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SOCIAL CORRELATES OF KIN TERMINOLOGY

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With this symposium, "Social Correlates of Kin Terminology" we are initiating a new series, "Working Papers on South American Indians," hereafter WP. The decision to start such a project grew out of a conviction that an urgent need exists for the rapid dissemination between specialists of new data, theoretical perspectives, symposia, etc. without the normal impedimenta of journal and book publication. It is our belief that any increase in the flow of communication between persons interested in South American Indians can be beneficial to our common and individual scholarly pursuits. Furthermore, it is our conviction that results of the vastly increased research among the aboriginal groups of South America have serious implications for theory in general comparable to the impact of research and publication in Australia, Africa, South Asia, Oceania, and New Guinea of earlier decades.

The initial impetus for WP was to provide a reliable outlet for the annual Lowland South America symposium now approaching its eighth year. Of the previous six sessions this is the first to be published. The 1973 symposium on marriage practices is about to go to press, the 1974 symposium on leaders and leadership organized by Waud Kracke will appear shortly as part of the Yearbook of Symbolic Anthropology II, and the 1978 symposium is being prepared for publication by Thomas Gregor, its organizer. The 1971, 1975, 1976, and the second 1977 symposium papers languish for the most part as original manuscripts and mimeographed or dittoed prints in our files. We hope that some of these will become future numbers in this series.

We also would like WP to provide an outlet for reprinting significant papers that appear in journals not readily available, given the budget realities of most libraries and anthropologists.

All of us have numerous manuscripts of lectures, convention papers, random thoughts, etc. which we put in our files until there was time to do more with them. These papers are full of data, analyses, and speculation which have not found their way into our published work. WP welcomes such manuscripts and collections of them from a single author or several authors.

We welcome suggestions as to how WP can best serve its readers.

WP will appear as material becomes available. Each issue will be priced separately and may be ordered individually. Standing orders will be accepted. Prices will be based on the cost of production and postage.

WP, No. 1 is the result of the work and cooperation of many people. Dave Thomas organized the symposium and edited the papers. His secretary, Marlene Windsor, typed the manuscript at Vanderbilt University. Bea Shapiro of the Bennington College duplication department transformed the manuscript into printed pages. Nurit Koppel and Julie White collated them. Alex Brown desinged the cover page. Printing of covers and binding were done commercially.

Kenneth M. Kensinger

The Symposium "Lowland South America II: Social Correlates of Kin Terminology". AAA Meetings, Houston, December 2, 1977.

In a 1973 paper, P. Riviere suggested a characterization of the lowland South American culture area based on the widespread presence of the Dravidian terminology. Exceptions to this Dravidian formulation are widespread; G O generational terms, cross-cousin = ZD equations, etc. Given all the "exceptions," one might ask "Can we connect specific features of social organization with specific features of terminologies?" This symposium explores this question, investigating social practices associated with kin term usage, the deviations of actual practice from natives' and anthropologists' models, and the connections of terminology with marriage practices, naming practices, and other specific aspects of social organization.

The papers which follow are as given at the symposium, with some very minor changes made by the authors. All of the authors expressly reserve the right to publish this material in any form they see fit in the future. The papers appear here in the order in which they were given. Paper titles, authors, and the authors' institutional affiliations are as follows:

1. Adams, Kathleen J. (Central Washington Univ.) Barama River Carib Kinship: Brother-brother and Mother-daughter Identity Merging in a Two-Section System.
2. Dole, Gertrude E. (AMNH) Pattern and Variation in Amahuaca Kin Terminology.
3. Hahn, Robert A. (Michigan State University) Negotiated Kinship Among the Rikbakca. (Dr. Hahn's paper read in his absence by D. J. Thomas).

4. Johnson, Orna R. (CSU Northridge) Kinship Decisions Among the Machiguenga: The Dravidian System in a Small Scale Society.
5. Thomas, David J. (Vanderbilt) Pemon Zero Generation Terminology: Social Correlates.

Discussants for the symposium were Jean Jackson (MIT) and Ken Kensinger (Bennington). Dr. Jackson's comments were not available in written form, and Kensinger's comments are presented following the papers. Discussions among audience, participants and discussants followed, and all the participants have expressed regrets that a tape recorder was not available to record the various comments. Hopefully the presentation of the papers in written form will stimulate discussion in the future.

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BARAMA RIVER CARIB KINSHIP: BROTHER-BROTHER AND MOTHER-DAUGHTER IDENTITY MERGING IN A TWO-SECTION SYSTEM

Kathleen J. Adams

Direct marriage exchange and a two-section kinship nomenclature are identified by Riviere (1974: 639-640) as fundamental principles of a general Carib culture and common among the societies of lowland South America. Although differently arranged among Carib societies, individuals may share social identity for the designation of cousin relationships in the creation of the two sections. This is one aspect of the redundancy or replaceability of individuals in the Barama River Carib kinship system. Brothers were merged as one social identity and by implication their wives shared a corresponding common designation. Perhaps a more easily overlooked aspect of this kinship system is that specific mother and daughter pairs merged maternal roles. As with brother-brother identity merging, mother-daughter identity was not based on a tie of affection alone but reveals a principle of this population's adaptation.

Certainly, the difference between principles of social integration and the pattern of individual choices and actions is recognized by all concerned, including the Caribs themselves. The attempt here is to more fully disclose these principles and the implications they would have had for the individual actors among the Barama River Caribs.

Dole (1972: 154) suggests that a cross-cousin pattern may be the initial stage of kinship nomenclature in the main sequence of the evolution of social complexity. At this elementary stage, grandfathers and grandmothers are monolithic generational categories as are grandchildren. Categories of individuals are differentiated

within ego's generation, the first ascending generation, and the first descending generation. Two categories of brothers and sisters between which there is a direct marriage exchange relationship are central to the identification of 1) father and father's brother, 2) mother and mother's sister, 3) father's sister or mother-in-law, 4) mother's brother or father-in-law, 5) same-sex sibling, 6) opposite-sex sibling, 7) same-sex cousin, 8) opposite-sex cousin or marriageable individual, 9) son, 10) daughter, 11) nephew, 12) niece.

The Barama River Carib kinship system as an example of the cross-cousin pattern served to interrelate the egos of a small population through time (prior to recent cultural changes, see Adams 1974). In order to include everyone in marriage, unambiguous generational membership among adults or, more specifically, membership in a marriage section was required. However, demographic contingency was a consideration in a small endogamous population. A measure of flexibility in the designation of marriage section membership was provided by the malleable status of young females (Adams 1976). For male ego, the marriageable category included female cross relatives in own and first descending generations. For female ego, this resulted in an initial generational indeterminacy. In the Barama River Carib kinship system, flexibility is gained by non-isomorphic male and female kinship universes. The social principles outline different kinship arenas for males and females, suggest contrasting male and female outlooks on life, contrary purposes and interpretations, and may have provided the point-counterpoint of social cohesion (Murphy and Murphy 1974: 52).

In the 1930's, the Barama River Caribs numbered about 200

in the upper reaches of a remote river system, and it is this period to which this analysis pertains. They had lived for at least a generation essentially without neighbors. About 100 lived in what the Caribs refer to as "Top Side"; the remainder were found in "Bottom Side." Each of these population segments tended to be endogamous and operated within their own two-section system. A high tolerance for plural marriage, both polygyny and polyandry, encompassed every adult in a household unit. Principally studying the "Bottom Side" segment, Gillin reports (1936: 93) that at least one third of the marriages he recorded were of the first cross-cousin type.

Hunting, fishing, collecting, and practicing slash-and-burn horticulture, each of these segments was transient within their portion of the upper Barama River system. Adult males who were brothers and categorical equivalents tended to live near each other and to help each other. Thus, the bilaterally-extended male sibling group was a fundamental reference for social organization. As there existed no linear transfer of property or privilege through males, these male groups were recreated with each generation. Marriage exchange was not co-opted in individual political strategy such as might lead to male control of marriageable females in the adjacent descending generation. Among the highly egalitarian Barama River Caribs, marriage remained a direct exchange within generations. Usually, mother helped to arrange and promote marriages for her daughter (with brother or brother's son).

Apprenticeship for marriage and adulthood required a number of years of relative social transparency or individuality for

males. As young men seeking wives, each ego would attach himself to the household of a potential young wife, his bilateral cross cousin or his same-sex cousin's daughter. Living in the periphery of the household activities and literally in the periphery of the household clearing, the young man was socially isolated by taboos on talking to or looking at his prospective in-laws. The girl served as intermediary in the youth's contribution to the hunting and other subsistence activities of the household. This period of social transparency extended for ten or more years, and its frustrations for the young man are a recurrent theme in myth.

The general Carib characteristic of inequality between male affines (Riviere 1974: 641) is also illustrated among the Barama River Caribs. A son-in-law was essentially an appendage to the household within which the wife was firmly entrenched. Also, at this stage in his life cycle, the young man's collateral category was fractured by a similar isolation of the other brothers. To further emphasize this inequality, young men had only a nascent collateral context and related to fathers-in-law who were firmly within theirs. Thus, vulnerable individualized wife takers were inferior to superior wife givers (Riviere 1974: 642). This situation can be reversed with the distinction of leadership and the political strategy of forging trans-generational male links through control of marriageable females, but this did not occur among the essentially egalitarian Barama River Caribs.

Boundaries between male generations were never breached among the Barama River Caribs. Rather, at some point the mature

sons-in-law with wives and children moved away, regrouped with their male collateral group, and recreated society. There was no provision for transition between male generations, no succession in the control of household resources.

The circumscription of males within their generational designation is apparent in the pattern of oblique marriage (Adams 1976). Men remained a part of their generation of origination throughout their lives. Females were adjustable and able to be fully included in the first ascending generation. Thus, the marriageable category for females included cross cousin and mother's brother. Neither option called for a deviation from the traditional life cycle for the individual female (or male).

Among the Barama River Caribs, the female remained a highly regarded and fully integrated member of a household throughout her life. From "mother's little helper" at an early age to the role of a grandmother, she was vitally involved in the domestic activities of her household. The suitors she attracted as a girl remained peripheral to her natal household and did not portend her removal from it. Her menarche was celebrated as a transition to adulthood by her mother and the females in the vicinity of her household (see Kloos 1969). While in her natal household, she gave birth to her first and perhaps second child for whom the husband undertook the elaborate ritual announcement of social fatherhood - <u>couvade</u>. Not until she was an experienced mother herself did a woman depart from her own mother's household. This occurred when her husband removed to the vicinity of his brothers' households. Even then

a mature daughter with her children would return to visit her mother from time to time and often quickly construct a "trash house" in order to shelter for a week or more in her mother's household clearing. Also, when the mother outlived the potential husbands in her marriage category, she was welcomed in her daughter's household. An old man as well sought inclusion in his mature daughter's household.

Barama River Carib society was characterized by mother's easy acceptance of the adult status of daughter. They were relatively comfortable in sharing a female's maternal role. Perhaps this is due in part to a clear demarcation in potential marriage partners (Adams 1975). Mother and daughter pairs did not occur as co-wives in plural marriages as in some lowland South American societies. With coherently integrated relationships among multiple generations, daughter's marriageable category included mother's brother and mother's brother's son. The relationships of daughter to mother's marriageable category (daughter's father and grandfather) were equally constrained by incest taboos. Also, mother and daughter had an explicit understanding not to share the same man as a sex partner. There existed very little basis for competition between mother and daughter. They were a team, bound not just by ties of affection but by life-long mutual confidence and cooperation.

In this small population with a moderate natality rate, it was very important to both an individual man and woman to include a daughter or daughters among his or her offspring. Among men, only one's own daughter could attract a young son-in-law to contribute to the household's hunting and fishing enterprises.

However, this relationship between unequal males was temporary. In contrast, a woman developed a life-long relationship of mutuality and cooperation with her daughter and their maternal equality or replaceability was expressed in identity merging. A household without a son was not in immediate jeopardy and only delinquent to the extent that it did not contribute to the recreation of the descending social generation. This difference in the evaluation of sons and daughters was expressed in adoption patterns. Exclusively, young girls were adopted as daughters by childless couples or those whose children were grown. Boys were never adopted. After the first few years of life, boys were allowed to roam at large, initiating relationships with peers which could remain a primary reference throughout a male's productive and reproductive career.

Thus, daughters were important in the more immediate strategies of individual adults, and generational continuity was gained by the trans-household relationships of mother-daughter pairs. Sons were important for the larger total society. They contributed to the perpetuation of generational balance (Bicchieri 1969: 69) in the small endogamous population segments among the Barama River Caribs.

The constancy of the male status served to differentiate generations and marriage section memberships - important functions of a two-section marriage system occurring in a small relatively closed population. While generationally variable, the female status was constant with regard to its vital role in the center of the household. A matri-centered trans-generational continuity provided a social backbone to which separate male generations

attached.

Other dimensions of male and female contrasts in Barama River Carib society are apparent if social position is compared with view of self. Although socially merged within a collateral group, a male view of self was one of distinction. It appears that this view of self was derived from Barama River Carib society as an indeterminate whole. In contrast, a female's view of self was in reference to a specific person. She referred to her mother's sister's children as son and daughter and their children as grandchildren. In this way, she regarded herself as an extension of her mother. This was a singular assumption of the "mother" identity and did not embrace her mother's horizontal or ascending relationships. From the male perspective, the flexibility in the kinship system provided for "other" to be negotiated in reference to self. In generational membership a female's social identity was more inchoate but not diminished. With her mother she shared an identity (which her mother shared with grandmother) and included her own daughter in this pervasive maternal designation to which specific males related.

Thus, Riviere's (1976) description of the interfluvial societies of the Guianas as "hourglass societies" is pertinent to the organization of males into discrete generations. With no principle of linear transition among males, society would appear to run out, like the sands of an hourglass. From the Barama River Carib female point of view, there was a concrete trans-generational household-to-household continuity.

The Barama River Carib kinship system is an example of the cross-cousin pattern with provisions for identity merging. In

the same manner that population size limits are imposed by the organizational capacity of a kinship system (Chagnon 1976), there is a minimum number of individuals required for a generationally balanced elementary kinship system. The Barama River Carib kinship system operating among small endogamous population segments extended this minimum by internal redundancy and different male and female kinship universes. Although historical accounts or statistical frequencies are the best way to record individual actions, the social principles of direct marriage exchange, a two-section kinship nomenclature, and the related brother-brother and mother-daughter identity merging provide another reference for predictability among the Barama River Caribs.

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PATTERN AND VARIATION IN AMAHUACA KIN TERMINOLOGY

Gertrude E. Dole

Introduction

This paper is in the nature of a progress report on my analysis of Amahuaca kinship. At this stage of my research conclusions must be tentative, pending more complete analysis of genealogical relations of all members of the communities studied.

The materials I have used in determining the form and distribution of kin terms include the following:

Genealogies with accompanying kin terms.
Lists of individuals' kin terms for all members of the community.
Native definitions and explanations of kin terms.
Structural charts of terms obtained in the field from natives.
Field observations of usage.

Terminological Pattern

Among the Amahuaca there is a great deal of variation in the use of terms for many kin types. Nevertheless, most informants use terms in a uniform manner for a small core of close kin (parents and their siblings, ego's siblings and first parallel cousins, offspring and grandchildren). The pattern of terms for parents and their siblings is Bifurcate Merging, with alternate distinctive but etymologically related[1] terms for isogender (same sex; see Dole 1957:144) siblings. All agree in the use of a single set of terms for ego's siblings and parallel cousins, and many, though by no means all, use special terms to designate cross cousins, the principal criterion of the Dakota-Iroquois pattern, which is consistent with Bifurcate

Merging avuncular terms. (See Dole 1969:105 for reasons for equating these two types). In the first descending generation there is agreement on the use of terms for offspring. Outside this core of closest relatives variation in norm and usage is extensive.

Nevertheless, the preponderance of Amahuaca usage suggests a regular pattern of terms used by males for relatives in the three middle generations, as indicated in the accompanying chart, Figure 1a.[2] Following Hocart (1933:253) I have called this the Cross Cousin pattern (Dole 1957, 1972) because it not only differentiates cross cousins but is consistent with cross-cousin marriage in that offspring of allogender (opposite-sex) cross cousins (one's potential spouses) are equated with one's own children, while the offspring of isogender cross cousins are equated with those of allogender siblings. This is the reverse of the arrangement of nepotic terms in the Bifurcate Merging pattern.

Parenthetically, it is a misnomer and unproductive to refer to these "systems" as "Dravidian," for several reasons. The name Dravidian-Australian was first used by Radcliffe-Brown to identify a pattern of terms (see Man 53:112, 1953). That pattern is by no means restricted to Dravidian peoples but is found among widely dispersed societies on four continents and in Oceania. Moreover, it is not characteristic of all Dravidian-speaking societies. The label was later shortened to "Dravidian" by Dumont (1953) and has recently been extended to include kinship structure as well as terminology pattern. It is now used differently by various writers to refer to a number of variations

Figure 1a. Traditional Kinship Nomenclature: Male speaking.

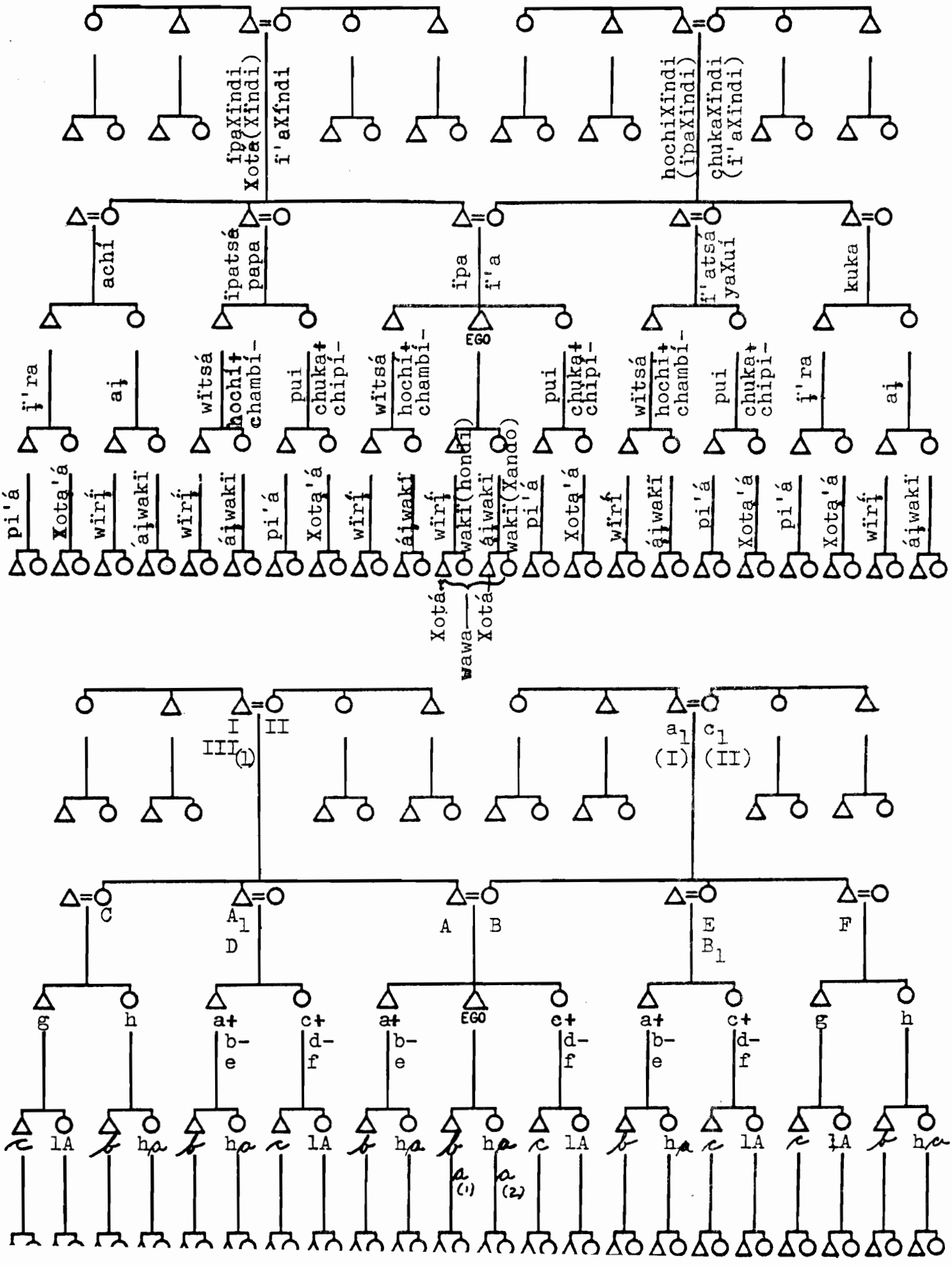
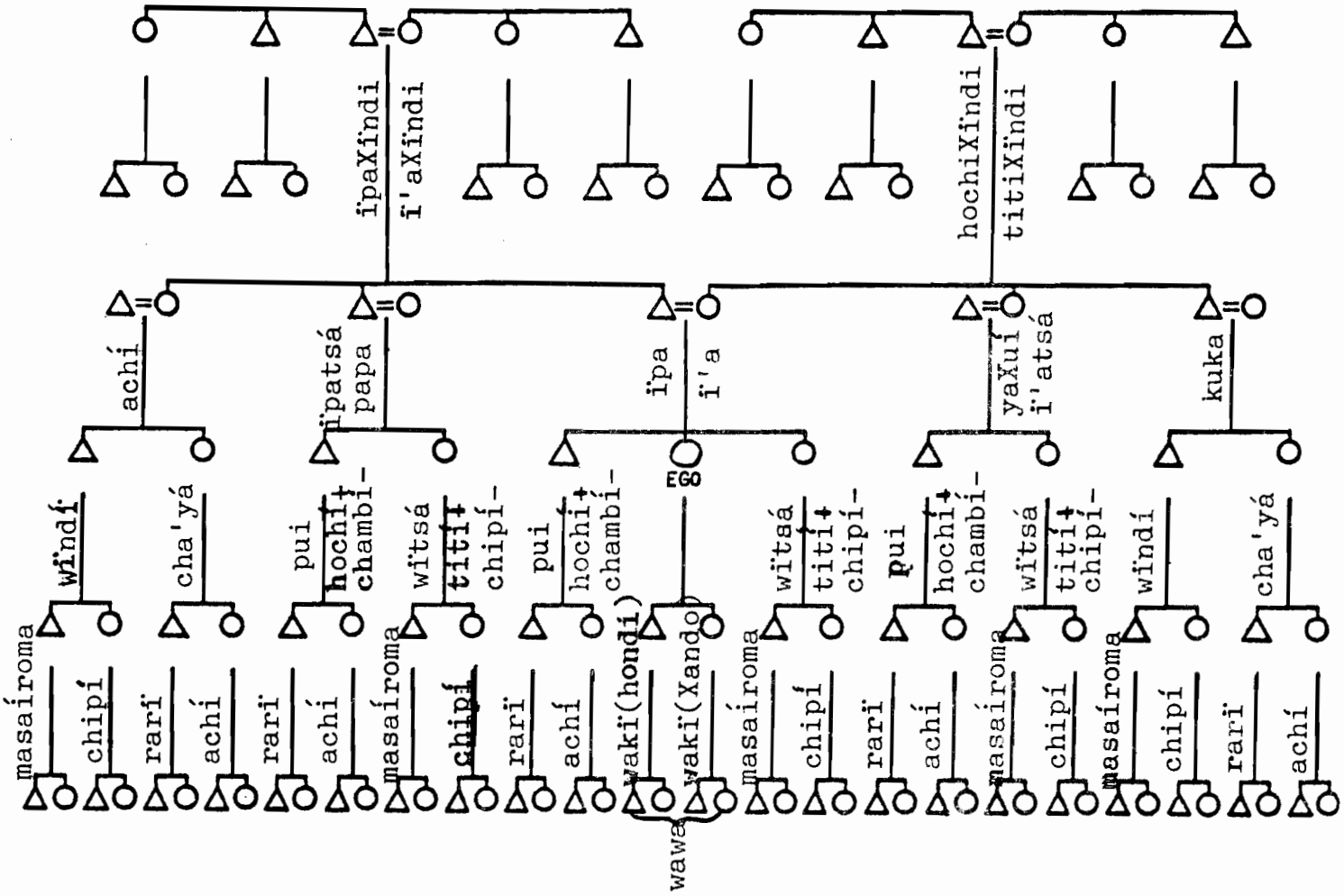
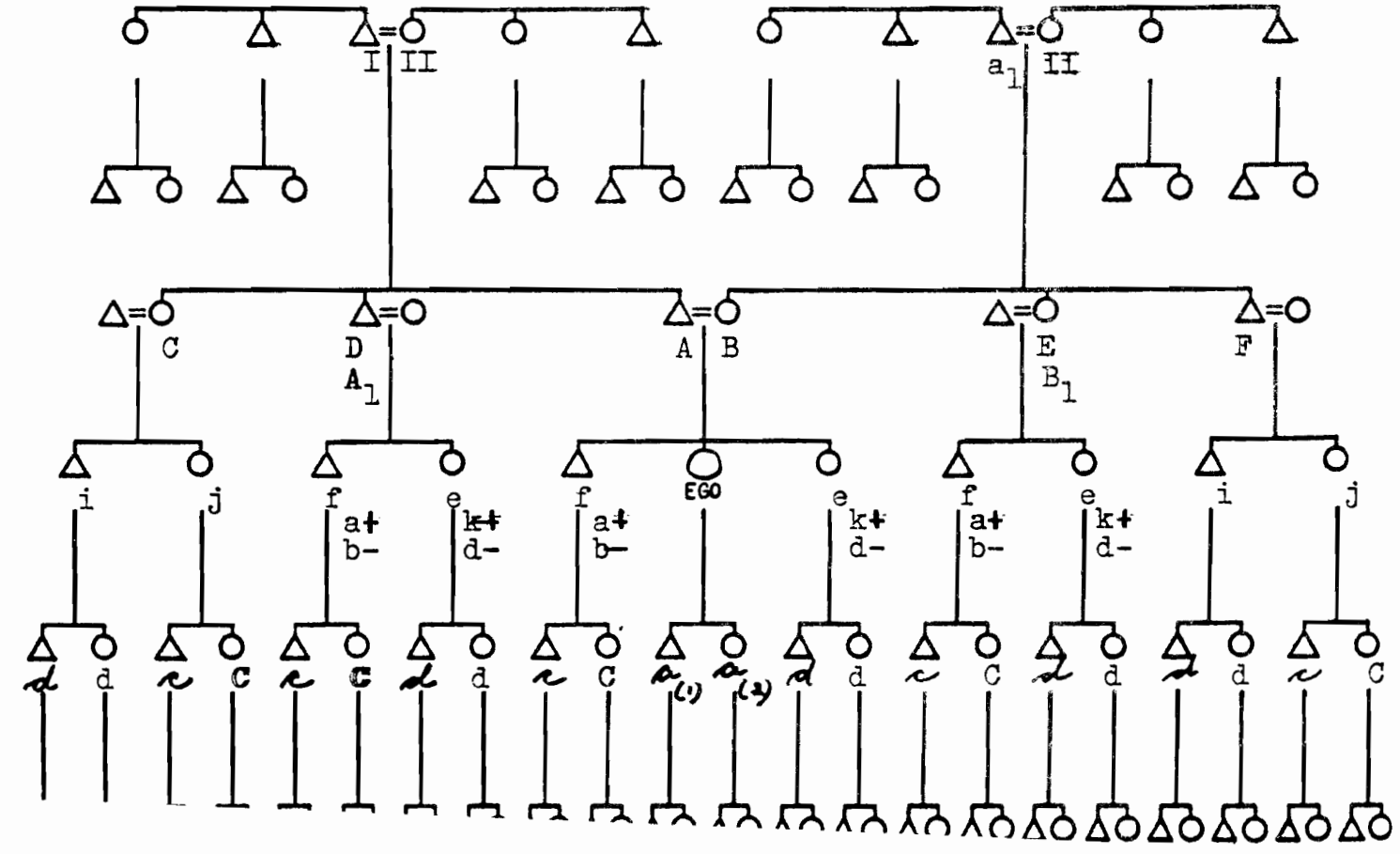


Figure 1b. Traditional Kinship Nomenclature: Female Speaking.





in both the nomenclature pattern and kinship structure, including the traditional Dakota-Iroquois pattern. Thus it has been applied in a progressively more general manner, to the point that it is no longer a technical term. With such inconsistent and general use it has become confusing and therefore worse than meaningless.

Much of Amahuaca usage suggests that a cross-cousin pattern was used at some time in the past for the following reasons:

1) There is one set of terms that equate cross cousins with spouses, spouses' isogender siblings and isogender siblings' spouses. Terms used by females differ from those used by males.
2) Parents-in-law are frequently referred to and addressed as FSi and MB.
3) Some individuals use offspring terms for children of allogender cross cousins and a different set for children of isogender cross cousins and allogender siblings. Some of the terms used by females for these first descending generation kin differ from those used by males. These terms are listed in Figure 2.
4) There is a norm of marriage with a cross cousin, near or distant.
5) People do in fact frequently marry or plan to marry cross cousins.
6) Brothers or parallel cousins frequently marry sisters.
7) The Amahuaca practice both sororate and levirate, including anticipatory sororate and levirate.

Figure 2. Terms Distinctive of a) Female use and b) Male use (with Focal Kin Types).

a) Used by Females

tití - OlSi

Wïndï - H, male XC

cha'ya - Si-i-l

masaíroma - SiSo

chamí - SiSo

rarï - BSo

b) Used by Males

chuka - OlSi

aį́ - W, female XC

ïį́a - male XC

pi'á - SiSo

Xotą'á - SiD

Xotá - FF, FFB, SS, BSoSo

Other Normally Distinctive Usages

chipí for SiD

achí for BD

Terms used in Common

ïpaXïndi - GF
ï'aXïndi - GM
ïpa - F
ïpatsá, papa - FB
ï'a - M
ï'atsá, yaXuí - MSi
achí - FSi
kuka - MB
wïtsá - isogender sibling
hochí - OlB
chambí - YoB
chipí - YoSi
pui - allogender sibling
wàkï(hondi) - So
wakï(Xando) - D
aįwakí - D of isogender sibling
wïrį́ - So of isogender sibling
wawa - GCh

Variation

Although I have constructed a Cross Cousin pattern of terms, I do not mean to give the impression that the chart presented here is the current Amahuaca kinship nomenclature. Amahuaca do not now use this pattern with any degree of consistency. Unfortunately, it may be impossible to obtain the Amahuaca nomenclature because of extensive variation in usage and because for many individuals the knowledge and use of kin terms is very limited in this small and sparsely distributed population. Certainly the Amahuaca do not extend the pattern to distant relatives as is characteristic of a consistent Cross Cousin nomenclature.

A relatively large number of collateral kin types are differentiated by distinctive terms by some informants. Some of these terms appear to be either idiosyncratic forms or freely varying alternates. On the other hand many informants appear not to know terms for some kin as distant as the offspring of first cousins. There is much uncertainty and disagreement about the proper terms for several kin types. In supplying terms informants are frequently corrected or prompted by others. Moreover, there is a considerable amount of polysemy and individuals frequently find it necessary to explain the use of a term to one another as well as to an inquiring ethnographer by specifying more precisely what relative is designated.

Insofar as informants are able to identify second cousins (descendants of grandparents' siblings) as kin, they are sometimes referred to with terms in the Bifurcate Merging and not the Cross Cousin pattern. Father's female cross cousin, for example, is

called FSi and not MSi, as would be the case in the Cross Cousin pattern. As a result, some of ego's second cross cousins are equated with siblings and some second parallel cousins are equated with cross cousins. Moreover, there is a tendency to use sibling terms for cross cousins in Ego's generation (the Generation pattern), ignoring distinctions between cross and parallel links even between first cousins.

In the first descending generation there is little regularity beyond the use of a common set of terms for son and daughter, which are frequently extended to offspring of iso-gender siblings and parallel cousins. In the second ascending and descending generations also there is little regularity beyond the common sets of terms for grandparents and grandchildren. For collaterals in these generations a variety of terms are used irregularly, most of them being combinations of terms in other generations with the suffix -Xĭndi ("old"). Although many informants specify distinctive terms for particular kin types, in actual usage the terms for grandparents and grandchildren are frequently used for all relatives in those generations.

In actuality also terms that are said to be restricted to female speakers are used by some men, even though it is explicitly recognized that this usage is contrary to the norm. In one instance two men made a joke out of using a woman's term for one of their own relatives. Conversely, some women use terms that are said to be characteristic of men's usage. In men's speech cha'ya' (a woman's Si-i-l) sometimes replaces men's usual affinal term 'ira to refer to an actual B-i-l and differentiate

him from male XC; chamí (a woman's SiSo) is used by some men for BSo; rarï (a woman's BSo and reciprocally her FSi) is sometimes used by men for FSi in place of the more common term achí; and the distinctive women's term masaíroma (traditionally used to refer to SiSo) is sometimes used by both men and women for sons of various isogender kin in ego's generation.

A major source of variation is a tendency to play with words, especially terms connoting difference in sex, age or generation status. For example, although men usually refer to their wives as "younger sister," a man may call his wife "younger brother." Similarly he may refer to his classificatory older sister as "great aunt"; a little child is encouraged to address older relatives with terms those relatives normally would use for the child. A little girl is told to address her older sister as chipí (YoSi), and the latter is encouraged to reciprocate with tití (OlSi). Or a young boy is told to use chambí (YoB) where hochí (OlB) would normally be appropriate. A person may even refer to another by a sort of reciprocal teknonymy, calling a child's father by the name of that child plus the term for child, rather than the term for father.

The tendency to play with kin terms is reflected in some of the kin terms used in giving genealogical information and apparently represents considerable reciprocal use of terms. Thus a man's son may be referred to as his ïpa (F), his grandchild as ïpaXïndi (GF), his brother's son as papa (FB), or his brother's grandson as Xotá[3] (FF or FFB). Or a woman may refer to her FaSi as rarï (BCh), while her BCh may be called achí (FSi); parents-in-law are referred to as wawa'á or wawa'ba

(grandchild's M, and F respectively), terms that are normally applied to SoW and DH; and grandparents may be referred to as wawa (GCh). (See list of reciprocal terms in Figure 3.)

If the society were organized on the moiety principle these sets of reciprocals would be in the same division. Hence it might be inferred that the tendency toward reciprocal use of these terms is related to a previous two-line structure such as still is in use among the Cashinahua and Capanahua. However, at present the reciprocal use of terms by no means conforms to two lines of descent. On the contrary, in many instances the practice is very general and not predictable on the basis of moiety divisions or true reciprocal relationships, as when a man's SiSo is referred to as F and his SiD as FSi. It seems likely that the pseudo-reciprocal use of terms that are characteristic of speakers or referents of the opposite sex is a metaphorical extension in response to other features of the kinship structure.

There is a tendency to simplify the varied terminology for collaterals in descending generations by the extension of a few common terms. Women especially extend terms for siblings (chipí and chamí[4]) and grandchild (wawa) to other kin in the first and secon generations respectively, and frequently use these terms in an even more general manner to designate any young female and male.

In addition to all these variations, there is considerable lack of consistency in usage: In fact, full siblings sometimes differ in their classification of relatives in the same context, one referring to an older woman, e.g., as GM,and the other as great aunt. Pairs of individuals in the same generation also

Figure 3 Reciprocal Terms and Pseudoreciprocal Terms

Term	Focal Kin Type	Extension
ïpaXïndi	GF	GSo
Xotá	FF, FFB	m.s.: SoSo, BSoSo
ïpa	F	m.s.: So
papa	FB	m.s.: BSo
yaXuí	MSi	m.s.: SiD
kuka	MB	m.s.: BSo
achí	FSi	f.s.: BD m.s.: SiD, SiSo
chuka	m.s.: OlSi	YoSi
tití	f.s.: OlSi	YoSi
chipí	YoSi	f.s.: OlSi
chambí	YoB	m.s.: YoSi
wïrj̈	f.s.: BCh	FSi
wawa	GCh	GP
wawa'a	SoW	child's spouse's M
wawa'ba	DH	child's spouse's F

may classify each other differently. Rather than using the same term for each other, one man refers to another as brother, while the latter refers to the former as cousin. These pairs of non-reciprocal terms are incompatible with either the Bifurcate Merging pattern or Cross Cousin pattern.

Much of what might appear to be variation in distribution of terms results not from differences in meaning of the terms but from differences in interpretation of complicated relationships through choice among alternate links. For example, a male ego is related to an alter as XC and also as B, whole the latter's wife is ego's "FSi" and at the same time his "MoSi," depending on what genealogical links are recognized. Ego refers to the daughters of this couple as wives or allogender XC, refusing to refer to them as SiD, BD or parallel cousin, thereby indicating a recognition of only the "aunt" relationship to their mother and overlooking all the other genealogical links.

Although such manipulation may lead to change in the kin term pattern, this type of variation in usage is actually a social and not a terminological manifestation of the general permissiveness of Amahuaca culture and will therefore not be considered further in this paper.

As already indicated, many terms are used with varying degrees of inclusiveness, especially the terms for siblings, grandchildren and grandparents. Wïtsá has the marked sense of own isogender sibling, but it may be used also to refer to isogender parallel cousin, to any person of the same sex claimed as a consanguine in ego's generation, or more generally yet to any isogender consanguine, whether or not the genealogical

links are known. Similarly puí has the marked sense of own allogender sibling but may be used in a more general way to refer to allogender parallel cousins, to any allogender consanguine in ego's generation, or to any person of the opposite sex to whom one claims relationship. The GCh term wawa may be used also for any kin in the second descending generation, or in an even wider sense to refer to any very young child. Similarly some people use the GF term ïpaXïndi for any second ascending generation male, and it is used metaphorically to designate ancestors in general. The terms aj́ and wïndḯ are often used with the restricted sense of W and H respectively, but are frequently used to refer to allogender XC also, or any person who is perceived as an eligible or prospective W or H.

To differentiate close consanguineal relatives from more distant ones in the same class, the suffix -kuj́ ("real, true") may be added to a kin term, wïtsakuj́ designating a woman's own sister, for example. However, even this expression is sometimes used also for parallel cousins or to express other close relationship. Hence an additional term wïnandḯ is often used to specify own sibling as opposed to parallel cousin.

Additional variation in kin terms results from a number of other suffixes that alter the meaning of the terms. These suffixes include the following: -Xïndi ("old"), -tsá ("other"), -wo (a pluralizer used to express "one of a class"), and -íroma (expressing endearment).

Relatives in the second and third ascending generations are usually referred to by terms for first ascending generation kin with the addition of -Xïndi, as ʻi'aXïndi, ïpaXïndi, papaXïndi,

kukaXïndi, achiXïndi. In addition, terms normally used for kin in other generations are often used for relatives in these upper generations, as titiXïndi, hochiXïndi, chukaXïndi, ɨtsaXïndi (probably ɨwïtsaXïndi), and even pi'aXïndi, wirɨXïndi and XotaXïndi. These terms are used with little apparent regularity, and some of them are used also for kin in the second descending generation.

The suffix -tsá seems to derive from the form wïtsá, which is commonly used to mean "other" in addition to isogender sibling. It is frequently used for a person to whom a term is extended to differentiate that person from the focal kin type, as when wïtsatsá is used to refer to an isogender person to whom consanguinity is claimed but without knowing the genealogical links. A man's sibling's wife, wife's sister, and his female cross cousin are often referred to as aɨtsá (other wife). In the same way a woman refers to her sister's husband, her own husband's brother or her male cross cousin as windïtsá (other husband). This suffix may be added to terms for most close relatives, and it forms an integral part of the pair of avuncular terms ï'atsá and ïpatsá.

The suffix -wo is used in much the same way to indicate that a person is one of a category, as achiwo (a kind of FSi), papa witsawo (one of my FBs), or windïwo (one of my potential husbands).

It can be seen that extending kin terms with or without suffixes obscures distinctions of age, generation, relative sex and even sometimes absolute sex (sex of the referent). The converse effect is achieved by the use of another suffix,

-íroma. As a free form iromá bears the meaning of "bad". Added to kin terms it seems to express genealogical or social closeness and positive affect or endearment, as when it is used with kin terms for children or elderly kin. It is by no means used exclusively with genealogically close consanguines of any class but is added to terms in any generation and is even used to refer to a "nice old person" in the terms Xindiíroma and hochi-íroma. Robert Russell concluded that this suffix served to intensify (personal communication).

Rather perversely perhaps, the use of -íroma in some contexts suggests an attempt to express positive affect for kin with whom one does not have close genealogical ties or social contact. Amahuaca are very separatist. Suspicion and hostility develop easily between the small family settlements that are separated by hours or days of travel and hence have little contact with each other. With such a settlement pattern, Amahuaca are extraordinarily sensitive to rumors of hostility and are often very careful to assure one another of friendship. Use of the suffix -íroma to refer to actual or potential in-laws may be an example of such an attitude.

It is unclear why a form meaning "bad" should have this function. However, it is interesting that in their conversation women, especially, make very frequent general use of another similar suffix, -níco(ma), to express positive affect toward persons addressed or mentioned in reference. Because of the similarity in use and in sound of these two suffixes, it seems possible that -íroma may be related to -nícoma through a process of playing with words.

Social Correlates of Amahuaca Kin Terminology

Relating Amahuaca nomenclature to the kinship structure is a particularly frustrating exercise because of the lack of regularity in both. However, it is possible to see correspondences on three levels: First, between the ideal pattern of terms and the norms of kinship structure; second, between the common pattern of core terms and customary kinship organization; and third, between the variations in nomenclature and irregularities in kinship structure.

Kinship Structure. Although Amahuaca kinship behavior is constrained by relatively few rules, there are ideals and traditions of a regular structure with respect to group affiliation, residence and marriage.

Individuals identify themselves as belonging to one of several named groups[5] that are no longer strictly localized, although some of the contemporary settlements comprise a majority of people who claim a common name-group identity.

The Amahuaca have traditionally lived in patrilocal extended family hamlets. According to informants, a young man usually takes his bride from her natal house or settlement to his family's house or settlement. When he is sufficiently mature to prepare a garden by himself he builds a separate house in the vicinity of his father's. In special circumstances, however, a man may be required to live for a time with his wife's family and contribute to their subsistence by helping his father-in-law prepare a garden.

With respect to marriage, although informants agree that the marriage of a man to a daughter of his MB (kuka) is good, the

norm is most frequently stated in terms of a man choosing a daughter of his FSi (achí). There is a feeling that marriage with members of groups other than Amahuaca is not good. On the other hand, marriages that unite members of separate Amahuaca groups are thought to be good, although one may also marry a member of his own settlement. Families should exchange siblings in marriage. The levirate and sororate are encouraged by dying parents.

Kin types that are prohibited as marriage partners include: siblings, parallel cousins and persons who have grown up in the same house; also the child of a sibling or cousin, and conversely FSi and MB, are prohibited, as are father's widow, widow's daughter and persons separated from ego by two generations.

Many marriages conform to this pattern, husband and wife being descended from real or classificatory allogender siblings who are members of separate settlements. Clearly this practice is reflected in the Cross Cousin nomenclature I have posited as the traditional pattern.

This traditional structure is compatible with moieties. However, at present the Amahuaca do not have any lineal divisions. The question of whether or not they had moieties or any other form of a two-line system in the past may never be answered, although a form of dual structure is suggested by some of the traditions.[6] A moiety structure is suggested also by features of the kinship terminology, as, for example, the reciprocal use of terms for alternate-generation kin types that would be in the same "line". Such a pattern of terms in alternate generations is associated with exogamous divisions among the

Cashinahua, Capanahua and to a lesser degree among the Sharanahua, as it is among some Australian groups.

In addition the terminological equation of cross cousins with actual and potential spouses and affines, as well as the equation of cross aunts and uncles with spouse's parents, is associated elsewhere with intermarrying "lines."

Another suggestion of exogamous units comes from the use of four or more terms to designate second ascending and descending generation kin rather than only two, as in the Bifurcate Merging pattern (cf. Scheffler 1971). The use of four terms in the grandparent generation is characteristic of exogamous divisions or "lines."[7]

If exogamous divisions ever existed among the Amahuaca, depopulation, migration and dispersion that followed contact with rubber pioneers may well have had the effect of eroding distinctions between those divisions. It is of interest that in the absence of moieties or other unilineal groups to perpetuate traditions the contemporary Amahuaca have abandoned many of the socioceremonial customs that must have been common to precontact Panoans. By contrast, in some other societies where moieties have persisted the sociopolitical leadership of the moieties has functioned to preserve the aboriginal culture (cf. Chapman 1961).

Contemporary organization and correlations. Aside from the question of moieties, it is certain that the traditional structure described by the Amahuaca has been considerably altered by demographic factors. Hostilities with rubber pioneers decreased the number of people and caused families to disperse.

Children who have been left fatherless are adopted by relatives, especially their maternal grandparents, contrary to the patrilocal pattern of residence. In addition, men have left the headwater hamlets to work for lumber patrones. Whether the migrating men take their wives with them or marry women from other groups, they establish neolocal residence. Some have returned to the headwaters and live there neolocally or uxorilocally. As a result of such moves close consanguines who were once neighbors are now so widely dispersed that they are unaware of their relatives' marriages and of the number and names of the offspring of close kin.

Because individual families are mobile the membership of settlements is unstable. Under these conditions the only persons with whom one has close and enduring contact are the core of immediate consanguineal kin for whom a common set of terms are used, that is, primary and secondary relatives and first parallel cousins.

Demographic stress is reflected also in irregularity of marriage practices. Although some people take mates who are classed as cross cousins, many do not. A large number of marriages conflict with stated norms and may be regarded as irregular both in terms of Amahuaca conceptions of proper marriages and from the point of view of the nomenclature pattern.

First of all, some men have taken women from groups other than Amahuaca, including the Panoan groups Yaminahua, Kapï̈Xï̈chi,[8] and Conibo and the Arawakan Campa; and women have married white Peruvians. These marriages are not characteristically followed by either sibling exchange or cross cousin unions.

Some irregular marriages unite individuals of different generations as indicated by both kin term usage and genealogies, as for example the marriage of a man with his achí (FSi), father's widow, wife's mother, wife's FSi, WD, "Si"D, or "B"M. As a result of these cross generation marriages men may call their XCD, including a potential wife's daughter, "potential wife," (aj); and women may call their XCSo and sometimes mother's male XC "potential husband," (wïndï). From this follows the use of younger sibling terms (chipí and chambí or chamí) for the offspring of isogender siblings as already described.

By confounding generation categories, cross-generation marriages strain the use of terms in either the Cross Cousin or Bifurcate Merging pattern and would tend to change these patterns.

Some men have married parallel relatives, such as the daughter of a classificatory brother, or mother's classificatory sister. Indeed, there are marriages of parallel cousins and even full siblings. The Amahuaca permit these irregular, even incestuous, marriages without punishment and with little sanction. They say that if parallel cousins, for example, "really want to marry, they can," and if siblings marry, "people only 'talk to them'" or use herbal remedies on their hammocks in an attempt to dissolve the marriage.

Marriage of parallel relatives of course unites people who would be in the same "line" in a two-line system. In any case they confound the traditional system by introducing affinal relationships among parallel consanguines. Such unions as the marriage of a woman to her classificatory brother would explain the current use of sibling terms hochí (OlB) and chipí (YoSi)

for spouses and the use of kuka (MB) for one's own father, as well as the fact that some Amahuaca use sibling terms for the cross cousin kin type rather than special cross cousin terms. This suggests a trend toward the Generation pattern.

Because of these many irregular marriages people frequently recognize an alter as belonging to two or three different kin types in terms of the traditional system of nomenclature. Moreover, depopulation and migration have created a need for widows, widowers and divorcees to remarry several times. Since each marriage brings a whole kindred into one's kinship network as affinals, a person may have affinal ties to a large number of his own parallel consanguines. Under these conditions categories of affines are vague and variable, and the distinction between affines and consanguines is blurred. Individuals class one another alternately as affines or parallel consanguines, depending on the social advantages to be gained by these classifications.

The variability of the use of kin terms is reflected in the variability of kin type categories.

Footnotes

1. From comparative etymology it seems probable that yaxuí (MSi) is cognate with ïi'á. Shell reconstructs shoko as the Pano term meaning little. The same term or a shortened form, sho, is used in Shipibo with the same meaning (Roberta Campos and Joan Abelove, personal communication). Thus yaXuí could be a contracted form of ïi'a - sho - i, -i being an Amahuaca suffix meaning "one of, or kind of."
2. Although the evidence for a regular pattern of terms used by females is less clear, I have represented in Figure 1b a tentative pattern of women's terms for whatever comparative use it may be to others who are studying Panoan kinship terminologies.
3. Although Xutá signifies "namesake" in Cashinahua (Kensinger MS and personal communication), it is not restricted to this sense in Amahuaca usage, and one informant explicitly denied that it meant namesake, in spite of the fact that ideally a male child receives the name of his FF or FFB.
4. This term differs slightly from the usual term for YoB, chambí. However, it seems probable that chamí is a cognate of that term.
5. These groups include Indowo, Rondowo, Shaąwo, Punchawo, Kutinawa, Shawanawa, and Na'iwo.
6. For example, one earlier settlement was described as having two divisions. Each division had a leader, one of them being the principal leader of the settlement. People in one division were "brothers" (hermanitos) of their leader; those of the other part "brothers" of the other leader. People of

one division married into the opposite one and not within their own. The leader's nephews and uncles (who would be his affines) were his "helpers" (empleados), presumably through a form of bride service.

7. Numerous Cross Cousin nomenclatures have this feature. See e.g., those of the Garo, Kariera, Murngin, Ngaluma, Tiwi, Viti Levu, and Wikmunkan.

8. KapïXïchi is a designation used by Amahuaca for a group who live on the Mapuya tributary of the Inuya river. Some Amahuaca claim relationship with this group as their people (ɨgaiwo) while others regard them as foreigners (yoratsá) or enemies (naa).

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Negotiated Kinship among the Rikbakca

Robert A. Hahn

Abstract. Following a theoretical introduction, this paper analyzes the ways in which the Rikbakca, a group of some 300 individuals living on the Juruena River, Mato Grosso, Brazil, arrange and assign their relational terms; this analysis constitutes a part of the interpretation of the terms themselves. That is, the use of the terms is an element of their reference and their meaning.

Since its beginnings, one of anthropology's focal objectives has been the understanding of the social interactions of foreign peoples and the ideologies which "lie behind" or accompany these interactions. Anthropologists have been concerned with variation both within and between societies. They have sought understanding by means of preliminary description and classification, and of subsequent explanation by the discovery of co-relations whose nature accorded with their school of thought. In this study of foreign theories and practices of social relations, anthropologists have commonly focused on the systems of so-called 'kinship terminology' used by the different societies to classify the individuals and the relationships of their social universes; these clearly bounded vocabularies have been taken to represent the underlying plans of social thought and social action. Morgan's (1970) world-wide study made pioneering use of classificatory schedules to propose a universal scheme of social evolution.

Yet, however real and powerful these verbal indicators may be, they have often had a ghostly air; kinship terminologies are sometimes described as if they were the afterlife of down to earth social relations. We are haunted by these ghostly features as much as ever today. We are told (Riviere 1973:3) that "Because prescription is a formal feature it is not possible to judge its presence

or absence by the observation and aggregation of individual actions" and that (Riviere 1973:3) " . . . it is not at the level of individual behaviour we must look but at the level of social categories and the principles by which they are organized." It is as if individual actions were entirely independent of the features of these vocabularies. It appears to be assumed that kinship terminologies are out there in the field to be collected, like concrete artifacts, rather than to be inferred from the acts of individuals in the foreign scene. Other writers, for example Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971), do not deny the importance of the social context of the vocabularies they study, but still deal principally with features of the words themselves and with some shared features of their referential fields.

The notion of "the social correlates of kinship terminologies" similarly relegates these terminologies to a ghostly realm, for it suggests that the terminologies are not themselves a central element in the social events or relations with which they are to be 'correlated'. More precisely, this program of discovering correlates assumes that the focal elements are epistemologically independent -- that each can be discovered and identified without observation or knowledge of the other.

In this presentation I shall reexamine most briefly the sources of our knowledge of these vocabulary systems in order to show that the vocabulary systems are not independent of other features of social relations. The related features may vary from society to society. I will attempt to show that we gain a fuller understanding of these vocabularies and of the social relations of societies by examining the use of terminologies of social

relations, thus as artifacts in social life, rather than by examining the "social correlates of kinship terminologies". Following Wittgenstein's elusive phrase, we should seek meaning in use. We have assumed a uniqueness or primacy of kinship in these vocabularies rather than examining the ways in which the vocabularies are actually used. I will describe the Rikbakca code by which terms are ascribed to relations in order to show how the meaning of the terms must take this code into account.

Anthropologists have studied kinship terminologies as evidence of other aspects of social life. What in turn counts as evidence for these "kinship terminologies"? Obviously, all anthropological knowledge derives from observations of individuals interacting in their social milieus. The anthropologist in the field is confronted not with relationship terminologies, but rather with language used in social situations. Relations between aspects of these situations must be demonstrated in order to interpret 'relationship terminologies'. Five discernible kinds of information become available: 1) the terms, used in utterances, 2) native practices of arranging and using the terms, 3) pairs of individuals associated by the terms, 4) interactions between these pairs of individuals, observable both by natives and by outsiders, and 5) native commentary on all these matters. Anthropologists have commonly assumed that in the study of kinship terminologies they were correlating 1) the terms and (4) some features, principally genealogical, of relations between (3) the pairs of individuals associated by the terms. In their analysis of the defining features of the terms, they have often not included all uses of the terms, that is reference to certain

pairs of individuals which did not make use of the features they hypothesized relevant. The discarded pairs have been labeled "extensions" or "metaphors", sometimes with justification in terms of native commentary on the terms.

I would like to emphasize two complementary aspects of the social life of words, in particular words referring to social relations: 1) (4) above) the social features which characterize all and only those individuals related in ways labeled by each term, and 2) (also 2) above) the rules, explicit and implicit, by which the terms are used. There is also here an important distinction to be made between those words which are defined by historical events, thus unalterable, and those defined, at least in part, by ongoing events, thus alterable.

1) Given all of the pairs of individuals whose relations are labeled by the given (generally dyadic) relational term, we should be able to discern some feature or set of features which defines,i.e. distinguishes these pairs or subsets of them from those not so labeled. Descriptions of the social features which categorize labeled relationships are often parts of thorough ethnographies of social relations. Such features may include either or both historical relations, e.g., procreative, thus genealogical ones, or current relations, e.g., courtship, avoidance, friendship. We should distinguish here principles and expectations which natives may voice about how those individuals in these relations should behave, from regularities in behavior which may be observed. It may be that no one conforms to the rules -- to what is expected of them. In research, rules seem to be far easier to "observe", and are more commonly and more carefully

observed, than are regularities in behavior. There may be few regularities unique to each relational category.

2) In seeking such defining features, it may be necessary to discriminate classes of referents within the class of pairs of individuals to which the term refers, for any term may be used in different ways, that is it may come to be applied by a process involving different defining criteria. It is here that consideration of the code of terminological use becomes important.

While what I am referring to as "codes" are sometimes noted in the description of social relations and terminological systems, they are never, to my knowledge, systematically described or interpreted. The notion is basically simple: Children are not born with kinship directories hung from their necks; the terms appropriate for other individuals must be decided upon. Words may be assigned and used in different ways, to different ends. There are practices of word usage, histories of these practices, and there may be explicit rules of word usage as well. The use of some words, for example, may be strictly dictated by recognized or observable fact, e.g., genealogical relations. Use of other words may be in part determined by observable fact, but may also be a matter of permitted choice; that is, the optionally chosen relation is part of what defines the term. For example, a given individual either is or is not the father of another, regardless of how he behaves or what he desires. Being someone's lover, on the other hand, is precisely 'determined' by certain kinds of behavior and desires; when these cease, the relation also ceases. In our society, the absence of close genealogical relations is held to legitimize the arrangement of the lover relation; but

violation of the convention does not devoid the applicability of the term "lover" to individuals who behave in a certain way. Paternity is not negotiable or alterable, and does not depend on intentions; amity and intimacy are both negotiable and alterable, and depend very much on intentions.

Relations which are not historically determined or which are believed to be optional (it may be, of course, that love too is in the stars) must be ascertained by means beyond those which yield the historical knowledge relevant to determined relations, e.g., paternity. The relationships and their terms must somehow be arranged. It is here that the code of terminology use becomes more elaborate. It would seem that such codes must be universal.

I would like to suggest three important relations between the defining features and the rules of terminological use:

1) The practices and expectations of relations explain or help to explain the politics and economics of these relations -- the motives for which participants may seek or avoid them.

2) Historically and currently defined relations and their terms will be ascertained by somewhat different espistemological means, which may include the assessment of motivations in relations defined by current practice. Practices of term assignation will vary accordingly.

3) Given terms may allow variations in criteria for the assignment to pairs of individuals; some pairs may have come to be labeled by the term by one procedure, other pairs by other procedures. The code of terminological use may thus distinguish classes of referents within the term, differently defined.

Rikbakca employ a system of terms to categorize their social universe; these terms may be distinguished by the Rikbakca word, -pehe, meaning "to address". For any Rikbakca, all other individuals in the Rikbakca social universe may be referred to by one or by one of several of these terms. My description of this system omits many details.

The Rikbakca have a two-section system (Needham 1960), in which section membership is patrilineal: marriage is prohibited within one's own section, and is explicitly prescribed beyond a certain genealogical distance from one's mother (from the point of view of a male ego) and from one's father (from the point of view of a female ego). Rikbakca have no corporate age sets, and marriages are arranged (by any of several means) for individual couples at a time. Sister exchange is infrequent, but permitted. Violation of these explicit marriage rules confuses the application of the Rikbakca terms.

The system of -pehe comprises some terms which are historically defined and thus subject to no negotiation, and other terms which are defined by both historical and by current features. The bounded system as a whole is defined by both sorts of features. Those terms which center on the acts of procreation, terms of courtship and conjugal relations, are the most negotiable. It is on these variable relations that the following analysis focuses, taking as example relations between males and opposite section females, that is, 'cross-cousins'. Those relations which surround these, that is, are contingent on them, are flexible also, but less so; and other categories are yet less flexible. Thus relations among same-section members and lineal opposite-

section members and their close agnates are effectively determined by relations of conception and birth. (See Figure 1.)

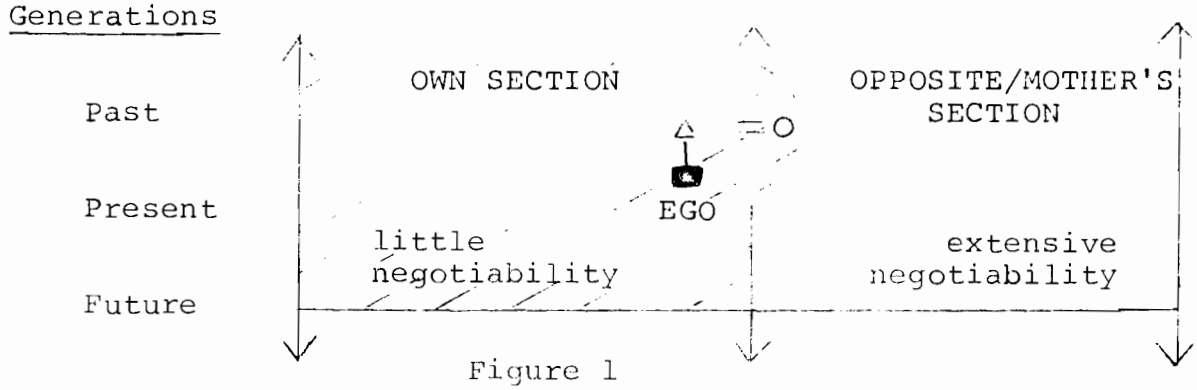


Figure 1

Rikbakca distinguish two levels of relations, the first of eligibility based on genealogical relations, the second that of practising relations, only some of which make explicit reference back to primarily genealogical relations. Firth (1930:262) makes a similar distinction between 'inferential relationships' and 'significant relationships'. Categories of eligibility may be compared with the qualifications required for certain kinds of license; establishable categories may be likewise compared with licenses granted when the qualifications are met, and sometimes when they are not met, that is, illicitly. Some terms used in referring to eligibility relations are also used as -pehe terms, but the two sets of terms are not coextensive. There are, that is, terms of eligibility which are not themselves establishable relations. Given relations of eligibility may allow a choice among a variety of practising relations; and each option may have contrasting behavioral expectations. For a given man, a woman who is the younger same-section member of one's mother's section may be called either "mother's younger same section member", or "niece", or "wife" -- each of these options carrying different implications. Some of the categories, terms common to both

realms -- of eligibility and of practice -- are used with different reference in each of these realms.

The pehe system has several striking features:

1. Preestablished Relations: Rikbakca speak of a -pehe obtaining between two persons when both persons have established or agreed that they are or should be related by a given category of the system. When asked how he calls someone with whom no -pehe has been negotiated, Rikbakca will commonly reply, "I wonder how it is", or "I wonder; is it such and such (a plausible category)? I have not addressed". Similarly Rikbakca say that they do not know how to call persons with whom no -pehe has been arranged; or they may deny having a -pehe by claiming not to have seen the other, or by claiming that the other has never been around, thus that they have been consequently unable to arrange a relation.

A Rikbakca may deny having a -pehe with someone whether or not he knows of the genealogical and nongenealogical information about the person which defines the categories of -pehe or alternative -pehe. In fact, when a Rikbakca does not know his genealogical relation with someone named, he will most often be able to calculate this relation by being told of intermediary relations.

What links this knowledge of the relevant facts of relationship for each case with the existence of a -pehe relation is agreement, most often between the two members to the relationship, sometimes between a member and some other close relation of the other, e.g., his wife or widow. Particularly for "affinal" relations, i.e., those which obtain between the members of the opposite sections of Rikbakca society, there is no -pehe where there has been no negotiation and no agreement.

2. Incalculability

Relations with some people and sometimes the people themselves are, or are said to be "hidden", "missing", that is, incalculable -- foreigners who have no relations within the tribe are incalculable. One may thus establish any relation with them, reasonable in terms of definable characteristics, e.g., sex and relative age. Until recently, adopted foreigners have taken on other relations in terms of the first relations established; presently the matter seems to be of little interest. Establishment here is of a genre both fact and fiction; it is a creation (based on appropriate qualifications) which counts, becoming a working part of the system, that is, taking on the implications of first choice.

Tribal members are also sometimes said to be incalculable, the relations with them unknown or forgotten. But a person may be said to be incalculable in full knowledge as well, i.e., if his 'fathers', those who have impregnated his mother during some period before his birth, are from both sections. Such a person is born into terminological confusion; he is indistinguishable as either same or opposite section member.

Most commonly, people themselves are said to be "incalculable" when they have violated some principle of behavior. Finally, a person with whom one wishes to claim no relation, though a relation may have been established, may also be referred to as "incalculable." People and relations called "incalculable", then, are those of which one does not know, those which confuse common knowledge, and those which one wishes to ignore.

3. The Establishment of -pehe

-pehe are established on calculable bases by various forms of negotiation or by various nonverbal acts. These are summarized in Figure 2 which follows. By the most direct means of arrangement, the two parties to the relationship themselves arrange a relation. Many such arrangements are by metalinguistic acts, that is, those which explicitly consider language use.

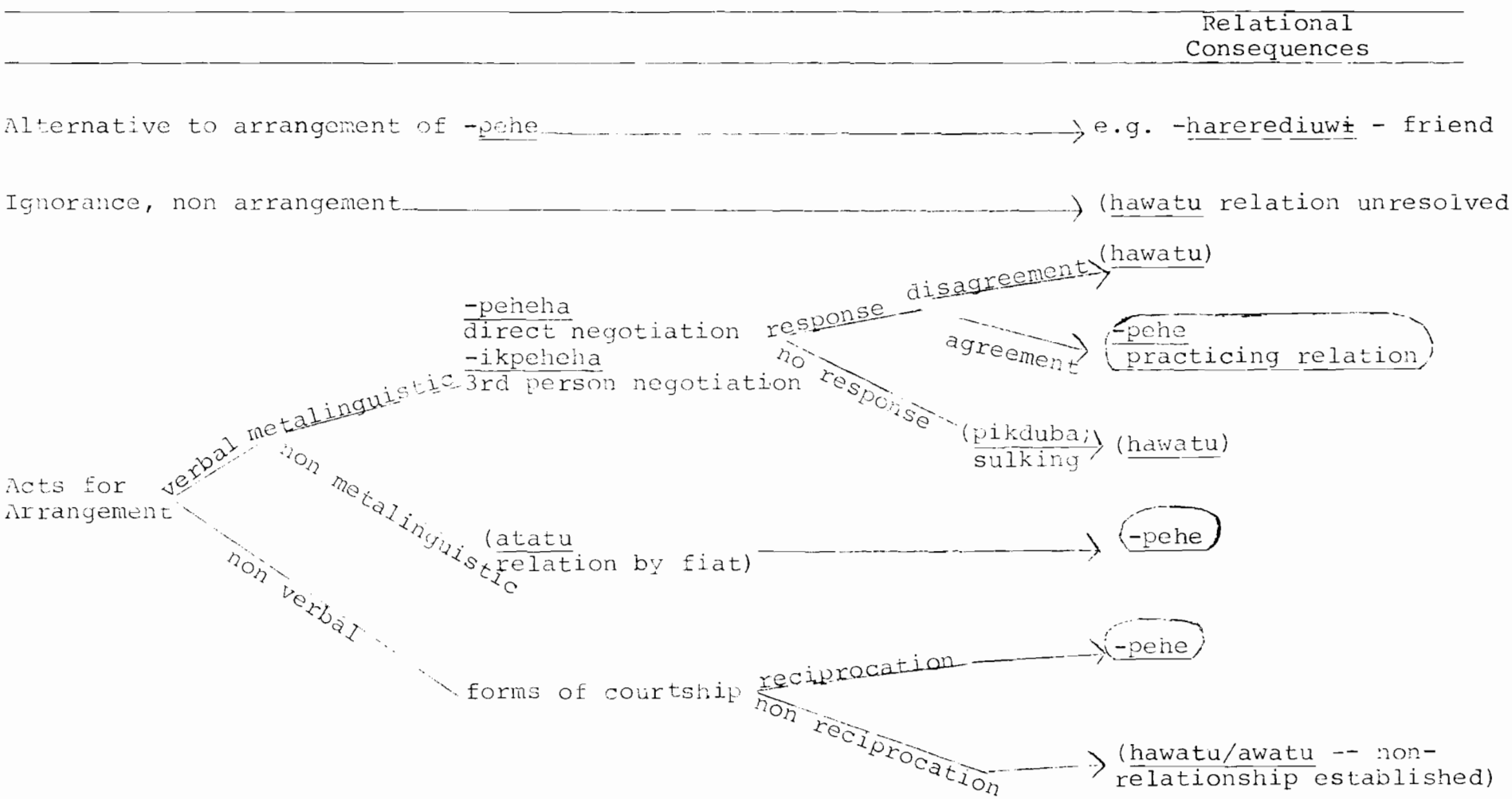
I have not witnessed a -pehe negotiation, but have asked specific questions about how particular relations were established -- "When you addressed, what did you say?"; I have also asked about the establishment of relations in general.

Rikbakca accounts of their negotiations show an exchange concerning what relationship and term to adopt, depending on what they are eligible for and what they want. Incimɨ (a male) told me of his negotiation with Mɨdero (a female), "'I don't like my -zopo (one kind of possible relation)', she said; 'my lover', she said". He consented, and thus arranged a relation of sexual intimacy with her, instead of one of social closeness and sexual distance.

Categories may also be arranged by a third party. Rikbakca call this "addressing for me." Thus, for example, the opposite section relations between men and women are sometimes arranged during their infancy or youth by a parent of one. Alternately, -pehe, particularly affinal relations, may be established simply by an initial address by one of the pair using the category, with the minimal acceptance by the other, that is, reciprocal response.

Figure 2

Summary of Acts/Means of Establishing Relationship



3.[b] Nonmetalinguistic Arrangement

Finally, relations of intimacy and coresidence may be established by nonmetalinguistic acts (i.e., those which do not explicitly consider language use), if not by entirely nonverbal acts. Thus, various forms of courtship establish some -pehe, that is those of courtship; and changes effected by sleeping arrangements, for example a man's tying his hammock by a woman's, establishes other -pehe, that is, those of marriage and coresidence.

In fact, some of the same words denoting these forms of courtship and residential moves also denote the -pehe thus established.

4. Inconclusive Establishment and the Establishment of Inconclusiveness

Negotiation and attempts at negotiation of -pehe are not always conclusive. One party may refuse to negotiate. Such a refusal is referred to as "remain silent", "sulk".

Or the two may negotiate without agreeing on a relation. Inconclusiveness, again, occurs almost entirely in affinal relations between males and females, relations in which one person seeks a relation of intimacy, the other a relation of distance.

Inconclusion can follow other than from failure to agree. One party may insist on inconclusiveness, that is, nonrelationship, by asserting "Being 'how?'" - the interrogative, "how?", remains a state. Nonrelationship, particularly nonrelationship by arrangement, is itself a relationship which denies the expectations of various possible relations. Such arrangements are infrequent.

5. Disestablishment and Reestablishment of -pehe

The establishment of -pehe licenses one relationship from among, and sometimes in violation of calculable alternatives. These relations, once established, rarely change. But they are not immutable. They change when there are significant changes in the relations between the persons concerned, or with changes in knowledge or taste for these relations. Again, mutability is greatest with, but not exclusive to, relations of sexual intimacy and distance.

A -pehe claimed of another will change when the claimant learns a relevant and previously unknown fact about the relationship. Also rare is the case of reestablishment in violation of the rules for the relation previously established. In clear violation of principles are intimate relations with kinsmen.

Common are cases in which -pehe of intimacy lapse or are disestablished. The change is often justified by "loss of affection" which brackets the relation, so that it is not clear whether it still exists or not and whether another might be established.

An Example

For a Rikbakca male and an opposite section female other than his mother, a number of options are open. See Fig. 3.

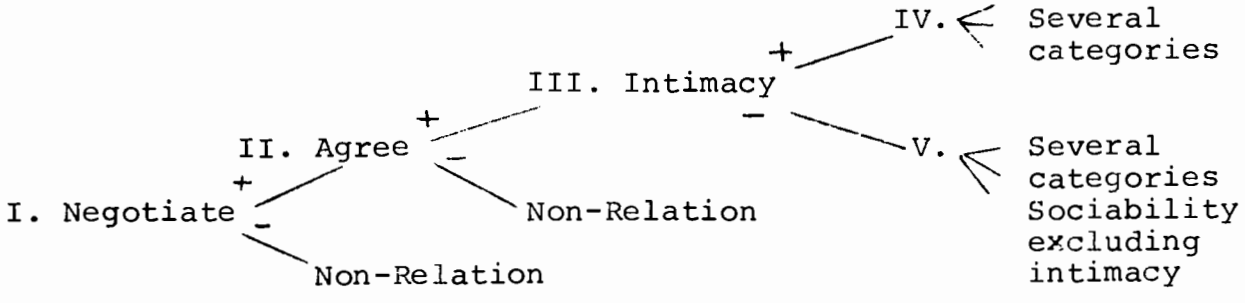


Figure 3

First they may but need not negotiate a relationship. If they do not, they have no term of address, no expectations for interaction; generally such individuals avoid each other. They may negotiate but fail to agree on a relationship, thus also arriving at this non-relationship. If they agree, they must choose either a relation of intimacy or one of sociability which excludes intimacy. The relations of sociability excluding intimacy are referred to as "mothers" and the terms for them are words explicitly defined in part by genealogical features, for example, "mother's younger sibling or same section member" and "sister's or father's sister's daughter". Rikbakca say "One's sister's or father's sister's daughter is called "-zikido" (one of the 'mother' categories)" and they also say, "One's sister's or father's sister's daughter is courted, taken in marriage -- thus "courted one" or "spouse". For a male, some women get classified in one of these mother relations or another because of genealogical connections, thus assuming sociability and excluding intimacy. But others are so classified both because of genealogical connections and to assure a sociable, but non-intimate relation. Other than opposite section membership, women labeled by these terms have no common distinctive genealogical features; they are all sociable but not intimate. Rarely, when these assurances are violated, the relational terms change.

Among the Rikbakca, it is quite common that no significant or practising relation exist at all between male and female of opposing sections. When a relation is negotiated, each of a male's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' daughters, and

his mother's brothers' daughters, and almost all females of the opposite section may come to be labeled by any of a variety of relational terms (see Fig. 3), choice among which depends on interests and actual interaction, as well as on opposite section membership.

If we wish to understand the meaning of Rikbakca terms of relationship, we must examine two aspects of each term -- one the genealogical specifications which Rikbakca give, the other the alternatives which a Rikbakca has in choosing terms. Understanding these alternatives requires understanding how relations and their terms are established, be it by historical knowledge or by this in combination with negotiation.

If we examine either how kin types are labeled by Rikbakca terms or what kin types are labeled by given Rikbakca terms, we will get two sorts of answers: 1) Rikbakca 'definitions' of terms, e.g., "one's ZD or FZD is called "kazikido". 2) Indeed some ZDs and FZDs are called "kazikido", but others are called by different terms and some women who are not ZD or FZD are also called "kazikido". Kin type equations commonly used to compare terminologies and social systems do not make sense here. In one sense MBD = ZD = FZD etc.: While these women need not be identically labeled, all are treated equally.

My argument has in some ways been quite negative or critical. Yet I believe that such terminological flexibility may itself be explained and allows an explanation of the motives behind the establishment of negotiable relations. This is a complex matter on which I have not yet embarked.

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KINSHIP DECISIONS AMONG THE MACHIGUENGA: THE DRAVIDIAN SYSTEM IN A SMALL SCALE SOCIETY

Orna R. Johnson

Abstract. This paper discusses how binary divisions in Dravidian Kinship operate in a society where affiliation to bounded groups beyond the household does not occur. The approach taken is to look at the order in the behavioral outcomes of decisions made by individuals when presented with choices by the kinship structure. Examples include 1) reclassification of kin, 2) oblique marriages and 3) behavioral networks of interaction. Although the kinship system is often disrupted by manipulation due to availability of kin and personal needs of the moment, the binary divisions eventually reappear.

The Machiguenga are an interesting case for this symposium because, although they provide a virtually perfect example of a Dravidian kinship system as described by Riviere, the structural dichotomy inherent in the consanguineal/affinal distinction is of less importance in understanding the Machiguenga than other dichotomies that operate at the level of observed social interaction. The Machiguenga, who number approximately 5,000, are Arawakan speakers located in the Peruvian Montaña. They typically live in widely scattered clusters of nuclear families numbering from 9-30 individuals. Kinship is reckoned bilaterally, marriage is preferably endogamous, and residence rules state that both a bride and a groom should remain near their relatives after marriage. The kinship system classifies parallel cousins as siblings and cross-cousins as affines and potential spouses; this distinction is extended to the +1 and -1 generations. It would be misleading, however, to see these dichotomies as the most salient features of the Machiguenga social system. The dichotomy consanguine vs affine not only lacks isomorphism at the level of social interaction, but also misses the full meaning that kin terms have in the lives of the Machiguenga.

In order to understand the significance of Dravidian kinship in the Machiguenga social system, we must not only consider the structural features but also the ways in which the system is put into practice in specific contexts. As anthropologists widely recognize, kin terms may have multiple meanings that are not explicitly expressed in the formal structure. The approach taken in this paper is to look at Machiguenga terms of reference and to discuss the behavioral outcomes of decisions related to kinship reckoning in order to identify the different meanings of kin terms.

Reference terms have an important communicative value in Machiguenga society because, until recently, the Machiguenga have not possessed personal names, although in some cases nicknames were bestowed according to an unusual circumstance like a physical handicap or an amusing incident. Given a lack of personal names and a limited number of kin terms, descriptive terms of reference are needed to help identify kinsmen who are not present. For example, in recounting personal history, one woman referred to her father as "my father, that one (pointing to his house), the one who fathered me, Justo."

The data presented here were collected among several household clusters in the vicinity of a recently established bilingual school. I elicited reference terms by asking each person how he or she refers to all other members in the community. Reference terms not only bring out the underlying qualities associated with different kinsmen but also enable us to see how kin terms are used. We find that kin terms are extended mainly to those with whom one interacts, namely people who live in the

local neighborhood. Of non-kin, the Machiguenga say "tera noh-hiteri," ("I do not treat him as a kinsman"). They give two reasons for not treating people as kin: "tera noneri," ("I do not see or know him"); or "noneakeri kogapake," ("I see him without reason") which means that the relationship is purposely left ambiguous, either because close ties have not been established or because keeping future marriage possibilities open is seen as desirable.

In ego's generation, kin terms neatly follow the two line representation of terms distinguishing "siblings" (including parallel cousins) from cross cousins. Reference terms, however, bring out a further duality of each of these categories. "Siblings" may be referred to either as affectively close blood siblings (notovainka) or as rivals of marriage (nocharine/nocharine). We find a similar distinction of cooperation and mistrust reflected in cross-cousin terms. Cross-cousins do not compete for the same women and can be trusted. They are referred to by kin terms that do not distingusih consanguines from affines. Hence, for example, the term ani refers equally to MBS and ZH. However, when affines are defined solely in the context of marriage, they are referred to as "the one who took my sister" or "the one whose sister I took." Similar affinal reference terms are also used between relatives in the 0 and +1 generations, for example, "the one whose son or daughter I took" and "the one who took my son or daughter." Such terms of reference bring out the obligation and indebtedness inherent in the affinal relationship. Use of these terms is not fixed. Just as Basso (1975) has shown for the Kalapalo, the Machiguenga refer to the same individuals with different terms of

reference in different settings. For example, when a man wants to ask for a favor from a cross-cousin, he may refer to him as "the one who took my sister", emphasizing the debt aspect of their relationship. By contrast, at a beer feast, where solidarity is important, he would generally refer to the same person by the kin term ani.

A related but nonetheless unique situation is found in the case of opposite sex cross-cousins. Individuals who fall into this category are designated as potential spouses and as such are the only relatives toward whom the incest taboo does not apply. As a result, there is considerable embarassment regarding the relationship. This is expressed by the fact that even though they are related by tracable kin ties, opposite sex cross cousins do not refer to each other by kin terms. The only kin term in this category is spouse. If cross cousins are not married then a formal relationship is denied and such individuals refrain from referring to each other as kinsmen. This establishes a barrier between sexually accessible individuals and reduces the potential for extra-marital sex that would be highly disruptive in such small and intimate social groups. This places opposite sex cross-cousins in a special class of their own because although they are part of the same kindred and reside in the same neighborhood, they do not refer to one another as kinsmen and avoid contact with each other to a notable degree. This is clearly seen in the case of eating behavior during meals. When several households come together to partake in a common meal, there is considerable intimacy and food sharing. Men and women tend to sit in two separate groups, but small pieces of food are passed back and forth between them. Such exchanges are

nurturant acts that give people an opportunity to express affection and solidarity. Direct observations of food exchanges show that the highest percentage of dyadic exchanges are between husbands and wives. Non-marriageable individuals toward whom the incest taboo applies (e.g. siblings and intergenerational cross-relatives) are also involved in food exchanges but to a somewhat lesser extent than spouses. Potential spouses, however, completely avoid food exchanges, just as they are expected to avoid sexual relations. This corresponds as well to a general lack of social and economic interaction: potential spouses do not work together, do not visit one another and generally do not engage in conversation, unless involved in an open liason, in which case they behave as if married. In this respect, a major distinction is between marriageable and non-marriageable relatives: potential spouses who should be avoided and other opposite sex relatives toward whom the incest taboo applies, treated as intimate kinsmen.

Examples of how these qualities are applied at the organizational level are seen in the kinds of decisions that are made when establishing new kin ties or when reordering relationships as new marriages are formed. Marriage, among the Machiguenga, ideally takes place within the cognatically reckoned kindred. When potential spouses are not available, a person pursues one of two alternatives: he may manipulate and redefine existing relationships in such a way that incestuous relationships are made marriageable; or he can establish new ties outside the kindred and thereby acquire affinal kinsmen who have marriageable daughters or sisters. Because actual bilateral cross cousin

marriages are infrequent, there is often a lack of congruence between the kinship networks a person inherits through his parents and the relationships that are established through marriage. This yields the possibility of classifying a kinsman in more than one category.

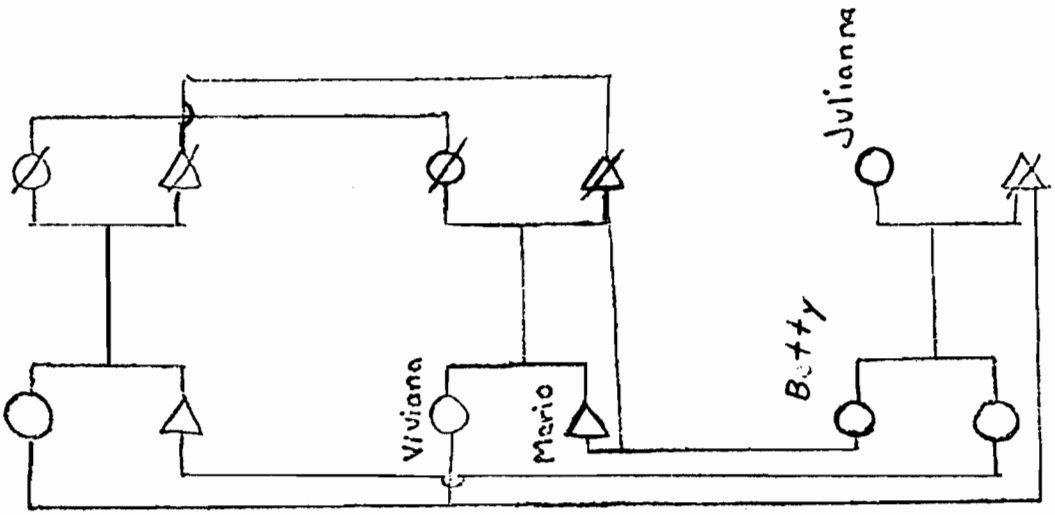
To determine the degree and quality of kinship manipulation, I compared genealogies with reference terms to see which category is used when there is a possibility of classifying a kinsman in more than one category. Three patterns emerge.

Case A, establishing an affinal link. When a man wants to marry a woman who categorically falls under the incest taboo, he will want to reexamine the existing relationships in order to establish marriageability. Very likely there are alternatives in the reckoning of his own kin, as seen in the case of Mario and Betty.

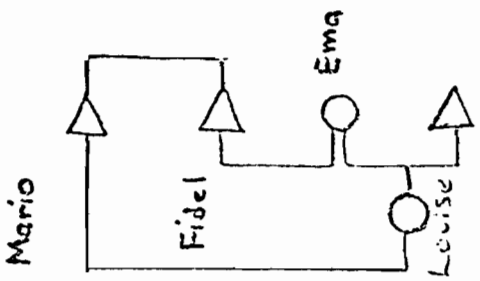
> Betty was married to Mario's father before he died and was Mario's stepmother. Mario, however, refrained from referring to Betty as his mother. Rather he treats Betty's mother Julianna as his sister because she was his sister's (Viviana's) co-wife, which makes Betty his SiDa, also not a marriageable category. However, a third relationship emerges through Betty's sister, who is married to Mario's parallel cousin; by this route Betty becomes Mario's potential spouse.

Case B, choosing kin terms to avoid adultery. When new relationships are established and marriage is not contemplated, there is a tendency, particularly in the extended family cluster, to choose mutual kin terms falling under the incest prohibition. This choice restricts the possibility of sexual involvement that might lead to strain, yet enables people to develop a close mutual relationship. This is seen in the following example.

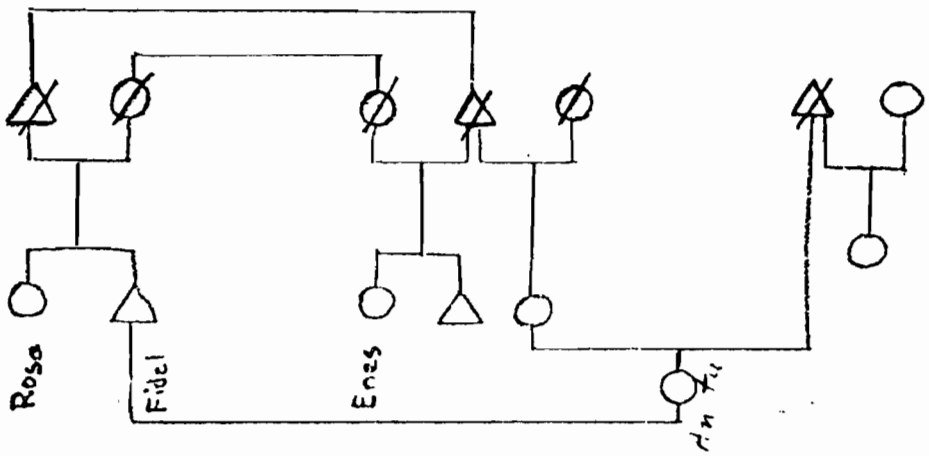
Fidel and Mario, two brothers, married Ema and her daughter



Case A relationships



Case B relationships



Case C relationships

> Louise. According to the terminological system, Fidel is both Louise's classificatory spouse (HuBr) and her stepfather. Likewise, Mario is Ema's classificatory husband (HuBr) and her son-in-law. Since further marriages were not being contemplated, the parent-in-law relationship was preferable to that of potential spouses. Fidel treats Louise as Da, and Mario treats Ema as WiMo. In this way they are covered by the incest taboo and thus may maintain close ties without the risk of sexual involvement.

Case C, "Updating" kinship ties. As new ties are established through marriage, kinship is adjusted to incorporate the more recently established relations and to eliminate the more distant ones, particularly when the marriage is not to a cross-cousin.

> Anita is Rosa's classificatory daughter (Anita's mother was Rosa's parallel cousin). Anita, however is married to Rosa's brother Fidel and because he is her MoBr, the marriage is incestuous . . . Consequently Rosa addresses Anita as BrWi rather than daughter.
>
> By contrast, where the previous relationship is based on a true consanguineal tie, the consanguineal tie is more enduring and will not be eliminated in favor of an affinal link. Thus, Enes, who is Anita's MoSi, as well as Fidel's parallel cousin, reckons her relationship to Anita through her sister, instead of through Fidel, and treats Anita as SiDa.

We see that the Machiguenga strive for consistency in maintaining the formal order, but that decisions are individualized. True sibling relationships, especially between same sex siblings, are the most enduring. Classificatory sibling relationships are regarded as "weaker" links, and may be eliminated in favor of more current relationships established through marriage.

In conclusion we see that the Machiguenga kinship system is based on a two line terminology that divides relatives into two categories-- those who are potential spouses and those who are not. The dichotomy, however, is not extended to the social collectivity since parents and siblings of potential spouses are simultaneously included as consanguines. The result is that each person accordingly has a core of close relatives upon whom he or

she can rely as well as several people who qualify as potential spouses that are avoided. Such a group need not be large because the emphasis is on internal solidarity among a small group of kinsmen rather than large scale integration involving outside relations of support. This system is especially adaptive under ecological conditions in which there is low competition to secure resources and in which residence clusters are typically small and maintain a high degree of self-sufficiency. Since marriage is chiefly endogamous, it does not intrude strong political implications into the making of alliances. Under such circumstances, an inherent opposition is between kin and non-kin, people who are intimately involved with one another and can be relied upon, and people whom one does not see and does not trust. This distinction also cuts across the affinal/consanguineal dichotomy by separating blood siblings from marriage rivals and cross-cousins who can be trusted from those to whom one is obligated.

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PEMON ZERO GENERATION TERMINOLOGY: SOCIAL CORRELATES

David J. Thomas

Abstract. The Pemon Indians of the Guiana Highlands of South America have zero generation kinship terms which are in apparent contradiction to their cross-cousin marriage rule. Opposite-sex members of Ego's own generation are not divided into marriageable and non-marriageable categories, since all of them are categorized with siblings. An examination of marriage types, post-marital residence patterns, and affinal relationships shows that such zero generation terminology is consonant with an emphasis on marrying close both genealogically and spatially and with de-emphasis of the quality of being an affine (a cultural suppression of the consanguine-affine opposition).

I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore an apparent contradiction between Pemon zero-generation kinship terms and a marriage rule which enjoins unions with a category including the bilateral cross-cousin. Simply put, the problem revolves around the absence of a zero-generation category for "eligible spouse." A distinction is made in Pemon zero generation terminology between own-sex siblings and parallel cousins, on the one hand, and own-sex cross-cousins/in-laws, on the other hand. No such distinction is made for opposite-sex kinsmen of own generation, and the opposite-sex terminology, for both male and female speakers, is generational. At the same time, marriage ideals enjoin a union with a category, specified by reference to the first ascending generation, which includes opposite-sex cross-cousins in its denotata. The marriage rule is prescriptive, in the sense that all unions are made to conform to it by ex post facto terminological usage. The exploration of this apparent contradiction between the marriage rule and the generational nature of the opposite-sex zero generation terms is the subject of this paper.

In a 1973 paper presented at the AAA meetings in New Orleans, Riviere suggested that a structural definition of the lowland South American culture area was appropriate, defining the area as a function of the two-line (Dravidian-Iroquois) relationship terminology. He considers some deviations from the two-line model, but comments as follows (1973: 5-6).

> While, as we will see, there are numerous societies which closely approximate this ideal and simple form, many societies in the area have terminologies which reveal all sorts of other equations and distinctions. Common variations include different terms for older and younger siblings, terms covering genealogical specifications from more than one genealogical level, and the absence at some level of a distinction between the two lines (e.g. a single term covering both brother's and sister's children). These variations can be regarded as epiphenomena (italics mine) that reflect local particularities rather than as evidence of some other ordering of the terminology.

I contend that the deviation from the two-line model evidenced in Pemon zero generation kinship terminology is not a mere epiphenomenon, as Riviere would have it, but reflects certain structural characteristics of Pemon society which differentiate it from other societies which are also organized in accordance with principles of direct exchange. What I hope to show is that one must consider the social context of terminological use, marriage practices and statistics, and the polysemic nature of some terms -- in a word, the social correlates of kin terminology. By doing so one can arrive at a principle -- the suppression of the quality of being an affine -- which, if it does not "explain" the form of the terminology, at least makes it seem reasonable and non-contradictory. In the process, I shall consider what relevance the Pemon terminological system and its correlates have for the characterization of so-called Carib-speaking societies (cf. Riviere, 1977).

II. The Pemon

Pemon are a Carib-speaking people living in southeast Venezuela and neighboring areas of Guyana and Brazil. They numbered 4000 within the boundaries of Venezuela in 1970, and number considerally more at present due to a population growth rate of about 3% per annum. They are divided into three mutually intelligible dialect groupings, the Arekuna or northern Pemon, the Taurepan or southern Pemon, and the Kamarakoto, who inhabit the valley of Kamarata and some nearby areas. They distinguish themselves from their neighbors, the Akawaio and Patamona to the east (the Pemon call the Patamona Ingariko and the Akawaio, Waika), the Makuxi to the south, and the Yekuana (whom the Pemon call Mayongong) and Shirishana to the west. Contrary to a recent review of Carib speakers (Basso, 1977:10), the Taurepan Pemon are not Makuxi and there are substantial ethnographic records pertaining to the Pemon (Koch-Grunberg, 1917/28; Simpson, 1940, among others).

Pemon live scattered along watercourses in the savanna or riverine forest portions of the tribal territory in settlements which range from one to six or seven households comprised of one or more nuclear or extended families. The households of a settlement hold only the settlement site in common, as each household is an autonomous subsistence unit which maintains its own slash-and-burn plots. Subsistence centers on the cultivation of bitter manioc, with fishing, hunting, and gathering also part of the subsistence round.

There are no corporate groups other than the household in Pemon society, and descent, as opposed to genealogical reckoning,

is not a principle of Pemon social organization. Pemon social organization centers on a bilateral ego-centered kindred, a category denoted by the stem /-yomba/ or "relative." The personal kindred contains persons classified as kinsmen who are not genealogically related to Ego, but each person has what may be called a "core kindred" composed of genealogically-traceable relatives out to first-cousin range. Pemon may know the names of grandparents, but do not know the names of grandparents' siblings and do not trace genealogical ties through them. Affines in all three medial generations form part of the kindred, though there are no precise limits in this regard which are uniform across different kindreds.

Pemon are culturally and linguistically unified, but have no unitary overall political organization. The only specifically political statutes in the society are those of the regional leaders or capitanes (Pemon /tyeburu/) who are mainly counselors in inter-family disputes in the various regions of the tribal territory.

The history of Pemon contact with agents of European culture has yet to be written, but Capuchin and Adventist missionary efforts have been prominent parts of Pemon life since the 1920's. While virtually all Pemon today are nominally Catholic or Adventist, and the effects of missionization are marked in material culture, economics, and in some ideological matters, Pemon social organization shows remarkable continuity over the last 70-100 years. This is attested to both by informant's statements and by the records left by Koch-Grunberg (1917/28) and Simpson (1940).

III. The problem of approach

It seems that kinship, as an anthropological topic of interest, is still today an arena of intense academic polemics, and indeed has been soundly denounced by some anthropologists as a fictitious subject. Herewith a few comments from Needham:

> To put it very bluntly, then, there is no such thing as kinship; and it follows that there can be no such thing as kinship theory. (1974: 42)

> What I am saying is that it does not denote a discriminable class of phenomena or a distinct type of theory. (ibid: 42).

From a different vantage point, we have the comments of David M. Schneider:

> 'Kinship is an analytic category which has been prevalent in anthropology since Morgan first invented it. In the way in which Morgan and his followers have used it, it does not correspond to any cultural category known to man. (1972: 50; italics in original).

> In my view, 'kinship' is like totemism, matriarchy, and the 'matrilineal complex.' It is a non-subject. It exists in the minds of anthropologists but not in the cultures they study. (ibid: 51).

Listening to these two anthropologists making such statements, one is reminded of Auden's phrase:

> His existentialists declare
> That they are in complete despair
> Yet go on writing.

Indeed, anthropologists in the field of kinship seem to take particular pleasure in either reducing it to a minimally-defined semantic domain and a set of genealogical equations, as Scheffler and Lounsbury (1971) seem to do, or in dissolving the area of inquiry altogether.

The Geertzs (1975: 153) have recently characterized the uncertainty surrounding the study of kinship as follows:

> . . .what once seemed so indubitable -- that kinship forms a definable object of study to be found in a readily recognizable form everywhere, a contained universe of internally organized relationships awaiting only an anthropologist to explore it -- now seems very much less so.

They go on (ibid: 154-55) to define three current approaches to the study of kinship -- the "affective", the "normative," and the "cognitive," to which they add their own "cultural" approach. The "affective" approach is the name they give to Malinowskian extensionists, in which sentiments formed in the nuclear family are extended outward in quasimetaphoric fashion. The "normative" view is identified with Radcliffe-Brown and consists of seeing kinship as a system of right and duties obtaining between persons in various status positions. The "cognitive" view, associated with the "ethnoscience" or "new" ethnography" movement in American anthropology, conceives of kinship as a categorical scheme, measured against an "etic" genealogical grid, which marks out certain sets of socially important relationships. Finally, in the Geertz' view, kinship forms part of the global "system of symbols and meanings" characterizing the culture as a whole, and while it has something to do with "domestic life" is rather diffused throughout the culture.

I find the Geertzs' classification of approaches to kinship valuable, as it seems that everyone has gotten at a part of the totality. It seems to me that whether or not kinship forms an isolable set of phenomena in any given society is a matter for empirical investigation. My reading of ethnography convinces me that in many societies, and particularly in many societies in lowland South America, it is in fact a discriminable set of phenomena and that one can talk about the kinship system in terms of sentiments, rights and duties, cognitive schemes, and symbolic meanings. If I eschew the approach taken by Schneider and the

Geertzs it is mainly because their approach is predicated on the global analysis of the entire system of symbols and meanings in a culture prior to discussing any one dimension of the cultural system. This exhaustive coverage of the cultural system is something which I do not undertake here.

What I wish to do is to practice a healthy eclecticism and cut across the various approaches to the study of kinship. I will try to examine a portion of Pemon life by looking at how sentiments or conventionalized attitudes, rights and duties, and a cognitive scheme all mesh in certain ways of doing things and of thinking about things. I do not undertake here a complete analysis of Pemon kinship terminology in its entirety, or even a complete analysis of the zero generation terms. While I do claim that the field of kinship constitutes a discriminable part of Pemon life, both in native usage and for purposes of anthropological analysis, I undertake to analyze only a portion of that field here. While I begin with terminology and terminological use, I do not consider this an exercise in sociolinguistics but rather a search for principles underlying both terminological use and the implications of that use. I will deal with both denotative and connotative meanings, and will not prejudge their connectedness, but attempt to point out the results of a postulated or indicated connection between levels of meaning.

IV. The approach taken

The domain of kinship in Pemon society is described by the various levels of meaning of the term "ayombaton" -- my relatives. At one level, all Pemon are kin, but this is a metaphoric

application of the term which is elicited in response to direct questions about the totality of the Pemon people. In conventional usage the term refers to a category -- the personal kindred -- and to the binding obligations of sharing without reckoning which the individual is supposed to undertake where members of the category are concerned. One of my informants, a very active and industrious man, would at times remark: "I help them and they seldom help me in return; but I have to, they are my relatives (uyombaton)." In fact transactions with relatives shade off from generalized reciprocity (cf. Sahlins, 1965) to a quid pro quo relation as one moves from kinsmen who are "close" spatially or genealogically to those who are more "distant" (Pemon /amwincha/) in either respect. Affines are considered members of the personal kindred (as noted above), though the limits of which affines will be included in the kindred are variable across individuals.

It is possible to construct, in the Pemon language, genealogies which include offspring of Ego's parents' siblings and descendants of those offspring, but which do not include relationships traced through grandparents' siblings. All adult informants in a regional population totaling 600 recognized this genealogically-defined "core kindred". However, they were insistent on the point that persons to whom genealogical relationships were not traceable were relatives. Even in cases where the informant was certain that no genealogical relationship could be shown, there was still the refrain "My father called his father brother, and we are thus brothers." It is clear that Pemon operate simultaneously with at least two models, one genealogical and one categorical, and that a principal determinant of Ego's

classification is a set of rules based on the terminological usage of Ego's parents. To argue that one of these models is prior to the other is to neglect the fact that Ego will invoke either model to justify his actions, depending on the context.[1]

The employment of at least these two models by the Pemon in their classification of kinsmen, compels one to use two types of denotata for the terms which can be included in the kinship domain. (I leave aside for the moment the problems involved in bounding that domain.) On the one hand, denotata can be expressed in terms of genealogical specifications or their equivalents. On the other hand, denotata can be more generally expressed in translations of the categorical, rather than the genealogical, model. The Pemon zero generation male speaker term /uyese/ may thus be defined in the following ways:

1) MBS, FZS, ZH, WB or what is nearly equivalent: male cross-cousin/brother-in-law.

2) Own generation relative or opposite side or line, i.e. own generation male affine.

There is a third gloss, which indicates the polysemic nature of the term for the Pemon themselves:

3) Own generation unrelated male, i.e. /-yese/ is the greeting term for males who meet each other for the first time and who can establish no genealogical or terminologically-traceable (through Ego's parents' usage) ties.

Both 1) and 2) above can be considered alternate glosses of the /-yese/ term, but they do not establish the polysemic

quality of the term in the minds of the Pemon, since both genealogical reckoning and terminological calculations based on Ego's parents' usages can be seen as based in Pemon notions of filiation and siblingship. These notions, however, must be inferred from a variety of contexts, including the Pemon theory of conception, and they are not explicit in the zero generation terminology. At the level of direct questioning and of everyday usage, the genealogical and the categorical models are both in use and are relatively distinct.

The above glosses give us denotata i.e. are related to the cognitive level of meaning of the term /-yese/. These denotata by no means exhaust the meaning of the term, since it simultaneously exists in connotative meanings which pertain to the level of sentiments (the Geertzs' "affective" approach) and to the level of associated rights and duties (the Geertzs' "normative" approach). We can define these connotative meanings of the /-yese/ term as follows:

Sentiments: veiled, sometimes open, hostility, mistrust. Pemon myths demonstrate cases of tricks and deception practiced by those related as yese/yese.

Rights and duties: balanced reciprocity. A quid pro quo, whether or not a sister exchange has been effected. Relatively strict obligation to repay favors, material exchange, etc., in kind over the short term.

We might note here that the symbolic hook-up with the /-yese/ term in the realm of Pemon myth is more concerned with the levels of sentiments and rights and duties than with the cognitive level of meaning; what are portrayed in Pemon tales are behaviors which

indicate the feelings to be encountered in the yese/yese relationship.

Having exemplified this three-tiered approach to a single term, we now proceed to a description of the zero generation terminology.

V. Description of the zero generation terminology.

The Pemon zero generation terms can be set out in a quasi-two-line framework as follows:

	♂	♀	♂	♀
♂ sp.	urui --- uyakon	na?nai --- uparusi	uyese	na?nai --- uparusi
♀ sp.	upi	upasi --- uyakon	upi	uyeruk

Note: the female speaker term /upi/ is broken up in address to two terms, /pipi/ for elder and /sioko/ for younger. There is also a female speaker term for youngest male sibling, /uyamixpɨ/. (cf. Thomas, 1971).

With this representation we can connect the following glosses:

Male speaker: /urui/: eB; elder male parallel cousin.
/uyakon/: yB; younger parallel cousin.
/na?nai/: own generation elder female.
/uparusi/: own generation younger female.
/uyese/: own generation male of opposite (affinal) side.

Female speaker: /upi/: own generation male.
/upasi/: eZ, elder female parallel cousin

/uyakon/: yZ; younger female parallel cousin

/uyeruk/ -- own generation female of opposite (affinal) side.

The partially generation character of the terminology, as noted above, contradicts a two-line representation of the terms. This "generational" usage goes back at least to the 1930's and most probably much earlier, since Simpson (1940: 537) records a crucial place of evidence on the question, showing that WZ = /uparusi/ (cf. Thomas, 1971:8) at the time of his investigations in Kamarata in 1939. Both Simpson's and Koch-Grunberg's accounts indicate that there were in the past, as well as at present, no zero generation affinal terms other than the husband and wife terms. There is no indication that the husband and wife terms were ever used as "cross-cousin/eligible spouse" categories.

The elder and younger distinctions take on some importance in light of the absence of an eligible spouse category for either male or female speakers. There is virtually no marriage in which females are older than males at marriage. The /na?nai/ category combines the respect due a person older than oneself with the social distance of the cross-sex relationship. All cross-sex relationships in Pemon society are characterized by social distance, except that of mother to male infant. A person in the /na?nai/ category may well (as an elder sister) have cared for a male Ego when he was an infant, and the /na?nai/ term at the level of sentiments carries an affective component which relates it to the sentiments of the young male for a quasi-maternal figure. If the na?nai/upi (younger) relationship

effectively rules out the possibliity of sexual activity by its emphasis on quasi-maternal sentiments and relative age differences which reinforce the "respect" and "distance" connotations of the relationship, the upi/uparusi ("eB/yZ") relationship exhibits structural parallels with the husband/wife relationship.

Age imbalance, cross-sex social distance and male dominance (consonant, this time, with the differences of the age imbalance) are parallel features of the upi/uparusi relationship with that of husband/wife. The point of difference is of course the question of sexual access; we will consider this shortly, but first it is necessary to note that the structure of the Pemon zero generation categories, by its omission of an "opposite-sex cross-cousin/ eligible spouse" category for both male and female speakers, has imposed a kind of limit on the degree of social distance that can be expressed in the categories. To see this, we note first that cross-sex social distance is marked in Pemon society in numerous ways, many of which are common to a great number of lowland South American societies and should cause us no surprise:

1) the division of labor imposes a separation in the areas of subsistance tasks: females tend and process manioc, males fish and hunt.
2) the order of eating; men first, women and children later.
3) reserve in the relations between brothers and sisters in the household.
4) early separation of boys and girls into activities that follow either the father or mother, respectively.
5) separation of the sexes in ritual contexts, especially in religious dance.

Employing for the moment a linear concept of social distance, we can see that the omission of a category for opposite sex, own generation affines means that a category expressing maximum social distance has been suppressed. That is,

X-sex distance + affinality = maximum social distance
(no category)

same-sex solidarity + affinality = medium social distance
(uyese, uyeruk categories)

X-sex distance + non-affinality = medium social distance
(na?nai, uparusi, upi categories)

same-sex solidarity + non-affinality = minimum social distance
(urui, uyakon, upasi, uyakon categories).

We could make this representation more complete by the inclusion of relative age as a factor in social distance, but it is not necessary for our purposes here. What the above representation shows us is that, if we had an eligible spouse category, it would be a maximally distant one in Pemon social space. In order to avoid this, the quality of being an affine, inherent in the designation of an "eligible spouse" category, is suppressed. But if the quality of being an affine is suppressed in Ego's generation, whom does one marry? We will see how the Pemon get around this problem.

VI. The Marriage Rule Circumlocution

The point of reference for the Pemon phraseology of their marriage rule is the first ascending generation. That is, for both male and female speakers, Ego is enjoined to marry a person standing in a specific categorical relation, that of /wa?nɨ mure/ literally the "child of" /wa?nɨ/. The /wa?nɨ/ term can be glossed as FZ, MBW, spouse's mother. In effect the /wa?nɨ mure/ category is a roundabout way of designating cross-cousins as potential spouses. Why should the rule be phrased in this way? Firstly,

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arranged marriages were common in the past, and the parents of both parties had considerable say in the marriage arrangements. Second, the only affinal term which both male and female speakers share is the /wa?nɨ/ term. Finally, the circumlocution avoids the need for a zero generation category while still preserving the bilateral cross-cousin marriage prescription. Symmetrical exchange, and an accompanying ideal of sister exchange are thus preserved as ideals in the domain of marriage while maintaining the primacy of the brother-sister model of social interaction in Ego's own generation cross-sex relationships.

The system is truly prescriptive, in that, after marriage, all mothers-in-law are /wa?nɨ/; that is, the marriage is validated by ex post facto terminological usage.

Finally, since there are no categories for cross-sex affines in Ego's own generation, Ego's only such affine is in fact the actual spouse. Affines of the opposite sex are not a social category, but only specific individuals. The /wa?nɨ mure/ designation is invoked only in the context of discussions about marriage, or in actual marriage arrangements. The quality of being a cross-sex affine is suppressed in Ego's own generation, where its presence would involve maximum social distance, and put individuals outside the "brother-sister" model of cross-sex relationships.

The Pemon ideal in marriage, while phrased in terms of the /wanɨ mure/ prescription, and including sister exchange as an ancillary ideal, also includes a preferance for marrying close both genealogically and spatially where possible. Though 65% of current (1970) unions were between genealogically unrelated

spouses, those marriages which do show prior genealogical relationships between spouses are divided into two categories: 1) cross-cousin marriages and 2) marriages with females in the "upase" category, a category which includes the sister's daughter in its denotata. Actual ZD unions, though relatively rare, do in fact occur. There is thus considerable (35% of all unions) marriage with consanguines.[2]

The use of the /-yese/ term as the male greeting term opens the way for initiating a sister exchange should one prove possible, since the sister of Ego's /-yese/ falls into the /wa?nɨ mure/ category.

The suppression of the quality of being an affine has been noted for at least one other Carib-speaking group (cf. Basso, 1970: 412), and I would contend that Riviere's treatment of the Trio (1969) represents a corresponding emphasis.

VII. Comparative Aspects.

Riviere, in a recent article (1977: 41) states that all Carib-speaking societies exhibit "certain fundamental principles as an invariant core." The superiority of "wife-givers" to "wife-takers" is cited as the main principle, along with "a tendency towards matrilocal residence, the lack of unilineal descent rules, and the absence of any corporate groups . . ." (ibid: 41). Certainly Pemon society fits well within this framework, given the asymmetry of father-in-law/son-in-law relationships, no concept of descent, matrilocal residence as the verbal noun, and the lack of corporate groups outside the household. I would suggest that the principle exemplified in this brief examination of the Pemon zero generation terminology and aspects of marriage practices be

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added to this list. The suppression of the quality of being an affine is a principle that we should expect to find, in various guises in many, if not all, Carib-speaking societies.

The Yekuana, western neighbors of the Pemon, have a zero generation terminology which does not distinguish opposite-sex cross-cousins/affines from cross-sex parallel cousins and siblings (cf. Arvelo-Jimenez, 1971: 51-54), while same-sex parallel cousins and siblings are distinguished from same-sex cross-cousins/affines. I have previously argued (Thomas, 1971: 8) that the Makuxi zero generation terminology as reported by Diniz (1965: 10) also exhibits the same form, though his later work shows a regular two-line form (1972: 80-81). More inquiry into the Makuxi case is needed to clarify fully the form of the terminology.

I am not aware of published accounts of the Akawaio and Patamona terminologies, so the picture, even for the Carib-speakers of the central Guiana Highlands is not complete. Even so, I have a hunch that the principle of suppression of the quality of being an affine will be found throughout Carib-speaking societies.

Notes

[1]The Pemon dual model which includes both "genealogy" and "category" as ways of defining kinsmen can be seen as analogous to the dual nature of light in theoretical physics. There is no single experiment which will decide on the priority of either of these two conceptions, just as there is no single experiment which will decide on the priority of either the wave representation of light or the particle representation.

[2]Actual grandfather-granddaughter unions also turn up in Pemon genealogies, but they do not appear to be part of current practice.

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Comments for: "Lowland South American Indians II: Social Correlates of Kin Terminology," American Anthropological Assn. Annual Meeting, December 2, 1977, Houston, Texas.

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This session along with the session organized by Jane Safer on peripheries and boundaries, which was presented on Wednesday afternoon, constitute the fifth Lowland South American symposium held at the annual meetings since 1973. It actually is the 6th -- the first having been the session on manioc held at New York in 1971. However, most of our attention has been focused on topics which relate to problems of social organization. The 1973 session focused on marriage, followed by papers on the nature of leadership and socio-political organization in 1974, descent and lineality in 1975, and age and sex in 1976. (It should be noted that a symposium of the International Congress of Americanists in Paris in September 1976 was devoted to "Social Time and Social Space in Lowland South American Indian Societies.") This session was stimulated by a point raised in the 1973 symposium by Peter Riviere and later discussed by him more fully in a paper on Carib speaking groups in a volume recently published under Ellen Basso's editorship. Riviere argued in 1973 that one of the features which characterized lowland South American Indian societies was their use of two-line terminological systems with, of course some interesting variations in the two-line terminology in specific societies resulting from or related to particular social arrangements.

The purpose of this symposium was to examine this variation in order to see what, if any, significance two-line terminology

and the variations on it have for 1) our understanding of Lowland South American Indian terminological systems and 2) for kinship theory.

In each of the societies discussed today there appears to be a distinction made between those kinsmen which are consanguines and non-marriageable and affines and thus marriageable - a feature which is supposed to be characteristic of two-line systems. Only in one of the societies, represented by Hahn's paper do we find anything approaching unilineal groups. The Amahuaca also at one time may have had unilineal groups. On the other hand, the Barama River Caribs discussed by Kathleen Adams, the Machiguenga described by Orna Johnson, and the Pemon discussed by Dave Thomas have bilateral kindreds. My own work with the Cashinahua, a group related to the Amahuaca, shows that they have a two-line terminological system, patri-moieties, each subdivided into two alternating generation/namesake groups which function as marriage sections in a system of symmetrical exchange. The kinship terminology is at times used to express the social categories created by these social groups. On the other hand the terminology is also used to talk about persons filling roles in an ego-based bilateral network of social relationships.

This leads me to two tentative conclusions. Firstly, that two-line terminology is concerned with establishing a class of marriageable individuals or at least indicating the manner in which an individual can create a class of potential spouses. A two-line terminological system either designates a class of individuals as marriageable by definition, or it provides the

mechanism for converting a consanguineal relationship into an affinal relationship.

Secondly, it is clear that a two-line terminology, and probably all kinship terminologies, are polysemic in character. A single set of terms can be used in a variety of ways; they may be used to express relationships which are fixed and unalterable or relationships which are the result of manipulation or negotiation (in Hahn's terms) of social ties, or both. While this flexibility helps to explain the usefulness of two-line terminology, it does not contribute to our understanding of why such a terminological system is so prevalent in Lowland South America.

Finally, I would like to reiterate a point raised in Dave Thomas's paper, a point made in Jane Safer's paper on Wednesday, and one I have attempted to make in several papers, which has implications beyond lowland South America, namely that the presence of unilineal groups in a society does not mean the absence of non-unilineal groups in that society. Both may exist simultaneously, and only one terminological system is used for classifying individuals within or categories of individuals created by these two systems. In societies which have both unilineal groups and non-unilineal groups, I would suggest that they operate in much the same way the so-called double descent systems work; that is, each operates in a different sphere of social life. Ethnographers can no longer safely say that society is unilineal or non-lineal with the assumption that these are mutually exclusive ways of organizing a society.

I would argue further, that on the basis of lowland South

American data, it is no longer possible to argue that kinship terminology is either a vocabulary for designating social categories or on the other hand that it is a vocabulary for talking about a core of genealogical relationships and other kinsmen using extension rules. Terminologies may be used in both ways, and in fact these differing usages may be played off against each other to provide for the maximum manipulation of social relationships.