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| CEDI - P. I. B.   |
| DATA 01 / 10 / 86 |
| COD KL D 04       |

*Reprinted from*

SOUTHWESTERN JOURNAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY

VOLUME 26    ●    NUMBER 4    ●    WINTER    ●    1970



THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO  
ALBUQUERQUE

CEDI - P. I. B.  
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## *Xingu Carib Kinship Terminology and Marriage: Another View*

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*The structure of Xingu Carib kinship terminology has been alleged to derive from a process of changing marriage patterns (local and kin group exogamy to increasing endogamy) caused by severe depopulation. This explanation makes use of a functional theory of kinship terminology, in which discrete terms are viewed as being indicative of marriage behavior. In the present paper, Xingu Carib terminology is discussed as a system of classification which distinguishes categories of kinsmen within a more inclusive model of "kinship." "Marriage" is viewed as a set of native concepts distinct from, yet related to, an idea of behavior for all kinsmen, which serves to justify requests for spouses among kinsmen yet does not exclude non-kin as marriage partners. These concepts, together with an examination of present marriage practices, suggest that the system offers a range of choices which are obscured by the use of "endogamy" and "exogamy" as descriptive categories.*

IN A RECENT ARTICLE by Dole (1969), a causal relationship is postulated between a change in marriage practices (resulting from severe depopulation and subsequent amalgamation of formerly exogamous groups) and a change in kinship terminology among the Kuikuru of central Brazil. She describes Kuikuru terminology as intermediate in type between a "bifurcate merging" and a "generation" structure, arising in conjunction with an alleged change from local and kin group exogamy and cross-cousin marriage to more frequent local and kin group endogamy. This intermediate terminological type, which Dole names "bifurcate generation," is distinguished by the appearance at adjacent generations of "bifurcate" terms, and of "generation" terms at ego's generation (Dole 1969:105). A term which is infrequently used but which indicates "bifurcate" terminology at ego's generation is regarded as evidence for the continuation of "some cross-cousin marriage" (Dole 1969:113). In short, Dole finds it necessary to explain a new type of terminology by reference to a change in marriage patterns, since she assumes that the two are functionally related. Dole's correlation of marriage pattern and terminology is extended beyond the Kuikuru data to other village groups within the Upper Xingu Basin as well as to culturally dissimilar tribes in other parts of the world.

Having also worked with Carib speakers in the Upper Xingu Basin,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Research among the Kalapalo and other Xingu Caribs was made possible by a grant from the National Science Foundation (GS-1084) and the sponsorship and invaluable assistance of the Divisão de Antropologia, Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), headed by Dr. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira. I also wish to thank Claudio and Orlando Villas Boas as well as Marina Lopes de Lima for their many kindnesses to me during my stay in the

though at a different period from Dole's own research, I find the terminology in question may be explained in a quite different way, without any need for reference to processual events.<sup>2</sup> It is entirely possible, as Dole asserts, that certain statistical patterns of marriage may have changed with depopulation. However, it appears necessary before making use of "change" in explanation, to present a more complete set of data than are available in her article, especially with the aim of elucidating what she terms a "vestigial" form, and to indicate in a more precise way the relationship of Xingu Carib terminological use to rules concerning marriage and the treatment of affines.

Recently, Schneider (1968) has made the important observation that kinship terminology may be understood only insofar as the native beliefs about kinship itself are known to the anthropologist. By specifying the distinctive features of a native model of kinship, we are then able to clarify in what ways this domain contrasts with others. In the context of the present problem, the relationship of terminology to marriage, this point must be extended to include marriage as conceived by the Xingu Caribs in terms of specific rules for behavior. By reference to a native model of the relationship of kinship and marriage, we may then more easily assess Dole's hypothesis concerning changes in this relationship.

With these considerations in mind, I will first examine Xingu Carib beliefs about the nature of kinship and the means by which kinship is distinguished from other kinds of relationships. Following this, I will describe features of the kinship terminology not reported by Dole and, finally, discuss the relationship of marriage (both in rule and practice) to the terminological sets and their use in speech.

The data presented in this paper were collected from informants and through informal participation or observation of conversations among three Carib-speaking village groups. Most of my work concentrated on the residents of the village of Aifa, commonly known in the literature as "Kalapalo." Although the majority of Aifa villagers are associated by birth with the long-

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Parque Nacional do Xingu, Mato Grosso. I am grateful to Professors Fred Eggan, Raymond Fogelson, David Schneider, and Terence Turner, with whom I first discussed the data and ideas in this paper, as well as Keith H. Basso and the editors of this journal, who provided critical comments on the final draft. Responsibility for the form and content of this paper, however, is solely my own.

"Xingu Caribs" refers here to those Carib-speaking village groups presently included in Upper Xingu society, namely, the Kuikuru (*Lahatua otómo*), the Kalapalo (*Aifa otómo*), and the intermarried survivors of Wagifitĩ and Jagamĩ villages (*Migiyape otómo*).

2 Erasmus (1968:172) argues that this term should be confined in evolutionary discussion to mean 1) organic process or 2) "changes leading to the developmental stages or adaptive modifications in human behavior." The term is used in this article in the latter sense.

abandoned village also named "Kalapalo," there are others who have joined them through marriage or upon the break-up of their own villages. This phenomenon (also reported by Dole) results in the presence, in each village, of speakers of two mutually intelligible Carib dialects presently found in the Upper Xingu Basin. The fact that all informants, regardless of dialect and village affiliation, were agreed in details of kinship and marriage, leads me to assume a common cultural model in use among Xingu Caribs.

#### THE KALAPALO MODEL OF KINSHIP

The Kalapalo distinguish several kinds of relationships, of which kinship is one criterion for initiating or participating in social interaction. The models of these relationship categories contain information on at least two points: first, the "origin" of the relationship (i.e., with respect to kinship, the reason that a person is said to be a kinsman of another); and second, the norms by which appropriate behavior is defined for persons so classed. As the Kalapalo conceive it, the relationship cannot exist when the proper behavior is not exhibited, but a person displaying normative behavior is not classed in the associated relationship category for that reason alone. In this way, a person who acts as a kinsman ought to is not necessarily labeled a kinsman, but the kinship relationship of a person who acts otherwise is rejected or denied by those who are subjected to his offense.

The most general behavioral ideal of kinship is labeled by the term *ifütisu*, which implies "good" behavior, including politeness, generosity, lack of public aggressiveness, and respectful gestures. *Ifütisu* designates the ideal of behavior for all who participate in Upper Xingu society, but the term is used in a more specific or marked sense to refer to the behavior kinsmen are expected to display towards each other. In this way, kinsmen are supposed to show generosity by sharing food, to assist one another with difficult tasks such as house building, the preparation of gardens, and the manufacture of hammocks, and to support one another verbally in conflict situations. The importance of *ifütisu* as a norm is that it appears as an ideological justification for the performance of group activities of kinsmen and the individual initiation of action towards kinsmen. As a contrastive feature, *ifütisu* serves to distinguish kinship relationships from non-kinship relationships such as those of persons classed as *áto*, "formal friend"; *ájo*, "lover"; and *ifí*, "ceremonial specialist."

As a specific type of relationship, "kinship" is spoken of in general terms by reference to the *otómo*, "personal kindred." In this sense,<sup>3</sup> *otómo* represents

<sup>3</sup> The word *otómo* is derived from *áto*, which in its most general sense refers to an individual who has some kind of permanent connection with a thing (material or non-

the chief idiom of kinship, that is, the principal concept in accordance with which categories of kinsmen and obligations associated with these categories are discussed and explained.

When asked why a particular individual is called by a kinship term or is considered to be of a person's *otómo*, a Kalapalo responds by referring to two relationships. These are *filiation*, or the parent-child relationship (following Schneider's use of the term; Schneider 1967), and *siblingship*, or the relationship of persons who share a filiative bond. Filiation and siblingship may be viewed as the symbols by which *otómo* relationships are considered distinctive by the Kalapalo and which justify calling a person a kinsman.

#### KALAPALO FILIATION

The Kalapalo distinguish maternal and paternal filiation by making use of different symbols in each case. Such symbols are concepts which refer to or designate what are, for the Kalapalo, crucial aspects of procreation. As symbols of filiation, they define the sexual relationship of a parental couple as distinctive and different from other kinds of sexual relationships, for example, that between casual lovers.

The Kalapalo believe that conception occurs when repeated intercourse on the part of a single man results in the accumulation of seminal fluid inside a particular woman. A woman who has promiscuous intercourse with many men cannot become pregnant; rather, she is in danger of falling seriously ill. Similarly, a woman who has only sporadic intercourse with a single man cannot conceive, because she has not received enough seminal fluid.

The term *itijipigi* refers to "that which has come out (of something)," and is used to designate offspring of a woman. More specifically, this term refers to the symbol of filiation linking a woman to her children as "mother," the fact of giving birth to them. The symbol of paternal filiation is that particular aspect of sexual intercourse which the Kalapalo consider important in causing pregnancy. This is the repeated act on the part of the male; in the Kalapalo view, the accumulated seminal fluid alone forms the embryo, later nourished by maternal substance. In this way, paternity is determined by repeated sexual

material) on the basis of some specific kind of relationship. Thus, *óta* can refer to "owner" or "ceremonial sponsor." *Otómo* might be considered a plural form of *óta*, that is, a collectivity of persons who are permanently connected to a thing through a specific kind of relationship. It is used in at least four definite ways: to refer to 1) members of a village group, as in *Aifa otómo*, "people of Aifa village"; 2) a chief's faction or, more generally, to the non-chiefs in a village group in contrast with the chiefs (*anétaw*) as a group; 3) a set of first ascending generation kinsmen of an individual, as in *itáw otómo*, "the woman's kinsmen," i.e., those who accept bride price during a marriage ceremony; and 4) a person's kinsmen as may appear collectively in a genealogy, e.g., *Kedjúpala otómo*, "Kedjupala's kinsmen."

intercourse on the part of a particular male with a certain woman, whose maternity is defined by her having given birth to specific children. It is these physiological aspects of the reproductive process which are culturally recognized as significant for establishing filiation.

For the Kalapalo, filiation is a permanent relationship which cannot be changed. Adoption is entirely absent; although fosterage is common on the death of parents, the foster parent and child do not, in fact by definition cannot, participate in a filiative relationship. Finally, filiation is a relationship which exists independently of marriage, for parents need not be spouses to each other. For this reason, genealogies sometimes show relationships of kinship traced through fruitful lover relationships rather than legitimate marriages.

#### KALAPALO SIBLINGSHIP

The Kalapalo perceive the *otómo* as a network of kinship ties, more specifically, a series of linked sibling sets called *ifisúandaw*,<sup>4</sup> from which all individual kinship relations may be (potentially, at least) reckoned genealogically. These sibling sets are defined in terms of common filiation. They consist of individuals who have common paternity, common maternity, or both. For this reason, we may consider the *ifisúandaw* set (rather than an individual *ego*) as the "nuclear unit" of the *otómo*. In other words, the *ifisúandaw* is a symbol of the network of relations which is the Kalapalo *otómo*. It also seems to be the kinship relationship *par excellence*, for it is the most frequently used of all kin categories as an example to contrast with non-kinship relationships.

In summary, the *otómo* may be thought of as the common idiom of kinship, as the way in which Kalapalo speak of kinship relations in the most general way. We have noted that the *otómo* is a conceptual unit symbolized in terms of two specific kinds of relationships, filiation and siblingship. In the following section, I will discuss how these relationships form the basis of distinctions made within the *otómo*, resulting in more specific categories of kinsmen.

#### CATEGORIES OF KINSMEN

Having specified Kalapalo notions of kinship in the most general sense, we may now turn to the specific categories of kin which internally differentiate

<sup>4</sup> The third person possessive form is used here, as well as with other examples of kinship terms. I refer to *ifisúandaw* here as a "set" rather than a "group" to avoid possible confusion entailed by the latter term with its sociological implications. "Set" merely refers to the fact that *ifisúandaw* specifies a collective rather than specifically dyadic relationship. A single member of the *ifisúandaw* is called *ifisúagĩ*. Both these forms have other meanings which will be discussed shortly.

the *otómo*. These kinship categories can be conveniently and probably most easily described by first referring to generational divisions.

At each of four generational levels (+2, +1, 0, -1), a cover term can be used to refer to all *otómo* members at that level.<sup>5</sup> The cover term thus names the most inclusive category within a hierarchy of terms referring to kinsmen of a specific generation. At lower levels of specificity within a generation, categories may be ordered in relatively deep or very shallow hierarchies. The most elaborate set of terms is that which differentiates categories of kinsmen at ego's generation. It is this set which Dole considers evidence for changes in terminology, referring to one form as "vestigial." I hope to show that the entire set of terms (and also, specifically, those at ego's generation) may be explained systematically and without reference to changing structure; alternatively, they can be explained through the consideration of sociolinguistic evidence, native principles, and contrastive definitions. The specific terms and their definitions are given below, grouped according to generation; the reader is asked to consult the accompanying chart (Fig. 1), which diagrams the relationships of the terms in taxonomic structures.

1. *Alternate Generations*. At the second ascending generation, categories of kin are distinguished on the basis of sex: *isáwpiḡi* (male) and *initsu* (female) are the terms for these classes of kin. The male term in plural form, *isáwpuḡw*, may be used to refer to all kinsmen in this generation regardless of sex. At the second descending generation, only one category of kin is distinguished, that is, *ifḡjaw* (*ifḡḡ*, sing.).

2. *Ego's Generation: the Ifisúandaw*. The term *ifisúandaw* (*ifisúagḡ*, sing.), like a number of others in the system under discussion, is polysemic, and we may regard it, following Greenberg (1966), as the "unmarked category" in a set. To simplify the explanation at this point, I will enumerate the various meanings, summarized in Table 1; the paragraphs which follow (labeled "a, b, c, d") correspond to those in the table.

TABLE 1

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Summary of Ifisúandaw Definitions

- a. as "nuclear unit" of *otómo* (and referred to as "*ifisúandaw* set"), defined as persons with shared filiation; may appear as distinctive feature of categories at any generational level.
  - b. all kin of ego's generation.
  - c. all kin of ego's generation whose parents are same-sex *ifisúandaw* (by definition "a"); here, contrasted with *ifándaw*, who are "potential spouses."
  - d. with a male ego, all males of his *ifisúandaw* set, contrasted with all other male kin at 0 generation, who are called *itisḡnggitsofo*. These *ifisúandaw* may be distinguished from other members of category "c" by the auxiliary *ékugu*, meaning "real" or "strong."
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5 At a fifth generational level, -2, only one category exists.



a. I have already shown how *ifisúandaw* is used to refer to the siblingship set, which is the "nuclear unit" of the kindred structure. In this sense, it refers to persons who share a filiative relationship. With reference to a member of ego's *ifisúandaw* set, a person may be termed *ifisúagī ékugu*, or "true" *ifisúagī*, to distinguish him from other kinds of *ifisúandaw* (referred to as *ifisúandaw ótohongongo*).

b. At the most general level of contrast, *ifisúandaw* refers to all of ego's kinsmen

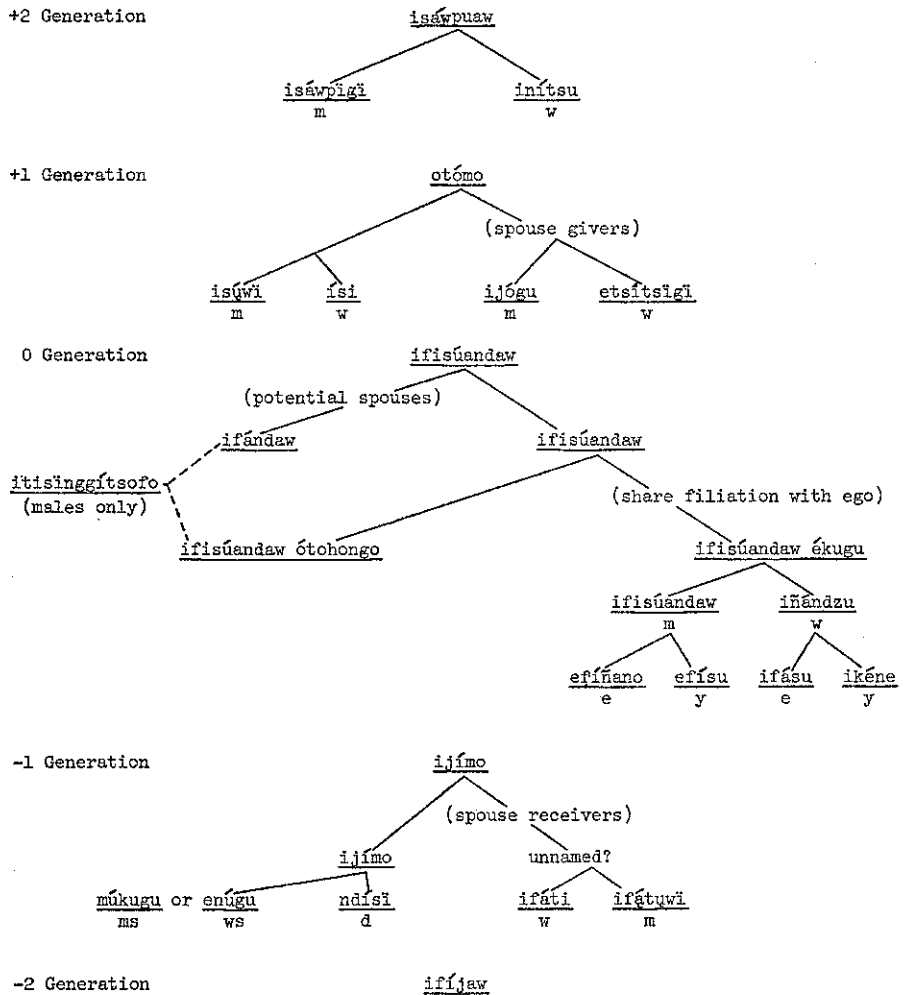


FIG. 1. Kalapalo kinship terminology: *otómo* (personal kindred) categories. Key—m = man, w = woman, s = son, d = daughter, e = elder, y = younger.

at his own generational level and is distinguished from all other kinship categories when generation is specified.

c. The specification of a second contrastive feature may also occur at this generation, in which case a third meaning of *ifisúandaw* becomes apparent. I call this feature "affinibility," or the potential for initiating or participating in an affinal relationship with ego.<sup>6</sup> When affinibility is specified, *ifisúandaw* as a category of kin is contrasted with another category (termed "vestigial" by Dole), which is called *ifándaw* (*ifaú*, sing.). The latter are the only kinsmen considered marriageable in terms of the *ifisúandaw* set of ego. *Ifándaw* thus contrast with *ifisúandaw* as "marriageable:unmarriageable" categories at ego's generation, but this appears in a contrast set only when the affinibility distinction must be made. When kinsmen are being distinguished in terms of generational differences, *ifisúandaw*, in the sense of "kinsmen of ego's generation," is the only term available.<sup>7</sup>

d. A fourth use of the term *ifisúandaw* is to refer to males of a male ego's *ifisúandaw* set, that is, males who share filiation with ego. Here *ifisúandaw* is contrasted with 1) a category *itsinggitsofo*, or all other male kinsmen of ego's generation, and 2) the category *inándzu*, or females who share filiation with ego.

3. *Adjacent Generations.* At the +1 generation, same-sex *ifisúandaw* of ego's parents are distinguished from their opposite-sex *ifisúandaw*, resulting in four categories, termed *isi* (mother, mother's female *ifisúandaw*); *isúwī* (father, father's male *ifisúandaw*); *etsitsigī* (father's female *ifisúandaw*); *ijógu* (mother's male *ifisúandaw*). The latter two categories are defined as "potential affines," those who give spouses to ego: they are the parents of *ifándaw*. At the -1 generation, offspring of ego's same-sex *ifisúandaw* are called by the same terms as ego's own children (*múkugu* or *enúgu* for a male,<sup>8</sup> *ndisi* for a female). These categories are opposed to those for offspring of opposite-sex *ifisúandaw* of ego, called *ifáti* (female) and *ifátywī* (male). The latter two categories are "potential affines" to ego and his same-sex *ifisúandaw*, since they may marry children of those persons.

Earlier, I described the *ifisúandaw* set as a collective siblingship relationship. The *ifisúandaw* of ego's parents form a "core" from which ego traces relationships with members of his *otómo* at his own generational level. When distinguishing these kin on the basis of generation, the *ifisúandaw* of parents are not distinguished in terms of sex, and their offspring, as a consequence, are not distinguished from ego's *ifisúandaw* set. All persons at ego's generation are thus called *ifisúandaw*. Similarly, ego's own *ifisúandaw* can remain undifferentiated, and all kinsmen at the -1 generation referred to, as a consequence, by the term *ijimo*. When ego's parents' siblings are distinguished

6 This is by native definition. See below for the specification of filiative and siblingship relationships by which the component categories may also be defined.

7 At a lower level of contrast, however, terms distinguishing *ifisúandaw* (when contrasted with *ifándaw*), based on sex and relative age, are available.

8 According, respectively, to whether a man's or woman's son is being referred to.

according to sex, kin of ego's own generation become differentiated as well (*ifisúandaw: ifái*). Likewise, when ego's own *ifisúandaw* are divided by their sex, the offspring of these persons, in the -1 generation, fall into two separate categories (*ifáti: ifátywí*). In other words, by making sex distinctions within the *ifisúandaw* set at the -1 and 0 generations, distinctions are concomitantly made among the offspring of those sets. This distinction is defined by the Kalapalo as an opposition of "affinibility."

In short, we are faced at three generational levels with a classificatory system which allows for two possible terminological sets. This system, noted earlier for the 0 generation terms, may be generalized as follows: When referring to individuals as "kinsmen," a Kalapalo will select terms which are primarily differentiated on the basis of generational distinctions. However, when referring to the "affinibility" of kinsmen, a Kalapalo will select from another set of terms. These two principles of classification result in terms which may be applied to the same kinsman. Before considering the occasions which would lead a Kalapalo to specify "kinship" rather than "affinibility," I would like to discuss further my use of the latter term.

#### AFFINIBILITY

In the previous section I described "affinibility" as the principle of opposition between certain categories at three generational levels. At ego's generation, it has been noted that *ifándaw* and *ifisúandaw* are contrasted on the basis of a marriage principle. "Marriageable" does not entirely convey the sense of this contrast, however, for "sibling exchange" marriage between persons of these sets is considered highly desirable. Because of this ideal arrangement, *ifándaw* are both "potential in-laws" and "potential spouses."

On the basis of sex distinctions with *ifisúandaw* sets, potential affinity is a defining characteristic of kin at adjacent generations. The terms *etsitsigí* and *ijógu* designate these categories of "potential affines" within ego's parents' *ifisúandaw*.<sup>9</sup> Categories at the -1 generation, *ifáti* and *ifátywí*, are defined as "marriageable" persons in terms of offspring of ego's *ifisúandaw*.<sup>10</sup> This series of reciprocal definitions may be conveniently referred to as "affinibility."

#### KALAPALO MARRIAGE

Of all the categories which divide the *otómo*, only *ifándaw* are explicitly designated as marriageable in terms of ego's *ifisúandaw* set. Marriage with

9 We could refer to these as "spouse givers" in the context of alliance between kinsmen.

10 Likewise, these could be considered "spouse receivers."

other kinds of kin is prohibited. Although it may be felt desirable to marry *ifándaw* in specific instances (for example, where sibling exchanges may be effected), marriage with an *ifaú* is not an ideal relationship but, rather, the only type of marriage permissible in the context of *otómo* relations. Put more simply, only *ifándaw*, of all kinsmen, are marriageable, but non-kinsmen may also be married.<sup>11</sup> The latter type of alliance may in fact be more desirable when a previous marriage has occurred, uniting two households. If we regard the *otómo* as a unit within which marriage occurs, it is impossible to specify, given these marriage principles, whether Kalapalo ideology is endogamous or exogamous.

Furthermore, as I have shown, *otómo* can refer not only to actual groups but to categories of people as well. Although kinship as a relationship is often a necessary cause for the participation of an individual in Upper Xingu household and village groups, it is not a sufficient one, with the consequence that kinsmen are usually found widely dispersed. It is not uncommon to find kinsmen living in different villages and even speaking mutually unintelligible languages. The impression, in fact, is that a relationship of kinship is an important justification for individual contacts in strange villages. Finally, although it may be desirable for a person to marry within his own village group (especially considering the linguistic situation in the Upper Xingu Basin, with four mutually unintelligible languages and, presently, eight village groups), there is no ideal rule specifying that he should do so. The presence of *ifándaw* of the appropriate sex and age in other villages might in fact preclude him from so acting, since first marriages are arranged by parents who take advantage of sibling obligations to obtain spouses for their children. In short, "marriageability" or, rather, "affinability" is expressed in terms of specific categories of kin but not in terms of units (either categories of kin or local groups) defined through exogamy or endogamy.

#### "VESTIGIAL" TERMINOLOGY AND THE USE OF TERMS SPECIFYING AFFINITY

The final point concerning Xingu Carib kin terminology deals with Dole's suggestion that the *ifándaw* term is vestigial. Dole's argument is based on her finding that few Kuikuru (mainly older people) ever used the term in question and that generation terms were in 1954 more frequently used at the 0 generational level. This was also the case in 1966-1968. It is certainly true that *ifándaw* is rarely heard in speech and even more rarely used by young people. I believe this can be explained by referring to the means by which Kalapalo

<sup>11</sup> Marriage between spouse's same-sex sibling (*itsdhene*) and ego is also considered desirable; this is a specifically *affinal* rule of marriage.

(and other Xingu Caribs) speak about affines and potential affines, for the use of *ifándaw* and *ifaú* in speech appears confined to a few very specific situational contexts.

In addition to the categories which distinguish different kinds of kin, there exists another set used to classify affines. A term marking a specific affinal category is never uttered within the hearing of such an affine of the speaker. The terms seem to be confined to contexts where the need arises to specify an affinal relationship to an ignorant listener. The two most common instances of the use of these terms are 1) in myths, where the relationship rather than individual or personal identity is important (and protagonists are often unnamed), and 2) in explanations of the details of proper affinal behavior. These situations are commonly those in which adults are speaking, children listening.

The relationship of *ifútisu ékugu*, "real" or "strong" *ifútisu*, which is the behavior that affines properly show one another, is marked by elaborate expressions of respect, including name (and, in some cases, physical) avoidance, repeated gift exchange, and the prohibition on using affinal relationship terminology within hearing of affines. Because of this important behavioral norm, terms which are used to specify categories of affines<sup>12</sup> are probably most frequently heard during the telling of myths. Otherwise, it is most usually during confidential gossip sessions that they are used in speech. One might say that the more openly a person uses such a term in public speech, the less *ifútisu ékugu* he can be judged to hold towards a listener who is his affine.

*Ifaú* and *ifándaw* are also apparently subject to the same "impolite" associations as the terms used to refer to affinal categories. Only a person acting as informant will use the term when talking about someone within hearing, and it is embarrassing to the listener to hear himself referred to as such.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore no wonder that *ifaú* and *ifándaw* (and, indeed, most affinal terms) are rarely heard. However, this in no way warrants their being considered "vestigial." On the contrary, they are an integral, viable part of the system by which kin and affines are classified. Not only can informants freely use them in such contexts as genealogical exposition and explanations of marriage

12 As opposed to terms used to refer to individual affines. These most commonly indicate relationships of more or less *ifútisu ékugu* and do not, as a set, refer to categories of affines as such.

13 The term *pámí*, whose cognates in other Carib languages appear on a list prepared by Dole (1969:112), is also present in Xingu Carib, where it is used to refer to a male *ifaú* who is also *dto* or "friend" to ego. It is not, strictly speaking, a kinship term, since it specifies a relationship of which "kinship" is only one aspect. In cases where male *ifándaw* are not *dto*, names are used to specify individuals (as is the case with female *ifándaw*).

The complex set of terms by which kinsmen and affines are referred to as "persons" (cf. Schneider 1967) has not been considered in this paper. They are presented in detail in Becker 1969.

practices but, more important, can specify the appropriateness or inappropriateness of their use in speech contexts other than that of informant-anthropologist interviews.

STATISTICAL MARRIAGE PATTERNS AND MARRIAGE RULES

Having considered the features crucial for explaining terminological use, as well as the relationship of terminology to marriage rules, we may now turn to the question of changing marriage patterns.

Kalapalo marriage takes two general forms. One of these is the first or "arranged" marriage between a girl engaged before puberty and an older man (who may or may not be married), which is called *mázope itsomitá*, "he marries a girl in puberty seclusion." This type of marriage is marked by the giving of bride price. The other form is called *ájo itsomitáko*, "lovers marry," and it usually occurs after the divorce or death of one spouse. Marriages of the first type tend to be arranged either for *ifándaw* or persons whose kinsmen have already intermarried. Sister exchange and sororal polygyny are two common examples of the latter situation, and a third is diagrammed in Fig. 2. This is a specific case of "multiple exchange." Here, two brothers (a and b) married two sets of closely related women (1, 2; 3, 4). All these women had lived in the same household before marriage. In each case, the brothers contracted sequential sororal polygynous marriages.

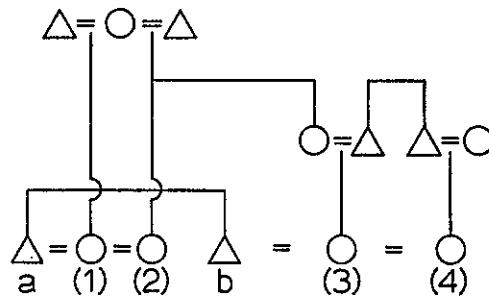


FIG. 2. Multiple marriage exchange between two households.

Arranged marriages can be considered alliances between individuals who have some prior relationship of kinship or affinity. The fact of prior relationship allows for the initiation of marriage negotiations on the basis of *ifútisu* or *ifútisu ékugu* obligations, and the Kalapalo tend to take advantage of these when seeking spouses for their children or themselves. However, individuals may also seek spouses among non-kinsmen, when these are available. This

raises the point that Dole has made about depopulation. With drastic decreases in the size of local groups, there has been considerable amalgamation of villages, such that marriages between members of different groups living in a single village takes place with greater frequency. These marriages appear to be formed along the same principles as those which occur between members of a single village group or between members of different village groups living apart. Although local exogamy may have been more prevalent in the years prior to the serious epidemics of the late 1940's and early 1950's, there is no evidence to suggest that the means by which marriages are contracted and interpreted with respect to kinship obligations have changed. Furthermore, there are definite indications that a period of serious population decline in this system eventually results in *increased* exogamy.

Earlier in this section, I noted the "arranged" marriage relationship is characterized by age discrepancies between husband and wife. This age difference is a function of puberty seclusion practices, in which girls are secluded at their first menses for three years, and boys less stringently so but for a longer period of time, starting at a somewhat later age. In the case of two persons marrying on exit from seclusion, the husband is typically at least five years older than the wife. During 1966-1968, there was some indication of a near-generational skewing because of increased age discrepancies between spouses. Women married early (as before), on exit from seclusion, but men had to wait longer because there were few available women. This was the result of an epidemic of measles which took place in 1954.

During this epidemic a great many adults died in proportion to the total population, and, thus, very few children were born in that and subsequent years. This resulted in a lack of available women of ages 12-14<sup>14</sup> during 1966-1968. In the Kalapalo village, with a population of roughly 110 persons, there were no girls in puberty seclusion, and only at the end of my stay did two, about 11 years old, start to menstruate. In comparison, there were 19 young men between the approximate ages of 18 and 28 who had no wives.<sup>15</sup> These men were young children or adolescents during the measles epidemic; women in their own age group had been married for several years. Normally, the men would also have been married or at least engaged to a secluded girl. Although members of three defunct village groups were living with the Kalapalo, they could hardly provide spouses themselves. Of the four engaged men, three were engaged to young girls in other villages, whom they classed as *ifandaw*. A number of the men who were not engaged repeatedly made trips to other village

14 That is, girls who had recently begun to menstruate. Most were engaged by nine or ten, before seclusion had begun.

15 Of these, 9 had never been married, 4 were engaged, and 6 were widowed or divorced. Normally, the latter group would have easily remarried.



groups, visiting kinsmen who might provide them with wives, and trying to persuade *djo* to leave their husbands. One man, divorced several times in the past, and long unmarried, went so far as to travel to the Suyá, a distant and culturally distinct group whose women are normally not married by the Upper Xingu villagers. In short, unmarried men were, in various ways, establishing or reinforcing relationships outside their village group, with the aim of acquiring wives. Clearly, the repercussions of depopulation have been more complex than Dole indicates.

#### CONCLUSIONS

It has been necessary to view the total system of terms classifying kin within the *otómo* from the point of view of two dimensions of contrast. On the one hand, we see that reference to "kinship" unifies kinsmen so that only generation distinctions are made. These generational features of the system derive from the Kalapalo notion of linked *ifisúandaw* sets, that is, persons linked by virtue of shared filiation.<sup>16</sup>

I have also shown how the system of terminology, when ordered by another principle of contrast, is related to marriage rules. This is explicit both in the native definitions of the terms and the normative prescriptions relevant to kin relationships. Formally, the bilateral nature of the terms is only clearly emphasized with the specification of "affinability." Here, the Dravidian features of the terminology are apparent (cf. Dumont 1953-1954). The terms which are neutral with respect to affinability (that is, those which specify "generation") systematically reveal the Hawaiian features one would expect.

The set of relationship terms barely remains intelligible as a system unless terms marking *otómo* categories are distinguished from those used to designate individual kinsmen. Although morphologically some terms in each analytic set may be quite similar, the semantic dimensions are sufficiently different to make speech context crucial for terminological interpretation. The study of kinship as a system of classification elucidates levels of contrast which might otherwise be unrecognized, as in an evolutionary theory of the sort represented by Dole, where kinship is viewed as a system of social relationships. Likewise, the recognition of semantic variation or polysemy makes the task of elucidating complex systems of alternate sets much simpler than recourse to changing conditions as an explanatory device.

I do not wish to question here the possibility that changing conditions can

16 It is interesting that this generational feature of the terminology is early recognized by young children, as they learn the use of kin terms. Toddlers tend to confuse sibling terms with those for parents' opposite-sex siblings, when designating age-mates who are properly classed in the +1 generation. They must be taught the difference between empirical (or "biological") generation, which results in age differences, and cultural generation, referring to successive descendency.



result in changes in terminology but, rather, to suggest that precision in specifying processual stages in terminological structure may be more difficult than is usually assumed by evolutionists. Furthermore, the study of actual changes in social behavior, such as statistical marriage patterns, should certainly make use of long range trends, in addition to conditions apparent at a particular period of field work. In short, a theory which attempts to correlate terminology and marriage pattern seems inadequate if description in each area is left incomplete.

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