Marriage Practices
in
Lowland South America

Edited by

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Kagwahiv Moieties:
Form without Function?

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The Kagwahiv Indians, who inhabit the east bank of the Madeira River in Brazilian Amazonia, claim to regulate their marriage through patrilineal, exogamous moieties.[1] In this the Madeira Kagwahiv—often denoted "Parintintin," a term that may be derived from the language of their long-time enemies the Mundurucú (Nimuendajú 1924:201)—are unique among tribes that speak Tupi languages in the narrow sense of the Tupi-Guarani family.[2] They differ even from the closely related "Tupi-Cawahib," encountered by Rondôn and later Lévi-Strauss on the Machado, who possessed numerous patrilineal clans, and from other remnants of the old "Cawahiwa" tribe that scattered westward from the Tapajos in the nineteenth century.

At first consideration, the system of moiety exogamy appears simple, harmonious, and unitary, firmly established as the regulatory principle of Kagwahiv marriage. As one examines their system more closely, however, the apparent neatness and uniformity of the system prove illusory. One encounters not simply individual exceptions to the rule of moiety exogamy but a whole category of Kagwahiv who occupy an ambiguous position, marrying indifferently with members of one moiety or the other. Further investigation reveals other principles at work in marriage determination, principles that perpetuate patterns of marital choice which are, from the point of view of moiety exogamy, indiscreet.

A thorough account of the Kagwahiv system of marriage choice reveals three separate systems, operating at different levels: a dual organization of exogamous moieties that remains exacting at the ideological level; a covert triadic system of exogamous clans, partially coterminous with the formal moieties, that is discovered in the actual marriage practices and is grudgingly acknowledged by perceptive informants who

strain to reconcile it with the dual ideology; and a system of alliances between discrete "lines" embodied in the practices by which marriage choices are, or should be, actually determined, embodying a complex set of rules that tends to preserve the discrepancy between the first two systems. Neither the first nor the second system is irrelevant for the selection of a marital partner, but the third is the most immediate set of considerations in the choice of the first spouse, and tends to carry the most weight.

The discrepancies between these three systems offer the individual Kagwahiv considerable latitude for weighing his own personal considerations in marriage choice, considerations political, practical, or of the heart, introducing an element of flexibility into what might abstractly seem a rigorously restrictive system of determination of marriage choice.

Such coexistence of dyadic and triadic systems, or the discovery of triadic systems in apparently dyadic social organizations, has been observed in other South American lowland societies, understood in quite different ways by Lévi-Strauss (1956, 1963a) and Maybury-Lewis (1967). I do not here propose any further discussion of the essence of dual organization, nor the intrinsic relationship between dyadic and triadic systems as such. These questions have been quite thoroughly discussed (Maybury-Lewis 1961; Lévi-Strauss 1960; Ortiz 1969:5-8, 136-37; Kensinger n.d.), and I have no new geometric or other perspectives to add to them. What I will discuss here is the persisting coexistence of such divergent and apparently incompatible models for choice of marriage partner within a single society, the mechanisms that make such continuing coexistence possible, and the ways in which Kagwahiv try to reconcile the resulting incongruities.

The very existence of such intracultural heterogeneity, of conflicting prescriptive models within a single domain of a social order, is itself a phenomenon of considerable interest. Such variation within a society has become increasingly a focus of theoretical interest in anthropology, as admirably formulated by Robert Murphy (1972). One intention of this paper is to explore the consequences and implications of such diversity of conceptual models within a culture.

The Theory of Moiety Exogamy

The Madeira Kagwahiv society is divided into two theoretically exogamous moieties, each named after a bird—*Mytum* (Portuguese *mutum*, "curassow") and *Kwandu* (*gavião real*, "harpie eagle"). So basic are these moieties to social definition of the person that a Kagwahiv identifies himself by his moiety affiliation before his personal name. Nimuendajú reports that when he first contacted them he was intensively quizzed about *his* moiety affiliation, his inquisitors being incredulous that he did not
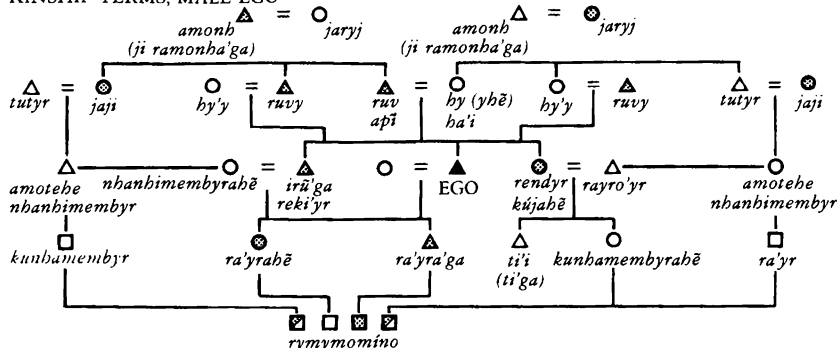
belong to either. The automatic answer to the question "What kind of person is he?" is always to give the moiety affiliation of the individual in question.

Kagwahiv terminology of kinship and affinity is in perfect accord with a system of exogamous moieties. It is two-line in nature: the terms for father's brother and mother's sister, *ruvy* and *hy'y*, are derived from those for father and mother (*ruv* and *hy*)[3] and are extended, respectively, to all older men of the parental generation (G + 1) in one's own moiety, and to G + 1 women in the opposite moiety. The reciprocal for all these is *ra'yr*, "child." *Tuty* refers to father-in-law and all G + 1 men of the opposite moiety, including MB; *jaji* similarly refers to mother-in-law, and to G + 1 women of one's own moiety, including FZ. The reciprocals for both these terms include *ti'i*, a man's son-in-law or his sister's son, and *'ai*, a woman's daughter-in-law or her brother's child. In one's own generation members of one's own moiety are called by sibling terms: *kuvy* for a woman's brother, *rendy* for a man's "sister," *irū* for a "sibling" of the same sex (see Figure 1). For same-generation members of the opposite moiety there are descriptive terms such as *nhanhimemby*, "child of my *jaji*," but the most common term is *amotehe*, undoubtedly related to Surui *amutehéa*, which Laráia (1963) glosses as "lover." In Kagwahiv this term has been so fully absorbed into the moiety system that it has been extended to mean not only any cross cousin (of either sex) but even any member of the opposite moiety—or any person considered "unrelated." Other Indian tribes are referred to as *kagwahiv amotehe*.
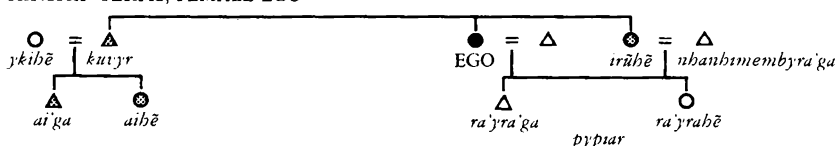
The birds after which the two moieties are named can be readily placed in conceptual opposition to one another: the harpie eagle (*kwandu*) is the largest of the South American hawks, fierce, carnivorous, high-flying, nesting high in treetops or crags, and considered inedible as are other predators. The curassow (*mytum*) is a large, gallinaceous, turkey-like terrestrial bird, all black except for its bright red comb, and highly prized for eating. Feathers of both are used in headdresses and for fletching arrows, and harpie eagles used to be kept in large cages as "pets" for their feathers.

In addition to its eponymous bird, each moiety is associated with other birds, by whose names they are sometimes called, which carry through and underline this opposition. The birds associated with the Mytum moiety are mostly other kinds of curassow, the *gwyra'yreru* (flute bird, Portuguese *urumutum*, "nocturnal curassow"), a kind of *mytum;* the *jakupem* (superciliated guan), another dark-colored relative of the curassow; and the *inamuhū*, a dark brownish-colored tinamou, very similar in appearance and habits to the *mytum* (Santos 1952:24, 127, 133). These are all dull or dark-colored terrestrial birds that are delectably edible and rather gentle. The two alternative birds representing the Kwandu moiety
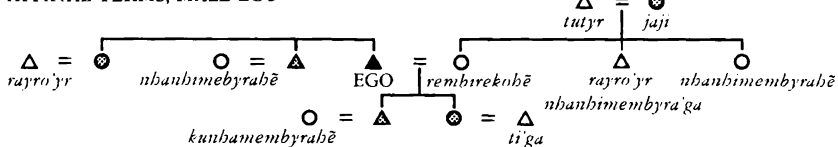
KINSHIP TERMS, MALE EGO

amonh (ji ramonha'ga) = jaryj   amonh (ji ramonha'ga) = jaryj

tutyr = jaji   hy'y = ruvy   ruv apĩ = hy (yhẽ) ha'i   hy'y = ruvy   tutyr = jaji

amotehe nhanhimembyrahẽ nhanhimembyr = irũ'ga reki'yr   EGO   rendyr kújahẽ = rayro'yr   amotehe nhanhimembyr

kunhamembyr   ra'yrahẽ   ra'yra'ga   ti'i (ti'ga) kunhamembyrahẽ   ra'yr

rymymomino

KINSHIP TERMS, FEMALE EGO

ykihẽ = kuvyr   EGO = irũhẽ   nhanhimembyra'ga

ai'ga   aihẽ   ra'yra'ga   ra'yrahẽ

pypiar

AFFINAL TERMS, MALE EGO

tutyr = jaji

rayro'yr   nhanhimebyrahẽ   EGO = rembirekohẽ   rayro'yr   nhanhimembyrahẽ

nhanhimembyra'ga

kunhamembyrahẽ   = ti'ga

AFFINAL TERMS, FEMALE EGO

ykihẽ   nhanhimembyra'ga   EGO = rembireko'ga   nhanhimembyra'ga   ykihẽ
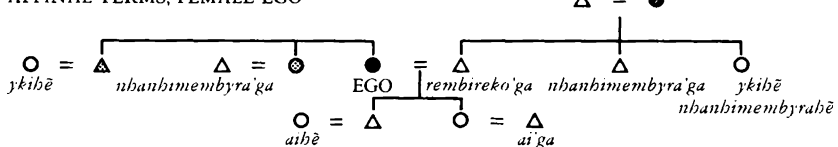
nhanhimembyrahẽ

aihẽ   ai'ga

FIGURE 1. KAGWAHIV KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY.

Division into "kinship terms" and "affinal terms" is for expository convenience; in general, there is not a sharp distinction in Kagwahiv, so that for the most part terms for siblings-in-law are practically interchangeable with those for cross-cousin, etc.

Notes: suffixes "-'ga" and "-hẽ" are (human) masculine and feminine gender markers, respectively.

△ = male
○ = female
□ = both
▲● = EGO
⊠△⊗ = of ego's moiety

membyr, which in other Tupi languages means "own child, woman speaking," has dropped out of Kagwahiv except in the compounds nhanhimembyr (jaji + membyr, "cross cousin, child of my jaji") and kunhamembyr (kuja + membyr "sister's child"). It has been functionally replaced by the less frequently used pypiar, "woman's child." Ra'yr, which in other Tupi dialects often refers to a man's child only, in Kagwahiv does duty for anyone's child.

I have omitted a number of frequently used sibling terms used by elder siblings to younger and vice versa, or to refer to one's next younger sibling.

are somewhat more diverse than the Mytum alternates, but follow the characterization of high-flying, high-nesting, big-beaked, inedible birds. Unlike the harpie eagle itself, they are both bright-colored; what they share with the harpie eagle is being prized for their feathers. The principal alternate bird names used for the Kwandu are *apyawytang* (or *ararovy*) and *tarave* (or *maracanã*), both members of the macaw family—brightly colored, very high-flying birds, with large, hooked, parrot-like beaks and long, brilliant tails. Macaws nest deep in the jungle, flying out at great heights to the river early in the morning to feed and flying back late at night. The macaws are relatively large, but the maracanã are by no means the largest of the family. Like the harpie eagle, though, they are considered inedible, and are prized rather for their feathers.

Another bird sometimes associated with the Kwandu moiety is the *japu* (oropendola), a relatively large, long-tailed oriole with a thick beak and bright yellow feathers among its black ones, with pendulous nests hanging in groups high in the trees. The *japu* is reputed to be voraciously omnivorous, eating anything at hand, including other birds' eggs (Santos 1960:213-16). Not being so high-flying a bird, nor so high-nesting, it seems less similar to the harpie eagle in these respects than is the macaw. Its meat, though not prized, is sometimes eaten. On the other hand, it would appear to possess the aggressiveness that characterizes the harpie.

There seems, then, to be some asymmetry in the relationships among the various birds representing each moiety. The birds referring to the Kwandu moiety seem much more divergent from one another than those representing the Mytum. They are all dramatic and prized for their feathers, but the *tarave* and *japu* are much smaller than the *kwandu,* and in fact smaller than many of the birds associated with the Mytum moiety. And, as I have noted, the *japu* lacks many of the characteristics shared by the *tarave* and the *kwandu.* Even its aggressiveness is somewhat more covert than that of the *kwandu.* Nunes Pereira, a widely traveled naturalist who has visited the Kagwahiv and published some of their myths (1967, pt. IV), suggested (personal communication) that the *japu* might represent a third clan.

Moiety exogamy is enforced by very strict sanctions: the result of violating it is automatic supernatural retribution, causing the death of a parent or child of the culprit. Even Brazilians are believed to suffer from such sanctions, for a Brazilian's loss of his father and children was blamed on his parallel cousin marriage. One middle-aged man felt considerable guilt over an adolescent liaison with a classificatory sister (FFBSD), fearing that it might be responsible for his aged father's current illness— 15 or 20 years subsequent to the liaison. (Less consciously, he feared it might have caused the death of his own child as well.)

Yet certain incongruities are striking. Despite the centrality of the moiety division to the Kagwahiv concept of man, and the strength of the norm of moiety exogamy, I could find no myth of origin for the moieties. In fact, in all of the mythology I and others have collected (Nunes Pereira 1967, Betts and Pease 1966), there is no reference to the moieties at all, with one possible exception: in a story involving a dance of birds, my (Kwandu) informant identified some species as belonging to the Kwandu moiety. Furthermore, despite repeated probing, I could not find any role the moieties played as such in any of the ceremonies (no longer performed) my informants described. The only other function these psychologically important moieties seem to have is in the assignment of personal names. Each moiety is said to have a fund of names for each stage of the life cycle. But even this is rather loose in practice, since some names are held by individuals from both moieties, and there are inconsistencies in the lists of names assigned to one moiety or the other. The lack of integration with other aspects of Kagwahiv life and culture leads one to wonder whether the moieties, for all their psychological importance in individual identity, might not nonetheless be a somewhat recent acquisition of the Parintintin, grafted superficially onto their institutions.

Gwyrai'gwara: The Clandestine Clan

Further research led to the discovery of some more fundamental incongruities. Genealogies, which a few informants could give me back three or four generations, turned up a rather large number of incestuous marriages between members of the same moiety, both in past times and among presently living individuals—including the son-in-law of the old chief Homero, who was my best genealogical informant. Virtually all of these incestuous marriages, furthermore, were between members of the Kwandu moiety, none between Mytum. In addition, it seemed to run in families: many of these Kwandu individuals who married other Kwandu had siblings or fathers or grandfathers who had made similar incestuous marriages. When I pressed my informant on this fact in one instance, he conceded that there are two kinds of Kwandu—Kwandu proper and Kwandu-Gwyrai'gwara.

The Gwyrai'gwara, Homero asserted, are a shameless, incest-prone group of Kwandu who will marry indiscriminately Mytum or other Kwandu.[4] He claimed that they were completely promiscuous in their choice of marital partners: they would even marry among themselves. But my genealogical data suggest a different hypothesis: they do not seem to marry each other, only Mytum or Kwandu proper (i.e. non-Gwyrai'gwara Kwandu). In other words, they form, in effect, a third exog-

amous clan, Gwyrai'gwara, who marry into the other two clans, Mytum and Kwandu.

Yet, except for this scandalous peculiarity of their marriage patterns, and the name denominating them, the Gwyrai'gwara are assimilated into the Kwandu moiety. The alternative names most used to refer to members of the Kwandu moiety—Tarave and Apyawytang—definitely include the Gwyrai'gwara; there seems to be no denomination referring to members of the Kwandu moiety excluding Gwyrai'gwara. (Though for convenience with my principal informants I used the term "Kwandu-hete," "real Kwandu," to distinguish non-Gwyrai'gwara in my genealogies, even this term in common parlance can include the Gwyrai'gwara.) Thus, while the Gwyrai'gwara in effect comprise a third exogamous clan, conceptually—for the sake, perhaps, of preserving the moiety ideology—they are completely merged with the other members of the Kwandu moiety.

One other name, however, does seem to be used by some informants more or less exclusively for them. Although I was at first given *japu* as a bird associated with the Kwandu moiety generally, I have not heard non-Gwyrai'gwara Kwandu spontaneously referred to as Japu. Homero refused to limit the term to Gwyrai'gwara, but other, younger informants used the term to specify that a certain individual was a member of this "nonconformist Kwandu" group. LaVera Betts (personal communication) reported that on the death of one Carlo Paquiri, a Gwyrai'gwara, one of the Kagwahiv pointed to a passing *japu* bird and said, "There goes Carlo's soul." The *japu* bird, then—the one that lacks some of the characteristics shared by the harpie eagle and the maracanã—seems to have specific associations (at least for some informants) with the Gwyrai'gwara, thus giving weight to Nunes Pereira's hunch that the Japu might be a kind of third clan.

Homero, the informant who first conceded the existence of this anomalous clan, was also able to present me with a history of its development—or, at any rate, with his theory of its origin. The ancestors of the present Gwyrai'gwara, he said, were enemies of the Kagwahiv who were assimilated into Kagwahiv society after their defeat two or three generations before pacification by Homero's Kwandu grandfather, Uparahu, who then promulgated an edict that no Kwandu should marry one. When a Gwyrai'gwara named Hajikwari wished to marry one of Uparahu's daughters, Uparahu refused to accept bride service or bride payment from him. The daughter nonetheless eloped, but Hajikwari's later attempt at reconciliation by bringing Uparahu a tapir was again spurned. Uparahu's children, however, seemed to have no such objections to *their* children marrying Gwyrai'gwara: Hajikwari's brother Pireró married a daughter

of Uparahu's son Tukáia (a half-sister of Homero's), and cross-cousin marriages in the succeeding generations led to a welter of intermarriages between this branch of the Gwyrai'gwara and Uparahu's descendants. At the same time, Hajikwari's sister made a "proper" marriage to a Mytum, and many of her Mytum offspring made cross-cousin marriages to her brothers' Gwyrai'gwara children. In other words, these Gwyrai'gwara— and other branches that intermarried with descendants of Uparahu and other Kwandu, as well as with varied Mytum—came to marry like a third clan, although in name and concept they maintained their affiliation with the Kwandu moiety.

The Gwyrai'gwara are evidently in a very ambiguous social position. Their existence is not readily acknowledged: it was only when I ferreted out the inconsistencies in the genealogies that informants admitted their existence; the Summer Institute linguists who had been studying Kagwahiv for several years and were well versed in Kagwahiv culture had not heard the name. Indeed, of the several anthropologists who had visited them over the years since pacification, only Nunes Pereira suspected their existence.

Not only scholars but some Kagwahiv themselves—informants who have no close kin married to Gwyrai'gwara—seemed genuinely vague about the status of Gwyrai'gwara in the society. One old Mytum man I knew well concluded that since the Gwyrai'gwara he was acquainted with were married to Kwandu, the Gwyrai'gwara must be a branch of the Mytum moiety![5] Such misconceptions, if at all widespread, could have led to considerable confusion about what marriages would be legitimate with a Gwyrai'gwara—though my Mytum informant may well have been simply evading the topic.

The anomaly of the Gwyrai'gwara within the Kagwahiv social system has radical implications for the moiety system itself. It means that the moieties no longer serve the principal function for which they are alleged to exist. The regulation of marriage has for several generations been carried out not by the moieties but by a system of three exogamous patri-lineal clans.

The apparent ease with which the Gwyrai'gwara were (in practice, as opposed to ideology) integrated into the system as a third *de facto* clan, and the fact that the system continues to function without in the least disturbing the ideology of moiety exogamy, raises further questions about the nature and function of Kagwahiv moieties. If their principal function were, as ideology maintains, the regulation of marriage, one might expect the change in the actual system of marriages to lead, over three or four generations, to a gradual erosion or modification of the moiety ideology. It might be modified, for example, into a three-clan

system on the model of the Eastern Shavante (Maybury-Lewis 1967:75). Yet the moieties seem as strong today as when Nimuendajú contacted the Kagwahiv 50 years ago. It is as if the addition of a third clan in the marriage system is almost irrelevant to the dualistic ideology of moieties. Granted, the third clan has been kept highly clandestine, but the three clans continue to be the real units that regulate marriage.

The persistence of this situation, in which the ideal rules governing marriage contradict the patterns followed in practice, is made possible by the existence in Kagwahiv society of a third alternative conceptualization of the determinants of marriage choice. Although this conceptualization is strictly embodied in only one category of Kagwahiv marriages—the normative arranged first marriage—and is not nearly as saliently emphasized by informants as the moiety system, it may well be as fundamental to the Kagwahiv conception of marriage choice as are exogamous moieties. This third conception can be reconciled either with moiety exogamy or with a system of three exogamous clans, and even makes it possible to account for the clandestine persistence of a triadic system in the face of the continued dyadic ideology.

Infant Betrothal and the Cycle of Marriage Contracts

Ideally, the initial marriage of a Kagwahiv is arranged by his or her parents while he or she is still an infant. Although this infant betrothal is not loudly proclaimed by Kagwahiv to outsiders, it is part of a complex system of marriage choice that is basic to the Kagwahiv conceptualization of marriage. Until recently, betrothal in infancy seems to have been the rule for Kagwahiv. Yet Curt Nimuendajú (1924:225-26), the first anthropologist to visit the Kagwahiv, was unaware of it. José Garcia de Freitas, who accompanied Nimuendajú and was long-time *encarregado* of the SPI post, noted that "parents determine their daughters' marriages" (1926:68) but was unable to say at what age or how marriage partners were chosen. Joaquim Gondim, an early visitor, remarked on the existence of infant betrothal (1938:31) but failed to appreciate the extent of its practice or the complex sequence of commitments of which infant betrothal is a part.

The betrothal takes place on the occasion of the child's being given its first name. This "play name" (*mbotagwahav*) is bestowed upon the infant by one of his mother's brothers, who thus places his claim on the infant as a spouse for his own recently born child when they should reach maturity. He thus "betrothes" (*opojiká*) his own child to that of his sister.

Such betrothals are part of a larger cycle. The brother who thus puts

his claim on his sister's child is not randomly chosen but is one to whom the sister (or her husband) already has an obligation, dating from her own marriage. When a woman is married, two of her brothers (real or close classificatory) are chosen to give her away (*gwerová*) in marriage to her husband. In receiving his wife from her two brothers, the new husband incurs an obligation to reciprocate by giving one of his own children (sex not specified) to each of these two brothers of his wife, to marry a child of his. When a child is born to the new bride, if it is opposite in sex to a child recently born to one of the brothers who gave her away, that brother lays a claim to the child for betrothal to his own by naming his sister's child. When these two children grow to maturity, they marry; two brothers are chosen to give the girl to her husband, and the cycle continues.

An example: Gabriela was given to Homero by her favorite brother Pope'i, her father's brother's son Tauat, and one other classificatory brother, Py'róva. Tauat had a boy, Sergio; shortly afterward, Gabriela had a girl, Emilia. Tauat came joyfully to Gabriela and gave her daughter her play-name, thus claiming her to be betrothed to his infant son.

When Sergio and Emilia grew to maturity and married, Emilia was given to Sergio by two of her classificatory brothers, one of them Jovenil, thus establishing obligations to give each of them a child to marry one of their children. The contract with Jovenil might not, under current social conditions, be fulfilled—although one of Jovenil's four unmarried sons might marry one of Sergio's daughters. One of the sons, in fact, was working for Sergio a few years ago, but vehemently denied that it had anything to do with a possible forthcoming marriage.

Ideally, the brother chosen to give the woman away is a real brother. If none is available, as close an agnatic parallel cousin as possible is chosen. A man who gives his real sister to another man thus establishes an especially close bond with his brother-in-law. Once Sergio, trying (while inebriated) to ingratiate himself (and coax some alcohol from my medicine kit) by offering me a wife, said—somewhat apologetically— "I don't have an unmarried sister, but I have a cousin," and proposed to ask his cousin's father to give her to me in marriage. Quite frequently— especially to judge from the frequency of first cross-cousin marriages in the genealogies—it *is* a woman's real brother who gives her away and gets her child betrothed to his. In such instances, carried out genera- tion after generation, the net effect is an exchange of women between the patrilineal descendants of the two men involved in the first transaction. The overall effect is, at it were, an exchange between two (genealogically defined) "patrilines," though they are neither conceived as such by the Kagwahiv nor named, and certainly do not form corporate groups. From

the observer's point of view, therefore, one may view this cycle of marital exchanges as (ideally) implicitly approximating a pattern of exchanges between genealogically defined but not natively recognized "patrilines."

The existence of this third mode of determining marriage choice may throw some light on the absence of concern about the contradiction between the ideal system of moiety exogamy and the actual three-clan system, and the fact that some Kagwahiv seem hardly aware of it, having only the fuzziest notion of how the third clan fits into the "moiety" system. One would think that such vague notions might lead to some considerable confusion about who is an acceptable marriage partner. The problems of this situation are much alleviated, however, if marriage choice is thought of as primarily determined neither by moiety exogamy nor by exogamy of clan but by a system that assigns a marriage partner in a manner which could be consistent with either moiety or clan exogamy. If one chooses a marriage partner in a way that replicates the marriage of one's parents, by marrying the offspring of one's mother's brother, then whatever particular kind of exogamy the parental marriage may have represented will *automatically* be guaranteed by the marriage of their offspring. By such a system of marriage determination, the exogamic relationships of the major units of the society—be they moieties or clans—will be preserved and continued, without the individuals choosing marriage partners necessarily being aware that they are preserving such relationships.

Indeed, with this system of determining marriage choice one can see how even a single intramoiety marriage, as long as it is properly carried out, would almost automatically snowball into a *de facto* segmentation of a moiety along "lineage" lines. If a couple both of Kwandu affiliation marry, then they are obliged to give one or more of their children to marry children of the wife's brothers who gave her away, resulting in a permanent alliance of marital exchanges between the wife's brother's "line" and the husband's. With the continuation over successive generations of the sequence of cross-cousin betrothal and marriage, this would soon lead to a segmentation of the moiety into two intermarrying "clans."

Although the data are not available so far back on who gave whom away in marriage, the genealogical data on the intermarriages between the Gwyrai'gwara crypto-clan and other Kwandu support this account of its development. As the accompanying charts show, a number of the marriages between Gwyrai'gwara and other Kwandu—and, for that matter, between Gwyrai'gwara and Mytum—are the result of cross-cousin marriages of the offspring of four or five such marriages in the generation of Homero's father, around the turn of the century, as already
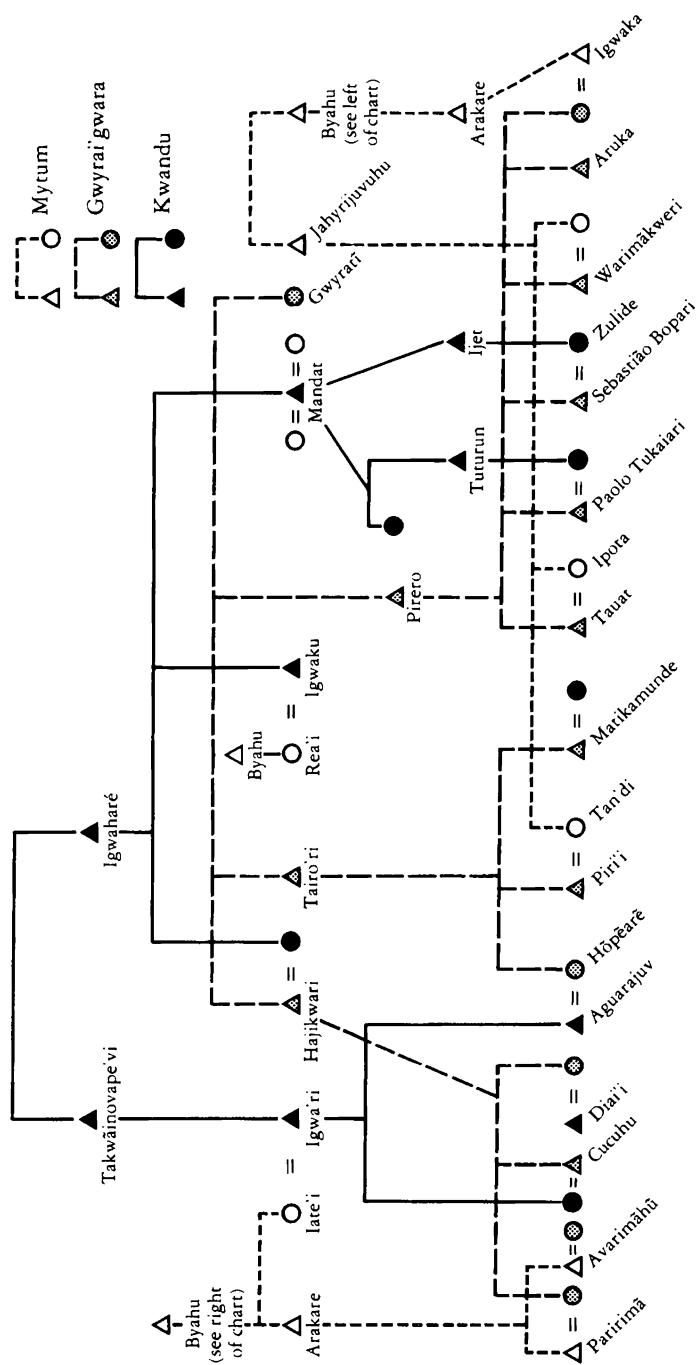
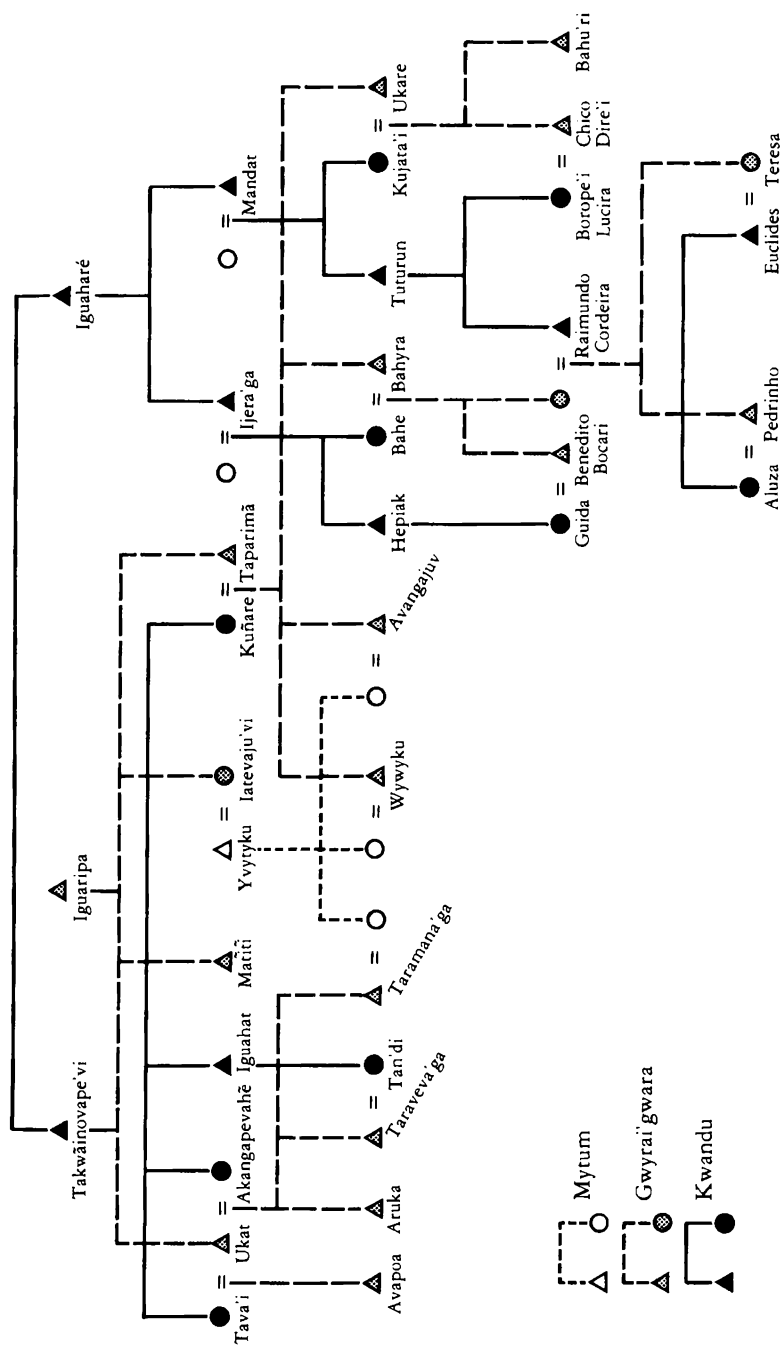Figure 2. Gwyrai'gwara I: Hajikwari and His Siblings and Their Descendants.

FIGURE 3. GWYRAI'GWARA II: IGUARIPA AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

described in the middle of the preceding section. Another line of Gwy-rai'gwara also intermarried primarily with the lines of Homero's father and of Igwari (see Figures 2 and 3).

The Marriage Cycle:
Its Articulation with Ritual

In contrast to the moieties, which play no part in ceremonies, infantile betrothal and the other events of the marital exchange cycle are integrally woven into the sequence of ceremonies demarcating the Kagwahiv life cycle, an index of how deeply this cycle of marital exchange commitments is embedded in Kagwahiv social structure. The "giving away" of a woman by her brother, the act that initiates the cycle, is a central part of the symbolism of the simple wedding ceremony. Subsequent stages of the cycle—the infantile betrothal that turns the general obligation into a concrete contract, and the event of the "first marriage" that fulfills that contract—are parts of two major (now defunct) life-cycle rituals, the infant's naming ceremony and the girl's puberty rite.

A wedding was initiated either by the bride's father or, almost as frequently, by a real or classificatory brother, who would ask the father to give his daughter to so-and-so in marriage. Whoever initiated the proceedings, the girl's father took the formal initiative, either approaching the prospective son-in-law himself or, more properly, asking one of his own brothers to act as an intermediary. This paternal uncle of the girl would speak to her and to the prospective groom, persuading both to marry. The reluctance with which both bride and groom responded to these overtures, so regular and stereotyped as to appear traditional, seems yet to have been quite real. The girl was often quite young, since girls were married as soon as possible after puberty (avowedly to avert illegitimate pregnancies), while a boy resented giving up his freedom for bride service. The brothers giving the girl away might join her father's brother in persuading and pressuring both their sister and the potential groom. Gabriela recalls being beaten by her brother Pope'i into submitting to marriage with Homero.

When the couple is persuaded, the relatively simple wedding ceremony is carried out. The groom is seated on a hammock, the bride's appointed brothers carry her to him and place her next to him in the hammock. Thereupon bride and groom embrace and are lectured in their conjugal duties by the presiding bride's uncle—and/or, some informants assert, by the headman of the group. The wedding is then festively celebrated by singing, playing of *jiru'a* and *yreru* flutes, and dancing.

The next stage of the cycle is likely to follow shortly, when the newly wed couple have their first child. If one of the wife-giving brothers of the mother has recently had a child of the opposite sex, or has one shortly thereafter, he proposes to perform the naming ceremony for her child. If she accepts, he comes after singing all night to her hammock, where she is sitting with the baby on her arm, and in a brief and simple ceremony bestows on the child a play name (*mbotagwahav*, often a descriptive name referring to a characteristic of the child) and in return asks that the child be given, later on, in marriage to his child.

No special form of relationship seems to obtain between the two betrothed children during the early years of their lives. Children appear to be free to indulge in sex play indiscriminately with children of the opposite sex, as long as they are also of the opposite moiety. But in late latency or early adolescence the boy of the pair may be adopted by his future father-in-law, moving in with him and working along with him, to learn the duties of a son-in-law. For a while the relationship is simply an educational one, but as the betrotheds approach puberty, the man approaches his young helper—or, more properly, asks one of his sons or brother's sons to approach him—and makes the proposal of marriage.

Once the two partners are reconciled, the wedding traditionally takes place following the ceremony that ends the girl's seclusion at first menstruation. The girl, who has been sitting in her hammock for approximately ten days immobile and observing rigorous food taboos, is carried down to the river where a ritual bath formally terminates her seclusion. She is then taken by her father's brother and by her own appointed brothers and placed beside her groom in his hammock. In this act they establish a new contract whereby the groom is obligated to give each of them a child of his.

The marriage is only fully completed, however, on fulfillment of bride service, which (for a first marriage) seems to have averaged about five years. During this time the couple remain part of the bride's father's family, slinging their hammocks in the same corner of the *ongá* (longhouse) and using the same cooking fire. The groom works for his bride's father (or, if he is deceased, for one of her brothers) in his fields, fishing and hunting for him, etc. Only at the end of this period may the couple leave the bride's natal household, to establish—if they stay in her settlement—a separate cooking fire and a separate spot in the *ongá* to hang their hammocks. (Nowadays, couples build their own Brazilian-style one-room family houses.)

The traditional cycle of marriage determination, then, is articulated with many of the main Kagwahiv life-cycle rituals. This contrasts with the slight role of the moieties in Kagwahiv ceremonial life, giving further

evidence that this cycle is at least as basic to the Kagwahiv conceptuali-
zation of their system of marriage choice as is the moiety system.

Parameters for Flexibility

The marriage cycle I have just described provides a basic model for the
Kagwahiv conceptualization of marriage contracts, at least for the first
marriage. If all first marriages were arranged exactly along the lines of
this traditional pattern, it would seem to create a rather inflexible system,
leaving little choice to the partners themselves.

In practice, however, while many marriages are carried out in con-
sonance with the cycle of infantile betrothal, not all—not even all first
marriages—conform neatly to this traditional model. Indeed, given both
the mortality rate and the degree of mobility in a warlike tropical forest
society like the Kagwahiv, it would be impossible for a system that desig-
nates one's marriage partner so specifically from birth to function with
full accuracy. The likelihood is considerable that a person's betrothed will
have died or moved to a distant area before the marriage can be carried out.
Thus the very rigidity with which the system determines a person's first
marriage partner, under Kagwahiv demographic conditions, requires
a degree of flexibility in the execution, and parameters are introduced that
pragmatic Kagwahiv can exploit for the expression of personal prefer-
ences:

Homero gave Lucira in marriage to Mohã'gi, at the request of Lucira's
father Igwa, who had adopted Homero as a child and brought him up. In
return, Mohã'gi's and Lucira's deeply loved only daughter Aluza was
betrothed to Claudio, Homero's oldest son by Gabriela. But Claudio,
in resentment for his parents' refusal to permit his union with a neighbor-
ing Brazilian girl, left the area to work for Brazilians. While he was
away, Mohã'gi married Aluza to Jovenil, since those two had been fond
of each other for many years. It is not clear whether Claudio's prolonged
absence was the reason for this marriage or the excuse for it; the latter
seems more probable, since Aluza and Jovenil claim to have been engaged
for several years before their marriage. Gabriela has still not forgiven
Mohã'gi for this.

The practice of having two or more brothers give away their sister
in marriage to some degree reduces the demographic vagaries of the
system, making it more likely that at least one of them will have a child
of appropriate age and sex to betroth to one of her first children. If not,
her husband himself may have given one or more of his sisters away to
other men, establishing new bonds to choose from. All of these alterna-
tives reduce the likelihood that there will be no partner available for any

given child, but they also create numerous conflicting obligations, not all of which can always be met. These conflicting obligations in themselves provide an additional element of flexibility and choice.

Gabriela, as described above, was given to Homero by her favorite brother Pope'i, her first parallel cousin Tauat, and his brother Py'róva, thus establishing potential bonds with all three.

As we have just seen, Gabriela's first child with Homero, Claudio, was betrothed in fulfillment of obligations established by Homero's giving his sister Emilia to Mohã'gi. This left her second child, who was named and claimed by Tauat for his son Sergio, whom she eventually married.

Now Gabriela also had a step-daughter, Camelia—the issue of Homero's earlier marriage with Gabriela's deceased older sister—about whose naming Gabriela gave conflicting reports. At one point she said Tauat named her also, but later she said Camelia was named by Pope'i, who thus claimed her for his son Janoari. She also asserted that when Camelia took herself another husband, Emilia fell to Janoari as *his* betrothed. (I am not sure what became of Janoari; he has disappeared from the scene—fortunately so, if Gabriela's statement can be credited, thus avoiding a conflict with Sergio's claims on Emilia).

Py'róva, the third "giver" of Gabriela to Homero, seems to have dropped out of the picture—perhaps because his son, Samuel Piroba, was betrothed to the daughter of Ukarepuku, who had given his own sister to Py'róva.

As important a consideration in making a match as the mutual attraction of the partners is the ability of the bride's father to get along with her husband, who must not only do several years' bride service but is also a candidate to stay on and become one of the core of his father-in-law's following. I know of at least one potential marriage that was not carried through because of antipathy between the man and his potential father-in-law. In Sergio's case, on the other hand, a factor in his acceptance of his contract-fulfilling marriage was his admiration for Emilia's father, Homero. Even more frequently a man's desire for a promising son-in-law may influence his decision—even, in one case, to breaking the betrothal of his daughter to another man.

The renowned leader Tupaiaku gave three of his daughters in succession to Homero in marriage, although no prior bond had been established by infant betrothal nor (as far as I know) by Homero's father giving a sister to Tupaiaku. The third daughter Tupaiaku gave to Homero was Gabriela, who was betrothed to another young man. Against her will and that of her betrothed, it is rumored, Tupaiaku married her to Homero— a fact deplored by Homero's current detractors, and thrown up to him by Gabriela when she is angry at him. Homero, in turn, very definitely

regards these marriages to Tupaiaku's three daughters as an expression of confidence on the part of Tupaiaku, and of Tupaiaku's personal desire to maintain a close relationship with Homero.

Even if the arranged marriage is carried through, various mechanisms allow the couple considerable freedom for further choice. Institutional polygyny permits a man to have a wife of his choice in addition to his betrothed, if he wishes. This, however, was not frequent. Nimuendajú (1924:225) believed the Kagwahiv to be strictly monogamous, and Garcia de Freitas (1926:72) knew of only three cases of polygyny (although I can document a number of instances of at least temporary polygyny from the early days of pacification). Informants are rather amused at Aguarajuv's five wives (at least three of which were simultaneous), considering it rather unwise of him. Polyandry, while occasionally practiced, did not afford women an equally attractive, socially sanctioned alternative, since the few cases I know of were provisional affairs of the nature of Surui "polyandrous arrangements" (Laráia 1963). But for the woman who is discontented with her husband's choice of a second wife, or who is unwilling to share him—or simply looking for an excuse to leave him—it is considered quite acceptable for her to refuse to accept a co-wife and leave. In some cases this may prevent the second marriage, but in others it provides an occasion for the nullification of an arranged marriage that was not to the mutual satisfaction of the couple.

Ukarepuku carried through a traditionally arranged marriage with Teresa, the daughter of his mother's real brother Paririmã. Teresa, quite young, was far from ready for the responsibilities of marriage. Somewhat later Ukarepuku took steps toward marriage with a second woman he was attracted to. Teresa's objection did not stop him, and she took the occasion to walk out on him. Ukarepuku's second wife bore a good many children for him, and they remained together to her death. On her death Ukarepuku persuaded Teresa—since remarried and widowed—to return to him, and spent his last few years with her.

Another instance did not turn out so satisfactorily: Homero's second wife tried to leave him when he married a third, her younger sister, after the decease of his first. Homero, however—a fierce warrior—retrieved her and beat her brutally, for which public opinion roundly condemned him.

The husband's taking a second wife was not the only occasion for the dissolution of marriage. Separation is rather easy in Kagwahiv society; many individuals, both men and women, have had two or three spouses, and not a few have gone through many unions. The submission to authority implicit in bride service, and in the frequent uxorilocal residence (since it is often difficult for a husband to persuade his wife to leave her father's settlement), puts additional strain on the marriage

bond. Even a loyal follower and (more or less) devoted husband like Sergio feels the restrictions that marriage and service to his father-in-law place on his freedom.

Yet many marriages are quite stable, and not a few couples have close, enduring marriages that last a lifetime. There does not, interestingly, seem to be much difference in this respect between arranged marriages and those in which the partners chose one another. Two of the strongest marriages I know are Mohã'gi's arranged marriage with Lucira and Jovenil's voluntary one with Aluza.

Thus the occasions and rationalizations for terminating a contract are numerous at any point in the contractual cycle. Similarly, new contractual cycles may be initiated at virtually any point, without the prior contractual bonds necessarily having been formed.

Some marriages later in life will pick up on earlier commitments of the marriage cycle that were not carried through originally. José Bahut's marriage to Camelia after the death of his first wife might be regarded as a fulfillment of the contract between his father, Bahut, and Camelia's father Homero. Bahut was one of those who gave Homero's first wife to him, but was not repaid by the betrothal of any of his children to one of Homero's. It is not clear whether José's marriage to Camelia could be regarded as a belated fulfillment of this contract, since Camelia is a child of Homero's second marriage, not of the first wife given him by Bahut, and Homero has not mentioned this marriage as the fulfillment of a contract. But this may have been a factor in his acceptance of José Bahut as a rather troublesome son-in-law.

If the contractual exchange model of marriage determination were strictly adhered to, it would be highly restrictive in determining marriage choices, at least for initial marriage. But sufficient parameters are built into the system to allow much greater flexibility than the outward form of the system would seem to permit; the very specificity with which the system determines marriage partner in itself becomes a source of flexibility through the frequent unavailability of the specified partner.

Yet all this does not mean that the marriage exchange and childhood betrothal cycle is unworkable, or that it does not play an important part in shaping the pattern of Kagwahiv marriages. While the system is sufficiently flexible to allow for alternatives when the assigned partner is unavailable, or when the partners to a marriage (bride, groom, or father-in-law) have strong preferences for a different arrangement, many marriages on which I have full data have followed this traditional form; sequences of cross-cousin marriages in earlier genealogies, for which informants cannot recall the actual wife givers and infantile betrothals, suggest that many of these early marriages may well have followed the

same form as well. The parameters I have described simply provide an escape hatch for strong-willed individuals whose preferences run counter to what their parents have chosen for them, or for those whose situation makes it impossible to fulfill past commitments.

Summary and Conclusions

I have presented three models of marriage determination, all consciously held in Kagwahiv society: a moiety system that seems deeply ingrained but does not correspond to the actual arrangement of marriages; a triadic clan system that is highly dissembled and even incompletely understood by Kagwahiv, but that is closer to the empirical distribution of marriages; and a complex system of progressively more specific contractual arrangements that amounts to alliances between patrilineal "lines" (not conceptualized as such).[6] All of these models are relevant to Kagwahiv marriage choice, but no one of them corresponds completely to the actual patterns of marriage determination—least of all the most official model, that of moiety exogamy.

The coexistence of the ideology of moiety exogamy with the *de facto* three-clan system invites comparison with the Eastern and Western Shavante moiety system described by David Maybury-Lewis (1967). At an approximation, the Kagwahiv system seems to be similar to that of the Eastern Shavante, whose three intermarrying clans are grouped into two moieties. Yet a subtle but important difference must be noted. While the Shavante triadic system is officially acknowledged and merged with the diadic one in a more complex ideology, the Kagwahiv triadic system is covert and denied, marriages between the two clans of the Kwandu moiety still regarded as dimly tinged with incest. The contrast becomes even more striking when the comparison is made with the Western Shavante, whose situation is a precise inversion of that of the Kagwahiv: the Western Shavante present a *formal* system like that of the Eastern Shavante, with a triad of clans grouped into moieties, but *in fact* the moieties are exogamous, so that the division of one into two clans is superfluous from the point of view of exogamic relationships. Where the Kagwahiv, then, have a dualistic ideology covering a triadic system of exogamous clans, the Western Shavante have a triadic ideology covering a real system of exogamous moieties.

It seems surprising that the ideology of moiety exogamy can persist so strongly, not only as an ideal but as the Kagwahiv description of their own marriage system, in the face of its blatant incongruity with the actual marriage patterns. True, many Kagwahiv—perhaps the majority— can ignore the existence of Gwyrai'gwara (or at least maintain only a

dim awareness of the category), as they are not directly involved in affinal links with Gwyrai'gwara, nor are their close agnatic kin; they can, without any serious confusion arising in their own kin relationships and terminology, go on thinking of the marriage system in terms of moieties. Yet one would think, if marriage was primarily determined in fact by the system of three exogamous clans, it would require consciousness of that system on the part of all Kagwahiv to maintain the exogamic boundaries properly. Such conscious awareness of the triadic clan system would, one might think, conflict with the maintenance of the theory of moiety exogamy.

The third model, I have shown, can explain how either the moiety or triadic system could persist even without full understanding on the part of the participants. To the extent that marriage contracts are carried through, the continuity of exchanges between different "lines" is maintained, perpetuating existing affinal relationships between particular groups of agnatically related individuals within each clan, thus indirectly preserving the distinctness of the clans themselves.

Speculating further, one may show how this model of marriage determination could lead to the establishment of the Gwyrai'gwara as a third *de facto* clan, even in the face of the theory of moieties. If moiety exogamy had been the overriding concern in choice of a marriage partner in Kagwahiv society, one would expect that, even if the first generation of Kwandu-Gwyrai'gwara persisted in their incestuous marriages with brother Kwandu, later generations of Gwyrai'gwara, having learned proper Kagwahiv behavior and become more "acculturated," might make more proper choices and limit their marriages to Mytum. Instead, they persisted in the error of their parents' ways and, far from being more discreet in their affections, perpetuated their parents' anomalous marriages. The mechanism by which the first-generation incestuous marriages were perpetuated in their children's was the bilateral cross-cousin marriage promoted by the third model, the contract cycle. Almost all of the current Gwyrai'gwara marriages to other Kwandu are thus derived from one of the few original such marriages a few generations back. A few intramoiety marriages in the first generation might, through the process of betrothing a child of the wife to a child of her brother who gave her away, lead directly to the founding of a third clan.

Various indications suggest that the third model, of contractual marital exchange through infantile betrothal, may be at least as fundamental to Kagwahiv thinking about marriages as the official model of moiety exogamy. For one thing, in contrast to the moieties, which are virtually absent from Kagwahiv mythology and ceremony, the process of contractual exchange is woven deeply into the sequence of life-cycle rituals.

The very perpetuation, through contractual exchanges, of marriages that were anomalous with respect to moiety exogamy confirms the importance of this model.

Additional confirmation of the fundamentality of the cycle of infantile betrothal as a Kagwahiv concept of marriage choice comes from comparative evidence from other Tupi-Guarani tribes. Although no other Tupi-Guarani tribe, as far as I know, has an identical system for determining marriage choice, variants of it occur in some, and some of its elements are quite widespread in these cultures. As Baldus documents (1970:293-94), childhood and infantile betrothal is widely practiced among other Tupi-Guarani and can be traced back to the early Tupinambá. Patrilateral cross-cousin marriage—which embodies the principle underlying the Kagwahiv marriage cycle, of a child being given in return for a wife[7]—is favored by the Akuawa-Asurini (Laráia and da Matta 1967:39-41); sister's daughter marriage, in which the exchange of a sister for a wife is even more direct, is a common Tupi-Guarani practice.

By contrast, the concept of moiety exogamy is unique to the Kagwahiv among Tupi-Guarani. The Mundurucú, who have exogamous moieties, are probably of a more distantly related branch of Tupi stock (Rodrigues 1965). Mundurucú moieties, moreover, are of a completely different nature from Kagwahiv moieties, consisting of two rather loose amalgams of phratries rather than the (theoretically) unsubdivided halves into which Kagwahiv society is split (Murphy 1960).

Exogamous clans, on the other hand, do occur with greater frequency. The closest known relatives of the Kagwahiv (other than the recently contacted Juma), the "Tupi-Cawahib" first visited by Rondôn, though lacking moiety divisions, have numerous named bands that Lévi-Strauss calls "clans" (1961:328) or "sibs" (1948:303), with the reservation that they only tend toward exogamy. His genealogies (1958) suggest that these group names are also those of patrilineal clans, but the 20 clan names he lists (1958:332-33) are names of trees, plants, and geographical formations, not bird species. The Surui, however—more distantly related Tupi speakers living in the Xingú—are divided into five exogamous patrilineal clans (Laráia, in Laráia and da Matta 1967:43), and the name of one is translated gaviaõ. The moieties could be the Kagwahiv variant of the patriclans that appear in other Tupi-Guarani-speaking tribes, including other branches of the old "Cawahib."

These three models of marriage choice all have their own validity. Each in a different way is deeply embedded in Kagwahiv social structure. But they are applicable in quite different (though often overlapping) contexts. The diversity of models available even in a society as small and technologically simple as the Kagwahiv facilitates individual adaptation to a variety of special social circumstances within the society, as well as

permitting the expression of differing individual proclivities. Parameters accepted in the society for adapting models to one another, or to circumstances, create sufficient flexibility in Kagwahiv marital norms to allow considerable exercise of individual choice, whether on the basis of politics or of personal preference.

This analysis may be compared with Lévi-Strauss's discussion of the Bororo in his article on "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" (in 1963b). A system that is at first glance formulated in exogamous terms is seen on closer inspection to contain a set of alliances that create groups of an implicitly endogamous cast—although in the Kagwahiv case the linked "patrilines" do not have any hint of the hierarchical ordering that Lévi-Strauss rather tenuously attributes to the endogamous groupings he ascribes to the Bororo. But my argument goes a step beyond his: even these ostensibly endogamous units apparently formed by exchanging pairs of "patrilines" are themselves only a formal property of the ideal system; in practice, the system is so unworkably complex as to allow considerable individual choice in marriage partners, with a resultant virtual overruling of the system of exchanging lines that appears so neat on paper. In the end, both normative systems of marriage choice—the descent-based moieties and the structure of alliances—are equally fictitious.

Recent theoretical writing, in redress of functionalist excesses of balanced integration, has stressed the contrast between norms and behavior, in dialectical opposition to one another. Robert Murphy (1972) contends that a certain degree of ambiguity in a social system is essential for its continued existence and operation, consistent with Lévi-Strauss's view (1963b) that a people's cultural formulation of their own ideal system is of necessity a deceptive disguise for reality, permitting flexibility and choice for the practitioners of the system. A new task for anthropology, undertaken in this paper (and in others in this collection), is to examine the ways that social systems provide (or that people devise) for manipulating the norms, or " 'playing' with the systems" (Murphy 1972:158).

The three different types of "real-unreal" opposition that Kensinger (this volume) describes in Cashinahua thought—real versus unreal on an ideal, absolute level, real or unreal in the real situation limited by the available possibilities, and real or unreal in the judgment of the speaker—might well be useful analytic categories for social anthropology, providing for greater precision than our simple dichotomy of "normative" and "deviant" behavior. Certainly, they are useful for understanding the considerations that go into a Kagwahiv's decision on marriage.

The different models of Kagwahiv marriage choice presented in this article—in particular, the two models of exogamy—exemplify a second phenomenon, related to the flexibility just discussed, that is receiving increased recognition of late: the existence of considerable change within

traditional societies such as those of the Amazon—change that takes place even without, or apart from, contact with Western "civilization." The addition of the third Gwyrai'gwara clan to the previously existing moiety system constituted a radical restructuring of the Kagwahiv social order. Informants' histories of the development of the Gwyrai'gwara "clan" trace it to the influence of a foreign group of conquered people incorporated into the Kagwahiv tribe. In this paper I have suggested at least a possible mechanism by which a few incestuous marriages by these foreigners, who were initially assimilated into the Kwandu moiety, led progressively to the development of what is effectively a third clan (though still not described as such).

This change came about—at least so it appears—in the last few generations before permanent contact with Brazilian society. While warfare with Brazilian society may have had some indirect effect in stimulating the population movements that brought the Gwyrai'gwara tribe in contact with the Kagwahiv, this change in Kagwahiv society cannot be directly attributed to contact with Brazilians in any way. In the more distant past the adoption of the moiety system itself may well have occurred in the process of the disintegration of the nineteenth-century upper Tapajós "Cabahiba" (Nimuendajú 1924) and the westerly wanderings of the Kagwahiv. At least the absence of moieties in any other known "Cawahib" group seems to suggest that moieties must have been a Kagwahiv innovation at some point, although there is no hint as to what internal process or external contact may have brought this about.

These instances of social change through mutual contact among lowland South American tribes are not isolated. Nimuendajú (1942:19-20) reconstructs that the Sherente clan system was altered in a somewhat similar way by the incorporation of alien Gê groups, and Arthur Sorensen (1967) has shown that in the Northwest Amazon such intersocietal contacts, and resulting intrasocietal changes, are commonplace. The relatively static and unitary models of society that have served anthropology in the past do not comfortably fit the realities of native lowland South American social systems.

Our image of "primitive" societies as uniform, simple, and static is yielding to a more dynamic and complex view of their social order. The situations we encounter in societies like the Kagwahiv invite greater attention to contradictions within a society—contrasts between ideology and practice, the coexistence of inconsistent models of (and for) social praxis, and the diversity of ways in which norms can be manipulated for individual purposes. These contradictions themselves are dynamisms that energize thought and the innovation of cultural forms (one of the lessons Lévi-Strauss took from South American societies). Attending to these inconsistencies, rather than trying to deny them by deciding which

is the "correct" representation of the social form or by fitting them all into a higher-level static model, may lead us to further understanding of change in social systems and of the creative contributions of individuals in their attempts to adapt their needs to their social order.

NOTES

1. The research on which this paper is based consists of nine months of contact time in 1967-68, supported by NIMH fellowship 5-F01-MH-29, 905-03 and NSF grant FA-1402; an additional two months of contact in 1973, supported by a grant from the Research Board of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle; and several months of library research at the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, who kindly opened their facilities to my use in 1966-68. I am also most grateful to Peter Rivière, Joanna Kaplan, and Kenneth Kensinger for their valuable comments and suggestions on this paper.

2. The Tapirapé, neighbors of several Gê groups, have adopted *agamous* moieties but no exogamous ones, while the Mundurucú, who do have exogamous moieties, speak a language of a different branch of the broader Tupian stock, not strictly of the Tupi-Guarani family (cf. Murphy 1960:7; Rodrigues 1965 and personal communication).

3. Terms of address: *apĩ* and *ha'ǵ*, and *hu'gwý* for *ruvý*. In transcriptions of Kagwahiv terms and names in this paper, *y* represents a high, back, unrounded vowel, like Russian yerih; *v* a bilabial fricative; and *ñ* a palatalized *n* as in Spanish. Other sounds are as in Spanish or Portuguese. Nasalization is indicated by a tilde except in certain common words in which nasalization is indicated by a final *m* or *n* as in Portuguese, a usage the Kagwahiv themselves follow when writing. In all Kagwahiv words and names stress is on the final syllable unless otherwise indicated, although Portuguese names are stressed (and pronounced) as in Portuguese. The transcription generally follows that of Helen Pease and LaVera Betts, with a few modifications generally in the direction of more phonetic transcription where theirs is more strictly phonemic.

4. Gwyrai'gwara means literally "eater of small birds," and was identified by one informant as a smaller *gavião* (hawk), the *gavião-tesouro*, "swallow-tailed kite." Note that the word for "to commit incest" is *oji'u*, literally "to eat oneself."

5. A Kwandu informant (brother-in-law of the one just mentioned) identified Carlo Paquiri, who I later learned was Gwyrai'gwara, as a Mytum.

6. In some ways this situation is an inversion of that observed by Nimuendajú among the Tukuna, whose complex system of alliances among individual clans worked out to a *de facto* moiety system without the individuals in the system being aware of the fact—or, at least, without acknowledging it (Nimuendajú 1952). Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira (1959, 1961) has suggested an analysis of the particular exchanges between "demonstrable unilinear descent groups" in Tukuna society that in some ways parallels the argument of this paper.

7. It is perhaps of theoretical interest to note that the Kagwahiv marital exchange cycle, while taking the *form* of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, is nonetheless conceptualized by its practitioners in terms of "short-term cycle" exchange like that characterizing patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (Lévi-Strauss 1969). The difference, of course, is that while Lévi-Strauss considers the items exchanged to be women, the Kagwahiv consider infants of either sex to be suitable "items of exchange" to pay back the receipt of a woman.

Tupí societies are those *par excellence* in which avuncular marriage is practiced. As Lévi-Strauss notes, this extreme of short-cycle exchange coexists in such societies with long-cycle bilateral cross-cousin marriage. But the short-cycle avuncular marriage is congruent with the Kagwahiv *conceptualization* of cross-cousin marriages as if they were short cycle.