when the band's members come together is the time when the principle of the band predominates, whereas the season when they disperse can be said to be the time when friction among families, arising in the course of group life, is dispelled and the family principle, and consequently family activity, is dominant. For these bands of hunting-gathering people, this temporary division into families or small groups of several families enables the bands to continue as stable groups.

## 12. DISCUSSION

According to Service [1971], in a patrilocal band the most important rules are reciprocal marriage exogamy and virilocal marital residence, for it is these which consequently make up a patrilineal band.

The preferred type of Mbuti marriage is an exchange marriage of two sisters to two members of a band; in other words a reciprocal exchange marriage (*kusono*). When suitable women cannot be found for an exchange, a bride price is paid. Some kind of reciprocal compensation must accompany the "proper" marriage. For exogamous marriage, the patrilineal group forming the core of the band or sub-band is the unit of marriage exogamy. As for marital residence, out of 131 examples, 122 were virilocal with only the remaining 9 couples uxorilocal. Among the Mbuti,

virilocal marriage is the general rule. The Mbuti bands, then, are exactly, as Service has suggested, patrilocal bands.

However, in actual practice the Mbuti bands generally diverge somewhat from this model of patrilocality. The main factors are that uxorilocal marriage is not completely excluded, and that, in the case of death of their husbands or divorces, the women sometimes return to their natal bands with their children. Those brought up in their mother's bands become full members of the band having virilocal marriages afterwards. Such examples are not uncommon.

Apart from these individual circumstances, the reason for the Mbuti band not being composed of a single patrilineal group derives from the repeated fusion and fission over long periods of time, of at least 10–20 years. This kind of fusion and fission may have demographic and ecological factors as the main causes. For a net hunting band, having less than six families undermines the stability of hunting life, although if there are too many families, the net hunting efficiency will also decline. Bands are necessarily kept within certain size limits. The fusion and fission of the band may be a means of adaptation to increases and decreases in the population size.

However, fission and fusion in Mbuti bands appear to be an ordinary state that it is based on the very nature of their society. Considering that dyadic bands exist and that an individual patrilineal descent group (*banama*) is scattered in various places, it would not be incorrect to say that fission and fusion are general phenomena. It should be noted here that fission and fusion cause the reorganization of neighboring groups. As for the range of exogamy, whether it be patrilateral or matrilateral it depends on whether consanguinity can be traced or not. The smooth formation of intermarriage relationships is ensured by means of the reorganization of neighboring groups.

The Mbuti band is built up by a core patrilineal group whose institutional nature is exogamy and, in principle, virilocal residence. But these patterns are never static. Taking a long-term view, such a patrilineal group undergoes fission or fuses with another, which reorganizes neighboring groups. This dynamic aspect is the essential characteristic of the band. The meaning of the dyadic band cannot be made clear here but in any case the following factor should be pointed out: in order to continue for generations sister exchange marriages between patrilineal groups, the dyadic band provides the simplest structural model. The most suitable means for the patrilineal groups to build up a band of appropriate scale to maintain their unity as a coherent group is via the fusion of two such patrilineal groups.

Putnam [1948], in a brief but outstanding introduction of the Ituri Pygmies, wrote:

Each biological family belongs to a larger family group or extended family. All the families within a family group are closely related to each other through the male line.... Ideally a pygmy camp consists of a number of these family groups descended through the male line from a common ancestor, for whom they are named. Therefore the basic pygmy camp is thus a classic gens, or, in looser terminology, a patrilineal clan.

He did not refer here to that the Mbuti band (or what Putnam has called a "camp") repeats fission and fusion, and consequently sometimes a dyadic band is built up. However, on the question of whether the core of the band is the patrilineal group, our viewpoints do not differ markedly.

Rather, it is Turnbull who followed after Putnam and who studied the Epulu net hunting band, whose opinion is completely different:

Both archer and net hunter bands exhibited the largest complexity in composition, particularly when large, but also sometimes even fragmented into the smallest segments ... the band is plainly a nonlinear entity .... [TURNBULL 1965b]

Turnbull uses the Epulu band as the strongest foundation for his argument, a group which I, in agreement with Tanno [1976], feel is an exception, because Putnam built a hotel and hospital in Epulu, that attracted a large number of Mbuti. Sometimes they are even called "Putnam's Mbuti" [PUTNAM 1954]. The influence of the Putnam camp cannot be ignored in accounting for the exceptionally large size of the Epulu band (over 250) and its complicated composition.

When discussing the formation of hunting groups, it was noted that the hunting group is an economically functional group which forms for hunting. Because of this economic nature, a hunting group with a rather complex composition is sometimes formed under economic influence. In Njiakia, in 1975, meat traders came frequently, and members of the various bands formed a hunting group with a complicated composition. It is therefore possible to see the Epulu band and Njiakia hunting group as having something in common in terms of their character. Each of the members of the Njiakia hunting group had a patrilocal band to which he originally belonged, and similarly each of the Epulu band members might be able to trace back to his original band.

Turnbull states that the Epulu does not have a permanent membership, that no consistent kinship relation is recognizable, and that only the concept of territory is clearly defined and accepted. He calls the Epulu band a "territorial band" because it is said that those living in the territory are all members of the band. That the Epulu band can only be defined with "territoriality" clearly demonstrates its special nature as a group composed of people coming from various other bands.

In his other examples Turnbull fails to make clear whether the composition described is of the band itself or of the hunting group. When the structure of the band is considered, it is necessary to recognize that the band, sub-band and hunting group form different levels, and from this viewpoint to examine them further. The sub-band is a segment of the band. However, when the band splits up, it becomes a unit of the fission, and if there are enough members, it may organize itself into an independent band. With regard to the hunting group, as can be seen from the cases of the bands of Mawambo and Kalonge, Apekele-1 and Apekele-2 (both in 1974), and Kalonge and Amalutu (in 1975), they formed hunting groups with different bands. As Tanno [1976] pointed out, these hunting groups made up of two bands

can be seen as having the similar composition as those examples Turnbull has given (for example 4a).

Looking closely at those points in terms of Turnbull's examples there are several groups (4a, e, g, h, k, m) that are connected by patrilineal ties becoming the core of a camp or a sub-group (the band or the sub-band). However, as Turnbull has reported, there are other examples (4c, d, f, j and others) that even in smaller camps do not have a core patrilineal group, and lack clear segments. If it is argued that Mbuti bands have patrilineal groups as their nuclei, these clearly constitute "atypical" examples.

According to Service, many traditional hunting gathering peoples form patriolocal bands. He states that this is because the male cooperation resulting from virilocal residence plays an important role in the hunting activities, the distribution of game, and especially in attack on and defence against other groups. He also states that reciprocal marriage exogamy fulfills the function of affiliating such groups in a confrontation situation. As Service has indicated, the remaining men choose virilocal marriage not for an individual reason such as it is more advantageous for them to hunt in a familiar territory. Among the men of the band there exists a social force, the male bond based on blood ties, which interrelates them. In the case of a dyadic band this band goes beyond simple blood ties. Service assigns an intergroup military function to it. An additional intragroup political function could also be assigned, namely, this male bond is the key to the integration of the band members, beyond the framework of families, and also to the maintenance of order in the band.

Such a method of integration in the Mbuti band can be compared with a case in which the group is ruled only by one chief. In an examination of a South American group, the Nanbikuara, Lévi-Strauss [1955] gives an interesting example of political-social organization. The Nanbikuara have divided into extremely fluid small groups, with a leader in control of each. Rather than this leader being chosen from among the group, the group members assemble in a place where there is a man whose individual stature makes them decide to accept him. Between the chief and his followers there is the sense of "*consent*" or at least a "quasi-contractual" relationship, from which derives the psychological basis for the authority of the chief. The chief has authority over the members of his group and is allowed to have many wives. But at the same time, he is responsible for the safety of the group and must behave generously to its members, lest they leave him for another chief. The political system of the Nanbikuara seems to be the simplest structure for integrating the group by means of the concentration of power as Lévi-Strauss has pointed out. But looking at it as a mechanism which integrates the segments confronting each other within a group, the case of the Nanbikuara is the exact antithesis of the Mbuti.

A Nanbikuara chief is given special privileges and authority by the group members because he is a chief, even if it must be reconfirmed by incessant presentations and collections. The Mbuti's situation is exactly the reverse. In Mbuti society each person is in principle equal to the others, and no one person has special privileges in the group's name or any single individual who can exercise special authority. The distinctions that do exist are those between the sexes and broad age

groups. Group integration in the Mbuti band, which is maintained by the unity of males, assumes that distinctions derive only from such biological bases. The small groups of the Nanbikuara are formed by means of individual agreements between the chief and the group members. But the example seen in the social structure of the Nanbikuara whose group itself is formed assuming such inequality, is not so elementary. Basically a man is born in a group. As far as there exist segments confronting each other within such a given group, the most elemental way to integrate them would be a communal method, which would not involve a differentiation of status, such as is the case in the Mbuti society.

**Appendix**

**Kinship Terminology**

Special characteristics of kinship terminology expressed in Kibira, the language in ordinary use among the Mbuti, are described below:

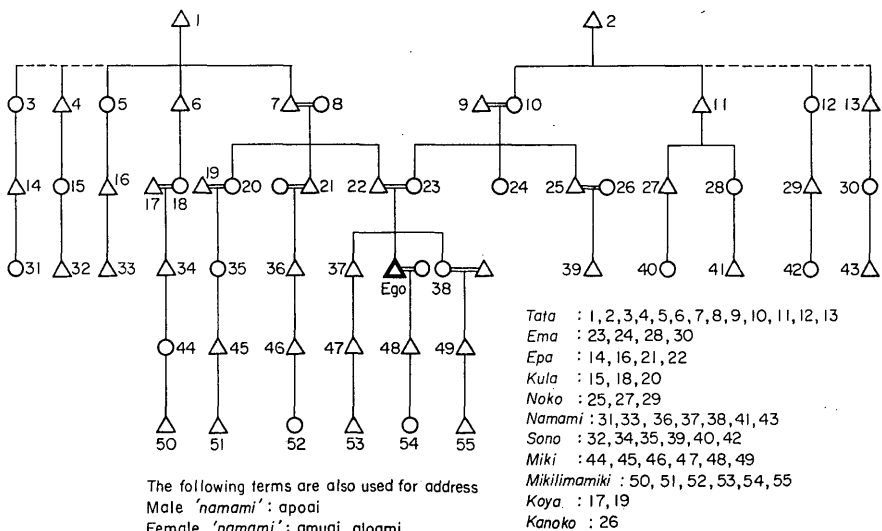
1. Reciprocal terms

Other than such terms as *namami*, and *sono* which express brother-sister relations, and those between cousins and other consanguines, there are reciprocal terms for affines—*moya*, *kiyo*, *amai*. *Koya*, the term for husband of father's sister (*kula*) is used reciprocally also.

2. Classificatory terms

The actual state of the classification system for kinship terminology is shown in Figure 15, some special features of which are:

A. A person who is a blood relative and is two generations or more above ego is called



**Figure 15. Kinship terminology (1) : kin and affine.**

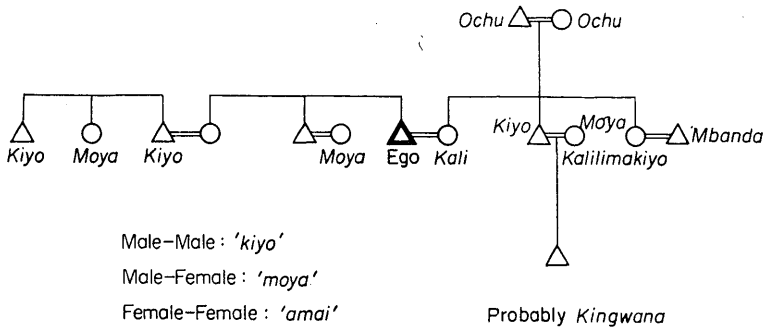


Figure 16. Kinship terminology (2) : affine.

tata, whether male or female. When it is particularly necessary to make some distinction between the sexes, adjectives are used—*tata moko* for a man, *tata kali* for a woman.

B. A relative who is one generation above ego is called *epa*, *ema*, *noko* or *kula*, one of which will indicate whichever kind of blood relation of ego is meant. *Epa* is used for all men who are one generation above ego, including ego's father, that is to say of ego's father's generation, and have a blood relationship to ego's father; *ema* is the same as the former, for all female blood relatives of the mother's generation. *Noko* refers to all men of ego's mother's generation having a blood relationship to her; *kula* is the reverse, referring to all women of ego's father's generation having a blood relationship to him.

C. A relative of the same generation as ego is generally called *namami*, but especially a relative whose father or mother is one generation above ego and a different sex from ego's father or mother is called *sono*. Thus a child of *noko* or *kula* is *sono* to ego, and a child of *epa* or *ema* is called *namami*.

D. Everyone of one generation below ego is called *miki*. However, there are some special examples such as *mikilimasono* (*sono*'s child) and *mikilimanamami* (*namami*'s child).

E. One who is two generations below ego follows the appellation of his or her parents, that is *mikilimamiki* is what he or she is called, and this means "a child of child".

F. In the case of affines, likewise, there is a recognizable classificatory system of terminology similar to that for consanguines, in other words, the affines of those connected by blood ties to ego are also affines of ego. The terms for affines are reciprocal. If they belong to the same generation, men call each other *kiyo*, those of different sex call each other *moya*, and women call each other *amai* (Figure 16).

G. When there is no question concerning genealogy, a man from the same band or sub-band as ego's mother is called *noko* and a woman *ema*, although when the person is much younger than ego, *sono* is often used instead.

H. There are some cases in which terms of address for older generations are applied, in particular situations apart from actual genealogical relationship. For example, Selanbongo of the Mawambo Band and Abeli of the Kalonge are the oldest of their brothers. For these reasons, they are each called *epa* (father) by others of the same generation. Furthermore not infrequent for the terms *epa* and *miki* to be used for the same generation, when individuals of that generation who differ widely in age address one another.

As can be seen, the system of kinship terminology covers a wide range of people who are consanguines or affines of ego. This terminology is peculiar in that a certain term for a particular person is determined by the relation only in the ego's first ascending



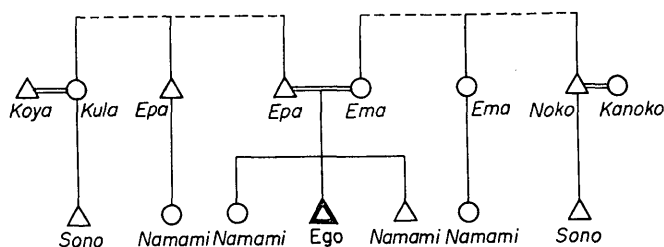


Figure 17. Principles of kinship terminology.

generation, i.e. in that it does not take notice at all of the lineality preceded above the first ascending generation (Figure 17). They, both Mbuti and Bira, have the same *banama* (patrilineal descent group) but kinship terminology is applied beyond the lineality.

A man of the same age group as ego is called *apoi* and a woman *amuai* or *aloami*<sup>12)</sup>. A person who is approximately the same age as ego's grandparents is called *tata*, a person of the parents' age group is called *epa* for a man and *ema* for a woman, and a person of the son's age group is called *miki*. Such are the Mbuti terms of address. According to Turnbull the Mbuti only have such terms of address based on age group. But rather than considering these as the original kinship terms for address, these terms have a fictive use which has been derived from the original kinship terms. In the Tetri region, when genealogy is traced, *noko* (maternal uncle) and *epa* (paternal uncle) are not confused. Moreover among the Bira, for someone whose kinship is not exactly clear, these fictive terms are applied. There is little basis for such an attempt to distinguish the kinship terminologies of the Mbuti and the Bira who speak the same language and live in close contact with each other.

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12) These are terms of address, not of reference. *Apoi* originally means "brother" and *aloami* and *amuai* originally mean "sister".

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