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## THE DUAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE RAMKO'KAMEKRA (CANELLA) OF

NORTHERN BRAZIL By CURT NIMUENDAJU AND ROBERT H. LOWIE<sup>1</sup>

### HABITAT AND AFFILIATIONS

THE Ramko'kamekra (Canella) occupy<sup>2</sup> the village of Ponto, situated in the steppes of Maranhão, Brazil, about 78 km. south of the town of Barra do Corda. Linguistically, they represent the southern dialect of the Eastern Timbira division of the Gê family. A simplified scheme of this stock is appended herewith, with the proviso that Snr Nimuendajú is not yet clear as to the affinities of the Eastern branch (E). In this stock linguistic, geographical, and ethnographic classification happen to coincide to a striking degree.

#### *Gê Stock*

#### A Northern and Western Gê

##### I Timbira branch

##### (a) Eastern Timbira

##### (1) Northern Dialect

Timbira of Rio Gurupy, *et al.*

##### (2) Southern Dialect

Ramko'kamekra, *et al.*

##### (b) Western Timbira

Apinayé'

<sup>1</sup> Under the auspices of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California, Snr Curt Nimuendajú of Belém do Para has during the last two years synthesized some of his previous observations (in German) and undertaken two supplementary expeditions to Gê tribes in the interior of Brazil. The present paper presents primarily data bearing on dual organizations; his extremely ample material on ceremonialism has been rigidly excluded except when too intimately interwoven with social structure to permit segregation. Even so it is not easy to summarize clearly the characteristics of a society simultaneously recognizing four distinct principles of dichotomy, two being of tribal scope, the other two limited to males. The data here presented supersede Nimuendajú's brief notes in *Anthropos*, Vol. 24, pp. 670-72, 1929 and E. H. Snethlage's relevant statements in his article *Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern* (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 62, pp. 111-205, 1931).—R. H. L.

<sup>2</sup> The epidemic of 1935 and the death of the oldest chief led to disorganization and a schism into two separate hamlets, but in 1936 Snr Nimuendajú effected a reconciliation and a joint celebration of the Tep-Yarkwa' festival in a new village.—R. H. L.

- II Northern Kayapo'
- III Southern Kayapo'
- IV Suya'
- B Central Gê
  - I Akwe
    - Šere'nte
    - Šavante
    - Sakriaba'
  - II Akroa'
- C Southern Gê (Kaingang-Ingain)
  - I Kaingang
    - (a) Coroado-Kaingang
    - (b) Guayanã of Faxina
    - (c) Botocudo of Santa Catharina
  - II Ingain
- D Jaico'
- E Kamakan, *et al.*

#### THE VILLAGE

Several years ago Ponto had a population of 298, housed in thirty huts ranged in the circumference of a circle. Directly within the circumference there runs a broad concentric street, while the middle of the settlement is marked off as a circular plaza with which each hut is connected by a radial path. Thus, Ponto as a whole represents the appearance of a spoked wheel. Away from the village there are roads about 15 m. wide, which lead into the steppe toward the cardinal directions, the northern road being 17 km. in length. These roads figure prominently in the relay races, which play a conspicuous part among native pastimes.

The present huts are rectangular gabled structures, which the Indians assert represent their ancient type. This is questionable, for in 1814 Major Francisco de Paula Ribeiro noted only small round huts. Even today the women put up hemispherical, semi-ovoid, occasionally conical structures of three meters diameter—approximately the maximum size consonant with the material and technique. On the other hand, some ampler type must have antedated these small huts since the several social and ceremonial groups, one of which still numbered 57 in 1933, require larger domiciles for their meetings. Possibly Ribeiro did not visit the Ramko kamekra during the rainy season.

The women own the houses, and residence is definitely matrilineal. Adult men, however, continue to frequent their maternal homes, where they enjoy greater prestige than the husbands of their kinswomen; and a widower or divorced man naturally returns to his old home. A couple may, indeed,

occupy a separate hut, but in that case it is immediately adjacent to the wife's mother's.

The resulting extended family protects its members, but plays a minor part since it lacks either ceremonial or economic functions. Not the matrilineal household, but each married woman figures as the owner of a plot for

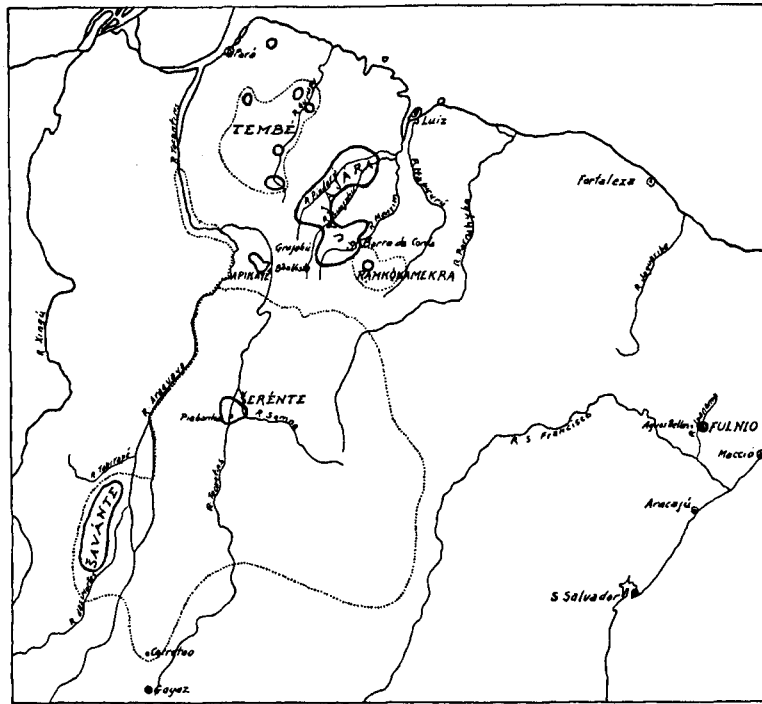


FIG. 1. Map of northeastern Brazil, showing the location of the Ramko'kamekra and other tribes. The Fulnio speak an isolated language; the Tembe' and Guajaja'ra are of the Tupi stock.

cultivation. In this context it is well to correct the picture of all Gê as pure nomads. The Ramko'kamekra, while mainly dependent on hunting and gathering, also did some farming. Indeed, they grew a plant of the genus *Cissus*, unknown to the neighboring Tupi' and the neo-Brazilians.

#### EXOGENOUS MOIETIES

There are two distinct principles of dichotomy that affect the entire tribe, yielding the exogamous and the Rainy Season moieties, respectively.

The tribe is divided into two matrilineal, non-totemic, theoretically exogamous moieties of equal rank, Ko'i-kateye (ko'i, east) and Hara'-kateye (hara', west), the latter occupying a somewhat larger part of the village circle. Moiety emblems are lacking. Apart from the regulation of

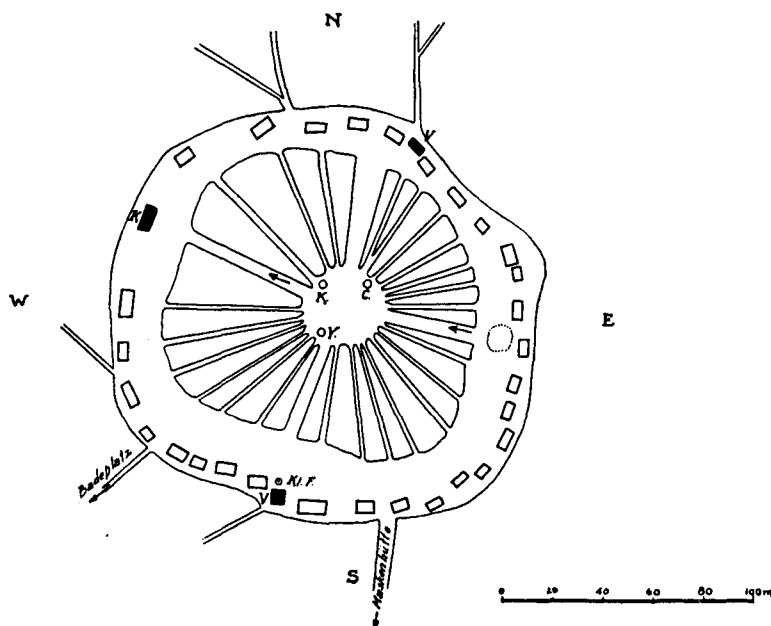


FIG. 2. Ramko'kamekra village at time of Kokrit (Mummers') ceremony. Note the circular plan of the village, the ring-shaped thoroughfare left in front of the houses, the radial lanes connecting this boulevard with the central plaza. For the convenience of the Kokrit the lanes leading from their assembly hut (K) in the west of the plaza and thence to a spot for assemblage diametrically opposite their hut have been specially widened. Note the diametrically opposite location of the two Vu'te' houses (V), that of the northeastern sector housing the Agouti society, that of the southwestern sector the Jaguar society, two organizations always collaborating in the performance with the Mummers. The south pointing arrow indicates the direction of the shed two km. away in which the masks are made. In the center the circles marked K, C, Y indicate the plaza sites proper to the Mummers, Agouti, and Jaguar societies, respectively. Kl F represents the hut of the actor called the Little Falcon.

marriage, the moieties are of little significance. The exogamous rule is rapidly breaking down, notwithstanding the disapproval of the old guard.

Contrary to Sneathlage's findings, the moieties have no separate chiefs, nor are they subdivided into age-classes, which embrace members of both moieties.

## RAINY SEASON MOIETIES

The second tribal dichotomy holds seasonally. The Ramko'kamekra divide the year into two parts, Vu'te' and Meipimra'k, which roughly coincide with the dry and the rainy season, respectively. During the latter the village is bisected into the Ka' and the Atu'k, designations used with distinct masculine and feminine suffixes. These units may be called "Rainy Season moieties." They are not coterminous with the exogamous moieties; affiliation hinges on one's set of personal names, which automatically determines membership.

A boy acquires his set of names, one after another, from matrilineal kinsmen; a girl gets hers from patrilineal kinswomen. As a rule the transfer is from one generation to the immediately adjacent lower generation, but it is not unusual to skip a generation or two. On the other hand, there are occasional transfers within a generation if the individuals concerned are separated by a considerable difference of age. The Ramko'kamekra themselves regard as ideal the conveyance of names from a maternal uncle to a sister's son, and from a paternal aunt to a brother's daughter. Actually, of twenty-eight cases genealogically examined only five conformed to this norm. This must be correlated with a principle of reciprocity that asserts itself in any transfer: if a man lacks a daughter to whom his sister could transmit her name series, she does not permit her brother to pass his set on to her son, but will cast about for a more remote kinsman who has a daughter. Thus, Waka'i had a sister, Pieka'ra, but no daughter, hence did not transfer his names to his nephew.

In this conveyance of name sets, siblings by adoption are reckoned equivalent to blood-siblings. Further, the notion of co-paternity extends the range of donors and recipients. If a pregnant woman has extra-marital relations with a man, the adulterer and her lawful husband are both subject to the couvade and both figure as fathers of the child. Thus, on Patkwei's birth her mother, Kopkre, confessed having had intercourse with one Hukraino. Consequently Patkwei became the sister of Hukraino's legitimate son Kroyamri, to whose daughter she gave her own name, while Kroyamri conferred his name on Patkwei's son.

Normally, a person transfers his or her names to a single recipient. But if the donor should die before completing the conveyance of the entire set, he is succeeded by a second transferrer. This involves the possibility of changing one's membership in the Rainy Season units. One girl acquired her paternal aunt's name Kentapi, thereby becoming a member of the Ka half. When the aunt died, another patrilineal kinswoman gave the niece *her*

names, which happened to be *Atu'k* and thus automatically transferred the girl to the *Atu'k* half. The potential impermanence of individual affiliation with these groups thus contrasts with the hereditary membership in the exogamous moieties. An individual who owns names pertaining to distinct sets is careful not to mix series in conveyance.

Not only the *Ramko'kamekra* and their name series are apportioned to the Rainy Season moieties, but all of nature is antithetically divided between them, as indicated by the following partial scheme:

<i>Ka</i>	<i>Atu'k</i>
East	West
Sun	Moon
Day	Night
Dry Season	Rainy Season
Fire	Firewood
Earth	Water
Red	Black
Red plants and animals	Black plants and animals
Maize	Sweet Potato
Manioc	Cucurbit <sup>3</sup>

Each Rainy Season moiety has a headman appointed by the chiefs and elders; and it is this headman's maternal home that serves as a place of assembly for his unit. In consonance with the above scheme the *Ka* use red paint for body decoration, the *Atu'k* black paint. Each unit, moreover, has its own slogan: on the birth of a boy, e.g., his maternal uncle or mother's mother's brother—the prospective name-transferrer—steps in front of the door and by uttering the war-cry "wa-wa-wa!" or "ke-ke-ke!" announces to the village that a new *Ka* or *Atu'k*, respectively, has seen the light of day.

These two complementary halves figure predominantly during the rainy season, and principally in two ways—in racing and hunting. The teams pitted against each other in relay races during the season are recruited each from the *Ka* or *Atu'k* moiety, respectively. In these competitions each side carries a log, which is appropriately marked with red or black pigment. The two groups also go on joint hunting trips, accompanied by their female members. Continenence is observed during these expeditions, but on their return there is an exchange of women.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, i.e., at the very close of the

<sup>3</sup> Snr Nimuendajú's manuscript has "Kürbis."

Meipimra'k period, the men of each moiety assemble in the plaza, each accompanied by a sister's son. The Atu'k lay down samples of the crop before the Ka, the last donor contemptuously throwing down an armful of cobs. Each moiety boasts of the number and appearance of their sisters' sons, simultaneously casting ridicule on their opponents' nephews.

During the dry season—that of ceremonialism par excellence—the Rainy Season moieties play a very subordinate role. In the Pepye, one of the two initiation rituals, the Atu'k novices go to their individual seclusion huts at night, the Ka to theirs in the daytime, in accordance with the dichotomous scheme. Also on certain occasions the distinctive colors serve as badges of membership.

Nimuendajú suggests that the Rainy Season groups originally coincided with the exogamous moieties since other tribes, who also dichotomize nature, assign each half of the universe to one of their *exogamous* moieties, as Nimuendajú himself discovered in 1912-1913 among the Kaingang of the Ivahy region, State of Paraná.

#### PLAZA MOIETIES

Independently of both the exogamous and the Rainy Season bisection of the entire tribe, there is a dichotomy restricted to males,<sup>4</sup> who are ranged into the Koi'-rumenkăca and the Hara'-rumenkăca. These appellations again, as in the case of the exogamous groups, refer to East and West. Each of these dual groups embraces three subdivisions, as shown below:

<i>East</i>	<i>West</i>
1. Haka (Giant Snake)	4. Aučet (Armadillo)
2. Čepre (Bat)	5. Ke'dre (Dwarf Parrot)
3. Čodn (Carrion Vulture)	6. Kupe' (Alien Tribe)

Membership in these groups, too, hinges on the acquisition of certain personal names. Just as every name, irrespective of sex, belongs to either the Ka or the Atu'k Rainy Season moiety, so every masculine name belongs to one of the six Plaza subdivisions. Further, each of these Plaza names determines membership in two clubs, either in the Falcon and Jaguar (or Kokrit = Mummies') societies or in the Duck and Agouti societies. On the other hand, affiliation with two other organizations, the Clowns (Me'ken) and the King Vultures (Tamhak) is quite independent of the personal names.

<sup>4</sup> The female auxiliaries at the Pepye initiation are *ex officio* brought into the Plaza organization, being always assigned to the Bat and Dwarf Parrot subdivisions.



While there is no evidence of transference of Ka and Atu'k names by the same donor, in three instances the same person conveyed the names of distinct Plaza groups—in one case even of distinct Plaza moieties—to the same recipient.

Especially significant is the experience of Hiino and his uncle Yua-Hiino, both members of (a) the Bat division of the Eastern Plaza moiety; (b) the Atu'k Rainy Season moiety; and (c) the Falcon and Mummers' club. When Hiino was to be secluded for his Pepye initiation, it was his Plaza group's duty to prepare his seclusion hut, seclusion yard, and a recess, but they shirked all but the first of these obligations. Yua was offended and left the Bats, joining the Armadillo subdivision. Henceforth the names Yua and Hiino were no longer the property of the Bats but were added to the Armadillo series. However, the two men remained Atu'k, Falcons, and Mummers.

Each Plaza group takes up a definite position in the village plaza and has an assembly house, whose location on the periphery of the village circle roughly corresponds to the position of the subdivision in the plaza.

The functions of the Plaza groups are ceremonial and largely relate to the two initiation phases, Ketuaye and Pepye. Thus, in the Ketuaye initiation all offices are dual, one officer of each pair being recruited from the Eastern, the other from the Western Plaza group. Only in the case of the girl auxiliaries (*mekuičwe'i*) this exclusively masculine dualism is inapplicable. The Plaza grouping is very conspicuous in the Pepye initiation, where each of the six subdivisions uses a distinctive pattern in body painting. Apart from these celebrations the Plaza groups figure in the Tep-Yarkwa', one of the major festivals intercalated between the two phases of initiation. In the log-races characteristic of this ceremonial period the Plaza halves are regularly pitted against each other.

The present Plaza divisions may be survivals of earlier clan divisions of the exogamous moieties, once localized within the village circle. These clans possibly lost their genealogical character, retaining ceremonial functions. As analogous may be cited the ceremonially functioning localized clans of the Akwe-Šerente and the Bororo.

#### AGE-CLASS MOIETIES

Finally, there is another dual division affecting only males, viz. the two pairs of age-classes that engage in competitive sport during the dry (*Vu'te'*) season. Once more there is a correlation with East and West—in fact, the pairs of active classes bear exactly the same designations as the two exog-

amous moieties, Ko'i-kateye and Hara'-kateye. Notwithstanding this nomenclature, the two forms of dual grouping do not coincide at all, since each of the age-classes comprises members of both moieties.

The total number of age-classes, inactive and active in sport, is indefinite. The system is tied up with the initiation ceremonies, which thus require brief mention. All males undergo two phases of initiation, each being repeated at intervals of two or three years, so that the complete cycle occupies about ten years. All those jointly initiated form a fixed class for the rest of their lives, so that apart from the youngest boys the whole male population is grouped into age strata. Even the as yet uninitiated boys who look forward to initiation at the next celebration form an unofficial age-class and mimic the activities of the young men.

The active classes have each a definite position in the plaza. This, however, shifts whenever the unofficial boy's group receives formal admission to the plaza, which automatically promotes the oldest active class to the athletically inactive status of councilors. Its members move to the very centre of the plaza, continuing, however, to preserve their identity with reference to any surviving predecessors. Thus, recently there were three councilor classes of eight, four, and two men, respectively, each occupying a distinctive position in the plaza centre and representing the "graduates" of 1903, 1893, and 1883.

To illustrate the scheme by one example, in 1913 the class D in the northwest corner of the plaza completed its initiation cycle. This signaled the admission to the plaza of the hitherto unofficial youngsters, E, who assumed a place opposite D, i.e., in the northeast, thereby crowding out class C, which moved south, ousting A, the oldest of the active classes, which passed into the council, leaving the normal set of four competitive groups in possession. In 1923 the novices entered on the northwest, displacing the class located there, which moved south, thus initiating corresponding transpositions throughout the plaza. Successive entering classes thus regularly alternate from northeast to northwest, and vice versa, when joining the plaza.

#### KINSHIP TERMS

The following list is rearranged from Nimuendajú's original data, as subsequently revised by himself (letter of Dec. 20, 1935). The prefixes *id-* and *i-* are possessives of the first person singular; the suffix *-re* is diminutive, *-ti* augmentative, *-i* feminine, *-tum* denotes old age, *-ndu'wu* youth; *-ye* remains problematical but occurs with nouns denoting social groups. Vocative forms are lacking.

*Blood Relatives<sup>5</sup>**Ascending Generations*

i-nču	my father, father's brother, father's sister's son, [mother's sister's husband]
i-nče'	my mother, mother's sister
ke'de-ti	mother's brother, mother's father, mother's sister's son older than ego <sup>6</sup>
ke'de-re	father's father
tu'i-re	father's sister, father's sister's daughter, father's mother, mother's mother [father's brother's wife], mother's sister's daughter

*Ego's Generation*

i-ha	older sibling, older child of father's brother
i-to <sup>7</sup>	older sibling
nyo'he'u-re	younger sibling, younger child of father's brother (For father's sister's and mother's sister's children, see under Ascending Generations; for mother's brother's children, see under Descending Generations.)

*Descending Generations*

i-kra	my son, my daughter, my sister's child (w. sp.) [my wife's sister's child], my mother's brother's child, my brother's child (m. sp.)
i-tam-čwe'	my sister's son (m. sp.), my daughter's son (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's sister's son younger than myself, <sup>8</sup> my brother's son (w. sp.), my son's son (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's brother's son (w. sp.)
i-tam-čwe'-i	my sister's daughter (m. sp.), my daughter's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.), my mother's sister's daughter younger than myself, <sup>8</sup> my brother's daughter (w. sp.), my son's daughter (m. sp., w. sp.)
i-yapa'la <sup>9</sup>	synonym of i-tam-čwe'
i-yapal-čwe'-i	my brother's daughter (w. sp.)

*Affinal Relatives*

i-piye'	my husband
i-pro	my wife
pai-ke't	wife's father
i-mpaye'	my wife's brother, my wife's sister, my wife's brother's child

<sup>5</sup> Extensions to affinal relatives are bracketed.

<sup>6</sup> This last meaning probable, not certain.

<sup>7</sup> It remains uncertain how far this term is synonymous with i-ha.

<sup>8</sup> See footnote 6.

<sup>9</sup> Invariably so given for all meanings; the feminine form below, on the other hand, occurs only once, as indicated; perhaps through an oversight.

kra'-tumye	husband's father
propeke'i	husband's mother
i-wawe'	my son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.), my sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.)
i-piyoye'	my father's sister's husband, my son-in-law (m. sp., w. sp.), my sister's husband (m. sp., w. sp.) <sup>10</sup>
i-čwe'i-ye	my son's wife (w. sp.), my brother's wife (w. sp.)
ha-čwei-ye	my son's wife (m. sp.), my wife's mother
tokti'i-ye	husband's sister.



FIG. 3. Temporary round hut of the Ramko'kamekra.

Although the terms for husband's brother and for brother's wife (m. sp.) are not recorded, the vocabulary for affinities is evidently ample. The discrimination between wife and wife's sister is consistent with the absence of the sororate.

On the other hand, the father's brother is designated by the same term as the father, and correlatively he addresses his brother's children as his own. Also the mother's sister's husband figures as a "father" and groups his wife's sister's children with his own. In short, normal "bifurcate merging" features are not lacking.

Two characteristics of the system are noteworthy—the inclusion of the

<sup>10</sup> Evidently largely synonymous with i-wawe'.

father's sister's son under the "father" term, and the classification of the father's sister's daughter with the father's sister. The additional meanings of these terms fail to obscure these identifications, which perhaps for the first time establish a South American occurrence of these Crow-Choctaw-Hopi features. Interestingly enough, the patrilineal Šerente were found to have the Omaha feature of merging the maternal uncle's son with the maternal uncle.

However, the list in its present form implies certain logical discrepancies, such as the identification of the daughters of a maternal with those of a paternal aunt—notwithstanding the equation of the maternal aunt with the mother. It is further clear that classification largely ignores moiety lines; e.g., the mother's brother and the mother's father are grouped under one head, as are the mother's mother and the father's mother.

#### COMPARATIVE NOTES

Twenty years ago Spinden wrote that "no clear case of kinship clans has been reported south of the area of the United States."<sup>11</sup> While this proposition may still hold for the area he primarily discussed, certainly it does not do justice to South American data, to which perhaps it was not meant to apply. Admittedly much remains obscure as to the social organizations of the continent. That the Peruvian *ayllu* was an exogamous patrilineal clan seems highly probable; Nordenskiöld found "Sippen" among both the modern Quechua and the Aymará.<sup>12</sup> That these units were once matrilineal has indeed been alleged by some authors, but apparently without definite proof, a statement that seems to hold for the Araucanian equivalents. Olson's citations for Colombia and Ecuador indicate some measure of nepotic succession and inheritance, but no definite proof of exogamous clans.

When, however, we turn to the trans-Andean region, a whole series of unequivocal cases stand forth. The Ona still lack clans of the accepted type, but their emphatically exogamous, patrilocal, and patrilineal bands emphasize the unilateral principle as strongly as the Australian hordes; like these latter units, they turn out to be wholly consistent with the

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<sup>11</sup> H. J. Spinden, *Ancient Civilizations of Mexico and Central America* (New York, 1917), p. 186.

<sup>12</sup> Erland Nordenskiöld *Forschungen und Abenteuer in Südamerika* (Stuttgart, 1924), p. 76; Ronald L. Olson, *Clan and Moiety in Native America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 33, 1933), p. 375 sq.; W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen* (Regensburg, 1924), p. 121.

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economic and social importance of the bilateral family.<sup>13</sup> Further north, the Witoto-Bora of the upper Amazon and the Arawakan Palikur have patrilineal clans, those of the latter tribe being ranged in an "upper" and a "lower" moiety. The Mundurucu have patrilineal exogamous moieties subdivided into clans; while Nimuendajú's earlier researches establish such groups among the Parintintin, Tukuna, Kaingang, and Šerente, those of the Šerente and Tukuna embracing several clans each. Less decisively C. Esteveo reports indications of patrilineal moieties from the Tembe' of the Rio Acará.<sup>14</sup>

Matrilineal exogamous moieties, subdivided into totemic clans, have been established beyond cavil for the Eastern Bororo of the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya; and a more recent investigation of the Bororo of the Rio Vermelho, an affluent of the upper Sao Lourenço, bears out the earlier account. The Canella facts described in the present paper demonstrate a second unexceptionable Brazilian instance of matrilineal exogamous moieties. Farther north, Kirchhoff's critical sifting of the evidence leaves the Goajiro and the Coastal Arawak (Lokono) with an indefinite number of matrilineal clans.<sup>15</sup>

Whatever, then, may have been the facts among the more civilized pre-Columbian peoples, in trans-Andean South America a considerable number of tribes, representing such distinct linguistic stocks as the Bororo, the Gê, the Arawak, and the Tupi-Guarani, definitely recognize unilateral exogamous groups, some with matrilineal, others with patrilineal descent.

Of the exogamous moieties listed above, some are subdivided into clans, others are undivided, though the Plaza groups of the Canella conceivably evolved out of earlier clans. At the present stage of knowledge it is more profitable to insist on the frequency of nonexogamous moieties. It may well be that some of them have merely lost the exogamous feature, but that can never be assumed without some definite evidence. In the southeastern United States, e.g., the Choctaw were the only tribe in which these units

<sup>13</sup> Martin Gusinde, *Die Selk'nam; vom Leben und Denken eines Jägervolkes auf der Grossen Feuerinsel* (1931), pp. 302, 319, 419, 425.

<sup>14</sup> Curt Nimuendajú, *Die Palikur-Indianer und ihre Nachbarn* (Göteborg, 1926), pp. 22, 86, 132; *id.*, personal communication; Paul Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931), p. 175; Albert Kruse, *Mundurucu Moieties* (Primitive Man, Vol. 7, pp. 51-57, 1934).

<sup>15</sup> D. Antonio Colbacchini, *I Bororos Orientali "Orarimugudoge" del Matto Grosso (Brasile)* (Turin, no date [1925?]), pp. 1-30; C. Lévi-Strauss, *Contribution à l'étude de l'organisation sociale des Indiens Bororo* (Journal, Société des Américanistes de Paris, Vol. 28, pp. 269-304, 1936); Kirchhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 147, 151.

regulated marriage; and the moieties of the Eastern Pueblos are emphatically nonexogamous.<sup>16</sup> Turning to South America, we have among the Canella three distinct forms of nonexogamous bisection over and above the exogamous moieties; while Colbacchini and Lévi-Strauss have revealed a secondary dual division, resulting in an Upper and Lower (*superiori* and *inferiori*) or an Up-stream and a Down-stream half of the village (*de l'amont* and *de l'aval*). The Uro of Bolivia retain a similar division into a "section d'en haut" and a "section d'en bas;" the Čipaya have nonexogamous moieties, which Métraux equates with the Aymará units identified by Bandelier as Upper and Lower and assigned to definite geographical halves (North and South) of a settlement. Taking these data with those cited by Olson from the Cañaris of Ecuador and Nımuendajú's Palikur observations, we may infer that over a wide area, including much of Brazil, there were moieties, often not exogamous or not demonstrably so, that were associated either in terminology or actually with a definite geographical location. The arrangement of the Bororo village with one exogamous moiety on the north and the other on the south of a central square recalls Bandelier's description of Tiahuanaco.<sup>17</sup>

As regards the concepts associated with the moieties, some discrimination is obviously indicated in drawing historical inferences, but the recurrence of the Upper-Lower antithesis can hardly be set down to sheer coincidence. On the other hand, the Weak and the Strong moiety of the Bororo of the Rio das Garças suggest that the contrast felt between two complementary social groups can be adequately expressed by any number of naturally contrasted ideas. That such labels need not refer to moieties is instructively brought out by the way the Bororo distinguish between related clans within the same moiety: their Strong moiety includes a Red and a Black Caterpillar clan, a Red as well as a Black Burity Palm clan.

On the axiom that "unilateral descent" is an ethnological concept, not an ethnographic reality, we must—unless there is strong evidence to the contrary—consider matrilineal systems apart from patrilineal ones. Owing

<sup>16</sup> J. R. Swanton, *Aboriginal Culture of the Southeast* (Forty-second Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1928), p. 695; *id.*, *Source Material for the Social and Ceremonial Life of the Choctaw Indians* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, No. 103, 1931), p. 76; E. C. Parsons, *Tewa Kin, Clan, and Moiety* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 26, p. 333 sq., 1924).

<sup>17</sup> Colbacchini, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Lévi-Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 271; A. Métraux, *Contribution à l'ethnographie et la linguistique des Indiens Uro d'Ancoquí, Bolivie* (Journal, Société des Américanistes, Vol. 27, 1935), p. 87; *id.*, *L'organisation sociale et les survivances religieuses des Indiens Uru-Čipaya de Carangas, Bolivie* (Twenty-fifth International Congress of Americanists, pp. 191-96, 1932); Olson, *op. cit.*, pp. 373, 377, 402.

to the sparseness of Goajiro and Lokono material, we must therefore restrict detailed comparison to the Canella and the Bororo. Certain striking similarities are undeniable. Both share (a) matrilineal exogamous moieties; (b) linkage of the moieties with contrasted cardinal directions; (c) circular arrangement of a settlement; (d) radial streets from the peripheral huts to a ceremonial center; (e) matrilocal residence. The Bororo men's club-house and bachelors' dormitory, so graphically described by von den Steinen<sup>18</sup> and similarly pictured by his successors, has no formal parallel among the Canella, but functionally their plaza is a rough counterpart. On the other hand, the Canella age-classes, while distinctive and (so far as I know) unique in South America, bear names suggestive of the totemic clans of the Bororo. The kinship nomenclatures present hardly any noteworthy similarities, though it must be remembered that the information on the Bororo system remains scanty. The Bororo stress seniority within a generation to a greater extent; e.g., only the father's *elder* sister is equated with the grandmother. Also the Bororo dependence on descriptive technique in designating, say, a paternal uncle as "my father his elder brother" has no Canella parallel.

Among the Canella repeated inquiry has failed to establish forms of preferential marriage. A member of the related Apinayé (Western Timbira) tribe declared he would be ashamed to marry a deceased wife's sister. On the other hand, both our recent authorities on the Bororo note simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous marriage; and Colbacchini adds instances of sororal bigamy. From the nomenclatorial identification of the father's mother with the father's elder sister and a man's mother-in-law Lévi-Strauss infers marriage with a father's younger sister; and the identification of father-in-law and father's father leads him to infer marriage with the daughter of a father's elder sister. He admits lack of evidence for the actuality of such unions.<sup>19</sup>

Contrastive perspective throws the Bororo and Canella systems into relief as against other South American social structures. They reveal a basic unity, but at the same time so many differences that we must allow a considerable period for their respective individualization.

From a broader point of view the South American data suggest a revision of traditional Americanist views. It has been customary to correlate matrilineal systems with a higher plane, specifically with intensive farming;

<sup>18</sup> Karl von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (2nd ed., Berlin 1897), p. 367 f.

<sup>19</sup> Colbacchini, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 27; Lévi-Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 282 f.



the aberrant Northwestern instances could be explained away as at least coupled with a sedentary mode of life, the Crow may have become hunters through loss of the maize complex once shared with their Hidatsa congeners. But the Bororo-Canella organization cannot be thus disposed of. As recently as von den Steinen's visit, the Bororo of the lower Sao Lourenço did not farm at all. The women would dig up governmentally planted manioc tubers precisely as they would wild roots; and even on the headwaters of the stream they had not learned to grow any plant species for food, contenting themselves with tobacco, cotton, and a variety of gourd.<sup>20</sup> The Canella have evidently been for some time further advanced economically, but even with them hunting and gathering clearly predominated over farming. Nothing in the scanty material on the multiple clans of the Goajiro and Lokono even faintly suggests the moiety structure of the two tribes under discussion; while their fellow-Brazilian aborigines with dual organizations follow patrilineal descent. As for the majority of the Tropical Forest tribes sometimes cited to illustrate matrilineal institutions, many of them actually practise matrilocal residence, but Kirchhoff's scrutiny of early sources proves the general insufficiency of evidence for a definite rule of descent. As for matrilineal reckoning, it is barred by the explicit orthodoxy of a man's marriage with his sister's daughter among the Tamanak and Macusi, both of Carib stock; the same rule applies to the coastal Tupi.<sup>21</sup>

In short, on the axiom stated, the Bororo-Canella social system may be conceived as an independent local growth until specific evidence proves otherwise. If so, full-fledged matrilineal institutions are consistent with a hunting or at most an incipiently horticultural condition—with obvious chronological implications.

Granted that matrilineal organizations may arise independently, the scientific ethnologist must determine which phenomena are significantly correlated in the known matrilineal complexes. We must reject as too vague the idea that maternal clans will arise now and then on the doctrine of chances; and Dr Eggan does not mend matters when in an otherwise highly meritorious essay he prescribes the rule that descent and marriage arrangements, instead of being merely correlated, must be considered "functions of some factor or principle which they have in common."<sup>22</sup> The idea would be excellent if that common principle were stated; without such formulation

<sup>20</sup> Von den Steinen, *op. cit.*, pp. 342, 369.

<sup>21</sup> Kirchhoff *op. cit.*, pp. 98 f., 102, 117, 185.

<sup>22</sup> Fred Eggan, *Historical Changes in the Choctaw Kinship System* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, 1937), p. 51.

the proposition is pretentious and meaningless. Is it necessary to point out that a functional relationship between two phenomena neither implies a one hundred percent correlation nor excludes other functional relations?

The following remarks are merely meant to foreshadow promising inquiries. Canella society in some respects recalls the familiar Hopi situation: matrilineal descent, matrilocal residence, feminine house ownership, and an obtrusive avuncular relationship occur in conjunction among both tribes. Further, both have two distinctive traits of kinship terminology which are *not* common to all matrilineal peoples, yet are probably definitely more frequent with matrilineal than with patrilineal reckoning and logically more congruous with it. These two features are the identification of father's sister's son with father, and of father's sister's daughter with father's sister. I consider it very interesting that on these points the Canella are nearer to the Hopi and Crow than to the geographically closer Bororo. On the other hand, the Bororo share with the Crow the not altogether frequent phenomenon of a single term for the elder brother and the maternal uncle, though apparently only for a woman speaking.

Turning now to so remote a people as the Trobrianders, the Canella-Bororo complex reappears only in part: men are the house-owners, residence is patrilocal; but the avunculate is tremendously strong and the clans are matrilineal. As for kinship terms, these Melanesians resemble the Canella in both of the significant Crow-Hopi features. But in another direction Trobriand usage approaches that inferred for the Bororo by Lévi-Strauss and actually observed on the coast of British Columbia: a man quite properly mates with his paternal aunt and either mates with or marries this aunt's daughter. The Tlingit favor marriage with a father's sister, for whom her daughter may be substituted. The Trobrianders reveal other similarities with the Northwest Coast of America. Precisely as among the Melanesians, a Haida boy leaves his parents to live with a maternal uncle, who assumes charge of his education and acts as his protector; and succession is nepotic (or fraternal). As for widow-inheritance, the Haida—like the matrilineal Banks Islanders—pass on a maternal uncle's wife to his nephew. And, most remarkable of all, there is in northwestern America the same typical rivalry of avuncular and paternal attitudes that Malinowski describes for his people. The Haida father tries to advance his son's social status, and this is "the dominant incentive to industry and thrift." Tsimshian tales reveal antagonism between uncle and nephew, legal relations devoid of sentiment—in striking contrast to the bond between father and child.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages in North-western Melanesia* (New York, 1929) pp. 515 f., 534 f.; T. M. Durlach, *The Relationship Systems of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian*

No adequate account of Australian matrilineal institutions is available, but we may use African data as a check. Among the Vachokue the maternal uncle assumes control of his nephews when they are about six or seven years of age, they live with him and inherit his possessions and office; the oldest son in a household bears his maternal uncle's name. Residence, however, is patrilocal, and specifically Crow features of terminology are lacking.<sup>24</sup>

Obviously, there is no one hundred percent correlation between any two of the features entering the Canella-Bororo complex. Matrilineal residence flourishes in many South American communities without any definite rule of descent; in the Trobriands men own the houses; the Iroquois lack the terminological equation of the paternal aunt's son with the father; and so forth. Nevertheless, a survey of matrilineal peoples strongly suggests an organic nexus of certain elements of the matrilineal complex. Why does Canella society suggest that of the Hopi rather than that of the near-by Mundurucu? Whence the haunting resemblances between Trobriand and Tsimshian family attitudes? Whence the Vachokue, British Columbian, Trobriand parallel as to residence in an uncle's home? Why, of all South American tribes, should the matrilineal Canella turn up with the Crow kinship equations? Why do inheritance rules at once change when we turn from the matrilineal Vachokue to their patrilineal neighbors?

It is our task to analyze these phenomena and establish which of them really belong together in the only scientific, i.e. the mathematical sense of the term "functional relationship." Long ago Bachofen alleged a mystic bond between the rule of descent and a matriarchate, a preference for the left hand, and what not. He erred, not in assuming that a rule of descent has correlates, but in substituting for an empirical investigation a fantastic a priori scheme. Our present duty is to prune the extravagances and retain the sound core. A series of detailed comparisons of social variants within major but practically controllable areas is indicated.

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<sup>24</sup> Hermann Baumann, *Lunda: Bei Bauern und Jägern in Inner-Angola* (Berlin, 1935), pp. 16, 89, 124 sq., 130.