## 1. Description

- 1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family: *Kapingamarangi*
- 1.2 ISO code (3 letter code from ethnologue.com): *Kpg*
- 1.3 Location (latitude/longitude): 1° N by 154.7833°E

1.4 Brief history:

Traditional history tells that all of the natives on Kapingamarngi are decendents of the first settler, Utamatua and wife Roua, who came from a land called Tamana. It was discovered after his wife set herself adrift at sea, and she expired as soon as she and Utamatua reached the island. He was challenged for his position by a man named Korae, but through magic he proved his superiority. He did grant Korae control of the northern portion of the atoll, and Utamatua settled on an islet to the south called Touhou.

Prior to German occupation and exploration in 1910, the Kapingamarangi were subject to a group of Marshallese castaways entering their land in roughly 1870. They first stayed on the island of Hale, and after recovering from their long journey proceeded to slaughter the native Kapingamarangi on the island. They also killed individuals on the island of Matrio, Velu and Touhou, leaving no survivors on the Touhou. They stayed for roughly 20 months and left, taking some men and women as prisoners with them. The 20 months is apparently debatable, as some say they left as soon as they arrived.

The island was discovered by western civilizations in 1536 by a fleet dispatched from Mexico by Cortez. However, true discovery of natives did not come until 1877. The islands had been effectively controlled by the Spanish until 1899 when it was purchased by the Germans. The Germans owned the islands until 1914, and the Japanese took control of Micronesia and held control throughout World War II. During the war the Japanese set up a weather station and sea plane base on Kapingamarangi, as well as a small military outpost on one of the surrounding islets called Hare. Bombing raids by the American forces were careful to avoid bombing villages, which won them favor in the conflict with the native people. (2)

- 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors: While they have maintained their traditional housing built of native materials, the clothing has changed to a form much similar to our own. Men will wear a shirt, pants, and sometimes shoes and a coat to church or special events. Women have adopted western attire as well and use foreign cloth for sewing, although they typically wear the garments in the traditional way. (1)
- 1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

The Kapingamarangi live in a typical tropical ecosystem, where they rely primarily on fishing as well as coconut fruit for survival. Thick vegetation dominates the islands, with the most prominent trees being the coconut tree, the breadfruit tree and the pandanus. Bird species include starlings, dark and light herons, white, sooty and noddy terns, smaller birds called marutapa and kini, a longbilled snipe, tara tohoro, and a cuckoo. Native ground mammals are limited to the Polynesian rat, but dogs, cats, fowls and pigs have been introduced. 3 species of lizards are present, and turtles are rare enough that it is forbidden to kill one. (1,2) 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

As of the 1950 publishing (1), the total population was 519 in all of the islands in the complex. However, one source (2) lists the population as 573 in 1947 and 589 in 1950. According to source 2, all of the people constitute one large community, although they are dispersed upon 4 islets.

## 2. Economy

- 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):
  - Coconuts, Bananas, pandanus, fruit of noni tree, and pigweed (green vegetable) (1)
- 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:
  - Swine, wild fowl, fish and shellfish provide the protein needs of the Kapingamarangi. (1,
- 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

There is evidence for bows and arrows within the society. One source (1) suggests that these were originally used for fishing purposes.

2.4 Food storage:

Long term storage is limited, but the Kapingamarangi will use items such as baskets woven from coconut leaves for general purpose storage, as well as coconut shells for water containment.

2.5 Sexual division of production:

Men are in charge of catching fish, operating a weaving loom for clothing and presumably hunting. Women are in charge of basket weaving, although there are instances where men will assist in the process. Both males and females will cultivate vegetables for use by the community.

2.6 Land tenure:

All land, with the exception of a few islets, is privately owned by citizens for cultivation of crops and collection of fruit from trees. (2)

2.7 Ceramics:

There is no evidence of ceramic use, although there are some metal utensils that are used by the Kapingamarangi. (1)

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:

Limited information is available, although the man of the house was expected to share his catch of the day with the members of his family (household), regardless of their relation to him. Sharing with guests is very open; the author of source 2 described the scenario he and his team encountered when they were stranded on the island for an extra 2 months. The people shared food with them without hesitation until they were able to leave. Similarly, in source 1 the villagers shared freshly cooked fish and fruits with the research team.

## 2.9 Food taboos:

No information available.

2.10 Canoes/watercraft?:

The Kapingamarangi are a fishing nation, so naturally they have canoes. One source (1) claimed that every family owned at least one canoe if not multiple. The canoe will have at least one stabilizing float on one side, and can be rigged with a mast and sail attached to the hull. They are typically made of a breadfruit tree.

## 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

Male: 1.72 m (measurement taken prior to 1950) Tallest man was 1.85 meters tall and the shortest was 1.57 meters tall. (1,2) *Female: In multiple studies presented (1,2) only measurements on males were taken.* 

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

No information provided

## 4. Life History, mating, marriage

- 4.1 Age at menarche (f): Not specified.
- 4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): Not specified.
- 4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

The average family consists of 10 individuals. These families can also include marital spouses and adopted children.

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f):

Women are encouraged to not get pregnant again for at least a year after they have given birth, or else the baby will be weak. A large amount of pressure is placed on the husband to refrain from intercourse during this time period. (2)

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

Marriages are permissible at ages as early as 15 for both male and female, although there are very limited documented instances of female marriage prior to 15. (2)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce:

No true numbers were presented in terms of proportions (calculations would prove impossible), but there were very few individuals *who were divorcees within the population.* (2)

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

In a brief account, ancestors of the Kapingamarangi practiced polyandry as well as polygyny. Prior to Christian influence, it was common place for men to take up to two wives. Prior to 1910, there were 7 each polyandrous and plygynous marriages within the Kapingamarangi people. One story depicts of two men being simultaneously married to two women, and would alternate nights with the wives. (2)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

There is no evidence of dowry or bride purchase; however, there were a few suggestions that the husband serves the house of the wife, although there was no concrete evidence. (2)

- 4.9 Inheritance patterns:
  - Not specified.
- 4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict:

Children are to be obedient and respectful to their parents. No joking or sexual references are permitted. (2)

- 4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals:
- Not specified.
- 4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

No evidence suggests that there is external marriages from other island systems that are not Kapingamarangi.

- 4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these "other fathers" recognized? No evidence of paternal partible or multiple fathers in the Kapingamarangi.
- 4.14 What is the belief of the mother's role in procreation exactly? (e.g., "receptacle in which fetus grows") Mothers are expected to take extreme caution while pregnant. If they eat a fish with a sore on its mouth, its mouth, the child will be born with a sore on its mouth as well.
- 4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? No evidence of an incremental process.
- 4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape
  - No information provided
- 4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

There is a preference to marry someone that is no closer than a third cousin to any individual. (2)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

Prior to marriage, women do enjoy sexual freedoms as described in the women's house in 4.27, but once married they have essentially committed to one man and are expected to respect the sanctity of marriage and only sleep with their husband. There are instance of sharing spouses within a given family, but it is restricted to those who give permission; it is not a free for all. (2)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring There evidence of small gifts being given in premarital relations, although there are none of extra marital partners in the Kapingamarangi.

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children?

There is a surprising trend in adoption of children within the Kapingamarangi. In most instances the children that are adopted are nieces and nephews of the adopting family (although only an individual can adopt children).

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females

1.0875 (taken from a 1947 population, also taken off of their ideal that men and women do not marry before the age of 15). (2) 4.22 Evidence for couvades

No evidence for couvades.

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

Not specified.

4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

Males that marry into a female's family must show the utmost respect. Fishing prizes are to be presented to the wife's family (her and her children, which may or may not be his). Offspring must also show extreme respect for their parents. This relationship is referred to as 'hakamataku.' (2)

4.24 Joking relationships?

Joking relationships, especially concerning sexual relations, are limited to those of the same sex and age as the joker, but can also be between those of the opposite sex if sexual relations are permissible between the two. (2)

4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations

See 5.11 for information relating to matrilineal relationship to social status.

4.26 Incest avoidance rules

Though not explicitly specified, incest is forbidden. This is indicated by one observer (2) that sexually suggestive or joking remarks were strictly forbidden if there as a possibility of incestual relations between the two individuals. Intercourse was considered taboo with anyone closer than a third cousin. (2)

4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

In traditional marriages, the male and female are sleeping together in the female's house, with the parents acting as a selective force for who her daughter marries (they are aware of the intercourse taking place). When the two finally decide to marry, the male takes the girl to his father's house and the mother prepares a bed for the daughter while the father leaves the house and stays in the men's house out of shyness. The female's family would gather food and a celebratory feast was to be held in the male's family household. The male is referred to as a 'boy' before marriage and 'man' afterward.

A house is set aside by a girl's extended family for intercourse with prospective spouses called a 'serehin.' As many as 5 girls would occupy the house at night, which sat vacant during the day. In certain instances, married males would deceive their spouses to spend a night in one of these houses. In recent times these houses were eliminated and parents made space in their home for the girl's mates as described above.

*Currently, Christian marriages are very commonplace although sometimes it is not allowed due to the fact that one of them is not a member of the church. (2)* 

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

Limited information suggests that names may be changed throughout a person's lifetime, and that it is most appropriate to address a person by their current name, even though you may know the previous names. In a comparison of population from 1088 to 1947, 25% of the males changed their name, and they may change their name for 3 reasons. 1) Abandon a name out of respect for a deceased friend or relative 2) Elders 'give' their name to younger people, typically a child or grandchild 3) the name was thought to be "bad." (2)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

*There are very few example of marriages outside of the community.* (2)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?Marriages are not arranged per se, but the female's parents act as a filter for individuals they deem not worthy (see 4.27 for a more in depth look), for reasons such as being lazy. (2)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: *No evidence found.* 

## Warfare/homicide:

The Kapingamarangi are generally a peaceful group, and as noted by one source (1) were conquered several times in their history. Weapons are limited to spears and bow and arrows, though they are typically used for fishing as opposed to warfare. There were quarrels, most commonly related to adulterous affairs, but there was never an intention by the assailant to kill the victim. (1,2)

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare:

Not specified.

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death:

Not specified.

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing:

Not specified.

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): *Not specified.* 

4.18 Cannibalism?

No information suggesting the practice of cannibalism was presented.

## 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

The Kapingamarangi consider themselves to be one village, although they are spread over several small islets in the archipelago. That being said, the village size is completely dependent upon the population (2).

5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality):

There is no evidence for seasonal mobility. The Kapingamarangi will travel by canoe to small surrounding islands to cultivate crops or to hunt for wild game. (1,2)

5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

The community tends to be equal as far as social status is concerned except for one family, which is deemed 'ariki,' literally meaning the ruling family. They are responsible for keeping favor with the gods and were held accountable for hard times. He (head of the family) could be removed from his position, in which case a new ruling family was elected by the people. One's social status is inherited through their mothers, and a chief must come from the 'tautonu' class within the village. (2)

5.4 Post marital residence:

There is no set rule as to whether the newly married couple maintains a patrilocal or matrilocal residence. Generally, the woman will live with the man's family for 1-3 years post marriage. (2)

- 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): Each family owns a piece of property, whether it is on their island or on the outlying islets used for cultivation. (1,2)
- 5.6 Social interaction divisions ? (age and sex):
- Not specified.

5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

There are several instances of joking about sex and things in general taking place in the men's house of the village. (2)

5.8 Village and house organization:

Canoe houses predominate around the beaches of the inhabited islands. There is a centrally located plot of land in the village where religious ceremonies take place. Most dwellings are found underneath trees for cover. Dwellings are generally centrally located on the island. (2)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses):

There is a house specialized for keeping fishing equipment and canoes referred to as the canoe house. There are houses that are used specifically for cooking, and often times less attention to detail is used in this case. There are also houses erected without walls called 'houses of the dead' erected over graves of dead relatives (in some cases) without walls and gifts are left by family members.

There are men's houses called cult houses where meetings between the village rulers take place. There are also men's and women's segregated outhouses located on opposite sides of a given settlement within the tribe. (1,2)

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? :

Placing the babies in hammocks are very common, and the baby is wrapped in the hammock to protect it from falling out and hurting itself in the night. All other individuals will sleep on mats made of pandanus leafs. (1)

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

There are two groups of people prior to missionary intervention. There are the 'tangata tauntonu' which were the servers of the gods, and the 'tangta tauihara,' who referred to as the wrong servers. The tauntonu were capable of handling the property of the gods, such as sacred canoes as well as land of the gods. This status was inherited based upon the mother's standing within the community. This system has been disregarded, and one chief claimed that this abolition of inherited classes was a blessing. (2)

5.12 Trade:

The United States Navy Department has encouraged the Kapingamarangi to become traders of copra, the dried pulp from coconuts as well as making and selling souvenirs for individuals stationed overseas. The Kapingamarangi do trade with the external world, as they do get new cloth from western trade.(1)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?:

There are no social hierarchies in current times (other than the ariki), but for more on previous generations see 5.11.

# 6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR:

No true information was specified, although there is reference to attending church services once a week. Parents will also pass down traditions to their children whenever they have free time. (2)

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

Traditionally, there were 20 priests, consisting of a high priest, an assistant priest, and 5 followers each. There were also 4 secondary priests who looked after the four divisions of the sacred house, and four regional priests. Two of these regional priests were deemed the "priest of the side" and the other two were titled "priest of a locality." (2)

## 6.2 Stimulants:

*There is an interesting rule where the village elders forbid anyone who smokes to be a member of the church, although they can attend services.* (2)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

Women giving birth must be attended by thee women, the 'waka matua.' On must be an elder experienced with deliver, and one must be of the tautonu class. The elder directs rituals. These individuals were chosen by the family of the mother. After the child is born, the elder goes to the ariki and declares, "Ariki, greetings, the 'tinae' has given birth, it is a girl/boy, all is well." The ariki would reply, "go, do your fishing." (Meaning go finish your work)

The first childbirth is a particularly important one. It is a celebration called the putu and lasts 4-5 days. The mother and child would be transferred to the island of Touhou before nightfall if it was born on another islet, and a house with fresh mats would be prepared for the. Meanwhile, the child's father and his father will go into seclusion in the men's father's house. They will then take a canoe to fish for squirrel fish, and one must be caught and sent to be cooked before the ceremony could be performed. 4 containers of coconut oil were prepared, two coming from the father's family, two from the mothers. The father's were hung in the southwest corner and the mother's in the northwest corner. Several drinking nuts are brought to the house, and the eldest of the waka matua will take the drinking nut to the mother of the child, pretend to eat it and then give the drink to the mother. Afterwards the drinking nut is broken into four parts, one part for each of the members of the waka matua, the fourth being discarded (it was originally for the former fourth member of the waka matua which was removed). Remaining balance of drinking nuts were broken up and scattered amongst various graves and sacred houses. The pieces of the coconut meat were given to the children. No one could enter the house prepared for the woman and child except for the members of the waka matua and the mother's father. Traditionally the baby was placed in the seaward portion of the house while the other faced the lagoon.

Parents of the father would send lengths of breadfruit tapa to the mother. The mother would insert flowers into her ears and flowered wreaths placed on her head and neck, and white heron feathers placed in her hair, forming a circle. If anyone besides members of the waka matua touched the mother, extreme evil fell upon them, but they could bypass this by bringing a four drinking nuts in a coconut leaf basket, placing them on a coconut leaf mat at the lagoon end of the house. The elder of the waka matua would give a special prayer of forgiveness in that specific case.

That night, a fire was lit in the lagoon side of the house so the father could see while performing sitting dances and various chantds. The elder of the waka matua would start the chain of events with a chant to the god Utamatua. People gather around the house and the cooked squirrel fish had been place on a board with some taro wrapped in breadfruit leaves upon a special fine mat. A tapa cloth is then tied around the waist of the mother by the leader of the waka matua and the assistants, and then a special song is sung.

After the song, the elder slaps her hands on the mat and then commands the mother to get up from her prone position. The mother now goes to her knees on the mat containing the board of food and pretends to eat. She then lays down in the opposite direction. Afterwards, the community outside celebrates with singing and dancing. This continues for a few more nights, and then on the morning of the fourth day, the tangata o ti rongo brought all the people together to perform a sitting dance after singing of the father's fishing, which would effectively end the celebration.

There no puberty rites for either males or females. Mutilation of male external genitalia is not known (as of source 2), but females are not allowed to have sexual intercourse during their menstrual cycle. They are not supposed to intermingle with the others in the village or perform heavy labor.

Males undergo special rites for becoming a fisherman. When fishing for marua fish, two boys between the age of 8-14 would travel with the older men, and a total of at least 60 fish must be obtained for them to "graduate" into marua fishing. When fishing with nets, there were four distinctive groups a person could graduate in. The first would be catching 100, the next 3 for 300, 500 and 1,000 fish in a net. Boys from the age of 15-18 were taken either one or two at a time to be taught fishing with nets. They would recite a prayer once they arrived at the ocean. (2)

#### 6.4 Other rituals:

There were daily rituals in which during the afternoon the sea gods would emerge from the ocean. No woman was to be unaccompanied; otherwise they risked being attacked by the gods. Each day before sundown the ariki would blow three times on his trumpet to call the gods into the cult house of the village. The Kapingamarangi also had a morning and evening prayer that was recited at each respective time. There are chants for inducing rain, growing plants, and when the ariki approaches the cult house.

There were also major ceremonies at the cult house. The first was the renovation of the frame and thatch of the house, the second the replacement of the brown mats, the third the replacement of the bleached mats, the fourth canoe making, and the fifth was freeing women from the confinement after delivering childbirth. Any time the cult house was renovated, anyone who was born after the last renovation was brought to the cult house for a special rite of consecration of the duties they would take over once they matured, as well as a second rite to give them the good will of the gods.

To be successful in fishing, certain rituals were performed. These included special prayers and special offerings. There are special chants for shark fishing as well. (2) 6.5 Myths (Creation):

All gods are referred to as eitu. Gods were not given an image, but if they would appear it would be in the form of some monster at sea. The greatest gift the gods could bestow upon their people was the delivery of a whale carcass to the islands.

Gods that were worshiped are Utariki, Mongohenua, Mongotohoro, Tiwawe, Tipoinua and Roua. Only Roua has a special function as the goddess of childbirth. (2)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games):

There are special dances and songs that are of the old traditional religion, although they are seldom practiced. There is a cult house for religion and housing the gods at night, and it is marked with a sacred stone in front called the 'ti hatu tapu-hai.' There are local gods on the sacred islet of Turuaimu. A token of homage was paid by anyone who passed by the islet.

There are sacred items, such as sacred canoes which were always paddled and never sailed. There are also sacred adzes, a sacred trumpet that was sounded to invite the gods into the cult house, which was made of a shell, and a ceremonial spear made of coconut wood. (2)

6.7 Sex differences in RCR:

No direct instances of sex difference found.

6.8 Missionary effect:

Christianity currently dominates the society, replacing the traditional songs and dances of their ancestors, although they are still passed down from generation to generation. There are two churches, the Catholic and the Protestant. Although the majority of the Kapingamarangi are not members of either church, many attend Protestant services as opposed to Catholic. (1,2) 6.9 RCR revival:

N/A

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

"When a man dies, all his relatives gather around the corpse, lamenting and weeping. In toke of their mourning, relatives cut their hair quite short. They wash him and put him on the bier in his house. For one night the corpse remains in the house under unceasing lamentations and singings of dirges (ti lang). Before burial, the corpse is wrapped up in special mats (ti kihare [=kahara]), while their hair is adorned with wreaths. Then the grave is dug. The corpse is lowered into it and covered with earth. Finally the place is leveled and strewn with find coral fragments." (2, from Eilers 1934 report)

Due to the influence of Christianity, bodies are now buried in wooden coffins, and mourners no longer cut their hair. "When an ariki died, he was wrapped in a white pandanus mat," If a woman perished during childbirth, the ariki would lay beside her and say, 'your spirit, have it go into the ocean to bring a whale.' This comes from ancient belief that the goddess of childbirth, "Roua" (see history) was calling on her for another purpose, and that if it was completed the goddess would give the Kapingamarangi a whale.

Current beliefs revolve around life after death as described by Christianity, but in previous generations there were two destinations for the soul. The common person went to a place called Tikaunga, which was just inside of the reef opposite the lagoon from the village. The ariki went to live with the god in the ocean at a place called Matawa. There is also a belief in a procession of ghosts that come every night and follow the same pathway. (2)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people?

No evidence suggests taboos around naming dead people.

6.12 Is there teknonymy?

No evidence of teknonymy.

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

The traditional religion is one of polytheism, with multiple gods holding devine status, but with only one holding a true power (see 6.5). Signs come in the form of "monsters" found at sea.

The whale plays a huge role in traditional religion. Finding a whale carcass that had been washed ashore was considered a gift from the gods as they reside in the ocean. Chants were created about finding a whale as well as historical accounts of their ancestors finding whales in the past. (2)

#### 7. Adornment

7.1 Body paint:

*Body painting and tattooing were explicitly stated as never having been practiced in the history of the Kapingamarangi.* (1) 7.2 Piercings:

Ears are pierced with a scraped stinger from a sting ray. Flowers are a popular item to insert in their ears. (1)

7.3 Haircut:

Both sexes cut their hair short, but the males (traditionally) leaving longer strands above the ears on each side. The Kapingamarangi cut their hair using a tool made out of shark's teeth that are attached to a wooden handle. (1)

7.4 Scarification:

No evidence of scarification.

7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

The Kapingamarangi will wear head bands made of pandanus leaves that have flowers attached. Shell ornaments are worn around the neck and ornamental belts are present within the group as well. (1)

## 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment:

The ariki will wear a necklace of pearl-shell shanks, and may wear a turtle shell ornament. He will also wear a special garment of pandanus strips (serua pekepeke) over his loincloth. A special headdress armband and necklace was also made out of an unopened coconut leaf from the top of a tree. (2)

## 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

No specified differences in adornment.

## 7.8 Missionary effect:

Missionaries brought about acculturation to the Kapingamarangi. Clothing has slowly become more western in appearance as well as increased trade bringing in new fabrics.

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment:

N/A

## 8. Kinship systems

## 8.1 Sibling classification system:

There are only 8 kinship terms, which correspond to parent, father, mother, child, sibling, spouse parent-in-law and son or daughter-in-law. Male or female is attached to the title of the relative. Derivative terms include mother's brother, sister's child (same as own child), spouse, grandchild (which is tamatama, literally child-child), and sibling's spouse of the same sex as you. Husband and wife are viewed as equals within the household. Boys may leave the house at puberty but are subject to being called for work by their parents. All children, biological or adopted, are treated equally. (2)

## 8.2 Sororate, levirate:

*No true sororate systems, although there are instances of polygynous marriages where the husband marries two sisters. No evidence of levirate. (2)* 

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):

## 9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

The Kapingamarangi practice abortions freely. They use external pressure, medicines, and even use a forked stick to abort the fetus. (2)

## Numbered references

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