

OCT 06 1978

CEDI - P. I. B.
DATA 11 / 06 / 86
COD. MTF DOL

Research Project on the Métuktire (Kayapo).

Vanessa Lea.

September, 1978.

Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

The Group Under Study.

The Metuktire (otherwise known in the literature as the Txukaramãe) are a division of the North Western Gê. They are located in two villages in the north of Mato Grosso. One village, Kretire, is in the north of the Xingu national Park, and the other village, Jarina, is situated to the north of the BR 080 road. These two groups, which formerly inhabited the village of Polori north of the road, split up in 1972 over a dispute of whether or not to enter the park at the time of the road construction. The followers of one chief (Romni) accepted the Villas-Boas' proposal to move inside the park but the followers of Kremoro decided to establish a new village within their traditional territory. This last group has been reduced to about half its size by epidemics of measles and influenza in the last few years. They are now in close proximity to various fazendas, which has led to the outbreak of disputes and the murder of a number of fazendeiro workers. However, the two Metuktire groups have no intention of reuniting, preferring to press individually for their claims to a land base.

The Metuktire form a sub-division of the Northern Kayapo who lived together in one village, designated Gorotire, until about 1900. From this date onwards there have been a series of fissions and realignments, resulting today in seven main villages (Gorotire, Kubenkranken, Kokraymora, Mekranoti, Bau, Kretire and Jarina) extending from Mato Grosso to Pará. According to Turner, the Metuktire was the name assumed by the group which split off from the Mekranoti in the late 1940's. The Kretire and Jarina groups continue to refer to themselves by this name.

Turner's work assumes that through common heritage the Kayapo may be undifferentiated as a unit of study. Verswijver proposes dividing the Kayapo into two groups, designating the villages of Mekranoti, Bau, Kretire and Jarina as Mekranoti. In my view this is an arbitrary classification since the Metuktire do not regard themselves as Mekranoti. The name Txukaramãe was that given by the Jaruna tribe to the Kayapo situated nearest to their territory. In my work it will be argued that it is questionable to continue regarding the Kayapo as a coherent group since the life trajectories of the sub-groups composing it have varied widely in the last eighty years. Those like Gorotire have long had missionary contact, and all of the groups but the Metuktire have been integrated into the regional economy as collectors of babassu. Thus the unit of study of my work will be restricted to the Metuktire, who divided only six years ago, and amongst whom there is still regular and close contact. It appears to me clearer to whom the self-designated name Metuktire applies than that of the Jaruna name Txukaramãe.

Introduction and critical evaluation of works written on the Kayapo.

My first field trip to the Metuktire took place from January to March 1978, spent exclusively at the village of Kretire. The object of

of this trip was to delineate a theme for my proposed area of study, inter-ethnic relations, and to evaluate the work that has already been carried on the Kayapo as a whole. I will summarize my findings before elaborating my research project.

To date one book and three theses have been written on the Kayapo. Drefus' book will not be dealt with here as the main issues with which it deals were later elaborated and expanded by Turner. The most detailed and informative work is Turner's thesis: 'Social Structure and Political Organization Among the Northern Kayapo', based on fieldwork at Gorotire, Kubenkranken and Polori. Bemberger's thesis on environment and cultural classification of the Kayapo is basically arguing against the notion of environmental determinism, in favour of Durkheim and Mauss' view that the conceptualization of the Kayapo's social environment determines the nature of adaptation to the natural environment. She is confined to reductionist arguments, trying to decide which 'determines' the other. In my view she teaches us as much about Douglas, Leach, Durkheim and Mauss as about the Kayapo. She fails to elaborate on the most fruitful area of her study, the division of the world of animals and names into the categories of fine and common animals and names (aru metch/kakrit, Idji metch/kakrit). Verswijver's thesis is both confusing and lacking in originality. He supplies various pieces of data which seriously contradict Turner's, yet he fails to utilize this information for reevaluating Turner's work.

In the anthropological literature the Ge tribes have been portrayed as economically impoverished whilst having a complex form of social organization. The main problem of Turner's thesis is to explore why the dualistic form of organization is imperfectly coordinated with Kayapo social organization. Verswijver later re-examined this question, admitting that he was unsure about the function of the northern and southern moieties (page 38). One of the main objectives of my paper (Evaluation of the theses of Turner, Bemberger and Verswijver on the Northern Kayapo) was to demonstrate that the Kayapo do not have a moiety system. At best they can be said to have had a form of ceremonial dualism for certain ceremonies, with the composition of the two groups being extremely fluid.

A second major issue examined by Turner was the role of age sets and grades among the Kayapo. Age classes, defined as corporate groups initiated at the same time, are lacking among the Kayapo. Turner defines age sets as corporate groups (comprised of males incorporated into the men's house) and age grades as younger groups with no corporate role. He says that women have age sets but then proceeds to discuss different categories within female age grades whereby it is unclear what distinction he is trying to make. Verswijver refers in general to 'classes d'age'. According to information which I obtained in the field each named age group formerly had a leader meobadjwoi (denied by Turner) ¹, thereby constituting a corporate group. Thus I will refer to all named age groups as grades.

63

A further issue dealt with by Turner is how the kinship system and household unit is articulated with the age grade system and the *ngg* (men's house). Turner is concerned with the formal structure of Kayapo society which he defines as a set of abstract principles which govern empirically observable relations between individuals. He is not concerned with the individual's ability to manipulate norms (one point taken up by Semberger). He examines how relations in the political, economic, social and domestic spheres of life integrate together forming a harmonious system which provides the basis for social equilibrium and ipso facto avoidance of conflict. In order to fully explain the logic of the system, for instance, the functioning of *piam* (shame or respect) Turner is forced to imply that the social structure is static whereby modifications in the structure would lead to its disintegration. The problem of social change has long been a major stumbling block in the social sciences with no great theoretical advances on the equation that change = disintegration. The rigidity of Turner's model forces him to ignore most of the changes that were beginning to take place.

A major problem with Turner's work is that he does not attempt to differentiate between the diachronic and synchronic elements of his data. From my experience among the Kayapo I would postulate that much of Turner's information is based on historical reconstruction provided by informants rather than direct observation. For the most part Turner is concerned with the functioning of Kayapo society as a closed system, unaffected by white contact. To fully achieve this goal it would have been necessary to demonstrate how the totality of the system works by examining all major aspects. Turner does not follow Malinowski's dictum of providing a total picture of the society under study before concentrating on specific elements. Turner abstracts for study the interrelationship of the kinship and the political structure. By not specifying the Kayapo's conceptualization of these spheres he implies that the arbitrary abstractions that he makes pertain to reality. Thus, for example, sorcery and shamanism are dealt with merely in the appendix.

One of Turner's main concerns is with the role of the chief. In many Amazonian Indian societies there is a close or complementary link between the role of shaman and chief. Whether or not this is the case with the Kayapo is an important issue which he leaves unresolved. Similarly, he states that sorcery accusations are manipulated for political purposes, but he does not relate this to the chief's involvement in the process of fission, and the subsequent interrelationship of Kayapo communities.

Traditionally one of the main sources of pride of the Kayapo was their ability as warriors involving warfare with foreign tribes. Turner totally neglects this aspect of their life. He was concerned with the

I. In this paper the writing of words in Kayapo is simplified for typing purposes. For a fuller phonetic rendering of these words see Turner.

cohesion of Kayapo communities given the postulated tendency to fission due to the diffusion of authority etc.. A greater understanding of Kayapo warfare would not only provide one of the essential elements of group cohesion but also of the functioning of the various men's societies (tchet) within the men's house (nga), which a major part of Turner's work is dedicated to analysing. Traditionally each chief, and the following from his tchet, seemed to have specialized in dealing with a specific enemy (see Versuijver). At Kretire not only is the ideal (insisted on by Turner) of the two nga absent, but the tchet have ceased to exist. Nobody could even tell me what a tchet was. At Kretire the sitting places in the nga are determined by age grade, and not according to the followings of different chiefs.

A final overall criticism of Turner is that he deals with the Kayapo as bands of hunters and gatherers, with a minimum of horticulture. His fieldwork was mainly conducted at Gorotire where there has been a missionary base for several decades. Since contact with whites, the contraction of epidemic diseases, the introduction of new crops and the restriction of Kayapo territory by the invasion of seringueiros etc., the Kayapo have come to rely increasingly on horticulture and fish, a process that must have been clearly underway when Turner was in the field. The transition of the Kayapo economy from hunting and gathering to horticulture and increased fishing has wide reaching consequences which Turner simply ignores. This will be dealt with below.

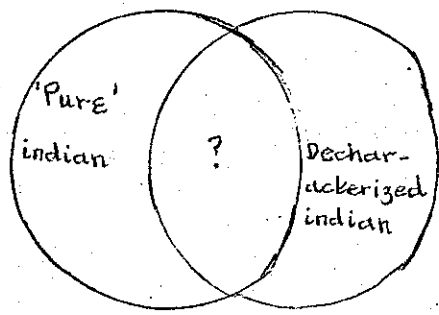
Greater intellectual honesty is required of anthropologists in terms of stating when they are attempting to reconstruct history. Otherwise we are in danger of falling into the trap of what Radcliffe-Brown termed useless historical speculation about primitive people without historical records. The Kayapo (like many other people) frequently idealize their past. Thus the reconstruction of history that they provide is inevitably passed through a filter of idealization. By masking this aspect of his work Turner is facilitated in the construction of a model of reality exhibiting a perfectly logical and coherent social structure, all the components of which fit together like a jig-saw puzzle. The only problem is that the model does not correspond to observable reality.

Turner does not claim to regard Kayapo society as static, rather he states that it passes through cycles of fussion and fission. This too has to be challenged since according to the historical documentation provided by Turner, the Northern Kayapo lived together in one village until 1900. If this is correct then fission is a recent development and not part of a cyclical process. In terms of recent history Turner accepts as probable Coudreau's estimate that in 1897 Gorotire village had a population of around 1,500. This is larger than the average indigenous village in Central Brazil, and is inextricably linked to the complexity of traditional Kayapo social organization. The reduction in the size of present day villages may help to explain the simplification of the political and age grade system.

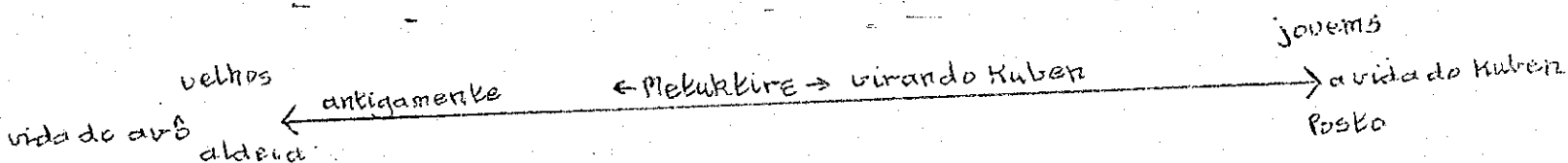
In my research I propose to show that every realm of Metuktire culture is undergoing major modifications. The Metuktire recognize this, and express it in terms of a conflict between the ways of their ancestors and 'virando Kuben' ('white man'). On the other hand, social memory eliminates some of the changes, like the principle of two men's houses and the existence of men's societies. These are subsequently substituted by new principles of social organization.

The aim and object of this study.

The aim of my thesis will be to attempt to reformulate existing theories of social change (Cardoso de Oliveira, Da Matta, Ribeiro etc) to procure a model that can account for the viability of ethnic identity of groups like the Metuktire astride two worlds of signification. However, before seeking the formulation of more general laws on the nature of inter-ethnic relations, the specificity of such groups as the Metuktire must be understood and explained. Structuralist approaches to indigenous societies tend to concentrate on the 'pure' indian, uncontaminated by civilization. Theories of social change frequently consider ethnic consciousness, resulting from contact with national society, to be a transitory phase ending in detribalization and decharacterization, etc, whence ethnic consciousness is replaced by class consciousness, the two identities seen as mutually exclusive (Cardoso, Pozas). This rests on evolutionist assumptions and condones the process of integration (as defined by Ribeiro) ending inevitably in assimilation (that is, the loss of a separatist identity). This is an assumption which is worth questioning in view of the upsurge of ethnic issues among both rural and urban groups in recent years. It is as if (in terms of Douglas' thesis on pollution) the indian that is neither 'pure' or decharacterized confuses cherished classifications and is thereby ignored (see diagram). The present reality of the Metuktire is the overlapping area in the middle. This is the least explored area of indigenous societies, given that the most frequent focus of anthropological studies is the land question, and the integration of indigenous groups into the regional economy (seringal etc.).



As the result of the ever increasingly felt presence of the Kuben world, the Metuktire are striving to organize their world according to two conflicting ideologies, that of 'a vida do avô' (equated with the ancestral past) and that of 'a vida do Kuben'. This may be represented

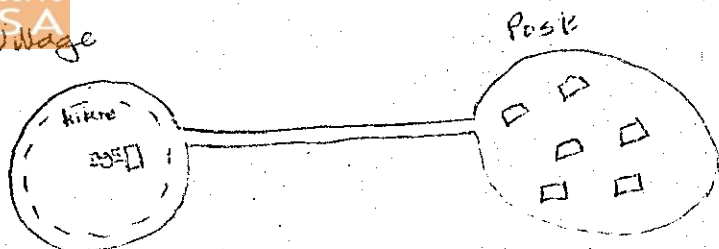


schematically in the form of a continuum (above) with the Metuktire somewhere in the middle, vacillating between the forces drawing them in either direction. Within Metuktire society itself it is the old men (mehengeta) and the young men (specially the nenoronure - see Turner) who parallel these centrifugal forces. The old are seen to be striving towards the preservation of the ideals of 'antigamente' and the young ~~are~~ are attracted in the direction of 'virando Kuben'.

I represent this in the form of a continuum rather than in the form of choice of individual life style because at present the two conflicting ideologies are ones which confront the whole group, and because they have not been crystalized into actual alternatives of life style. There are no groups of traditionalists and progressivists as in some North American indigenous societies, rather the Metuktire as a whole live in constant flux between the two directions of choice.

This opposition is not merely demonstrated in the discourse of the Metuktire, it is also represented by the social appropriation of space. Formerly there was the domain of nature, (the forest surrounding the village) and the village itself constructed in circular form, with the women's houses (kikre) facing onto a central plaza, and the nga to one side of the circle. The houses represented the private domain, and were constructed and owned by the women. The nga represented the public domain, and was the rightful place for the men to pass the majority of their time whilst in the village. The nga could also be represented as exercising hegemony over the domain of knowledge. In other words, all that a Metuktire male member of society could learn was to be discovered and taught through participation in activities, discussions and oratory in the nga. The latter therefore played a central role in the reproduction of Metuktire culture.

Contact with the dominant, national society necessitated confrontation with a new universe with its concomitant spheres of knowledge and material goods. Contact was also significant for the introduction of a series of illnesses and epidemics (measles, influenza, and malaria etc.) which rapidly reduced the population and left the survivors susceptible to a new range of illnesses, to cure which they have been rendered dependent on western medicine. Accordingly a Funai post now stands besides the village as a testimony to the extension of the Metuktire universe (see diagram). The post contains the pharmacy, radio room and tool shed (besides the houses of the chefes do posto and the kitchen) which correspond to the three domains of Kuben life which are most



important for the Metuktire. The tool shed contains the instruments of production (steel axes, rifles etc) on which the economy is now dependent, containing the medicines for curing Kuben illnesses, and the radio, the pharmacy which is the main means of communication between the indians and Funai for requests for the provision of goods, doctors etc. A path joins the village and the post. The importance of the two domains is now witnessed in the performance of ceremonies when the dancers enter the village from the post (as after the communal hunt during the maize ceremony that I witnessed in January, 1978).

Focus of Research.

I propose to analyse this opposition between 'a vida do avô' and 'virando Kuben' through four areas of investigation. Firstly, through the examination of representations, secondly, examining how the Metuktire strive to maintain a balance between these two conflicting ideologies, thirdly, examining the changes that are taking place in the political spheres (concerned with leadership roles), the economic sphere (concerned with material production) and the social sphere (concerned with the kinship structure, age grades and the domestic unit). Fourthly, I will examine to what extent the concept of ethnic consciousness can be applied to the Metuktire, to what extent this is being constructed by the indians and to what extent it is being imposed on them from above by Funai. The construction of ethnic consciousness will be observed through an analysis of inter and intra-tribal relations. These four areas will be elaborated as follows:-

A. Representations:- Under this heading I propose to analyse the discourse of the Metuktire concerning their categorization of 'a vida do avô' and 'a vida do Kuben'. I will examine their oral history concerning 'antigaments', contact, pacification, and the fission of the Metuktire into the Kretire and Jarina groups. An analysis will be made of how Kuben are interpreted in the Metuktire's mythology, and cosmology concerning the afterlife. I will describe their views-of-how-they-are-viewed by agents of the dominant society (as animals etc.), and how this affects their approximation to the Kuben. Similarly I will treat their representation of Funai and the President of the government ('o chefe grande'). I will look at their categorization of illness (of indians and of Kuben) because the contraction of Kuben illnesses, and the threat of land appropriation by fazendeiros, are conceived by the Metuktire as, the main dangers that may 'acabar com os índios'. The land is represented as the basic resource which is imperative to the preservation of 'a vida do índio'.

An examination will be made of the Metuktire's representation of the principal agents of contact in the park, the Villas-Boas and other Funai functionaries, anthropologists, linguists, doctors and dentists. The Villas-Boas implemented a system of patronage with the Metuktire regarding them both as fathers and chiefs who satisfied all their material desires during their administration of the park. This idealized situation is contrasted with the present, when the gifts are diminishing (as demand grows). The indians are being introduced into a market economy, exchanging artesanal goods and rice for manufactured goods, and the two Metuktire Post chiefs are selling their labour power to Funai in exchange for wages with which to buy further provisions for the village (such as gasoline for the motor boats which operate between the park posts). I will describe how I fit into the opposition of the values of the Kuben and avô's world as an anthropologist, for I am valued primarily in terms of the goods I bring, but also because I am expected to write a big book "que vai ajudar guardar a cabeça do avô" (Romni). The fact that the main agents of contact in the park are city dwellers is also important for the Metuktire's representation of the opposition of their life being the life of the city dweller (rather than people of the interior). Incorporation into the city is unimaginable because of its pollution, movimento, etc. Finally, this section will investigate to what extent the Metuktire can be said to visualize their relation to the Kuben as one of subordination.

The continuum of 'antigamente' - 'virando Kuben' is obviously far more complex than it appears in schematic form. 'Antigamente' is not comprised of a homogeneous life style. It is utilized as such only in terms of how ideally the Metuktire should live. In the realm of mythology the past is divided before and after the acquisition of fire, the dispersal of the Ge tribes after receiving corn etc. It was also within the mythological past that the indians chose the stone axe, and Kuben chose the steel axe, whereupon Iprere (a demiurge) told the indians that henceforth they would always remain indians. This posits a far more radical dichotomy between the indians and Kuben than does the term Kuben, which may designate any non-Kayapo (known collectively as Mebengokre) according to its suffix. The full title of the white man is Kuben Krut, meaning clothed man. The fact of the indians having chosen the stone axe can be seen as the line of axis cutting through the continuum between 'a vida do avô' and 'a vida do Kuben'. Despite having adopted steel axes this can be seen in symbolic terms as representing an anchor with the past which negates the possibility of abandoning old ways altogether.

There is a strong consensus that the past was better than the present. 'Antigamente', according to the idealized past, the Metuktire were strong and healthy, they are now weak and frequently ill. In the past they spent most of their time in the forest, they are now permanently

based in the village, in the limpo (a clearing). They used to be 'valente' brave, frequently fighting other tribes and raiding within their own tribe; today they are 'manso', which means that they no longer fight with other indians. The past is used as the normative prescription for the present, as when the chief complains that the women no longer take food to the ngg continuously as they used to.

On the other hand, some ruptures with the past are considered admissible, for example, other indian tribes are now regarded as brothers /relatives whereby internal fighting must cease for ever. Similarly it is recognized that the Metuktire are now dependent on a series of Western goods which they will never give up. This is the most problematic part of the continuum, for they are unable to define to what limits this dependence must go without actually 'virando Kuben' in a total sense.

B. The problem of cultural reproduction.

This problem involves the ability to maintain an equilibrium between new and old ways of living. Contrary to Turner, my hypothesis is that fission is a linear process engendered by contact. This is an important issue in terms of social reproduction. The Metuktire regard the Kretire village (with a population of 180) and Jarina (with a population of about 90) as too small for the holding of certain ceremonies etc. I will investigate how far the diminution in village size (the basic political unit) is due to changing economic patterns (horticulture etc.), and how far it is due to other changes resulting from contact, such as the differentiation of the Kayapo groups attributable to the various agents of contact (missionaries etc.).

This section will also deal with the role of the park and the post. The park lands are regarded as inferior to the former territory inhabited by the Metuktire, yet as it is recognized that their ancestral land is now inhabited by Kuben it is emphasized that they will maintain their new lands for ever. It is hoped that the demarcation of the park will terminate land conflicts with fazendeiros. However, it is claimed that if invasions continue the Metuktire will fight to the death to preserve the only land that remains to them. 'A vida do índio' is valued in relation to 'a vida do Kuben' chiefly in terms of the indians' autonomy to work to feed their families. This can be seen in the following statement by an informant (Bedjai):-

"Aqui não paga comida, lá (na cidade) paga tudo que pessoas querem. Acho pessoas tudo triste na cidade, pessoas não têm dinheiro e passam fome. Também, não acho bom a vida do Kuben no campo. Trabalha o dia inteiro só para dinheirinho para comer, e não têm remédio".

The Metuktire say that they must continue to hold their ceremonies, learn myths and medicines. However, it is also considered imperative that young men have knowledge of Kuben life. The Metuktire want a school where people may learn to read and write to send messages to the Villas-Boas or to the President of the Republic in case of land invasions. Literacy is also seen as instrumental in the running of the pharmacy (presently administered by one of the Post chiefs). Similarly knowledge of Portuguese is necessary for speaking on the radio. Some of the young must learn to look after the radio and tools, and fix machinery (the generator, rice husking machine, tractors etc.).

Given the internalization of such values by the young and their fascination with the mysteries of the Kuben world, the Post is a major centre of attraction for them. There is a permanent group of boys and men who work at the Post under the authority of the Post chiefs, and many other people flock there at radio transmission time etc. Post activities detract from participation in activities in the ngã, and complaints are made by the older men that the boys are always hanging around the Post instead of seeking out the old to learn myths and medicines.

The fact that it is the young who are mainly attracted to the Kuben world has important implications for cultural reproduction in that the most esoteric knowledge of the Metuktire can only be passed on to the adolescent age grades. If a mature man with children attempts to learn jaguar language, for instance, he will sicken and die. Thus one Post chief who spent his adolescence in Posto Leonardo regrets not having learnt jaguar language whilst a youth, and is afraid of the consequences of attempting to do so now. It is ironic that the people who have had most contact with Kuben are the most vociferous upholders of 'a vida do avô'. These are the types of issues to be elaborated in this area of analysis.

C. Changes in the political, economic and social spheres.

This area of research will investigate the articulation of the three main leadership roles existing today, that of the beniadjworo (chief) of the village trained by the Villas-Boas (Romni), the beniadjworo/Iriri (chief) who is the indian trained chief, and the Post chiefs. The latter were appointed by Funai and have jurisdiction only over the Post personnel (meapayn). They administrate the Post and live there (a few hundred yards from the village). Relations between them and the village chiefs appear harmonious, but this is something that I want to investigate further.

The Kuben trained chief speaks Portuguese, and is responsible for mediation with Kuben who visit the village and for the distribution of presents within the village. He is considered as a beniadjworo supported in his office by the deceased chief, Kretire, and he claimed to share with the indian trained chief (O Ka Koro) the attributes of this leader's position, such as organizing ceremonies, hunts and village works.

During my first visit I was unable to discover what division of activities exists between the village leaders. The beniadjworo/irire (O Ka Koro) knows the ceremonial chanting (ben) and holds important positions in ceremonies. During the maize ceremony which I witnessed he did not participate in the dancing but remained constantly besides the dancers, directing them and chanting special songs. There is a third beniadjworo at Kretire, but he is considered a junior one who will not assume full responsibility until a mebencete ^(valho) (a further comparison to Romni). Neither the former nor O Ka Koro speak Portuguese. Other leadership roles remembered but no longer existing at Kretire are those of the ceremonial counsellor (ngre nong djwoi), and shaman (wayanga). In the absence of such leaders it is O Ka Koro who partially incorporates their roles. It is he who has some knowledge of sickness caused by spirits (mekaron), and can communicate with these spirits. It is also he who is consulted on matters concerning the afterlife.

It is said that chiefs may have separate followers (meapayn), though in the absence of tchet led by separate chiefs with separate sitting places in the nga, the chiefs at Kretire sit together with the mekrare (men with children) on one side of the house and the younger grades on the other side of the house. In collective hunts the men now all go off in one group. I propose to examine the consequences of this form of organization in comparison to that of numerous tchet under separate chiefs, seen by Turner as the basis of Kayapo political organization.

An examination will be made of the economic changes resulting from the transition of the Metuktire from a nomadic band of hunters and gatherers to a sedentary people with a permanent (rather than wet season) village base. Given the population density in the park fishing is gradually substituting hunting as the main source of protein. The roças have greatly expanded in size and range of crops, now providing the bulk of the food supply. Nevertheless, the division of labour has remained unchanged with the women responsible for planting, garden care, collection and transportation of food from the roças. I will seek to examine how the increasing economic importance of women can be related to their changing social role with the diminution of the sexual 'permissiveness' of the Metuktire (as described by Turner and other literature on the Ge) in relation to ritual sex, substitute wives and common wives of the nga etc.

This section will also examine the Metuktire's introduction into the market economy producing rice and crafts for sale to Funai, and the sale of labour power (for example, as workers of Funai and other sectors of the regional economy - though at present there appears only to have been one case of the latter). Inter-tribal trade in the park will also be analysed. The aim of this section is to examine the relat-

ionship between the changing economic base and the ideological super-structure.

Investigation of changes in the social sphere will include issues such as the diminishing role of piagam in the domestic unit. One of the major changes that has taken place is that men no longer avoid their wife's house by day until the birth of a child. Whilst a man was not fully recognized as a husband until the birth of a child (see Turner), and was incorporated into his affinal household only gradually after the birth of a child with subsequent diminishing relations of piagam and avoidance, today he establishes full residence before the birth of a child, and consequently assumes economic responsibilities to his wife earlier than he did in the past (providing her with game, annually preparing a new roça and making baskets).

A second major change is that upon reaching the neokre grade (age seven to twelve) boys no longer take up residence in the nga to remain there until the birth of their children (becoming mekrare). There is now a direct transition from the paternal to the affinal household (in line with the uxorilocal residence rule). My thesis will examine the significance of these changes and will investigate to what extent the age grade system still functions.

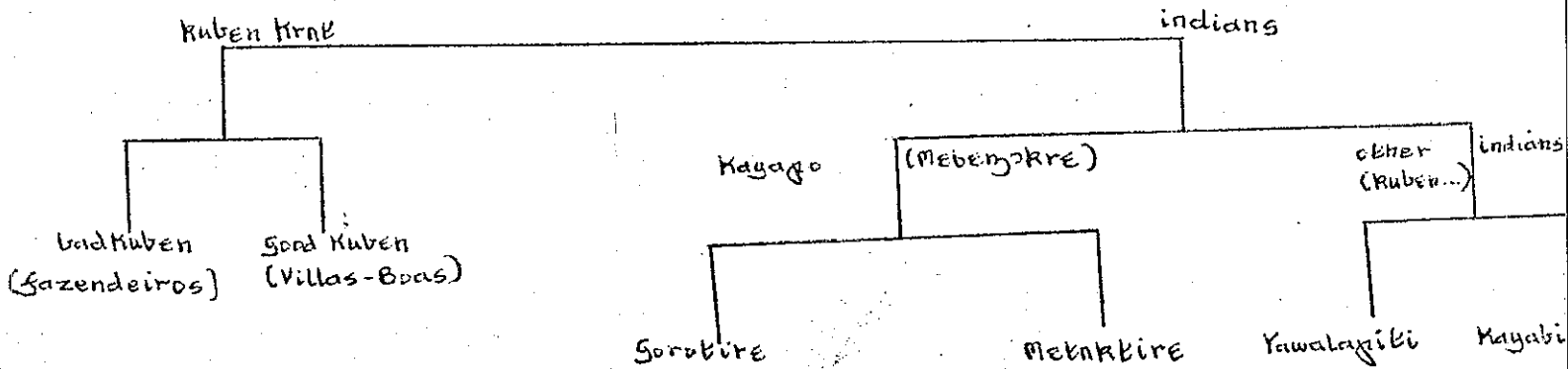
A third major change is that since contact and the construction of neo-Brazilian houses (formerly shelters were built and 'owned' by women) house building has become the men's task, and 'ownership' is now regarded as theirs. I will explore how this is related to the fact that men are spending a decreasing amount of time in the nga, preferring to stay at home with their wives where they perform work formerly carried out exclusively in the nga (for example, arrow making). The significance of this will be analysed in itself and in relation to the changing role of the nuclear family and extended family domestic unit. Turner's insistence on the economic independence of the nuclear family will be challenged.

D. Ethnic Consciousness.

This area of research will concentrate on intra and inter-tribal relations, examining, for instance, the relation of the Metuktire to their traditional main enemies, the Kreen Akore, a group of a dozen or so of whom are now resident at Kretire as refugees from their own tribe. An investigation will also be made of the incorporation of Kayapo from other communities into the Metuktire villages, and emigration of Metuktire to other Kayapo communities.

This section will examine how different identities are manipulated on distinct occasions (see Da Matta, 1976). For example, in relation to fazendeiros 'we' includes all the tribes of the park without differentiation. In relation to the other tribes of the park alone the Metuktire preserve a distinctive identity, and in conversations with one specific tribe the Metuktire will identify with this (or some other tribes) whilst

excluding others. The Metuktire's relationship with other Xingu Park tribes will be compared to the way in which they identify with the Kayapo (Mebengokre) as a whole, and the extent to which they differentiate among the Kayapo, for example, regarding the Gorotire group to have 'virado Kuben'; but identifying with the Mekranoti group as struggling to preserve 'a vida do avô' (see diagram).



Proposal for future work and orçamento.

As far as I know there are no alternatives to the grant requested for financing my research.

My intention is to make two further trips to the field in 1979, each trip lasting approximately three months. In March I propose to return to Kretire to spend one and a half months there, and then to spend one and a half months in Jarina. I will then return to Rio de Janeiro for about three months to evaluate my data, consolidate the theoretical side of the thesis with anthropological readings, and reformulate my questions for the second trip, from around September to November, which time will similarly be divided between the two villages. This allows for one trip in the dry season during which there are frequent trips, and one trip during the wet season when people spend most of their time in the village. I plan to write up the thesis by mid 1980.

A brief trip will be made to São Paulo to interview Claudio and Orlando Villas-Boas. This is necessary in view of the fact that they pacified the Metuktire; they are the agents of the dominant society with whom the Metuktire have had most profound contact, and who are at least partially responsible for the shaping of the Metuktire's views on the Kuben world. On the first entry into the field I propose to spend a few days in Brasilia to consult Funai relatórios on the Metuktire and other Kayapo groups.

In the field I will proceed with my attempts to learn the Kayapo language. I will consolidate my present data and supplement the information on the areas on which I have little data at present, such as leadership roles, activities in the nga, and how public affairs are dealt with at Jarina without a nga. I will study various aspects of the economy, and of the present kinship structure (to obtain clearer information on the presence or absence of piam). An examination will be made of the significance of fictive kinship relations (ombikwa ka'ak) for mutual obligations. Fictive relations are more important to the Metuktire than

true genealogical relations. Information will be sought on the conflicts between Jarina and the surrounding fazendas. I will attempt to visit some of the fazendas in the area, such as the Bange Bange, (accompanying the Metuktire when they go there to purchase goods) to observe the interaction between them and the fazenda workers, and if possible obtain interviews with fazendeiros.

This comprises the minimum period and costs estimated to complete my research. It will only be towards the end of this six month period of field-work that I hope to have sufficient command of the language to interview informants without translators. At Kretire only four men and no women speak Portuguese. In order to have a clearer idea of the heterogeneity of viewpoints, between men and women, leaders and ordinary villagers, Portuguese speaking and Kayapo speaking leaders, the young and the old, etc., it will be necessary to interview people directly in Kayapo.

The item 'presents' is the largest one in the budget. This is reckoned according to established levels of goods taken into the Xingu Park by researchers. It amounts to payment for food, accommodation, and the general inconvenience of having a Kuben in the village consistently requiring information. This and items two and three are based on my previous budgets for goods taken to the field on my first and second trips. Transport costs vary widely, therefore item four is based on a minimum estimate for one return journey overland (Rio de Janeiro - Xingu Park) in the dry season, and one return bus journey (Rio-Brasilia) in the hope of obtaining free transport from Funai for one return journey (Brasilia- Xingu Park) in the wet season. Item five includes a return bus journey (Rio - São Paulo) and hotel accommodation in São Paulo and Brasilia for a few days. Item six is for the typing of the thesis.

Orçamento (veja páginas 13-14).

<p>1. <u>Presentes para os índios:</u> (Cr.\$ 10.000,00 para cada viagem)+-</p>	<p>Total Cr.\$20.000,00</p>
<p>anzol, linha colher, chumbada, arame, chumbo, balas (22 etc), cartuchos, espoletas, miçangas, facas, pinças, tesouras, peentes, guizos, panelas, pau, agulhas, linha de costura, espelhos, brinquedos, tabaco de corda e papeis, fósforos, isqueiros, pedras (para isqueiro), sabão, talheres, lanterna, pilhas.</p>	
<p>2. <u>Provisões de comida e medicamentos etc.</u> <u>para pesquisa de campo.</u> (Cr.\$ 2.000,00 cada viagem):-</p>	<p>Total Cr.\$ 4.000,00</p>
<p>A. Rede, mosquiteiro, cobertor, mala, corrente, cadiado, cantil, caixa para gravador e máquina fotográfica, caixa para comida, lona de plastica. B. Café, chá, açúcar, arroz, espaguetis, leite em pó, sopas, velas, aveia. C. Mercurio cromo, algodão, agua oxigenada, aspirina, profilático contra malária, repelente, band-aid, mexaformio, tabletas de vitaminas.</p>	
<p>3. <u>Materias para pesquisa.</u> (Cr.\$1.500,00 cada viagem):-</p>	<p>Total Cr.\$ 3.000,00</p>
<p>Fitas, filmes, xerox, materiais de desenho, revelação de fotografia.</p>	
<p>4. <u>Transporte.</u> (Cr.\$9.000,00 cada viagem, dependendo do tipo de transporte, preço aproximado de ir e volta, Rio de Janeiro- Parque Xingu.</p>	<p>Total Cr.\$18.000,00</p>
<p>5. <u>Estadias em Brasilia e São Paulo.</u> Para entrevistas e para consultar relatórios de Funai.</p>	<p>Total Cr.\$ 2.000,00</p>
<p>6. <u>Datilografia</u> (Relatório final).</p>	<p>Total Cr.\$ 3.000,00</p>
<hr/> <p>Total Cr.\$50.000,00</p>	

Bibliography.

- Augé, Marc. 1975. Théorie des pouvoirs et idéologie. Hermann, Paris.
- Balandier, Georges. 1970. The Sociology of Black Africa. Andre Deutsch, London.
- Baldus, H. 1968. Bibliografia Crítica da Etnologia Brasileira. Vol. 2, Hannover, Kommissionsverlag Munstermann-Druck GmbH.
- Banner, Horace. 1961. 'O Índio Kayapo em seu campamento'. Boletim Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, No. 13, 1-51.
- Banner, H. 1957. 'Mitos dos Índios Kayapo'. Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 5 No. I, São Paulo, 37-65.
- Bemberger Turner, Joan. 1967. 'Environment and Cultural Classification: A Study of the Northern Kayapo'. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Harvard Univ.
- Basso, Ellen. 1973. The Kalapalo Indians of Central Brazil. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.
- Bourdieu, P. 1972. Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique. Librairie Droz, Genebra.
- Cardoso de Oliveira, R. O Índio e o Mundo dos Brancos. Livraria Pioneira ed., São Paulo, 1972.
- _____ 1976. Identidade, Etnia e Estrutura Social. Livraria Pioneira Ed. São Paulo.
- Carneiro, R. 1973. 'Slash-and-burn cultivation among the Kuikúru and its implications for cultural development in the Amazon Basin'. In Peoples and Cultures of Native South America. D. Gross (Ed.), Doubleday, The Natural History Press, New York.
- Coudreau. 1897. Voyage au Tocantins Araguaya, Paris.
- Cowell, A. The Heart of the Forest. London, 1960.
- Da Matta, R. 1976. 'Quanto Custa Ser Índio no Brasil?' Revista Dados, No. 13.
- _____ 1970. 'Mito e anti-mito entre os Timbira'. Mito e Linguagem, Social. Ed. Tempo Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro.
- _____ 1976. Um Mundo Dividido. Ed. Vozes, Petrópolis.
- Diniz, Edson Soares. 1962. 'Os Kayapo- Gorotire'. Boletim do Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi, N.S. 16, Belem.
- Douglas, M. 1956. Purity and Danger. Frederick A. Praeger, New York.
- Dreyfus, S. 1963. Les Kayapo du Nord. Paris.
- Durkheim, E. 1969. Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. Free Press, New York.
- Durkheim and Mauss. 1967. Primitive Classification. Univ. Chicago Press.
- Galvão, e Simões, M. 1966. 'Mudança e sobrevivência no Alto Xingu, Brasil Central'. Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 14, São Paulo.
- Goldier, E. 1977. Perspectives in Marxist Anthropology. Cambridge Univ. Press, London.
- Gregor, Thomas. Mehinaku. Chicago, Univ. Press, 1977.

- Junqueira, Carmen. 1975. Os Índios de Ipavu. Ed. Atica, São Paulo.
- _____. 1973. 'The Brazilian Indigenous Problem and Policy: The Example of the Xingu National Park'. IUGIA, Copenhagen.
- Leach, E. 1954. Political Systems of Highland Burma. Beacon Press, Boston.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Savage Mind. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1974.
- _____. 1963. 'Do Dual Organizations Exist?' Structural Anthropology Basic Books, New York, pp.132-163.
- _____. 1964 Le Cru et le Cuit. Paris, Plon.
- _____. 1966 Du Miel aux Cendres. Paris, Plon.
- Lowie, R. 1943. 'A note on the social life of the Northern Cayapo'. American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, 633-636.
- _____. 1946. 'The North Western and Central Ge', in J. Steward, Ed., The Handbook of South American Indians, Vol. I, 479-514.
- Malinowski, E. Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London.
- Marx, Karl. Capital. The Modern Library, New York, 1906.
- _____. The German Ideology. Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964.
- Mauss, M. Sociología y Antropología. Sexta Parte, 'Técnicas y Movimientos Corporales'. 1971.
- Meillassoux, C. Femmes, greniers et capitaux. Maspéro, Paris, 1975.
- Missões Dominicanas. 1922-1933. 'Os nossos índios Cayapós e Carajés.' Organ da Etnohese dos índios na Prelazia de Conceição do Araguaia e Echo de Prelatura do Porto Nacional, No. I anno I through No. 40, anno II.
- Morreira Neto, Carlos de Araujo. 1959. 'Relatório sobre a situação atual dos índios Kayapó'. Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 7 No. I and 2: 51-62.
- Murphy, V. and R. Women of the Forest. New York, Columbia Univ. Press, 1974.
- Maybury-Lewis, D. Akwẽ Shavante Society. Oxford Univ. Press, London, 1967.
- Nimuendaju, Curt. 1946. The Eastern Timbira. Univ. of California Press, Berkeley.
- _____. 1940. 'Os Gorotire: Relatório Apresentado Ao Serviço De Proteção Aos Índios Em...1940' Revista Do Museu Paulista, N.S. Vol, VI, São Paulo.
- Pacheco de Oliveira Filho, João. 'As Facções e a Ordem Política de uma reserva Tukuna. Unpublished Master's thesis, Univ. Brasília, 1977.
- Piotte, Jean-Marc. La Pensée Politique de Gramsci. Editions Anthropos, Paris, 1970.
- Pozas, R. and I. 1973. Los Indios en Las Clases Sociales de Mexico, Ed. Siglo XXI, Mexico.
- Redcliffe-Brown, A.R. 1965. Structure and Function In Primitive Society. Free Press, New York.
- Ribeiro, Darcy. 1971. Fronteras Indígenas de la Civilización. Ed. XXI, Mexico.

- Schaden, E. 1965. 'Aculturação Indígena'. Revista de Antropologia. Vol. 13, São Paulo.
- Seeger, Anthony. 'Nature and Culture among the Suyá'. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Chicago Univ. 1974.
- _____. 1975. 'The Meaning of body ornaments: A Suyá example'. Ethnology, June.
- Ternay. Le Marxisme devant les sociétés 'primitives'. Ed. Maspéro.
- Turner, Terence Sheldon. 1965. 'Social Structure and Political Organization among the Northern Kayapo'. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Harvard Univ.
- _____. 1962. 'The Northern Cayapo'. Mimeo. Dept. of Social Relations Harvard.
- _____. M.D. 'The Fire and the Jaguar'. Mimeo.
- Vellard, J. 1935. 'Six mois aux pays des Karajas et des Cayapos'. La Géographie. Vol. XXIII, I, pp 34-59, Paris.
- Versuijver, Gustaaf. 1978. 'Enquête Ethnographique Chez Les Kayapo-Mekragnoti: Contribution à l'étude de la dynamique des groupes locaux (scissions et regroupements)'. Mémoire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.
- Vidal, Lux. 1977. Morte e Vida de uma Sociedade Indígena Brasileira. Ed. Hucitec, São Paulo.
- Villas-Boas, C. and O. 1955. 'Atração dos índios Txukahanãe'. Boletim do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Rio de Janeiro, pp 79-89.
- Viveiros de Castro, E. 'Indivíduo e Sociedade no Alto Xingu: Os Yawalapítí'. Master's Thesis, Museu Nacional, 1977, Rio de Janeiro.
- Witherspoon. 1977. Language and art in the Navajo Universe. Michigan Press.

Linguistic Bibliography.

- Jefferson, Kathleen. 'Semantic Clause Analysis in focus for learning Kayapo'. Summer Institute of Linguistics, mimeo. 1974.
- Stout, M. and Thomson. 'Fonêmica Txukuhamëi (Kayapo)'. Série Linguística. No. 3, SIL, 1974.
- Stout. 'ku- verb phenomena in Kayapo'. SIL, 1975. mimeo.
- Swadesh. 'Vocabulário de termos não culturais'. SIL, n.d. mimeo.
- Thomson, Ruth and Stout, M. 'Propositional Elements in Kayapo Clauses'. SIL, mimeo, n.d.
- Thomson, R. 'Kayapo Relationship Terms'. SIL, 1976, mimeo.
- Thomson, R. 'Textos Kayapo', SIL, mimeo, n.d.
- _____. 1974. 'Contrafactuals in Kayapo', SIL, mimeo.
- _____. and Stout. 1966. 'Questionario Padrão', SIL, mimeo.
- Trapp, Earl. 1961. 'Formulário Padrão (Kayapo-Sorotire)'. SIL, mimeo.