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TAPIRAPÉ KINSHIP (*)

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The eighty remaining Tapirapé Indians — survivors of a once much larger population — are at present located in a single village close to the mouth of the Tapirapé River, which flows into the Araguaia about thirth-five kilometers upriver from the town of Santa Teresinha in the state of Mato Grosso, Brazil. This small group of Tupi-speaking tropical forest agriculturalists is intrusive to an area where the predominant Indian population is composed of Karajá, whose language seems to be related to those of the Gê-speaking peoples. The Karajá inhabit the region of the Araguaia from Aruanã to the Tocantins confluence, including the large fluvial island of Bananal; their major activity is fishing.

Though the Tapirapé have in the past been subject to attack by Karajá, relations between the two groups are at present peaceful and stable. One Karajá village, located at the Indian Protection Service Post, is only a few kilometers from the Tapirapé, which has resulted in fairly continuous visiting and trade, as well as several cases of intermarriage.

The Tapirapé are, for their number, one of the most visited groups in Brazil. Herbert Baldus, Charles Wagley,

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Eduardo Galvão, and Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira are some of the Anthropologists who have spent time studying this group. The frequency of such visits must be at least in part due to the fact that the Tapirapé are unfailingly patient, gracious hosts.

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Attemps have been made to determine the type of kinship terminology which is, or was, characteristic of those groups forming the Tupi — and Guarani-speaking family. According to Wagley and Galvão (1946a), who have based their conclusions upon a comparison of Tapirapé, Tenetehara, and Cayuá terms, the essential features of the "Tupian" system are :

— bilaterality
— bifurcate-merging terminology on the first ascending and first descending generations
— generational terminology on ego's generation : i.e. the classification of all cousins with siblings.

According to these authors, such a terminology reflects a situation in which the extended family is the basic social unit and in which there are no unilateral exogamous sibs.

MacDonald (1965) has revised this solution, basing his conclusions on the consideration of a larger number of groups. His reconstruction differs from that of Wagley and Galvão on the following points : First of all, MacDonald sees the basic bilaterality of the system modified by a tendency towards patrilaterality which, however, stops short of fully analysis of Tapirapé kinship can, un turn, contribute to the study not only of Tupi-Guarani speaking groups, but of other groups, both in the South American tropical forest and elsewhere (1), where similar social changes have taken place (2).

Contemporary Tapirapé terminology (cf. charts 1,2) is characterized by the following features :

— On the first ascending generation, the terms show a

combination of bifurcate-merging features (classifying together of parents and their siblings of the same sex) and bifurcate-collateral features (distinguishing all "kin types" on the generational level).

— On ego's generation, the terms are "Hawaiian" or generational: the same terms are applied to full sublings, half siblings and cousins, both cross and parallel. Terms vary according to the sex of the relative involved and according to the sex of the speaker as well. Relative age distinctions are made in regard to siblings and cousins of the same sex as the speaker.

— On the first descending generation, the terms are bifurcate-merging: the children of ego's siblings and cousins of the same sex are called by the same terms as ego's own children. (There is a slight structural difference between terms used by male and female speakers in that a man distinguishes the sex of his "sister's" children, whereas a woman does not make this distinction for her "brother's" children).

FIRST ASCENDING GENERATION

Tapirapé terms for relatives of the first ascending generation are of particular interest since they provide us with an opportunity to observe terminology in the process of change. The discussion here will focus on terms for the maternal aunt and the paternal uncle.

In the referential forms, the term for father's brother is similar to that for father and the term for mother's sister is similar to that for mother. The suffix *-ra* or *-ira* in the terms *cerowira* and *cei?ira* (3) is a diminutive. However, though the term for father's brother may literally mean "little father" and that for mother's sister mean "little mother", it should be remembered that the average Tapirapé, not being an etymologist, may not see it this way. What

may be at present most significant, from the Tapirapé point of view, is that a distinction of some kind is regularly made between a parent and a parent's sibling.

In a case such as this, where terms are similar but not the same, it is important to keep the following in mind : any difference in form represents a potential if not actual difference in meaning. It is my own feeling that as the roles of the relatives involved become differentiated, the linguistic connection between the terms designating these relatives comes to have less psychological reality. Such a change is admittedly difficult to substantiate, since it goes on within the speaker's mind. We are therefore on safer ground when we turn to terms of address in which case we find observable terminological transition.

It is in the vocative terminology used by a male speaker for his parallel aunts and uncles — in the pattern of alternative terms and the present tendency for a newer usage to replace an older one — that we encounter kin classification in evolution.

Looking first at the terms for the mother's sister, we see indicated on the chart a pattern of alternative usage between the terms *ãpi* (4) and *cei?irani*. The latter is formed of *cei?ira*, the reference term for the mother's sister, and the suffix *ani*. Though Baldus reports the term *cheyrangi* as used by both sexes for the maternal aunt (cf. Philipson, 1945 : 53), I never heard this suffix used by a female speaker and all informants maintained that only men employ it. What is interesting about the appearance of this terms on Baldus' list is that, since the suffix *-ani* is, as far as I know, used only in address and never in reference, a vocative form distinguishing the mother's sister from the mother was in existence as early as the 1930's or 40's, depending on when the data were collected.

Though, according to the chart, *ãpi* and *cei?irani* are alternative terms, the latter clearly predominates at present. A comparison between terms used by older and younger men,

based on their responses as informants and their day-to-day behavior, indicates the trend towards a replacement of the bifurcate-merging term by the bifurcate-collateral one. I never heard young men use the term *ãpi* to address a maternal aunt; as informants, they consistently responded with the term *cei?irani*. Only once did a young man say he would use *ãpi* for a mother's sister and this was when an older female relative was standing over his shoulder correcting him. It is interesting to note that in cases of mother's sister-sister's son relationships, the woman involved usually says that the young man calls her *ãpi* whereas he says he calls her *cei?irani*. In such instances, it is the young man who gives a more accurate account of his behavior. Since the older men rarely had elder female relatives still living, opportunities of observing terminological usage in their case were naturally limited. As informants, they responded with both *ãpi* and *cei?irani*, usually giving the bifurcate-collateral term first. Old men indicated that in the past *ãpi* was regularly used for the mother's sister as well as for the mother (5). However, there is clearly a tendency at present for all men, young and old, to use the term *ãpi* exclusively for their own mothers, to whom no other term of address is applied.

It is also worth noting that, when a question was posed to a Tapirapé informant such that there was ambiguity as to whether a term of address or one of reference was desired, the informant almost always responded with the term of address, *ãpi*, for his own mother, but the term of reference, *cei?ira*, for a maternal aunt.

Turning to the vocative form used by a male speaker for his father's brother, we see that a separate term distinguishes this relative from the father : the latter is addressed as *ceropi* and the former as *cerowirani*. The term *cerowirani* is formed of the morphemes *ce*, meaning "my", *towira*, meaning "father's brother" (6), and the suffix *-ani*.

There is evidently a close etymological relation between the term for father and that for father's brother. Philipson points out a possible derivation of *ceropi* (*che-ropy*) from *cerowirani* (*cherovuyrangi*), thereby claiming to have demonstrated the classification of the paternal uncle with the father ("a classificação do tio paterno com o pai" p. 54). It is true that the term for father's brother is not as much in a linguistic class by itself as is the term for mother's brother; however, does the relationship between the terms for father and father's brother justify the statement that these two relatives are classified together?

One might first inquire as to the kind of classification involved: it is that used by the linguist to order his data and which may also serve the purpose of historical reconstruction? or is it the "ethno"-classification, i.e. those principles at work in the mind of the Tapirapé when he uses certain terms to denote certain relatives? It seems that Philipson is actually offering the former while claiming to provide the latter.

It is necessary to point out once again that etymological relationships may have varying degrees of psichological reality to the native speaker. Philipson seems to be assuming at certain ponts in his discussion that morphological connections which he perceives are as readily perceived by the Tapirapé. He also hypothesizes as to chains of reasoning operating in the native speaker's mind (cf. e.g. pp. 54-5), for which no evidence is presented.

The basic problem at issue here is that of semantics in general: namely, the problem of ascertaining meaning by way of external evidence, that of avoiding both misplaced objectivity and unsubstantiated subjectivity. This is a problem which this paper cannot presume to solve; the more modest point made here constitutes a reminder that the foundation of linguistic science is the principle of co-variance of form and meaning. In the case under consideration at present — that of Tapirapé terms for the father and the

father's brother — we are dealing with two different terminological forms and thus, despite the etymological relation between these forms, should expect two diferent meanings. And it is important to note that we are able to predict with accuracy which of the two forms will be elicited in specific encounters.

There is a further application of the term *cerowirani* which is relevant to the discussion here. Since all men who have had intercourse with a woman during her pregnancy are thought to have had some role in producing her child, a child may, according to the Tapirapé, have more than one genitor (7). If a Tapirapé is describing such a situation in Portuguese, he will sometimes denote all the men involved by the term "pai" ("father"). However, only one of these men — the one who is the mother's husband and the child's sociological father — will be called *ceropi* by the child. If the others are called by a special term, the term will be *cerowirani* (8).

The term *cerowirani* used thus may be translated as "co-father" or, more properly, "co-genitor". However, as such, it distinguishes men who have had a part in a child's creation from the one man who is primarily responsible for the child's protection and support, the man who is, in the sociological sense, the child's father.

Terms of address used by a female speaker for her father and for her father's brother show a similar, though less marked tendency toward the replacement of bifurcate--merging by bifurcate-collateral terminology. The term used at present by a female speaker for her father's brother is *ceropi?i*, the final *-i* being a diminutive. This term shows more resemblance to *ceropi*, the term used by both sexes to address the father, than does the term *cerowirani*. However, given the fact that Wagley and Galvão report *ceropi* as the term used by female speakers to address their paternal uncles and that the term *ceropi?i* may thus be a relatively recent innovation, the differentiating function of the suffix *-i*

becomes important. The terminological change here has taken place by adding a diminutive suffix to a term of address, whereas in the case of terms used by a male speaker, as has been seen above, the vocative suffix *-ani*, used only by men, has been added to reference terms.

It is also worth pointing out in this connection the existence of a vocative term, *towi*, used by young children of both sexes to address the father; this term is never used for the paternal uncle.

When addressing their maternal aunts, women tend to employ *ãpi*, the same term they use for their own mothers. The trend towards bifurcate-collaterality does not yet characterize the behavior of female speakers to the same degree as it does that of male speakers. I was told by female informants that *cei?ira*, as well as *ãpi*, may be used when speaking to the mother's sister. One woman told me that *cei?i* may also be used in some situations: "When she (the maternal aunt) is near, I say *cei?ira*... when she is far and I call her, I say *cei?i*". I was not however, able to observe any instances in which these bifurcate-collateral terms were actually used in adress.

It is interesting that the move away from bifurcate--merging terminology seems to have taken place earlier in the case of the term for father's brother than in the case of that for mother's sister. The conclusion to be drawn from this is apparently that the social institution or institutions which led to a symmetrical bifurcate-merging terminology ceased to function before those which correlate with a unilateral merging were themselves in turn abandone. Or, to put it another way, the merging of the mother's sister with the mother is perhaps more fundamental to the most basic and, until very recently, the most enduring institutions of Tapirapé society than is the merging of the father's brother with the father. This question will be taken up in the final discussion.

Some comparative material from the Asurini, who seem to be closely related to the Tapirapé and whose kin terms are morphologically quite similar to Tapirapé terms, is offered in charts 3 and 4. The structure of Asurini first ascending generation terminology shows a combination of bifurcate--merging and bifurcate-collateral features. There are, on the one hand, common terms of address for the mother and mother's sister and for the father and father's brother. On the other hand, however, reference terminology shows a slight distinction made between parents and their respective siblings of the same sex. And, more significantly, certain alternative forms of address are given for the mother's sister and the father's brother, but not for the parents themselves.

EGO'S GENERATION

The shift from bifurcate-merging to bifurcate-collaterality which, from the data presented above, seems to be taking place on the first ascending generation may have been preceded by an earlier, somewhat different change in terminology on ego's generation. It is possible, though the evidence given here is only of an indirect nature, that Tapirapé cousin terms underwent a change from a bifurcate--merging to a generational pattern.

MacDonald's opinion, as noted above, is that the original kinship system of the Tupi-speaking groups was characterized by bifurcate-merging on all three central generational levels. The system proposed by Wagley and Galvão, also outlined above, differs from this in regard to cousin terms, which are assumed to have been originaly generational. The authors themselves note this sole divergence from what is otherwise a straight "Dakota" system.

A chart drawn up by MacDonald and reproduced in part here (cf. chart 5) where features of eleven Tupi-Guarani terminologies are compared, shows that the three groups upon which Wagley and Galvão have based their conclusions

provide the exceptions rather than the rule. My own view is that these three groups have independently undergone similar changes in social structure, to be discussed presently, which led to an abandonment of bifurcate-merging in favor of generational cousin terms.

Particularly interesting in this connection are Asurini cousin terms (cf. charts 3,4). Those Asurini terms which are morphologically similar to the Tapirapé cousin terms are used to designate siblings and parallel cousins only; cross cousins are distinguished by different terms. It is tempting to see in the Asurini terms the earlier structure of Tapirapé terminology. However, one problem which should be noted is that the Asurini cross cousin terms are descriptive in the linguistic sense : i.e. they are morphological compounds of other terms (9). It is often the case with descriptive terms that these exist side by side with other, alternative terms which are more frequently employed. In some cases, descriptive terminology may be an artifact of the eliciting process itself. The Asurini date is therefore presented here as circunstantial evidence rather than as definitive proof.

Tapirapé cousin terminology is characterized by distinctions as to both relative age and degree of relationship, features which are frequently found in conjunction with "Hawaiian" systems. Relative age is distinguished only among members of the same sex and depends on relative age on ego's own generation, not on the age of connecting relatives on the first ascending generation. Degree of relationship is distinguished by means of a suffix, *-tehe* or *-te.*, which is added to sibling-cousin terms, and to terms for relatives on other generational levels as well. This suffix is used only in reference. It can best be translated as meaning "close" and is used in other contexts as an intensifier : for example, one may suffix it to the verb for "walk" or "hike" to indicate that one has "walked hard" (rapidly and for a long distance). It is difficult to establish the exact meaning of *-tehe* in kinship usage since the influence

of eno-Brazilian kin categories was evident in many informant responses. My own impression is that "closeness" is meant in a strictly genealogical sense. The fact that, in at least one case, a husband and wife disagreed as to whether one of the wife's relatives was "close" or not indicates either that the distinction is no longer significant and regularly in use or, on the other hand, that ambiguity is one of its essential attributes. Wagley and Galvão (1946a) have criticized Philipson for interpreting this term as an indicator of parallel relatives. Though I could not get reliable information on past usage, it is certain that this is not the meaning of the suffix *-tehe* at present.

There is a point to be made in connection with the apparently interchangeable terms used for siblings of the opposite sex. While the terms *ceranira* and *cekiwira* fit into the "set" of kin terms, *koca* and *cire?i* fit into the set of age status terms (10). Tapirapé men denied any difference between the terms *ceranira* and *koca* (such as, for example, an opposition between reference and address). However, though both terms were given with equal frequency as translations of "sister", *koca* was observed to be used in non-kin contexts as well : for exemple, this was the term which some of the men regularly used to address me, as an alternative to calling me by name. As for the terms used by a female speaker, *cekiwira* was consistently given in informant sessions as both the term of reference and address for a brother. However, I never actually observed this term to be used in address. Young women, when they did not call their brothers by name, addressed them by the term *cire?i*, which was also used for other male age mates.

This case of alternation between an age status term and a kin term proper points up a problem which frequently arises in cases of "Hawaiian" terminologies, which is that of distinguishing between a category of co-resident age-mates and a category of blood kinsmen of a single generational level. In a situation such as that of the Tapirapé, where

the entire group is at present located in a single, endogamous village, the result is a confused network of interlocking and overlapping relationships; everyone is, in short, related rather closely to everyone else. Kin terms and age status terms may thus tend to coalesce : in the future, cousin terms may be applied to all age mates, age status terms may come to be used more frequently in a relativistic, ego-centered manner, and the two sets of terms may cease to have different ranges of meaning. One of the alternative forms may even come to be abandoned altogether.

It should be mentioned that at present names are frequently used between siblings and cousins. However, since these, like age status terms, are used as alternatives to kin terms proper, which are themselves still regularly employed, the situation is not like that of first descending generation terminology, which we shall now examine.

First desceding generation

Though first descending generation kin terms form a set with the others and can be elicited from most informants they are employed infrequently in reference and were never observed to be used in address. The Tapirapé tend to use names when addressing or referring to relatives on lower generational levels, whether these be children, nephews and nieces, or some other king of relation. Thus, whereas an individual will almost invariably address older relatives by the appropriate kin term, these relatives will in turn call the younger one by name.

The only situation in which I observed first descending generation kin terms used with regularity was in conversations I had with female informants. Women would use these terms when explaining relationships to me far more frequently than would men.

When names are not used for younger relatives, age status terms (cf. note 10), rather than kin terms proper, are

employed. When informants were asked about terms for relatives of the first descending generation (and, for that matter, the second as well), age status terms were the forms most frequently elicited. One man came up with a series of six terms used by a parent for a male child, depending on the child's age, and another six for a female child. These were formed by prefixing the morpheme *ce-*, denoting the first person possessive, to age status terms, the number of which may be increased by adding diminutive suffixes. While names are generally used by an elder speaking to a child, there is a tendency for age status terms with possessive prefixes to be used only for one's own childen.

The significance of the use of age status terms was noted above. It was suggested that where a terminological pattern is generational, kin terms and age status terms may be mutually reinforcing and come to have overlapping meanings. Were age status terms used in the same way for all younger relatives and other young people in the village, the structure would be similar to a generational kinship system and would differ in this way from the bifurcate--merging structure found in the kin terms themselves. As it is, the way in which age status terms are actually used for first descending generation relatives points to the replacement of a bifurcate-merging structure not by a "Hawaiian" structure, but by a lineal one.

The departure form a bifurcate-merging system has thus taken a different direction on each generational level. On the first descending generation, the change has been accomplished by an abandonnent of kin terms in favor of other usages; though the kin terms themselves are still remembered, they no longer articulate in a functional way with the present realities of Tapirapé society.

It should be stressed that the conclusions presented here are based not only on questions put to Tapirapé informants, but also on day-to-day patterns of actual usage as heard and recorded. In collecting the latter type of information,

negative instances in regard to usage should be noted as carefully as positive ones. In this case, it was concluded that first descending generation kin terms, because of the extreme infrequency of their use, are less diagnostic of the system as it operates than are other terms which are constantly in use. This is not to say that the terms can therefore be ignored; on the contrary, they seem to be a valuable source of information about the past, at which time they presumably were in use. MacDonald's table (cf. below) shows that, when a comparison is made of terms from a variety of Tupi-speaking groups, first descending generation terms show the least variation — in fact, none at all. This apparent terminological conservatism may provide us with a glimpse of an earlier system (11). However, if terms might in some cases fail to change simply because they are not used, we should, while recognizing the value of these term in reconstructive work, realize that they may tell us very little or even mislead us as to the nature of the contemporary system.

DISCUSSION

In the course of the foregoing description and analysis of Tapirapé kinship terminology, the following developments have been noted :

— a change from bifurcate-merging to bifurcate-collateral terminology on the first ascending generation.

— a possible change from bifurcate-merging to generational terminology on ego's generation.

— a tendency for bifurcate-merging first descending generation terms to be abandoned in favor of other terminological usages which show some indication of lineality.

It is the purpose of this final discussion to offer possible explanations for these developments, explanations which are to be found in the situation of social disorganization and

reorganization which has characterized Tapirapé life since the beginning of this century.

Severe depopulation, resulting primarily from a series of epidemics and to a lesser degree, from attacks by hostile neighbors, forced remnant groups of Tapirapé to migrate as refugees to other villages (12). As a result, the matrilocal extended family, which once apparently formed the central armature of Tapirapé social structure, gave way to varied agglomerations of co-resident kin (13). The situation of the Tapirapé became especially precarious after a Kayapó attack in the mid 1940's. Survivors spent several years wandering in small bands through the forest. Many came under the protection first of a local "fazendeiro" and then of the Indian Protection Service Post, newly established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River. It was only in the early 1950's that the group was reconstituted into a single village, in the approximate location of the present one. This was accomplished largely through the efforts of an Indian Protection Service functionary who traveled through the forest in search of remaining Tapirapé. It is believed that other Tapirapé are still to be found; two years prior to my own arrival, a small group, consisting of three women and a young boy, had emerged from the forest and had come to live in the village.

The Tapirapé at present form a small endogamous group. Though some exogamy takes place in the form of marriages between Tapirapé men and Karajá women, the men go to live with their wives' people and take up a Karajá mode of life (14). The majority, who remain in the village and marry Tapirapé women, find themselves with a small choice of prospective spouses (15). As a result of the unions formed under these conditions, individuals find themselves related to one another in a variety of ways; kin roles which in the past were structurally distinct are at present frequently confounded.

Wagley (1940) has dealt with some of the social consequences of depopulation and disorganization among the

Tapirapé. The present paper attempts to continue this discussion by showing the effects of these social changes upon kinship terminology.

Looking at Tapirapé terminology historically, we see that "Hawaiian" terms appear prior to bifurcate-collateral first ascending generation terms; the terminology encountered by Wagley in 1939-40 was still characterized by bifurcate-merging terms on the parental generation. Similar combinations of generational and bifurcate-merging features have been encountered in terminological systems elsewhere : the North American Plains and Oceania are two regions where such cases have been reported. Historical materials often show that these mixed terminologies have developed from earlier systems which were more consistently bifurcate-merging.

The questions we must answer in connection with these terminologies are : 1) What social situations lead to the adoption of "Hawaiian" terms ? 2) Why do such terms emerge first and more frequently on ego's generation ?

It has been suggested that in the case of Oceania, where the greatest concentration of "Hawaiian" features is to be found, the evolution of generational terms is connected with social conditions arising from depopulation (16). W.H.R., Rivers had earlier connected the division between bifurcate--merging and generational terminologies in Oceania with the division between clan-organized and non-clan-organized societies (17). Rivers did not discuss the transition from one of these forms of social organization to the other, nor did he deal diachronically with terminologies showing both features. The possible connection between depopulation and the decline of clan organization would add the elements of time depth and demographic causality to the important classification provided by Rivers.

Depopulation and the consequent reshuffling of individuals have, in the case of the Tapirapé, led to the breakdown of a unilateral kin unit, the matrilocal extended family,

which had been one of the social correlates of a bifurcate--merging terminology. This same social disorganization may also, though for this there is no direct proof, have led to the earlier breakdown of another institution which seems to be fundamentally connected with bifurcate-merging terminology: a system of alliance based on cross-cousin marriage. In point of fact, a symmetrical bifurcate-merging terminology in which no skewing features are present is more satisfyingly explained by bilateral cross-cousin marriage than by unilateral kin groupings (18).

Preferential marriage, involving cross cousins as well as the sister's daughter, is included by MacDonald in this list of basic Tupi-Guarani kinship features. Lévi-Strauss (1948) also sees these forms of alliance as typical of Tupi-speaking peoples. Arnaud, writing of the Asurini, gives genealogical data which indicate a large proportion of marriages between cross cousins, as well as some marriages between a man and his sister's daughter.

. To take a case outside of South America, there are in the Great Lakes region of North America certain groups, closely related to one another linguistically and culturally, that have bifurcate-merging cousin terms where cross-cousin marriage is still present and generational terms where it is absent (cf. Eggan, 1966:86). The preferential marriage rule — or lack of same — seems to be the critical variable in this case. It is likewise possible that at an earlier point in Tapirapé history, bifurcate-merging cousin terms correlated with cross-cousin marriage just as contemporary generational cousin terms correlate with the absence at present of any "elementary structure" of marriage alliance (19).

Marriage is now regulated among the Tapirapé, as among other groups having generational terminology, by a negative rule only: marriage is forbidden within certain degress of genealogical closeness. Though terms denoting degrees of relationship may play a part in determining potential marriage partners in "Hawaiian" systems, such restrictions

do not indicate the same rigidity of structure as does enjoined alliance with a prescribed kin type. Affinal terms, which are not frequently used by the Tapirapé, are at present morphological compounds of terms for other relatives. For example: the term for mother-in-law (woman speaking), *cemeni*, is formed of the words for "husband" and "mother"; the term for an older brother's wife (man speaking), *cerike?irãti*, is formed of the term a man uses for his older brother and the word for "wife"; etc.

In the preceding paragraphs, we have been discussing two social institutions — the unilateral extended family and a system of cross-cousin marriage — which correlate positively with a bifurcate-merging terminology and negatively with a generational one. It was hypothesized that a change in Tapirapé cousin terms from the former to the latter pattern resulted from the decline of at least one and perhaps both of these social institutions. We have thus so far dealt only with the negative correlates of generational terminology, i.e. those institutions which are not found in conjunction with this terminological pattern. It is now necessary to see if there may be a positive social correlate of the "Hawaiian" cousin terms presently employed by the Tapirapé.

It has been suggested that "Hawaiian" terms form a sort of non-system. Since these terms make only minimal distinctions between relatives, we may feel that we should look elsewhere in order to understand the structuring of social relations. As a matter of fact, "Hawaiian" terms often exist side by side with other usages, sometimes of a non-kin nature, which may have greater sociological importance. However, "Hawaiian" terms do form a mode of reference and, more frequently and significantly, a mode of address used by certain peoples in their everyday social encounters and as such must be explained rather than explained away. Since vocative terms have the function of evoking certain behavior from the person addressed, there should be a social reason for using sibling terms to address

all relatives of one's own generation. There must be some aspect of Tapirapé society which, in the absence of institutions leading to a bifurcate-merging system, causes generational terms to be employed. It is here suggested that this aspect is to be found in the set of formal groupings which divide the men of the village into two moieties and three age grades (20).

It may seem incomprehensible to explain generational terms by the existence of a moiety arrangement, since this is considered the social correlate *par excellence* of a bifurcate-merging terminology. However, the Tapirapé moieties do not represent the dual organization of kinship ties, at least not at present, nor does it seem likely that they did so in the past. They have no role in regulating marriage. Though there is a nominal rule of patrilineal succession, membership is not recuited in a strictly lineal manner. A man may and frequently does assign his son to the opposite group if the son has relatives in that group, which is of course always the case. In a couple of instances, men have changed group affiliation by their own decisions. The moieties thus do not provide the type of social situation which would entail a bifurcate-merging form of kinship terminology. It is rather the village-wide quality of activities which revolve around the moities and the fact that each moiety is divided into age grades which provide the social bases for generational terminology.

The men's groups are operative in various communal activities of both an economic and ceremonai nature. Economic activities in which the moieties were observed to function were the communal clearing of new gardens, a banana harvest, a fish-poisoning expedition, and a five--day hunt. The communal clearing, *macirõ* or *apacirõ*, occupied over fourteen full working days from early morning to dusk. Though the moieties separated to partake of the communal meal brought by the women to the outside of the village at the conclusion of each day's work, the work

itself was done by all men working together regardless of moiety affiliation. And at the meal itself, men were observed to wander over to the other group if they were not satisfied with what the women of their own side had brought (21).

At certain festivals, the men of the different moieties danced opposite each other in pairs. However, if a man was lacking a partner on his own side, he would go over to the other. These pairs, once formed, tended to endure, but the men involved were not invariably of the same moiety. What was more invariable was that a man's dancing partner was a member of his own age grade and that the groups of dancers were positioned according to age grade membership.

Looking at some other groups which have generational cousin terms, we again find the presence of certain socio-economic units which depend upon the membership of a large number of generation mates. In the case of the North American Plains and the South American Chaco, two area which have undergone similar developments (22), a unit of central economic importance is the hunting band. The more "brothers" a man has, the more co-workers are potentially available to him. Several hunting and gathering groups in such areas as the North American Great Basin and the southern region of South America also have generational cousin terms. Among the groups of the Great Basin, where I have done field work myself, there are — or, rather, were in aboriginal times — certain communal activities such as rabbit and deer hunts and water fowl drives which involved the cooperation of a large number of people; work units were made up of extended groups of bilateral kinsmen. As for the South American groups, these have been described by Oberg (1955) as "hemogeneous tribes" (23) and, though the author treats "Hawaiian" terms differently from the way they are treated here, it would seem that the homogeneous tribe as a survival unit accords with a bilateral extension of sibling terms.

In all of the above cases, including that of the Tapirapé, generational terminology is found only on ego's generation. In those cases where generation terms represent a shift away from bifurcate-merging ones, the terms involved in the change are cousin terms. This may be in part explained by the key economic role played in these societies by extended groups of bilaterally related kinsmen of the same generational level (24).

Subsequent to the appearance of "Hawaiian" terms on ego's generation, Tapirapé kin terminology began to undergo a change on the first ascending generation. Contemporary evidence shows us that terms for relatives on the parental generation are in the process of becoming bifurcate-collateral.

The abandonment of a bifurcate-merging system on this generational level is tied to the same factors outlined in the discussion of cousin terms : the decline of the matrilocal extended family, for which there is direct ethnographic evidence, and the earlier disappearance of a system of preferential marriage, which has been hypothesized. Our analysis of first ascending generation terms has shown us (cf. p. 8) that a term distinguishing the father's brother from the father seems to have emerged earlier than a term distinguishing the mother's sister from the mother. This sequence of terminological changes would seem to reflect the fact that the matrilocal extended family outlasted that social institution — whether this be a system of alliance or something other — which had led to a symmetrical bifurcate-merging system.

But why have these changes led to a "Hawaiian" terminology on one generational level and to a bifurcate-collateral, or "Sudanese", terminology on another ? It has been argued that these two terminological patterns, far from being polar opposites, are really structural equivalents : one system distinguishes everyone and the other no one. Both lack the types of equations found in bifurcate-merging terminology and the skewing found in "Crow" and "Omaha" systems, these being correlated with a strongly unilineal

organization (25). Both "Hawaiian" and "Sudanese" terminologies are found in societies where alliance systems, such as those set up by cross-cousin marriage, are lacking (26). "Hawaiian" cousin terms and "Sudanese" first ascending generation terms are in fact frequently found in conjunction with one another. Such a terminology is found among the Cayuá as well as the Tapirapé; it is also found among many of the hunting and gathering groups discussed above and among certain groups in the Sudan.

However, it remains the case that "Hawaiin" and "Sudanese' are not the same and that Tapirapé terminology is neither all one nor all the other. The different changes which took place on the different generational levels may to a certain degree be explicable by linguistic considerations, but such an explanation is not entirely satisfying. It is my own belief that the bifurcate-collateral pattern on the first ascending generation is connected with the emergence of the nuclear family as the most stable kin unit and that "Sudanese" terminology in this case is structurally closer to lineal than to generational terminology. If one goes beyond looking at the six first ascending generation "kin types" as metaphysical enties of equal weight and if one looks instead at the *number* of individuals denoted by a single term, one may see an inherent lineality in bifurcate-collateral systems. For while the terms denoting "father's sister", "mother's brother", etc. can indicate a number of people, an individual has usually only one "mother" and one "father". It is furthemore possible that as Tapirapé acculturation progresses, probably leading to the residential isolation of the nuclear family and the decline of all forms of extended family life, terms may become fully lineal. We have already seen indications of lineality in the mode of addressing and referring to younger relatives : one's own children are singled out in the use of age status terms with possessive prefixes.

Whatever the relationships between "Hawaiian", "Sudanese" and "Eskimo" systems, we have still not completely solved the problem of the mixed nature of contemporary

Tipirapé terminology. Is it possible that different aspects of social structure are reflected terminologically on different generational levels? Perhaps the organization of labor primarily affects age mates whereas relationships between relatives of adjacent generations are primarily determined by residence. These are, of course, speculations only.

What can be said is that the kin terminology which now characterizes the Tapirapé is the result of a situation where the stable social units are, on the one hand, the nuclear family and, on the other, the village as a whole. Those units which fall in between — the extended families — are no longer constituted according to any structural rule, but are rather formed on an ad hoc basis and are subject to change (27). Societal subdivisions such as the men's moieties have no firm kin basis. Tapirapé society is thus in its barest structural outlines similar to other societies, among them certain hunting and gathering groups, which are characterized by the same terminological system.

NOTES

(1) — Murdock, in his discussion of Southeast Asian kinship (1960), uses the term "Carib" to denote a type of social organization in which a basically cognatic system is also characterized by unilocal residence and certain unilineal features. This choice of term points up the existence of parallel problems in the study of kinship in these two separate regions

(2) — It is possible to have reliable information on change in the case of the Tapirapé, since this group has been visited several times in the past by anthropologists and was studied in detail by Charles Wagley in 1939-40. Professor Wagley was kind enough to provide me with copies of his notes to take into the field.

(3) — Some confusion has come up in the literature in connection with the term for mother's sister, which I have rendered as *cei?ira*. Wagley and Galvão (1946 a) report the term *che-yura* which is essentially the same. Baldus gives the term as *cheyrongi* which is equivalent to the term which I have recorded as that used by a male speaker in address. (The suffix-*ani* is vocative and, as far as I observed, never used by women). Philipson has denied the validity of the terms offered by Baldus and by Wagley and Galvão as designating the mother's sister, claiming that the term or terms reported by these ethnographers must mean "companion". I think this disagreement has arisen from a lack of precision in the transcriptions upon which the discussion is based. If the term in question is rendered *cei?ira*, composed of the

morphemes *cc*, meaning "my", i, meaning "mother", and *-?ira*, a diminutive, the term's validity becomes evident and its distinction from the term *ceiro*, which I have recorded as meaning "companion" is clear. Another problem is that Baldus gives the term *cheyyra* as meaning sister's son. (cf. Philipson, 1945 : 53) I never encountered such a usage myself and feel that it may represent a confusion between the term for mother's sister and those for parallel nieces and nephews.

(4) — Philipson (1945 : 61) mentions the "termo não-vocativo *ampi*". My own observation was that the term *āpi* is used by the Tapirapé for address and for address only.

(5) — I was told by one informant that *āpi* is used only for the mother's "real" sister and not for all femals relatives whom the mother addresses by a sibling term. The informant put it this way : "when there is one (mother's sister), you call her *āpi* too". That the mother would be expected to have only one full sister is accounted for by the Tapirapé birth policy (cf. Wagley, (1951) : each couple was to have no more than three living children and no more than two of the same sex. This policy is no longer in effect. (cf. note 13 below)

(6) — As is frequently the case in Tapirapé, the final vowel of the root is dropped when a suffix is added. Thus, the final -a of *cei?ira* and *cerowira* is dropped in the formation of *cei?irani* an *cerowirani*.

(7) — It is considered improper for a child to have more than two "fathers" and Wagley reports that children with too many fathers were killed at birth. The explanation given by the Tapirapé was that it would have been impossible for all the men involved to keep the taboos necessary to the child's well-being. There is at present a certain admiration for a woman who has been fathful to one man, which may indicate the influence of neo-Brazilian values. Most children, however, are still considered to have had more than one genitor.

(8) — The only time a child will use *ceropi* for more than one person is if one man was the mother's husband at the time of the child's birth, or clearly the sole genitor, and another man subsequently became the mother's husband while the child was still young.

(9) —. Though the terms for the patrilateral cross cousins are truly descriptive, i.e. are formed of the term for "father's sister" and that for "child" (female speaker), the terms for the matrilateral cross cousins are diminutive forms of the tern for the mother's brother. One might see in the matrilateral cross cousin terms an "Omaha" feature, indicating a patrilineal tendency in Asurini terminology. This was pointed out to me by Roque de Barros Laraia.

(10) — Tapirapé age status are as follows :

male		female	
name?i	male infant	*ātãi*	female infant
konomi	young boy	*kotãtãi*	young girl
cire?i	young adolescent	*kocamoko*	adolescent
awã?ião	adolescent about to undergo initiation	*koci*	woman
		kocicevete	middle-aged-woman
awãcevete	man	*waiwi*	old woman
marike?ira	old man		

Diminutives such as *-i* may be added to these terms to yield somewhat different meanings : e.g. *kocamoko?i?i* is used to designate a girl of about 8 or 9.

(11) — It is not here asserted that the bifurcate-merging first descending generation terms are of themselves sufficient demonstration that the entire kinship terminology once had this same structure. The perfectly consistent terminology is an archetype which cannot be assumed to be embodied in all actual systems. Independent proof for the existence of bifurcate-merging features on other generational levels is necessary.

(12) — According to some of Wagley's informants, the Tapirapé were at the turn of the century living in at least five villages, each having an average population of about 200 people. By 1932, there were only 147 Tapirapé. In 1935, Baldus found 130 and in 1947, subsequent to a Kayapó attack, only 60 remained. The group is now increasing in numbers: there were 79 individuals at the time of my first arrival in 1966, 80 a couple of weeks later and 81 as of the summer of 1967.

(13) — It is still usual for a man to take up residence where his wife is living. However, due to the demographic vicissitudes of Tapiripé life in recent years, this uxorilocality does not result in the formation of matrilocal extended families. There is also a tendency for a nuclear family to become neolocal once there are a number of children. Thus, for example, one couple who had been living with the girl's parents during the initial years if their marriage moved into a house of their own after the birth of their fourth child. This tendency to neolocality is to some extent related to the abandonment of infanticide, formerly pratised by the Tapirapé, and the resulting increase in the size of the nuclear family. The Tapirapé population policy, as of 1940 (cf. Wagley, 1951) was to limit the number of living children to three per couple, with no more than two of the same sex. That this policy is no longer followed is due in part to the tactful and effetive efforts of the Little Sisters of Jesus (cf. Oliveira, 1959) and in part to the realization on the part of the Tapirapé that their population could at present bear increase rather than control. Nucelar families now have up to six children; an extended family, therefore, would involve quite a few more individuals living under the same roof.

Neolocality does not, however, mean the economic independence of the nuclear family. The young couple mentioned above who had moved away from the wife's family are now located next door to the husband's "sister" and the two households regularly share and exchange food and cooperate in many subsistence activities. The Tapirapé continues to depend upon close economic ties with relatives outside his own nuclear family, but these ties are now more completely bilateral.

(14) — The fact that it is in these cases the man who changes his way of life rather than the woman is due not only to the rule of matrilocality which, at least ideologically, characterizes both groups, but more fundamentally to the general direction of acculturation in the area. That there are no cases of marriage between Karaja men and Tapirapé women is due in part to acculturative factors and in part to purely demographic ones. (cf. note 15)

(15) — There is a shortage of Tapirapé women at present. This demographic imbalance, which is causing Tapirapé men either to look for Karajá wives or to remain single for a longer period of time, is a major factor in speeding up the rate of Tapirapé acculturation. Tapirapé who marry Karajá women usually become commercial

fishermen along with their in-laws. Young single men, whose bachelorhood is prolonged due to the lack of available women in their own village, spend much of their time fishing and tend to associate with Karajá. Not yet being married, they do not as yet have to clear a garden. Even if these young men do not eventually marry Karajá, this period of their lives, during which they have formed commercial relations with Karajá and neo-Brazilians, has served to introduce them to a mode of life different from the agricultural round of traditional Tapirapé society.

(16) — Conrad Kottak, in an unpublished paper presented to Robert F. Murphy of the Columbia University Department of Antropology, has reviewed some of the literature on this subject.

(17) — Cf. Rivers, 1914 a; 1914 b.

(18) — Louis Dumont presents Dravidian kinship terminology as a case where cross-cousin terms have an essentially affinal meaning. (cf. Dumont, 1957).

(19) — Though it is here suggested that alliance breaks down under conditions of depopulation, it is also the case that a marriage rule can be disrupted by a sudden increase in population. Eggan (1966 : 90) presents an example of the latter in his discussion of the Ojibwa. Demographic research is needed in order to disclose what population sizes present optimum conditions for the functioning of particular rules and what tends to happen to these rules under conditions of population instability.

(20) — The Tapirapé terms for these divisions are as follows :

wirãcina	*wanãkora*	—	adolescents
wirâcinio	*anãca*	—	mature men
wirãono	*tanawe*	—	older men

The groups are collectively known as *wirã* ("bird") groups.
This account differs somewhat from Baldus' description of Tapirapé work groups (Baldus, 1937 : 95 ff.), according to which there are three men's groups rendered as *Tãnãvé, Ananixá,* and *Vuirantxinió,* There are also three groups for the boys of the village : sons of men who are *Tãnãvé or Anantxá* belong to the group called *Vuanankóra;* sons of men who are *Vuirantxinió* belong to the groups called *Vuirantxína* and *Vuirantxinoí*. This last group was without members at the time of Baldus' visit in 1935. A boy passes into his father's group after initiation. Of the three men's groups, the *Tãnãvé* were, according to Baldus, the smallest in number, but included the most important men in the village. At the time of my own visit, the *tanawe* group was composed of the three oldest men in the village. two of whom had been shamans, though apparently not very important ones. The "capitão", who was not nor ever had been a shaman was a member of the *anãca*. The *wirãono* group had no members. Baldus notes that each men's group had two leaders, which corresponds with my own observations concerning the *anãca* and *wirãcinio*. During ceremonies in which these formal groups participated, two men from each side, who where themselves dancing partners, led the singing. One of the two leaders of the *anãca* was the "capitão".

I offer Baldus' account as an alternative to my own, which follows that of Wagley and according to which the *wirã* groups are organized into unnamed moieties. In any event, should the latter version be correct, this moiety arrangement is not a very rigid one. There is

some information in Wagley's notes that a man, especially if he is a information is not clear on this point, nor was I able to elucidate this matter any further myself.

(21) — Baldus (1937) describes an "apatxirú" which he himself witnessed in 1935. It is worth mentioning some points of similarity and difference between the communal clearing observed by Belém and that which I myself witnessed in 1966.

First of all, the *apacirõ* which Baldus attended was, he says, for the clearing of a communal garden intended to feed the spiritis ("antxína") during the rainy season. Baldus says that the chief's garden was also cleared by a number of men working together, but he did not learn whether or not this work was carried out within the framework of the *wirã* groups. The other individual gardens were cleared by their respective owners working alone. The *apacirõ* which I witnessed was for the clearing of the individually-owned gardens: the men would work together to clear one garden and would then go on to another. (By clearing, I mean that activity which is designated by the Portuguese term "derroubar" — the cutting down of large trees in preparing the garden plot. The cutting of smaller vegetation — "brocar" — which precedes the felling of large trees, was done by each man working in his individually.) It seems that the communal clearing of individually-owned gardens, such as I observed in 1966, is not the usual practice or at least has not been for some time. Gardens are more commonly cleared individually, as was the the case during Wagley's stay and as was the case during my own second visit in 1957. It is possible that the *apacirõ* of 1966 was carried out on my behalf: I expressed to the chief my great interest in seeing this activity and he, for his part, was anxious to show that the Tapirapé still knew how one ought to behave. The men had already begun to clear individually before my arrival, but concluded the clearing in fourteen days of communal work. The gardens thus cleared were all individually owned; I saw no communal gardens of the type described by Baldus.

Baldus states that during the actual work of clearing, the men go about their business regardless of grup affiliation: "Mas não se podia observar uma divisão nos três grupos durante o trabalho; todos os Tãnãvé, Anantxá e Vuirantxinió estavam ou moviam-se, sem ordem, mesclados uns com outros." (p. 99). This was also my own observation.

The communal meals which I witnessed at the conclusion of each day's work were similar to that described by Baldus. The women carried pots of food to a clearing just outside the village and awaited the return of the men. The food was set down deccording to the group affiliation of the women's husbands: there was a place for *anãca* and *wanãkera*, another for *wirãcinio* and *wirãcina*, and a third for *tanawe* (cf. note 21). As the men arrived, each went to the place where the food for his group had been set down and be an eating out of any of the pots placed there. The women sat on the side with their children. The men, especially the younger ones, were not as strict about eating only their own group's food as they apparently hed been at the time of Baldus' visit. As the meal progressed, I saw men going from ther own group over to another especially if their own wives had been remits in preparing a sufficient amount or variaty of foods.

At the conclusion of the meal, the women preceded the men back to the village, carrying the empty pots and accompanied by the

children. The men followed and upon entering the vilage want directly to the takana (men's house) whereas the women had gone to their respective homes. The men organized themselves for dancing, each with his partner, the two embracing one another around shoulders and waist, which is the usual dance position. They wore no special ornaments, but many did carry weapons .in their free hand, as described by Baldus.

The men danced out of the *takana* and over to one of the houses in the village circle, from which point the races were run, taking place also in the manner described by Baldus.

Baldus says that the Anantxá were the "empresarios" of the *apacirõ* which he witnessed. One of the leaders of the Anantxa (cf. note 20) was recognizable as the one in charge since it was be who began work and continued the longest. In the communal clearing which I observed, it was consistently the "capitão" — or chief — who began first and worked the most, in this way showing himself to be the leader. I did not observe any pattern of alternation in leadership between| the men's groups during the *apacirõ* itself, but in the dancing afterwards, there was such an alternation : one day, the anãca were considered to be leading the dance and the next day the *wirãcinio* were' said to be in charge. I was told by one informant that in the past, the *anãca* would go out and clear one day while the *wirancinio* stayed. in the village, whereas on the next day the *wirãcinio* would work and the *anãca* rest.

(22) — For a discussion of parallel development in the Plains and Chaco, see Galvão, 1963. Analyses of Plains kinship terminologies are to be found in Eggan, 1955.

(23) — These are the same types of societies which Steward (1955), considers to be on the "family level of socio-cultural integration", a category typified in Steward's own writings by the Great Basin groups. There need not be a contradiction here : the small family, while being the basic work unit, is not self-sufficient. In is the function of the larger unit to ensure survival.

(24) — A suggeston might be made in regard to the relative age distinctions on ego's generation, which, as we have seen, are made only between siblings of the same sex. It may be that the terminological recognition of relative age is connected with the hierarchical relations hips set up in the course of work and which follow the general principle of seniority. Due to the sexual divisions of labor in Tapirapé society and the resulting composition of work groups, such hierarchical relations are relevant only among members of the same sex. To present one contrating case, the Northern Paiute of the Great Basin, who have a much less marked sexual division of labor, distinguinguish relative age for siblings and cousins of both sexes. (The connection between relative age distinctions and the organization of work as regards the Paiute was suggested to me by Wayne Suttles.)

(25) — Cf. Kottak, op. cit.

(26) — It is true that certain "Sudanese" systems are found in groups practising parallel cousin marriage. However, as Murphy and Kasdan (1959) have shown, such marriages do not lead to the kind of alliance system set up by cross-cousin marriage, but rather contribute, along with other factors, towards e social structure resembling bilaterality.

(27) — During the summer of 1966, many Tapirapé were in the process of building new houses, which were completed and inhabited by the time of my return visit in 1967 and which involved many shifts in residential groupings.

SUMÁRIO

Trata-se neste artigo de certas mudanças na terminologia de parentesco dos índios Tapirapé, Mato Grosso, Brasil, cuja língua pertence à família Tupi-Guarani.

A autora mostra que os têrmos para parentes da primeira geração ascendente estão em via de mudar de uma estrutura de fusão-bifurcada, ou "Dakota-Iroquês", para uma estrutura colateral - bifurcada, ou "Sudanês". Oferece - se também a sugestão que os têrmos para os *siblings* e primos que hoje em dia seguem o padrão de geração, chamado "Hawaiano", representam outra transformação de uma estrutura que era antigamente a de fusão-bifurcada. A conservação da estrutura de fusão-bifurcada nos têrmos para parentes da primeira geração descendente é explicada pelo fato dêsses têrmos quase não serem usados na vida cotidiana dos Tapirapé.

A análise dessas mudanças nos têrmos de parentesco é seguida por uma discussão das causas sociais dessas modificações terminológicas, causas que derivam da situação de desorganização social que caracteriza a vida dos Tapirapé nas últimas décadas. Esta desorganização é o resultado de uma depopulação abrupta e drástica, conseqüência de várias epidemias. A família extensa matrilocal, uma das bases da terminologia de fusão-bifurcada, quase desapareceu. Além disso, é possível que fôsse no passado um sistema de aliança matrimonial baseado no casamento entre primos cruzados o que serviria também para explicar a antiga terminologia de fusão-bifurcada, cujo desaparecimento ocasionou mudanças terminológicas. A terminologia Tapirapé contemporânea concorda com uma situação onde os grupos sócios-econômicos significativos são, de um lado, a família nuclear — a única unidade de parentesco que tem ainda uma estabili-

dade real — e, do outro lado, a aldeia inteira. Essa terminologia concorda também com o costume de regular o casamento por uma regra meramente negativa, i.e. a falta de uma regra prescriptica ou preferencial.

Os dados e as hipóteses oferecidos nesta comunicação são pertinentes à literatura sôbre o parentesco Tupi-Guarani: os estudos de Wagley & Galvão, Mac-Donald, Philipson e outros. Mas é preciso dar ênfase ao fato que família lingüística e tipo de estrutura social são duas coisas diferentes. Assim, deve-se considerar o problema do parentesco Tapirapé no contexto de outros grupos fora da família lingüística Tupi-Guarani, grupos indígenas da América do Sul bem como outros das demais regiões do mundo que sofreram o mesmo tipo de desenvolvimento do que os Tapirapé.

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NOTES ON THE KINSHIP CHARTS:

The charts of Tapirapé kin terms were drawn up with a view to keeping terms of reference clearly distinct from those of address. One problem with the list presented by Wagley and Galvão (1946a) is that they did not consistently make this separation: sometimes a term which turns out to be a referential form is followed by a term of address in parentheses and sometimes vice versa. In the charts presented here, those terms appearing in parentheses are terms of reference only; the others are terms of address, or, when no term in parentheses follows, are used in both reference and address. It will be noted that there are some cases of alternative adress terminology.

An attempt has been made to use a phonemic as opposed to phonetic transcription. The approximate phonetic values of the following phonemic symbols used here are:

c	as in *ch*urch
n	as in si*ng*
i	a high, mid, unrounded vowel
?	glottal stop

In Tapirapé, the prefix *ce-* denotes firts person singular possessive. When this prefix combines with a kin term which in its unbound form begins with *t-*, that *t-* is in the bound form replaced by an *-r-*. Some examples are: *towa, cerowa, cerikeraí tamiya, ceramiya*. This rule has already been pointed out by students of Tupi-Guarani languages.

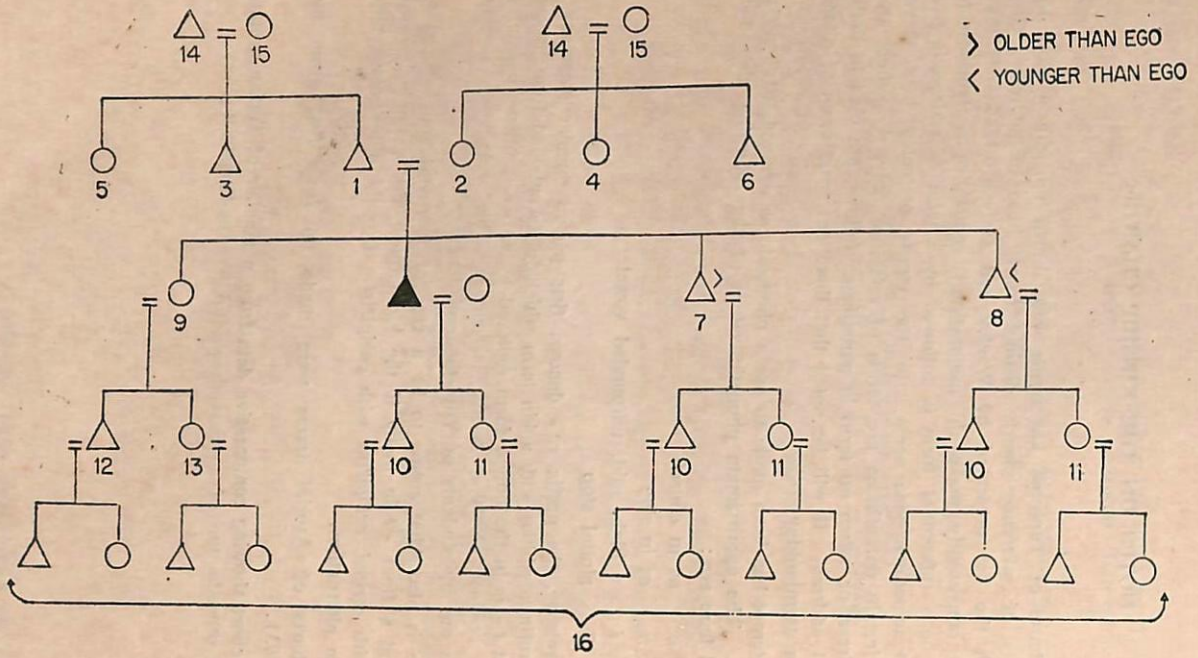
There is also what seems to be a case of free variation between a final *-a* and a final *-i* in many if the kin terms. Por example, *cerowa* alternates with *cerowi, cekipi?ira* with *cekipi?iri*. I could not discover any rule for this alternation.

The charts of Asurini terms were made up from lists given by Arnaud (1963).

The chart showing comparative data from a number of Tupian groups is a partial reproduction of a chart drawn up by MacDonald (1965).

CHART 1

TAPIRAPÉ



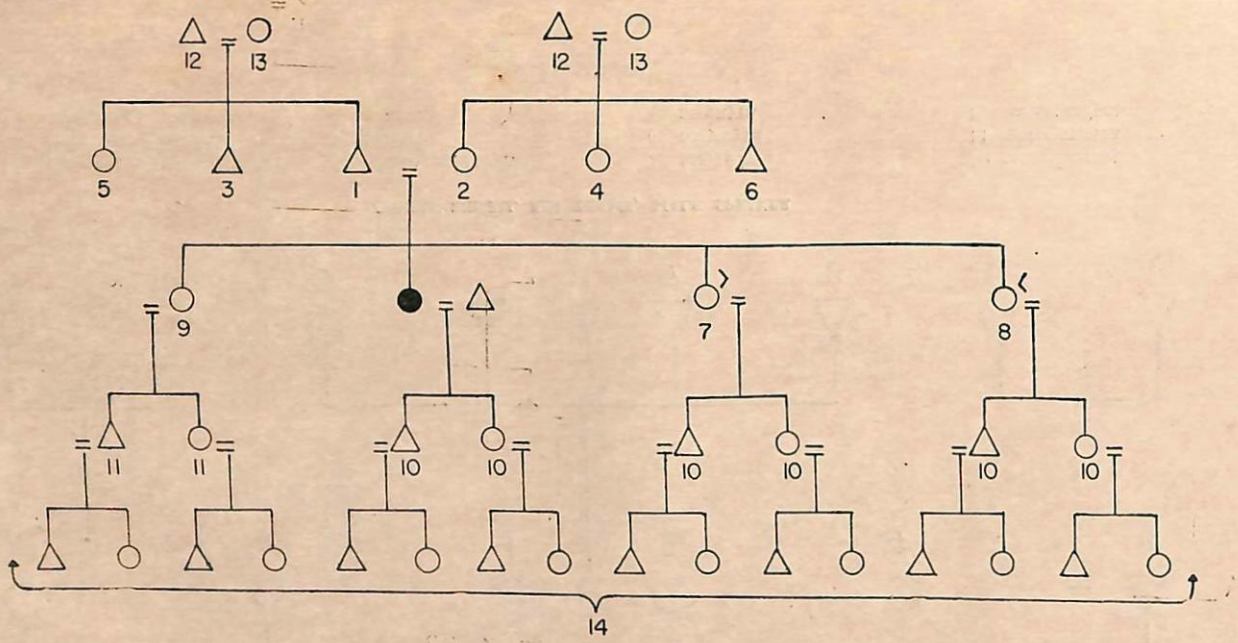
CONSANGUINEAL KIN TERMS, MALE SPEAKER

1 ceropi (cerowa)
2 ãpi (cei)
3 cerowirani (cerowira)
4 cei?irani, ãpi (cei?ira)
5 cãce
6 cetotirani (cetotira)
7 cerike?irani (cerike?ira)
8 ceriwirani (ceriwira)
9 ceranira, koca
10 cera?íra
11 cerãcira
12 cerekawiana
13 cekocamemira
14 ceramiya
15 caniya
16 ceremãmino

(sibling terms are extended to all cousins, both cross and parallel)

CHART 2

TAPIRAPÉ

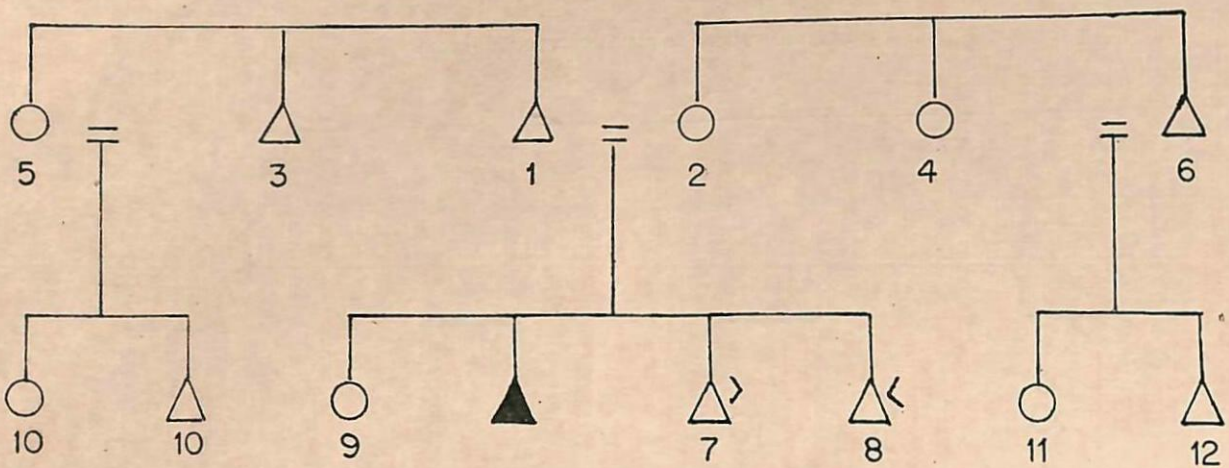


CONSANGUINEAL KIN TERMS, FEMALE SPEAKER

1 ceropi (cerowa)
2 ãpi (cei)
3 cepori?i (cerowira)
4 ãpi, cei?ira (cei?ira)
5 cãce
6 cetotira
7 cerikera
8 cekipi?ira
9 cekiwira, cire?i
10 cememira
11 cepena
12 ceramiya
13 caniya
14 ceremianiro

CHART 3

ASURINÍ

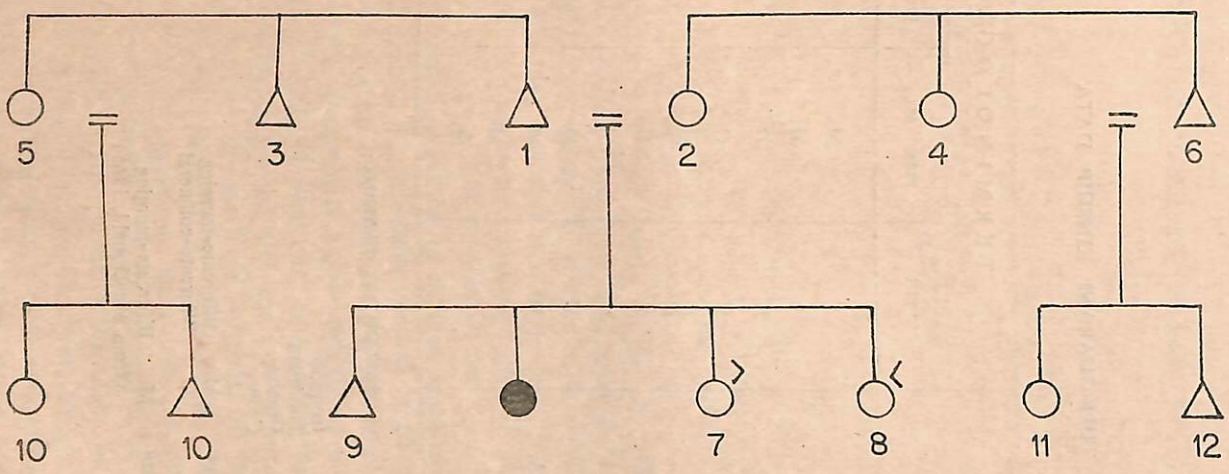


CONSANGUINEAL KIN TERMS, MALE SPEAKER

1 miangakee (towa)
2 mihengee (ihykee)
3 miangakee, serowyra
4 mihengee, se?yra
5 sesasee
6 setotyra
7 serike?yra
8 serywyra
9 serenyra
10 sesasêmemyra
11 setotyrasyra
12 setotyra?yra

CHART 4

ASURINÎ



CONSANGUINEAL KIN TERMS, FEMALE SPEAKER

1 miatôpee (towa)
2 mihákee (ihykee)
3 miatôpee, serowyra
4 mihákee, se?yra
5 sesasee
6 setotyra
7 serykêra
8 sepyky?yra
9 sekywyra
10 sesasêmemyra
11 setotyrasyra
12 setotyra?yra

CHART 5 TUPI-GUARANI KINSHIP DATA

TRIBE	TERMINOLOGY		
	COUSIN	FIRST ASC.	FIRST DESC.
AUETI	I	M	M
CAMAYURÁ	I	M	M
CAYUA (old)	H	C	M
CAYUA (new)	H	C	M
MAUE	O	M	M
MUNDURUCU	I	M	M
SIRIONO	C	M	M
TAPIRAPÉ	H	M	M
TENETEHARA	H	M	M
TUPINAMBÁ	I	M	M
URUBU	I	M	M

EXPLANATION OF TERMS :

Cousin
- I Iroquois
- H Hawaiian
- O Omaha
- C Crow

First Ascending
- M Bifurcate-merging
- C Bifurcate-collateral

First Descending
- M Bifurcate-merging

(from MacDonald, 1965)