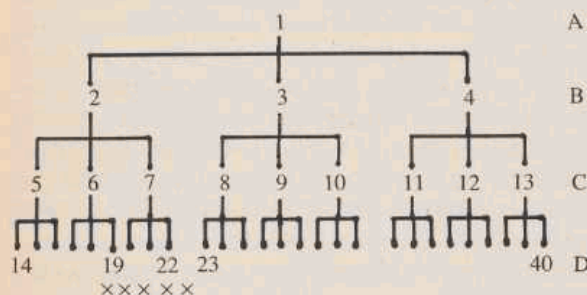


the effecting of the marriage is the bride's selling of beer, etc., to her husband's kin. The profits generated establish the capital base of the new wife's entry into the market of her new district. More importantly and more generally, marriages of high and low rank form differing patterns of interest and disinterest.

### Holder and Heir, Incumbent and Successor

In Fig. 5 four generations of "agnates" are represented as one "maximal lineage," or, more accurately, the set of patrilineal ties. The males numbered 1 to 3, 5 to 7, and 14 to 19 have held, do, or could hold the title of "owner of the people." This is the situation which would obtain in a fully developed maximal lineage in a new clan territory, to use Tait's terminology. Each generation of each segment is represented as having



x = individuals who have been marginalized

Fig. 5: Possessor-Inheritor

three male siblings to maintain the appearance of "lineage" structure in the face of death and other eventualities. In the movement to the new clan territory the segments' age-sets (*onatshipwatotib*) are in disarray, or non-existent. The further fission of the next clan hamlet demands the reformation of the age set system again, in that "male sets stratify the major lineages, not the clan" (Tait 1961: 88), and, further, that "it is seldom possible to correlate, with certainty, the sets of one lineage with those of another." This is obviously emphasized in the case of multiple fission. The argument proposed here is that fission very closely resembles the cleavage indicated in Fig. 5 between those who were, or theoretically were, or are eligible to be "owner of the people" (see Goody 1970a on laterality). In the formation of the contraposed clan those opposed as the "owners of the people" are obviously a minority by relation with the remainder. The model considers only the most probable lines of

"agnatic" descent and filiation. The opposition of "owners of the people/owners of the land" is a case of *déjà vu*. The "owner of the earth" is "sent by the earth" in the sense that it may be on the basis of "possession fit," association with other "owners of the earth," demand of the lineage "elders," appointment by the "owner of the people," and general consensus.<sup>16</sup> The parental maximal lineage may have some role to play as well, in that a filial ritual relation continues which is close, but not equivalent, to the *mantotib*, clan ritual congregations especially for burial and the networks of earth shrines. *Manto* is "common descent, kithship, and membership of a common tribe" (Tait 1961: 211). Similarly, although convincing description is lacking, Tait insists that *naaba*, the children of one mother, versus *taabo*, the children of one father, is not congruent with the Tallensi *soog*. It, he says, "is not extended in the same way." He continues that "what does occur is some kind of lateral expansion" (1961: 212 ff., 219).

The process described above is complete, but is nested within the restrictions of production, including warfare and trade. The process subsumes what are the logical limitations of a segmentary lineage system in all its forms. It reasonably exhausts the rupture of "agnation" with the parent clan, and adequately circumscribes the condition of permanence of settlement as availability of various classes of horticultural land. If, the example of expansion of the segmentary lineage has been outlined, the converse will produce a somewhat more substantial view of the "owners of the people."

The "owners of the people" fall under the authority of the *oniba*. He has within his direction, the *benatshipwar*, the association of young men (Tait 1961: 89) used obviously in war and "feud," and to protect and extend horticultural, hunting, and fishing rites, the regalia, including the symbols of the maximal and minor lineage. It is suggested as well that the "chief of the market" falls within the control of the "owners of the people,"<sup>17</sup> including the associated shrine and the rights of redistribution of the results of the communal hunt (elsewhere, usually tri-annual). The two poles of "owners" of the earth and people are integrated in the participation in the annual cycle of earth rites. The societies discussed represent

16 There is a rite which determines "how someone was sent into the world" (Tait 1961: 200). Ritual power is vested in diviners, persons "sent by the earth," those "sent by a shrine," and "those who hold spirits."

17 Tait, contrarily, allows only that control of the associated shrine and the right to levy taxes goes to a senior of that maximal lineage who holds the land on which it is located.