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**SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT TUPI-GUARANI  
KINSHIP STRUCTURES**

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**INTRODUCTION**

Professors Charles Wagley of Columbia University and Eduardo Galvão of the Museu Nacional published in 1946 their hypothesis of the "Tupi System" (1946a). According to the co-authors, recent field work among two Tupi-Guarani tribes and information from a recent article (Watson, 1944) about a third tribe had revealed such a similarity in kinship structure that they were able to define a stereotype kinship structure that not only encompassed the three tribes under study but might be expanded to include all Tupi-Guarani speaking tribes.

The same year Jörn J. Philipson of the University of São Paulo criticized the idea of uniform kinship organization among the Tupi-Guarani people (Philipson, 1946b). Philipson used kinship terms collected from sources other than those utilized by Wagley and Galvão and came to a conclusion opposed to the Tupi System. According to Philipson.

"Assim não vemos motivo para mudar a nossa opinião, de que não existe 'o' parentesco tupi-guarani, mas sistemas diversos em grupos diversos." (Ibid: 17).

It is only in the years after the Tupi System idea was conceived by Wagley and Galvão that detailed and systematic studies have been conducted among other Tupi-Guarani tribes. In light of the information gathered from these subsequent

works serious doubts to the creditability of the Tupi System can be raised. In the following pages of this report the plan of presentation has been first to discuss the Tupi System, and to give notice to Philipson's criticism. Second, separate consideration has been given to eleven Tupi-Guarani tribes of which social organization study has been made. And third, several conclusions have been drawn that point out flaws in the Tupi System and throw light on the presentation of a new Tupi-Guarani System.

## I

The Tupi System grew from information which supposedly showed similarities in kinship structure among three geographically detached Tupi-Guarani societies: the *Tenete-hara* of Northeastern Brazil and the *Tapirape* of Central Brazil (both visited by the co-authors in the period 1939-1945); and the *Cayua* of Southern Brazil (information being gathered from a brief article which appeared in a Brazilian journal). From this background Wagley and Galvão described the Tupi System as being essentially similar to the Dakota System which has been noted among many North American Indian tribes. This meant that like the Dakota System, the Tupi System was characterized by 1) bilateral descent ("... that is, there is no emphasis in this system on either the father or mother's side.") (Wagley and Galvão, 1946 a : 21; 2) bifurcate merging kinship terminology for the first ascending and first descending generations ("The father's brother is classified with the real father and the mother's sister is classified with the mother. The uncles and aunts of different sex from the parent — i. e. the father's sister and the mother's brother are distinguished by separate terms. Similarly, children of a brother or sister of the same sex of the speaker... are classified according to this system with one's own children.") (Ibid : 21); 3) lack of unilineal, exogamic kin groups. The



point at which the Dakota and Tupi Systems diverge is in cousin terminology. Here the Tupi System is characterized by generational Hawaiian terminology ("All relatives or one's own generation — brother's and sister's, parallel of cross cousins — are classified as 'brother' and 'sister'...") (Ibid : 21) while in the Dakota System application of the bifurcate merging principle to the Ego generation results in a lumping of parallel cousins with siblings, and separate consideration for cross-cousins; this is Iroquois terminology. (For graphic explanation of Tupi System kinship terminology see Chart I). Aside from these major traits Wagley and Galvão also imply lack of preferential marriage forms (since no form of preferential marriage was noted among the three tribes they studied) and matrilocal residence (since only matri-extended families were discovered by the co-authors).

Criticism of the Tupi System was presented by Philipson. However, a detailed study of his argument is not necessary for this report. It is enough to say that Philipson attacked Wagley and Galvão along linguistic grounds. He attempted to discredit their interpretation of several kinship terms by referring to interpretations put forward by other scholars. (1) Earlier in 1946 Philipson had offered a hypothesis which would explain the dynamics of Tupi-Guarani kinship terminology (Philipson, 1946a); however, he did not venture into discussions of social structure, *per se*. This latter shortcoming was noticable in Philipson's criticism of the Tupi System, and was one of the points mentioned by Wagley and Galvão when they answered the Philipson criticism in the Brazilian journal, *Sociologia* (Wagley and Galvão, 1946b).

Wagley and Galvão took issue with Philipson; they noted that his argument was only a matter of interpretation. And because Philipson had failed to criticize nothing more than kinship terms, they drew their conclusion from Philipson's last statement; namely, "Assim, não vemos motivo para mudar nossa opinião." (Ibid : 308).

(1) — cf. Drummond, 1944; Garcia, 1942.

TUPI SYSTEM (2)

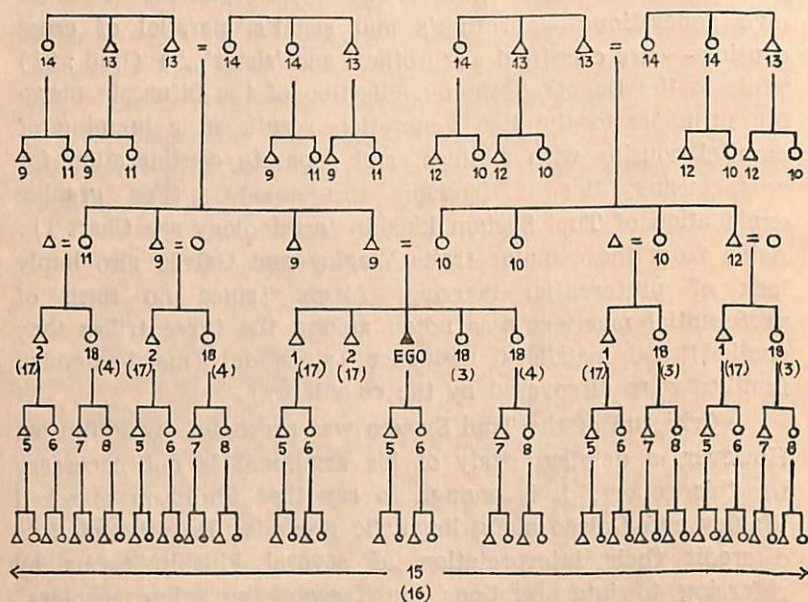


Chart I.

- |                    |                                 |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Older brother   | 10. Mother                      |
| 2. Younger brother | 11. Aunt                        |
| 3. Older sister    | 12. Uncle                       |
| 4. Younger sister  | 13. Grandfather                 |
| 5. Son             | 14. Grandmother                 |
| 6. Daughter        | 15. Grandchild (man speaking)   |
| 7. Nephew          | 16. Grandchild (woman speaking) |
| 8. Niece           | 17. Brother                     |
| 9. Father          | 18. Sister                      |

(2) — Tupi System chart taken from Wagley and Galvão, 1946a.



As mentioned in the opening pages of this report, the information published since 1946 has risen serious questions about the Tupi System as it was described by Wagley and Galvão. In the following pages relevant data has been extracted from authoritative sources concerning eleven Tupi-Guarani tribes. For the sake of easier digestion of the material by the reader the tribes under study have been divided into four areas of discussion: *Tupi-System tribes* which includes those people mentioned in the original Wagley and Galvão article; *Western tribes* which are located in the Xingu River area westward to Bolivia; *Northern tribes* which includes societies located along the South shore of the Amazon River from the Atlantic to the Madeira River; and *Southern tribes* which involves separate consideration of a society mentioned also within the discussion of Tupi-System tribes. (A condensation of the material in the following discussions may be found in Chart II, page 6).

## II

Within the discussion of the Tupi-System tribes are the *Tenetehara*, (3) the *Tapirape*, and the *Cayua*.

### TERMINOLOGY

The *Tenetehara* and the *Tapirape* Indians coincide with the Tupi System norm of bifurcate merging terminology on the first ascending and first descending generations. According to Wagley and Galvão the *Cayua* fit into this pattern also. However, inspection of the kin terms they list shows that descriptive suffixes attached to the basic words for "mother" and "father" create a bifurcate collateral situation on the first generation ascending (Wagley and Galvão, 1946a : 15). The first descending generation in *Cayua* terminology fits in with the Tupi standard.

(3) — Wagley has preferred to lump the Tembe and the *Guajajara* tribes under the collective title, *Tenetehara*.

## TUPI-GUARANI KINSHIP DATA

TRIBE	TERMINOLOGY			PREF. MARR	DES - CENT	RESI- DENCE	KIN GROUP
	COU. SIN	FIRST ASC.	FIRST DESC.				
AUETI	I	M	M	.	.	.	.
CAMAYURA	I	M	M	XALS	B	T	O
CAYUA (old)	H	C	M	X A	P	P	O
CAYUA (new)	H	C	M	O	B	N	O
MAUE	O	M	M	X	P	P	S
MUNDURUCU	I	M	M	XAL	P	P*	CPM
SIRIONO	C	M	M	XLS	B	M	O
TAPIRAPE	H	M	M	O	B	M	O
TENETEHARA	H	M	M	O	B	M	O
TUPINAMBA	I	M	M	X A	B	T	O
URUBU	I	M	M	X	P	P	O

## Chart II.

## EXPLANATION OF TERMS

<i>Cousin</i>	I	Iroquois	<i>Des- cent</i>	B	Bilateral
	H	Hawaiian		P	Patrilineal
	O	Omaha			
	C	Crow			
<i>First Asc.</i>	M	Bifurcate merging	<i>Resi- dence</i>	T	Matri-Patrilocal
	C	Bifurcate collateral		P	Patrilocal
<i>First Desc.</i>				M	Matrilocal
	M	Bifurcate merging			
<i>Pref. Marr.</i>	X	Cross-cousin (symmetrical/asymmetrical)	<i>Kin Group</i>	C	Clans
	A	Avunculate		S	Sibs
	L	Levirate		P	Phratries
	S	Sororate		M	Moieties
	O	Nothing/Unreported		O	Unreported/ Nothing more than extd. families.

(\* — Today residence is matrilocal).



On the Ego generation all cousins are equated with siblings in the three tribes to produce Hawaiian terminology.

#### MARRIAGE

The implication of the Tupi System hypothesis is that there are no forms of preferential marriage within Tupi-Guarani tribes. The *Tenetebara* information bears out this point fully; however, Wagley and Galvão note that among the *Tapirape* "the ideal marriage is between people who call each other brother and sister, but who are related distantly." (Ibid : 23). Philipson has suggested that this may be interpreted as cross-cousin marriage (Philipson, 1946b : 9); however, Wagley and Galvão conclude that it is a matter of interpretation and do not agree with Philipson (Wagley and Galvão, 1946b : 305). As for the *Cayua* one of Watson's conclusions is that the aboriginal *Cayua* practiced the avunculate which at the same time was a form of cross-cousin marriage (4).

#### DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

The Tupi System is bilateral in that within the kinship system there is no emphasis placed on either parent's side of the family, and all cousins are considered as "brothers" and "sisters". Interpreting this to be bilateral descent, the *Tenetebara* and the *Tapirape* tribes coincide with the standard. However, Watson has reported unilineal descent among the ancient *Cayua* (5).

Although post-marital residence is not a main criterion of the Tupi System, Wagley and Galvão report matrilineal residence within the three tribes. Watson disagrees with this

(4) — See discussion of "Southern tribes", p. 14.

(5) — See discussion of "Southern tribes", p. 15.

conclusion and cites matri-patrilocal residence or patrilocal residence among the older *Cayua* society (6).

#### KIN GROUPS

The Tupi System ideal recognizes no unilineal exogamous kinship groups. And, according to Wagley and Galvão, there exists no phenomenon larger than the extended family which may be considered exogamous. In this category information from the *Tenetehara*, *Tapirape*, and *Cayua* tribes supports this fact.

Included within the Western tribes are the *Aueti* and *Camayura* tribes of the Xingu River area and the nomadic *Siriono* Indians of Bolivia.

#### TERMINOLOGY

Among both the *Camayura* and the *Aueti* tribes the bifurcate merging principle is applied to the first ascending and first descending generations. This principle is discernable in the Ego generation and results in Iroquois cousin terminology for both societies (Oberg, 1953 : 112-13). Galvão also did work in the Xingu area and has recorded kinship terms for the *Camayura* and *Aueti*. He noted bifurcate merging terminology on the first generation ascending; however, Galvão found a generational pattern on the Ego generation and on the first descending generation (Galvão, 1953 : 56).

The *Siriono*, according to Holmberg's investigation, have Crow terminology on the Ego generation (which, however, is still a differentiation of cross-cousins from parallel cousins and siblings as with Iroquois terminological structure). The bifurcate merging principle is applied to the first ascending and first descending generations, however (Holmberg, 1950:52-55).

(6) — See discussion of "Southern tribes", p. 15.



## MARRIAGE

The *Camayura* and the *Siriono* both practice preferential cross-cousin marriage (7). In the *Camayura* system marriage with MoBrDa/So or with Fa Si Da/So is the first choice of an eligible (Oberg, 1953 : 44). If a man is unable to wed his cross-cousin, the second choice is with SiDa (the avuncular form of marriage) (ibid : 44). Galvão, who reported Hawaiian cousin terminology among these same *Camayura*, notes that cross-cousin marriage is practiced in a minority of cases (Galvão, 1953 : 28). If his kinship terms were to be considered as definitive cross-cousin marriage would be incestuous in that "brother" would be marrying "sister". Galvão has also recorded instances of leviratic and sororal polygyny (Ibid:29); however, both he and Oberg agree that polygyny is not the general rule (Ibid : 30; Oberg, 1953:44).

Among the *Siriono* Holmberg found that "A man marries his mother's brother's daughter, a woman her father's sister's son. Marriage between a man and his father's sister's daughter, or a woman and her mother's brother's son is forbidden." (1950 : 54). This form of asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage is a result of Crow cousin terminology which equates a man's FaSi with his FaSiDa, and lumps a woman's MoBrSo with her BrSo and thereby disallows marriage between "aunts" and nephews". Holmberg also found leviratic and sororal polygyny. However, polygyny was the norm here (Ibid : 81).

## DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

Oberg reported bilateral descent for the *Camayura* (Oberg. 1953 : 49) which fits in with the Tupy System standard. Galvão also discovered bilateral descent for the *Camayura* (Galvão, 1953 : 38). *Siriono* descent is bilateral as well (Holmberg, 1950 ; 50).

(7) — No information other than kinship terms is noted by Oberg for the *Aueti* tribe.

Residence among the Camayura is matri-patrilocal according to Oberg's description (1953 : 44) and Galvão also noted this phenomenon as a tendency to accentuate patrilocal residence (1953:38) *Siriono* residence is matrilocal (Holmberg, 1950 : 81).

## KIN GROUPS

No unilineal descent groups are reported for any of the Western tribes. No larger gatherings than extended families, a result of matrilocal and patrilocal residence, are discernable.

To be considered within the Northern tribes of the Tupi-Guarani speaking areas are the *Maue*, *Mundurucu*, (8) *Urubu*, and *Tupinamba*.

## TERMINOLOGY

There is a greater diversity of kinship terminology structure within tribes of this area. Leacock reports Omaha cousin nomenclature among the *Maue*. (This also involves the differentiation of cross-cousins from parallel cousins and siblings.) The bifurcate merging principle is applied on the first ascending and first descending generations (Leacock, 1958 : 83-84).

Murphy records both referative and vocative terms for the *Mundurucu*. He notes that "the vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão." (Murphy, 1960 : 93). By this he means that vocative terminology is typified by bifurcate merging structure on the first ascending and first descending generation, and that Hawaiian cousin terminology is discernable on the Ego

(8) — Professor John H. Rowe, University of California, has mentioned in private to this writer that the *Mundurucu* tribe is not definitely considered to be Tupi-Guarani; however, this tribe will be considered as such until final proof or disproof is gathered.



generation. Murphy has overlooked the referative terminology, however, which differs from the vocative structure only in cousin terminology. Here the application of the bifurcate merging principle has created Iroquois terminology (Ibid : 92). Murdock has noted earlier that "terms of reference are normally more specific in their application than terms of address... they are usually more complete... [and they] are much more useful in kinship analysis." (1949 : 98)

Among the *Urubu* the bifurcate merging principle is once more detected. Huxley relates that.

"A man calls his father and his father's brother by one term, *father*, his mother and his mother's sister by another, *mother* : their children are therefore his *brothers* and *sisters*. His father's sister is called *aunt*, his mother's brother *uncle*, and their children *cousins*." (1956:1961).

The *Tupinamba*, which Metraux describes, as "all the Indians speaking a Tupi-Guarani dialect who in the 16th century were masters of the Brazilian shores from the mouth of the Amazon to Cananea" (1948 : 95), also used bifurcate merging terminology on the first ascending and first descending generations; this held likewise for the Ego generation where Iroquois cousin terminology is reported (Fernandes, 1948 : 179).

#### MARRIAGE

Leacock notes that preferred cross-cousin marriage with the matrilineal cousin seems to have been stressed in the past (1958 : 89). He mentions no other forms of preferential marriage among the *Maue*.

Murphy remarks that in *Mundurucu* had preferential cross-cousin marriage at some time in the past (1960 : 89). He also cites Maritus' account of the levirate among the *Mundurucu* in the mid-eighteenth century (Ibid.). Although the avunculate is not practiced today either, Murphy once again refers to Maritus whose account substantiates this form of marriage at some time in the past (Ibid : 90).



Preferred cross-cousin marriage is noted among the *Urubu*, although Huxley adds, "nowadays, few Indians marry their cousins." (1956 : 163). No other forms are mentioned.

Many writers have noted both cross-cousin marriage and avuncular marriage among the ancient *Tupinamba*. From the accounts of Hans Staden, Soares de Sousa, and Claude d'Abbeville (who all reported cross-cousin marriage), and from the writings of Lery, Thevet, and Anchieta (who all reported the avunculate) Levy Strauss has concluded that

"The ancient Tupi acknowledged two forms of marriage; namely, cross-cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practiced in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by the sister's husband." (1943a:407).

#### DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

Descent among the *Maue* is patrilineal (Leacock, 1958 : 76). Residence is patrilocal, and is invariably followed (Ibid : 72); however, Leacock mentions that father-less young men are nowadays being baited into matrilocal residence by a father-in law who exacts works from the groom. These young men may eventually become members of their wives' villages (Ibid : 75-76).

Murphy reports the *Mundurucu* to be patrilineally structured (1960 : 72). He remarks that the residence pattern, which is today matrilocal, appears to have undergone change from what was a patrilocal pattern in the past (Ibid : 74). However, the earliest written account (Tocantins, 1877) still reports matrilocal residence, according to Murphy (Ibid : 80).

Huxley does not discuss descent and residence among the *Urubu*; however, the fact that succession is patrilineal (1956 : 73) and that a man will have his parents-in-law living in another village (Ibid : 106) indicates patrilocal residence, and probably patrilineal descent as well.

Descent seems to have been bilateral among the *Tupinamba* (Fernandes, 1948 : 168) and residence was matrilocal for a



time (unless a man were prestigious enough to bring his wife directly to his parents' home, or if, in exchange, he allowed his wife's brother to marry his daughter) and then patrilocal (Metraux, 1948 : 112).

## KIN GROUPS

Contrary to the Tupi System standard unilineal kinship groups are reported for the *Maue* and the *Mundurucu*. Leacock discerned non-localized, exogamous patri-sibs among the *Maue* (1958 : 77). And the *Mundurucu* possess exogamous patri-clans (Murphy, 1960 : 72), sub-clans (Ibid : 77), phratries, and exogamous patri-moieties (Ibid : 72).

Huxley does not mention *Urubu* kin groups; and no unilineal groupings other than patri-extended families existed in *Tupinamba* society, according to Metraux (1948 : 111).

The *Cayua*, one of the tribes studied by Wagley and Galvão in 1946, have been given a thorough analysis by Watson since that date. He has described present-day *Cayua* society and aboriginal *Cayua* society in his discussion of social change. For purposes of this present paper modern and ancient *Cayua* societies may be considered as the two tribes which comprise the Southern-tribes category.

## TERMINOLOGY

*Cayua* kinship terminology deviates from the strong bifurcate merging pattern which has been encountered thus far. The first generation has bifurcate collateral terms. However, it is interesting to note the proximity of the terms for father to father's brother, and mother and mother's sister: *Che-ru* (Fa), *Che-ruwy* (FaBr); *Che-sy* (Mo), *Che-syy* (MoSi). The terms for cross-aunt *Che-djaiche* and cross-uncle *Che-tuty* are very dissimilar to the other terms (Watson, 1944 : 48).

On the Ego generation and on the first descending generation the generational principle results in classificatory terms

for cousins and siblings (sex of the person being referred to is a component, however), and for children and nieces/nephews (sex also being a component here).

This kinship structure has probably not changed from ancient times (Watson, 1952 : 36).

### MARRIAGE

No forms of preferential marriage are reported among the *Cayua* today; however, one of Watson's most important conclusions is that the avuncular marriage of MoBr to SiDa was most likely an aboriginal phenomenon (Ibid : 118-121). He argues on the basis of terminological evidence, the fact that "a sister's daughter is called by a special term, but she is designated so by only males. Females do not call sister's daughter or, more particularly, brothers' son by any parallel term." (ibid : 36). He notes further that the avunculate would have coincided with the extended family situation of aboriginal *Cayua* society (Ibid : 87).

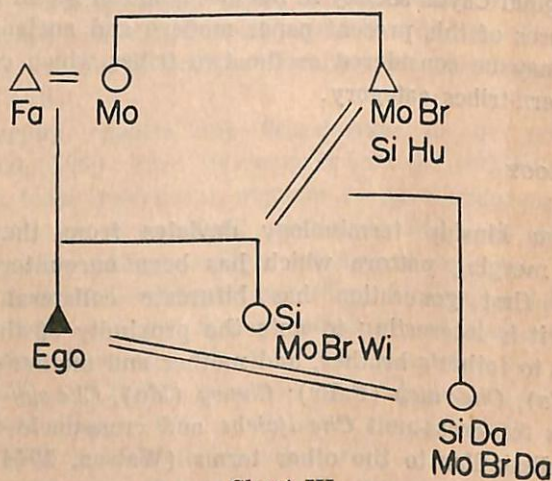


Chart III  
(Taken from Watson, 1952 : 119)



In a footnote Watson mentions that if his reader were to accept his hypothesis of the avunculate he would be accepting an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage (Ibid:119) Chart III illustrates this fact. Thus, classificatory cross-cousin marriage can be deduced for the *Cayua* in contrast to Wagley's and Galvão's findings.

#### DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

Descent today is bilateral (Ibid : 83-87), however Watson notes that as concerns ancient *Cayua* society "descent seems to most investigators as well as to the present writer to have been patrilineal." (Ibid : 33). He further mentions that Eduardo Galvão privately expressed accord with him in his conclusions about ancient *Cayua* descent (Ibid : 33 — see footnote 64). Such a confession would represent a deviation from the Tupi System standard espoused by Galvão six years previously.

Residence, according to Watson's reconstruction of ancient *Cayua* life, was basically patrilocal; however, non-permanent matrilineal residence was also present (Ibid : 118). Today residence is neolocal; however, "elementary families... tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives." (Ibid : 85).

#### KIN GROUPS

No unilineal kin groups existed in aboriginal or in modern *Cayua* society. The patri-extended family was the largest grouping in ancient times (Ibid : 33); today the independent nuclear household is the norm (Ibid : 83).

#### III

The Tupi System as it was deduced by Wagley and Galvão from their study of three Tupi-Guarani speaking tribes, and the

authors' implication that it may characterize all Tupi-Guarani tribes are incorrect concepts. Under the weight of information published after 1946 the Tupi System breaks down. Wagley and Galvão posed a challenge to the academic world when they wrote :

"We should like to make it clear that we cannot, with the limited data available, generalize for all Tupi-Guarani tribes. Further data are necessary from such tribes as the Urubu, Mundurucu, Camayura, Parintintin, etc. and the Southern Tupi-Guarani groups." (1946a:24).

This report has attempted to meet that challenge. Data drawn from eleven Tupi-Guarani societies have illustrated to the reader that the criteria of the Tupi System are not met in most cases. Aside from this general conclusion, however, there are several auxiliary conclusions that are worth notation. The following pages are devoted to a compilation of such deductions. And these conclusions make possible the proposal of a new, revised Tupi-Guarani System which seems plausible in most instances.

1) Cousin terminology among five tribes was of the Iroquois type; Crow structure was discovered in one case; and Omaha terminology was recorded once also. The Hawaiian type was counted in four cases, those being the societies studied by Wagley and Galvão.

Since Iroquois, Crow, and Omaha terminological structure involve the differentiation of cross-cousins from parallel cousins and siblings, it is obvious that the bifurcate merging principle is applied on the Ego generation by a majority of tribes. This point is strengthened by the fact that nine societies possessed bifurcate merging terminology on the first ascending generation, and the entire eleven tribes possessed bifurcate merging structure on the first generation descending.

2) Some form of preferential marriage is found among seven out of ten societies (9). And once again the tribes which have no preferred forms are those studied by Wagley and Galvão. Cross-cousin marriage (which is compatible with Iroquois,

(9) — See footnote n.º 7.



Crow, and Omaha cousin terminology) is noted among seven tribes; the avuncular form is found in four cases; the levirate is reported in three tribes; and two instances of the sororate are discerned.

Wagley and Galvão found no forms of preferred marriage among the *Tapirape*, *Tenetebara*, and *Cayua*; however, the figures presented herein clearly attest to forms of preferential marriage within Tupi-Guarani social structure.

3) Bilateral descent, a standard of the Tupi System, is found in six tribes; patrilineal descent is noted in the remaining four.

That social structure is changing among the Tupi-Guarani tribes is a fact supported by those writers whose works describe the effects of the White Man and war upon society (10). Whether or not there was a prototype descent system, however, will have to be left to speculation.

4) Residence patterns are varied. Four cases of patrilocal residence are found; three cases of matrilineal residence are detected; matri-patrilocal residence is discernable twice; and in one case neolocal residence is the norm.

5) Wagley's and Galvão's criterion for the Tupi System, namely lack of exogamous, unilineal kin groups, is substantiated by the information herein. The *Mundurucu* moieties, phratries, clans, and sub-clans; and the *Maue* sibs are the only discrepancies.

6) If is safe, when considering present-day Tupi-Guarani tribes, to reiterate Philipson's statement which epitomizes the social structure; namely, "...não existe 'o' parentesco tupi-guarani, mas sistemas diversos em grupos diversos." Nevertheless, this does not mean that at some time in the past there did not exist a relatively standard Tupi-Guarani System. What would such a prototype be like? The evidence presented in this report allows the proposal of a revision of the Tupi System which, to avoid confusion with the original

(10) — Cf. Watson, (1953); Wagley, (1940); Murphy, (1960); Wagley, (1949); Leacock, (1958); and Wagley and Galvão (1948a); etc.

thesis, shall be called the "Tupi-Guarani System". This Tupi-Guarani System may be described as follows :

A) Bifurcate merging terminology was notable on the first ascending, first descending, and Ego generations. The Ego generation was most likely Iroquois, as the Grow and Omaha types seem to be variations of the more common Iroquois structure.

B) Preferential marriage with either one or both cross-cousins was practiced. And the avunculate was also normal procedure. The levirate and sororate occurred in a minority of instances since there was no compulsion for this form.

C) Descent was bilateral in that both maternal and paternal lines of descent were recognized by Ego; however, there was a stronger dependence upon the father's side which probably is responsible for the patrilineal descent reported among the *Urubu*, *Mundurucu*, *Maue*, and ancient *Cayua*.

D) Residence was either exclusively patrilocal or possibly matri-patrilocal. Nonetheless, the couple eventually came to live with the husband's family.

E) The patri-extended family was the largest kin group phenomenon since any tendency to form unilineal descent groups was offset by the bilateral nature of kinship system.



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