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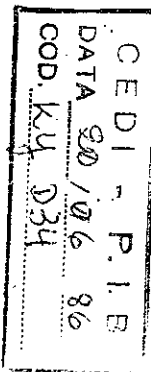
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16

CYCLES IN KAIAPO NAMING PRACTICES

Gustaaf Verswijver

The Ge speaking societies of Central Brazil first became well known to anthropologists through the publications of Curt Unkel Nimuendajú (1939, 1942, 1946). In recent years, due largely to the efforts of the Harvard Central Brazil Project directed by Maybury-Lewis, a comparative perspective on the social structures of Ge-Bororo societies has emerged (see in particular Maybury-Lewis (Organizer) 1971 and (Editor) 1980).

Impressed by the many, elaborate name bestowal ceremonies in different Ge tribes, Nimuendajú repeatedly reported the importance of naming and name transmission in the several Central Brazilian tribes he studied. This German ethnographer confessed, however, that he was unable to really understand how naming in these societies worked. More recently, Maybury-Lewis stated that one of the most distinctive contributions that Ge-Bororo ethnography has made, has been to elucidate the importance of naming. In these societies, naming is as effective a means of setting up social categories, organizing groups and allocating new people, as descent or filiation (Maybury-Lewis, 1980 : 311). The Ge-Bororo tribes use naming and filiation through kinship as alternative principles of social organization and the importance of name transmission diminishes, while that of kin-based lineages and clans increases, as we move from the Northern Ge groups south to the Central Ge and Bororo (cf. Lave, 1980 : 17).

The present paper is an ethnography on naming in Kaiapó society. Although excellent papers have been published on this topic (1) in which the basic principles of naming in this particular Northern Ge tribe are being discussed and analyzed, field research which I have conducted recently with this tribe (2) suggests that name bestowal proves more complicated than originally accepted.

In the following pages, I will deal mainly with the cycles in Kaiapó naming practices. I wish to present a naming model which would stand as a correction

to the models Bamberger presented in an earlier paper (Bamberger, 1974 : 373–376) and which will be discussed at the end of this paper.

What I premise here is that Kaiapó naming can be comprehended only when put in relation with the organization of village periphery. Through the presentation of Kaiapó name transmission I will also demonstrate that corporate groups of the village periphery based, if not on descent, at least on filiation, are more widespread among Ge-Bororo societies than originally suspected.

Rwỳk-djà Organization : Introduction

The importance of distinctions made between spatial domains in Ge-Bororo societies is such that an understanding of spatial order is necessary before discussing virtually any aspect of the society. It should therefore come as no surprise that the key to understanding Kaiapó name transmission comes through a closer inspection of the physical lay-out of villages.

All Ge-Bororo societies are composed of a circular or semi-circular ring of households around a central, cleared plaza. A common observation made by ethnographers of these societies is that arrangement of uxori-local houses is fixed and is maintained even while the group is on trek on when a new village is constructed. This has been noted in Kaiapó villages by various ethnographers (Turner, 1965 : 32 and Vidal, 1977 : 63). The basis of this ordering is that of the spatial orientation of corporate categories or residential segments.

Among the Kaiapó, as well as among all other Ge-Bororo societies, post-marital residence is uxori-local. The wives of the various nuclear families living in one and the same house are therefore related to each other matrilineally. It often occurs that such houses split up : those who are leaving will usually build a new, house beside the original household. It is therefore frequent to find a set of houses of which the women are all related matrilineally to each other. Following Melatti's terminology (Melatti, 1980 : 51), I will call such sets of houses "residential segments".

The Kaiapó term which I refer to as residential segment is *rwỳk-djà* (literally "birth place"). Each of these *rwỳk-djà* is associated with a number of personal names, ritual privileges, rights to wear specific items of personal adornment, rights to receive specific parts of certain animals in food distribution and rights to raise certain animals.

Residential segments are not named as such but may be referred to by the enumeration of some of their most important items of personal adornment or ritual privileges. Thus for example, *Péiàtí-iamy* (see figure 7) refers to the right to wear headdresses made from the yellow tail feathers of the *japu* (port.) bird. *Pát kri-djà* (figure 7) refers to the right to have the anteater's mask placed in that residential segment's house overnight throughout the duration of the

kókó ceremony.

Referring to residential segments in the above manner is particularly common when there are visitors from another Kaiapó village. Visitors will list a number of personal adornments or ritual privileges associated with their *rwỳk-djà* so as to discover which house in that village is of his or her residential segment. It will be in this house that the visitor will be housed and fed for the duration of the visit.

But this is merely one of the ways to refer to a given residential segment. The Kaiapó will also often respond to a question concerning their *rwỳk-djà* by pointing to the appropriate house(s) within the village.

There are therefore two ways to refer to residential segments. Just as the first way reflects the association of segments with items of personal adornment and ritual privileges, the second reflects their spatial orientation.

Membership in a residential segment is determined by matrilineation. This applies equally to males and females. Given the uxori-local residence pattern, however, women continue to reside in their residential segment's house and space, while a man will be living in his wife's segment or men's house (3).

In addition to uxori-locally resident men, there are other situations in which either a man or a woman may be living in a segment other than his/her residential segment by birth. The most common of these cases are of adoption and instances when, following a quarrel, a woman and her family of procreation set up residence with kinsmen in other residential segments (4).

There are two terms the Kaiapó use to refer to the segment in which they are living or in which they were raised but which may not be their residential segment by birth. These terms are *ham-djà* ("staying place") and *abatà-djà* ("becoming big place").

Ham-djà is used to refer to the segment in which one is currently living. For uxori-locally resident men, this term will refer to the residential segment of their wives, while *rwỳk-djà* will be used to refer to their segment by birth where their sisters, sisters' husbands and their children will be living. For women *ham-djà* and *rwỳk-djà* will, in normal cases, refer to the same segment since they continue to reside in their natal households. Cases do arise, however, when a woman, along with her husband and children will move from her residential segment and set up residence in another segment following a quarrel. In this case, *ham-djà* will be used to refer to the latter residential segment. This type of residential arrangement is seen by the Kaiapó to be a temporary one and, in fact, after a short time the family will usually return to the uxori-local household.

Upon occasion, *ham-djà* will be used by either men and women to refer to the residential segment in which they have been adopted and in which they are currently residing. As children will usually be adopted by another family of the same segment (5), this term refers to the adoptive segment it will usually

be used by a man or a woman prior to the establishing of their own nuclear families. Upon establishing a nuclear family of his own, a man will refer to the segment which adopted and raised him as his *abatài-djà*, as his *ham-djà* will then be the segment of his wife.

A woman, upon establishing her own nuclear family, and after having been adopted into another segment, will usually return to her *rwỳk-djà*, if it is present in the village, or she may re-establish it by setting up her own house in the appropriate place along the village circle. In such cases she will then use *abatài-djà* to refer to the adoptive segment.

Complicated situations may arise when for either men and women each term will refer to a different residential segment, or the same segment will be referred to by a single term. In general terms, however, terms parallel the normal developmental cycle of the uxorilocal household.

For inheritance purposes, adoption does not usually entail incorporation into the adoptive segment. Some instances of incorporation into a segment exist that entail captives. Also a child born to a woman who is not living in her own residential segment, does not thereby become a member of that segment but rather is considered a full member of his mother's *rwỳk-djà*.

Spatial Orientation of Rwỳk djà.

In the preceding discussion of the major features of residential segments, I have treated them as if they were represented by a single house. However, in the five contemporary Mekragnotí-Kaiapó villages, residential segments are represented by one to five houses. The presence of multi-house segments has been stimulated by the post-contact adoption of houses built in the style of interior Brazilians, but they are present in the pre-contact era as well (cf. Posey, 1979 and Verswijver, field notes). The Kaiapó will speak of their new houses as being similar to Brazilian ones (which they are), but will contrast their size (*kikre ngrire* or small house) to the long houses (*kikre ry*) which were their traditional house style (*me ba nhyrkwa djwùnh* or "our true houses"). This distinction does not refer to the actual sizes of these houses, but rather reference is made to the populational size of houses. Therefore, the Kaiapó will, at times, point to a series of houses belonging to the same residential segment and, with a sweep of the hand say "a long time ago, only one house, a long house" (*amre bé ne kikre pydjí bit, kikre ry*). These former houses, of simple pole and thatch construction, often attained lengths of more than 40 meters. By contrast, contemporary houses rarely reach a length of 20 meters.

Whereas formerly house size was determined by the numerical strength of the residential segment (that is the number of resident people which included the in-marrying men), there is a growing tendency today for segments of any

size to build several houses rather than construct a single large house. Based on historical data collected in the field, it appears that when multi-house segments existed in pre-contact villages, they were generally the result of friction within the segment.

When there are multi-house segments in a village they will either be contiguous along the village circle or, as is usually the case with immigrant families, be built behind the house or houses of the appropriate residential segment. This method of incorporating immigrant families is common throughout both the pre-contact and post-contact era. What the adoption of Brazilian style houses has meant in the cases of immigrants is that even when a large group of immigrants arrives, it is far less likely that a new village will be immediately built today due to the increased amount of labor-time required for its construction. With the simple pre-contact (6) pole and thatch houses, building a new village required much less time.

The Mekragnotí-Kaiapó will usually use the ancestral village to the five contemporary villages as the point of reference for proper village arrangement. This village, *Kraimrópryaka*, existed from 1936 until 1938 and is spoken of as the village in which Kaiapó "custom was truly followed" (*Kukràdjá kót*). In order to clarify the spatial organization of *rwỳk-djà* I will follow Mekragnotí practice and use this ancestral village as my point of reference.

Below I have drawn village diagrams of *Kraimrópryaka* (figure 1) and the five contemporary Mekragnotí-Kaiapó villages (figures 2 to 6). In each case, I have indicated with a letter the *rwỳk-djà* to which each house belongs: so, for example, the segment arbitrarily numbered "A" is represented in the village of P.I. (7). Mekragnotí by three houses, in P.I. Pykany by two houses, in P.I. Baú and P.I. Kretire by one house and is not present in P.I. Jarina.

From the above village diagrams it can be seen that in the village of *Kraimrópryaka* there were twenty residential segments, each associated with a single house. Of these original twenty segments, only fifteen can be found in the five descendent villages. Of the missing five, three have died out and two have migrated to the Kaiapó village at P.I. Kubekrakénh before 1960. In the current village at P.I. Mekragnotí two segments (numbered D and I) not found in *Kraimrópryaka* were re-established: one in 1970 when its members migrated from *Porori* (8) — where they lived with kinsmen of another segment — and the other in 1978 when the village was rebuilt. The village chief had given a public speech that the new village had to be rebuilt according to Kaiapó custom (*kukràdjá kót*).

Just as in contemporary villages there is a higher probability for segments of any size to build several houses, there is also a tendency for one or more of these houses to be built in a position within the village circle which is other than that which is properly its own. Not only may single-house residential segments

be 'misplaced' along the village circle, but also houses of a multi-house segment will be non-contiguous. This is particularly the case in the village at P.I. Kretire (see figure 6), and this situation is well recognized by the Indians. In the other four contemporary Mekragnotí-Kaiapó villages these 'misplaced' houses are limited to one or two. The mislocation of houses seems to be largely a post-contact phenomenon. The Indians, when explaining this, will usually either say that it is merely an instance of people not following custom or that it is due to the adoption of neo-Brazilian house style and residential arrangements (9).

Thus, comparing the village diagrams of the current villages with that of the ancestral village, it can be seen that the sequential ordering of segments, allowing for missing residential segments, is for the most part maintained. In those cases where a segment's house or houses are in different relative position, the Mekragnotí-Kaiapó, it must be emphasized, *are well aware of it*: they say that these are instances in which Kaiapó custom was not followed (*kukràdjã kót ket*). The chief in the village at P.I. Kretire, in fact, told me that when they build a new village, they will place each house in the space appropriate to its segment.

The village at P.I. Pykany is of particular interest in this regard. This village is the result of a recent (1981) split in the village at P.I. Mekragnotí. In building the village, spaces were left for those segments from which no married female member joined in the establishment of the new village. The residents at P.I. Pykany, hopeful that at least some additional residential segments would be established in the village, left spaces appropriate to them open so that, in the event of their joining, a new village will not have to be built.

From the diagrams it can also be seen that it is not merely the relative, sequential ordering of residential segments which is maintained, but that there is some anchoring of this sequential order to an absolute orientation based on the cardinal directions of east and west. The Kaiapó commitment to a closed village circle means that in practice in villages with a reduced number of residential segments orientation will be skewed. Thus, when speaking of *Kraimrópryaka*, the Mekragnotí-Kaiapó will say that the place of *Pëiãti-iamy* (segment A in our diagrams, being the one which owns the right to wear head-dresses made from the yellow tail feathers of the *japu* bird) is in the "east" (*myt apótx-djã* or "there where the sun comes up") and the place of the *Ngrokra* (segment K in our diagrams, referring to the right to wear a adornment of the toucan head) is in the "west" (*myt apétx-djã* or "there where the sun goes down"). The emphasis of the Kaiapó seems to be that the village circle begins in the east with house(s) of the easternmost segment present in the village. From this starting point the houses will then be placed in the prescribed sequence.

This can be seen clearly in the village at P.I. Jarina, which, lacking segment A, which should be the segment in the east (and excluding the "misplaced" segment N), begins the village circle with the easternmost segment present (segment G – see figure 4).

Personal Names and Privileges : Introduction

As noted earlier, each residential segment or *rwýk-djã* is associated with a number of personal names, ritual prerogatives, items of personal adornment, rights to receive specific parts of certain animals in food distribution and rights to raise certain animals.

Although all the above are associated with specific residential segments, all personal names and most privileges may be transmitted to members of other segments. This transmission is effected through the bilateral system of kinship (as opposed to the culturally prescribed tie of unification) and the dyadic ties of *ingét to tábdjwý* for males and *kwatyí to tábdjwý* for females (10) – see figure 8 in those cases when personal names or privileges are transmitted to members of another residential segment, they must be returned to the segment with which they are associated by transmitting them to a member of that segment.

As the transmission of personal names applies equally to men and women, and since it involves the more complicated rules concerning return of *rwýk-djã* associated names and privileges, I will begin with a discussion of personal names. Furthermore, as will be seen, the transmission of personal names more clearly brings to the forefront the relationship of residential segments to the articulation between center and periphery in Kaiapó society.

Personal Names

The Kaiapó distinguish two categories of personal names: "common names" (*idji kakrit*) and "beautiful" or "great names" (*idji métx, idji runh, idji rátx*).

Common names may refer to something in the environment such as *Kukryt* (tapir) or to some body part such as *Par-ti* (big foot). Other common names may make reference to some life experience such as *Kubepar* (killer of strangers) or simply be a word such as *Akamádn* (night). The number of sources for common names is vast, today incorporating Brazilian sources such as Brazilian names for people (*Cláudio*), animals (*Mutum*, a wild bird) or things (*Teko-Teko*, the name of a small plane aviation service).

Great names consist of two parts: a ceremonial prefix and a *kakrit* suffix (11). There are eight ceremonial prefixes: *Bemp, Tãkãk* (both exclusively male),

and *Kókó*, *Bekwýnh*, *Nhák*, *Iré*, *Panh*, and *Ngrénh* (for males and females) (12). Each of these ceremonial prefixes is associated with a specific ceremony in which only names based on that prefix are conferred and transmitted (13). Besides these eight ceremonies, there are four other ceremonies in which names based on any and all of the ceremonial prefixes may be transmitted and confirmed (14).

All names, both great and common are "owned" by residential segments. Each *rwýk djá*, in addition to owning specific common names, will own a number of great names on each of the ceremonial prefixes. Thus, for example, in the village at P.I. Mekragnotí, the residential segment of the *Péiáti iamy* (segment A) owned among many others, the male names of *Beb-nhyrti*, *Bekwýnhkré*, *Nhák-rátx*, and *Panh-mári*, the female names of *Kókótokti*, *Bekwýnh'ó*, *Nhák-bá* and *Ire-pyká* and the common names of *Tákié*, *Pakytx*, *Hú-re* and *Nhikryh*. The segment *Ngrénghodjwýnh* (segment P) owned, again among many others, the male names *Kókóhír*, *Panh-mé* and *Beb-tyk*, the female names *Kókóbá*, *Panhpunu* and *Ngrenhti* and the common names *Karákrá*, *Pité*, *Ngógagá* and *Kapót-te*. (15).

Parents as well as their parallel-sex siblings, who are classificatory parents to the child, never pass their own names, either common or great, to their children as it is thought that this would eventually kill the child. Rather, these are the households which provide the economic support necessary for the performance of the ceremony in which great names are confirmed (see Bamberger, 1974).

As a rule, both beautiful and common names are passed down between the kin categories of *ingét* and male *tábdjwý* and between *kwatyi* and female *tábdjwý*. The only exception to this is that of the transmission of one or more names to a non-kinsmen, in which case a tie of fictive kinship of the prescribed type will be established (16).

A few days after the birth of a child, several *ingét* and/or *kwatyi* will pass on a number of both common and great names to the child. Great names based on several ceremonial prefixes will normally be given at this time. Although either a common name or a great name may be used to refer to the child, a great or beautiful name, if not later confirmed ceremonially, will be considered an *idji métx kaigó* ("falsely given beautiful name"). *Kaigó* is a polysemous term which may be used to refer to an object which is freely given as well as to something which is not of the original quality of the object or event of which it is an example. Referring to beautiful names which have not been confirmed ceremonially (*Kaigó*) thus reflects both the fact that the economic support needed from kinsmen to host the ceremony did not materialize and that the prestige associated with being the child, or one of the children, honored by the ceremony was lacking. The term for children being honored in one of the

elaborate name-giving ceremonies is *me rer métx* (people who show-off beautifully). The meaning of the term *idji métx kaigó* has been discussed in similar terms by Bamberger (1974 : 365). Common names, on the other hand are not confirmed ceremonially.

Later, when these beautiful names are confirmed ceremonially, the same *ingét* or *kwatyi* will, in addition to confirming the names appropriate to the ceremony which have already been transmitted, bestow and confirm others of the specified type as well. Other *ingét* or *kwatyi*, who had not previously transmitted names, may transmit the prescribed type of beautiful names at this time (17).

The confirmation of beautiful names occurs after a child has developed basic motor and linguistic skills and when his/her skin is thought to be tough enough (*ká táitx kam*) to have them confirmed. Before this a child is thought to be too weak for the ceremonial confirmation and transmission. The fact that a child receives a number of such names shortly after birth does not imply the same situation of danger. It is only the ceremonial confirmation of great names which is considered dangerous to the health of the child; children too young would become ill and die.

Just as there is a lower limit before which great names may not be ceremonially confirmed or transmitted, so too is there an upper limit beyond which great names may not ritually be confirmed or transmitted. For males this limit corresponds to the age-grade of *me ókre* (the painted-ones) – see figure 9 – and for females the sub-category of *me kraityk* (people with painted thighs) within the age-grade *me kurerer* (the given-ones). Although a boy becomes *me ókre* at a younger age (8 – 10) than girls become *me kraityk* (13 – 14), these two age groups are parallel in that it is at these points that boys and girls, through short *rites de passage*, formally join the moieties associated with the center of Kaiapó villages. Membership in these groups, as already described by Turner (1965) is based on prescribed ties of non-kinship; boys are led to the men's house (or one of the two men's houses if both are present) by a "substitute father" (*bam ka'ák*) and girls are led to the corresponding women's moieties by a "substitute mother" (*na ka'ák*). Substitute parents must be non-kinsmen.

Unlike other Northern Gé groups such as the Apinajé (de Matta, 1976), the Krahó (Melatti, 1976) and the Suiá (Seeger, 1981), the transmission of personal names does not effect the separation from household to membership in the groups associated with the center. Rather, this separation marks the outer limit to the transference and confirmation of names, both great and common.

Principles of Name Transmission

Personal names, as already stated, are passed down between the kin categories of *ingét* and *kwatyí* to *tábdjwý*.

In order to understand the principles of Kaiapó name transmission, it is helpful to distinguish among three roles involved in the actual transmission: *name-receiver* (the child who receives the name), *name-sayer* (the person who actually says or transmits the name) and *name-bearer* (the person whose name is transmitted).

In seventy of the one hundred sixty-two cases analyzed (18), the name-sayer and the name-bearer were the same person; that is, a man or a woman transmitted their own names. In the other ninety two cases, however, the person who was the name-bearer, had either died, or was living in another village (19). In these cases, a person acting as name-sayer did the actual transmitting of the names. The Kaiapó refer to the person who does the actual transmitting of the names, regardless of whether their own or someone else's names are being transmitted as "he/she who really said the name to him/her" (*kum idji iarenh djwýnh*). When a person transmits or "says" names other than his/her own, he/she will usually stand in the kin relationship of *ingét* or *kwatyí* to the child so that they often transmit names of their own as well. But parents may even act as name-sayers for their children and transmit the names of dead or absent *ingét* or *kwatyí*, although in such cases they will usually ask another person to do the ceremonial confirmation. In most cases (76 %), however, when a person transmits the names of another, these name-sayers are older women of the second or third generation with reference to the child and of the child's residential segment. Name-sayers were female in 88 % of the cases analyzed!

While the role of name-sayer may be played by persons who stand in several kinship positions to the name-receiver, the relationship between the name-bearer and the name-receiver is always that of *ingét/kwatyí* to *tábdjwý*.

Although the relationship between name-bearer and name-receiver is thus prescribed by the kinship system, the circulation of names, does not merely follow the ramifying ties of kinship. It is, rather, governed by the principle that if a name is transmitted to a member of another residential segment, this person or someone acting as name-sayer in their stead, must transmit the name back to a child born into the owning residential segment. In such cases names may not be transmitted to a child born in a segment other than that of the owning segment. When returned names will be given to a child who stands in the relationship of *tábdjwý* to the person who received it from that segment.

The Kaiapó refer to the "ownership" of personal names by *rwýk-djá* by the phrase "*kikre kam idji*" (the name in the house) or by "*kam ne idji krátx*" (there where the name started).

The number of residential segments which may be involved in the circulation of names is limited, as noted above, to two (20). In some cases, as when a mother's brother gives his names (if they are names of his segment by birth) to a sister's son or when a mother's mother gives her names (if they are of her segment) to a daughter's daughter, the names do not leave the residential segment at all. While it is not prescribed as such, I know of no instance in which a child did not receive names from their own as well as at least one other segment.

In order to illustrate what is involved in the case of a name being transmitted out of a segment and then returned to it, I will discuss a particular case which is a rather common one in the village at P.I. Mekragnotí (the numbers refer to the ones mentioned in the figure 10):

A man (1) was born in the segment *Péiati-iamy* and there, from a *ingét* received several names owned by that residential segment. He later married into the segment of *Ngro kra* and eventually transmitted his names to his son's son (2) who was born in the segment of *Kette*. After the death of the man born in *Péiati-iamy*, a boy (3) was born in his segment, the residential segment which, it will be recalled, owns the name he (1) received and later transmitted to his son's son (2). One of the kinswomen of the new born boy (3), the mother's mother, went to the house of the current name-bearer to ask him to return those names which he received from his *ingét* which belong to the segment of his *ingét* and therefore also of the newborn boy, who will be his *tábdjwý* by transmitting them to the boy. The *Ngro kra* man (2) then accompanied the woman to the house of his *tábdjwý* (3) where he said or gave his names to him if he knew which names they were and, if he did not, as is often the case with men, the woman would say them for him. It is, for the most part, the women who kept track of the circulation of names.

Thus, in summary, personal names are owned by residential segments, membership in which is determined by matrilineation. It should be clear that membership in a residential segments does not *in and of itself* entail the right to receive names associated with that segment, although, as I already stated, I know of no instance in which a child did not receive several such names. It is not the collection of contemporary members of the segment who own the names, but rather the residential segment as a corporate entity of people with presumed perpetuity.

Onekrétx, Omry and Okrit

In addition to personal names being owned by *rwýk-djá*, three other categories of possessions are associated with them. These are *o 'brétx* (on's ritual prerogatives and items of personal adornment), *o mry* (o. . . rights to

receive specific parts of certain animals in food distribution) and *o krit* (one's rights to raise specific animals).

Rights to wear specified items of personal adornment and *most* rights to perform specific ritual functions are transmitted to the same rules as discussed above for personal names. As with personal names, being born a member of a residential segment does not in itself confer these rights (*o nekrêtx*); rather, they must be transmitted in order for a child to be able to exercise or wear them (Verswijver, 1983 in press). It is rare that a person will be able to claim none of his or her *rwÿk-djà's nekrêtx* of the above type, but a few such cases do exist.

The same is true for rights to receive and eat specific parts of certain animals in food distribution during forest treks (*otomor*) or during ceremonies. But these rights (*o mry*) are held exclusively by males and the transmission rules are the same as discussed for personal names, except that they are transmitted from *ingêt* to male *tâbdjwÿ*.

Just as only men receive the *o mry* privileges, only women receive the rights to raise certain animals (*o krit*) as wild pigs, parrots, coati and ocelots.

Kaiapó naming : a model

Based on the data presented in the foregoing pages, I will now evaluate the existing models of Kaiapó naming as proposed by Joan Bamberger and will proceed by proposing a new model.

Taking the brother/sister relationship as the basis for the Kaiapó naming system, and observing that the exchange of personal names can be seen as the most vital aspect of that relationship, Bamberger (1974 : 373-376) proposes several models of Kaiapó naming : she shows that male names move through a uterine line of male kin (from sister's son to sister's son), and female names through an agnatic line of female kin (from brother's daughter to brother's daughter), leading to an "inter-generational inheritance of names by same-sex kin, and the cohesiveness of the cross-sex sibling band" (Bamberger, 1974 : 374).

Whereas Bamberger's proposed models suggest that names move around in the village circle, in this paper I have shown that one of the basic principles of Kaiapó naming is that names are "owned" by *rwÿk-djà* or residential segments. Personal names belong to matriline and although they may be transmitted to persons born in other residential segments, names have to return to the "owning" matriline by retransmitting them to a member born in the appropriate segment. And the same is true for the main part of ritual privileges, ceremonial rights, and other rights as those to raise certain animals or to receive certain parts of animals during food distribution.

Furthermore, according to Bamberger, Kaiapó naming would accentuate an exchange between ego and his or her *ingêt/kwatyi* of the first ascending generation (respectively mother's brother for male ego and father's sister for female ego). As I stated earlier in this paper, only a very limited number of cases involve this type of name transmission since not less than 70 % of the cases analyzed concerns transmission of personal names from *ingêt/kwatyi* of the second or even third ascending generation to ego : mother's mother's brother is by far the most important of all potential name givers for males, and so are mother's mother or father's mother for females. I therefore conclude that the relationship between a person and his/her direct grandparents -- as well as the siblings (real or classificatory) or parents of these -- has to be taken as the keystone for the Kaiapó naming system.

I therefore propose a new model of Kaiapó name transmission in which personal names as well as other ritual prerogatives and certain rights belong to matriline. Transmission of these elements is effected through the bilateral system of kinship and the dyadic ties of *ingêt* to *tâbdjwÿ* for males and *kwatyi* to *tâbdjwÿ* for females. And although names as well as other rights may be given to members born in other residential segments, the cycle of transmission involves no more than two of these corporate categories : a person not born in the "owning" residential segment will, after receiving such a name or right, have to retransmit these to a member in the appropriate residential segment.

Through a preliminary presentation of Kaiapó residential segments, I have shown that the periphery or domestic domain in that society has a proper form of organization, just as does the center. Since this paper dealt with one specific, vital aspect of Kaiapó naming, the question as to whether Kaiapó residential segments can be considered as unificative ties remains unanswered but will be dealt with in a future work.

Considering the ethnographic nature of the present essay, I have avoided detail on naming practices but have, rather, limited myself to the presentation of the cycle of personal names. In doing so, I have introduced a new model of naming in Kaiapó society. I hope that the presentation in this paper of such model, as well as of its relatedness to the corporate categories constituting Kaiapó village periphery, will be a stimulation for continuing comparative research on Gê-Bororo societies. I would submit that a more profound analyses of the present data would lead to a better understanding of the social construction of a person as perceived in these Central Brazilian societies.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) See mainly Bamberger (1974), Turner (1965 and 1974) and Vidal (1977).

- (2) Fieldwork was carried out between May 1974 and November 1981, in six Kaiapó villages in Central Brazil: at P.I. Mekragnotí (29 months), P.I. Baú (2 weeks), P.I. Jarina (1 month), P.I. Kretire (2 weeks), P.I. Gorotire (2 weeks) and P.I. Kubekrakênh (1 month). Between 1976 and 1980, research was supported by grants of the Léopold III Foundation for Nature Research (Brussels) and in 1981 by a grant of the National Research Foundation (Brussels). For their encouragements and ideas, I am grateful to Professors Darell Posey (Universidade Federal de Maranhao) and Hendrik Pinxten (Rijksuniversiteit Ghent - Belgium) as well as to Professor Thekla Hartmann (Universidade de Sao Paulo). I am most indebted to Dr. Donald Hunderfund (Bryn Mawr College) in cooperation with whom this paper took its present form.
- (3) At the age of some 8 years until about 18 or 20 years, boys sleep in the men's house which is located on the center of the village plaza.
- (4) Most quarrels I witnessed were between sisters (real or classificatory) and due to disagreements on distribution of garden products.
- (5) A child is usually adopted by a sister of its mother (being a classificatory mother of the child).
- (6) Due to the lack of consistent data on earlier historical times, the considered 'pre-contact' time depth is limited to the post 1900 period.
- (7) P.I.: Pôsto Indígena (*port.*) or indian post of the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (FUNAI).
- (8) *Porori* is the name of a Mekragnotí-Kaiapó village located in the northern part of the Xingu National Park and where the habitants of both contemporary villages at P.I. Jarina and P.I. Kretire lived jointly in the period 1960-1970. The indians of *porori* are usually called Txukarramae, the Juruna denomination for Kaiapó indians.
- (9) This enigmatic problem will be dealt with in a future work.
- (10) *Ingét* (FF, MF, MB, MBS, MBSS, ...) *kwatyi* (MM, FM, FZ) *tábdjwò* (CC, FZC, ZC) for male ego and (CC, FZC, BC) for female ego.

- (11) The ceremonial prefix *Ngrênh* in both Turner's (1965) and Bamberger's (1974) discussions of Kaiapó names is omitted. It is, however, mentioned by Vidal (1977: 175) in her work on the Xikrin-Kaiapó. Vidal also mentions the presence of *Katob* as an exclusively male ceremonial prefix among the Xikrin (*Ibid.*). Among the Mekragnotí-Kaiapó, while *Ngrênh* is in use as a ceremonial prefix, the prefix *Katob*, though present, is no longer considered to be a ceremonial prefix.
- (12) In the works of Turner (1965), Bamberger (1974) and Vidal (1977), *Bemp* and *Tákák* are described as exclusively male prefixes (along with *Katob* for the Xikrin-Kaiapó). *Kókó* is the only name described as being for both males and females. All these authors report the possession of supposedly female ceremonial prefixes by men and analyze this occurrence in terms of men possessing names based on these prefixes, given to them by women, for the purpose of later transmitting them to the appropriate kinswoman of the woman who bestowed the names to them. While such cases as this do exist for the above described purpose, names based on these six prefixes fall into two sub-categories; those exclusively for men and those exclusively for women. Thus, in the case mentioned above, where men serve as, so to speak, repositories for female names, it will only be the female sub-category which will be so transmitted. The same man who receives a female *Bekwÿnh* name (say *Bekwÿnh kâ*) to be later transmitted to a female tabdjuno of the woman doner, may also receive a male *Bekwÿnh* name (say *Bekwÿnh tí*) from his *ingét*. The same principle applies to the other five ambisexual ceremonial prefixes. Women, on the other hand, never receive names based on either of the male ceremonial prefixes nor any of the exclusively male names based on one of the ambisexual prefixes for later transmission to a male.
- (13) The exception is *nhák*, which is confirmed in the *tákák* ceremony (Ver-swijver, 1981).
- (14) These four ceremonies are characterized by the fact that the parents of the honoured children (i.e. the children whose names are being confirmed) are always 'siblings' (real or classificatory) of the same sex.
- (15) It is not clear whether all common names also fall into male and female sub-categories and thus obey the same transmission rules as do male and female names based on the six ambisexual ceremonial prefixes.
- (16) This, as well as other aspects of name transmission not dealt with here,

will be discussed in a later paper on Kaiapó-naming.

- (17) A Kaiapó Indian can have upto 30 or more names (of both categories), but he may be known in the village only by one or 2 of these.
- (18) This number refers to cases of name transmission, not to persons.
- (19) Sometimes, the name-bearer is present in the village but being too young or unaware of all his names (as is generally the case for men) transmission is done by a name-bearer.
- (20) The transmission of a name received from another segment by a man to a fictive *tãbdjwý* is the only exception to this. In such a case, the new name-bearer will not transmit the name again, either to the owning segment or to any other. The circulation of the name will simply stop and will begin again in the owning segment. The Kayapó refer to the non-transmission of names in these cases as "abandoning the name" (*idji kangà*).

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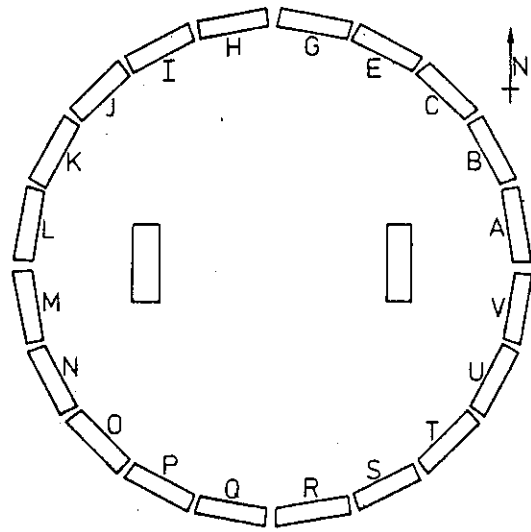


Fig. 1. village of *Kramópryiaka* (1936-1938) (population : approx. 600 indians)

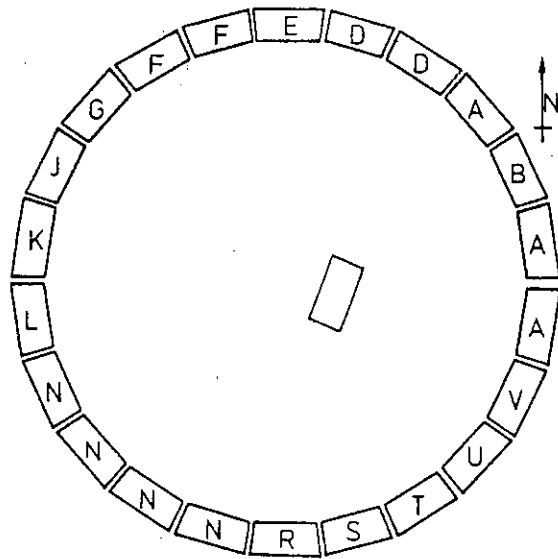


Fig. 2. village at P.I. Mekragnotf (1981) (Population 1980 : 340 indians)

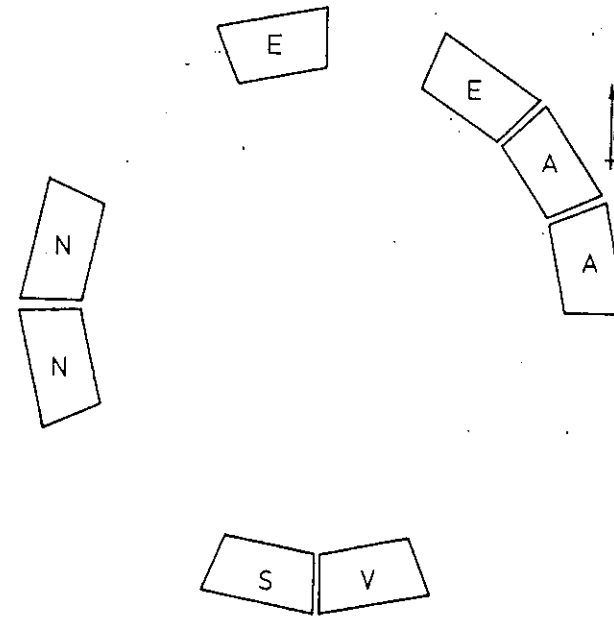


Fig. 3. village at P.I. Pykany (1981) (population : 95 indians).

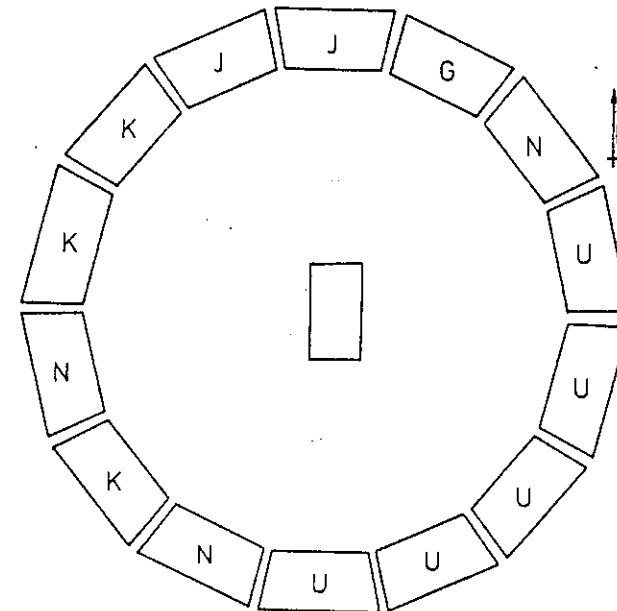


Fig. 4. village at P.I. Jarina (1981) (population : 110 indians)

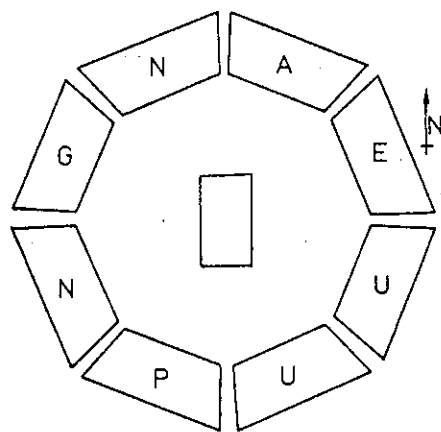


Fig. 5. village at P.I. Bau (1981) (population : 60 indians)

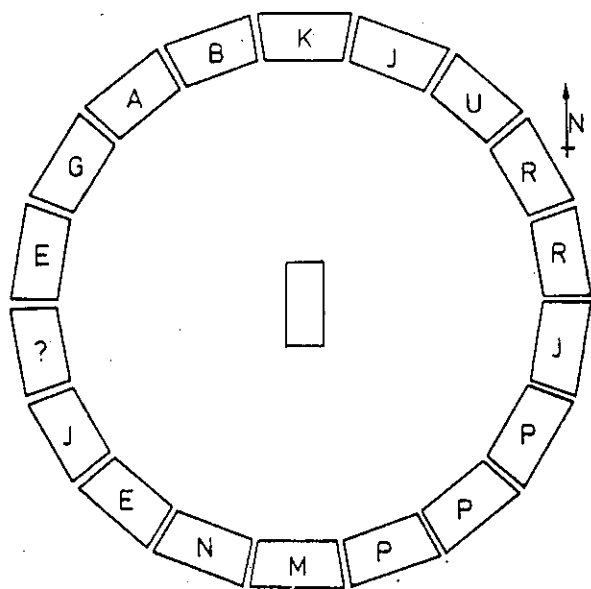


Fig. 6. village at P.I. Kretire (1981) (population : approx. 175 indians)

seg- ment	associated right
A	<i>pēiāti-iamy (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear <i>japu</i> (port.) tail feathers
B	<i>rob-moti djuá (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear necklace of jaguar teeth.
C	<i>kukryt nho tó (ó mry)</i> right to eat lump of tapir
D	<i>mädniamy iakró ngrangra (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear ara tail feather with yellow or greenish feather pendants.
E	<i>mädniamy krane (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear ara wingfeathers during corn-festival.
F	<i>pät kri-djä (o nekrétx)</i> right to keep anteater's mask in house during <i>kókó</i> ceremony.
G	<i>kube kà kamrék (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear red cloth.
H	<i>tyk-tí (o krit)</i> right to raise curassow bird
I	?
J	<i>mädnaranh pry ó kókiér (ó nekrétx)</i> right to wear small ara feathers during corn festival.
K	<i>nei-djuá (ó nekrétx)</i> right to wear necklace of capybara teeth.
L	<i>ngro kra (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear lip adornment with toucan head.
M	<i>pät (o krit)</i> right to raise anteaters
N	<i>ngrénhódjwònh (o nekrétx)</i> right to perform ritual function of song leader.
O	?
P	<i>krwýi-ra (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear parrot feathers.
Q	<i>mädniamy iakró iakati (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear ara tail feather with white pendants.
R	<i>mädniamy iakró kamrék (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear ara tail feathers with red pendants.
S	<i>kette (o krit)</i> right to raise certain parrot speies.
T	<i>rob-tykre kà hó pré (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear belt of black jaguar skin.
U	<i>aíre (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear sling of woven <i>buriti</i> (port.) palm fibers.
V	<i>ngáp okredjë (o nekrétx)</i> right to wear necklace of muselshells.

Fig. 7. Segments with one of their main associated rights. (segment numbers refer to village diagrams : see fig. 1 to 6).

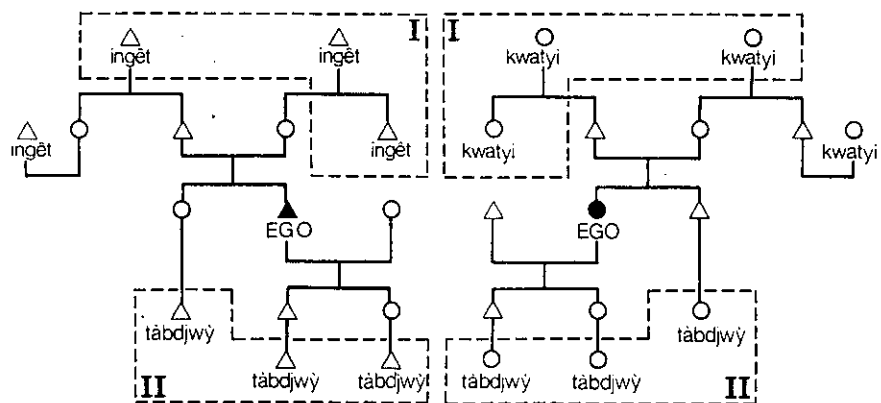


Fig. 8. kin terminology, with indication of EGO's potential name-givers (I) and EGO's potential name-receivers (II)

AGE GRADES (male)	AGE (approx.)	AGE GRADES (female)
me prire ("the small ones")	0 – 3 years	me prire ("the small ones")
me bengädjüre ("those about to enter the men's house")	3 – 8 years	me pritüre ("the big small ones")
me ôkre ("the painted ones")	8 – 13 years	me kurerere ("the given ones")
me nornyre ("those who sleep in a new manner")	13–18 years	me kraityk ("those with the black thighs")
me krare ("those with children")	18–35 years	me krare ("those with children")
me bengët ("the old ones.")	more than 35 years	me bengët-te ("the old ones")

Fig. 9. male and female age grades

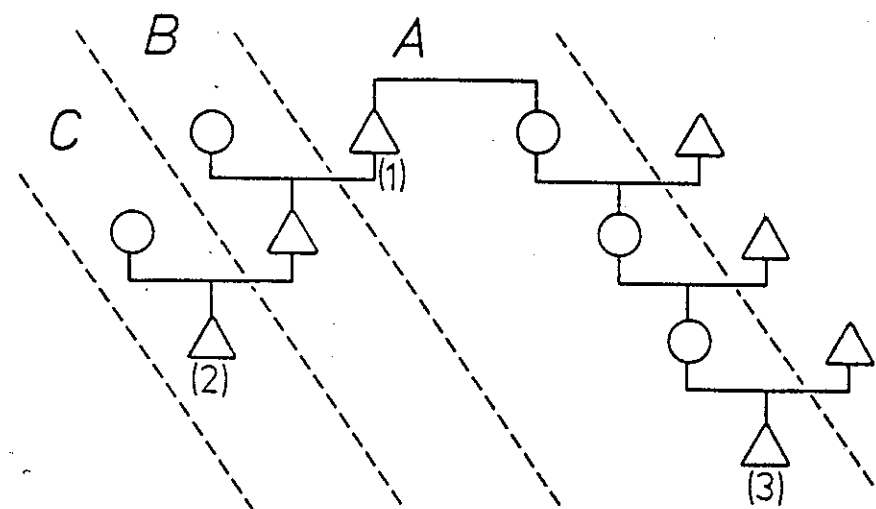


Fig. 10. diagram showing transmission of names (A, B, and C refer to segments).