

The participants's perception of their genealogy over time

Genealogical knowledge and manipulation in the highlands of North-western Tunisia, with special reference to Murphy & Kasdan's theory of agnatic genealogies¹

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¹This study was first drafted in Dutch in 1970, then translated into English and repeatedly revised in order to be incorporated in my forthcoming monograph on my North African research (van Binsbergen, in press (a)). This is an interim installment so that I may cite this piece in other work. Fieldwork was undertaken in the *homdat* 'Atatfa, delegation 'Ain Draham, *Gouvernorat* Jandouba, Tunisia, in 1968, 1970, 1979 and 2002. I am indebted to the University of Amsterdam for a subsidy towards the 1968 fieldwork; to the Free University, Amsterdam, and my old friend the late lamented Jos van der Klei†, for enabling my 1979 revisit; and to the African Studies Centre Leiden for financing the 2002 revisit. I am indebted to the people of the valley of Sidi Mḥammad for welcoming me (in 1968 a blundering and stammering juvenile stranger) in their their midst; to the Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Tunis, Tunisia, for accommodating my research; to Hasnawi ben Ṭahar for excellent and untiring research assistance; to the late lamented Douwe Jongmans† and Klaas van der Veen†, and their assistants Marielou Creighton† and Pieter van Dijk, for excellent intellectual and logistic supervision in the field; to Jeremy Boissevain† for supervising the 1972 thesis in which these data were first analysed – although he did not remain true to his voluntary proposal to confer a PhD on the basis of this work; to my first wife, the late lamented Henny van Rijn† for stimulating the quantitative analysis of the data as presented here; to my eldest son Vincent for graciously accompanying me on the 2002 trip; to Muhammad Suudi, the Palestinian lecturer in Arabic at the University of Amsterdam, for introducing me (1966-1967) to modern Arabic; and to my fellow participants in the 1968 fieldwork training expedition (Peter Geschiere, Pieter Ernsting, Pieter Tamsma†, Gustav von Liebenstein, and Coen Holzappel), for allowing me (as confirmed by each of them in a signed document in my possession) to use a selection of the genealogical and census data collected in our few days of collective interviewing in the valleys of Ulad al-Hajj and al-Mazuz, in order to complement my far more extensive data on the valley of Sidi Mḥammad, on which the present argument is almost exclusively based; and finally to Guus Hartong and Coen Beeker, who preceded me by one or two years as student fieldworkers in the valley of Sidi Mḥammad, and generously shared their insights in several conversations with me.

Of course, half a century is a very long time in the world of modern scientific production, and today the issues of the present argument have largely sunken behind the horizon of current professional interest. Still, virtually all human reproduction takes place in kinship-dominated domestic contexts, kinship therefore still constitutes one of the mainstays of social organisation, and still deserved to be studied in its own right – even if gone out of fashion. Constituting an enduring legitimate research concern, an enormous amount of work and reflection has been invested in this paper, in the background it has informed much of my later work on ethnicity, identity, ideology, and though processes, and it is sufficiently dear to me to justify the present attempt to revive it. More such attempts will soon follow, until my two-volume monograph on my North African research will at long last see the light. Even so, I cannot bring myself to try and update the theoretical discussion and the bibliography – that would mean several months of hard work, for which I have neither the time nor the inclination.

1. Introduction

In 1964 I began my anthropological studies as a first-year student at the University of Amsterdam, and after the then mandatory seven years of full-time study (with major fields in general linguistics and religious anthropology) I concluded my formal tuition in 1971 with the degree of Drs of Social Science; in 1979 this trajectory was crowned with a doctorate in the social sciences at the Free University Amsterdam. Closely supervised fieldwork training was a central part of the postgraduate curriculum. My first fieldwork (in Djumiriyya, i.e. the highlands of North-western Tunisia, 1968) was conceived, not only in terms of Durkheim's (1912) theory of religion and society (which ultimately led to my recent monograph on Durkheim, 2018), but also within an anthropological paradigm in which kinship dominated the conception of social organisation. At the Anthropological-Sociological Centre of the University of Amsterdam, we were trained, in the 1960s, to become primarily kinship specialists, in a monomaniacal way that even professional anthropologists today would have difficulty to understand, let alone emulate. The central problem of my extensive research programme with which I set out for the field in 1968, was the relationship between the several dozens of (nominally Islamic) shrines dotted over the landscape of the highlands of North-western Tunisia, and the present-day social organisation of that region; but the only then conceivable way in which I could approach that problem, was through a very intensive and complete study of kinship and marriage as main windows on local social organisation, in this society which was by its own conscious ideology, strictly patrilineal. The present argument is an account of specific problems of theory and empirical substantiation in the field of unilineal descent systems, such as was very much *en vogue* in the 1950s-1970s, but has since faded into the background, and is now considered an esoteric, obsolete form of quasi-scientific cabbalism. My aim in retrieving this long paper from its computer grave, is because it shows a detailed and eloquent aspect of what has since emerged as the *anthropology of time*:² unilineal descent lies enshrined in the participants' awareness of kinship relations in the past, *but this awareness turns out to be a function of time elapsed, and to display specific time-related patterns, some of which the present argument seeks to highlight* – especially to the extent to which, in the 1950s-1960s, they were the subject of theorising by two American anthropologists, Murphy and Kasdan.

After the initial triumph of the model of the unilineal segmentary lineage in the 1940s (Evans-Pritchard 1967 / 1940; Fortes 1945, 1949, 1953; Barnes 1962), problems in subsequent research soon led to the recognition of a type of societies in which, on the one hand, the dominant local ideology lays much emphasis on unilineal descent – either patrilineal or matrilineal – but in which on the other hand the unilineal model does not give an adequate description of the actual structure of interaction; in fact it is bilateral kinship which structures these societies (Sahlins 1961; Forde 1963; Karp 1978;

² The study of time has emerged, in the last half century, as a major field in its own right, where the anthropology of time and the philosophy of time are important constituent fields. This is not the place to present an overview of these important sub-disciplines. In a later, more definitive version of this paper I intend to deal more adequately with these fields' main ideas and bibliography.

more ethnographic publications cited by Befu 1965: 14-34).

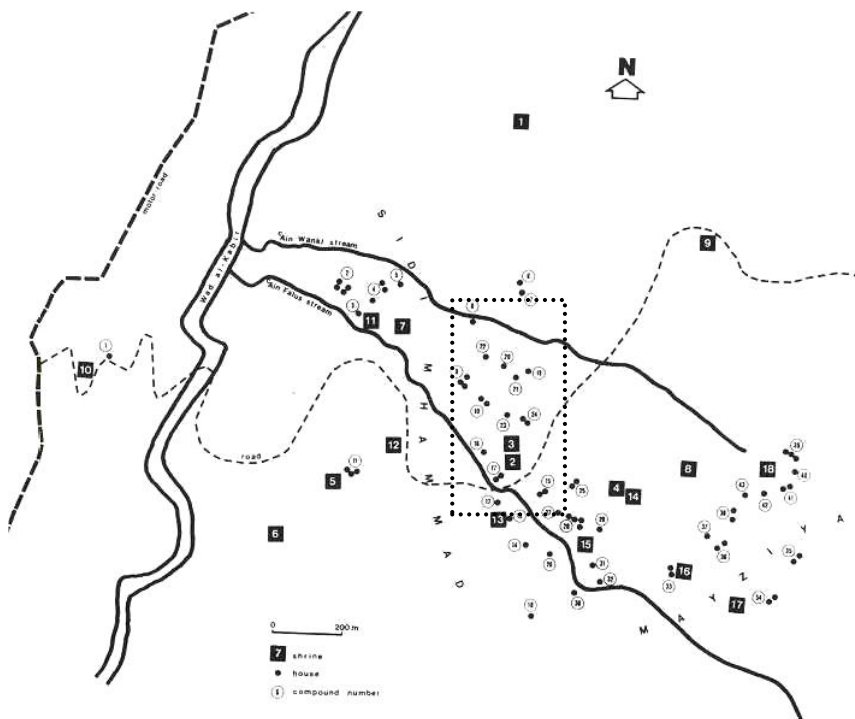


the rectangle with broken lines, in the centre, demarcates the research area discussed in the present argument; the region's administrative centre, 'Ain Draham, is situated at: $36^{\circ} 47' N$ $8^{\circ} 42' E$.

Fig. 1. The highlands of Humiriyya, 1968

Already in 1959, not on the basis of their own ethnographical research but through the analysis of a theoretical model, Murphy & Kasdan arrived at the conclusion that this

type of societies includes the Arabian ones: here, too, we find a strong patrilineal ideology, while bilateral kinship is claimed, by these authors, to be the actual functioning principle. The only argument they advance for this view is that because of agnatic endogamy (such as FBD marriage) as occurs in Arabian societies, already after a few generations the patri-line and the matri-line would coincide. Their argument was strongly opposed by Patai (1965; cf. 1955). However, in a later publication Murphy & Kasdan (1967) argue that Patai did not properly understand their argument, and that Patai himself commits the error of confusing local ideology with the practice of interaction.



For the rectangle formed by broken lines, see Diagram 4 below

Fig 2. Dwellings, shrines, and other features in the landscape of the villages of Sidi Mhammad and Mayziyya, 1968

Murphy & Kasdan's analysis is not directly based on ethnographic research of their own, and hence has typical 'armchair' shortcomings: their model is too simple. In particular, their major claim is undermined by the fact (which was rightly mentioned by Patai), that in the various Arabian societies described so far agnatic endogamy involves only a relatively minor proportion of all marriages: the majority of marriages is always contracted outside the circle of near-agnates.

But even if based on only a partial argument, Murphy and Kasdan's conclusion is correct. Peters initially interpreted his data on the Cyrenaica Bedouins in terms of the segmentary lineage model (Peters 1951, 1960), but finally concluded that this model is not adequate: 'it does not provide an admissible basis for analysis,' for it is merely 'a fact of their (Bedouin – WvB) social life', 'a people's ideology', behind which hide social structures and interactions which in fact are governed by very different principles (Peters 1967: 279).

A similar situation obtains in the Ḥumīrīyya highlands. Here, too, we see an emphatically patrilineal ideology. But (as I could demonstrate by means of extensive quantitative analysis discussed elsewhere in the present book) the single most important recruitment principle for everyday social interaction, for marriage partners, for religious activities, was not agnatic kinship but spatial segmentary organization, in the last analysis based on spatial propinquity. Spatiality as a recruitment principle turned out to be complemented by a number of secondary principles. Kinship was one of these, but then in such a way that the practice of interaction hardly distinguished between agnates, cognates and affines: the bilateral, ego-centred kindred (Mitchell 1963), undifferentiated in terms of agnates, cognates and affines, emerges as an important structural principle in this society. However, the kindred remains a secondary principle, because effective social relationships between kinsmen in most cases can be interpreted in terms of spatiality, i.e. as relationships between people who live within a radius of a few hundred meters from Ego's house; because of the residence pattern and the pattern of land acquisition in this society the majority of Ego's kindred happens to live very near to Ego.



In the background the Ouad al-Kabir, and the winding road up the slope towards the motor road

Fig. 3. Local women harvesting rye in the valley of Sidi Mḥammad, 1968

One problem which Murphy & Kasdan make explicit, is this: *how can the local patrilineal ideology survive despite the bilateral practice?* (Murphy & Kasdan 1967). Peters (1967) ignores this problem, while Murphy and Kasdan attempt to find its solution primarily in the nature of Arabian genealogies: 'If the memories of the Arabian genealogists were complete and perfect, the kinship system would not work' (Murphy & Kasdan 1967: 11). This idea they work out in the way of two hypotheses. The first hypothesis they derive from a personal communication by R. Randolph, who did research among the Bedouins of the Negev:

'...Among the Bedouin of the Negev, female names are not simply forgotten by the genealogists because of the unimportance of the maternal kin but are deliberately excluded and not mentioned even when perfectly known. (...) The names of women who were taken as wives from other major descent groups are remembered in the genealogies. The function of the genealogical amnesia appears obvious. Since marriage does not serve to maintain unilineality through the practice of endogamy, bonds through females must be deliberately suppressed in order that the matrilineal links do not lead directly back into the endogamous descent group. If this were allowed to happen, the system would become bilateral in form as well as in function'. (Murphy & Kasdan, 1967: 10; also cf. Emmanuel Marx 1967.).

The second hypothesis is formulated by Murphy & Kasdan (1967: 11), somewhat in passing, on the basis of Murphy's field-work (1964) among the matrilineal Tuareg:

'The Tuareg were not able to expunge either males or females from their genealogies, for the males were the source of authority and inheritance and the females of descent. What they did do, however, was maintain only shallow genealogies, and it was difficult for the ethnographer to elicit names beyond the second ascending generation (...). This made it equally difficult for the Tuareg to exactly establish their relationships beyond second degree collaterals, and the multiplex nature of kin ties within the group was accordingly diminished. (...) The absence of long genealogies – or the dropping of one gender from the genealogies – is quite as important a social fact as are the ties that can be established where genealogical depth is present.'



Note the domed and horned shrine of Sidi Mḥammad Jr, centre photograph

Fig. 4. Centre of the village of Sidi Mḥammad Jr on a rainy day in Spring 1979

Without explicitly claiming that unilineal ideology and bilateral practice are also found among the Tuareg, this passage implies that, for Murphy and Kasdan, a reduction of genealogical depth forms a functional alternative to the genealogical manipulation of women and their names. Both devices might then also help to obscure from the actors' awareness the discrepancy between unilineal ideology and bilateral practice.

In north-western Tunisia, the analysis of the social organization, and of the semantics of the local system in terms of which the actors describe their own society, offers considerable insight into the way in which, at the actors' level, the spatial, bilateral and patrilineal principles were integrated in such a way as to obscure the contradictions between these principles from the actors' consciousness, even if these contradictions were only too obvious from the analytical point of view. Local ideology claims that the central role in day-to-day interaction is played by patrilineality; since in fact such a role is played not by patrilineality, nor by bilaterality but by spatiality, my analysis concentrates on the relation between spatiality and patrilineal descent. However, if – like Murphy and Kasdan in their theoretical model – we agree to ignore the spatial factor for a moment and for the sake of the argument, then the situation in my research area corresponds with the contradiction between patrilineal ideology and bilateral practice as posed by Murphy & Kasdan.

The peasant society of north-western Tunisia belongs to the total set of Arabian societies which form the object of Murphy and Kasdan's theoretical pronouncements (1959, 1967). Also in north-western Tunisia one can demonstrate a discrepancy to exist between unilineal local ideology and bilateral practice, such as has been recognized by these authors. Now, can the presence of this discrepancy be explained by reference to the two hypotheses advanced by our authors? In other words,

- Do we encounter, in north-western Tunisia, the genealogical manipulation with regard to women, as postulated by Murphy and Kasdan?
- What is the genealogical depth in north-western Tunisia?

In order to answer these questions I shall proceed as follows. First I shall work out Murphy & Kasdan's hypothesis concerning genealogical manipulation of women, and operationalize this hypothesis in such a way that it will be amenable to quantitative testing. Then follows a qualitative discussion of the genealogical data from north-western Tunisia. In that context I shall define the sample of genealogies upon which at a later stage I shall test Murphy & Kasdan's hypotheses. Then I assess the genealogical depth of the data. As a next step I apply a quantitative analysis in order to assess which the genealogical manipulation of women actually occurs as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan. This will turn out not to be the case. I shall then discuss why Murphy and Kasdan's theory is inadequate, and advance an alternative hypothesis with regard to the genealogical manipulation of women. Quantitative analysis brings out that my alternative hypothesis does apply to the data from north-western Tunisia.

2. A qualitative discussion of genealogical data from north-western Tunisia

2.1. Spontaneous and solicited genealogical statements

Some ethnographies give the impression that the people described are constantly contemplating their genealogies, constantly make genealogies the topic of their conversations, and let their interactions to a large extent be determined by such kin relationships as are depicted by genealogies. This image does certainly not apply to the society of north-western Tunisia. Between the actors there is relatively little verbal communication about genealogical matters. To the extent to which there is such communication, it is largely limited to the tracing of genealogical chains between living contemporaries. Statements concerning such chains are spontaneously produced by the actors as explanation for certain forms of interaction (visiting, co-operation in production, assistance in times of illness and bereavement, etc.) between the people involved; in other words, in a context of kinship obligations. In the study of genealogical knowledge we need to distinguish between genealogical statements which have been elicited systematically by an ethnographer in the context of a formal interview, and such statements as are volunteered by actors in real-life conversation. Unsolicited data of the latter type are unavoidably unsystematic, yet give us greater insight in such genealogical knowledge as actually inform social interaction, than the solicited data. When such kinship chains as were traced spontaneously by *Ḥumīrī* actors, the following interesting tendencies can be spotted; however, precisely because we are dealing here with *spontaneous* verbal utterances, the ethnographer cannot systematically control their production and collection, and therefore statistical testing is out of the question.

In the discussion of genealogical knowledge it is useful to distinguish between the length of genealogical chains, and their contents, particularly the horizontal or vertical nature of the links out of which these genealogical chains consist; the horizontal links connect people of the same generation, the vertical links people of successive generations.

2.1.1. *Length of chain*

Genealogical chains have a certain length: the number of elements (persons) occurring in them; for instance, if person A is the MBD of person B, then the genealogical chain linking A and B consists of three elements: M, B and D. In this sense the spontaneous produced by *Ḥumīrī* actors chains are never longer than six elements, and in the great majority of cases they merely comprise one, two or three elements. For the actors, distant kinship obviously is too irrelevant to explicitly and spontaneously mention as a ground for day-to-day interaction. This tallies with my statistical analysis of the significance of kinship in the recruitment of interaction partners (van Binsbergen 1970 and in press (a)).

2.1.2. *Emphasis on horizontal links*

We can also make empirical generalizations about the contents of the genealogical

chains which Ḥumīrī informants produce spontaneously. Genealogical chains are series of elements, in a fixed order; the nature of the link between two successive elements is given by both the order and the meaning of the constituent elements. This links can be distinguished in vertical links (connecting two generations: child/parent or parent/child) and horizontal links (the connexion between siblings, or the affinal connexion between spouses). In the chain MBD the transition from Ego to M, and from B to D, is a vertical link, while the transition between M and B consists in a horizontal link. In the chain ZHBS the transitions between Ego and Z, Z and H, H and B are all horizontal, while that between B and S is vertical.

Now if between two individuals one could trace more than one genealogical chain, Ḥumīrī actors in their spontaneous pronouncements almost invariably produce the shortest possible chain. In most cases the longer chain is that one which traces the agnatic kin relationship (with emphasis on vertical links), while the shorter chain comprises one or more affinal (and therefore horizontal) links. The possibility of multiple chain is implied in the Arabian context of endogamy; in north-western Tunisia, kindred endogamy (including agnatic endogamy, e.g. the famous FBD marriage) comprises as much as 30% of all marriages (depending of course on the definition and demarcation of the kindred, see elsewhere in the present study). The horizontal tendency in the spontaneous tracing of genealogical chains amounts to a situation where kin relations are primarily traced by reference to contemporaries, while also the persons who function as linking elements in the genealogical chain are preferably selected from among contemporaries. In Ḥumīriyya, spontaneous tracing takes place by reference to persons who are personally known to, or remembered by, the speaker, and with whom the latter has a personal relationship – rather than via higher-generation agnatic ancestors, about whom the contemporary actors have merely a stereotypical or nominal knowledge based on hearsay. In the case of conflict over land one does refer to a very schematic patrilineal genealogy of higher-generation male ancestors. However, enumerations of long chains of names, generation after generation, and featuring not only male lineage members but also female lineage members and women married into the lineage – that type of genealogical knowledge only becomes topical when an alien anthropological researcher comes along. There are no local specialists whose task it is to administer genealogical knowledge in either written or oral form. Neither are there specific occasions when, in mutual agreement between those concerned, the genealogy is explicitly altered in order to bring it more in line with the actual relationships between the various descent groups in society.³ The only systematic knowledge which children are taught systematically consists of the chain of their direct patrilineal ancestors: F, FF, FFF etc. It is only a minority which later deepen their genealogical knowledge by conversations with old men and women, to include collateral ancestors, and their spouses and affines, in higher generations.

For genealogical research all this means that the genealogies which an ethnographer may collect in the area have always an artificial nature. If an informant wishes to state his collateral ancestors (i.e. the siblings and cousins of his direct lineal ancestors), or

³ Such occasions do occur in other societies, e.g., among the Nigerian Tiv people (Bohannon 1953), cf. Fortes 1953.

the spouses and affines of lineal and collateral ancestors, then he can never fall back upon fixed series imprinted in his mind through rote learning, but he has to mobilize his individual, specific, concrete information about these people who lived in the past. Such information may sometimes have been acquired through direct interaction with the persons referred to, notably in those cases when the persons listed belong to the informant's own generation or adjacent generations. For higher generations, or with regard to people who have migrated away from the local community and no longer sustain contact with it, the informant has to rely on fragments of information which he may have incidentally acquired from third parties in the course of his life.

With this state of affairs there is little wonder that the intensive genealogical research which I carried out in north-western Tunisia, reveals not only major gaps in the genealogical knowledge of the various informants, but also major differences between informants. Even when my informants belonged to the same family, their genealogical views were not consensual with regard to higher generations and to distant kinship, but even with regard to close kinship and to the informant's own generation and immediately adjacent generations! And even among individual informants genealogical information turned out not to be stable. Whether one recognizes someone as a kinsmen, specifically as an agnate, is closely connected with the existence of day-to-day interaction and of a positive trust relationship with that person. Because the pattern of day-to-day interaction changes considerably over the years, what also changes in the process is the extent to which a particular individual is prepared to consider other around him as kinsmen, *regardless of such actual historical genealogical chains as might have been traced by an objective outsider with hypothetical access to full data of local family history*. This means that individual genealogical statements display an element of opportunism: one does not spontaneously mention kinsmen who are enemies, or if one does mention them one disassembles the kin relationship.

It is remarkable that all informants, when asked for the series of their siblings, will first mention the brothers (ordered according to age), and only then the sisters. When comparing data on brothers and sisters it is important to realize that in north-western Tunisia the difference in marital age between husband and wife tends to be 5 to 15 years; therefore, most girls will have left their parental family by the time most of their brothers will be married. Marriage is virilocal in 95% of all cases, so brothers tend to remain in the same village after marriage. When a girl marries this does not always mean that she disappears from the day-to-day sight of her brothers. In this society about 50% of all marriages is village-endogamous; but the 50% who do marry outside the village where they were living just before marriage, only rarely return there: hardly for informal family visits, but mainly in the setting of specific formal occasions – for rare life-crisis ceremonies, for the annual festival of ^ʿAyyid al-Kabīr, and twice a year in the context of compulsory pilgrimages to the shrines in their village of origin. Therefore, when sisters are habitually mentioned as a series after a full series of brothers in formal genealogical statements, this partly reflects the gradual disappearance of sisters beyond their brothers' social horizon, but there must be another factor in addition: the effect of a social norm of male precedence, which is enforced in numerous other aspects of Ḥumīrī life.

The pattern underlying the production of spontaneous genealogical knowledge also affected the formal genealogical statements as solicited in my formal interviews.

The purpose of my genealogical research was primarily to gain insight in the social organization of the research area, as a background for the interpretation of residential history, segmentation, and the relation between shrines and social groupings. My data on living persons were derived from a census which I took personally, and from intensive daily participation. In addition to the non-consensual, opportunist aspect of genealogical knowledge in north-western Tunisia, the collection of reliable genealogical information was influenced by some other factors. My research assistant hailed from the local chiefdom, and although not from the research area itself, knew many of our informants and their families. He had several years of experience with genealogical research, and was keen on spotting irregularities in the informants' statements. On the other hand, there is no doubt that even so individual communication errors have had a negative effect on the quality of the data. Many interviews would proceed for half an hour or so with only the informant, myself and the assistant present, but then often members of the informant's household, or neighbours, came to interrupt the conversation, steering it away from the systematic and often boring insistence on genealogical information. Most informants would offer their genealogical information without reticence, and especially those who considered themselves knowledgeable on this point took a certain pleasure in these interviews, but most informants would after about fifteen minutes lose interest in this rather boring and impersonal form of data collection, or would be too irritated or embarrassed by the confrontation with their own manifest genealogical ignorance.

In an unknown number of cases, finally, genealogical knowledge which was present was yet denied to me, or was presented by the informant in a purposely distorted way. Local ideology stresses the positive value of living on the land of patrilineal ancestors, and considers all other forms of land acquisition (purchase, donation, theft, matrilineal inheritance) as second rate. However, migration of individual and small residential groups has been a constant and important aspect of this society. Therefore many informants can only mention a few patrilineal ancestors who lived in the same place (village, valley) as they themselves. One dissembles genealogical knowledge concerning ancestors who lived elsewhere, or claims – against one's better knowledge – that they did live in the same place as their present-day descendants. By the same token, the dynamics of honour and shame rendered it difficult to obtain complete and reliable information on all marriages which a person may have contracted in the course of his or her life. Marriages may be dissolved by death or by divorce, specifically by the simple Qur'anic dismissal of the wife which before the alteration of the Tunisian family legislation shortly after Independence (1957) was no rare occurrence; remarriage of both men and women, levirate and polygyny⁴ have produced a very complicated pattern of marital relationships, which confuses the ethnographer and which among the actors is often sufficiently embarrassing to distort the factual truth.

⁴ Polygyny, although permitted by formal Islam, and sporadically practised in Ĥumiriyya (where a loose form of popular Islam prevails, with a remarkably conspicuous admixture of Judaism) was no longer legal after 1957; during the main fieldwork in the late 1960s, polygynous marriages contracted before 1957 still existed but were in the process of dying out.

2.2. Types of ancestors in genealogies

The persons whose names are mentioned in the genealogies, can be divided into two types: mythical ancestors and historical persons.

Historical persons are the members of the informant's own generation, adjacent generations, and a few generations above. The informant has known some of them personally, of others he has learned the names (with additional information on place of residence, other anecdotal detail, often also marital relations) from close kinsmen belonging to higher generations. The genealogical chains which the informant traces between these historical persons he considers as historically correct – or at least as close to the historical truth as is considered fit for public consumption. Comparison of the statements from various, closely-related informants with regard to historical persons featuring in genealogies will still show omissions and contradictions, on the basis of which the ethnographer may often reconstruct the historically correct genealogical chain, provided he has sufficient data at his disposal. For these individual variations can be relegated to a limited number of principles of genealogical manipulation, in addition to the opportunism already discussed above:

- A genealogy may be pruned by the elimination of those persons who played only an insignificant role in the past.
- Persons belonging to lineage segments which had a residential history different from the informant's segment, may be eliminated from the genealogy; they are omitted because dwelling at a distance from Ego's direct, lineal ancestors has obliterated the sense of kinship.
- Likewise, one may eliminate from the genealogy persons who belong to lineage segments with virtually the same residential history as the informant's, but whose genealogical link with the latter lies in so distant a past that it is no longer remembered.
- One may present the members of the lineage in a different genealogical connexion than corresponds with historical reality (telescoping).
- One may include in the genealogy persons who historically are no true agnates of Ego and of the others included in the same genealogy.

I have elsewhere (van Binsbergen 1970 and in press (a)) discussed and illustrated the social-structural background of these principles.

Mythical ancestors can be easily distinguished from historical persons. Not all genealogies contain mythical ancestors. If they do, mythical ancestors are always found in the apical generations. Mythical ancestors constitute only a small set, whose names are known to everybody. In and around the research area, only about ten different mythical ancestors were recognized. Some mythical ancestors also feature in local myths and legends. Some actors claim close-agnatic relationships to exist between various recognized mythical ancestors: one would be the F or B of the other. The ethnographer is inclined to interpret such a claim in terms of historical relationships between clans in their relations of dependence and struggle for autonomy, contesting such scarce resources as springs and pastures. And even the actors concerned may recognize the allegorical nature of these claimed kin relationships

between mythical ancestors. There is little consensus with regard to the way in which mythical ancestors might be related to one another; some actors even deny any such relationship.

When an informant sums up the chain of his direct patrilineal ancestors, the transition between historical persons (the lower generations) and mythical ancestors is often signalled by a certain hesitation. In fact (as was made clear by the informants themselves on many occasions) the transition between the highest historical person and the lower (or only) mythical ancestor in the genealogy is often not considered, by the informants, to be a factual S/F relationship, but as a patrilineal connection across an unspecified number of generations. In the informant's summing-up the mythical ancestor may sometimes already appear immediately after, that is above, the FF; the informant is then manifestly conscious of the fact that many historical ancestors separate this FF from the mythical ancestor, but is unable or unwilling to specify the names of the intervening ancestors.

Mythical ancestors form the basis for clans. The names of clans are derived from those of mythical ancestors, via a suffix *-īyya* and a vowel change. For instance, the clan name ^ʿArfawīyya is derived from the name of the mythical ancestor ^ʿArfa, Mayziyya from Bu Maza, etc. When members of a particular lineage seek to affiliate to a clan which is already known to comprise a number of other named lineages, they may initially merely adopt the clan name, and only at a later stage add the corresponding name of the mythical ancestor to the individual genealogies. In the research area mythical ancestors are never women.⁵ *Ḥumīrī* culture distinguishes yet another type of ancestors, which like all ancestors are designated by the generic term *jadd* (plur. *jadūd*): the saints which are associated with local shrines such as are distributed, in various types, across the spatial segments. Within a certain area (e.g. a valley) the names of these saints constitute a fixed set known to every inhabitant, just as is the case with the mythical ancestors. Some local myths claim a relationship to have existed between certain non-saintly mythical ancestors and certain local saints, e.g. one is presented as the son or the servant of the other. In very rare cases the set of mythical ancestors overlaps with the set of saints: among the scores of names of *Ḥumīrī* saints and of *Ḥumīrī* mythical ancestors circulating in the area, I have known only one saint (notably *Sidī Mḥammad*, who features prominently in the present study) to feature in genealogies as a mythical ancestor.⁶ The saints are considered as 'ancestors', with this one exception they never feature in genealogies. That they are none the less considered as ancestors stems from a number of considerations:

- The interaction between man and invisible saint follows the role pattern between grandchild and grandparent.
- Much like real ancestors, the saints function as labels for the integration of present-day contemporaries, through reference to the latter's shared relationships with people in the past.

⁵ Cf. Peters 1960.

⁶ However, cf. Demeerseman 1964 and also Souyris-Rolland 1949; these authors, on the basis of their fieldwork in the 1930s-1950s, claim a larger number of saints to occur in genealogies, mainly as mythical ancestors.

The above applies to Humīri genealogical knowledge with regard to agnates. I did not systematically investigate the extent of vertical historical knowledge with regard to cognates and affines. In interviews I seldom pressed in this direction, because I usually had at my disposal such genealogical information concerning the kin groups of informant's cognates and affines as were derived from these group's agnatic members. Many cases however show that among men the genealogical knowledge concerning their cognates and affines was usually much less extensive than that concerning their own agnates. For (elderly) women this statement does not seem to hold true: they tend to be as knowledgeable about the agnatic group into which they have married as about their own lineage, even if their marriage was not lineage-endogamous.

3. Examples of the actors' genealogical information and interpretation

3.1. Introduction

In order to substantiate my argument I will now demonstrate for some ortholineages⁷ the problems of the lack of consensus with regard to historical knowledge, the actors' systematic genealogical manipulation, and the analytical reconstruction of ortholineages by the ethnographer.

I shall limit my discussion to genealogical knowledge, and not touch on the related problem of the manipulation of information on the places of residence in the past of the people whose names feature in the genealogies. The places of residence mentioned in the present appendix are those which I have myself reconstructed on the basis of contradictory information from the actors.

In the first two examples (the first relating to the ortholineages 6 and 7, the second to ortholineage 1) I shall show part of the genealogical data as offered by the informants in interviews. It was not nearly possible to cite all informants on these points. In order to be able to present the data in a clear and simple fashion I shall take my own reconstruction of the ortholineages in question as my point of reference. I shall not

⁷ I have coined the concept of ortholineage (as discussed in van Binsbergen 1970 and in press (a), Part I), to denote an objective, etic account of actual genealogical (including marital and affinal) relationships arranged – in agreement with the dominant societal ideology of Humiriya and other Arabising / Islamising societies – in a dendrogram (tree diagram) of patrilineal descent, and unaffected by such conscious and unconscious distortion and manipulation as inevitably affects the individual personal accounts of participants concerning their perceived kin network. I spent many months sorting out and collating ca. two hundred of such contradictory accounts so as to produce one master genealogy comprising all the ortholineages of the research area; that master genealogy has served as background for the numerical analyses in the present argument, and is available to the reader at: http://www.quest-journal.net/shikanda/Berber/genealogy_comprim_trim.pdf. The obvious counterpart of the ortholineage is the pseudolineage: the emic conception, by one individual participant or a small group of closely related participants, of their subjective conception of their kin environment in terms of unilineal descent. On the distinction between emic and etic, fundamental for the anthropological gaze, see Headland et al. 1990; van Binsbergen 2003: 20 f.

show the process of this reconstruction in itself: that would require the presentation of at least ten times more genealogical data, with extensive commentary accompanying every little step in the reconstruction. Meanwhile the present selection of data will give the reader some idea as to the possibilities for and the procedures to be applied with regard to such a reconstruction. It will also become clear that these reconstructions can never be based on absolute certainty: at least in part they continue to consist of conjectures and half-truths.

With every example I give an excerpt from the genealogy of the ortholineage. There generations are indicated by letters, and persons per generation by figures. The genealogical relations as claimed by individual informants thus take the following form:

b₃ < a₁	(b ₃ is a child of a ₁)
a₁ > b₃	(a ₁ is the parent of b ₃)
b₃ * b₇	(b ₃ married to b ₇)
b₃ (1) * b₇*(2) b₈	(b ₇ first married to b ₃ than to b ₈)
b₃ + siblings	(informant specifies b ₃ 's brothers and sisters but summing up of their names is irrelevant for the problem at hand)

Table 2. Typical formats of genealogical information.

The top of the ortholineage genealogy is formed by an ancestor about whom the ethnographer has sufficient information to be certain of his identity, historical status and genealogical position. Mythical ancestors therefore do not belong to the ortholineage; therefore in the rendering of the individual informant's genealogical statement the names of mythical ancestors, and of the clan names deriving from them, are written in full; the same applies to other insufficiently documented apical ancestors in individual statements.

Wherever the individual statement is in contradiction with the reconstruction of the ortholineage, this is indicated by (!).

The informants' individual genealogical statements, and the comparison between them, will offer examples of the systematic operations. Let me summarise these operations (discussed in van Binsbergen 1970 / in press (a) Part I) briefly:

- (a) general elimination of persons from the genealogy;
- (b) elimination because of out-migration;
- (c) elimination because of the growing apart of the ortholineage, without out-migration;
- (d) telescoping;
- (e) fusion the lineage level or the clan level.

These operations can also be found in the third example, which derives from ortholineage 5. The main point about this example is that it shows the extent to which manipulation of genealogical knowledge concerning people in the past is a reflection of the pattern of dyadic relations between people living now.

3.2. Example 1. Ortholineages 6 and 7

Diagram 3 gives an excerpt from the genealogy of the reconstructed ortholineage, while selected informants' statements are presented in Table 3.

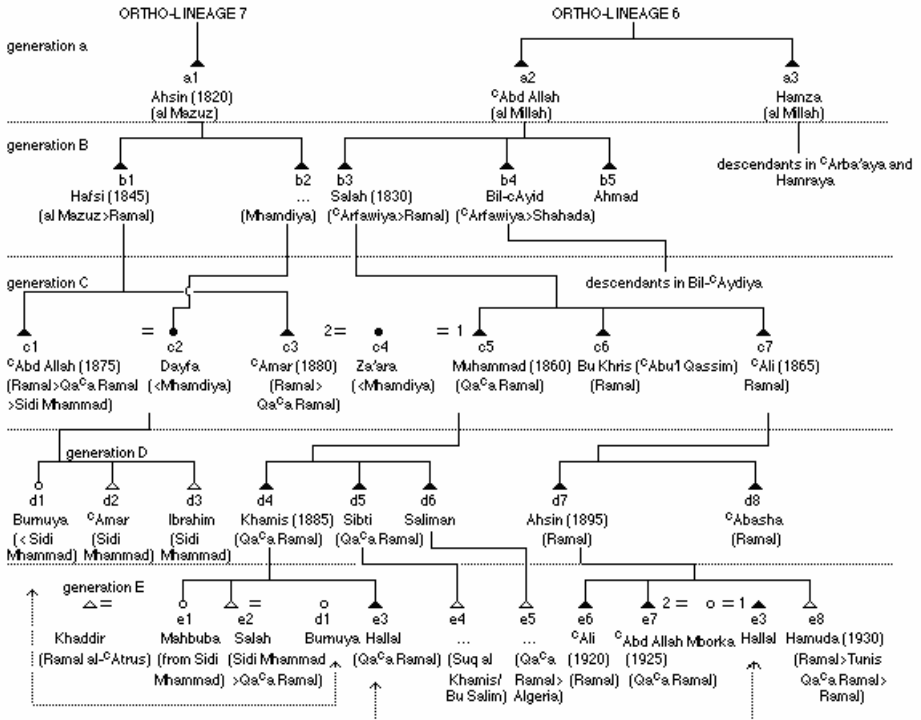


Diagram 3. An example of genealogical information

Informant: d1+2

Statement:

d1+2 < c1 < b1 < a1 < Suasi <(!) Salah <(!) Mutani <(!) ^cArif < ^cArfa < ^cArfawiyya

siblings c1 (including c3)

c3(2) * c4 * (!) c5

c5 <(!) ^cAbd Allah <(!) Salah <(!) Mutani <(!) ^cArif < ^cArfa < ^cArfawiyya

Informant: e2

Statement:

e7, 8 < d7 < c7 <(!) c5 < b3 < a2

Informant: e7's widow, who is also the widow of e3 by an earlier marriage

Statement:

e7, 8 < d7 < c7 < b3

Informant: e2

Statement:

$e2 < d4 < c5 < b3 < a2 < (!) {}^c\text{Arfa} < {}^c\text{Arif}$

$e2 * d1$

$d1-3$ 'as cousins' of $e1$ (!)

siblings $c5$ is $c6$

claims the name of Mutayniyya, but fails to specify the chain of descent from Mutani. The same informant was however able to do so in 1967: Hartong (1968: 57) records as his statement:

' $e2 < d4 < c5 < a2 < (!) \text{Metenni} [\text{Mutani}] < (!) \text{Salah} < (!) \text{Arif} [{}^c\text{Arif}] < \text{Arfa} [{}^c\text{Arfa}]$ '

Informant: $e1$'s wife

Statement:

$e1,2 < d4 < c5 < b3$

the siblings of $c5$ are $c6$ and $c7$

$c7 > d7, 8$

$d7 > e6, 7, 8$

$d1, 2, 3$ are not agnates of $e1$ c.s.

Table 3. Pseudolineages: Some informants' genealogical statements concerning the ortholineages 6 and 7.

How do the individual informants' statements of Table 3 illustrate the systematic genealogical operations a -e as listed above?

- The occurrence of operation (a) cannot be demonstrated.
- Operation (b) is evident: no informant could mention the names of the siblings of $a1$, $a2$, $b1$ and $b3$. No doubt this is connected with $b1$'s out-migration from the valley of al-Mazuz and $b3$'s out-migration from the village of ${}^c\text{Arfawiyya}$, c. 1890.
- From Hartong (1968), Miedema (1967: Appendix) and Huitzing (1969) we can reconstruct the place of $b3$ in ortholineage 6. Salah- $b3$ is the son of ${}^c\text{Abd Allah bin Mabruk}$, who lived in the village of ${}^c\text{Arfawiyya}$ towards the end of the nineteenth century. After losing the battle with the inhabitants of the village of Mhamdiyya, the sons of ${}^c\text{Abd Allah}$, among others, moved: Bil- ${}^c\text{Ayid}$ ($b4$) went to live in the valley of Shahada; his descendants can still be found in the village of Balaydiyya, named after Bil- ${}^c\text{Ayid}$ (Bos 1969). Salah ($b3$) took up residence in the valley of Sidi Mhammad; the descendants of Ahmad ($b5$) now inhabit the village of Habash-Karash (Miedema 1967: appendix). Other members of this large ortholineage in 1968 lived in the village of ${}^c\text{Arba'aya}$ (including the descendants of Hamza $a3$), Hamraya, ${}^c\text{Ayn Tatri}$, ${}^c\text{Ayn Kabira}$ and Habash-Karash. Between them and the descendants of Salah $b-3$ there is no awareness of specific agnatic kinship any more; even at the less strictly defined clan level they deny that Salah $b-3$ belongs to the ${}^c\text{Arfawiyya}$ clan with mythical ancestor ${}^c\text{Arfa}$ or ${}^c\text{Arif}$ (Hartong 1968).
- Hafsi ($b1$) cannot be incorporated in any ortholineage from the research area as known to me. His mother hailed from the village of Kashayrdiyya, half a

kilometer from ʿAyn Drāham., whose inhabitants are counted as members of the ʿArfawi clan. Hafsi’s family’s strong orientation towards Mhamdiyya is clear from the fact that b2 (also c1’s father-in-law) lived in Mhamdiyya, while also c3’s wife hailed from there. Probably Hafsi-b1 belonged to one of the ortholineages in the village of Mhamdiyya, or perhaps to the clan of the Ulad al-Hadjdj, and not to that of the ʿArfawiyya. Perhaps at the time of the Mhamdi/ʿArfawi conflict Hafsi had sided with the ʿArfawiyya, and therefore had to move to an ʿArfawi-dominated valley after the ʿArfawiyya were defeated by the Mhamdiyya.

- Operation (c) does not appear to be detectable in the statements as presented here.
- Operation (d) is clear in the statements by e1 and d1+2. A comparison of the estimated ages of the persons featuring in the statements is an additional argument against the deviant statements of these informants; such estimates I base on an average generation span of 25 to 30 years. With e1 we see the attempt to make the c5 branch subservient to the informant’s own c3 branch.
- Operation (e), fusion, is very manifest in these statements, both at the lineage level and at the clan level.

In order to ascertain the occurrence of fusion at the clan level we should first direct our attention to the name of Mutani. Mutani is the mythical ancestor of a clan which must already have existed locally when b1 and b3 immigrated into the valley of Sidi Mhammad, c. 1890. I do not know to which ortholineage Mutani belonged. Many consider Mutani as the descendant of the mythical ancestor ʿArfa (or ʿArif) – but such an opinion can be based on fusion between the Mutayni clan and part of the ʿArfawi clan. The Mutayniyya would then constitute a sub-clan of the ʿArfawiyya. The clan name and toponym Mutayniyya is associated with land which since the 1860s was the place of residence of the ortholineages 3 and 20, now disappeared from the research area. Ortholineage 3 derives from the chiefdom of Tabayniyya, to the south of the research area. Ortholineage 20 came from the north, and of old is counted as a part of the ʿArfawi clan. Hartong (1968) discussed ortholineage 20 under the name of ‘Ombarkia’ [Umbarkiyya]. Members of ortholineage 3 are still designated by the clan name of Mutayniyya, even though now they live at about 1 km distance from the land to which the name of Mutayniyya is attached. Ortholineages 3 and 20 must have adopted the name of Mutayniyya according to one of the procedures as described by me elsewhere (van Binsbergen 1970: chapter 4, and in press (a) Part I): *through affiliation to the local core lineage of the Mutayniyya, or through the simple adoption of the toponym*. The members of ortholineages 3 and 20 did adopt the clan name/toponym of Mutayniyya, but (as far as I know) they did not go to the extent of incorporating the name of Mutani in their own genealogies.

The land called Mutayniyya⁸ has of old been the place of residence of the ʿArfawiyya. It

⁸ Here we need to appreciate the fact that, whatever the dominant patrilineal ideology, in fact constant and unconscious oscillation between descent and locality is the central feature of the Ĥumiri’s perception of their social environment. Throughout my work on Ĥumiriyya, I have stressed and analysed this feature. I also made it the cornerstone of my theoretical approach to ethnicity, group names, and place-names in the Mediterranean, as part of our monograph on the Late-Bronze Age Mediterranean Sea Peoples (van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011).

is adjacent to a mountain formation which is named Raqubat ʿArfa after the mythical ancestor ʿArfa, and also gives on to the southern valley of Babush, from where the ʿArfawīyya spread in northeastern direction in the second half of the nineteenth century (Hartong 1968; Miedema 1967).

Because of the ʿArfawi connotations of the name of Mutaynīyya the members of ortholineage 3 can now call themselves ʿArfawīyya, too. There are no indications that by 1890, when b₁ and b₃ arrived, members of the core lineage of the Mutaynīyya still resided locally. However, good relations existed between the new arrivals and the members of ortholineage 3: the latter had intervened as negotiators in the conflict with Mhamdīyya (Huitzing in preparation). However no further affiliation between the new arrivals b₁, b₃ c.s., and the ortholineages 3 and 20 was brought about: the latter shifted their place of residence, and there were no further marital relations. The new arrivals must have acquired the name of Mutaynīyya because that name was attached to their land. By contrast with the members of ortholineages 3 and 20, the new arrivals did incorporate the name of Mutani in their genealogies, as is manifested by Table 3.

Besides these complicated affiliations at the clan level the statements by d₁₊₂ and e₂ also show mutual affiliation at the lineage level. Probably the name of Suasi still belongs to ortholineage 7, while the name of Salah (in d₁₊₂'s statement) probably derives from ortholineage 6: there it appears as b₃. The name of Salah-b₃ sufficiently stands out in local history to be suitable for such an attempt at affiliation; the two agnatic groupings of which the descendants of b₃ consist are still known as the Ulad Salah. So much does the name of Salah occupy a key position in this affiliation that Salah (b₃) is presented as the *father* of ʿAbd Allah a₂: the latter, according to my reconstruction Salah's father and not his son, is likely to derive from ortholineage 6 as well, although members of both ortholineage 6 and 7 do not know anything about him except for his name.

3.3. Example 2: Ortholineage 1

Diagram 4 offers an excerpt of the genealogy of the reconstructed ortholineage 1. Table 4 shows the statements of selected informants.

In these statements the name of as-Sayyid (a₁) must not be confused with the mythical ancestor of that name, the founder of the clan of the Ulad bin Sayyid north of the research area. However, it is not impossible that a₁ gave his name to the valley of Saydīyya, east of the research area. Since the name of Saydīyya is also of a clan-like nature, in the latter sense a₁ might yet be considered a mythical ancestor. However, in the statements in Table 4 the person designated as 'a₁' functions as a historical,

<p>Informant: e6 Statement: e6 < d6 < c5 <(!) Zaghdudi [= Zaghaydi, member of the clan with mythical ancestor Zaghdud] siblings d6 spouses of siblings d6 father, sometimes father's father, of spouses of siblings d6</p> <p>d10 < c7 < b2 e3 < d1 the persons in the preceding two lines are not presented as agnates of e6(!)</p> <p>Informant: e8 Statement: e8 < d8 < c6 <(!) a1 e8 * e5 e5 < d5 < c5 < b2 < Zaghdudi the persons in the three preceding lines are not presented as each other's agnates (!)</p> <p>among the spouses of e8's children: f1 < e1 < d1 e7 < d7 < c5 the persons in the preceding two lines are not presented as agnates neither of each other nor of e8 (!)</p> <p>Informant: e9 Statement: e9 < d9 < c7 < b2 siblings c7 are c5, c6 c5 > d5-7 among others the sons of d5 and d6 are stated</p> <p>Informant: e4 Statement: e4 < d2 < c2 among the spouses of e4's children: f2 < e1 < d1, recognised as distant agnates of e4 but without specifying the chain</p> <p>Informant: e2 Statement: e2 < d1 < c1 < b1 <(!) Bu-Maza < (!) Zaghdudi among the spouses of e2's siblings: d4 < c4 < b1, recognised as agnates of e2 siblings d1 are stated among the spouses of d1's siblings: d3 < c4 < b1, recognised as e2's agnates</p> <p>Informant: d11 Statement: d11 < c7 < b2 < a1 < Bu-Mandjil < Mḥammad < Muḥammad among the spouses of d11's siblings: d8 < c6 < b2 < a1 < etc, recognised as d11's agnate d10 * d6 > (!) e5, where d6 and e5 are not presented as d11's agnates siblings of c7 are c5, c6 siblings of b2 are b1, b3 b1 > c1, c4, (!) d2 b3 > c8, c9 c8 > d12-14 c9 > d15</p>

Table 4. Pseudolineages: genealogical statements by selected informants with relation to ortholineage 1

‘remembered’ ancestor.

A comparison of these individual statements leads to the following conclusions.

- Again, operation a cannot be demonstrated.

With this ortholineage, operation (b) is very striking. Because of the many migrations several informants lack the awareness of kinship vis-à-vis other branches, even when there are marriage relations. An obvious objection to this line of reasoning would be

that interviews may bring out what an informant does know but not when he or she does not. However, the case of e8, who offers absolutely non-converging chains of descent for herself and her husband (while the latter is her FFBSS and MZS at the same time), is very convincing; probably the informant does really not know that she is her husband’s agnate. Here we see the significance of an informant who occupies a strategic position not so much through age but because of his or her genealogical position; such an informant is d4. Although the individual statements do not greatly overlap, and although cognates who are also agnates are often not presented as agnates by the informants, it yet proves possible to patch the branches of this ortholineage together. It is remarkable that no informant traces descent back to b4 and his descendants. Yet we must assume that this branch belongs to ortholineage 1; if not, the existence, at al-Hafur / Habash-Karash, of a son of a man called as-Sayyid and born c. 1840 would be an incredible coincidence (Miedema 1967: appendix).

- Operation (c) cannot be demonstrated: the branches do grow apart, but this is always accompanied by migration.
- Operation (d) can be discerned in the statements by e8 (notably: c6 < a1) and d4 (notably d2 < b1). Another mistake is that d4 claims d6 to be the father of e5, and not the correct person d5; d6 is d5’s brother and he contracted a levirate marriage with d5’s widow.
- With these statements, operation (e), fusion, cannot be demonstrated at the lineage level but it can at the clan level.
- Probably the series stated by d4 (Bu-Manjil < Mḥammad⁹ < Muḥammad) is historically the more reliable. Not only because of the strategic position of this informant, but also because he – by contrast with most other informants – does not take recourse to the stop gap of frequently claimed mythical ancestors (Bu-Maza and Zaghdud). When the others claim membership of the Mayzi or Zaghaydi clan this must probably be seen (on the basis of data which I shall not discuss in this context) as an attempt to affiliate to ortholineage cores which could boast a longer history of *permanent* local resident in the informant’s village; for although branches of ortholineage 1 have lived at many places in and around the research area, they have always migrated frequently. Moreover there

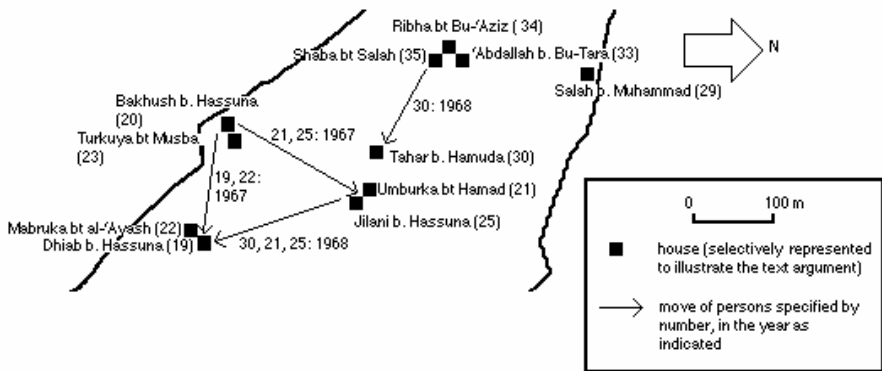
⁹ Tunisia was under Ottoman / Turkish rule during much of the second half of the 2nd mill. CE. Mḥammad is the Turkish form of the name Muḥammad, and although identical in Arabic orthography, there is a marked difference in pronunciation in the local dialect of Ḥumiriyya.

is the recent development in the direction of a moiety-like structure: the [◌]Arfawi / Zaghaydi opposition such as has dominated the social and ritual organisation of the four contiguous valleys of the [◌]Atatfa tribe ever since the advent of the [◌]Arfawiyya descent group in the 19th c. CE. Informant d4's statement suggests that ortholineage 1 is associated with the Manajliyya clan, whose clan name / toponym is still associated with land near the village of Hamaysiyya (near where a1 and his sons resided); however, to the best of my knowledge this name is no longer used, in those parts, to denote a set of people tracing explicit descent from a mythical ancestor Bu-Manjil.

3.4. Example 3. Ortholineage 5

For the discussion of the genealogical manipulations around ortholineage 5 I shall take the statement by informants 20 and 25¹⁰ as my point of departure. These are two brothers, about thirty years of age, both married and living in their own house, at a distance of c. 200 m from each other (in 1968). Their father and grandfather had been chiefs in the epoch of French colonial rule (cf. note 37, p. 104), and left them a very large inheritance.

The statements by 25 and 20 concern their fellow-villagers 30, 33, 34 and 35. The places of residence of these people are indicated in diagram 4.

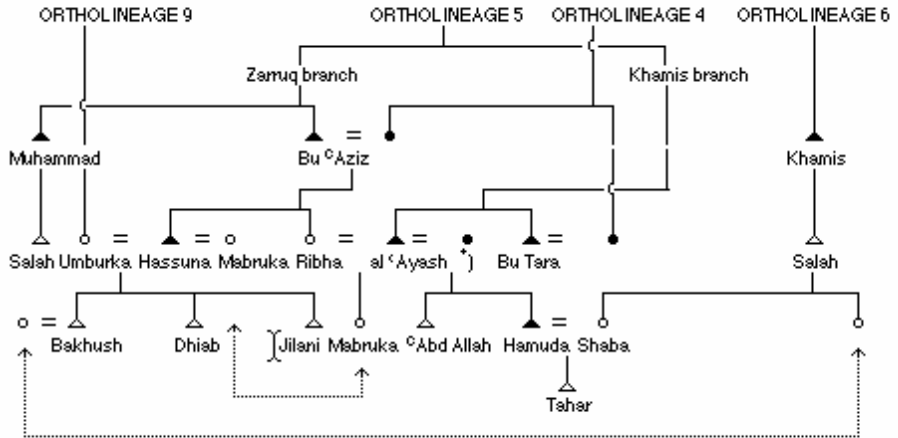


the map area occupied by this diagram is loosely indicated by a rectangle in Fig. 2, above.

Diagram 4. Dwellings and residential movement of selected members of ortholineage 5, village of Sidi Mḥammad, 1967-1968.

¹⁰ In the first stage of writing up my field findings, for rapidity's sake I referred to my individual informant by numbers in a list of the village census. The present text is an intermediate product, where this regrettable alienating routine is still not redressed. The undesirable effect is that of a natural-science treatise on objects, rather than an account of human encounter, as all anthropology should be. Ultimately, in the final publication of this text, informants will be referred to by name, whether their own original name, or a pseudonym.

In diagram 4, dwellings which are no relevant for our present discussion have been omitted from the diagram; arrows denote residential moves, of the heads of households as indicated, in the year as indicated. Heads of household no. 19, 21 and 29 are members of the kindred of 25 and 20, and we shall discuss them below. The principal kinship relations between the heads of household in diagram 4 are summarised in diagram 5.



*) ortholineage of this in-marriage woman unknown

Diagram 5. Key kinship relations between selected members of ortholineage 6 and their neighbours

In diagram 5, emphasis is there put on the shortest possible kinship chains, i.e. those based on the present and the most recent past, without preference for agnatic ties over cognatic and affinal ties. It is marriage relations in the immediate preceding generations which create much of the social cement in Hujmiri village society.

How did informants 20 and 25 perceive their relationship with 33 and 30 (BS of 33) in terms of agnatic ties or otherwise?

statement by 20:

'33 belongs to a firqa [pseudolineage] at Hamraya [about one hour on foot from 20's house], which again goes back to the firqa of Hadjdj Muhammad at al-Hafur [which is again half an hour on foot beyond Hamraya]. My father [the chief] gave some land to the family of 33, else he could not even have lived here.'

statement by 25:

'30 belongs to our firqa, for his ancestor Salah bin Hamis was a grandson of our

ancestor Zarruq. He had a right to the communal land, just as all the other descendants of Zarruq.'

So number 20 denies implicitly all kinship, and relegates 33 to a dependent immigrant whose family has come from as far away as possible, while 25 affirms agnatic kinship between himself and 33 /30, in recognition of the land use rights which the latter derive from this.

Now there is abundant data at our disposal on the basis of which the historical truth can be reconstructed reliably (Hartong 1968: 62; the data collected by Ernsting and Geschiere in 1968 at Hamraya and al-Hafur; and my own data deriving from Hamraya and Sidī Mhammad.) An excerpt from the genealogy of ortholineage 5 is presented in diagram 5a.

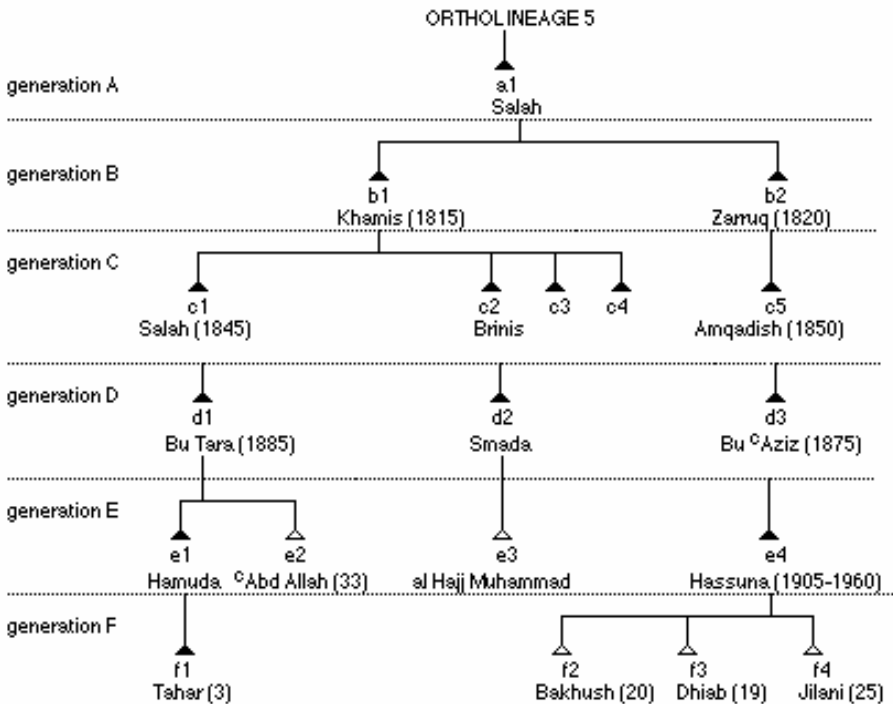


Diagram 5a. Excerpt from the genealogy of ortholineage 5.

The relevant local history can be reconstructed as follows. Along with Zarruq (b2), Hamis (b1), born c. 1815 lived about 1 kilometer to the north of the present village of Sidī Mhammad. Today most of the descendants of Zarruq live in that village, to which their ancestors moved at the end of the nineteenth century. During the same period the son of b1 moved to Hamraya, whence some of them moved on to al-Hafur.

However, Salah c1, one of Hamis's sons, did not join in this migration: he continued to live near the shrine of Sīdī Mḥammad al-Kabir. In c. 1915 Salah's sons Bu-Tara and al-ʿAtrus moved to the village of Sīdī Mḥammad, i.e. across a distance of scarcely one kilometer, and certainly not from Hamraya.

With 20 we see how the awareness of kinship is lost with regard to a branch from his own ortholineage; since migration plays a negligible role in this context, this factor (operation c) cannot be invoked to explain the phenomenon. At the same time we see operation (d) at work in 25's statement: he turns brothers (b1 and b2) into father and son.

What brought 20 and 25 to their contradictory, and in both cases historically incorrect, views of their relation with 33, 30 and the widows of the latter's close agnates. Informants 20 and 25 are full brothers with an age difference of 5 years t the most; so there is no conspicuous age difference or difference in generational position which would account for them being exposed to different genealogical information (cf. p.). The explanation must lie in individual differences between 20 and 25 in their dyadic relationship with 33, 30 and the widows.

- Diversity of opinion is already possible because 20 and 25 live at considerable distance from each other. My extensive data on and analysis of day to day interaction (van Binsbergen 1970 and in press (a) show that 200 meters is a distance where effective tie of neighbourliness are no longer in operation. In fact, the two brothers have virtually no contact with each other, and are in chronic conflict over their father's inheritance.
- 'Near neighbours', who tend to have intensive dyadic relations (mutashrin relations) with one another, tend to live no further from each other than c. 125 m. No one in the cluster of 30, 33, 34 and 35 is a close neighbour of 20. By contrast, 25 has the youthful 30 as his nearest neighbour, since the boy left his mother's house in spring 1968, after intense conflicts between his adolescent wife and his mother (35). The mother of 20, 25 and 19 is 21: she lives with 25 under one roof but in a separate apartment. 21 intervened in the conflict between 30 and his mother. As neighbours 30 and 25 have a lot of contact. The relationship is even so close that when in the summer of 1968 25 moved to the close proximity of 19, 30 moved along with him.
- Difficulties relating to the large inheritance, and the rapid professional and political career of 19, another brother of 20 and 25 resulted in 1967-1968 in a violent conflict between 20 on the one hand, and 19 and 25 (and additional brothers) on the other. The outbreak of the conflict was preceded by residential moves of 19, 25 and 21 (see diagram 4). In the conflict 34 (the brother's FZ) and 33 took the side of 19; both 34 and 33 have a very high prestige in the village. An important role was also played by head of household 46 (WF of 20 and F of 35). He is a man of high prestige, living in another neighbourhood of the village of Sīdī Mḥammad. Through intimidation 19 managed to prevent 46 from siding with 20. The conflict was finally adjudicated in a court of law, and 20 came out as the absolute loser.

The difference in point of view between 25 and 20 with regard to their agnatic ties with

33 c.s. turns out to be a direct reflection of individual relationship, at a specific moment of time, within the village's continuously shifting pattern of interactions and relations.

Meanwhile we can analyse operation (d), telescoping, in the genealogical view of 25.

In 25's view, the descendants of Hamis (b₁) have lost their historical relative autonomy vis-à-vis Zarruq (b₂) and his descendants. Now we can assess which of the factors of genealogical manipulation are at play here.

Table 5 brings out the numerical dominance of the Zarruq branch.

ancestor	number of households (1968)		
	with a living male agnatic descendant as a head of household	with a widow of an agnatic male descendant as a head of household	total
Zarruq b. Salah	8	4	12
Hamis b. Salah	2	2	4
total	10	6	16

Table 5. The strength of two branches of ortholineage 5 in the village of Sīdī Mḥammad, 1968

For the Zarruq branch we have included, in Table 6, one head of household we does not live in the village of Sīdī Mḥammad but at a distance of c. 700 meter in the nearest periphery of the village of Tra'aya-bidh. There is no doubt that this man is implied in the image the inhabitants of Sīdī Mḥammad of the Zarruq branch; the man is affluency, and participates daily in Sīdī Mḥammad as the co-proprietor of the store annex men's assembly there; besides he maintains intensive relations with his brothers who still live in Sīdī Mḥammad.

Is there a statistically significant difference in affluence between the members of both branches of the ortholineage 5?

My data on relative affluence have been measured (by applying a Kaufmann test,¹¹ on an ordinal scale with three classes (rich / medium ./ poor; cf. van Binsbergen 1970). The data on the relative affluence of both branches are presented in Table 6.

¹¹ In the study of small-sample communities the researcher may need a quick overview of the relative wealth position of the members, without having the means of going through a detailed assessment of each household's actual assets and liabilities. An accepted method, with which the name of Kaufmann is associated, is to make an individual record card for each individual household, and to let a few centrally placed members of the community state, roughly sort these cards in terms of relative wealth; subsequently, a rank correlation test (Siegel n.d.) is to determine the degree of agreement between the various assessors – only if the agreement is significantly above chance expectations, can the Kaufmann test be relied upon.

	number of households			
	rich	medium	poor	total
Zarruq branch	2	2	8	12
Hamis branch	0	1	3	4
total	2	3	11	16

Table 6. Relative affluence of the members of two branches of ortholineage 5 in the village of Sidi Mḥammad, 1968.

The data available do not show a significant difference in affluence between the two branches (Mann-Whitney U test corrected for ties (cf. Siegel n.d.), $z = -0.44$, $p > 5\%$).

However, the actors do not use statistics, and the conspicuous affluence of two members of the Zarruq branch may make them overlook the fact that the other members are just as poor as, or poorer than, the members of the Hamis branch.

The branches also displayed differences in prestige and power. From c. 1916 to 1957 the chiefs of the chiefdom 'Atatfa were members of the Zarruq branch (the later chiefs belonged to different branches of, still ortholineage 5). The great affluence of two members of the Zarruq branch also renders them powerful at the village level: together they own a store which means that many villagers are tied to them through debts. Moreover one of them, 19, was in 1968 the chief's assistant and a foreman in the unemployment relief organisation. In Ḥumiri society, affluence in itself commands recognition (Jongmans 1968: 31). Apart from the factor mentioned the members of the Zarruq branch have no particular prestige. Those of the Hamis branch, by contrast, are generally esteemed throughout the village of Sidi Mḥammad.

Finally, with regard to duration of permanent residence in the village of Sidi Mḥammad: the village has for a century and a half formed part of, or at least an extension of, the joint residential space of both the Zarruq and the Hamis branch, but there is a slight difference between the branches in that the Zarruq branch took up residence in the village of Sidi Mḥammad proper about 25 years before the Hamis branch.

In summary the genealogical manipulation of informant 25, in terms of which within ortholineage 5 the descendants of Hamis lose their segmentary autonomy vis-à-vis the descendants of Hamis's brother Zarruq, turns out to be associated with a numerical dominance, a political dominance, and difference in duration of permanent local residence; the effect of a factor relative affluence cannot be demonstrated; likewise differences in prestige do not seem to play a role.

Informant 25 is a son and grandson of chiefs; brother of the rich and powerful 19. because of his good contacts with the rich and powerful in the research area he is assured of a reasonable income; he does not have much prestige within the village. From his social position it is not surprising that he reinterprets the past in the fashion as discussed here. The extent to which someone's individual perspective on his social environment influences his or her genealogical insights, also becomes clear when we compare 25's views of the relation between Hamis and Zarruq with those which Hartong (1968: 62, 69) records for other informants.

Hartong's informants on this point were my numbers 29 and 34. These are aged

members of ortholineage 5, both of them descendants of Zarruq. Number 34 is the childless widow of a member of the Hamis branch, and since she is still living in her husband's house on the family compound of the Hamis branch, I have counted her in Tables 22 and 23 as a member of the Hamis branch. Number 29 does not have close cognatic or affinal ties with the Hamis branch. Before Hartong both informants accorded the Hamis branch not less genealogical independence this is historically correct, but *more*: they presented c₁, historically the BS of b₂, as a brother of b₂ and,, of b₁ himself!

If we seek to interpret this genealogical manipulation of the part of 29 and 34 in terms of their own perspective on their social environment, we might have to consider these informants as representatives from the period when in ʔumiriyya the economic and political contradictions were less acute, when prestige as based on the observance of traditional values was still a central social datum, and when within the village of Sidi Mhammad the Zarruq branch (and in general ortholineage 5) was far less dominant than it became in latter days. These aged informants' genealogical statements, even if recorded in 1967, would then relive the value system and social reality of several decades earlier.

But let us not rush such elegant explanations!

The matter also has a totally different dimension. Between Hartong's field-work and mine only one year elapsed. We had the same research assistant, Hasnawi bin Tahar, who was well versed in genealogical investigations. Both aged informants belonged to my best contacts in Sidi Mhammad. Well, in an interview with me number 34 offered the genealogy of the Hamis branch exactly as it is, on the basis of other information, most plausible, and as it has been incorporated in my ortholineage reconstruction:

$$c_1 < b_1 < a_1.$$

Not a trace of the manipulated genealogy as recorded by Hartong! The allegation (also recorded by Hartong) that Salah bin Hamis (c₁) would hail from Hamraya, was totally absent.

Example 1, above, contains a similar case: e₂ who in 1967 could exactly trace his descent from the ancestor Mutanni, and in 1968 not any more.

I do not think that the explanation for these discrepancies lies in an inadequate research method on my part or on Hartong's part. The insights we have gained in the course of my argument concerning the functioning of genealogical knowledge in ʔumiri society, point in a different direction. Genealogical views have a low consensus, and they are strongly influenced by opportunism. Considerable differences in genealogical views occur not only between informants, but even between the statements from the same informant within a limited time span.

For clarity's sake: I am convinced that in the vast majority of cases (also those included in our examples) the ʔumiri informants are of good faiths, and only rarely manipulate their genealogies in a conscious way.

It would mean a gross misunderstanding of the functioning of genealogical knowledge in ʔumiriyya, if one were to call these contradictions 'lies' or 'misrepresentations'. Genealogical knowledge in ʔumiriyya is primarily a metaphorical formulation, pro-

jected into the past and in line with the indigenous societal ideology, for actual social relationships in the present. In essence, it is immaterial to the actors whether their genealogical views are factually correct; what matters is whether they fit in with the current social reality around them: with their pattern of social relationships.

4. Construction of a sample of genealogical information

Having thus offered some systematic insights in the genealogical data from north-western Tunisia, I shall now demarcate that part of the data which will be analyzed in the light of the two hypotheses of Murphy & Kasdan.

In all I have at my disposal about 200 units of genealogical information, which were collected between the end of March and the end of June, 1968. Each unit comprises the information which was collected with one informant at one occasion. In some interviews more than one unit was collected. In the great majority of cases the informant presented information concerning his or her own kinsman and did personally feature in the genealogy; a minority of the units however consisted of an informant's genealogical statements about people to whom he was not agnatically related.

My genealogical data are too extensive and are not of the right quality to use in their entirety for quantitative testing of the hypothesis concerning genealogical knowledge and manipulation. The proper thing to do might seem to draw an a-select sample from these 200 units, and analyze that sample further. However, this will not do either. The units are too different in size and scope. Some were obtained by means of a long, undisturbed formal interview, in which the informant did his best to present to us as much of his genealogical knowledge as possible. Other units contain just one fragment of genealogical information (e.g. with regard to just one marriage), acquired in passing during a meal or at a crowded festival, in a context where the genealogical background was already so well-known to me that pressing for more information would have been unnecessary or ridiculous in the eyes of the informants. The Murphy & Kasdan hypotheses can only be tested on genealogies which have been collected very carefully, and for which there is virtual certainty that the informant was in a position to present as much genealogical information as he was prepared to and capable of. A large portion of the genealogical data is thus ruled out. Finally I was left with sixteen more or less extensive genealogies. The informants were invariably men, older than 35 years of age. Each informant invariably presents informant concerning his own agnatic group. The informants lived scattered over villages in two adjacent valleys within the research area. The statements of each of these informants always overlapped wholly or partly with other units in my genealogical data set. For all (ortho-)lineages of which these informants present the genealogies, I have extensive and reasonably reliable reconstructions of the actual genealogical history. Each such reconstruction is different from the statements of the sixteen informants in my sample, and is based on several (sometimes scores) of units of (contradictory) genealogical information in addition to the informant's.

These sixteen genealogies will together form the sample of genealogical information, on which I shall test whether the two hypotheses of Murphy & Kasdan are applicable to genealogies from north-western Tunisia.

5. Inventory of the genealogical information in the sample; assessment of genealogical depth

5.1. Aggregation of the genealogical information as a stepping-stone towards testing the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis

Below we shall consider the sample as an aggregate on which we can measure various relevant variables, without going into the detail of the specific statements of the sixteen individual informants. For this purpose I must assume that the sixteen informants do not greatly differ from each other with regard to the extent of their genealogical knowledge and their proneness to genealogical manipulation. Their similarity in age, gender and place of residence renders such an assumption plausible. The conclusions which we shall reach with regard to the sample, will apply to some sort of 'average genealogical informant from north-western Tunisia'.

In the analysis of the sample genealogies I have ignored those persons listed who died young and/or who remained unmarried throughout their lives. This is justified in view of the fact that Murphy and Kasdan's approach revolves around the analysis of marriage systems. In the research area, unmarried adults who never in their lives contracted a marriage, have been as rare in the past as they are today. Therefore their omission does not greatly affect the sample. It is obvious that persons who died young may be overlooked by genealogical informants, who may not even know their names. And since children do not form a relevant category for the present analysis, it is better to ignore them.

In the analysis we only look at the generation of Ego (the informant) and above. Generations below Ego are ignored. Only in the case of a few informants there exist adult kinsmen in the generations below them. Moreover the generations below Ego are not relevant for the Murphy & Kasdan hypotheses.

In the genealogical information of the sample we must always distinguish between historical persons and mythical ancestors. For the problem of the merging of patri-line and matri-lines, as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan, is not relevant at clan level, i.e. with regard to mythical ancestors. Clans have a strong spatial anchorage. Among the actors there is only a limited consensus as to which agnatic groupings belong to which clan. It is relatively rare that agnatic groupings affiliate at the lineage level, in other words that historical persons who in reality are not agnates, are presented in a genealogy as agnates by means of direct F/S chains involving not mythical ancestors but historical persons; our sample of sixteen genealogies contains only two cases of this happening. Affiliation at the clan level, however, is a frequent phenomenon: it means that the various agnatic groupings as distinguished by a particular informant are all attached to one mythical ancestor, in such a way that the informant need not go

into the question of the precise genealogical chains between the apical historical ancestors of these groupings, and between them and the mythical ancestor; for the connexion between the highest historical person and the mythical ancestor spans an unspecified number of generations. Often actors are able to trace agnatic kinship chains of the type FFBSD. But mythical ancestors are never included in such chains (as the highest vertical connexion): once ascended, in the genealogy, to the highest mythical ancestor, one never descends again to enumerate (as historical ancestors) other 'sons' of the mythical ancestors. It is only in the rare case of affiliation at the lineage level that an informant can enumerate the (per definition) fictive genealogical chains which, in the higher generation, turn the pseudo-agnates into agnates. Since for the actors an indefinite time span separates these historical persons from mythical ancestors, the problem of the merging of patri-line and matri-line is not relevant at the level of mythical ancestors. For in terms of the universal Arabian ideology all Arabs (via Ibrahim), and even all mankind (via Adam) are agnates, so that in the last analysis the merging of patri-line and matri-line would be as inevitable as socially irrelevant.

Souyris-Rolland (1949) offers information on presumed agnatic relationships between mythical ancestors in and around my research area. He does not disclose the sources of his data, and his sociological insight in the data is decidedly limited. My own informants often managed to place two or three mythical ancestors in some agnatic relationship, but invariably failed to include, in such an attempt, most of the locally acknowledged mythical ancestors. Whereas Souyris-Rolland goes as far as to present some sort of 'national genealogy' encompassing the whole of Ḥumīriyya, I have not been able to discover anything remotely similar. Our analysis is not greatly affected by this state of affairs. For at any rate, the mythical agnatic kinship via Ibrahim and Adam constituted an undeniable fact also in the eyes of my informants.

Implicitly therefore the Murphy & Kasdan approach is exclusively directed at non-mythical genealogical knowledge, i.e. at what informants postulate to be agnatic relations at the lineage level. Separating historical persons and mythical ancestors is therefore not only justified but even necessary.

Among the sixteen informants, three did not state any mythical ancestors. Among them was my best informant, my research assistant. The distinction between mythical ancestor and historical person is implicitly made by the actors, but both types are indicated by the same local term 'djadd'. which comprises all lineal ancestors both in the patri-line and in the matri-line, to reckon from the parents of Ego's F and M onwards. The genealogies narrow rapidly, so that in most cases all what is left after a few generations is a series of lineal ancestors (i.e. historical persons and/or mythical ancestors), without collateral ancestors. In general the top of the genealogy is formed by one or more mythical ancestors. In a few cases however the series comprises one or two mythical ancestors, presented as descendants of persons who are historical persons only in this sense that the latter are not included in the small set of locally recognized mythical ancestors and clan founders.

In such cases the mythical ancestor is borrowed from a clan which was already established locally at the time when the affiliating lineage segment in question arrived; one takes over the mythical ancestor but maintains, above him, one or more of one original ancestors (historical persons) who are traditionally reckoned to be members

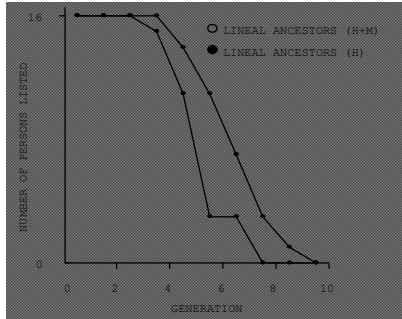
of the own lineage, even if one does not know anything about them except their names. This pattern occurs with two informants only.

Inspection of the sixteen genealogies in the sample yields, for the various categories of ancestors and women, the information as contained in Table 7.

generation	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	diagram
a. number of lineal ancestors (historical only) (listed only)	16	16	16	15	11	3	3	0	0	0	1
b. = a/16	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.94	0.69	0.19	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	2
c. number of lineal ancestors (historical and mythical)(listed only)	16	16	16	16	14	11	7	3	1	0	1
d. = c/16	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.88	0.69	0.44	0.19	0.06	0.00	2
e. number of collateral ancestors (historical only) (listed only)	60	75	28	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
f. number of in-marrying women	59	80	21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
g. number of in-marrying women (historical only) (listed+non-listed)	118	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3
h. number of out-marrying women	59	47	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
i. number of out-marrying women (historical only) (listed+non-listed)	90	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3

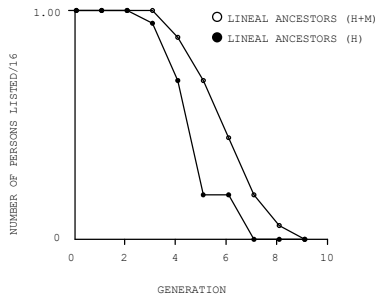
Table 7. Summary of aggregate information contained in the sample genealogies

The data are plotted in the following Diagrams 6, 7, and 8.



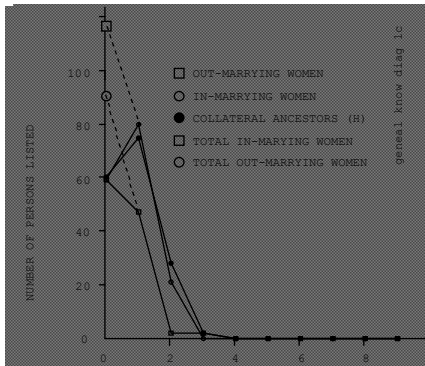
(H = historical persons; H+M = historical persons + mythical ancestors)

Diagram 6. Number of listed lineal ancestors per generation in the sample genealogies



H = historical persons; H+M = historical persons + mythical ancestors

Diagram 7. Number of listed lineal ancestors per generation in the sample genealogies as a ratio of the maximum number (= 16) of lineal ancestors



(for both in-marrying and out-marrying women, the total number of listed and non-listed are indicated for generation 0)

Diagram 8. Listed collateral ancestors (historical persons only), in-marrying women and out-marrying women per generation in the sample genealogies

Whereas Diagram 6 and 7 are simple transformations of each other and therefore have the same shape, both are very different from Diagram 8. In diagram 3 we deal with real numbers of remembered historical persons; these numbers are related to the size ($n = 16$) of our sample, and in principle have no upper limit as long as we increase the sample. In diagrams 1 and 2 there is, however, such an upper limit: an informant can never have more than 1 lineal ancestor per generation, and hence 16 informants can never have more than 16 such ancestors per generation. This fundamentally different data structure explains the lack of similarity between the curves of 1 and 2 on the one hand, 3 on the other. Yet it will be clear that the downward slope of both curves (1, 2 and 3) in general reflects the decreasing retention with time – they can be considered as special cases of Ebbinghaus's famous forgetting curve (e.g. Krech & Crutchfield 1962: 4).

Inspection of the three curves in diagram 3 shows the very close similarity between the distribution of collateral ancestors and in-marrying women over the generations. In fact, statistical analysis reveals that the differences between both curves can be attributed to chance.¹² On the other hand, it is striking that the scores for out-marrying women per generation are systematically lower than those for in-marrying women; statistical testing reveals that this effect cannot be attributed to chance.¹³

These results are squarely opposed to the theory of Murphy and Kasdan, who postulate the suppression of in-marrying women and the stressing of out-marrying women. Moreover, the parallelism between the data for collateral ancestors and in-marrying women suggest that what is at stake is a phenomenon in the collective management of historical knowledge which cannot be solely attributed to such social-structural 'needs' as Murphy and Kasdan advance as background for such genealogical manipulation of women as they suppose to take place.

This already points to the line of argument that will be developed further on:

- The retention of knowledge about past members of descent groups is in the first place governed by general psychological mechanisms of human memory;
- In *Ḥumīriyya*, these mechanisms are influenced by the extent to which the remembered persons, as adults living in the past, because of their interaction with other past members of the local group, were in a position to leave adequate traces in the collective memory of the local group. Out-married women, half of which left the local group after adolescence, were obviously at a disadvantage to leave such traces as compared to in-marrying women who spend most of their adult life as members of the localising (but, admittedly,

¹² Likelihood ratio test (see footnote below) performed on COLHI versus IN for generations 0 through 3, $\chi^2 = 3.87$, $df = 3$, $p = .28$, not significant. ¹³ Likelihood ratio test performed on IN versus OUT for generations 0 through 3, $\chi^2 = 20.43$, $df = 3$, $p = .0001$, significant. Testing of COLHI against OUT would of course yield a similar result (cf. previous footnote): $\chi^2 = 22.31$, $df = 3$, $p = .0001$.

never completely localised) kin group, and as collateral ancestors for which the same would hold true.

So far the interpretation has tacitly assumed that there has been no difference between the generations in terms of average number of siblings of lineal ancestors. This assumption may be somewhat questionable in the light of the fact that the most recent generations (ethnographic present is 1968) have seen explosive population growth. On the other hand it is unlikely that four or more generations above the present informants the lineal ancestors of those informants had no siblings or cousins whatsoever (as the available genealogical data suggest). The curve ga for collateral ancestors shows a rapid decline in the generations 1 to 4. This decline must be attributed partly to the factor population growth: it is sure that in the higher generations there were relatively fewer adult, married collateral ancestors. But the decline must also be partially attributed to loss of information. For even though it is certain that an unknown positive number of brothers did occur in the fourth and higher generations, in these generations the number of collateral ancestors equals zero. The precise course of the curve of information loss cannot be ascertained without precise data on population growth. Yet the conclusion may be justified that, at least from the third generation above Ego, the loss of information with regard to lineal ancestors is less than that with regard to their brothers. A direct explanation for this lies in the fact that the series of lineal ancestors is systematically taught to a younger generation, while no systematic transfer of knowledge exist with regard to collateral ancestors: these the latter-day actors only happen to know from accidental anecdotes.

Meanwhile we are witnessing the virtual collapse of the careful ʿumīrī construction of agnatic ideology and the segmentary lineage. For, if with regard to the higher generations the lineal ancestors are know but their siblings and cousins not or hardly, then it is practically impossible to represent, in the higher generations, the opposition and integration of kin groups (agnatic segments) with the aid of a dendrogram-shaped genealogy. In other words, then a segmentary structure on the basis of unilineal descent is unthinkable.

As I have already indicated above, readers with some grounding in the psychology of learning will realise the close analogy between the curves discussed here (in which the knowledge about historical persons is offset against the period of time which has passed since these people were alive) and the experimental curves of learning and forgetting such as have been established since Ebbinghaus' pioneering work. The acquisition, retention and loss of genealogical knowledge is subject to the same principles which also apply to other forms of knowledge. In a practically illiterate society, this knowledge is not the fixed property of a social group, established once for all, but it lies stored in the individual consciousness of the members of that society. This makes it possible that that knowledge is non-consensual, subject to opportunist manipulation, that in its transfer to other individuals some parts of that knowledge (for instance, those relating to lineal ancestors) is privileged over other parts (e.g. those relating to the collateral ancestors), and that that knowledge in general declines with time. It is important to make a profound study of the social structural aspects of genealogical knowledge, but in addition we must continue to realise that that knowledge is also, and perhaps primarily, subject to individual-psychological laws.

Such genealogical knowledge, which can be explained psychologically, is useless from a social-structural point of view. What is the use of retaining knowledge concerning ancestors who did not live in the informant's present village or territory and for that reason reference to such ancestors cannot substantiate present-day claims of legitimate local residence but may only jeopardise such claims.

The curves relating to women (both in-married and out-married) show approximately the same tendency as those for male (collateral? lineal?) ancestors. Here we can distinguish between:

- such genealogical knowledge as has been acquired by accident, and as relates to collateral ancestors, and to women,
- and such genealogical knowledge as has been acquired formally, and as relates to lineal ancestors.

In other words, Therefore, women are not forgotten because they are less important than men or because of some sinister ulterior purpose of the social structure which (by whatever mysterious means) manages to invade and control the mechanisms of the individual actor's minds; they are forgotten in the same way as one forgets collateral ancestors. The difference with lineal ancestors rests on the existence of formal training with regard to genealogical knowledge concerning the latter.

Historical persons only feature up to the sixth generation above Ego, inclusive; the genealogy already tapers to one chain of lineal ancestors at the third generation above Ego. Mythical ancestors appear between the third and the eighth generation position above Ego; because the link between the highest historical person, and mythical ancestor, in the informant's mind spans an indefinite number of generations, we are not allowed to equal the generation position in this sense with a genuine generation. No genealogy in the sample contains vertical chains longer than 8 names of historical persons plus mythical ancestors

Collateral ancestors are obviously only known in Ego's generation, in the first and second generation above Ego, and scarcely in the third generation above Ego. This is fully in line with the pattern which Murphy & Kasdan describe for the Tuareg of the Sahara. Also in ʔumiriyya we find the 'shallow genealogies' which might have the function, as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan, of obscuring the merging of the matriline and the patri-line from the actors' conscious perception. For if collateral ancestors are suppressed from the genealogy it is impossible to end up with merging lines of descent.

The same applies to mythical ancestors. They, to, appear in the genealogies virtually exclusively as lineal ancestors. Only a few informants mention, in their genealogies, siblings of mythical ancestors. This is not to say that the notion of fraternal relations between mythical ancestors is altogether absent in ʔumiriyya; it probably means, however, that most informants realise that the relationships involving mythical ancestors are in fact only allegorical, and do not properly belong in a summing-up of series of agnates and their spouses which are supposed to be historically correct. To state that two mythical ancestors were brother, also from the actors' point of view, means little else than that the various clans with which their name is associated, had good relationships in the past. Admittedly, sometimes an idiom of fraternal relation-

ships between mythical ancestors may approach the suggestion of real agnatic kinship. Informants may resent such a suggestion in the allegory to such an extent that they explicitly deny any claims of fraternal relationships between mythical ancestors, stressing that nobody today knows these things anymore.

5.2. Occamist genealogies?

Another aspect has been brought out by Gellner (1969; cf. van Binsbergen 1971b): the principle of the 'Occamist genealogies'; by analogy with the philosophy of William of Occam,¹⁴ North Africans (at any rate, Moroccans among whom Gellner did research, with the exception of the kin groups of religio-political specialists) would retain just so many ancestors in their genealogies as would be necessary for the delineation of their own kin grouping against other such groupings at the same segmentary level:

'the individual will have or know only those ancestors who perform the useful task of defining an effective social group' (Gellner 1969).¹⁵

In my research area, in view of the pattern of continuous migration this Occamist genealogical span would have to be a function of the average period a kin grouping would tend to stay within one territory (a part of a valley or of adjacent valleys); kin groupings have never stayed in their present territory for longer than 200 years, and their local time span would be between two and six generations. In order to assess whether Gellner's ideas are also applicable to ʿUmīrī society I shall now analyse the relation between the residential history on the one hand, and on the other the listing of historical persons, and of mythical ancestors, in specific generations of the genealogy. Having at my disposal reconstructions of the genealogies and of the residential histories of the ortho-lineages, I am in a position to assess the relation between the mention of ancestor's names in a specific generation, and the residential history.

Historical persons. With regard to historical persons our findings are as follows. We concentrate on the highest historical person before the lowest mythical ancestor.

Moreover, for the residential history we can distinguish between:

- a grouping's arrival in the village where the informant himself lives today (and then count the number of generations that his direct ancestors have lived there uninterrupted);¹⁶ and
- a grouping's arrival in the present territory in the wider sense, which may comprise a number of villages within the same valley or spread over adjacent

¹⁴ William of Occam (1287–1347) was a prominent Christian philosopher and theologian, still known for his adage to the effect that '*entia non sunt multiplicanda sine necessitate*', in other words, that we should always try to work with as few items / elements / factors/ variables / assumptions as possible. I used the concept in a 1977 article, but on Occam himself and his thought I have had little to share.

¹⁵ One obvious implication of the Occamist variety of genealogies is that such genealogical knowledge is not knowledge (in the usual common-sense meaning of the word) at all, but ideology: a statement meant to underpin a socially defined and recognised claim.

¹⁶ Or at least from one generation to the next generation, ignoring a few years of temporary absence of the grouping from the local community.

part of several valleys grouped around the same mountain range.

Thus we find:

- The number of direct historical ancestors that the informants of the sample could list before the generation of arrival in the present village, ranged from 0 to +5, with median at +2.
- The number of direct historical ancestors which the informants in the sample could list before the generation of arrival in the present territory ranged from -5 to +3; this is to say, the highest historical ancestor in the sample appears in a generation which lies between five generation after immigration into the present territory, to three generation before such immigration. The median is at 0, i.e. in the generation of immigration.

In this connexion it is important to note that the number of generations between arrival in the present village and arrival in the present territory ranger from 0 to 6, with the median at two. In other words, immigrant kin groupings tend to have a median of two generations in the local territory before actually settling in the village where their present-day member became my informant.

Mythical ancestors. With regard to mythical ancestors the following we have the following outcome. We concentrate on the lowest mythical ancestor in each genealogy. Mythical ancestors appear from 1 to 6 generations before a grouping's arrival in the present village; the median is at 3. Mythical ancestors appear from -4 to +4 generations before arrival in the present territory; this means that the lowest mythical ancestor appears from the fourth generation after arrival in the present territory, to the fourth generation before arrival there. The median lies at +1. Three genealogies did not contain any mythical ancestors.

Of course the data on mythical persons and on mythical ancestors are complementary in that the highest historical ancestor follows, per definition, after the lowest mythical ancestor.¹⁷

The number of generations between Ego and the generation of arrival in the present village ranges from 0 to 3 (when it is 0 this means that Ego himself is an immigrant in his present village), the median is at 1 to 2. These figure in themselves already betray the great spatial mobility in this area.

50% of the informants, therefore, lives in a different village than their FF. Although the sample has not been drawn at random from all heads of household in the research area, this result tallies well with the general pattern.

The number of generations between Ego an arrival in the present territory ranges from 2 to 6; the median is at 4 to 5. 50% of the informants, therefore, lives in a different territory from his FFFF. In these data there is no significant relation between residential history and the generation depth of genealogies, if by generation depth we mean the number of historical persons listed.¹⁸

¹⁷ We have chosento ignore such historical persons as would be mentioned above mythical ancestors.

¹⁸I assessed this with Spearman's rank correlation test (using the statistic r_s), corrected for ties; cf.

According to these data it is not so that people whose kin grouping has a long and uninterrupted local history, produce genealogies with a longer generational depth than people whose kin grouping has immigrated more recently. This is a strong argument for my contention that, in individual's genealogies, residential history is not related to generation depth.

Although the various informants, as we have seen, differ widely with regard to the generation of arrival in the present territory, they resemble each other in so far as historical depth (of historical persons) is concerned. This is clear from the following Table 8.

historical persons are mentioned in, at the highest, the a-th generation above Ego	this value of a is found among the following number N of informants:
a =	N =
2	1
3	4
4	9
5	1
6	1
total	16

m = 3,8; s = .8; median = 0

Table 8. Generational depth with regard to historical persons in the sample.

The distribution of Table 8 shows relatively little spread. How can we explain this? Not on the basis of the informants' age and their personal residential history? For in the data there is neither a relation between the informant's age and genealogical depth (historical persons only, but not 'detached' historical persons). (Spearman's rank correlation corrected for ties, $r_s = .35$, $N = 16$, not significant at the 5% level). Why then not adopt a simple explanatory principle, to the effect that people from higher generations are forgotten not for any structural ulterior motive but because remembering their names is cumbersome and meaningless? That is, an explanation in terms of the psychology of learning.

Such remembrance is meaningless, because Hūmīrī society is integrated not in terms of kinship but of spatiality in other words territoriality (e.g. , and given the great spatial mobility it is only asking for trouble if one knows too well who were (or were not) one's local ancestors. If one interacts at all with distant agnates (the very people one might identify on the basis of extensive genealogical knowledge), such interaction does not primarily derive from the awareness of a common kinship but from such

Siegel n.d. The highest generation in which a historical person was listed (ignoring loose historical persons separated from the other historical persons in the genealogy by one or more mythical ancestors) yielded a rank number for each informant. The generation in which the informant's kin grouping arrived in his present village yielded another rank number. $r_s = +.13$ for the relation between generational depth (historical persons only) and arrival in the present village, and $r_s = .26$ for the relation between generational depth and arrival in the present territory; with $N = 16$, these values of r_s are not significant at the 5% level.

other principles as spatiality, economic and political interests, and the dynamics of honour and shame.

Does this mean that the names of historical persons who did not yet live in the informant's present village or territory, are replaced by mythical ancestors, or are being forgotten? This again is not the case, as the following two Tables will demonstrate:

number of generations	number of informants claiming that number of generations in their genealogy
0	0
1	0
2	1
3	4
4	9
5	1
6	1
total	16

m = 2.2; s = 1.8; median = 4

(e.g. if a = 1, this means that informant's F is the highest historical person in the genealogy to live in informant's present village)

Table 9. The number of generations between arrival in the present village and the highest (not-detached) historical person listed as lineal ancestor in the genealogy

It turns out that lineal ancestors (historical persons) are remembered even if they did not live in the same village as the informant.

number of generations	number of informants claiming that number of generations in their genealogy
-4	1
-3	1
-2	3
-1	2
0	4
1	3
2	1
3	1
total	16

m = -1.4; s = 3.5; median = 0

e.g. if a = -2, this means that the highest historical person in the genealogy to live in informant's present territory was a SS of the ancestor who first immigrated there; obviously the negative scores are based on additional information not found in the genealogy as processed

Table 10. The number of generations between arrival in the present territory and the highest (not-detached) historical person listed as lineal ancestor in the genealogy

Obviously living in a different territory is in itself no reason to forget a certain ancestor. All depends on the number of generations that has passed since. Note that this is also brought out by the fact that the spread in the preceding Tables is larger than that in the Table of generational depth reckoned from Ego.

That yet the immediately preceding Table has its median at 0 and is rather symmetrical around 0, might yet suggest some relation with the residential history, but considering the large spread this relation cannot be very close.

The explanation for this is that for the actors there is always the opportunity to manipulate the data: one can always claim perennial local residence for the ancestors who in fact lived elsewhere. Knowledge about ancestors' places of residence is even more easily manipulated as knowledge about descent. The claim of 'perennial local residence' can be easily expressed in terms of a kin relationship between the highest historical person in a genealogy, on the one hand, and the mythical ancestor of the locally dominant clan, on the other.

5.3. Ancestors as inwardly-gazing, rather than outwardly-contrasting, labels of group identity

Ḥumīrī genealogies are not 'Occamist'. This points in the direction, already indicated, that the vicissitudes of genealogical knowledge cannot be fully understood on the basis of social-structural variables alone. Since the dominant ideology presupposes some general agnatic kinship between all inhabitants of a particular spatial segment, it is for a strict social-structural point of view meaningless to remember the names of ancestors who imply agnatic or lineage heterogeneity. Yet we find such ancestors abundantly in the genealogies of the sample, even in the extreme form of detached ancestors in higher genealogical positions than the mythical ancestors one has borrowed from the dominant local groupings. By the same token it is meaningless, from a social-structural point of view, to exclusively remember lineal ancestors, without their siblings and cousins: the collateral ancestors. Genealogical knowledge which does not tally with the dominant ideology and which is yet perpetuated, from a sociological point of view constitutes a peripheral form of cognitive production for which psychology rather than sociology appears to offer the proper interpretative perspective.

But perhaps the learning and proudly listing of series of lineal ancestors can be shown to be sociologically relevant from a totally different point of view. As in any society, in Ḥumīriyya we see tendencies towards social integration negotiate with tendencies towards social dissociation. Integration is mainly achieved within the context of spatial segmentation, resulting in a tendency for day-to-day interaction to primarily involve people who live very closely together. The structure of interaction binds the members of one spatial segment. Besides, spatial integration is enhanced by marital ties and by religion – particularly the veneration of local shrines which are distributed – as characteristic attributes – over the spatial segments. Moreover, spatial integration is expressed in terms of ancestors; ancestors, too, are the attributes of spatial segments, and that is why actors' views of who are their ancestors and how are these ancestors related to one another have to be reviewed continually, at the pace of the changes in the spatial structure and in the relationships between the members of the spatial segments. Of old, such integration is relatively weak. Every spatial segment is constantly confronted with newcomers. Alternatively there are always people who migrate away: out-migration has been and remains a major way of settling conflicts. Moreover, out-migration is a strategy to escape from the lack of resources (land,

springs, a salaried job). Even among those who remain behind the pattern of existing relationships changes rapidly. Integration is always precarious. Individual independence is a central value in this society. One subscribes to the ideology of 'we are all one and the same family'; 'we have all one and the same ancestor', for as long as there are no major conflicts, but when these break out one contradicts the ideology by reinterpreting the existing genealogical knowledge. Considerable emotions are invested in one's own lineal ancestors, who made clearings and threshing-floors which can still be identified, who are known to have frequented certain springs and pastures, whose battles are remembered and who have been buried at an identified place. There are clear limits to the extent to which historical knowledge concerning F and FF can be freely manipulated. Living at the same spot as one's father and grandfather, tilling the land which they have marked by planting trees, constitutes an anchorage of consciousness and identity that touches people rather more profoundly than the higher-level ancestors, be they historical persons or mythical ancestors, who are hardly associated any more with identifiable places in the landscape, and which can be manipulated and redistributed as the need arises. From one point of view one drains the available genealogical knowledge and uses the systematised result in order to express and achieve spatial integration – but from another knowledge about the series lineal ancestors is a source of pride of a distinct kin grouping striving for its separate identity. This is why the latter type of genealogical knowledge is cherished, and is formally transferred. *This knowledge about lineal ancestors does not serve to structure the interaction with other similar kin groupings but it is like a flag, a label which mainly supports the group's sense of dignity.* It is not intended to neatly distinguish, as in a segmentary dendrogram, one's own group from others, but merely serves to say: 'this is me', regardless of whether others share or do not share these ancestors. This knowledge therefore is something that is only cherished within one's own narrower kin grouping, and which outside that group is hardly communicated: for where groups interact, one does not need historical knowledge but integrative, systematized formulae, spatial segmentation reformulated in an agnatic idiom. Of course concessions are inevitable. For instance, the ideal way to acquire land somewhere is by patrilineal descent from the major local ancestor; therefore, if one has acquired land in some other way than patrilineal inheritance (purchase, matrilineal inheritance, donation, invasion) one does two things at the same time: for integration's sake one take over the dominant local ancestor in one's genealogy, and for the sake of family identity one maintains, even above that adopted local ancestor, the names of such true ancestors as one has learned from one's father and grandfather. Later generations are no longer aware of this manipulation and have come to consider the adopted ancestor as a true one. The names of higher-generation ancestors are rarely if at all discussed outside family circles, which means that there is no consensus-promoting social control upon these genealogical series.

That integration in a kinship idiom (identification on the basis of common descent) is absent when there is no spatial integration (in the way of dwelling in each other's proximity, i.e. the same or adjacent valleys, and especially the same village) is clear from a number of cases.¹⁹ Therefore, if we do not want to give up altogether a

¹⁹ E.g. van Binsbergen 1970: 146-149.

sociological approach to the non-Occamist ʿUmīrī genealogies, we should look for one not at the integration end of the social dynamics, but at the individualizing end: the symbolic underpinning of one's own identity which does not necessarily require the juxtaposition (in terms of genealogical position of apical ancestors) vis-à-vis other rival kin groupings.

In line with Murphy & Kasdan's first hypotheses (concerning 'shallow genealogies'), in ʿUmīrīyya genealogies are so shallow that they *might* play the role, as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan, of eclipsing, from the actors' consciousness, the merging of the patri-line and the matri-line. This does not mean however that the actual functioning of ʿUmīrī genealogies can really be understood in terms of Murphy & Kasdan's theory.

- Generational depth did not correlate significantly with the informants' age; however, all genealogical informants were older than 35 years of age.
- Generational depth did not correlate with the length of continued local residence of the informant's agnatic group. Lineal ancestors are not forgotten simply because they happened to live outside their contemporary descendant's village or territory at large.
- In higher generations, collateral ancestors are forgotten far more readily than lineal ancestors. Therefore it is not possible in ʿUmīrīyya to base a consistent segmentary structure on kinship: for, in such a structure, sibling relations between ancestors would provide the necessary links between opposing segments at the same segmentary level.
- ʿUmīrī genealogies span a maximum of eight generation above Ego, including mythical ancestors if any.

The discussion so far leads us to the following typology with regard to ancestors and genealogical knowledge in ʿUmīrīyya. Genealogical knowledge with regard to certain categories of (fictive) kinsmen such as feature in the genealogies can be distinguished in terms of

- the way in which that knowledge has been acquired (accidentally or through formal training)
- the degree of historical factuality which actors themselves attribute to this knowledge (the distinction between historical persons and mythical ancestors)
- the function which that knowledge has for the social orientation of individuals and kin groupings: it may be integrative – at the lineage level (ancestors as historical persons) as well as at the clan level (mythical ancestors) – or it may be individualizing: the series of lineal ancestors whose siblings and cousins are no longer known
- the extent to which that knowledge can be manipulated: at the lineage level this extent is the greater the less close the relationship is, while at the clan level manipulability is virtually unlimited.

We shall now turn to another aspect of Murphy & Kasdan's theory about the persistence of the agnatic ideology: the genealogical manipulation of women. Our discussion of this specific topic will go through the following steps:

- further elaboration of Murphy & Kasdan's hypotheses
- quantitative analysis by reference to the Tunisian data
- formulation of an alternative hypothesis
- testing the alternative hypothesis by reference to the Tunisian data
- conclusion.

6. Operationalization of Murphy & Kasdan's hypothesis with regard to the genealogical manipulation of women

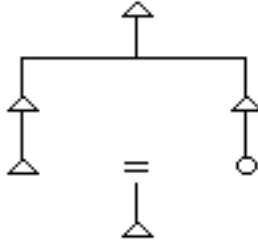
The hypothesis concerning the genealogical manipulation of women receives only a cursory treatment from Murphy & Kasdan (1967: 10). Perhaps Randolph's unpublished dissertation contains a further elaboration, but I have not been able to consult this work. Of course it is important to know on the basis of what kind of ethnographic data Randolph formulated his hypothesis, and how he sought to test it.

Randolph's genealogical data were later used for a numerical analysis of the Bedouin marriage system (Randolph & Coult 1968). But that publication, again, does not contain a further elaboration and testing of the present hypothesis. The authors merely state that informants do not remember the wives of the ancestors, and for that reason the investigators cannot consider potential ambilineal and matrilineal implications in their analysis (Randolph & Coult 1968: 85).

The hypothesis has been formulated in terms of descent groupings. It makes pronouncements with regard to out-marrying and in-marrying women. The spatial factor is ignored. According to Murphy and Kasdan (1967: 10) the hypothesis consists of the following points:

- (a) Women who marry within their own descent grouping are consciously or unconsciously suppressed in the genealogy of that grouping.
- (b) Women who marry into a descent grouping from another descent grouping are emphasized in the former's genealogy.

Mechanism (a) serves directly to eclipse from the actors' consciousness such merging of patri-line and matri-line as, under conditions of kin endogamy, would otherwise be unmistakable already a few generations above Ego. Let us take a closer look at this mechanism. The structural 'need' for this mechanism is the greater, the closer the agnatic relationship between Ego's parents is. It is greatest when Ego's M is his F's FBD: in that case matri-line and patri-line already merge in the person of Ego's FFF. (Diagram 9)



triangle = male person; circle = female person; vertical line = filiation, descent; horizontal line = sibling, = means marriage

Diagram 9. Merging of patri-line and matri-line in the case of FBD marriage.

If Ego's M and F are less close agnates, then matri-line and patri-line only merge in higher generations; for instance, if M is F's FFFFBSSSSD, then the lines only merge in Ego's FFFFF. The problem which mechanism (a) is supposed to solve, is then less acute. This leads us to formulate a third point:

- (c) we may expect that mechanism (a) will not or hardly occur in the case of lineage endogamy between distant agnates.

Let us consider mechanism (b). Its function is to reinforce the ideology of the lineage as a distinct, corporative unit, whose demarcation vis-à-vis other such units is manifested particularly through the marital relationships it contracts with the latter. The relevance of exogamy for the demarcation of one's own social grouping is a well-known principle and it is also mentioned by Murphy & Kasdan in this connexion (1967: 13). But this mechanism is not only at work with regard to in-marrying women as stipulated by Murphy & Kasdan (mechanism b). For from the point of view of group demarcation, women who are marrying out of their own descent group into another fulfill structurally the same role as in-marrying women. This allows us to add a fourth point to the hypothesis, complementary to mechanism (b):

- (d) Women who, from their own descent group, marry into another descent group, will be stressed in the genealogy of their own descent group.

This elaboration of the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis concerning the genealogical manipulation of women now enables us to summarize the contents of the hypothesis in two convenient schemes. This is done in Tables 11 and 12. The arithmetical signs in the Tables have the following meaning:

- = are suppressed in the genealogy
- o = are neither suppressed nor emphasized in the genealogy
- + = are emphasized in the genealogy

The letters in the Tables 11 and 12 refer to the four points in the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis as formulated above. Because in the case of lineage endogamy the in-marrying women are identical with the out-marrying women, the mechanisms (a) and (c) have been listed in both Tables 1a and 1b. In this form the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis is amenable to quantitative testing.

origin of in-marrying women	hypothesized effect	mechanism
from informant's lineage (close agnate)	-	(a)
from informant's lineage (distant agnate)	o	(c)
from other lineage than informant's	+	(b)

Table 11. Genealogical manipulation of in-marrying women, according to the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis

destination of out-marrying women	hypothesized effect	mechanism
to informant's lineage (close agnate)	-	(a)
to informant's lineage (distant agnate)	o	(c)
to other lineage than informant's	+	(d)

Table 12. Genealogical manipulation of out-marrying women, according to the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis

7. Testing of the Murphy & Kasdan hypotheses concerning genealogical manipulation of women in the Tunisian data

In order to test these hypotheses of Murphy & Kasdan with the use of our sample of 16 genealogies, I counted for each generation the total number of women listed by the informants. These women were divided into the following categories:

- in-marrying, i.e. listed as spouse of a male member of the lineage which was depicted in the genealogy;
- out-marrying, i.e. listed as the married daughter of a male member of the lineage which was depicted in the genealogy.

This is a matter of the analytical point of view. A women who contracts a lineage-endogamous marriage is out-marrying and in-marrying at the same time, and if she and her husband are both listed in the genealogy, she will be counted twice in the analysis; the two categories overlap. If a woman is only listed as out-marrying (without specific additional information as to her husband being a member of the same lineage) or only as in-marrying (without being identified as a lineage member), then she will be counted only once.

For the in-married women as listed in the genealogies their kin origin was traced; here the relevant distinctions are lineage exogamy versus lineage endogamy; and degrees of agnatic kinship (notably: 'close', 'distant' and 'none').

I shall speak of close agnatic kinship, if between the spouses before marriage an agnatic genealogical chain could be traced of less than 5 elements. For longer chains,

in so far as these can still be traced within my reconstructed ortho-lineages, I speak of distant agnatic kinship. Since my reconstructions often trace genealogical connexions which the actors themselves no longer perceive, in a number of cases I shall have to classify a kin relationship as distant agnatic kinship whereas the actors themselves would only perceive the absence of agnatic ties in those cases. I speak of 'no agnatic kin relationship' if, according to my reconstructions, the spouses truly belong to different ortho-lineages.

In this way the data could be processed with regard to the women in the informant's generation and in the third and second generation above. Only one genealogy out of our sixteen still listed two women for the third generation above the informant's – but in that case only their names were listed, and the informant could not tell us anything about the marriages of these two women. Of course it is absolutely certain that the lineages of these sixteen informants in the higher generations both produced women and received women as in-marrying wives; but of these women contemporary informants have no recollection.

In the processing of these data the informants' own generations posed again a problem: because of the above-mentioned defects of individual genealogical statements, the number of listed women here was lower than in my reconstructions. Because the women concerned are either the informant's Z, FBD, BW or FBSW, it is absolutely sure that the informant does know their names, their kin origin, and the kin origin of their husbands. Therefore we must accept that for the o-th generation the data concerning listed women are mutilated and cannot be used as point of departure for the analysis of genealogical manipulation in the higher generations. Because also the non-listed women in the o-th generation are known to the informants, I have assessed – through a comparison between the informants' genealogies and my own reconstructions – which women in the informant's own generation have not been listed. Here I have limited myself to those women who belong to either (a) the informant's own sibling group, or (b) to those (agnatically rather closely related) sibling groups whose members or whose parents have in fact been listed by the informant. This led me to identify a set of non-listed women in the o-th generation; together with the listed women in that generation this yields the total set of women in the o-th generation.

Another problem was formed by those women who do occur in the genealogies (or, as far as the unlisted women in generation o are concerned, who do occur in my reconstructions), but for whom we have no data concerning their kin origin. These women form a set whose characteristics cannot be interpreted in terms of the relevant variables of the present analysis. This set is of only limited size and I decided to ignore it.

Such manipulations as are postulated by the Murphy & Kasdan hypotheses can now be demonstrated by a comparison of the distribution with regard to listed women, against the distribution in the total set of women in the reconstructed ortho-lineages.

Table 14 gives an overview of which numbers of women are available in the various categories and the various generations, and for how many women the data are missing. The testing procedure is based on the following reasoning. If genealogical manipulation of women does occur in the way postulated by Murphy & Kasdan, then it may manifest itself in the first place by a systematic difference between the set of listed

women and the set of non-listed women in the o-th generation. Murphy & Kasdan postulated that women who were married lineage-endogamously with close agnates would be suppressed from the genealogy. This would mean that the set of listed women, under the two categories of in-married and out-married women, would have to contain significantly fewer lineage-endogamously married women than was to be expected on the basis of the incidence of such women in the total set of women (combining listed and non-listed), both for the o-th generation. Differences of this nature can be explored, in the first instance, by a comparison of percentages. However, since the numbers are not only subject to hypothetical, systematic manipulations, but also to stochastic variation, a simple comparison of percentages is not the best method: we need a statistical test which deals with the influence of chance fluctuations. One such a statistical test is the likelihood ratio test for the comparison of an empirical distribution with a theoretical distribution.²⁰ The total set of data for the o-th generation (which corresponds with the real numbers, and which is not subject to manipulation) can now be used to search for evidence of systematic manipulations in the higher generations. There one usually deals with people who have died and often with people the informant himself has never known; therefore, it stands to reason that the postulated manipulations show themselves the more clearly, the higher the generation under analysis: the transfer of knowledge is filtered through time. The distribution of close-endogamous, distant-endogamous, and exogamous among in-marrying listed women in generation 1 and 2 is therefore compared with the same distribution among in-marrying women in generation 0 (both listed and non-listed together). The procedure is then repeated for out-marrying women.

In the first instance the validity of the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis with regard to genealogical manipulation of women in the Tunisian data is explored by a comparison of percentages. The data are presented in the Tables below. If the difference is smaller than 10% this is interpreted as no difference at all.

Conclusion: a comparison of percentages does absolutely not point in the direction of the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis. Such tendencies as we seem to note, both among in-marrying and among out-marrying women, rather point in a very different direction. However, it remains to establish whether these tendencies are statistically significant or must be attributed to chance fluctuations.

The analysis of these distributions by means of the likelihood ratio test can now be illustrated by reference to the o-th generation, in-marrying women, listed against non-listed. The data are presented in the Table below:

²⁰ Cf. Spitz 1961, who calls this the I'-test; van Binsbergen 1972b; and Wilkinson 1986. The advantages of the likelihood ratio test for cross-tables are several. It is non-parametric, so does not require specific assumptions about the nature of the underlying distribution of the data. As such it is akin to the well-known χ^2 test, but that one requires a minimum cell expectation of 5 - a condition that does not apply for the likelihood ratio, and that is often difficult to meet with the small-sample data of anthropological village and urban-ward studies. The two tests have the same probability distribution, tables for which may be found in any statistic manual. 5 % is an acceptable significance level.

generation o, in-marrying women				
	listed	listed +not- listed	conclusion with regard to listed	expectation Murphy-Kasdan
close-endogamous	14 (24%)	22 (20%)	+	-
distant-endogamous	0 (0%)	6 (5%)	-	0
exogamous	22 (76%)	82 (75%)	0	+
total	58 (100%)	110 (100%)		
generation o, out-marrying women				
	listed	listed +not- listed	conclusion with regard to listed	expectation Murphy-Kasdan
close-endogamous	26 (28%)	19 (22%)	+	-
distant-endogamous	2 (3%)	4 (5%)	-	0
exogamous	40 (69%)	65 (74%)	0	+
total	68 (100%)	88 (100%)		

Table 13. In-marrying women, generation o

	listed	listed+not- listed	conclusion with regard to listed	expectation Murphy-Kasdan
close-endogamous	14 (24%)	22 (20%)	(+)	-
distant-endogamous	0 (0%)	6 (5%)	(-)	0
exogamous	44 (76%)	82 (75%)	(+)	+
total	58 (100%)	110 (100%)		

Table 14. Overall assessment of the Humiri data in the light of the Murphy-Kasdan hypothesis

If the manipulation as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan did in fact occur then it would have manifested itself in the distribution of listed women. According to Murphy & Kasdan one would expect close-endogamous women to be underrepresented, exogamous overrepresented, and distant-endogamous unaffected. When comparing the percentages, the hypothesis is not confirmed. The likelihood ratio test now has to demonstrate to what extent these mere impressions are statistically significant. For this test we give the specific results only for one row (e.g. close-endogamous), while the result for the two remaining rows will be summarized. See Table h.

	listed	listed+not- listed	expected to be listed
close-endogamous	14	22	$(58/110).22 = 11.6$
rest	44	88	$(58/110).88 = 46.4$
total	58	110	

the likelihood ratio test compares the distribution in column 1 with that in column 3; $\chi^2 = 2.08$; $df = 1$; not significant at the 5% level

Table 15. Statistical comparison of the set of listed women as against the total set – in-marrying women, generation o, listed woman only

This means that the incidence of close-endogamous women in the set of listed women in generation o does not significantly differ from the incidence of such women in the total set of women (listed and not-listed) in that generation.

In the same way the entire generation may be processed. The results are presented in Table 16:

	in-married		out-married	
	test	Murphy-Kasdan	test	Murphy-Kasdan
close-endogamous	o	-	+	-
distant-endogamous	-	o	o	o
exogamous	o	+	o	-

Table 16. Statistical comparison of the set of listed women as against the total set – in-marrying women, the entire generation, including non-listed women

If we wished to interpret the differences between the set of listed women and the entire set in terms of the Murphy & Kasdan hypothesis, we find:

- one case of flagrant contradiction (close-endogamous, out-married)
- one case of agreement (distant-endogamous, out-married)
- three cases in which the shift as postulated by the theory was not significant
- one case in which there was a significant shift although it was not postulated by the theory.

8. An alternative hypothesis with regard to the genealogical manipulation of women

The differences in distribution between the set of listed women and the total set cannot be explained in terms of the theory of Murphy & Kasdan. I propose the following alternative explanation. *We assume that the set of listed women is in fact an a -select sample from the total set (four statistical results out of six are in agreement with this assumption), whereas the significant shift must be attributed to the specific interview procedure followed.* The latter point is clearest in the case of close-endogamous out-marrying women. When a genealogy is elicited these women feature in the summing-up of their own sibling group. They are less likely to be overlooked by both interviewer and informant. There is likely to be a similar explanation for the underrepresentation of distant-endogamous in-marrying women in the set of listed women.

If we assume that in the o -th generation no manipulation occurs in the sense of Murphy & Kasdan, we can now compare the distributions close-endogamous/ distant-endogamous/ exogamous such as they occur in the higher generations, with the distribution in the o -th generation. The test situation is different again. For the set of listed women in the o -th generation, the total set for the o -th generation constituted the whole of which the set of listed women itself formed a part. This is why the total

set could serve as a theoretical distribution, which we compared with the set of listed women by means of the likelihood ratio test. Now we will compare the total sets in the various generations. These sets are subject to demographic chance fluctuations: in one generation a lineage may produce or absorb more women than in the next. Admittedly, also the 0-th generation is subject to such chance fluctuations. Probably we are allowed to ignore the factor of population growth: without any doubt generation 0 is the most numerous, but (in our rough and ready approximation) it is fair to assume that in that generation the number of married people, and the male/female ratio, did not undergo massive change as compared to the higher generations. Let us first compare the percentages (Table 17)

generation 1			
in-marrying women			
		conclusion (as compared with generation 0)	expectation according to Murphy&Kasdan
close endogamous	14 (19%)	0	-
distant endogamous	7 (10%)	+	0
exogamous	51 (71%)	0	+
out-marrying women			
close endogamous	13 (30%)	+	-
distant endogamous	2 (5%)	0	0
exogamous	28 (65%)	-	+
generation 2			
in-marrying women			
close endogamous	4 (25%)	+	-
distant endogamous	0 (0%)	-	0
exogamous	12 (75%)	0	+
out-marrying women			
close endogamous	0 (0%)		no conclusion possible
distant endogamous	0 (0%)		
exogamous	2 (100%)		

Table 17. Testing the alternative hypothesis, higher generations

Conclusion: generation 1 does not in the least display the pattern of manipulation as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan. Neither in generation 2, in-marrying women, does a comparison of percentages reveal the postulated manipulations. For the out-marrying women in that generation there are too few cases to justify any conclusions. For these higher generations we now still have to test to what extent the tendencies are statistically significant.

Since now we will be comparing two distributions which are each subject to chance

fluctuations we use not the likelihood ratio test but the χ^2 test. The results are presented in Table 18:

	generation 1						generation 2					
	in-marrying			out-marrying			in-marrying			out-marrying		
	test	MK	χ^2	test	MK	χ^2	test	MK	χ^2	test	MK	χ^2
close-endogamous	0	-	.001	0	-	1.14	0	-	0.21	-	-	*
distant-endogamous	0	0	1.16	0	0	0.00	0	0	1.67	-	-	*
exogamous	0	+	0.30	0	+	1.05	0	+	0.00	-	-	*

for all statistics in this Table, $df = 1$.

*insufficient data for meaningful analysis

MK = Murphy-Kasdan

Table 18. Testing the alternative hypothesis, as compared with generation 0

We can safely conclude that the genealogical manipulations of women as postulated by Murphy and Kasdan cannot be attested in the present data from north-western Tunisia.

The emphasis on contemporaries in the actors' spontaneous tracing of genealogical chains, and the suppression (or let us simply say, forgetting) of collateral ancestors above the third generation, suggests that an informant's personal acquaintance with a kinsman is a crucial factors in the latter's being included in that informant's package of genealogical knowledge. The only exception to this empirical generalization appears to be the series of lineal ancestors, which however has to be learned through systematic training. This principle leads us towards an alternative form of genealogical manipulation which might, after all, be perceived in the *Ḥumīrī* data.

Ḥumīrī society is constructed out of spatial segments which if of the same segmentary level are opposed to each other while they hierarchically include each other from one level to the next. These segments are dwelling-houses, compounds, neighbourhoods, villages and valleys. In *Ḥumīrīyya*, spatiality is a more fundamental principle governing day-to-day interaction than is kinship. A person's daily interactions are largely confined to within his village.

Kinsmen who live outside one's village and especially outside one's valley one sees at best a few times a year. Now we can assume that the genealogical knowledge concerning those kinsmen who have always lived in the same village as the informant, is larger than that concerning kinsmen who lived outside his village. The constant dispersion of parental families sees to it that not all male agnates live in the same village ; after a few generations we may often find sections of a lineage in other villages than the original village, and even in other valleys. The marriage pattern offers yet another systematic factor in the dispersion of – particularly female – kinsmen. In the research area 95% of all marriage was virilocal, which means that marriage is largely (for 95%) a matter of women taking up a new residence. About half of all marriages is village-endogamous, the other half village-exogamous; this means that in nearly 50% of all marriages a woman takes up residence in a different village from where her close

agnates have lived.

Now we can expect genealogical manipulation, as a function of the differential spatial distance between an informant's place of residence and that of his various kinsmen. Such variations in spatial distance between an informant and his kinsmen as spring from the dispersion of the local agnatic group may equally apply to men and to women. With the exception of a few uxorilocal marriages, such variation in spatial distance between an informant and his kinsmen as stems from marriages almost exclusively affect women. Genealogical manipulation with regard to men as caused by variations in spatial distance between an informant and his kinsmen can in fact be witnessed: male kinsmen who live at a considerable distance appear to be more readily left out from genealogies than male kinsmen who live nearer. However, *I did not investigate this aspect systematically and quantitatively.*

Since Murphy & Kasdan make pronouncements concerning genealogical manipulation of women, I shall here, too, limit myself to women. In principle there are four possibilities, when we compare a women's place of residence with that of an informant (Table 19):

the woman lives				
before her marriage				
		in same village as informant	in different village from informant	total
after her marriage	in same village as informant	++	+	+
	in different village from informant	-	--	-
total		+/-	-/0	

Table 19. Four possibilities for a women's place of residence as compared with that of a third person who is the informant

On the basis of the above considerations this schema enables us to make predictions about genealogical manipulation. Women who have lived their entire life in the same village as the informant, will be stressed in the genealogy (+ +), and women who have lived their entire life outside that village, will be suppressed (- -). With regard to women who only lived in the same village as the informant either before or after their marriage, it is difficult to make a straightforward prediction. However, it is likely that women who through their marriage arrived in the same village as the informant, will be stressed (+) as compared to women who lived there only before their marriage (-) (i.e. as children, who are relatively unimportant for the structure of interaction); it is equally likely that both categories will be stressed more than women who absolutely never lived in the same village as the informant.

Again we can distinguish between women who married out of the informant's lineage (i.e. female agnates within the genealogy), and women who married into the informant's lineage (i.e. the wives of agnates in the genealogy). If the genealogical manipulation as postulated by my alternative hypothesis does actually occur, it will be immediately understandable in terms of the actor's cognitions and motivations. The people with whom Ego interacts are mainly his fellow-villagers, whether or not these

are Ego's agnates. To the extent to which these fellow-villagers belong to his genealogy (as Ego's agnates or as spouses of Ego's agnates), he will be unlikely to overlook them when summing up his genealogy. However, he has little interaction with people who do belong to his genealogy but who do not live in his own village; he does not know these people well and is inclined to overlook them. This is all the more likely for members of higher generations, whom he has not personally known.

Murphy & Kasdan's approach does not by far offer a similar, obvious interpretation. It presupposes the suppression of female close agnates, to the extent to which these are married lineage-endogamously, regardless of whether these women were married, and hence lived, in their (and the informant's) own village or in some other place. When applied to ʔumiriyya, their model becomes muddled since (because of the dispersion of parental families) not all close agnates of Ego are his fellow-villagers. And with regard to such female fellow-villagers as belong in Ego's genealogy (as close agnates, distant agnates, or as the non-agnatic wives of agnates), Murphy & Kasdan's approach postulates a difference in genealogical 'memory' in Ego, allegedly suppressing near agnates and stressing non-agnates, even if there are no reasons whatsoever why, within his village, Ego should have more interaction with non-agnatic female affines, or with distant agnates, than with close agnates.

Now in the sixteen sample genealogies the women were counted. The problem of the difference between listed and non-listed women was solved in the same manner as described above. Women for whom it was unknown whether they lived in the same village as the informant or in a different village, before or after their marriage, were omitted from the analysis.

Let us first inspect generation o. The data are presented in Table 20:

(a) listed only; I) in-married women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	12 (21%)	23 (40%)	35 (61%)
	different village	4 (7%)	19 (33%)	23 (40%)
total		16 (28%)	42 (73%)	58 (101%)

II) out-married women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	11 (19%)	6 (10%)	17 (29%)
	different village	25 (42%)	17 (29%)	42 (71%)
total		36 (61%)	23 (39%)	59 (100%)

(b) listed + not listed; I) in-married women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	23 (21%)	36 (32%)	59 (53%)
	different village	8 (7%)	44 (40%)	52 (47%)
total		31 (28%)	80 (72%)	111 (100%)

generation o, listed + not listed

II) out-married women

		before marriage		
		different village	different village	total
	same village	17 (19%)	7 (8%)	24 (27%)
after	different village	34 (38%)	32 (36%)	66 (74%)
marriage	total	51 (57%)	39 (44%)	90 (101%)

Table 20. Listed and non-listed in-marrying and out-marrying women in generation o

Conclusion of the basis of the comparison of percentages: if manipulation has taken place, its result will have been the set 'listed'.

In the Tables 21-23 I have indicated how this set compares with the total set 'listed + not listed', with (between parentheses) the prediction on the basis of my alternative hypothesis.

		before marriage			
		same village	different village	total	
after	same village	o (+)	+ (+)	+	(+)
marriage	different village	o (-)	- (-)	-	(-)
	total	o (+/o)	o (-/0)		

generation o, out-married women

		before marriage			
		same village	different village	total	
after	same village	o (+)	o (+)	o	(+)
marriage	different village	o (-)	- (-)	o	(-)
	total	o (+/o)	- (-/0)		

NB: differences smaller than 10% are interpreted as o
between parentheses: the prediction on the basis of my alternative hypothesis.

Table 21. How the set 'listed' compares with the total set 'listed + not listed', with (between parentheses) the prediction on the basis of my alternative hypothesis.

The alternative hypothesis does seem to find some corroboration. There is not a single case which is in blatant contradiction with the hypothesis; there are a few cases where the predicted tendency does not manifest itself, and finally several cases where the date agree with the prediction.

Yet statistical testing (likelihood ratio test) reveals that the deviations as found can be attributed to change.

- a. 'same village as informant before and after marriage', combined with 'same village as informant after but not before marriage' against 'different village from informant before and after marriage', combined with 'same village as informant before marriage but different after marriage':
 - for in-married women $\chi^2 = 1.22$, $df = 1$, not significant at the 5% level;
 - for out-married women: $\chi^2 = .14$, $df = 1$, not significant at the 5% level.
- b. only 'same village as informant before and after marriage' against 'different village from informant before and after marriage':
 - in-married women: $\chi^2 = .26$, $df = 1$, not significant at the 5% level;
 - out-married women: $\chi^2 = .26$, $df = 1$, not significant at the 5% level.

However, if the manipulations as postulated by the alternative hypotheses occur all, their chances are greatest in the highest generations. We can again compare them with the total set, listed and not-listed, in generation o. The tables for generation o have already been presented.

in-married women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	22 (30%)	22 (30%)	44 (60%)
	different village	5 (7%)	25 (34%)	30 (41%)
	total	27 (37%)	47 (64%)	74 (101%)

out-married women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	14 (30%)	2 (4%)	16 (34%)
	different village	20 (43%)	11 (23%)	31 (66%)
	total	34 (73%)	13 (27%)	47 (100%)

Table 22. Comparing the total set listed and not-listed, generation 1

When we compare these percentages with those for generation o, listed + not listed, we arrive at the conclusions presented in Table O.

in-marrying women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	+ (+)	o (+)	+ (+)
	different village	o (-)	- (-)	- (-)

	total	+ (+/o)	- (-/o)	
out-marrying women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	+ (+)	- (+)	+ (+)
	different village	+ (-)	- (-)	- (-)
	total	+ (+/o)	- (-/o)	

(between parentheses) the prediction on the basis of my alternative hypothesis.

Table 23. Generation 1 as compared (by percentages) with generation 0, in-marrying and out-marrying women

8.1. Conclusion concerning the alternative hypothesis

A comparison of percentages suggests that in generation 1 the genealogical manipulation as postulated by the alternative hypothesis does in fact occur. However, there are some cases in which such manipulation cannot be demonstrated, while for other cells (relating to out-marrying women) we witness an effect opposite to that postulated by the alternative hypothesis (albeit that only small differences are involved).

Statistical test: the differences can again be attributed to chance. 'same village as informant before and after marriage', combined with 'same village as informant after but not before marriage' against 'different village from informant before and after marriage', combined with 'same village as informant before marriage but different after marriage':

- In-married women, generation 1 against generation 0: $\chi^2 = .72$, $df = 1$, not significant at the 5% level;
- out-married women, $\chi^2 = .80$, $df = 1$, not significant at the 5% level.

A different method: only 'same village as informant before and after marriage' against 'different village from informant before and after marriage' (according to the alternative hypothesis the difference would be expected to be considerable):

- in-marrying women, $\chi^2 = 1.80$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.18$;
- out-marrying women, $\chi^2 = 3.07$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.08$. Our test statistic assumes values which are somewhat more extreme but still not significant.

The results are presented in Table 24.

in-marrying women				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	6 (32%)	8 (42%)	14 (74%)
	different village	0 (0%)	5 (26%)	5 (26%)
total		6 (32%)	13 (68%)	19 (100%)

out-marrying wome				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)
	different village	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)
total		2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)

Table 24. Conclusion on the basis of comparison of percentages in generation 2 with generation 0 (as a whole)

in-marrying women only

in-marrying women only				
		before marriage		
		same village	different village	total
after marriage	same village	+ (+)	+ (+)	+ (+)
	different village	- (-)	- (-)	- (-)
total		+ (+/0)	0 (-/0)	

(between parentheses: expectation on the basis van the alternative hypothesis)

Table 25. Generation 2 as compared (by percentages) with generation 0, in-marrying and out-marrying women

Conclusion from Table 25:

- *There is complete agreement with the alternative hypothesis.* However, the data concerning out-marrying women are so limited that no conclusion should be based on them.

Statistical test: only for in-marrying women.

- First 'same village as informant before and after marriage', combined with 'same village as informant after but not before marriage' against 'different village from informant before and after marriage', combined with 'same village as informant before marriage but different after marriage': $\chi^2 = 2.90$, $df = 1$, $p = .09$, not significant at the 5% level.
- Then only 'same village as informant before and after marriage' against

‘different village from informant before and after marriage’: $\chi^2 = 1.60$, $df = 1$, $p = .21$, not significant at the 5% level.

- *Conclusion*: especially in the higher generations the quantitative data do suggest the validity of the alternative hypothesis. We may assume that persons will the more readily feature in the genealogical knowledge of a particular informant, if they are, or ever were, adult fellow-villagers of that informant. However, we must stress that such corroboration of the alternative hypothesis as was found when merely percentages were compared, while statistical testing revealed that these initial impression may well be attributed to chance. Yet the results are sufficiently positive to warrant further analysis with more data.

9. Conclusions of the overall argument in this paper

- (a) *Ḥumīrī* genealogies are shallow in the sense of Murphy & Kasdan but for other reasons than advanced by these authors.
- (b) In *Ḥumīrī* genealogies the genealogical manipulation of women as postulated by Murphy & Kasdan does not occur.
- (c) In *Ḥumīrī* genealogies, however, there does occur a different type of genealogical manipulation of women, notably:
- (d) Genealogical integration and kinship-based segmentation requires collateral ancestors to be explicitly included in the actors’ genealogies, as siblings and cousins of direct lineal ancestors. However, such collateral ancestors are present, in the data set, in only the most recent generations: time has blurred them out almost completely for the ascending generations. This means that only the lowest segments can engage in segmentary opposition by reference to collateral ancestors, and to unilineal descent in general. Only a few informants were prepared to state sibling relationships involving mythical ancestors, and when they did their pronouncement were not at all consensual.

Spatial segmentation (as discussed at great length in van Binsbergen 1970 / in press (a), and succinctly but clearly, and in adequately published form, in van Binsbergen 2018) explains conclusion (a) and (c), it renders Murphy and Kasdan’s hypothesized genealogical manipulation of women impossible (b). The central factor in the pattern of genealogical knowledge emerging turns out to be not kinship (notably patrilineal descent), but territoriality, in other words the spatial organisation of local society. The contradiction between agnatic ideology versus bilateral practice I have extensively discussed elsewhere in my work on *Ḥumiriyya*.



Fig. 10. The house (interior dimensions 2x2 meter) where I dwelled with my assistant during the 1968 fieldwork

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11. Provisional list of the inhabitants of the villages of Sidi Mḥammad and Mayziyya, 1968

In the course of the analysis of the data, a different system of numbering the persons on this list has been adopted; probably there are discrepancies between the numbers here (even the 'original numbers' and the numbers used in the course of the above argument – this will be corrected in future

† = deceased

no.	original number (corrected)	head of household	wife	co-residing children ²¹
IN THE VILLAGE OF SIDI MḤAMMAD				
1	10	°Abd Allah bin °Aissa	Mahbuba	Muassin, Fuaziya
2	11	Al Hadi bin °Aissa	-	-
3	12	(°Aissa)†	Mabruka	Khamis 03/0 ²² , Sibti 03/1 ²³ , Jamila, Shadli 03/2
4	13	Al Hadi	Najma	Hussin, Rumdhan, Mburk
5	14	Al °Ayash	Ziyana	Shadli, Hasayida, Baya, Saluha
6	15	Safi bin °Amir	Mahbuba	Muhammad 6/1, ²⁴ Habib, Ahmad, Sayid, Zaduq, Eluhi, Ziyana, Salaha, Al °Azar, Salila
	79	Muhammad bin Saffi		
7	16	Hillal	1. °Ayasha	Rahmani, Muṇcaf, Nashat, Fataya, Layila
8	16	(Hillal, same)	2. Mabruka	Yamina, Farid, Fadhi
9	17	(°Ali)†	°Ayasha	Ahmad, Bu Jimma°a, Hanusha
10	18	Tahar bin °Ali	Fatima	Rudhiya, Zuharra, Layila
11	19	Dhiab bin Hassuna	Falusa	?
12	20	Bakhush bin Hassuna	Khara	Hussin, Sassiya, Sadiya, Hamad
13	21	(Hassuna)†	Mburka ²⁵	
14	22	(Hassuna, same)†	Mabruka ²⁶	
14a	23	(Hassuna, same)†	Turquya ²⁷	Ikhmayid (= °Abd al Qadir), 14a/1
15	24	Mansur	Mburka	Hassan
16	25	Jilani	Nashama	Nuri
17	26	Salah bin Tarshun	Ribha	?
18	27	Rabha bin °Ali	Jamila (= Ziyana)	
19	28	Muhammad bin Al °Abadi	—	Mburka °019°, and Muhammad's daughter Ziyana (* °Amar), = Mburka's granddaughter
20	29	Salah bin	Fatma	Hadda

²¹ listing incomplete; normally only adolescent children are listed; for full details see village genealogies

²² In military service at the time of the fieldwork

²³ In military service at the time of the fieldwork

²⁴ has a separate dwelling in the house of deceased 49

²⁵ stays with Jilani bin Hassuna, no.

²⁶ stays with Dhiab, no. 11

²⁷ stays with Bakhush, no. 12

		Muhammad		
21	30	Tahar bin Hamuda	Halima	-
22	31	Ibrahim bin °Abd Allah	Ziyana	°Amara (°), Halima (i)
23	32	°Amar bin °Abd Allah	Ziyana	Trahi (i), Fadhila (i), Sassi (°), Bu Jimma°a (°), Baya (i)(* Ga°a Ramal)
24	33	°Abd Allah bin Bu Tara	Fatma	Rahmani (21 years), Hafniya ²⁸ (15 years), Dalila (10 years), Munçaf (8 years)
25	34	(Al °Ayash)†	Ribha	
26	35	(Hamuda)†	Zuhara (= Shaba)	Hamda (°), Brada (i), °Aziza (i), al °Azar (°), Fuziya (i)
27	36	Muhammad bin °Amur ²⁹	Habiba	°Abd al Huni ³⁰ , Shadliya, Mariam, Barka, Musfa, Nashat
28	37	°Abd al Hafidh	°Ayasha	-
28b?		Tayib bin Hamuda ²¹	(daughter of Salah bin Khamis & Burnuya, sister of wife of Bakhush)	
29	38	Muhammad bin Hasnawi	Hadda	
?		(Jilani bin Ibrahim)		
30	39	(al °Abadi)†	Mina	°Abd al Hamid 30.1
31	40	Bashir	-	Rabha (his brother)
32	41	al °Abadi bin Muhammad	-	
33	42	Tayib bin Muhammad	Khadisha	Muhammad (18 years), Nur ad Din (14 years), Mukhtar (8 years), Nashi (5 years), Uadhila (3 years)
34	43	Ahmada bin Muhammad	Mabruka	Munsha (°), Fatima (i)
35	44	Hillal bin Muhammad	(Sharifa)†	Mashid (°), Dunis (°), °Amur (°), Rihana (i)
36	45	Jilani bin Salah (28 yrs)	Ursuya	°Ayasha
37	46	Salah bin Khamis	Burnuya	al Hadi (24 years)
38	47	°Amar bin Hillal (25 yrs)	Baya	
39	48	(°Abd Allah)†	Mburka	Muhammad (20 years), Shadli (17 years), Tahar (13 years), Zuhara (11 years)
40	49	Rahmani bin Yusuf	Khamisa	Hussin (11 yrs) ³² , Hassin (3 yrs), Nabil (2,5 months), Hafsuya (mother of Rahmani); Bashir ³³ = 43
41	50	Rumghan bin Hamad	Uahida	°Amara, Hamda, °Ali, Fatima, Masubuya
42	51	Mhammad bin Abu'l Qasim	Khara	Munçaf, Nashi, Uadhila, Nur ad Din

²⁸check name

²⁹ usually called Muhamad bin Tunis, after his mother Tunis who was born at Sidi Mhammad

³⁰check name

³¹ in Tra'aya-sud

³²stays in °Ayn Draham

³³MBS of Rahmani

43	49 see above	Bashir ³⁴		
44	22	°Abd Allah bin Mhammad	-	
44a	50	Hamadbin Amir (with 41)	+	
45	??	Salah (with 40) ³⁵		
46	52	Hamuda bin al Ahsin	Mahbuba	
47	53	Hasni bin al °Abadi	Fatma	
48	54	Habib bin Harassi	Mahbuba	
49		(Bashir bin °Amir)†	≠	two °hildren
50	55	Ghunaya	Ribha	Muhammad, Salah ³⁶ , Mahbuba, Baya, Tahar, Munshi
51				
52	56	°Abu'l Qasim ³⁷	Ribha	
IN THE VILLAGE OF MAYZIYA				
101	57	Bu Jimmaca bin Rabha		
102	58	Ahmad bin Rabha	Masauda	
103	59	Muhammad bin Rabha	Fatma	°Amar
104	60	Muhammad bin °Amur	Namala	°Amara, °Ali, Sibti, °Abd Allah
105	61	Hassan bin Kashrud	Baya	6 °hildren
106	62	Muhammad bin Hassan	Ribha	
107	63	Rabha bin Hassan	Mburka	
108	64	°Abd Allah bin Kashrud	Zuhara	
109	65	Muhammad bin Bashir	°Ayasha (Ribha)	
110	66	°Ali bin Sacad	Masauda	Rbiha ³⁸
111	67	°Amar/al Hadi bin °Ali ³⁹	Hadda	
112	68	Rabha (= Mahmud) bin °Ali	≠ (meaning: unmarried?) ⁴⁰	
113	69	Muhammad bin Tayib	Hadda ⁴¹	
114				
115	70	Ahmad bin Kashrud	Ziyana	Turquya, Bashir, al Hadi
116	71	Salah bin Ahmad	Khadusha	al °Azar, Haniya, Maliha, Rahmani, °Azayiz, Haddi

³⁴MBS of Rahmani

³⁵uncle, with Rahmani

³⁶check: or: Muhammad-Salah

³⁷Kaf al Hanut

³⁸this is incorrect, see 0108, 13.6 in typewritten field notes

³⁹this is incorrect, see 0108, 13.6 in typewritten field notes

⁴⁰this is incorrect, see 0108, 13.6 in typewritten field notes

⁴¹this is incorrect, see 0108, 13.6 in typewritten field notes

117	72	Bu Jimmaca bin Ahmad	Ribha	°Abd al Karim, Rumdhan, Khamis
118	73	Ahmada bin Muhammad bin °Amur	Haza	
119	74	°Abu'l Qasim bin Muhammad bin °Amur	Baya	
120	75	(al Hadi)†	Zuhara bt Muhammad b °Amur	Ziyan, Mburka, Sibti
121	60	(Khamis bin Muhammad)†	Manubiya	Ghanaya, Hadda, Salah
122	76	Muhammad (Sergeant)		
123	77	°Ali bin Muhammad	Dhabiya	
124	78	al Ahdar bin °Ali	Barka	
	80	Abu'l-Qassim bin Zururi ⁴²		

⁴² ex-inhabitant still having a house in the village of Sidi Mḥammad :