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In Memoriam, Per Hage, 1935–2004

Per Hage died of leukemia on the 25th of July 2004, just as he was hitting his stride in world kinship studies. His interests in the Pacific had been especially welcome in a region that had seen little linguistic or other culture historic work on kinship. His obituary in *l'Homme* earlier this year speaks to his life from a social anthropologist's perspective. Per is remembered for his support of the linguists, part of which was showing deeper uses of extant data through markedness studies and other sorts of reasoning.

It was only roughly ten years ago that Per returned in earnest to the topic of some of his earliest publications: kinship. A period of work with the mathematician Frank Harary had seen publications from 1981 to 1998 that occasionally concerned kinship and typically involved application of Boolean reductions, graph models, hierarchical opposition, minimum spanning trees, and other such topics and methods that leaned toward the mathematical. His focus since about 1996 developed into a sustained assault on culture history issues, mainly kinship, including the publication of the Proto-Oceanic matrilineality hypothesis in 1998 (*Was Proto-Oceanic society matrilineal?*) and posthumous publications on the kinship situation in East Bantu (*Dravidian kinship systems in Africa* in *l'Homme* earlier this year, and *Kin terms in the Bantu proto language ...*, a forthcoming work completed after Per's death with the help of the Belgian linguist, Koen Bostoen, and the Congolese linguist, Jean-Georges Kamba Muzenga). So in addition to having first articulated the Proto-Oceanic matrilineality model, Per will be remembered as the social anthropologist on the seminal comparative Bantu kin term project.

I was troubled by his 1996 invitation to begin working together on the culture history of Oceanic kinship. I worried that he or I would somehow blunder or fail. I worried that he might have theoretical biases. But I eventually read his *Unthinkable categories* (1997) and realized, from that reading, that he was merely and quite thoroughly like many linguists: he simply liked puzzles. My fears allayed, I began reading more of his publications and began working with him in 1999.

His path had crossed with linguistics previously in work on proximity, dialect, and kinship in the Tuamotus and elsewhere (*Island networks ...*, 1996). His kinship and kin term work then began to range from general culture history to markedness (*The logical structure...* [1996], *Marking universals...* [1999], *Reconstructing ancestral Oceanic society...* [1999], *The marking of sex distinctions...* [2001], and other works).

Hage published the Proto-Oceanic matrilineality model rather instantly upon deciding it was the best possible model (1998), while *Polynesian kin terms and descent groups*, published in that same year, still reflects earlier opinions. In a grand sense, the matrilineality model is appealing because it states that the variability in Oceanic Aus-

tronesian societies' descent systems is due to a matrilineal society that radiated and then made local or regional changes (where they are not still matrilineal). In that paper (*Was Proto-Oceanic society matrilineal?*) he expanded upon Blust's observation that matrilineal societies often have "dead mother" constructions for "orphan" while patrilineal societies often have "dead father" constructions for the same. Similarly, before his death, he often commented on finding, in instances where "man's sister" and "woman's brother" were collapsed into a single category and term ("cross-sex sibling"), that it was the "man's sister" term that often survived to name the "cross-sex sibling" in matrilineal societies while the "woman's brother" term often survived to name the "cross-sex sibling" category in patrilineal and cognatic societies.

The Proto-Oceanic matrilineality model was apparently the kind of overall argument that neither the linguists nor the anthropologists knew how to evaluate, and any reference to it at all seems lacking in the literature until after we published (*Matrilineality and the Melanesian origin of Polynesian Y chromosomes* [2003]) our opinion of why the emerging human genetic evidence could only be consistent with matrilocality (and the implication that a matrilocal society, over time, would only be matrilineal).

At the time of his death, we were working on Proto-East Bantu (PEB) and Proto-Oceanic (POc) with the opinion that both of these ca. 3,000 year-old societies with hundreds of daughters were matrilineal but differed in PEB having (cross-first-)cousin marriage while POc did not (nor does POc even appear to have had cousin terms of any kind). Per's second forthcoming work in the following list of publications is a social anthropological treatment of how cousin terms developed variously (and locally) in some Oceanic speaking societies. His posthumous publication in *l'Homme* considered the "cousins" topic for Yao, an East Bantu language spoken primarily in Mozambique to the east of Lake Nyasa, in which a "Dravidian" cross-cousin system ultimately developed out of what was apparently a simpler situation in Proto-East Bantu times. Together those works exemplify the situations in East Bantu and Oceanic. The former (PEB) is a good place to go looking for how a well-understood ancestral system evolved onward from a particular cousin-marriage pattern, while the latter (POc) is a good place to go looking for how a well-understood ancestral system evolved cousin marriage out of a system in which cousin marriage was absent or at least unstructured with respect to the kin terms. His death leaves Bantu and Austronesian bereft of social organization specialists working closely with the linguists.

Per was the son of a Norwegian-American master and commander in the Everett, Washington ocean-fishing fleet, and Per knew sailing and other ocean-going vessels well. As his bouts of leukemia set in from about six years ago, he began to live differently between hospitalizations: returning to the sea and sailing large yachts with his wife, Andrea; holidays in Hawai'i and other such adventures; and on the professional side becoming more adventurous (e.g., *On the reconstruction of the Proto-Nostratic kinship system* [2003]). Per's body was cremated and Andrea sailed his ashes out to sea. The Pacific, of course.

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PER HAGE—PUBLICATIONS**1969**

A Guttman scale analysis of Tikopia speech taboos. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 25:96–104.

1972

Münchener beer categories. In *Culture and cognition*, ed. by James P. Spradley, 263–78. San Francisco: Chandler. Reprinted in *Rausch und Realität: Drogen im Kulturvergleich*, ed. by C. Vogler, Köln: Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum für Völkerkunde, 1981.

1973

A graph theoretic approach to the analysis of alliance structure and local grouping in Highland New Guinea. *Anthropological Forum* 3:280–94.

1975

With Kristen Hawkes. Binumarien color categories. *Ethnology* 14:287–300.

1976

The atom of kinship as a directed graph. *Man (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute)* 11:558–68.

Structural balance and clustering in signed graphs of Bushmen kinship relations. *Behavioral Science* 21:36–47.

With Wick R. Miller. 'Eagle' = 'Bird': A note on the structure and evolution of Shoshoni ethno-ornithological nomenclature. *American Ethnologist*, Special Issue on Folk Biology 3:481–88.

1977

Centrality in the Kula Ring. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 86:27–36.

1978

Speculations on Puluwatese mnemonic structure. *Oceania* 49:81–95.

1979

Symbolic culinary mediation: a group model. *Man (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute)* 14:81–92.

A Viennese autochthonous hero: Structural duality in Freud's origin myths. *Social Science Information* 18:307–24.

Graph theory as a structural model in cultural anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 8:115–36.

A further application of matrix analysis to communication structure in Oceanic anthropology. *Mathematiques et Sciences Humaines* 17:51–69.

1981

With Frank Harary. Pollution beliefs in Highland New Guinea. *Man (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute)* 16:367–75.

With Frank Harary. Mediation and power in Melanesia. *Oceania* 52:124–35.

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1982

With Frank Harary. On reciprocity nets in kinship relations. *Cambridge Anthropology* 9:39–43.

1983

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With Frank Harary. Arapesh sexual symbolism, primitive thought and Boolean groups. *L'Homme (Revue française d'anthropologie)* 23:57–77.

1985

With Frank Harary. Graph Theory. In *The social science encyclopedia*, ed. by Adam Kuper and Jessica Kuper. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

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1986

With Frank Harary. Some genuine graph models in anthropology. *Journal of Graph Theory*, Special anniversary issue commemorating Leonhard Euler, 10:353–61.

With Frank Harary and Brent James. Wealth and hierarchy in the Kula Ring. *American Anthropologist* 88:108–15.

1991

With Frank Harary. *Exchange in Oceania*. Oxford Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

1994

With Frank Harary. Sex in bipartite graphs. *Connections* 17:23–25.

1995

With Frank Harary. Close proximity analysis: Another variation on the minimum spanning tree problem. *Current Anthropology* 36:677–83.

With Frank Harary. Eccentricity and centrality in networks. *Social Networks* 17:57–63.

With Frank Harary and Bojka Milicic. Hierarchical opposition. *Oceania* 65:347–54.

1996

With Frank Harary. *Island networks: Communication, kinship and classification structures in Oceania*. Structural Analysis in the Social Sciences. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

With Frank Harary and Bojka Milicic. Hierarchical opposition revisited. *Oceania* 67:156–69.

With Frank Harary and Bojka Milicic. Tattooing, gender, and social stratification in Micro-Polynesia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2:335–50.

With Frank Harary. The logical structure of asymmetric marriage systems. *L'Homme (Revue française d'anthropologie)*. 36:109–24.

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1997

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1998

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With Frank Harary. Applications of the minimum spanning tree problem to network analysis. In *New perspectives on kinship networks and exchange*, ed. by Thomas Schweizer and Douglas R. White, 251–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

With Frank Harary. What is a hypercube? A binary code for kinship relations. In *Social Network Theory and its Applications*, ed. by S. Schmidt. Mexico City: National University of Mexico.

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1999

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Alternate generation terminology: a theory for a finding. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 55:521–39.

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2000

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2001

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2002

The ancient Maya kinship system. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 59:5–21.

With Jeff Marck. Proto-Micronesian kin terms, descent groups, and interisland voyaging. *Oceanic Linguistics* 41:159–70.

2003

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With Bojka Milicic, Mauricio Mixco, and Michael J. P. Nichols. The Proto-Numic kinship system. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 60(3):359–77.

2006

Dravidian kinship systems in Africa. *L'Homme (Revue Française d'Anthropologie)* 177–78:395–407.

Forthcoming

With Jeff Marck, Koen Bostoen, and Jean-Georges Kamba Muzenga. Kin terms in the Bantu protolanguages: Initial findings.

Oceanic cousin terms and marriage alliance. In *The Lexicon of Proto Oceanic 5: Social Terminologies*, ed. by Andrew Pawley and Malcolm Ross. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.